The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* was completed in 1030 H. (1621 A.D.), in the fortieth year of the author's age. Its style is bad and confused, and occasionally ambitious. We are told that it is divided into ten chapters (*tabka*), but they are not numbered beyond the fourth, and only seven can be traced altogether. The first, consisting of sixteen pages, is devoted to the Súmra dynasty. The second, of ten pages, to the Samma dynasty. The third, of 30 pages, to the Arghúns. The fourth and all the others, comprising 172 pages, to the Tarkháns—so that it is evident that to them he directs his chief attention, bringing their affairs down to the latest period, when Mirzá Ghází Bég was poisoned at Kandahár, in 1021 H. (1612 A.D.), and the power of the Tarkháns was brought to a close even as *Jágírdars*—a title they were suffered to retain after their entire loss of independance under Mirzá Jání Bég. We have nothing on the subject of the Arab dominion in Sind, and the chapters upon the Súmras and Samma form no continuous narrative of their transactions. Even the later chapters are very deficient in dates, though there is no break in the history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns. Where dates are inserted they are not always correct.

Besides the present history, it would appear from one of the Extracts given below, that the author composed another work upon some of the Legends of Sind. The name of "Nasyání[1]" is not a patronymic, but, as we are informed in the *Tuhfatu-l kirám* (p. 192), a mere poetical designation, assumed by the author. The same passage gives us also some information respecting his descendants.

This work is rare out of Sind, where it is procurable without much difficulty. The Amír of Khairpur and the Saiyids of Thatta have a copy. I have not met with it anywhere else in India, and I believe there is no copy in Europe. Size, quarto (12 × 9 inches) containing 254 pages, each of 17 lines.

[1] *Nasyání*, the forgetful? or *Nashyání*, which signifies the drunken, or, a seeker of news?

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EXTRACTS.

The Destruction of Alor.

From the year of the Hijrí 700 (1300 A.D.), until 843 (1439 A.D.), that is to say, for a period of 143 years, the Hindu tribe of Súmra were the rulers of Sind; and that portion which is now flourishing was then a mere waste, owing to the scarcity of water in the Sind or Panjáb river, which is known by the above name below Bhakkar.[1] No water flowed towards those regions, and water is the very foundation of all prosperity. The capital of this people was the city of Muhammad Túr, which is now depopulated and is included in the *pargana* of Dirak. Not I alone but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment. Numbers of the natives of that city, after its destruction, settled in the *pargana* of Sákúra, which was peopled in the time of the Jáms of Samma, and there they founded a village to which they also gave the name of Muhammad Túr.[2] In this village resided many great men and *zamíndárs*, disciples of the Shaikh of Shaikhs and defender of the world, Makhdúm Shaikh Baháu-d dín (Zakaríya) Mullá Khalífa Sindí, so well known in Hind, who sprang from them and that village. The cause of the ruin of the above-named city, and of its dependencies, which had flourished between nine hundred and a thousand years, was as follows:—Below the town of Alor flowed the river of the Panjáb, which was indefinitely called by the three names of Hákra, Wáhind, and Dáhan, and by others—for its name changes at every village by which it flows. After fertilizing the land, the river pours its waters into the ocean. Dalú Rái governed the country between the two above-mentioned cities (Muhammad Túr and Alor). He was a tyrant and an adulterer: every night he possessed himself of a maiden. From the merchants who brought their goods that way in boats from Hind to the port of Déwal,[3] he levied a toll of half their property; traders thus suffered incalculable injury. At length, a certain merchant[4]

[1] بواسطه كمي آب سند يعني پنجاب كه اورا از بهكر پائين بهمين مي نامند]

[2] See Note A in APPENDIX upon Muhammad-Túr.

[3] Captain McMurdo places Dalú or Dillú Rái early in the second century of the Hijra.—*Journ. R. A. S.*, Vol I. p. 28.

[4] The *Tuhfatu-l kirám* (p. 35), calls him Saifu-l-mulúk, and says he was on his way to Mecca, and that when he returned thence, he lived and died somewhere about

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reached the place with a vast amount of goods, and was much astonished at this tyrant's proceedings. When the customs' officers perceived the valuable nature of his merchandise, and found him to be a traveller from distant parts, they resolved to exceed their usual demands. The merchant had also with him a handmaiden, young, and beautiful as the full-moon. When the impious tyrant was informed of this, he determined, according to his odious habit, to get her into his possession. The traveller, who was a wise and God-fearing man, said to himself that it was impossible to escape from the tyrant with honour and without distress, and hence it would be better to make some bold effort; in which, by God's help, he might succeed, and which would stand recorded on the page of destiny until the day of judgment. He prayed for and obtained three day's grace to forward the amount of duties along with his beautiful damsel. During this time he collected a number of skilful and expert artizans, men who excelled Farhád in piercing mountains, and could close a breach with a rampart like Alexander's. To these men he gave whatever they desired, and rewarded their labour with gold, jewels, and stuffs. His intention was to erect a strong embankment above[1] the town of Alor, and turn the course of the waters towards Bhakkar. Night after night these strong and able workmen laboured to dig a new channel and erect an embankment. The river was thus turned from its old course and flowed towards Síwán and the Lakkí Hills, with such force that the merchant was, by God's mercy, quickly carried with his ships and goods far away beyond the oppressor's reach. When the people of the tyrant's country awoke in the morning, instead of several fathoms of water, they found nothing but mud and muddy water. All were amazed, and informed their master of the mode of the merchant's escape, and of the ruin that had come on the country. He ordered them to turn the river into its old channel, but they all replied that it could not be done now the water had flowed else-

Déra Ghází Khán and Síṭpur. It is added, that his handmaiden Jamíl or Badí'u-l-Jamál, bore him two sons, Ratta and Chhatta, whose tombs, with that of the father, stand near Ratta, which in olden times was a large city in Dalú Ráí's territory, of which the vestiges still remain.

[1] [The text says زیر قصبه الور, but this is an obvious blunder.]

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where. The Rájá's regret and repentance were all too late. "When the evil is done, oh fool! what avails your regret? Stuff not cotton in your ears, but be alert—sleep not at the hour of action." In short the scarcity of water soon caused the grass and the fields to wither, and death laid its grasp on men and cattle, but the tyrant paused not in his evil career, until his crimes destroyed both himself and his people.

Destruction of Bráhmanábád.

It is related by old historians that this Dalú Rái had a brother called Chhata[1] Amraní, whom it had pleased God to dispose, from his youth upwards, to virtue. Amraní often remonstrated with his brother against his evil ways, but without success; he, therefore, left his country and applied himself to the study of the Kurán. When, having learned the holy book by heart, he returned to his home, his friends urged him much to marry; but he was displeased with their wicked ways, and therefore refused. His relatives repudiated and derided him, exclaiming that he had turned Turk, that is to say, Musulmán, and would next be going to Mecca to marry the daughter of some great man there. Amraní's star was in the ascendant, and his heart inclined to God, so their taunts took effect on him, and he resolved to proceed to the Kaa'ba. When he reached the place of his destination, he beheld a woman standing with a loaf in her hand. After he had looked at her several times the maiden perceived him and asked him what he sought in that town. He replied that by her means, he hoped to be able to read the Kurán. She told him that the daughter of a certain venerable man was much better acquainted than herself with the holy book, and was in the habit of teaching many young girls, and that if he changed his dress and attended upon her with the girls, he might obtain the wish of his heart. Amraní answered that all would be accomplished through her kindness. He made her a small present, and joined the scholars. After a time he became again perfect in the Kurán, when, one day, a woman came to see the teacher, who

[1] [The word is here and in a few other places written *Jhata*, but as frequently *Chhata*, and this is nearer the Tuhfatu-l Kirám, which has "*Chhota*." It is probably the Hindí word, and signifies that he was the younger brother.]

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was also skilled in astrology. The visitor said: "I have a young daughter whom I wish to marry to a certain person; pray see if the match will prove a happy one; for if not, I will wed my daughter elsewhere." The fates were consulted, a favourable answer was returned, and the woman departed. Chhata who, in woman's disguise, had been taught by the fair sage, without her knowing his sex, now said that, as she could ascertain other people's destiny, he begged she would also consult the stars on her own account, and find out who should be her husband. "This enquiry," she replied, "will be very pleasing to me; up to this moment I have never thought of what concerns myself." The fates were again consulted, and the answer which she delivered was: "a person called Chhata will come from Sind, and I shall be given unto him." Amrání asked if the person had as yet left Sind, and proceeded towards Mecca or not. She answered, that he had arrived in the city. "Where is he?" "In this house," was the reply, "and you are he." Chhata left off questioning and began to read.

The girl informed her mother of these events. The relatives gave their consent, and the two were united. Amrání dwelt there some time, after which he returned to his own country to Páín-wáh where his brother ruled.[1] Between Chhata and his wife Fátima, in their devotion to God, nothing was concealed, and they looked upon each other with fond affection. One day Chhata's brother sent him away on some business, with the intention of getting a look at his wife in his absence. This virtuous woman was in her bath, and there the wicked man saw her. At the same moment, Fátima and Chhata, who was far away, became cognizant of this fact. Chhata immediately returned, and, abandoning his relatives, left the country with his wife, and proclaimed that whoever remained in the city would ignominiously perish. The very night they left, destruction hovered over the city, but was kept off by the watching of an old widow, who was spinning. The second night they were saved by the watching of Gunígír,[2] but on the third night, which was the time appointed for the destruction of those wicked people, the whole

[1] Or, more probably, "Bahmanwá;" in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* the place is named Bhámbhara, or Brahmánábád. See note, supra, p. 189.

[2] [كنيكير In the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* كينكيري]

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place was swallowed up by the earth,—men, buildings and all,—the only sign of them left was a minaret, which stands there to this day. Chhata Amrání and his wife Fátima reached in safety the town of Síwistán, which is now known as Síwán. There he passed his days in prayer and worship. When he left this transitory dwelling-place to seek a wished-for and eternal home beyond the chambers of death, as during his life-time, he had performed miracles, and his prayers had been granted, so was it still after his decease. Whoever approached his shrine obtained the wish of his heart. His tomb is to be found in the city of Síwán; many people flock to it on Fridays, and place full belief in its powers.

The Dynasty of Súmra.

Be it known to wise and intelligent men who can solve knotty points, that the history of this ignorant Hindu tribe has been related by old chroniclers as follows:—"Every man of them considered himself a chief and leader, but 'Umar Súmra was their ruler. It is not known over how long a period his reign extended, but in all his years this chieftain, unworthy of his sacred name,[1] practiced unworthy acts. He was in the habit of laying violent hands on the females of his subjects. Among other married women he seized a beautiful woman named Márúí, who belonged to the tribe of the Márúis,[2] who resided near the forts of 'Umar-kot. She had been betrothed to a person named Phog,[3] but was, by her parents, when her beauty had developed itself, united to another of her relatives. Phog laid a complaint before 'Umar,—"I have given up all hope," said he, "of obtaining her, but she is well fitted for your own harem. If you could but once see her, you would never wish to part from her again." This speech of that dweller in the desert induced the chieftain to change his dress, and to mount an active camel,[4] fleet as the wind, on which he repaired to the woman's residence. He was captivated at first sight, and remained there some days. At

[1] عمر Alluding of course to the Khalif 'Umar.

[2] Wanderers of the desert.

[3] [The text has نبيوك "Nababúk," but Sir H. Elliot has substituted "Phog" in the translation. His authority for this change is not cited.]

[4] [The text has بارو, but immediately afterwards the animal is called اشتر, so that a camel, not a horse, must be intended by the word.]

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length, finding an opportunity, he placed the woman on his own camel, and returned to the seat of his government. But all praise to the virtue and chastity of Márúí, for though gold and jewels, robes and apparel were offered her, and though she was made to taste of severity and anger, nothing could induce her to listen to his proposals. "In what creed," said she, "is it considered lawful that we should, for the sake of a little brief authority and worldly riches, which avail us not when all is over, put aside the duty owing to a husband, and thus at last, heap infamy on our heads. The tenderness of her language took effect on the abductor; for a year he detained her and beheld her fidelity. He then sent for her husband and returned her to him, with as much gold and jewels as he could give, and told him of his wife's chastity. Doubt, however, remained in the husband's mind; he kept aloof from her, and constantly addressed reproaches to her. 'Umar was one day informed of this conduct, of the doubts which the husband retained of Márúí's chastity, and the disgrace which was thus reflected on himself. An army was ordered to attack and plunder the tribe, but they fled on receipt of the news. When the fact became known, he ('Umar) said "Why does the husband of this chaste woman seek to distress her, and in suspicion of a wrong which has not been committed, why does he injure both her and his ruler, causing a personal and general scandal—instigating all this disturbance." That paragon of fidelity, comforted the women of her family, and, strong in her own virtue, went to 'Umar and spoke as follows: "You are the lord of this country. If before this you had not conceived such designs, you would not have entailed such disgrace on yourself and on me; but, you have kept a man's wife confined for a twelvemonth in your own house, and after exposing her to suspicion, have sent her away. What wonder is there then that people, who know not right from wrong, should entertain doubts, and what wonder if her husband kill her through jealousy. The redress were worse than the fault itself, should you punish the oppressed family. Consider your own errors, be just, and say at whose door lies the blame." This was said with so much earnestness that it took effect. 'Umar, ashamed of his misdeeds, recalled his army, and caused the husband to be brought to his presence, when he sought by an oath, according to the Hindú

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custom, to remove all doubt from his mind. But that pattern of excellence anticipated him, and urged that she was the proper person to take the oath, for thus the foul stain would be washed away from herself and from her whole family. So it was settled that a fire should be kindled and an iron heated therein. As soon as the fire burned and flames like lightning issued from the iron, the woman raised it, and came out pure from the trial, and in the eyes of the Hindus all stain on her honour was removed. The thought now entered 'Umar's mind that it was not easy to clear himself of the guilt of the abduction. God is just; injustice pleaseth him not, and never has he, nor will he ever, disgrace any but the guilty. This cruel obstinate husband, thought he, has abased me in the eyes of the world; is it not better that I should pass through the fiery ordeal and truth be brought to the light of day! He did as resolved. Glory to God who maketh truth to triumph! Not a hair of his head or a thread of his garments was singed, and he issued scathless from the raging flames—which consume alike friend and foe. 'Umar and the relatives of the virtuous wife, whom idle talkers had calumniated and reviled, were now raised in public opinion; the doubts, which day and night had tormented the husband, vanished, and his unkind treatment ceased.[1]

Account of this event as related in the presence of the Emperor Akbar.

When the powerful Nawab Mirzá Khán-i Khánán had made himself master of Tatta, he summoned to his presence the great men of the country, and amongst others selected the most noble of them, Mirzá Jání Beg Tarkhán, 'Áriz of the Tarkhanía, to be presented at the court of his majesty, and he proceeded thither with a party of Sindí friends. At an interview the conversation happened to turn upon Márúí, which induced the Emperor to enquire of Jání Beg the particulars of this story. The latter replied that he had with him a poet named Mukím, conversant with both Persian and Sindí, who was well acquainted with the whole story, and whom he would send for if permitted to do so. Mirzá Jání Beg himself was per-

[1] This popular legend is given in a different form by Lt. Burton, from the metrical version current in the country.—*Sindh*, pp. 107-118.

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fectly informed of all the circumstances, but he wished to bring the post to the notice of his majesty. The bard was introduced, but he knew so little of the case, that, contrary to the fact, he said the heroine had a child by that tyrant, misnamed 'Umar.[1] His Highness was much displeased at this misrepresentation, and the bard withdrew crestfallen. Jání Beg then related the story correctly, and some of the auditors repeated verses in the Sindí language in praise of the Márúí. The late Mír Saiyid Ma'súm Bhakkarí, of blessed memory, has recorded in verse the story of Sassaí and Pannú and called his work "Husn o Náz," (beauty and coquetry); Mír Abú-l Kásim, (son of Sháh Abú-l Kásim, son of Sháh Kásim Arghún) has likewise versified the story of Chanesar and Lílá and called it "Chanesar;"[2] I also have written (these legends) in prose and named my work "Náz o Niyáz" (coquetry and supplication). May men of genius view it favourably![3]

History of Gangá and 'Umar Súmra.

I write for the information of men of enlightened minds,—friends to literature, and delighting in the sweets of learning. A maiden named Gangá, of the tribe of Tamím, had been betrothed to 'Umar. The latter happened to see her at a time when the spring of youth had not filled the cup of her beauty, and the unopened bud of her cheeks was as yet without fragrance. She did not please him, and his heart was averse to her, so he relinquished all thought of making her his wife, and gave permission that she should be united to any one they chose. 'Umar Tamím, a relative of the girl's, and a companion of 'Umar Súmra, without whom the latter never drank (or eat), became her husband. After a few years, this unopened bud fanned by the zephyr of youth, became a very stem of blooming roses. She imported such fragrance to the breeze, that fascination penetrated the core of every heart.

[1] In allusion to the Khalífa 'Umar, better known to us as Omar. It is to be observed that the author throughout spells the Hindú's name with an *ain* ع. [Amarkot is also generally written 'Umarkot.]

[2] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 74) says that Mír Táhir is here in error, the real author being Idráhí Bég.

[3] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 31) says that Muhammad Táhir's *Náz o Niyáz* is in verse and relates to the story of Márúí. Zamíri has written a poem of the same title.

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One day, when the washerman had put out her clothes to dry near the road, the chief happened to pass by the scented garments. Such perfume hung in the breeze that for miles it entered the brains of the wayfarers. The scent of the musk caused blood to flow from his nostrils, and he wondered whose garments these could be. He enquired of the washerman, and ascertained, after a good deal of trouble, as the man had been ordered not to mention the owner's name, that they belonged to a certain woman married to 'Umar Tamím, and whom his highness had formerly rejected. Longing and regret now took possession of his soul, and so great was his fascination that he proceeded to the woman's house, intending, if the master should not be within, to delight his eyes and heart with a glimpse of that heart-enthralling creature. The husband was not at home. Deceivers employ many stratagems, so 'Umar found nothing better than to pretend that he had discharged an arrow at some pigeons, and only entered the house to pick one up. The fair lady, who knew nothing of all this, being suddenly disturbed, rose to screen herself from view, and enquired what the intruder sought, but the latter obtained what he had come for and departed. A dart of love from the bow of her eyebrows had pierced his heart and he writhed like a wounded snake. The love which had suddenly been implanted in the innermost recesses of his heart disturbed him so much that he threw himself madly on his couch, abandoned food, drink, and sleep, and spoke to no one. His ministers were much astonished at this conduct, but having learned the cause of it, they respectfully informed him that the difficulty could very easily be overcome; that he should be of good cheer and not grieve. The ministers agreed that it was necessary, by some means, to separate the woman from her husband, and bring her to their master's palace. To further this scheme, it was settled by these godless men that 'Umar should make a show of more than usual cordiality and affection to that young man. The husband was astonished at these unwonted demonstrations, and one day asked his confidential friends what could be the object of them. Being all in the plot, they answered that a wish seemed to have entered the chieftain's mind to give him his sister in marriage, and by this connection, bind him more closely to himself in the bonds of fraternity and love, for he

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was highly pleased with his services, and placed great reliance on him. 'Umar Tamím heedlessly believed this falsehood; he was transported with delight by these tidings, which ought to have saddened him, and he expanded like a rose, so that his robe could scarcely contain him. The simpleton dreamed not that his friends were foully conspiring to deprive him of his wife. One day the friends met. Wine, that source of so much evil, was administered in such quantities to the unhappy husband, who had not strength to bear it, that he quite lost all mastery over himself. The associates perceived that they would never find an opportunity more favourable for the execution of their designs, so in furtherance of their scheme, they spoke to this foolish and helpless being of that impossible marriage. At length, he agreed that he would divorce his present wife, in order to obtain that higher object of his wishes; and he did so. The plotters having so far succeeded, now told him that this divorce alone was not sufficient, that he must offer the woman as tribute to 'Umar. The drunkard hesitated not to give away his cast-off wife. Then, as a finish to the business, he himself was turned out of the assembly, and his wife conveyed to the house of him who had instigated this vile proceeding. On the morrow, when the husband shook off the sleep of intoxication, he thought of his spouse, and remembered the sad events of the past day. Then, uttering cries of grief, he rent his garments, and proceeded to Dehli to lay a complaint before 'Aláu-d dín Sultán.

The people of this country relate, that when the husband laid his complaint before the Sultán, this guardian of justice sent that very night an order to 'Umar to appear before him, stating that if he came and satisfied the complainant, he might escape punishment, otherwise, an avenging force should be sent to plunder and overrun the country, and his wives and children should fall a prey to the soldiery. 'Umar prepared to depart the moment the messenger arrived. After a journey of some days, he reached the royal presence, and made numerous offerings. When the complainant and defendant were confronted, the Sultán's anger rose to such a pitch that he caused the guilty man to be thrown into a prison to end his days, in order that his fate might be a salutary warning to all wicked doers. For a long time he suffered in prison, but at length

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obtained his liberty through the intercession of his friends, on the payment of a heavy fine, and by binding himself to pay an annual tribute. He now returned to Sind, and from that time the rulers of this country have been tributary to the kings of Hind. 'Umar soon forgot his imprisonment and sufferings, and stretched forth the hand of tyranny over the people of Samma, the ancient tenants of the soil. Many families were driven by his exactions to abandon the land of their birth and seek refuge in Kach,[1] which lies between Guzerát and Sind, and this land by God's mercy they have occupied to the present day.

The dynasty of Samma.

Old story tellers relate that when God resolved to destroy the people of Súmra (who occupied the city of Muhammad Túr and its vicinity, where ruin had followed the erection of the *band* of Alor) so utterly that not a sign of them should be left in the land, he decreed that their lives should be passed in the commission of unworthy acts and of crimes. Young and old became intent on violence and mischief. They belonged to the Hindú faith, yet they ate the flesh of buffalos, although eating the flesh of the cow is held in abhorrence according to that religion. The labouring classes and landholders of the Sammas also held the same belief, yet never drank wine without partaking of a young buffalo calf. One of these animals was taken openly and forcibly by the Súmras from the house of a Samma at a time when the latter had gone out, and the wine cup passed freely. When the owner returned, his wife taunted him with what had occurred; "To-day," said she, "they have seized a young buffalo to roast, and to-morrow they will take away your women in the same disgraceful way. Either give us, your wives, freely to these men or quit the place." This person was a man of rank and honour; so collecting his friends and relatives, he raised a great cry and sallied forth. A number of the people of Súmra were assembled at the time; he fell on this body and killed several of them; then, packing up all his valuables, he set out for Kach with as many of his relatives as could accompany him.

[1] [The text has "Kanj."]

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They had hardly reached the Rann, or desert, which extends from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Guzerát, when a powerful army of Súmras overtook them and tried to pacify them, but the fugitives dreaded them too much to have any wish to return. Fighting commenced, and many fell on both sides. The fugitives nevertheless reached the land of Kach, which was occupied by the tribe of Cháwara, and they settled there in the desert with their property. After a time, when they had ascertained who were the chiefs in those parts, they represented to them that they were numerous and had come there for protection, that they craved a portion of land to cultivate, the produce of which would suffice for their wants, and free the community from all expense on their account. A small tract of uncultivated land was given to them by the Cháwaras under the conditions that whatever grain they grew thereon should be theirs, but that all the grass should be sent into the government forts, as the former would suffice for them. The agreement was entered into, and the land was brought into cultivation.

It appears that finally the settlers became masters of the soil by the following stratagem. For some years after their immigration, they went on settling and cultivating the land faithfully, according to treaty; they sending the grass grown on their lands to the forts of the chiefs of this country of desert and hills.[1] When they had got a firm footing and become thoroughly acquainted with the state of the country and the resources of its chiefs, it appeared to them that, if, with one accord, they managed their affairs with discretion, they might succeed in getting the upper hand. They therefore resolved to put into execution some carefully matured stratagem for this purpose. This was the plan: that in every cart-load of hay two armed men should be concealed and sent into the fortress. Five hundred loads formed the yearly contribution. This hay was now conveyed in that number of carts; in each were concealed two armed men, and a third sat on the top; so that about fifteen hundred men were all sent off together, and those who remained outside held themselves in readiness and listened for the shouts of the others. At the fort gate was always kept a learned astrologer, whose duty

[1] برو بوم دشت وجبال

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it was, from time to time, to warn the guards of coming events. As soon as the leading carts reached the entrance, the astrologer discovered that raw meat was concealed in them and proclaimed it with loud cries. The guardians of the gate jumped up and drove their spears into the hay in such a manner that the points entered the breasts of the enterprising youths within. But, oh, the heroism they displayed! As the spears were withdrawn they wiped the bloody points with their clothes, so that not a speck of blood appeared upon them; and all the day that truthful soothsayer was disbelieved, no further search was made, and all the carts entered the fort. When night came on, these resolute men, both within and without the walls prepared for action as had been previously concerted. Sword in hand, those who were inside fell upon the commandant of the fort and slew him. They then beat the drums to announce their triumph. Their friends without, hearing the signal, and knowing all was right, rushed at the gate and smote every one of its defenders who had the bravery to resist them. So great was the carnage, that words cannot describe it.[1]

Thus the country which lies along the sea became subject to the people of the Samma,[2] and their descendants are dominant there to this day. Rái Bhára and Jám Sihta, the Rájás of both Great and Little Kach, are descended from the Samma tribe. Among these people the tíka is conferred upon the Rái. When one of the Jáms of Little Kach dies, another is appointed in his place, but the sovereignty and the tíka are not bestowed upon him until such times as the Rái of Great Kach dies. When a successor has been appointed he is obeyed by all; and all those who assemble to appoint the Rái present to him horses, honorary dresses, and many other things, according to ancient custom. Whenever a well or a tank is dug in either of the divisions of Kach, the Cháwáras—formerly the masters of the soil, now the ryots—are consulted and brought to approve of the project before it is carried into execution.

[1] The scene of this stratagem was Gúntrí, in Kachh, of which the remarkable ruins are well worthy of a visit.—See *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Feb. 1838, p. 102.

[2] Respecting the Samma migration to this province, see *Dr. Burnes' Hist. of Cutch*, Introduction, pp. xi, xiv.

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Strange customs of the Tribes.

Be it known to men of enlightened minds that these people had many strange customs, such as the strong branding the stamp of slavery upon the shoulders of the weak. As an instance of this, a man named Dúda Súmra attempted to enslave his own brothers, and when any one of them resisted, sought means to kill him. Such was the prevailing stupidity of these people, that whenever they placed themselves in the barber's hands, they had the nails of their hands and feet extracted by the roots, and this violent process caused such distress, that they lost all recollection for a time. A sensible man one day enquired why they inflicted such tortures on themselves. They replied, that there was this wide difference between them and other people, that they did what others could not.[1] The clothes which they had once worn were never again put on. To wear them a second time would have been held highly improper. A woman who had brought forth a child was no longer allowed to share her husband's bed. At length, one of them, a fond and clever wife, becoming pregnant, revolved in her mind that, after the birth of the child, she would lose the society of her husband, and that she must therefore think of some means to convince him that childbirth did not render a female impure, and to banish all such ideas from his mind. This was her plan: whatever clothes her husband took off she gave to the washerman, with orders to wash them most carefully. One day the husband took a bath, and asked for cloths wherewith to dry his limbs. He was supplied with some of those which had been washed and put aside. These appeared to him so unusually soft, that he enquired what kind of fresh cloth it was. His wife told him, and he so much approved of what she had done, that he declared his intention of wearing washed clothes for the future. The wife, on hearing this, exclaimed that such also was the condition of women; why, then, should men cast them off? The husband abandoned both of these foolish practices, and all the tribe followed his example.

[1] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 36) ascribes to them a more probable answer, viz., that the chiefs alone did it to distinguish them from their inferiors, It is curious that Bírúní ascribes to Indian chiefs the Chinese practice of allowing their nails to grow so that it might be understood they had the means of living without manual labour. *M. Reinaud, Mémoire sur l' Inde, p.* 288.

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All that remain of them at the present day are good Muhammadans and God-fearing men; so much so, that Darwésh Dáúd, Míán Hamúl and Míán Ismáil Súmra, who were among the chief men of the town of Akham, in the Pargana of Samáwátí, entertained five hundred students of the Kurán, in the college, feeding and clothing them all, for the love of God, at their own expense. The late Mírzá Muhammad Bákí Tarkhán, notwithstanding his parsimony and economy,[1] which will be described when I speak of him, gave away, in charity, the produce of his husbandry. His collectors once complained to him, that a certain darwesh, not content with having tilled every bit of land in the district, sought to appropriate all their lord's possessions to his own use. Find therefore, said they, some other employment for the present cultivators. The Mírzá replied: "that he should till my lands is but little, were he to drive a plough over my head, I should deem it a favour." Fakírs, widows, and the poor were the recipients of his bounty. A well-provided table was at all hours spread for his guests,—but he himself constantly fasted. When the hour came to break the fast, a barley-loaf, without salt, constituted his only food. A guest coming to him one day, a sumptuous meal was ordered for him, but the guest did not partake of it. "Why," asked the Mírzá, "do you not like the food?" "I wish," replied the stranger, "to eat off the same plate with your majesty." "Oh, what happiness," exclaimed the latter. When evening came, he bid his guest to come and share with him the barley-loaf—that being all his meal. "Oh," said the man, "I thought your own meal would have been better than what you gave your guests; this was the cause of my indiscretion, but pray pardon me; I am satisfied to partake of the former repast." The host replied: "Yes, the dainty repast is best suited to your taste, the mere loaf is plenty for mine; for it is no light task to conquer the flesh and abjure the world—the world, that faithless creature, that slays her husband and devours her sons-in-law. No true man will give her a place in his heart. To do so is the act of the mean-spirited. Renounce the faithless harlot in the four extremities of the universe, and cleanse the skirt of your robe from all desire of her."

[1] امساک و عملداري

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Religious men love not the world,
For they seek not women.
If you are bound in the chains of a woman,
Boast not again of your manliness.
Have you not read in the ancient book,
What befel Husain and Hasan, owing to a woman?
A woman, be she good or bad, should be thus treated:
Press your foot upon her neck.

Depopulation of the country of the Súmras.

When through the tyranny of Dalu Rái, the river of the town of Alor became dry, the passage of the river of the Panjáb came to be made near Síwán, and that town, which is still flourishing, became populated. The want of water ruined the lands of the tribe of Súmra, and the tyranny of Dúdá Súmra drove many complaining to the Sultán 'Aláú-d dín, at Delhi. This monarch sent back with them a powerful army, under the command of the royal general named Sálár. The men of Súmra prepared themselves to die, and sent off their children in charge of a minstrel, to be placed under the protection of Ibra Ibrání. This Ibra was one of the very Sammas who had fled from the persecutions of the men of Súmra, and had made themselves masters of Kach in the manner which has been related above. It is a custom of these people to hold in high respect their minstrels, such as the Katriyas, the Chárans, the Dóms and the Márats (?). After the departure of their families, numerous engagements took place between the men of Súmra and the Sultán's army. Sahar Sultání, the Súmra commander, was slain in the field of battle, and the remainder sought safety in flight. The royal army advanced in pursuit of the women and children. From the capital, Muhammad Túr, to Kach they proceeded march by march, digging every night a deep trench round their camp, through fear of their foes.[1] Such was the extent of these trenches, that, to this day, great pools still remain. When they reached the confines of Kach, Ibra Samma, the ruler of the country, fought stoutly in defence of the children and fugitives, but fell at last in the field. The women, whose countenances no stranger had ever beheld, were now surrounded on all sides. These virtuous women saw that the royal army had come to carry them into captivity,

[1] [ازبیم آن زمین دار]

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and that there was no refuge for them but in God's mercy; then, raising their hands in supplication, they exclaimed: "We have no other help, oh God! but in thee. Cause this mountain to protect us, poor helpless creatures, and save us from the hands of our cruel enemies." The prayer of these women was heard by Him, the nearest and dearest friend: the rock burst asunder, and showed openings, through which they all entered, and before the enemy could reach the spot they were all hidden; but fragments of their garments remained without, showing where they had passed. The pursuers were struck with awe, and retraced their steps. That mountain, and traces (of this event) may be seen to this day, in the land of Kach. In short, as no man was left in Sind, among the Súmras, of sufficient power to govern the country, the Samma people set to work to cultivate new territories on another part of the river.

The Sammas, after the expulsion of the tribe of Súmra, found the town of Sámúi-ábád.

After the destruction of the power of the above-named tribe the dynasty of the Samma ruled from the beginning of the year 843 H. (1439 A.D.) until the date of the total ruin of Sind.[1] The Samma people, who had been subject to the Súmras in the days of their rule, founded a town and fort below the Makalí mountain. The former they called Sámúí,[2] and the latter Taghurábád, of which Jám Taghur had laid the foundation, but had left unfinished.[3] Other towns and villages, still flourishing, were also built by them,—but the spots cultivated during the dominion of the former masters of the soil soon ran to waste for want of water. Lands hitherto barren, were now carefully cultivated; there was hardly a span of ground untilled. The divisions into *súbas* and *parganas*, which are maintained to the present day in the province of Tatta, were made by

[1] The text says 849 H. (1445 A.D.), but it was stated above that the Súmra dynasty closed in 843 H. And again at p. 51 of the original, it is stated that the Samma dynasty lasted 84 years, closing with the establishment of Sháh Husain Arghún's power in 927 H. (1521 A.D.), the invasion of his father in 921 H. counting for nothing. We must, therefore, necessarily assume 843 H. to be the correct reading, incorrect as it is in fact.

[2] [The name is here written "Sáí."]

[3] See Appendix respecting these places. Taghurábád is in other works called Taghlikábád.

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these people. When the labour and skill of each individual had brought the land to this state of prosperity, Jám Nanda bin Bábiniya was acknowledged by all, great and small, as their chief, and received the title of Jám, which is the name of honour among these people. Such splendour spread over what had been but dreary solitudes, that it seemed as if a new world had sprung into existence. Before his time, there was nothing worthy of being recorded, but his reign was remarkable for its justice and an increase of Muhammadanism. I have omitted none of the events which occurred in his reign and in after years, as they have been related to me by old residents of those parts. This chieftain passed his days and nights in devotion. He permitted no one man to tyrannise over another; the poor were so happy that all the day long his name was on their lips. Peace and security prevailed to such an extent, that never was this prince called upon to ride forth to battle, and never did a foe take the field against him. When, in the morning, he went, as was his custom, to his stables to look at his horses, he would caress them, kiss their feet, and exclaim: "Heaven forbid that an invader approach my dominions, or that it ever be my fate to saddle these animals, and engage in war! May God keep every one happy in his place!"

The foundation of Tatta.

After he had dwelt some time in the city of Sáí, the thought entered his mind to build, at some auspicious moment, a new town, where happiness might remain for ever. Brahmans and astrologers having settled a lucky day, and having sought a spot in the neighbourhood of Sámúí, they selected an eligible place, where now stands the city of Tatta, and there, with the assent of the Jám, the foundation was laid. A division of the land having been made, mansions and houses were constructed. In truth, at such a fortunate moment was the foundation of this place laid, that trouble and affliction have never visited its inhabitants. Contented with what they possess, they carry on their affairs in luxury and ease. The cheerfulness and happiness which reigns among these people has never yet been, nor ever will be found elsewhere. Each month has several *'Ids* for

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them; the first Friday after the new moon, they call in their Sindí language, *Máh-pahra Jum'a.* Such a crowd of men and women flock, on this day, to the Makalí monntain, that there is scarce room to stand. It has become a custom, among many classes, to consider the similar festival of *Máh-pahra Somár*—or the first Monday in each month—a great day for making pilgrimages. The pleasure of visiting each other, induces them to go in large parties, taking with them abundance of sweet river water and food such as they can afford. The day is spent in amusements, and visits to the shrines. The reason why they take water with them is, that the rain-water found in the tanks contiguous to the tombs is brackish, owing to the nitrous nature of the soil, and consequently, though fit for oblations, is not fit to drink. When evening puts a close to these pleasures, they seek their own abode. Besides the shrine of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Patta, there are some ten or twelve other places, where darweshes perform their dance. These excitable men often work themselves into such a state of holy ecstacy, that they cast themselves on the rocks of the mountain of Makalí; but by the blessing of their learned doctors and teachers, no harm befalls them. This custom, however much opposed to the laws of Islam, has been transmitted from generation to generation, and all the attempts of wise teachers and just governors have never succeeded in putting a stop to it. More wonderful still, is the fact that, during the rainy months, only a few showers fall on the mountain. At its summit is a pond, which they call "*Kira tal,*" or sweet tank; so long as the water of the heavens fills it, men and women of all classes, Hindús and Musulmáns, crowd there from morning till night; there they cook their meals, and feast, What *'id*, what wedding can ever boast of so numerous an attendance? He alone, who has seen and tasted of these pleasures, can understand this! The custom has long prevailed among these people, and what time has sanctioned they never relinquish. Other nations possess greater wealth, and greater skill; but such light-heartedness and contentment, as to labour for one day and repose for the rest of the week, to have but moderate desires and enjoy boundless ease, this has been reserved for the people of Tatta alone.

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Elevation of Daryá Khán by Jám Nanda, who had purchased him from Lakzhír.

When Jám Nanda, son of Bábiniya had to the gratification of his friends, become the occupant of the throne of Tatta, he embellished the new city and ruled with so much justice and moderation that every citizen found happiness at his own hearth.

"That spot is Elysium where oppression comes not
Where no one interferes with another."

One day he went out to hunt, taking with him his minister Lakzhír.[1] The latter had with him a young slave named Kabúla, to whom was entrusted the care of his master's drinking-water. This boy was in reality the son of a Saiyid, but having fallen into captivity, he had been purchased by the minister. The Jám, becoming thirsty during the chase, called for water. His own water-carrier not being on the spot, the minister ordered his boy to fill a cup for the king. The lad, young in years but old in wisdom, filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass. The Jám put down the cup, and asked him what grass had to do in drinking water. The slave replied: "I saw your highness was very thirsty, and I feared lest you should drink too large a quantity and suffer from it in riding; I therefore put in the water these small obstacles, that you might drink in moderation." There was nothing so wonderful in this, but the boy's destiny befriended him, and the Jám was much pleased. He took Kabúla from the minister and made him one of his personal attendants. Day by day his affection for the youth increased, and finding him possessed of sufficient abilities to administer the affairs of the kingdom, or even to govern one, he soon conferred upon him the title of Mubárak Khán and employed him in all difficult matters. He loved him better than his own children and relatives. The Jám had many good men around him, such as Wazír Dilshád, who in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.) carried his victorious arms from Tatta as far as the city of Uch, yet Mubárak carried off from all of them the ball of good fortune, and was honoured by the king with the management of the affairs of the State in preference to his own son, Jám Firoz. He brought the country, from Multán to the borders of Kandahár and

[1] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 40) is doubtful about the real name, saying it is "Lahakdir," or "Lahgír."

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from Kach to Makrán, into such subjection, that if at midnight one of his officers carried an order to any of the *Zamindárs* and *Búmiyas* of these territories, it was instantly and gratefully obeyed. Such was the terror of his name in these turbulent provinces, that a pregnant woman miscarried if she heard of his approach. So far had spread the fame and dread of his incursions, that the words—"Silence, the terrible chieftain is coming," were enough to stop the crying of a wayward child.[1]

When at length, after a reign of seventy-three years, Jám Nanda passed from this perishable world to the abodes of immortality, he confided the care of the kingdom, of his treasures, his family, and his son Jám Fíroz, to Daryá Khán. "The management of the affairs of this kingdom," said the dying ruler, "devolves on thee. Discharge thy duty to Jám Fíroz with zeal and self devotion."[2]

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Sack and burning of Thatta[3] *by the Firingis.*

In the year 973 H. (1565 A.D.,) near the end of his life, Mirzá 'Isa Tarkhán, proceeded with his son, Mirzá Muhammad Bákí, in the direction of Bhakkar. As they drew near the town of Durbela, a dependency of Bhakkar, Mahmúd Khán, having strengthened his stronghold, sent forth his army to meet them, for, thought he, what breach of contract is this? They bring an army into my territory! What can be their object? It was the intention of Muhammad Bákí, to detach the *Parganah* of Durbela, from the province of Bhakkar, and to incorporate it in that of Síwán; but he was frustrated in this design by the army of Mahmúd Khán, which was powerful, and was everywhere prepared for fight. Blood had not yet been spilled, when, suddenly, news came from Thatta, that the Firingís had passed Láhorí Bandar, and attacked the city, The gates

[1] See Appendix.

[2] The author does not distinctly inform us that Daryá Khán was the same person as Mubárak Khán, but the heading of the section implies that he was, and we are explicitly told so in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. *Mír M'ásúm* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* say that Daryá Khán was the Jám's adopted son. Firishta calls him a relation of the Jám's, and speaks of Mubárak Khán and Daryá Khán as two individuals.

[3] [The author has hitherto used the Persian form "Tatta."]

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were closed, said the despatch; if the army returned without delay, the place would be delivered; otherwise, the enemy was strong, and would effect his object. This intelligence caused the Mirzá to desist from prosecuting the quarrel any further. Leaving the country under the rule of the Khán, he speedily embarked in his boats, and departed. Before he could arrive, the Firingís had sacked the city, and filled it with fire and slaughter. Many of the inhabitants had found an asylum in the Jáma' Masjid of Mír Farrukh Arghún, which they quitted, on hearing of the Mirzá's approach. The mode of the Firingís coming was as follows:—Between the town of Thatta and Láhorí Bandar is a distance of two days journey—both by land and by water; beyond this, it is another day's march to the sea. There is a small channel, (called *nár* in the language of Thatta), communicating with the port; it is in some places about ten *tanábs* wide, in others, something more. It is unfordable. Between the port and the ocean there is but one inhabited spot, called Súí Miání. Here a guard belonging to the *Mir Bandar*, or port-master, with a loaded piece of ordnance, is always stationed. Whenever a ship enters the creek, it intimates its approach by firing a gun, which is responded to by the guard-house, in order, by that signal, to inform the people at the port, of the arrival of a strange vessel. These, again, instantly send word of its arrival to the merchants of Thatta, and then embarking on boats, repair to the place where the guard is posted. Ere they reach it, those on the look-out have already enquired into the nature of the ship. Every vessel and trader must undergo this questioning. All concerned in the business, now go in their boats, (*ghrábs*) to the mouth of the creek. If the ship belong to the port it is allowed to move up and anchor under Láhorí Bandar; if it belong to some other port, it can go no further, its cargo is transferred into boats, and forwarded to the city. To be brief, when these Firingí traders had got so far, and learned that the king of the country was away on a distant expedition, they felt that no serious obstacle could be made to their advance. The *Mir Bandar* wished to enforce the regulations, but he was plainly told by the foreigners that they had no intention of staying at the Bandar, but that they intended to proceed on to Thatta, in the small boats (*ghrábs*) in which they had come. There they would take some relaxation, sell

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their goods, buy others, and then return. The ill-provided governor, unable to resist them by force, for their plans had been well laid, was fain to give in; so, passing beyond the Bandar, the Firingís moved in boats, up the river Sind towards Thatta, plundering as they went all the habitations on the banks. The ruler of the country being away, no one had sufficient power to arrest the progress of the invaders. They reached the city unmolested; but here the garrison, left by the Mirzá, defended the place with the greatest gallantry. A spirited contest with artillery took place on the banks of the river. In the end the defenders were overpowered; the enemy penetrated the city, and had made themselves fully masters of it, when the Mirzá arrived in all haste. As soon as they heard of his being near, with a powerful army, they loaded their boats with as much spoil as they could contain, and withdrew.[1]

The Mirzá, who had previously laid the foundation of a citadel for protection against the Arghúns, now deemed it necessary to encircle his palace and the whole city, with fortifications.

His reign ended with his life in the year 984 H. (1576 A.D.) His wealth and kingdom passed into the hands of his son—Muhammad Báki.

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Extermination of the principal Inhabitants of Thatta.

Mirzá Muhammad Báki ruled with a strong hand, and ruin fell upon the houses and property of the people. No one dared to oppose his improper proceedings. He did not consider it expedient, that any one with pretensions to eminence, learning, or genius, should be left in undisturbed tranquillity. Nobles and plebeians, men of rank, and men without rank, *Saiyids, Shaikhs, Kázis* and Judges, were all driven from their time-honoured abodes, and ordered to dwell without the city, as the Mirzá was of opinion that they were disaffected. To the eldest son of Míyan Saiyid 'Alí, although married to the daughter of Muhammad's brother, Mirzá Sálih, no more leniency was shown; he experienced the same treatment as the rest. Tyranny became the rule. Of the travellers from all parts who passed through the country, those whom he deemed worthy of notice were

[1] See further in the Appendix on the subject of the Portuguese proceedings.

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summoned to his presence. So affably were they received, and such the apparent kindness shown to them, that it served as a balm to the weariness of travel. The beguiled stranger was deluded into the belief, that, in the wide world, there could not exist so benevolent a patron to travellers. When the visitors were preparing to depart, the Mirzá would say to his *Mir Bahr*, or superintendent of his Boat Department, that, as the breezes of his kingdom were soft and balmy, and river-excursions tended to cheerfulness, he must place a handsome boat at their disposal. As soon as they had been thus politely enticed into the middle of the stream, a plank was taken out of the bottom of the boat, and the unhappy travellers were drowned. This was done to prevent the chance of anyone talking of this favoured land elsewhere, so that the country, which had required such labour and pains to subdue, should find another conqueror. Any poor traveller, not considered fit to appear in the presence, was simply put to death.[1] Such was the meanness of this prince, that, only once a week, on Thursdays, was a meal prepared in the *Diwán -khána;* beyond this, he gave away nothing. If he heard of any person living generously in his own house, it mattered not whether he were a relative or otherwise, a citizen or a soldier, he laid the hand of tyranny on his possessions, nor withdrew it so long as a thing was left to take. Cunning showed itself in every word he spoke. Seated in the audience-tent, hardly a moment passed, but he said to his nobles: "Bring me gold, bring me grain; let this be your sole occupation, for these form the basis of power." The privations which he had formerly endured led him to heap treasure upon treasure, and grain upon grain. Not a corner of the citadel of Thatta but was filled with rice. Often the grain got clotted, and the heat arising therefrom occasioned spontaneous combustion, but the Mirzá would not have it removed from the fort, nor allow it to be given away. At harvest-time he held a revenue audit, and collecting all his dependents, he paid them, according to their dues, by assignments, partly in grain and partly in money. At length, one day his

[1] Several other instances of this wretch's cruelty are recorded in the *Tárikh-i Táhiri*. He delighted in eradicating beards, slitting ears, cutting off women's breasts, and trampling men to death under elephants; until at length both Musulmans and Hindús prayed to be delivered from his tyranny. [According to this author he died by his own hand.]

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officers respectfully informed him that the fort was so full of old and new grain, that no room could be found for the produce of the coming harvest. The grain was getting clotted and burnt, so that it was best to assist the people with it, for, by this means, something would be saved at all events. The Mirzá replied, that they should have his answer on the morrow. During the night, he ordered some loaves to be made of clay. When the nobles came in the morning to pay their respects, the Mirzá ordered the cloth to be spread, and, contrary to custom, invited them to eat. They screwed up their courage, and wondered what evil was impending. For any officer of the state who incurred the ruler's displeasure was usually cut into pieces, which were placed in dishes, and carefully sent to his officers' houses, as a warning, to keep up a perpetual dread of his punishment. As the wondering and terrified nobles removed the dish covers, and beheld the strange-looking loaves laid out for the woeful meal, they cast glances from one to another, as if to say, what can this mean? Their host asked why they did not partake of the food before them. "You have all I can give you," said he; "perchance you are wealthy men, and do not like my simple fare." Impelled by fear, some of the ministers took the burnt rice-loaves. The Mirzá angrily enquired why they did not also partake of the other loaves. They replied: "Sire, your prosperity and wisdom are great: but to eat clay is difficult. In his fierce anger he became abusive, and exclaimed, "Oh! ye simpletons, how long will your wisdom ensure the welfare of my kingdom? Useless grain may at times render good service, for is it not better than clay? It may serve as food for the maintenance of life. Of what good are you, since the mere sight of clay-bread has half killed you! and you give me unsuitable advice! Have you not heard, how, when Humáyún came into this country, and Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún laid waste the whole land, and gave orders for the sowing of grain,[1] what hunger and misery were endured; how raw hides and old skins were cooked in hot water and eaten?"

These are facts:—It is indeed related that, at the time of the

[1] [حکم کاشتن غله نموده بود]

[2] The author has previously given an account of this famine at page 61 of the original, where he deals with this particular period of Sind history.

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Emperor's flight and the devastation of the country by the Mirzá, extreme misery drove the men of Sind to eat their own kind. A man, having lost a cow, went with some friends to seek for it. They reached a plain where some youths, who had just come there, had placed a pot on a fire and were cooking meat. The owner of the cow and his friends took these people for thieves, and felt convinced that they were cooking some portion of the lost animal, which they had stolen. So they seized and bound them, asking what meat they were preparing, and whence they had procured it. These youths could not answer for fear, but, when the whip was applied, they found power to say that they were brothers and once had a mother. They had been dreadfully pinched with hunger. The mother, in her love, said that death was preferable to such an existence. She could not bear to see her children perish before her eyes, and besought them to kill her and satisfy the cravings of their hunger. They refrained as long as they could from such a cruel expedient, but at length, unable to contain themselves, they killed their mother, and this was her flesh in the pot. The story was not believed. The villagers said, that before they would credit it, their own eyes must have some proof. The unhappy brothers took their captors to the spot where the entrails had been thrown; this sight caused them to be more firmly bound, for the villagers maintained that some other person must have been sacrificed to their cravings, and that this was not their mother. The wretched lads supplicated and swore in vain; their punishment began, and the blows they received drew forth screams and lamentations. Then suddenly those entrails moved rapidly from the spot where they lay, and curled themselves around the feet of their tormentors. This was a warning. Suspicion at once fled before this miracle. What could it portend? An old man of the party spoke:—"These youths told us the truth. How great is the tender love of a mother, since even after death her remains come and cling to your feet pleading for the deliverance of her offspring!"

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The Mirzá sends his daughter, Sindi Begam, to the Emperor.

When the possession of the province of Bhakkar had been secured to the Emperor, by the valour of Mujáhid Ghází, the relatives of Mahmúd Khán became favourites with him. Mirzá Muhammad Báki—who had, even before this event, entertained most extravagant fears for his own dominions—resolved to strengthen the alliance by giving his daughter in marriage to the monarch. The Mullá, whom I have previously mentioned, related to me, that he was one day secretly sent for by the Mirzá, who addressed him as follows:—"I have often thought, and still think, that Hazrat Jalálu-d dín Akbar Sháh is a mighty monarch. The pettiest of his officers—Mujáhid—with only fifty horsemen, has overcome Mahmúd Khán Kokaltásh, a man who can boast of an iron frame, and of strength equal to that of Isfandyár, who possesses, moreover, a strong fortress, situate between two wide rivers. What if the Emperor should send an army in this direction? desolation would spread over this peaceful land! The province of Bhakkar has been, to this time, a solid barrier against his encroachments, but it is so no longer. It will be wise, ere an army march hither, to send the Begam, accompanied by some of the chief men of this country, to wait upon the Emperor. Such an union may perhaps preserve us from the grasp of these fierce fire-eating warriors. What think you of this plan?" Being entirely and sincerely devoted to the Mirzá, the Mullá replied, that this vain proposal would certainly be attributed to want of courage and manliness. This speech proving anything but agreeable, the chieftain drew his sword, and advanced angrily towards the speaker, asking, how he dared to use such disrespectful language to him? The Mullá replied, with sincere feeling, that the Mirzá was at liberty to kill him, but that he had spoken advisedly. "Did his lord suppose the Emperor had any thought of him? What if the maiden were so little liked, as to be excluded from the royal harem, and sent back again! What shame, what dishonour would be the result! Would the prince, for the sake of a kingdom, bring disgrace upon his whole family." At these words, the Mirzá's anger flashed like lightning; he grew restless as quicksilver, and foaming at the mouth, he exclaimed: Remove this wretch from before my eyes, lest I shed his blood this very day." As the Mullá withdrew from his presence, he unburdened his mind

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of what still remained there. "To represent the true state of a case was," he said, "the duty of a loyal servant. He had incurred his master's anger by so doing, but, even in this he felt himself happy and honoured. What imported it to him, if the Emperor sent back the princess! What recked he, if he gave her away to one of his favourites, better men than the Mirzá himself! You, he exclaimed, are a prince. You know no law but your own will: do that which shall be most pleasing to you." This advice, bitter withal, was heard, but not heeded. The opinion of other friends, and his own prevailed. That light of the eyes was sent to the Imperial court, escorted by Saiyíd Jalál, son of 'Alí Shírází, and son-in-law of Mirzá Sálih, Muhammad Bákí's own brother, and by Khwájá Mír Beg Diwán, provided with rich presents, and a suitable dowry. Having reached the Emperor's presence, the messengers kissed his feet, and displayed to view what they had brought. The valuables were then made over to the treasurer, but that most precious gem of all, that paragon of virtue, was introduced into the seraglio. There, the powerful monarch, prince of all things, cast but once a momentary glance on the countenance of this fair and nobly-born maiden, after which he would not see her again. He said to himself, that the daughter of Muhammad Bákí was not[1] of a good disposition, and that he would send her to some other person's harem. Some Arghúns, of the same descent as the Begam, and who had sought to escape from death at the emperor's court, endeavoured, notwithstanding her father and brothers' enmity, to avert an event which would, they thought, lower the dignity of their family. In defence of the honour and good name of their kinswoman, they represented to the Emperor, that never, to that day, had any member of their house experienced such unkind treatment from former rulers. Let the monarch of the world honour them with his universal benevolence, and send back the maiden to that wretch athirst for the blood of his brethren—who, if the monarch acceded to their wishes, would be under an obligation to them. The order of the Emperor, irresistible as the decree of fate, went forth, that Sindí Begam should be sent back to her father at Thatta.

[1] [The negative is wanting in Sir H. Elliot's MS. دختر خوب خوي است]

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How Sindí Begam returned from the Emperor's court to her Father's.

At the time the Emperor was taking leave of the Begam, he ordered an elephant for her use, and bid her return to her father, whose ancestors, from father to son, had been vassals of the crown. He also added, that a small tract of land had been assigned to the princess; who, he hoped, would, at the appointed hour of prayer, pray for his welfare and the increase of his prosperity. The party left. A despatch had already been forwarded to the Mirzá, in which all these events had been detailed. He might, it was said, consider them as arrived. They had been placed in most critical circumstances, but providence had vouchsafed to preserve his name from disgrace. The Mullá relates that he was sent for by the Mirzá, who threw him the document itself, saying: "Read this sad news; what you foretold has come true." He perused the despatch of the nobles escorting the Begam, and found it was even so. He said, "Peace be with you, oh mighty lord! bow down your head humbly before the One incomparable Being; render thanks unto God, who has vouchsafed to maintain your honour, and be grateful to your blood-thirsty brethren, the Arghúns, as long as you live. Be kind to those of them still left here, and thus dispel the old enmity subsisting between you. The Mirzá, rendered wise and devout at length, was pleased with this speech, and said a few words which he deemed appropriate in thanksgiving. He also sent epistles to the Arghúns, wherever they could be heard of, calling upon them to lose no time in returning; and promising that compensation for their former sufferings should be afforded them to the utmost of their wishes. Some of them were slow to return, being doubtful of the chief's intentions; others, in whose hearts still lived the recollections of their fatherland, were content to brave even death. The excessive kindness they experienced proved a balm to the wounds of past persecutions, and surpassed their expectations.

About this time the *Jágírdárs* of the province of Bhakkar, owing to the Emperor's approach, resolved to send their army into the province of Síwán. This territory often suffered from their depredations, but they now sought to take it from the Mirzá. Fat'h Khán, a slave, ruled that province, but he had made a Hindú called

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Júna his agent; and to any person wishing to address him on affairs of the state, he stupidly said: "I know nothing of this: go to Júna." His son Abú-l Fat'h led a most dissipated life. He clothed his companions in female apparel, with bracelets on their arms, and kept them hidden in his own abode. He would not eat of food on which a fly had lighted. His associates were usually made to bring many kinds of dishes, and by this means, he plundered them. From the 13th to the 16th of every month his friends were called together, and the time was spent in debauchery. Whole nights passed in the enjoyment of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine; he gave presents to his guests and attendants. But of all his absurdities this was the greatest: if a flight of birds happened to be pointed out to him, he commenced counting them, throwing in the air either a *lari*[1] or a Firingí gold coin as each passed by. In short, as this miserable state of things prevailed, the Mirzá resolved, in order to put a stop to it, to remain himself at the head of affairs in the capital, and send away his children to the frontier and the provinces.

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Arrival of Nawwáb Mirzá Khán, in Síwán, and his wonder at the Lakki mountain.

When the illustrious Khán, leaving Bhakkar behind him, arrived in Síwán, his first though was to invest and capture the fort before proceeding any further; but, after-consideration showed him that no substantial benefit could accrue from the possession of a few mud walls, until both the capital Thatta and the ruler of the country were in his hands. The root is the support, not the branches. The Nawwáb thought it best to leave a detachment behind and move onwards in person with the remainder. This plan was carried into execution. Leaving under his officers some ships which he considered equal to the destruction of the fort, the Khán marched against Mirzá Jání Beg.

When he drew near the Lakkí mountain, which wise men hold to be the key of the country, what a sight opened upon him. From the river Sind, stretching away towards the setting sun, rose the above-

[1] A silver coin.

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named mountain, its summits high as the star Aiyúk, and along the face of it ran a path narrower than a hair. Those who pass over climb like a string of ants. If ten resolute men defended this passage, not the world combined could dislodge them, without suffering severely from the stones they could throw down. Adjoining these mountains are many others, on which dwell the tribes of the Bulúch and Nahmrúí, of the Jokiya and Jat, extending as far as Kích (Kíz ?) and Makrán. To the eastward of the river are the Mawás and the Samíja tribes, spread as far as the sand-hills of Amarkot; and these are men who have never acknowledged a master. For an army to pass in either of these directions is impracticable. The Nawwáb made enquiries about the country and was greatly troubled with what he heard, for if an ambuscade were laid in the valley it would be exceedingly difficult for him to proceed, this being the key of the whole country. Just as orders had been issued for this post to be fortified (as by this means, and by well-laid plans, a secure advance might be made) it was discovered that the enemy had taken no measures to defend the pass. The Khán was delighted, and exclaimed that the star of the monarch of the world had indeed outshone that of these people, since they neglected to make a stand in so formidable a position; of a certainty now the country had passed away from their hands. When this saying reached the ears of the Mirzá (Jání Beg), keen indeed was his regret for the neglect he and his counsellors had been guilty of. "Truly," said he, "have we committed a great fault of generalship. In short, the Khán advanced without meeting with any obstacle, and, in presence of the Mirzá, threw up an intrenchment and constructed batteries. Morning and evening, valiant, lion-hearted youths, worthy descendants of Mars, came forth from both sides. With such activity did destiny send forth death to do its work in the field, that no symptom of backwardness appeared there; energy filled every breast, as the warriors strove their utmost. The happy star of the Emperor, and his own genius, inspired the Nawwáb to send detachments against various places in the same way that he had encompassed Mirzá Jání Beg and the fort of Síwán. Sháh Beg Khán was selected to act against the fort of Sháhgar, in the province of Nasrpúr, where resided Abú-l Kásim. Another party of veterans was told off to

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march into the Jágir country, against the fort of Nírankot. In this war, for every province of the country a force was appointed, although it was not despatched.

Mirzá Jání Beg Sultán made this agreement with his soldiers, that every one of them who should bring in an enemy's head should receive 500 *gabars*, every one of them worth twelve *mirí's*, called in the Mirzá's time, *postanís*, of which seventy-two went to one *tanka*. The poor people of Sind, already prepared to give their lives for their lord, were pleased with this show of kindness, and went out daily to bring in heads or lose their own. This style of warfare continued for several months. Giriya, the Hindú, who well knew how matters stood, and the state of the treasury, and had a regard to future exigencies, gradually reduced the reward from 500 to fifty *gabars*. Even for this small sum, the starving people were content to throw themselves without hesitation against the scimitars of the foe. The greater number fell in these contests, and the treasury became empty, so that day by day, the state of the people and of the country grew worse. Mirzá Jání Beg found his only safety in protracting the struggle, and sent forth his young men on all sides to distract the enemy. Hearing that treasure was on its way by land to the Nawwáb Khán's camp, he sent Abú-l Kásim, son of Sháh Kásim Arghún, with a body of spirited youths, Moghals and Sindís, to attack it. This chieftain, when he drew near the convoy, about the middle of the night, hid himself with his men, and sent a small party to fall upon the enemy's rear with a great clamour. The enemy all turned against these men, but Abú-l Kásim, with the remainder, entered their camp, carried off the treasure, and slew the foremost of the foe. Sultán Khusrú Charkas likewise attacked them with his boats, according to a previously concocted scheme, by which a body of picked men was to remain on board, whilst another advanced by land, The Nawwáb also had made suitable dispositions. The Mirzá's chieftains, who were anxious for Khusrú's defeat, sent the armed force in the boats, but kept back the party which had been selected for the land attack. The hostile fleets drew up in the opposite lines, and a discharge of cannons and muskets, shells, and rockets, wheels, and every kind of fire missiles commenced on both sides. The scattering flames and

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sparks shone on the water like a fiery mountain, and such clouds of smoke ascended, that the vaulted heavens became as it were the roof of a furnace. The sun sheltered itself in the smoke from the fierceness of the heat, and was eclipsed. Sight could not pierce the thick clouds, and breath failed from the density of the atmosphere. At length the boats ran foul of each other. The rings and grapnels, which were made in order to drag away the enemy's boats, now began to be used. So violent a struggle ensued, that the waves were crimsoned with the blood of those whom the guns had destroyed. By the help of their friends on shore the Khán's party triumphed, and their adversaries fled. Khusrú Charkas was taken in his boat along with several other vessels, when, at that moment, Charkas Daftír, the chief of the merchants of Firang, who repaired yearly to Thatta from Hurmúz, came fluttering like a moth around this furnace, and running his boat into the midst of the fray, succeeded in rescuing Khusrú from his captors; but the attempt cost both of them their lives. When both sides were satiated with blood they withdrew to their tents, and applied balm to their wounds. It was at length resolved to abandon stratagem and fight in the open plain, where victory would fall to the brave.[1]

[1] The *Tárikh-i Sind* (p. 294), and the *Tarkhán-náma* (p. 112), concur in representing that there were Portuguese mercenaries in this action, which closed the independence of Sind in A.D 1591. They attribute the escape of Khusrú Khán to the fact of a powder magazine exploding in the royal fleet.

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VI

BEG-LÁR-NÁMA.

This work derives its name from the person to whom it was dedicated, and by whose advice it was undertaken: Sháh Kásim Khán, son of Amír Saiyid Kásim Beg-Lár. We learn nothing of the author—not even his name—either from the preface or the body of the history. We can only tell, from the tone in which he speaks of his patron, that he must have been a most abject dependant.

The name of Beg-Lár, we are told, belonged to his patron's family by hereditary descent, and is not therefore to be confounded with the Beglerbegs of Turkey and Persia, who are the viceroys or governors of the Provinces.[1] The Beg-Lár family after residing for some generations at Turmuz, came to reside at Samarkand, whence we had them emigrating to Sind. They pretend to derive their origin from 'Ali, the son-in-law and cousin-german of the Prophet. The genealogy is given in the *Beg-Lár-náma* and *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. Their intimate connection with the Arghúns is attributed to one of their remote ancestors having taken up his abode in Khitá, where he and his descendants continued in friendly communication with the Turks. This connection, indeed, frequently gives rise to the

[1] This title is not, as is generally supposed, used in Turkey alone. Ever since the time of the Ilkhánians, it has been adopted in Persia also. Cornelius le Bruyn's *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 206; Franklin's *Tour to Persia*, pp. 336, 350; Sir H. Bridges' *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 449; Pottinger's *Belochistan*, p. 222. Their position, privileges and duties are shown in Von Hammer's *Staats verfassung des Osmanischen Reichs*. Vol. I. p. 370; II. 273; and Paul Rycaut's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 51-57. *Dem. Cantemir, Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 85.

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Beg-Lár family's being called Arghún, as at pp. 263, 287, in the extract from the *Tárikh-i Táhiri*, where the patron of our author is styled an Arghún.

Amír Sháh Kásim came from Samarkand to Sind in the time of Sháh Husain Arghún, and was received with distinction. He married the niece of the Wairsí Ráná of 'Umarkot, and as her father was a Bhattí Rájpút, Sháh Kásim, the produce of this marriage, was half a Bhattí, and amongst that tribe he was brought up. It is to him, under the title of Khán-i Zamán, that this book is chiefly devoted, and as he acted an important part in the affairs of the kingdom, we are treated with tedious reports of the most trifling exploits performed by him and his sons, consisting chiefly of provincial contests, border feuds and cattle raids. This minute history, however, compels the author to mention the names of streams, forts, villages and tribes, which in themselves sometimes possess considerable interest. Even the local hostilities and intermarriages of clans afford matter of speculation to the curious enquirer, and on all these points some information is to be gleaned from the *Beg-Lár-náma*.[1]

As the little that there is of general interest centres in the connection which Khán-i Zamán had with public characters, it may as well be mentioned that he first rose to some distinction under Sháh Husain, the Arghún ruler of Sind. He then served successively Mirzá Ísá Tarkhán, Ján Bábá, Mirzá Muhammad Bákí, and Mirzá Jání Beg. When this chief went to render his submission to the Emperor Akbar, Khán-i Zamán accompanied him, and was received with favour. He was afterwards nominated to an appointment in Sind under Mirzá Ghází Beg, and lived to an old age in that country, surrounded by a large and thriving family. His son, Mír Abú-l Kásim Sultán, was celebrated for his gallant conduct in the field, as well as for his literary talents. After rebelling against the constituted authorities, he was par-

[1] Tod says, that the present Ráná of the Sodhas has set the example of these intermarriages, but the following extracts will show the practice to have been prevalent nearly three centuries ago. *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. p. 317.

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doned through the intercession of his father; but was subsequently blinded to prevent his exciting further disturbances.

The exact date of the composition of this work cannot be fixed with precision within twenty years—1017 and 1036 H.—because the intimations we have on that point are altogether contradictory and irreconcilable. We are told (p. 256) that the author's patron has "at this period, (*aknún*)" that is 1017 "reached the age of seventy." About this there can be no doubt, because we have already been informed (p. 36) that he was born in 947—moreover the date is given not only in numerals but in text. But we are informed (p. 27) of Mirzá Ghází Beg's death, which occurred in 1021; about which, also, there can be no doubt, as it is substantiated by a chronogram in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 72). Again, in enumerating the children of his patron, (pp. 260, 261) we have the dates of 1032 and 1033, both in text and numerals. It could not have been composed at any period more than three years beyond this, because Jahángír is mentioned as the reigning monarch. Taking all these points into consideration, we may consider, either that the rough draft was written in 1017, and that a second was made about 1035, when the subsequent dates gained admission; or that *aknún*, as at p. 41, is used with reference to the event which the author is describing, not with reference to the period at which he is writing—in short, in the sense of "at that time," not "at this present." If so, the date of 1017 relates only to the time when Khán-i Zamán had completely peopled and settled the country round the fort of Saiyid-garh, of which he finished the building in 1011; and we can fix with tolerable certainty upon the year 1034, or 1035—say 1625 A.D.—as that in which the *Beg-Lár-náma* was brought to a conclusion; but I have no great confidence in this interpretation, and it must be confessed that the matter is not worth further enquiry.

The *Beg-Lár-náma*, after the preface, opens with a general abstract history of Sind and the Arab invasion, in twenty-two pages: we then have a very slight notice of the Arghúns, with a biography of Amír Kásim Beg, extending altogether to eighteen

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pages: and from that to the end we have detailed accounts of the squabbles amongst the various members of the Tarkhán family, with the insertion of every expedition of robbery and plunder in which the noble Khan-i Zamán himself was in the remotest degree concerned.

This work is not found in India, except in the provinces of Sind, where I know of three copies. There is one in the Imperial Library at Paris. Fonds Gentil, No. 17.[1] Size Quarto, (12 × 9 inches). 275 pages of 17 lines each.

Extracts.

Aboriginal Inhabitants of Sind.

Sind derives its name from Sind, the son of Ham the son of Núh (God's peace be with him!) and the province remained in possession of his descendants; but their names cannot be found in any books of history, nor have I heard them in legendary stories, and I am therefore compelled to omit them. That which I have heard from common report is this, that in olden time the Province of Sind was held by the tribes of Bína, Ták, and Nabúmiya; but the period of their government is not known. After a time, Sahasí Ráí reigned in the fort of Alór,[2] and all Sind and Hind was under his rule. When he died, Chach Brahman became master of Sind and Hind. His capital was the fort of Brahmanábád, and his dominions extended to the confines of Kashmír. His son Dáhir succeeded him and became master of the whole kingdom. In his days the armies of Islám arrived under the command of Muhammad Kásim, and after many battles Dáhir was slain.

Mír Kásim Beg-Lár marries the daughter of Ráná Kúmba.

It appears that in those days when Mir Kásim Beg-Lár deceased held the governorship of 'Umarkot,[3] Ráná[4] Kúmba Wairsí represented to him that an inveterate and deep-rooted enmity existed between his people and the Ráthors of the fort of Nílma,[5] and he

[1] Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxvii.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] [عمركوت]

[4] [رعنا]

[5] This place is half-way between 'Umarkot and Jesalmír.

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was therefore solicited to march against them, that ample revenge might be taken. The Mír complied with his request, and he accordingly marched with the people of the Sodha tribe[1] in that direction. When the warlike and fierce Ráthors were informed of the coming of the ever-successful army, they armed themselves and advanced boldly to the field of battle. Both armies stood in powerful array against each other. The Ráná intimated to the Mír that it was an old-established custom amongst their tribes that both parties should alight from their horses and engage on foot.[2] The most noble Amír agreed to this and issued orders to his army, which consisted of Sodhas, that they should dismount while they opposed the enemy. The Amír took his bow from the easel and began to shoot his arrows. Every arrow told, piercing through the armour and bodies of the enemy, and each time sending a soul to the world of annihilation. Twenty of the enemy having been slain, the remnant took to flight, confessing the Mír's bravery, and lauding him with a hundred thousand tongues. When the Sodhas witnessed such bravery and intrepidity, they resolved to honour themselves by seeking a matrimonial alliance with the Mír. The great and noble Mír, according to the will of God, accepted their prayers, and Rájia the daughter of Ráná Kúmba Wairsí's sister, a most modest chaste girl, whose father was the Bhattí chief of the fort of Jesalmír, was betrothed to him.[3]

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Deputation of Khán-i Zamán on a mission to Rái Dhar Ráj of Jesalmír.

Khán-i Zamán, with the aid of the Almighty, proceeded, with his friends and suite, after taking leave of Mirzá Ján Bábá, towards Jesalmír. When he arrived, he halted outside the fort on the margin of the tank,[4] and despatched a messenger to Rái Dhar Ráj

[1] [See Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. 93, and II. 210, 319.]

[2] See Appendix.

[3] The text says simply عاجزہ رعنا, but at page 41, we are told that she was his sister's son, and this is confirmed by the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*.

[4] The spacious tank of Jesalmír lies to the south-east, and the magnificent fort crowns a rocky hill on the south-western angle of the town.

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to say that Mirzá Ján Bábá had sent a robe of honour for him. The Rái with much politeness, requested him to stay where he was encamped, and intimated that he would come to him on an auspicious day and hour to be invested with the robe. In those days the periodical rains, by the will of God, had not fallen, and the land all round was parched up. A single vessel of water was to be had only at a very heavy price, for there was no water in the lake. But, when the prosperous feet of this nobleman touched that ground, suddenly, by the will of God, rain fell: the dry land became saturated and green herbs sprung up in every place. In the morning, the Rái came to visit him and had the honour of meeting him. He said that the rain had fallen only on account of his prosperous presence. He accompanied the Khán with great honour and respect into the fort, and then performed the rites of hospitality. Each day he showed him greater honour. The great Khán stayed there for the period of five months, after which he took leave and turned his reins towards Nasrpúr. Having reached the banks of the tank of Sánkra, he learnt that Jaish Khán and 'Aláu-d dín, having pursued their course along the eastern bank of the river, were proceeding towards Thatta to meet Ján Bábá. When they had reached the stream of the Rain, they were informed that Mirzá Ján Bábá, accompanied by Saiyid 'Alí Shírází, had gone to Mirzá Muhammad Bákí, and according to the will of God had been slain. On hearing this, they returned and reached Nasrpúr plundering the country on their road. Khán-i Zamán also went thither and met them. The exigencies of the time were such that he owed money, and as none of these people showed him any humanity and favour, he was much distressed in mind. He said he had placed all his reliance on Mirzá Ján Bábá, on whom the decree of God had now passed. He observed to his companions, "At present it is urgently necessary for me to pay some money in liquidation of my debt, what is your advice." They replied— "These people possess much wealth and are proud of their riches. Now we are at your service and ready to accompany you wherever you desire." On this, he proceeded towards the Sodhas, at the village of Tarangohí.

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The Plunder of Tarangchi.

Khán-i Zamán, by the advice of his companions, set out and crossed the waters of Sánkra. When Dúda and Ghází learnt that he had gone in that direction with only a few men, they rode after him. As soon as 'Aláu-d dín and Mían were informed that their sons Ghází and Dúda had gone to join Khán-i Zamán, they also marched in the same direction with the intention of bringing them back. They reached the banks of the Sánkra at the time that Khán-i Zamán had crossed it, while Dúda and Ghází were only then preparing to pass the stream. When they saw that their fathers had come to take them back, they immediately threw themselves into the stream, swam their horses over, and joined Khán-i Zamán. They would not return, for they reflected that, if at this time they did not accompany him, the reward of their past services would be forfeited. In the afternoon, Khán-i Zamán, having watered his horses, left the village of Ráhú Madh, and that renowned lion, with only twelve horsemen, travelled through a large jungle the whole night. On arriving near the village of Tarangchí, he found the camels of the Sodhas there, and determined to carry them off without delay; but it occurred to him that he had better first let his horses quench their thirst. With this intent he proceeded towards the village, and there found the tracks of five hundred horses that had just passed over the ground. He was alarmed, and thought how impossible it was to save himself with so few men against such a host. He, however, advanced and asked the driver of the camels what army had passed by that road. The man replied that Mirzá Muhammad Bákí and Mirzá Ján Bábá had quarrelled with each other, and that the former had asked the Sodhas to reinforce him. Hence a force of about five hundred men of the Waisa tribe had passed that way. The Khán's companions were much alarmed at this intelligence, and brought back their horses without watering them; but they bravely and gallantly carried off the camels; many of these animals died on account of the severe marches they had to make. The next day, in the afternoon, the dauntless heroes reached the village of Ráhú Madh,[1] where they stayed only sufficient time

[1] [The name is here written Ráhú-dhar.]

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to drink water. At nightfall they halted at the village of Pariyárí. Early next morning they pursued their journey, and reached the village of Sítára, which belonged to the Anrán tribe. There they rested themselves without fear or danger. They divided the camels amongst themselves. One was given to Jaish Khan, another to Birlás, another to 'Aláu-d dín, and another to Mían Sodha.

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Proceedings of Khán-i Zamán.

Khán-i Zamán had his head-quarters at Nasrpúr, and comforted the people under his rule by his kindness and justice.

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As ties of relationship existed between him and the Bhattís, he sent Arab horses laden with all kinds of valuable articles to the Ránás of the Sodha, Rára, and Bhattí tribes, the Ráwats and the Ráthors, and the Ráís and Jáms of the Jhárejas; insomuch that the chiefs of 'Umarkot, Jesalmír, Bíkánír, Nirohí, Mahwa (Míwár?), Kótara, Báhalmír, Nílma, Bárkar, Kach, Náktí, Rámdinpúr, Chaudúwár, and the like, were gained by his bounty. No demand of service was made from them. These chiefs engraved the words of friendship and fidelity on their hearts, and considering themselves greatly honoured, were ready to exclaim:—"We are under great obligations to the Sháh! We can think of nothing else but of serving him. For we are favoured by his generosity, and will never turn our faces against his commands." Being grateful they were always ready to obey his orders. If any service was required of them, they performed it with the greatest fidelity and submission, and whenever they were summoned they came willingly. As the Bháts and Chárans were dependents of these chiefs he used to reward these family bards whenever they came to him, with a lakh (of rupees?) or more. As Hewanda was the bard of the Bhattís, he presented him with a donation of one crore and a quarter, or one hundred and twenty-five lakhs (?), besides horses, camels, etc., which he likewise generously granted. In short, by the wise conduct of this great and enlightened noble, all men, great and small, bad and good, were as obedient to him as

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slaves. The renown of the excellent qualities of this second Hátim or Ma'n, was not only on the tongues of all the nobles and plebeians of his own land, but also spread over every part of the world.

The Sacking of 'Umarkot.

The appointment of the governorship of 'Umarkot depended upon the will of the kings of Sind, who removed the incumbent whenever they thought proper. About the time when Khán-i Khánán came to Sind, the governorship of that fort was held by Ráná Megráj. Khán-i Khánán expressed a desire to be connected by marriage with the Ráná, who having no daughter fit to be given in marriage to him, he was obliged to offer the hand of his brother Mán Sing's daughter. After the death of Ráná Megráj, Nawwáb Mirzá Jání Beg conferred the governorship of 'Umarkot on his son Kishan Dás. Animosity sprang up between this chief and Mán Sing, and he, having turned out Mán Sing from the fort, assumed the surname himself. Mán Sing, being related to Khán-i Khánán, sent his son to represent the matter to him. In those days Khan-i Khánán and Nawwáb Mirzá Jání Beg were both in attendance on the Emperor Akbar at Burhánpúr. Khán-i Khánán therefore recommended Mán Sing to the favour of Mirzá Jání Beg, who wrote to Mirzá Abú-l Kásim Sultán directing him to place Mán Sing in the governorship of the fort of 'Umarkot, and make Kishan Das understand that he was not to oppose and thwart him, but that the same rule with regard to their respective positions should be observed now, as had been established from of old in the family. Mír Abú-l Kásim Sultán, in obedience to this mandate, proceeded from the fort of Sháhgarh[1] towards 'Umarkot. Having reached the village of Sámára he alighted there, Mán Sing being also with him. Ráná Kishan Dás being informed of this, collected his forces, and having encamped opposite the same village, drew up his army in hostile array. The Ráná Kishan Dás was in many ways related to the noble Khán-i Zamán, one of his sisters being married to Mír Abú-l Kásim, another to Sháh Mukím Sultán,[2] and he himself was son-in-law of Báncha Bhattí, the maternal nephew of

[1] Sháhgarh was built by Khán-i Zamán on the banks of the Sánkra, "and nothing now remains of it except the name."—*Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 72.

[2] These two were sons of Khán-i Zamán.

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the Khán. Some friendly people who were with the Amír were anxious that no fighting should take place between the parties. When they expressed their intention to the Ráná, he said he considered himself a servant of Mír Abú-l Kásim, and would not rebel against him: still Mán Sing must not be allowed any interference, because he was the originator of these quarrels and disturbances. Mír Abú-l Kásim, however, adhered to the orders he had received to place Mán Sing in the governorship. At length, upon the instigation of his well-meaning friends, the Ráná resolved to go to Mír Abú-l Kásim Sultán. So when he arrived, he alighted from his horse, and having changed his vanity and pride for humility and supplication, he advanced on foot for a long distance with his whole army, officers, dependants, and servants. He kissed the feet of the Sultán, and presented him the horse on which he had himself ridden. The Sultán mounted and gave him his hand. He then pitched his tent near[1] the pool of Sámára and passed the night there. The Ráná also encamped on the margin of the pool. At daybreak, some of the people of the Mír's camp, who belonged to the Sameja tribe, went into the fields of the Sodhas and began to injure them. As hostilities had previously existed between these tribes, the Sodhas abused the Samejas, and a quarrel ensued. Intelligence being brought to Mír Abú-l Kásim, he immediately hastened off; and Ráná Kishan Dás also set his army in array, and advanced with intent to fight, but his heart failing him, he took to flight, and proceeded towards Kaurhár. Mír Abú-l Kásim with his followers and companions, hastened to 'Umarkot. When he approached the fort, a son of the Ráná Kishan Dás who was in it, not being able to oppose him, took some money with him and fled. Upon this, the Mír entered the fort and the whole family of the Ráná were captured. But as they were related to him, they, together with his treasures,[2] were of course protected. All other things, however, were taken possession of by the army. Temples were demolished, cows were directed to be butchered, and the houses of the vile infidels were made to resound with the sound of trumpets and horns, and their filthy idols were polluted. In the idolatrous places of worship Muhammadan tenets were pro-

[1] [The text says در میان کولاب "in the middle of the pool."]

[2] ["*Rahzdd*" = *zdd-i rdh*, "provisions for the way."]

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mulgated, and prayers were read for one entire week. He remained in the fort passing his time in festivity and pleasure. As the killing of cows and the breaking of idols is considered by the Sodhas to be the highest possible insult, the Ráná felt highly indignant, and having returned from the village of Kaurhár, he summoned the Sodhas from all sides and quarters to meet him at Gaddí. There they crowded ready to advance on 'Umarkot. They had been subjected to great ignominy, and so they were all ready to sacrifice their lives in revenge. When this news reached Khán-i Zamán, he, reflecting that both parties were enrolled in his army, was most anxious that no contest should take place between them, and consequently hurried away with the intention of effecting a reconciliation between them. He set out in the evening from Nasrpúr, and having travelled the whole night arrived early the next morning at the village of Gaddí, where the Ráná and the Sodhas had encamped. He sent his son Mír Sháh Mukím Sultán, Mír Fathí Beg Sultán, and Kána Bhattí, brother of Rám Bhattí, to the Ráná, in order to appease and comfort him. They accordingly went to him, and so far appeased him that he was induced to accompany them, and had the honour of kissing the Khán's feet. The Khán exalted him by the grant of a horse and robe of honour, and spoke words of sympathy and consolation. o o o o In the end, some of the plundered property was restored, but the Ráná obtained only poor satisfaction.

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VII.

TARKHÁN-NÁMA.

OR

ARGHUN-NÁMA,

THESE two are different names of the same work, of which the author is Saiyid Jamál, son of Mír Jalálu-d dín Husainí Shírází, who composed his work in the year H. 1065 (1654-5 A.D.), as we learn from a casual notice in the genealogical tree, to be hereafter mentioned. The work is named after the Moghal families of Arghún and Tarkhán respectively, whose origin will be further noticed in the Appendix. The *Arghún-náma* is mentioned in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* as if it were a separate work, but there is nothing on the Arghúns in the latter history which is not derived from sources at present extant and available. I could find no trace of such a history in Sind, and I was told by several people in that province, that the work under consideration was the only one known as the *Arghún-náma*. As it treats with sufficient copiousness upon the Arghún history, as will be seen in the translated extract, there is no impropriety in giving it this assumed name, but it is obvious that the author himself styled it *Tarkhán-namá* only, in compliment to his patron Mirzá Muhammad Sálih, who was of the Tarkhán family.

There appears to have been at one time a history of that family of older date than this, because Saiyid Jamál informs us, that the Mirzá, being most anxious to acquaint himself with the genealogy and history of the Moghal tribes, and especially of his own ancestors, in order that he might learn precisely from what particular chief he was descended, commissioned our author to send him the book called *Tarkhán-náma*. This zealous indi-

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vidual, not being able, notwithstanding all his enquiries, to find any book of this name, determined to compose one himself to supply the deficiency, and for this purpose examined and extracted from *Tabari*, the *Rauzatu-s Safá*, the *Zafar-náma*, the *Tarikh-i Humáyúni*, the *Akbar-náma*, the *Nigáristán*, the *Tárikh-i Táhiri*, the *Muntakhab-i be-badal Yúsufi*, the *Tárikh-i Guzida*, the *Majma'u-l Ansáb*, and others. And so having traced the progenitorship of the Tarkháns up to the Patriarch Noah, he completed what he styles his *Tarkhán-náma*.

In this enumeration of authorities we have another flagrant instance of that offensive suppression of the truth which so often excites our indignation in the Indian historians. The work to which Saiyid Jamál is most indebted is Mír M'asúm's *Tárikh-i Sind*, from which he has extracted and abridged, but with many omissions,[1] the whole history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, from the rise of Sháh Beg, to the close of the independence of Sind under Jání Beg, and to which he is indebted even for the selection of whole sentences, as well as the frame of the narrative; and yet Mír M'asúm's name is nowhere mentioned, except where his grandfather Saíyid Mír Kalán (p. 96) is incidentally brought upon the stage. From some of the works quoted he has of course borrowed his Turkish genealogy, but even there his obligations seem to have been confined to the *Rauzata-s Safá*, the *Zafar-náma*, and the *Majma'u-l Ansáb*, which three works would have been sufficient to afford him all the information with which we are favoured on that subject. The *Tárikh-i Táhiri*, which is the only local history which he quotes, is, with strange inconsistency, not followed either for facts or dates.

Mírzá Muhammad Sálih, who is represented to have been endowed with every excellence, personal and intellectual, was the son of Mirzá 'Isá Tarkhán, grandson of the more celebrated holder of the same name, who founded the Tarkhán dynasty of

[1] Amongst these may be noticed the transactions of the Arghúns with the Dhárejas, Mághis, Dahars, and Rái Khanhar of Kach; Shah Husain's proceedings at the fort of Dilawar, and at Pattan in Guzerát; the attack of Bakhshú Langáh on Bhakkar, in 959 H. etc., etc.

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Sind. Mirzá 'Ísá, the younger, was introduced to Akbar in 1012 H., and was treated by him and his successor, Jahángír, with distinguished consideration. As his independence of all favour and patronage, except that bestowed by the Emperor himself, rendered him obnoxious to the nobles about the Court, they managed that he should receive only those jágírs in which the turbulence of the inhabitants made the collection of revenue difficult;[1] but his bravery and good conduct defeated all these machinations, and he triumphed over the jealous opposition of of his enemies.

By an early acknowledgement of Sháh Jahán as Emperor, and his proclamation of him in the 'Idgáh of Ahmadábád, in which he anticipated the other more tardy nobles of Guzerát, where his jágír was then situated, he met with a distinguished reception from the new monarch, to whom he went to pay his respects on the banks of the Mahí. He was shortly afterwards preferred to the Súbadárí of Thatta, where he was directed to seize the person of Sharíru-l Mulk at all hazards. Having succeeded in sending this gallant but obnoxious individual a prisoner to the Imperial Court, he received the honour of a *Naubat*, a lac of rupees in cash, and the increase of 1000 to his personal rank. He obtained subsequently the Súbadárí of Guzerát, and died full of years and titles at the advanced age of ninety-five, in the year 1061 H. (1651 A.D.), four years previous to the composition of this work.

Mirzá Muhammad Sálih succeeded to some portion of the honours of his father, and the other members of the family had each a separate provision assigned to them by the royal munificence.

The *Tarkhán-náma*, after a preface of three pages, opens with a genealogical tree from Noah to Muhammad Sálih, extending through twenty-eight pages. We then have an abstract history of the Kháns of Turkistan, and of Changíz Khán, and his de-

[1] At this very time we find an Englishman complaining of the same treatment, by which, through the intrigues of the ministers, the king's kind intentions were rendered of none effect.

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scendants who ruled in Írán, in forty pages; the history of the Arghúns in twenty-three pages; of the Tarkháns in thirty-three pages; concluding with the death of Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán abovementioned. Altogether, 127 pages 4to. (12×9 inches) of 17 lines each. The style is elegant, but, from a comparison with the original authorities, it will appear that its best graces are borrowed. Like other local histories of Sind, it is rare out of that province.

Extracts.

The Arghún Dynasty of Kandahár and Sind.[1]

It is related by historians that Amír Zú-n Nún, son of Amír Basrí, one of the descendants of Arghún Khán Tarkhán, son of Abaká Khán, son of Hulákú Khán, son of Túlí Khán, son of Changíz Khán, a soldier distinguished for courage and bravery among the warriors of his tribe,[2] was employed by Abú Sa'íd Mirzá, and on all occasions acted up to his former character. By this conduct he became a great favourite of Sultán Abú Sa'íd. The honours and rewards he received subjected him to the envy and jealousy of his fellows, for his rank was elevated above that of all his relations.

When Sultán Abú Sa'íd was slain in the battle of Kárábágh, Amír Zú-n Nún retired to his father in Hirát. He served for a short time under Yádgár Mírzá. Afterwards, when Sultán Husain succeeded to the throne of Khúrásán, Mírzá Amír Misrí[3] died, Amír Zú-n Nún his son was regarded with favour by Sultán Husain Mirzá, who assigned him the chiefship of Ghór, Zamíndáwar and Kandahár, In these countries the warlike tribes of Hazára and Takdarí had complete power.[4] Amír Zú-n Nún, in the year 884 H. (1479–80 A.D.), proceeded in that direction with a small body of his tribesfolk (*ulús*) For some time he was engaged in hostilities with these people, and, being in all battles victorious and successful, he brought the countries into subjection to his rule. The Hazára, Takdarí, and all the other

[1] [Page 71 to 99 of the text].

[2] The word rendered "tribe" is *ulús*.—See Erskine's *Baber*, Vol. I, 19, 24.

[3] [Frequently written "Basrí."]

[4] The reading is doubtful: Takdarí or Nakdarí. If the latter, they are probably the same as the Nakodarí.

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tribes having seen this, quietly submitted to his authority and made no further opposition. The services of Amír Zú-n Nún were so highly approved of, that Sultán Husain bi-l Karár made him absolute governor of Kandahár, Ghór, and other countries. After some time Amír Zú-n Nún Misrí obtained independent power in those provinces, and he also encroached upon the territories of Shál, Mustúng, and their dependencies. In the course of four more years he was in command of a large force and had entirely attached to his interest the people of Hazára, Takdarí, Kipchák, and the Moghals of Kandahár. On hearing this, Sultán Husain sent an imperative order, requiring him to present himself without delay at the imperial court. The Amír acted accordingly, and on his arrival at court made the usual presents. The people were all loud in their praises of his loyalty and fidelity, and consequently the Sultán presented him with a vest of honour, a richly caparisoned horse, kettle drums, and banner, and also granted him a royal patent of investiture. He then ordered him to leave his son and suite at the court, and himself proceed to Kandahár. Immediately on receipt of this order, the Amír seized the first opportunity of secretly taking his son and the nobles who had attended him, and marched with great rapidity to Kandahár, leaving, however, his property, arms, etc., behind him in his residence. In the course of two or three days the Sultán ordered that the Amír should not leave the court for Kandahár until after the festival of Nauroz. The royal messengers, on arriving at the Amír's residence, discovered the flight, and reported to the Sultán the state of affairs. The Sultán, on hearing of it, remarked that the Amír had evidently departed without any intention of returning. But the prince and the nobles argued that his having left horses, camels, carpets, and other property behind him was a proof that his absence would not be of long duration. The Sultán then said that his flight was only another proof of his ready wit and sagacity. However, regrets were now unavailing. A.H. 911 (1505 A.D.) Sultán Husain died, and the affairs of the kingdom of Khurásán fell into complete disorder.

Affairs were thus situated when in the Muharram of the year 913 H. (May, 1507) Muhammad Khán Shaibání Uzbek crossed the Jíhún with an enormous army, like a swarm of ants or locusts,

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which he had collected for the purpose of conquering Khurásán. Badí'u-z Zamán Mirzá, son of the late Sultán Husain, was in great alarm and consternation at the approach of this army, and instantly sent information of the fact to Amír Zú-n Nún.[1] The Amír consulted with his sons and nobles, who all entertained different opinions on the subject, but the Amír declared that he considered it incumbent on him to march to the support of the Sultán, and that courage and humanity alike forbade him to remain inactive during this crisis. He said that his return was not to be hoped for, as the Uzbek army was powerful and numerous in the extreme, and the fortunes of the house of Sultán Husain were in their decline. Accordingly, he assembled a friendly body of Arghún and Tarkhán troops, and marched to the succour of the Prince Badí'u-z Zamán. Having arrived at the camp, he was received with every honour. The same day the army of the Uzbeks and of Má-waráu-n nahr crossed the river. Numerous signs of the approach of Muhammad Khán Shaibání's overwhelming force were evident. Upon reaching the field of the approaching contest, the Prince having reviewed his troops, formed up in order of battle, and from both armies the shouts of the warriors and the roll of the kettle-drums resounded to the vault of heaven.

The Amír, with a body of his bold well-mounted horsemen, commenced the attack, and by an impetuous charge, completely routed a body of the enemy, and threw them into utter confusion. In vain: for as wave follows wave, column after column of the Uzbeks came on in endless succession to the attack, till at last the Khurásánís, unable to contend any longer with such disproportionate numbers, turned rein and fled. A scene of the wildest and most hopeless confusion ensued. The Amír, however, with a small band of his trusty and indomitable warriors, maintained his ground, now standing on the defensive, now charging one wing of the enemy, and now the other. The field was dyed with blood. Thus they fought bravely and desperately until the Uzbeks closing in on every side, the Amír was wounded and thrown from his horse. Disdaining

[1] Prince Badí'u-z Zamán was married to a daughter of Amír Zú-n Nún.—See Mír M'asúm's *Tárikh-i Sind*, p. 103.

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the quarter offered him by the Uzbeks, who hoped to take him a prisoner in triumph to Muhammad Khán, he fell, covered with glory.

Sháh Beg Arghún.

Sháh Beg Arghún son of Zú-n Nún, was, on the death of the Amír, placed by the unanimous voice of the chiefs on the vacant throne. He confirmed all his father's appointments, and gave the holders of them robes of honour. He displayed an unparalleled example of equity and justice, by which conduct he so won the hearts of his soldiery, that they became his most devoted and obedient subjects. Sháh Beg always consorted with the most distinguished and scientific men in his kingdom.

At this time Muhammad Khán, having subdued the whole of Khurásán, approached Kara with the determination of adding Kandahár also to his dominions. On his arrival at Garmsír, Sháh Beg sent messengers to him offering his allegiance and submission. He promised that he would express the same at a personal interview. Muhammad Khán was satisfied with this concession and went back.

In the year 915 H. (1509 A.D.), Sháh Isma'íl the second, having overcome and killed Muhammad Khán in battle, took possession of Khurásán. The Sháh attained to the greatest power, so much so that the surrounding nations dreaded his might and ambition.

At this juncture Warash Khán marched upon Kara, and set up his standard. Sháh Beg in alarm at this threatened invasion, consulted with his ministers, showing them the imminent danger his country was in—threatened on one side by Sháh Isma'íl, the conqueror of Khurásán, and on the other by Bábar Bádsháh, who had already reached Kábul, both with avowed warlike intentions. He pointed out to them the necessity of providing a retreat in case of their losing Kandahár. It was at length resolved to seize the Síwí territory, and in the year 917 H. (1511 A.D.), he set out from Kandahár, and having reached Shál, there made preparations for the ensuing campaign. On his arrival at Síwí he invested the fort. The descendants of Sultán Purdilí Bírlás, who ruled in Síwí,

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advanced to oppose him with three thousand men of the Bulúch tribe as well as other forces. The army of Sháh Beg proved completely victorious. The enemy was utterly overthrown, many were killed in action, and the survivors fled towards Sind. Sháh Beg entered Síwí in triumph, and made a short stay there, during which time he built houses, laid out gardens, and raised a fort which he strongly garrisoned, and, having appointed Mirzá 'Isá Tarkhán, one of the most distinguished of his nobles, to be governor, he returned to Kandahár.

Ann. Hij. 919 (A.D. 1513), the Emperor Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar having determined upon the conquest of Kandahár, marched upon it with a powerful and numerous army. Sháh Beg collected his forces, with sufficient provisions and munitions of war to enable him to sustain a siege, shut himself up in the fort and posted his men on the walls and bastions. On the arrival of the Emperor in the vicinity of the city, he was attacked by disease, and became very feeble. His ministers and nobles on this became disaffected and mutinous. Sháh Beg, having learnt the state of affairs, sent the leading men of Kandahár with instructions to negociate a peace. The Emperor, consenting to the terms, despatched Khwája Jalálu-d dín with suitable presents, and returned to Kábul. Sháh Beg then withdrew after a short time to Síwí, and made a stay there. Having assembled a general council, he pointed out to them that the Emperor Bábar having once found his way to Kandahár, would not rest contented until he had conquered and brought it under his own rule; that it behoved them to consult their own and the country's safety. In pursuance of this idea, he, at the beginning of the winter season, raised a force of 1000 horse, and despatched them from Síwí to Sind. This force, on the 7th of Zí-l Ka'da H. 920 (Dec. 1514), attacked and took the villages of Kákán and Bághbán. These villages were so densely populated, that, in the sack, 1000 camels, employed on the garden-wells merely, were taken; from this, some idea may be formed of the wealth of the two places.[1] After remaining there a week, they returned with their spoil to Síwí.

[1] Both these places were in the Sarkar of Síwí. The former has since become famous for its gallant defence by our troops.—*Tárikh-i Tábirí*, MS. p. 48; *Tarkhán-náma*, MS. p. 48; *Tuhfatu-i kirám*, p. 124.

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A.H. 921 (1515 A.D.). The Emperor Bábar put into execution the design Sháh Beg had foreseen, and having marched upon Kandahár, laid siege to the fort and commenced mining it. The siege was carried on with vigour, and all supplies being cut off, a great dearth of grain ensued in the city. At this crisis, however, the Emperor's army was so weakened by fever, that a peace was again agreed upon. Whereupon, the Emperor returned to Kábul.

In this same year, Sháh Hasan Mirzá having quarrelled with his father, left him, and went to the Court of the Emperor Bábar, and being by him received with hospitality and distinction, he remained there two years. The Emperor observed that his visit was not from any affection entertained towards himself by Sháh Hasan, but in order that he might learn the art of governing rightly, and at the same time perfect himself in the ceremonies of the Court. At length, Sháh Hasan, with the Emperor's permission, returned to Kandahár.

A.H. 922 (1516 A.D.) The Emperor Bábar again assembled an army, and marched upon Kandahár, and he was yet in the jungle when the fort was invested. Sháh Beg, wearied and harassed by these repeated invasions, sent Shaikh Abú Sa'íd Púráni to negotiate a peace; the terms agreed upon were that in the ensuing year the government of Kandahár should be made over to the officers of the Emperor Bábar. Having ratified this treaty, the Emperor returned to Kábul. In pursuance of this arrangement, Sháh Beg, A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.), sent the keys of the fort of Kandahár to the Imperial Court, by the hands of Mír Ghíásu-d dín, grandson of Khondamír, author of the *Habíbu-s Siyar*, and father of Mír Abú-l Makárim, and grandfather of 'Abdu-llah Sultán. This ratification of the cession was approved of by his majesty.[1]

After the subjugation of his country, Sháh Beg remained two years in Shál and Síwí, reduced to penury and distress. In such straits was he, that his army was compelled during this period to subsist upon nothing but carrots, turnips, and other such vegetables. Towards the end of the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), he made warlike preparations for the conquest of Sind. In consequence of the removal of Mirzá 'Ísá, he left Sultán 'Alí Arghún and Zíbak Tarkhán,

[1] An incorrect parentage is ascribed in the text to this learned envoy. See the articles KHULÁSATU-L AKHBÁR and HABÍBU-S SIYAR, in Vol. II.

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with a number of men for the protection of the forts of Síwí and and Ganjáwa. He despatched a-head of his army a force of 200 horse under Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, and himself followed at the head of 300 more. On entering the Sind territory, he soon reached Bághbán, he learnt that an army of Samejas, under the command of Mahmúd Khán, son of Daryá Khán, was encamped at Thatta, four kos from Síwistán, and prepared to do battle. Sháh Beg halted at Bághbán, where he was well received by the principal inhabitants. He then resumed his march through the Lakkí hills towards Thatta, and at last reached that river which in those days ran to the north of Thatta.[1] Being unprovided with means of transit, he stopped for some days on the bank, revolving in his mind how to effect a passage. At this juncture, the men on guard perceived that a man driving a laden ass was fording the river from the opposite bank. He was seized and compelled by menaces to show the way through the ford.[2] 'Abdu-r Rahmán Daulat Sháhí then plunged on horseback into the river, reached the other bank and then returned and reported the fact to Sháh Beg, who availing himself of this information, on the 15th day of Muharram A.H. 927 (December, 1520), crossed the river with his force, and marched towards the city of Thatta. On which, Daryá Khán, the adopted son of Jám Nanda, having left Jám Fíroz in garrison at Thatta, hastened at the head of his army to give the Amír battle.

After a long, bloody, and well-contested action, in which Daryá Khán, with a host of Sammas, was killed, victory declared itself in favour of Sháh Beg. On receipt of this disastrous intelligence, Jám Fíroz left Thatta and fled without stopping until he reached the village of Pírár[3] with a heavy heart. Thatta was given up to plunder till the 20th of the month, in the course of which the inhabitants were treated with merciless severity, and many of them were carried into captivity. The holy text, "Surely when

[1] See Appendix.

[2] Plutarch in his life of Antony, tells us that a costermonger, Eutychus, who performed a somewhat similar service for Augustus, before the battle of Actium, was rewarded by the grateful Emperor with a statue of himself and of his ass, with an equally auspicious name, Nikon. This beautiful work of art was destroyed, with too many others, by the barbarous Franks on their capture of Constantinople.

[3] This place is in the hilly tract north of Thatta.

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kings enter a village they destroy it," was fully exemplified in this instance. At last, by the strenuous exertions of Kází Kázin a most distinguished scholar, these outrages were put an end to, and proclamation was made to the effect that the people of the city were to remain undisturbed.[1] The fugitive Jám Fíroz remained, with a few men who had accompanied him, at Pírár, his family being still at Thatta. At length, finding that nothing was left for him but submission, he despatched a messenger to Sháh Beg, humbly intreating forgiveness, and expressing his willingness to submit himself unconditionally to the will and pleasure of his conqueror, with most solemn promises of future good conduct.

Sháh Beg moved by that generosity which distinguished him, and having pity on the miserable condition of his vanquished enemy, received the messenger most graciously, and granted him a robe of honour, at the same time sending a friendly answer to Jám Fíróz, who on the receipt of it came with a number of his friends, towards the end of the month Safar, to Thatta, dressed in most humble guise, a sword hanging from his neck to express his complete subjection. He was permitted the honour of kissing the hands of Sháh Beg. He then repeated his expressions of sorrow and contrition. Sháh Beg, having assured him of his forgiveness, invested him with the robe of honour which Sultán Husain Mirzá had before bestowed on Mír Zú-n Nún, and conferred on him the governorship of Thatta. He then held a conference with his nobles and ministers. The Sind territory, he declared, was too extensive for his own immediate government and control. It was therefore advisable to divide it, assigning one half to Jám Fíroz, and keeping the other under his own management. They all concurred, and it was arranged that the territory extending from the Lakkí hills, near Síwistán, to Thatta, should be assigned to Jám Fíroz, while the upper part from the same hills should remain in his own possession. Having settled this, Sháh Beg marched in the direction of Síwistán. The inhabitants of this place, dreading the arrival of the victorious army fled to Thátí, and

[1] The *Tárikh-i Sind* (p. 139), makes him, in true Oriental fashion, take an arrow from his quiver, which he gives to Kází Kázin, to show that he was really accredited by the Moghal plunderer.

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having joined themselves with the Sa'ta and Súmra tribes,[1] formed themselves in order of battle and advanced to give fight. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Sháh Beg proved again victorious; his adversaries fled, and he took possession of the fort of Síwistán. Having put it in complete repair, he placed in it some of his most distinguished nobles, among others Mír 'Alaika Arghún, Sultán Mukím Beg-Lár, Kaibuk Arghún, and Ahmad Tarkhán; all these he ordered to erect houses in the fort for themselves. He then took his departure for Bhakkar, and after several days marching arrived at the plain surrounding Sakhar. A few days after he reached Bhakkar, where he was much gratified with the fort and town. Having visited and inspected these, he laid out the town, assigning various quarters to his officers and soldiers. He caused a plan to be made of the fort, and placed it in the care of his principal officers, in order that, each one doing his part, they might put it into complete repair. The hard bricks for this purpose were provided by the destruction of the fort of Alor (anciently the seat of government) and of the houses of the Turk and Samma people in the suburbs of Bhakkar.[2] In a short space of time the works were finished. He fixed on the citadel of the fort as a residence for himself, and Mirzá Sháh Husain; he also permitted Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, Sultán Muhammad, keeper of the seal, and one or two others to reside in it. He employed a whole year in finishing the buildings in the fort and settling the affairs of his subjects.

A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.) Sháh Beg left Páyinda Muhammad Tarkhán in charge of Bhakkar, and advanced with a considerable army to the conquest of Guzerát. During his progress down the river, he swept the country on both banks from the foul inhabitants. On the arrival of the army at Chaindúka, Mír Fázil Kokaltásh was taken dangerously ill, and after lingering a few days died. This incident so affected Sháh Beg that an idea took possession of his mind that the death of his friend was a warning of the near approach

[1] [تهتي in the text.] Mír M'asúm (p. 141) has, Talahtí, instead of Thatí and Samma instead of Sa'ta. "Sihta" is probably the correct reading, which we find sometimes applied to the Sammas. Another copy reads Sodha instead of Súmra.

[2] Mír M'asúm adds that the Saiyids were turned out of Bhakkar, and allowed a space of ground in Rorí, whereon to build new houses.—*Tárikhi-i Sind*, 150.

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of his own. Shortly after, intelligence was received of the Emperor Bábar's arrival in the vicinity of Bhara and Khusháb, with the avowed intention of conquering the country of Hindústán. On hearing this, Sháh Beg observed that Bábar had no intention of leaving him at peace, but that he would ultimately seize Sind, either from him or his descendants. It was needful therefore to seek out some other asylum. Having said this, he complained of a violent pain in his bowels. Every remedy was tried to alleviate it, but in vain, for in the month Sha'bán, 928 H. (June, 1522), after a reign of fifteen years, Sháh Beg died, without having been able to effect his intention of entering Guzerát. "Shahr Sha'bán" is the chronogram of his death.

Mirzá Sháh Husain Arghún.

On the death of Sháh Beg, in A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.), Sháh Husain Arghún succeeded to the throne.[1] He conferred dresses of honour and marks of his favour on those chiefs, judges, nobles, and ministers who had assembled to congratulate him on his accession. As this event took place at the end of the Ramazán, when the great festival was about to be celebrated, the nobles about his person represented that on this great and memorable occasion it were well that the Khutba were read in his name. This he refused to permit, saying that as long as any descendant of the Sáhib-kirán (Tímúr) existed, no other man could assume this privilege. Accordingly the Khutba was read in the name of the Emperor Zahíru-d dín Muhammad Bábar. During the celebration of the festival, the Sháh remained in the same place. In the meantime he received intelligence how that Jám Fíroz and the people of Thatta had heard with delight of the demise of Sháh Beg, and had beaten their drums in token of joy and gratification. Incensed at these proceedings, Mirzá Sháh Husain having consulted with his minister, and having come to the conclusion that the prosecution of his father's designs on Guzerát was not advisable, ordered his army to march on Thatta in order to destroy Jám Fíroz. News of this determination soon reached Thatta, and Jám Fíroz, being utterly unable to oppose

[1] Some authorities give the name as Hasan, as in page 308 *supra*; but the other is the best authenticated. Respecting Sháh Beg's death, see the Appendix.

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the army marching against him, hastily fled from the city, and crossing the river in despair took his way towards Kach. When he reached Cháchkán and Ráhmán, he collected an army of about 50,000 horse and foot. With this formidable force, consisting of the people of Sind and the Samma tribe, he returned with the intention of coming to an engagement with Mirzá Sháh Husain, who at the head of his ever victorious troops, had already arrived at the city of Thatta. On hearing of the force which Jám Fíroz was bringing against him, the Sháh having left a body of men for the protection of the city, the inhabitants being in a state of the greatest alarm, marched out with the view of bringing the enemy to an engagement. On nearing the Sindian army, he formed his troops in order of battle, and advanced. Suddenly he came in view of the enemy, who, greatly alarmed at the sight of the Moghals, dismounted, left their horses, doffed their turbans, tied the corners of each other's clothes together, and thus engaged in the conflict. Mirzá Sháh Husain knew it to be the custom of the people of Sind and Hind, when resolved upon fighting to the death, to leave their horses, and bare-headed and bare-footed, tie themselves together by each other's clothes and waistbands,—so he saw these preparations with delight, and congratulating his nobles and officers on the evident despair of the enemy, and the consequent assurance of victory to themselves, gave the order for the attack. On this, his troops armed with their bows and arrows, and sword in hand, rushed vehemently to the charge, spreading consternation and dismay in the ranks of the enemy. From morning to evening the battle was bloodily contested. Nearly 20,000 men fell on the field, till at last, Jám Fíroz, being defeated, fled, covered with shame and disgrace, to Guzerát, where he remained until his death. Mirzá Sháh Husain remained for three days on the field of battle, distributing the horses and all other booty amongst his people, and showering rewards upon his officers; he then returned in triumph to Thatta. Thence he went to Tughlikábád, where he remained six months, when he proceeded towards Bhakkar. On his arrival within thirty kos of the city, all the leading men came out to meet and congratulate him, and were received with every honour. In this year also, Shaikh Bulákí came from Kandahár to Sind to visit him.

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After the lapse of two years, A.H. 930 (1524 A.D.), Mirzá Sháh Husain came to the determination to invade Multán, in pursuance of which design he ordered his nobles and generals to make the necessary arrangements. At the commencement of the year A.H. 931 (1525 A.D.), he started on this expedition. On reaching the city of Uch he found the Bulúchís and Langáhs prepared to fight. The Multán army in those days was a hundred-fold greater than the Mirzá's, yet he, trusting in Divine assistance, drew up his army with great care and circumspection, and with his Moghal troops began the battle. When these two brave armies confronted each other, the Moghals employed their deadly fire, and the Langáhs and Bulúchís plied their bows and arrows. The contest was sharp, but victory at length declared itself in favour of Mirzá Sháh Husain. Many of the Langáhs were slain, the rest fled. The fort was captured, and orders were given to demolish the buildings in the city of Uch.

The news of the Sháh's success soon reached the ears of Sultán Muhammad Langáh, the ruler of Multán.[1] Whereupon he despatched parties in all directions, with instructions to levy forces with the greatest celerity. In accordance with these orders, within the course of a month, an army consisting of 80,000 horse and foot, composed of men of the Bulúch, Jat, Rind, Dádí, and other tribes, was raised.[2] At the head of his large and powerful force, the Sultán set out from Multán. The Mirzá on hearing of these numbers being brought against him, took up a position on the banks of the Ghára and there awaited the attack of the enemy. Sultán Mahmúd remained for a month in the suburbs of Multán for the purpose of constructing such engines as might be required, and of amply providing his army with the necessary munitions and stores. Having effected this he resumed his march. The Sultán, inflated with pride and puffed up with a certainty of victory, at last arrived at Beg. Here it happened that Shaikh Shujá' Bukhárí, the son-in-law of the

[1] The original says Sultán Husain, but he had died more than twenty years before this event.

[2] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 46), says that the Rind is a Bulúch tribe. They are still a very influential and powerful clan. See Masson's *Journey to Keldt*, p. 322. Mír M'asúm adds to these tribes by naming also the Kanrái and Chándya.—*Tárikh-i Sind*, p. 185.

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Sultán, a man possessed of great influence in the political and fiscal affairs of the State, was detected in an intrigue in the royal harem. This having come to the knowledge of the Sultán, he was so enraged, that the Shaikh saw his only safety lay in the death of the Sultán. Having obtained from the treasury the deadly poison there deposited for the destruction of those obnoxious to the State, he administered it to Sultán Mahmúd. The army, which consisted chiefly of Bulúchís, being thus deprived of its head, the greatest confusion reigned.

The Langáhs placed Sultán Husain, son of the late Sultán Mahmúd, upon the vacant throne, and finding it necessary to make peace, they sent the holy Shaikh Baháu-d-dín to negociate a treaty. The Shaikh submitted his terms to Mirzá Sháh Husain, who approved and ratified them. The Mirzá then returned, and on his arrival at Uch, ordered another fort to be erected there. In the mean time, Langer Khán, one of the late Sultán Mahmúd's nobles, came to the Mirzá and informed him that, owing to the youth of Sultán Husain, he was unfit to conduct the Government of Multán,—that the duties of the State were neglected, and that in consequence of the tyranny and oppression, rebellions and insurrections had broken out in the city; that all the greatest and best disposed of the inhabitants were desirous of another ruler. He ended by imploring the Mirzá to march again upon Multán. Mirzá Sháh Husain complied with this request, and on reaching the city laid close siege to the fort, which was garrisoned by the Langáh army. Desultory fighting took place daily between the two forces. At length a great scarcity of provisions took place in the city. This increased to such an extent that even the head of a cow was valued at ten tankas, while the price of grain rose to 100 tankas per maund. After some time had elapsed, a party of soldiers one morning forced the gate of the city. The troops rushed in and captured the place. All the inhabitants of the city, from seven years of age up to seventy, were taken prisoners, the city was given up to plunder, and very many of the Langáh tribe were slain. On this, Mirzá Sháh gave orders that no further hurt should be done to the survivors.

Sultán Husain and his sisters were brought before the Mirzá by the venerable Shaikh Baháu-d dín; and Mirzá Sháh, for the sake of

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their reverend protector, received them kindly, and abstained from doing them any injury.

After a stay of two months in the city, the Mirzá left Khwája Shamsu-d dín, with a force of 200 horse, 100 foot, and 100 gunners[1] under him in charge of Multán, and having sent a message to the Court of the Emperor, Zahíru-d din Bábar, offering Multán to him, he returned to Bhakkar; and thence went to Thatta, where, having inspected and satisfied himself as to the proper management of the surrounding country, he fixed his abode, and passed fifteen years in the enjoyment of peace and tranquility.

In the Ramazán A.H. 949 (Dec. 1542, A.D.), the Emperor Nasíru-d dín Hámuyún on account of the rebellion of Shír Khán Afghán came from Lahore towards Sind. Having taken up his quarters in the town of Laharí (Rorí), he established his own residence within the walls of the delightful garden of Babarlúka. Sultán Mahmúd desolated the country, and himself took refuge in the fort of Bhakkar. The Emperor sent Amír Táhir Sadar and Samandar Beg to Mirzá Sháh Husain in Thatta, reminding him of the ties of amity and friendship which had existed between the Tarkháns and the late Emperor Bábar. Mirzá Sháh Husain paid much honour to the royal messengers, and said that if the Emperor intended to invade Guzerát, he, the Mirzá, attended by his whole army, would accompany him on the expedition, and not return till the conquest had been effected. He also made over to him the tract extending from Hála Kandí to Bitúra on the other side of the river, to defray the expenses of the royal household. He sent Shaikh Mírak Púráni and Mirzá Kásim Tafáí to the Emperor, bearing similar terms and suitable presents. On their arrival there, they expressed the Mirzá's loyalty and presented the petition of which they were the bearers. After a few days, the Emperor dismissed the ambassadors, and wrote with his own hand a letter to their master, to the following effect: "To Sháh Husain, greeting (after the usual compliments), I comply with your request on this condition, namely, that you serve me with fidelity. Farewell!"

Mirzá Sháh Husain had formed his determination to present himself to the Emperor at a personal interview. The Arghún nobles

[1] [*Topchí*—musketeers?]

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were, however, of a different opinion, and altogether adverse to submitting themselves, and by their cunning and designing arts raised a quarrel, by which means they prevented Sháh Husain from following the dictates of his own judgment. The Emperor remained at Babarlúka for five months in the full expectation that Sháh Husain would come to meet him, and having sworn allegiance would become a faithful ally. Having been informed as to the intentions of the Arghúns, he marched with his army on the first of Jumáda-l Awwal A.H. 948 (Aug.-Sept., 1541), towards Síwistán; on his arrival at which place, he laid siege to the fort. Mirzá Husain having received intelligence of this movement, came from Thatta and formed an entrenched camp. The Emperor ordered mines to be dug under the fort, by means of which he succeeded in destroying one bastion. The garrison however, speedily remedied the injury done to their defences by raising another wall. The Emperor saw that the Arghúns had strengthened the work, and was aware that he was altogether unprovided with the engines necessary for the successful termination of the siege. Seven months had now elapsed since he first laid siege to the fort. Mirzá Sháh Husain succeeded in stopping the conveyance of supplies to the besieging army, which moreover were impeded by contrary winds and the rising of the river. Owing to these unfortunate circumstances, the army was greatly distressed. At this juncture the Emperor received a petition from Rájá Máldeo of Jodpur, intimating that during his majesty's absence, the Rájá had continued his faithful servant, and hoped for his arrival. Should the Emperor deem it fit to bring his ever prosperous army, the Rájá was at his service with 20,000 Rájpúts, and would accompany the Imperial army to whatever place it may be directed to march.

In consequence of this invitation, in Rabí'u-l Awwal, A.H. 949 (May-June, 1542), the Emperor marched towards the territories of Rájá Máldeo. After some marches, he approached near them, but was there informed by some inhabitants of the surrounding country of the sinister views entertained by Máldeo, who, they said, had invited him only because Sher Khán Afghán had placed a force in ambuscade for the purpose of attacking and plundering the army.

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On hearing this, the Emperor became alarmed, and was much downcast, and after consultation he left the Jodpur territory, and marched with great speed to Sátalmír. Thence he rapidly proceeded to Jesalmír, and from thence he continued his journey to 'Umarkot. During his march hither his army suffered much from drought. On his arrival, Dair Sál the chief, accompanied by his people, came out to meet him, and kissed his stirrup.[1] He cleared the fort of its occupants and assigned it to the use of the Emperor, who remained in it for some days.

The people of Thatta sent the great Saiyid 'Alí Shírází, who was Shaikhu-l Islám at that time, with presents of fruits and perfumes; the star of his prosperity again arose from the horizon of greatness.

On Sunday, the 5th of Rajab, A.H. 949 (15th October, 1542), was born the great Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar. His father rejoiced greatly at the birth of a son. The first clothes of the child were, for the sake of superior sanctity, made out of the garments of the aforesaid Saiyid. As there was in 'Umarkot no place fitted for the residence of a king, the Court was compelled to remove to Sind. Having set out they reached the town of Jún, situated on the banks of the Rain. This place is celebrated amongst the cities of Sind for the number and beauty of its gardens, abounding in rivulets which present fresh and delightful scenes. In these gardens, the Emperor remained for some days, within sight of the town. Mirzá Husain also came with his forces into its vicinity, and there encamped. Daily skirmishes took place in the environs of the town between the followers of the two camps. One day, Tímúr Sultán, Shaikh 'Alí Beg, and Tardí Beg Khán, with a body of men, made preparations to attack a fort which was filled with grain. Mirzá Sháh Husain's officer, Sultán Mahmúd Khán Bhakkarí, being apprized of their design, took a large force, and in the morning attacked them. Shaikh 'Ali Beg with his sons, stood his ground until he was slain; others of his force were also killed in this engagement. Their adversaries also suffered heavy loss. The Emperor, grieved at the occurrence, contracted a disgust for Sind, and determined upon going to Kandahár.

[1] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 50) gives this name "Ráná Wair Sál." *Mir M'asúm* (p. 213) has "Ráná Bair Sál."

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In the meantime, on the 7th of Muharram A.H. 950, (12th April, 1543, A.D.), Baíram Khán came, unattended, from Guzerát, and having met the Emperor attempted to console him. He endeavoured with success to negociate a peace between the contending parties. Sháh Husain, delighted with the prospect of peace, readily agreed to the proposal, and sent the Emperor 100,000 miskáls in cash, all the equipage required for travelling (which he caused to be prepared), with 300 horse and an equal number of camels. A bridge also was built near the town, on which the Emperor observed that the Arabic words *Sirát mustakím*, signifying "a strong bridge," formed the chronogram of the date of the treaty and the construction of the bridge, *i.e.* A.H. 950, (A.D. 1543-4). On the 7th of Rabí'-ul Ákhir of the same year, the Emperor marched towards Kandahár and Mirzá Sháh Husain returned to Thatta. It is said that the Mirzá became, towards the end of his life, afflicted with palsy. He chose as his companions men of loose character and mean extraction. The Moghals, Tarkháns, and others, being unable to obtain an audience at the Court, remained in their own houses. Daily, men of notoriously bad character were raised to preferment; for instance, early in the year 960 (1553 A.D.), the *Arbábí*, or prefecture of the city, was conferred upon 'Arabí Káhí, while the premiership was entrusted to Isma'íl, an innkeeper. Towards the close of the same year, Mirzá Sháh Husain made 'Arabí Káhí his viceregent in the fort of Tughlikábád, and installed Shaibah and Rafík, two slaves whom he had purchased and made his most confidential advisers, as superintendents of the city. Having thus placed all the Moghals, Arghúns, Tarkháns, etc., under the control of 'Arabí Káhí, he himself went to Bhakkar.

It happened that the sons of 'Arabí Káhí, being rapacious and greedy, oppressed the Moghals. Seeing this, the Arghúns and Tarkháns in Thatta became alarmed and much grieved. On this, 'Arabí Káhí, with the concurrence of his friends, sent information to Mirzá Sháh Husain, that the Arghún and Tarkhán inhabitants of the city had thrown off their allegiance, and were filled with visionary schemes against him. This, he said, jeopardized the safety of the country, and therefore he had deemed it incumbent on him to report the circumstance. Infuriated by this intelligence, Sháh Husain wrote

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orders that 'Arabí Káhí should invite into the fort the most seditious of the Arghún tribe, such as Mír Farrukh, Mír Kabaik, Mír Tímúr, Mír Fázil, Mír Khallá, etc., and there put them to death. He said that this example would intimidate the others, who would then return to their allegiance. He at the same time treacherously sent a letter to the Moghals, couched in kind terms, stating that they were his brothers and of the same tribe with himself, and that ('Arabí Káhí) and such fellows, were in reality only their servants and slaves, that to the disgust of the Sammas he had raised these men of low degree to elevated ranks, and that if in conformity to his orders they were obeyed and respected, then, considering themselves highly honoured, they would the more readily devote themselves to the duties assigned them. It happened, that these two contradictory letters both fell into the hands of the Moghals, who thus becoming aware of the Shah's duplicity and treacherous designs, revolted, and having seized 'Arabí Káhí, Rafík, Shaibah, and Isma'íl, put them to death in the beginning of Muharram A.H. 961 (Dec. 1553). Having taken Máh Begam, consort of the Mirzá, together with his other concubines, prisoners, they consulted amongst themselves and agreed to the necessity of choosing a leader for the better prosecution of their business. They all offered themselves as candidates, each man declaring that he would not consent to anyone being preferred before himself. This being the state of the case, it was at last agreed that, as the Arghúns could not choose one among themselves, in preference to another, who might have honours and obeisances paid him, it was advisable, therefore, to select as their chief, one from out the Tarkhán tribe. That Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, governor of Fath Bágh, being wise, prudent, and of noble descent, was best qualified for the office and likely to accede to their request. They then invited the Mirzá from Fath Bágh and informed him of their wishes. On his arrival, they showed him great hospitality, and, persisting in their request, obtained his consent. They then nominated him their chief, and placed him at the head of the government of Thatta. They paid him royal respect and homage, and having sworn allegiance, placed themselves under his authority, and made proclamation of his supremacy by beat of drums. The Mirzá took possession of the treasure, and having lavished large sums amongst

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the army, established his power over the several districts and tribes of Sind.

Enraged at these occurrences, Mirzá Sháh Husain seized the Arghúns and Tarkháns who were in Bhakkar, such as Mír Jání Beg Tarkhán, Mír Ahmad Tarkhán, Mír Hamza Beg-Lár, Mír Murád Husain Beg-Lár, and others, and then marched at the head of a considerable army to Thatta to give battle to the Arghúns and Tarkháns. On his arrival within two kos of the city, the two armies came into collision on the banks of the stream of Sháh Panáh. Two or three engagements took place in which both armies suffered considerable loss. In the midst of this campaign, Mirzá Sháh Husain was attacked by a fatal sickness.

Sultán Mahmúd Khán, of Bhakkar, the greatest noble under Sháh Husain, was commander-in-chief of his forces. He was the son of Mír Fázil Kokaltásh, son of 'Akil Khwája, son of Ahmad Khwája, one of the greatest chiefs of Ispahán. At the time when Sáhib-Kirán Amír Tímúr Gúrgán marched for the conquest of I'rák, the chiefs of Ispahán having revolted, threw off their allegiance to him. The Sáhib-Kirán on this gave orders that they should be plundered and destroyed, and sent a formidable army to enforce his commands. During this invasion, Ahmad Khwája father of 'Akil Khwája fell into the hands of Mír Hasan Basrí, father of Mirzá Zú-n Nún, and he having adopted him as his son, bestowed great pains on his education. Ahmad Khwája flourished three generations before Malik Mahmúd Khán, a man famous for his generosity, and nineteen generations after 'Iddí, son of Hatim Tái. Sultán Mahmúd Khán, of Bhakkar, was chiefly characterized by his liberality and courage, in which latter he was unequalled. During his service with Mirzá Sháh Husain, he had given repeated proofs of his valour. On seeing that the Mirzá's days were numbered, and that he had but a short time to live, he reflected that daily Musulmáns were losing their lives in the strife, and that shortly he would be involved in inextricable difficulties. He therefore sent privately a message to Mirzá 'Isá Tarkhán, to the effect that Mirzá Sháh Husain was on the point of death, that when that occurred, there would be no one to interfere between them, and that it would be advisable to enter into a mutual engagement. He refused to revolt against his master

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during his lifetime, but on his death he proposed an equal division of the country,—from the Lakkí hills down to the sea should belong to Mirzá 'Ísá, and from the same hills to Bhakkar should belong to himself. The next morning, at the suggestion of Sultán Mahmúd, the great Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb Púrání, and Mirzá Kásim Beg-Lár brought the apologies of Mirzá 'Ísa, expressing his sorrow and shame for the disrespectful conduct of the Arghúns towards the Mirzá. He sent word that if the Mirzá would pardon him, and release such of the Arghúns and Tarkháns as were imprisoned, he would himself come in the hope of getting forgiveness for the past. Mirzá Sháh Husain, actuated by merciful motives, liberated the prisoners, and sent them to Mirzá 'Ísá, who in return ordered that Máh Begam and all the other captive concubines should be taken to the camp of the Mirzá. Next day, Mirzá Kásím Beg brought a letter to Mirza 'Ísá to this effect:—"You should not have chosen this line of conduct, which can only tend to bring a bad name on both parties. Well! let bygones be bygones. In expectation of my mercy, you must either come yourself or send your son, that I may, through my own spontaneous kindness, confer on him the governorship of Thatta, while I myself return to Bhakkar." As the Arghúns, Tarkháns, and soldiers, in their foresight, advised Mirzá 'Ísa not to go himself, he turned to his eldest son, Mirzá Bákí, and told him that he should go. The son refused, and said, "If you are anxious for my death, kill me with your own hand, but do not deliver me over to the hand of the enemy." On this, the Mirzá looked at his second son, Mirzá Sálih, who, having arisen, rose and said, "Be satisfied; I will go. Either he will keep his word, or he will not. If he does, it will fulfil our hopes; if he does not, your safety must be secured. I am prepared to sacrifice myself, and obtain the honour of martyrdom!" Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, seeing his spirit, embraced him with paternal affection, and gave him permission to proceed on the mission. Mirzá Sálih with a few brave men went on the fourth of Rabi'u-l Awwal, A.H. 961 (Feb. 1554), accompanied by Mirzá Muhammad Kásim Beg-Lár, to meet Mirzá Sháh Husain, and offer his presents. The Mirzá with great kindness praised his fidelity and courage, and calling him

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his dear son, invested him with a rich robe, a girdle, and sword adorned with precious stones, together with a horse, and saddle and bridle set with gems, a necklace, and a kettledrum. He furthermore conferred on him the governorship of Thatta, and then gave him permission to retire. Returning in safety to Thatta, he caused the kettledrum to be sounded before him, and presenting to his father all he had received, he remained under his protection, obedient to his orders.

About the same time Mirzá Sháh Husain marched back towards Bhakkar, and on the 12th of the same month, died at the village of 'Alípútra, twenty kos from Thatta, after a reign of thirty-two years. Máh Begam and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb carried his remains to Thatta, where they were temporarily deposited in the Makalí Hills. After two years, they were sent in charge of Saiyíd 'Alí Shirází and Máh Begam to the holy city of Mecca, and were re-interred there by the side of the tomb of his father, Sháh Beg.

Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán.

Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, son of Mirzá 'Abdu-l 'Alí, son of Mirzá 'Abdu-l Khálik, son[1] of Arghún Khán, son of Abaká Khán, son of Hulákú Khán, son of Changíz Khán, succeeded to the throne of Thatta, after the death of Mirzá Husain Arghún. Mirza 'Ísá made Mirzá Sálih Tarkhán his heir apparent, and placed the reins of government in his hands, reserving to himself only the name of king.[2] When Mirzá Sálih had made himself secure of Thatta and its dependencies, he left his brother, Mirzá Ján Bábá, who was greatly attached to him, to attend upon his father while he himself marched against Siwistán. He commenced his march on the 14th of Shawwál, A.H. 961 (Sep. 1554), and on the 21st of the same month he wrested the fort of Siwistán from the the hands Mahmúd Khán Bhakkarí. When Sultán Mahmúd heard of this loss, he collected an army to oppose Mirzá Sálih. This was reported to Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, and he thereupon led a large force from Thatta to attempt the conquest of

[1] This "son" comprises several generations, as shown in the genealogical table at the beginning of this work.

[2] [Long eulogies of Mirzá 'Ísá and Mirzá Sálih are omitted from the translation.]

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Bhakkar. He reached Bhakkar in the month of Muharram, A.H. 962 (Nov. 1554), where Sultan Mahmúd had drawn up his army to resist him. Two or three engagements followed, and many were killed on both sides. Sultán Mahmúd was at length compelled to take refuge in the fort, where he was so hardly pressed that he sent Saiyid Mír Kalán, grandfather of Mír M'asúm Bhakkarí, to treat with Mirzá 'Ísá, making professions of friendship, and offering to give up Siwistán and its appurtenances, if Bhakkar were secured to him; urging also that Bhakkar was on the frontier of Hindustan, and acted as a barrier on that side. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that the Firingís, who were coming from Lahori-bandar to the assistance of Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán, finding the city of Thatta unprotected, had plundered it, set fire to it, and made the inhabitants prisoners. The Mirzá therefore accepted the proposal of Sultán Mahmúd, and peace being concluded, he hastened back to Thatta, and resumed the government.

In the beginning of the year 964 H. (November, 1556), Mirzá Muhammad Bákí rebelled against his father, asserting his rights as eldest son, and objecting to the selection of Mirzá Muhammad Sálih as heir to the throne. In the fighting which ensued, Muhammad Bákí was worsted, and he fled to Wanka, which was the abode of the Súmras. There he formed a connection with sundry Arghúns, and returned with them by way of 'Umarkot and Jesalmír to Bhakkar. On his arriving there, Sultan Mahmúd Khán laudably exerted himself to effect a reconciliation between him and his father; but Mirzá 'Isa Tarkhán, out of regard for Mirzá Sálih, exiled Muhammad Bákí from Thatta, and sent him to Bhakkar. Here he endeavoured to procure assistance from Hindustan,[1] but Sultán Mahmúd opposed him. The Sultán foresaw that if an army came from Hindustan it must necessarily pass by Bhakkar, which would be the first place to suffer. So he kindly but firmly opposed the project.

In the year 970 H. (1562 A.D.) the brave Muhammad Sálih, who had won so many victories, drank the sherbet of martyrdom from the hands of a Bulúch named Murid. The family and tribe of this

[1] [عازم هندوستان شود.]

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man had been put to death by Muhammad Sálih in punishment of their robberies; so holding a petition in his hand he placed himself in the way of the Mirzá. The prince called him to his side and stooped down to receive the petition, when the caitiff plunged a dagger into his breast, and killed him.

After the death of his favourite son, Mirzá 'Ísá Tarkhán nominated Mírzá Ján Bábá as heir apparent. After some time Sultán Mahmúd begged Mírzá 'Ísa to forgive his son Muhammad Bákí, but failed in his object. Several nobles who inclined to the side of that prince then interested themselves on his behalf, and roused the father's pride by urging that the prince ought not to be a dependant on Sultán Mahmúd. Being thus induced to pardon his son, Mirzá 'Ísa sent Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb Puráni and Mír Yár Muhammad, his nephew, to bring him home. When Muhammad Bákí arrived, he waited on his father, and, receiving the town of Siwistán as his jagír, departed thither.

Mirzá 'Ísa was of a gentle and patient disposition, and showed great kindness to the people of his tribe (*ulús*); but the Arghúns were disaffected, and breaking out in open rebellion crossed the river. The guns[1] of Mirzá 'Ísa opened upon them. Many were killed, and the remnant fled for succour to Sultán Mahmúd at Bhakkar. This prince gave a horse and a robe to each of them, and uniting them with a party of his own dependents sent them against Siwistán. They besieged the fort, and once or twice succeeded in scaling the ramparts, but could accomplish nothing more. Mirzá 'Ísá marched from Thatta with a numerous force, and sent a detachment on in advance to raise the siege and pursue the assailants. The opposing forces met at the village of Rakbán, when victory declared in favour of Mirzá 'Ísá, and many of Sultán Mahmúd's men were slain. The Mirzá advanced as far as the town of Durbela. The Sultán also, coming out of Bhakkar, arrived near the same place, and throwing up a fort, prepared for the conflict. In the end peace was made through the medium of Máh Begam and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Waháb Puráni, and the rivals retired to Thatta and Bhakkar respectively.

In the year A.H. 974 (1566 A.D.) Mírzá 'Ísá Tarkhán was seized with mortal sickness, so he called together the Arghúns and the

[1] Átash-bázi.

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Tarkháns, the ministers and nobles, and all the chief men of the country, in order once more to name Mirzá Ján Bábá as his successor. But Máh Begam strenuously opposed this, maintaining the right of Muhammad Bákí, the eldest son. The dying monarch declared that Muhammad Bákí was tyrannical and cruel, that the people would suffer under his rule, and that she herself would perish by his hand. The end of it all was that Máh Begam sent to hasten the coming of Muhammad Bákí, and kept the death of his father secret until his arrival. Mirzá 'Isá Tarkhán, who had reigned fourteen years, was then buried in a tomb, which he had constructed in his garden, and Muhammad Bákí ascended the throne.

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VIII.

TUHFATU-L KIRÁM.

[This is a work in three volumes by 'Alí Sher Káni'. The first two volumes are of considerable length, but all the matter of special historical interest is comprised in the third. A succinct synopsis of the contents of the work is prefixed to the first volume. According to this the work commences with—

Vol. I. A Preface in two parts and three books. Book I. contains three sections,—On the (1) Prophets; (2) Kings; (3) Philosophers, saints, poets, and great men before the time of Muhammad. Book II. is divided into five sections, (1) Ancestors of the Prophet; (2) Memoirs of the Prophet; (3) the Four Khalifs; (4) the Four Imáms; (5) Celebrated Descendants of the Four Imáms. Book III., in three sections, (1) The Ummayide Khalifs and their representatives in 'Irák and Khurásán, with notices of the chiefs and great men of the times; (2) The 'Abbáside Khalifs, including those who set up the Khalifat in Egypt, and also the great men and warriors of the period; (3) Kings cotemporary with the 'Abbásides.

Vol. II. General History, with notices of philosophers, nobles, ministers, and other great men.

Vol. III. Special History of Sind, including descriptions of its cities and villages, histories of its rulers, and memoirs of its great, learned, and distinguished men.]

This third volume, as it is the latest, so it is the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind. In the portion relating to the early history of the province, it is not quite so copious as the *Tárikh-i Sind* of Mír M'asúm; but even in that part it presents us with more miscellaneous information,

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and introduces subjects not treated of in that work, such as the legendary tales which are familiar in the country, the origin of some of the tribes, and the separate biographies of the principal officers and nobles who acquired distinction under the later dynasties. The authors are both equally credulous in recording the miracles of saints, but the extent to which the hagiography runs in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* is much greater than in the *Tárikh-i Sind;* there being scarcely a village in that priest-ridden country which has not its tombs of holy men, whose lives and powers are here recorded with implicit faith.

The work opens with the dynasties of the Ráís and Brahmans, followed by the history of the Arab conquest, well abridged from the *Chach-náma.* This comprises twenty pages. In thirty more we have the legends, the governors appointed by the kings of Dehlí, the Súmras and Sammas; then the history of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, with their nobles, in thirty-six pages; the imperial governors under the Tímúrians in twenty-four pages, and an account of the Kalhora dynasty to the time of Mían Sár-faraz, Khán in twelve pages. All this is comprised in a little less than half the volume. The rest is entirely devoted to the saints, seers, *saiyids*, *shaikhs*, and devotees, with a notice of the poets and caligraphists of Sind.

There are two chronograms at the end of the volume, representing that it was completed in A.H. 1181 (1767-8 A.D.); but near the middle, at the close of the account of the Kalhoras, we have later dates several times mentioned, extending to the year A.H. 1188.

The author quotes as his authorities all the native histories noticed in the preceding articles; and in the accounts of the saints we find incidentally mentioned the *Jawáhiru-l Aulyá*, the *Hadikatu-l Aulyá*, the *Ma'lámátu-l Áfák*, and the *Taghiratu-l Murád.* Some other authors quoted in the body of the work are obtained at second hand.

Extracts from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* have been given by Lt. Postans in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numbers

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lxxiv., 1838, and clviii., 1845. In the latter we have the portion relating to the Arab conquest of Sind, which, as before mentioned, is abstracted from the *Chach-náma*.

The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* is the title of one of the works of the celebrated Jalálu-d din Soyútí, according to the Parisian catalogue of his writings given in G. Fluegel's edition of Hájí Khalfa's *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, Vol. vi. pp. 665-679.

[Sir H. Elliot's copy consists of three volumes quarto. Vol. I., measuring 11 in. by 8 in., contains 746 pages. Vol. II., 889 pages, of 17 lines each. Vol. III. is a little larger (12 in. by 8½ in.), and contains 242 pages, of 25 lines each, in a much smaller hand There is also a new copy of Vol. III.]

Extracts.

The Sindian Ordeal of Fire.

Some customs have obtained from of old among the inhabitants of Sind,[1] which, although they spring from ignorance, their practice is specially observed by them.

When a person is suspected of any grave offence, and desires to purge himself of the charge, he offers to pass through the flames of a large fire, like a salamander, and come out of it unharmed, like Khalíl. In the story of Sassí and Márúí we shall have an instance of this ordeal.

Another ordeal, still practiced among the most ignorant, is that of taking up a red-hot spade, and this will also be noticed in the story of Márúí. Green leaves of a tree are tied on to the hand of the suspected person with raw thread, and an iron spade, heated to redness, being then placed on his palm, he must carry it for several paces quickly; and it has often been seen that neither the thread nor the leaves have been in the slightest degree affected by the heat of the red-hot iron, although when cast to the ground it scorched it

[1] *Búmia* is the term used for inhabitants, literally "occupiers of the land"—the *bhúmia* of Hindústán. The term is of frequent occurrence in the Sindian histories, but rare in other works.

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like the sand in the oven of a parcher of grain. Verily this is by the virtue of Truth, for if otherwise, how is it that such fire does not burn the hand?

A modern story runs thus:—A woman stole a pair of shoes belonging to the wife of a certain horseman, but denied the theft. When the time approached for undergoing the ordeal of the hot iron, she artfully concealed the shoes in a basket filled with cotton; and making it seem as if the carrying that were her business at the moment, entered the assembly, and handing it to the horseman's wife, asked her to take charge of it during the ordeal. She then said, "The truth is, I did find a pair of shoes belonging to so and so, and I have made them over to the owner! By the same token I now take up this red-hot spade." She took it up unharmed, and was then purged of the charge. The complainant then angrily threw the basket on the ground, and, as Truth is sure to prevail, the trick of this artful woman was exposed.

The Ordeal of Water.

A stout post is fixed in deep water, the accused is then told to dive to the bottom, and stay by the post. One of the company shoots an arrow to a long distance, and another person goes and brings this arrow back. The post is then shaken; if the accused be innocent, he will, up to that time, by holding his breath, have been able to remain at the bottom, and on this signal he will come up to the surface. But if guilty, he cannot any how stay so long under water.

Incantations.

Furthermore, several of the people of this country practise magic and incantations. For instance, they can roguishly transfer their neighbour's curds to their own stock, as the following instance will show. A respectable man relates that he was the guest of a woman residing in a village, and that she had but the curds of the milk of one cow. However, about the time she was going to make the butter, she stepped over to a neighbour's house on pretence of fetching fire, and there the woman of the house had a large dish of curds before her, which she was preparing to make into butter; the

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witch wrought her spells, and retraced her steps, and from the curds of the milk of her one cow she made about ten times the usual quantity of butter!

Osteomancy.

The science called *Shána*[1] is known to some of the hill-people, who are called "*Mánsing.*" From certain indications on a fresh shoulder-blade, they learn what they wish to know, and it comes to pass accordingly. A party of hill men, driven from their homes by fear of their enemy, were pursuing their way. Having yet gone but a little distance, the *Mánsing* said that he saw from his *Shána* that they were hotly pursued by troops, and that there was no escape except by artifice. The party were ordered to empty all the leathern water-bags on the ground, and then to pass over the spot. It so chanced that a *Mánsing* was also among the enemy's forces; he, too, consulted his *Shána* for intelligence of the fugitives. It showed him that they had crossed over a stream. This disheartened the pursuers, who turned back, and thus the former were saved. This is but a slight illustration of what this tribe can do by the use of the *Shána.*

Another Custom.—Several ropes, confusedly entangled, are thrown on to the ground, and their unravelment reveals secret things.

Other Sindian Customs:—Liver-eaters—Trackers—Ornithocritics.

There are also women who feed on liver,[2] and foretell things to come, as will be shown in the history of Mirzá Muhammad Báki.[3]

Again, there is the science of *Jogní*; this is chiefly in vogue with women. An example of it will be shown in the history of Ráí Dáhir.

There is a tribe entitled *Bawaratiya*, who go about in the guise of beggars, professing to explain mysteries and past events, and thereby deceive men. They also make predictions of the future, which seldom come true.

Some men are so skilful in the art of tracking footprints, that

[1] The common people call it *Phanní.* It is the *'Ilmu-l 'Aktáf* of the Arabs, and in great repute with the Mongols.

[2] [جگرخوارہ.]

[3] Abú-l Fazl, in the *Áyín-i Akbarí*, notices the celebrity of the Sindians in this art.

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they can tell whether they belong to men or women, strangers or acquaintances, old or young; so also they can distinguish the prints of horses, camels, oxen, and buffaloes. They can pursue the tracks of thieves over hills and through deserts, and possibly they can even follow them through water.

Again, there is a tribe in the Kach district, who can prognosticate good or evil from the call of the partridge, and they can likewise predict the good or bad fortune of travellers from the cries and calls of other birds and beasts. A person relates—"I was journeying with a party, one of whom said, 'I must hurry on; do you follow at your convenience, for I find, from the cry of a bird, that guests have arrived at my house, and also that such and such a friend has just died'—and, indeed, so it proved."

Some of the marvels of this country will be found described under their proper heads; and the wonders of the hills will be mentioned towards the end of the narrative.

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The story of Sassi and Pannún.

A Brahman named Náníya, and his wife Mundhar, people of consideration, who dwelt at Bhámbaráwáh, subject to the authority of Dalú Rái, were desirous of having a child born to them. After a while they were blessed with a daughter, the envy of the full moon. It was revealed to her parents that she was destined to be married to a Musulmán. Dreading this family disgrace, the parents, with wounded hearts, enclosed that unique pearl in a box—her shell, as it were—and cast it into the river. The current chanced to carry it to the city of Bhambúr, where there lived a washerman named Nahiya, who was also styled Lála; he had 500 apprentices, but not one child. When the box came into some of the apprentices' possession, they took it to their master, who opened it, and this moon[1] of God's power shone out therefrom. He called her Sassi,[2] which signifies "moon," and adopted her as his own. As she grew up, the lancet of her love pierced the hearts of beauty's flower-

[1] [Here is an equivoque on the word *máhe* or *máhi*, "moon" and "fish."]
[2] [Sans. *Sasi*.]

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cullers. Every one who saw her wished she was his own, and all people surrendered their hearts to her; wherever she seated herself men crowded round her like the cluster of the Pleiades, and hovered around her like the constellation of the Eagle. At that time the caravans of Kích and Makrán arrived in those parts with a variety of merchandize, and the praises of this "piece of the moon" were conveyed to the ears of Pannún, son of the Chief of Kích. He lost his heart, and repaired to Bhambúr in the guise of a merchant, where he saw Sassí, and was much enamoured. By good fortune the seeker found a place in the heart of the sought; then in the hope of meeting her, he became one of her father's apprentices, and dressed himself as a washerman. I leave out many incidents to avoid prolixity; but the short of it is, that Sassí returned his love with more than equal ardour.

A goldsmith's wife, who longed to gratify her amorous inclinations, sought to bring about the separation of these two lovers, by exciting Pannún's jealousy. The devoted Sassí came out of it unsullied, like gold from the raging fire, and became an example to the world. After a while these two lovers were married. Pannún's father on learning this, desired his other sons to bring back the infatuated one by some means or other. They went and had an interview with Pannún, and became his guests. At night-fall, without his waking, they bound him on a camel, and set off towards their own country. Towards morning Sassí awoke, and found that she had been robbed of her living treasure. No longer mistress of herself she tore her garments in despair, and set off alone in quest of her lost one. With the feet of affection she traversed the rugged hills, and after accomplishing a distance of about forty kos, she fell exhausted from thirst, and was convulsed, striking her feet on the ground in the agony of death. By the power of God a pool full of water was produced, of which she drank, and found fresh strength. Persons say that the pool remains full of water to this day, and is never dry, even though no rain should fall for years. It is said, that Sassí had seen these things in a dream, on the night on which she was presented with henna, (at her marriage). The branch of henna which she had slept with in her hand according to custom, and which she retained

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after she awoke, and which she carried with her, she now planted on this hill; by the power of God the branch grew to be a tree, and still remains a monument of that bleeding heart.

Not to be tedious, after being thus refreshed, Sassí hurried forward, and accomplished six or seven kos further through the same hills, when she was again distressed by thirst. A shepherd accidentally espied her from a distance, and cast longing eyes on her, and approaching, desired to carry her off. Thereupon she upbraided him with injustice, and requested that he would, at least, procure some refreshment for her, thirsty and tired as she then was, before taking her off. The shepherd hastened to his flock to get some milk. While this was going on, Sassí, who despaired of finding any trace of her lover, and finding herself thus fallen into evil, vented the anguish of her heart before the Almighty (who is the comforter of the helpless), and put up a petition for protection against that demon of the desert. Instantly, by the divine power, the hill was rent asunder, and gave a place to that half dead and stricken lover, like a ruby lying in the matrix; and, as a warning and memorial, a corner of her scarf was left visible. When the shepherd returned with the milk, and saw this instance of Divine power, he repented himself, and raised a tomb of stones over her, according to custom.

The tellers of love stories, which cut the heart like sharp diamonds, relate that when Pannún, all in chains, was carried before his father, his restlessness began to shew itself to such a degree that his father was alarmed for his life, and, there being no help for it, he desired his brothers to go with him, and in any way that could be managed, restore his beloved to him. As they were travelling back, Pannún arrived at the place where Sassí was entombed, and seeing the fresh traces, stood amazed. The mutual attraction of hearts revealed this to him. For outward evidence he set about inquiring into the circumstances. The shepherd before spoken of happened to arrive just then, and related everything as it had occurred. Pannún instantly dismounted from his camel, and begged his brothers to wait one moment, as he wished to pay a pilgrim's visit to this tomb. Then, having thrown himself upon it, he cried aloud to the Almighty, beseeching that he might be joined to his

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love. As no petitioner before God is ever left without hope, so by His power the hill at once opened and admitted Pannún. He and his mistress were thus encased, as it were, like twin almonds in one shell. The loves of these two, both lovers and both beloved, are still chanted in verses by the Sindians, at a place called Husainí, and people thus seek and find a mode by which they may soar from wordly affection to spiritual love.[1] In truth, this narrative has a wonderful effect on the hearers and narrators, and Mír M'asúm, of Bhakkar, has wrought it into a poem, entitled "Husn o Náz" (or beauty and blandishment); and Kází Murtazá Sorthí, a resident of the village of Katiána, composed a poem, of a peculiar rhythm, on it in the reign of Muhammad Sháh Bádsháh. He relates this story:—A Darwesh named Ism'aíl, an inhabitant of Multán, came on a pilgrimage to see these two wonderful persons of the world of love and affection, and having left his camel at a distance, sat down and fasted three days, in the hope of seeing the two lovers. At the end of that time an old woman appeared to him, bringing some bread and water, but he flatly refused to eat or drink till he had seen Sassí and Pannún. She replied that she was Sassí, and desired him not to expect to see Pannún, for there was no dependance to be placed on things of this world, and that she was harassed by her kindred, who had reduced her to that condition. The Darwesh said—"How can I believe this, for Sassí was young and beautiful, and thou art an old crone." On these words, she was transfigured to her pristine beauty and youth, and she bade him eat something. The Darwesh said, "I will rather die of hunger than eat before I have seen both of you: thus have I vowed." After repeated adjurations, Sassí descended into the grave, and showed Pannún as far as his waist, but she herself encircled him all the while with both arms, for fear some one should carry him off. In short, many elders of pure heart have thus seen them. That road is not passable for any one riding a camel; but whosoever keeps awake by night at the tomb, is

[1] This story, as well as many others connected with the legendary lore of Sind, is very well told by Lt. Burton. He calls the hero and heroine Panhu and Sassui.—See the *Unhappy Valley*, vol. I, pp. 81–88; and *Sindh*, pp. 57, 92–106. Mrs. Postans also gives it as a legend of Kach'h.

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feasted by an unseen hand, notwithstanding that the place is an utter desert.

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The Genealogy of the Jats and Bulúchis.

Muhammad, son of Hárún Makráni, who will be noticed in the series of governors of Makrán, and who, at the time of the conquest of Sind, accompanied Muhammad Kásim as far as Armanbela, where he died and was buried, was, as appears from the genealogical table of the family, a grandson of Muhammad, son of Abán, son of 'Abdu-r Rahím, son of Hamza, son of 'Abdu-l Matlab. Once on a time, the pursuit of some beast of the chase, carried the Amír Hamza (may the favour of God restore him!) a long distance into a desert, where he found himself in solitude. As the Almighty watches with a special providence over his chosen ones, a fairy appeared in that desert for Hamza's company, and by the divine permission, he consorted with her, and this dissipated his sense of loneliness and dreariness. The fairy afterwards, by the divine power, became invisible, and the Amír reached his own country. The fairy bore a son by him, viz., 'Abdu-r Rahím. To be brief, Muhammad, son of Hárún, had fifty sons born to him from seven women, as follows:—I. The first wife, Hamírí, bore—1. Ísá; 2. Mihrán; 3. Hajjáz; 4. Sahtak; 5. Bahrám; 6. Rustam; 7. Jalál. II. His second wife bore—1. Mazíd; 2. Jamál; 3. Ráda; 4. Buhlol; 5. Shaháb; 6. Nizám; 7. Jalál; 8. Murid. III. Miriam bore—1. Rodín; 2. Músá; 3. Notí; 4. Núh; 5. Mandah; 6. Razíu-d dín. IV. 'Aísha bore Jalál. V. Muddí bore—1. Ádam; 2. Kamál; 3. Ahmad; 4. Humád; 5. Hámid; 6. Sa'íd; 7. Mas'úd. VI. Fátima bore—1. Sher; 2. Koh; 3. Buland; 4. Gurg; 5. Núru-d dín; 6. Hasan; 7. Husain; 8. Sulaimán; 9. Ibráhím. VII. Eve bore—1. 'Álam; 2. 'Alí; 3. Sarkash; 4. Bahádur; 5. Teghzan; 6. Mubárak; 7. Turk; 8. Zalha; 9. 'Arabí; 10. Shíráz; 11. Táju-d dín; 12. Gulistán-Barg.

After Hajjáj had subdued all opposition in Makrán, as is recorded, he died, and that principality was divided between the children of Jalál, who took one-half, and the other half was shared by all his brothers. After a short time contentions sprang up among

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the brothers; the greater part of their descendants mixed with the people of the country and dwelt there, but the descendants of Jalálu-d dín, having been worsted, repaired to Sind and Kach, and their descendants are spread in numberless divisions throughout that country.

The Tribe of Lodh, also called Loli.

Their origin is this, that king Sulaimán (the prophet, peace be to him!) sent a party of Genii to Rúm to purchase female slaves. On their return back, one of the Genii formed a connection with a girl named Loliá, who became pregnant by him. On king Sulaimán hearing of this, he gave him the girl. The child was named Lodh, and his descendants, generation after generation, intermingled with the Arabs; and at the time of the conquest of Sind, came to dwell there,—or perhaps they may have come there before that period.

Genealogy of the Samma Tribe.

Sám, as some affirm, was the son of 'Umar, son of Hashám, son of Abí Lahib; and according to others, he was the son of 'Umar, son of 'Akarma, son of Abí Jahl. The title of Jám renders it probable that he was descended from Jamshíd. He is commonly considered to be the son of Núh. Jám, the son of Núh (peace be to him!), had four sons:—1. Budhá, who had sixteen sons, among whom were Budh, Súra, Sahta, Akhíl, Autár, Amra, Handír, and others, they were styled Ráthor; 2. Sanká; 3. Hamhar; 4. Bhágirat, who had one son named Dera, whose son was Ajípár, whose son was Dasrat.

Dasrat had three wives, viz.,—Kasila, Kailiyá, and Simiyá; by the first of these he had two sons, Rám and Lakhman; the second bore Barat, and Símiá had Chatargun. Sanká, son of Sám, also left descendants; and Hamhar, son of Sám, had a son named Todar, and Barat, son of Dasrat, had four sons, named Parihár, Jánsupá, Kúrícha, and Náhiya. Chatargun, son of Dasrat, also had a son named Cháírá. Lakhman, son of Dasrat, left no posterity. Rám, son of Dasrat, left a son named Tawákas; he had a son named Atat, whose son was named Tattat; he had a son named Narkant,—his

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son was Kan, and the city of Kan was so called from him; and the son of Kan was styled Sambút Rájá, who had four sons—1. Sám; 2. Barkarara, also called Sháh; 3. Hanrat, also called Dakan; 4. Máda.

Sám, the son of Sambút Rájá, had a son namad Jádam. Jádam had four sons:—1. Haibat, whose son was Sind Samma; 2. Gajpat, whose son was Chughda; 3. Bhúpat, from whom the tribe of Bhattís sprung; 4. Chúrá Samma. His son was Rái Daiyách, who became chief of Girnál, a fort in the district of Sorath, and famous for the pomp of his retinue. He sacrificed his head as a religious offering. His wife Sorath was devotedly attached to him. The strong affection of this couple, together with the story of the sacrifice, is the subject of a most affecting tale, still sung at Sorath. Haibat, son of Jádam, son of Sám, son of Sambút, had a son named Rídarí, whose son was Nít, who had a son Nútiar, whose son was Audhár, whose son was Audh, whose son was Lákhiya, whose son was Lákha.

Lákha founded a kingdom, and having allied himself in marriage to Pothí Cháda, she brought him four sons. Of these one was Audh, who died without issue, and whose place of residence was called Audh; another was Mahir, he had four sons, viz.,—1. Satya; 2. Dítar Páthárí; 3. Darhá, who had no children; 4. Sánd, he also had no issue. Lákha took to himself another wife in his old age, by whom he had also four sons, viz.,—1. Unar; 2. Chhatta, who had three sons, Babra, Dankara, and Kalla; 3. Fahal, the father of the celebrated Lákha Fasláni; 4. Manáhia. Unar, son of Lákha, had a son also called Lákha, whose son was called Samma. This Samma had two sons,—1. Káka; 2. Jhakra. The former became a ruler, and the district of Káka takes its name from him. He had two sons—1. Pallí; 2. Ráídan. Masrak Samma one of Palli's sons, became a chief.

Ráídan had nine sons—1. Samma, from whom all the Samejas descend; 2. Nútiar, from whom sprang all the Núts; 3. Lákha, father of Lanjár; 4. Abra, who had a son called Dáhir; 5. Náhíya; 6. Chanesar, who was a noted man of his time; 7. Manáhia; 8. Koría—the descendants of these three form the tribe of Mindra; 9. Pallí, who became a chief. Pallí had two sons—1. Audh, whose

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sons were Bahría and Adeja, who was called Gudaria Pútra (or the son of a shepherd); 2. Sánd, who became the head of a tribe of that name. Sánd had seven sons—1. Káka, whose descendants are called Kakeja Pútra; 2. Jára; 3. Dera; 4. Janeja; 5. Hankúra, who had sons, Audheja, Jakia, Dúrhá, and Hankújá; 6. Dera, whose descendants are the Dera Samma, of Kach; 7. Jam Hothí, who had five sons:—1. Hála, whose descendants are well known; 2. Hankúra, whose descendants are búmiyas of Dhúrí, Hankúra, Chár Hankúra, and Rám Deh, which places were founded by them; 3. Sáhir, whose descendants founded Sáhir Samma, and live there; 4. Chíláría, whose descendants are the tribe of Nahria; 5. Jám Hápar, who had two sons, viz., Rahúja and Jám Júna; the latter had a son named Kar Ráhú, who had three sons—1. Sánd, whose sons Rúhúma, Lákháita, and Jhakra; 2. Súmra, who left no issue; 3. Lákha Jám, who had a son called Káha, whose son was called Lákha. Káha had also a posthumous son, who was also called Káha, after his father.

Lákha, son of Káha, brother of Káha before mentioned (*sic*) had twelve sons—1. Jám Júna, whose descendants are the Samma kings of Sind, who dwelt at Sámúí, and who will be mentioned in their proper places; 2. Unar, who ruled in Bahria, and died without issue; 3. Pallí, from whom the Pallí Sammas descend; 4. Káha, from him are the Súdiári Sammas: 5. Auth,—the Auth Sammas, Sáhil Sammas, and Síkháwat Sammas, spring from him; 6. Jaisur, whose son was Bahia Piriá; 7. Mankar, who had no son; 8. Abra, the tribe of Abreja, are his descendants; 9. Hankúrá Kunwar; 10. Sultán Aut; 11. Ráídan; 12. Lákha. Hankúra Kunwar had three sons—1. Dísar; 2. Manáhia; 3. Murádia. Dísar had five sons—1. Káha; 2. Mála; 3. Rakan; 4. Hankúra; 5. Júna, who had also five sons—1. Khoria; 2. Tájiá; 3. Abra; 4. Bulúch; 5. Pámbiya.[1] Such of the descendants of the latter as rested in Sind, will be mentioned in the history of the Samma kings.

Be it observed, that the Sammas are the owners of the land throughout Sind, as far as Guzerát, including also the greater part of Rájpútána, and they form the majority of the population of Sind. The tribes of Bulúch and Jat, and some others already spoken of, are also

[1] [Or "Pámbaniya."]

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the ancient inhabitants of the land. Other tribes might be mentioned who succeeded, or even preceded these, but for the sake of brevity, the writer of this book contents himself with specifying only what is actually necessary. Should any one desire a more minute narrative, let him pursue the investigation himself.

The Governors of Sind under the Ghaznivides and their Successors.

The officers of Sultán Mas'úd possessed themselves of the country of Sind, in succession to those of Mahmúd. Then followed the officers of Maudúd, then the officers of Majdúd; next the officers of Sultán Kutbu-d Dín, and lastly, the officers of Árám Sháh, who are all severally described in the first and second volumes. During the reign of the latter king, his dominions were parcelled into four divisions: one of which comprising Multán, the whole of Sind, and Uch, became subject to Násiru-d dín Kabácha. At that time the following seven Ránás in Sind were tributary to Multán:—1. Ráná Buhnar Sa'ta Ráthor, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela; 2. Ráná Sanír, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of Kureja Samma, residing in Túng, lying within the district of Rúpáh; 3. Jaisar, son of Jajji Máchhi Solankí, of Mániktara;[1] 4. Wakía, son of Pannún Channún, who was established in the valley of Síwí; 5. Channún, son of Díta, of the tribe of Channa, resident of Bhág-nai; 6. Jíya, son of Waríáh, of Jham, or Hemakot; 7. Jasodhan Ákra, of Mín-nagar district of Bámbarwá.

Further, when Láhore was taken by the officers of Táju-d dín Yaldúz, Malik Násiru-d dín Kabácha took refuge in the city of Multán; and towards the end of the year 626 H. (1229 A.D.) Malik Khán Khiljí and his people, became masters of the country of Síwistán. Sultán Shamsu-d dín Iltamsh, having deputed his minister Nizámu-l Mulk Muhammad, son of Asa'd, to besiege Uch, set out for Dehli. Uch surrendered quietly to Nizámu-l Mulk in A.H. 625 (1228 A.D.), and he then hastened to Bhakkar. Násiru-d dín fled, and the vessel of his life was swallowed in up the whirlpool of death. Sultán Shamsu-d dín became lord of Sind. Núru-d dín Muhammad succeeded to the government in A.H. 630 (1233 A.D.) The Sultán Iltamsh died in A.H. 633 (1236 A.D.), and was succeeded

[1] There is a Tára or Tarra, an old site ten miles south-west from Thatta.

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by Sultán Mas'úd Sháh, During the disturbed state of the country in his reign the army of the Moghals passed the Indus, and laid siege to Uch, but owing to the vigilance of Sultán Mas'úd they were repulsed and retired on Khurásán. Sultán Mas'úd left Malik Jalálu-d dín Muhammad as governor of Sind, in the room of Núru-d dín Muhammad. During his government, Násiru-d din Mahmúd, uncle of Sultán Mas'úd, inherited the throne and crown.

In A.H. 662 (1264 A.D.), Sultán Ghiásu-d dín ascended the throne of Dehlí, and gave over the provinces of Láhore, Multán and Sind to his son, Sultán Muhammad, who used to go every third year to pay his respects to his father, and stay one year. In A.H. 682 (1283 A.D), Sultán Muhammad was slain in battle against the army of Changíz Khán, and his son Kai Khusrú was confirmed as successor to his father. Sultán Jalálu-d dín Khiljí on his arrival at Láhore in A.H. 692 (1293 A.D.), assigned the government of Multán and Uch to his son Arkalí Khán, and he appointed Nasrat Khan to the government of Sind. In A.H. 695 (1296 A.D.), Sultán 'Alaú-d dín, despatched his brother Ulugh Khán to expel Arkalí Khán from his government, but, as usual, Nasrat Khán with 10,000 men retained possession of Multán, Uch, Bhakkar, Síwistán, and Thatta. In the beginning of 697 A.D. (1297 A.H.), the Saldáí Moghals from Sístán, arrived and possessed themselves of Síwistán, but Nasrat Khán vigorously attacked them and freed it. Towards the close of his reign, Sultán 'Alaú-d dín despatched Ghází Malik at the head of 10,000 horse to expel Changíz Khán's Moghals from Debálpúr and gave him Multán, Uch, and Sind in jágír.

Khusrú Khán, having watched his opportunity, deposed 'Alaú-d dín, and became master of the throne.[1] Ghází Malik, marching up at the head of the Sind and Multán forces, expelled Khusrú Khán and seated himself in his place under the style and title of Sultán Ghiásu-d dín. At this interval, a number of the tribe of Súmra rose and possessed themselves of Thatta. Sultán Ghiásu-d dín deputed Malik Táju-d dín to Multán, and Khwája Khatír to Bhakkar, and Malik 'Ali Sher to Síwistán. Sometime after, when Kashkú Khán revolted in Multán, Sultan Muhammad Sháh, son of

[1] I do not attempt to correct the errors in the Dehli history, as given here. They do not occur in Mír M'asúm's history, from which this chapter is abridged.

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Sultán Ghiásu-d dín, arrived at Multán in A.H. 728 (1328 A.D.) and put him down. Then having deputed trusty persons to Bhakkar and Siwistán, he returned. In A.H. 751 (1350 A.D.), while in pursuit of the slave Taghí,[1] having traversed Guzerát and Kach, he arrived in the district of Thatta, and encamped at the village of Tharí on the banks of a river. From thence he removed in consequence of an attack of fever, to Gandal,[2] where he got well. He then returned and encamped about four kos from Thatta, where he had a relapse of fever and died.

Sultán Fíroz Sháh succeeded him. Taghí, who was at Thatta, on learning this, hastened to give battle at the head of the tribes of Súmra, Járeja, and Samma, but was defeated. The Sultán quitted the environs of Thatta on the first day of the month of Safar of the above year, and ordered a fort to be built on the river Sánkra; and Amír Nasr was left there with 1000 horse. He founded a city called Nasrpúr, and Malik Bahrám was made ruler of it, and the surrounding districts. Bahrámpúr was named after him. Malik 'Alí Sher, and Malik Táj Káfúrí were left in Siwistán, and the Sultán went to Bhakkar. He appointed Malik Ruknu-d dín his vicegerent, and Malik 'Abdu-l Azíz as minister of finance, and garrisoned the fort with a body of chosen troops. He conferred the title of Ikhlás Khán on Malik Ruknu-d dín, and entrusted him with the affairs of all Sind. He then went to Dehli. In A.H. 772 (1370 A.D.), after the conquest of Nagarkot he proceeded to Thatta, whose chief, Jám Khairu-d dín retired to a fort upon the water, and there collected troops. Scarcity of provisions, and superabundance of mosquitos, forced the Sultán to return to Thatta. Jám Khairu-d dín submitted, came in, and paid his respects. The Sultán carried him towards Dehlí with all the other Zamíndárs, and when near Sihwán, upon learning that the Jám intended to flee, he had him put in chains. Sometime after this, he invested Jám Júna, son of Khairu-d dín with a *khil'at*, and appointed him to his father's post.

In A.H. 790 (1388 A.D.), Fíroz Sháh died, and was succeeded on the throne of Dehli by Sultán Tughlik Sháh. Then followed Sultán

[1] ["Rebel."]

[2] This place is about thirty miles from Girnár or Júnagarh.

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Abú Bakr, Sultán Muhammad Sháh, Sultán Sikandar Sháh, and then Sultán Násiru-d dín, who sent Sárang Khan to take possession of Debálpúr, Multán, and Sind.[1]

In A.H. 800 (1397 A.D.), Mirza Pír Muhammad, grandson of Amír Tímúr, crossed the river (Indus) and laid siege to the fort of Uch. Malik 'Alí, who was there on behalf of Sárang Khán, kept him in check for a month, and Sárang Khán despatched Málik Táju-d dín to his aid with 4000 men. Mirzá Pír Muhammad then raised the siege, marched from Uch, and defeated him. He then commenced the siege of Multán. After a siege of six months, Sárang Khán yielded and surrendered Multán. About this time, A.H. 801 (1398 A.D.), Tímúr himself arrived at Multán. From this time dates the downfall and cessation of the authority of the Sultáns of Dehli over the governors of Sind, who raised the standard of independence, as will be now related.

The Tribe of Súmra.

A portion of this tribe had got possession of parts of Sind before the time above-mentioned, so that the whole term of their authority may be reckoned at 550 years. Historians—observing their first appearance after the Al-i Tamím, who were the last governors on the part of the 'Abbásides—date the rule of the tribe from that time. When, as we have related, the administration of the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghaznivide and Ghorí kings, this tribe enjoyed full and undivided power. They sprang from the Arabs of Sámra, as has been mentioned before, who arrived in Sind in the fourth century of the Hijra.

It is said that Chhota Amrání, brother of Dalú Rái Amrání, was so much grieved at his brother's injustice which occasioned the ruin of the city of Alor, and clouded the prosperity of the city of Bhámbará, that he repaired to Baghdád and obtained from the Khalif 100 Arabs of Sámra whom, with the 'Ulamái Músawí, he brought to Sind, of whom more hereafter. At last, Dalú Rái submitted to the Saiyid and gave him his daughter in marriage. The Saiyid settled in Sind, and left descendants, and the town of Mut'alwí is their abiding place.

[1] Here is a further error in the Dehli annals, which is not to be attributed to Mír M'asúm.

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In short, as we have before said, in A.H. 720 (1320 A.D.) Ghází Malik march on Dehli, with an army collected from Multán and Sind, and overthrew Khusrú Khán. Then, ascending the throne, he assumed the style and title of Ghiásu-d din Tughlik Sháh, and devoted himself to the government of his new dominions.

The Súmras then collected a force from the neighbourhood of Tharí, and placed a man named Súmra on the throne. He settled the frontier of his country, and married the daughter of a zamíndár named Sád, who had set up a claim to independence. To him was born a son named Bhúngar, who on his death succeeded him in the government. After him, his son Dúdá brought the country as far as Nasrpúr into his possession. Dúdá died, leaving a son of tender age, named Singhár, so Tárí, daughter of Dúdá, took the government into her hands, but made it over to her brother when he arrived at years of discretion. Singhár pushed his way in the direction of Kach, and subjected the country as far as Báng-nai. He left no son, so his wife Hemú appointed her brothers to the government of the cities of Túr and Tharí. After a brief interval, a Súmra named Dúdá, who was ruling in the fort of Dhak, assembled his brethren from all sides, and extirpated the brethren of Hemú. At this juncture Dádu Phatú, a descendant of Dúdá, rebelled, and collecting a foreign force, he for some time carried on the government. After him, Khairá became ruler. Then Armíl became the master of the state. So the Sammas rebelled and slew him. This happened in the year 752 Hijra (1351 A.D.). The history of this family, from its rise to its fall, the number of its princes, and the causes of its decline, are very discordantly narrated. Thus the Muntakhabu-t Tawáríkh says that when the sovereignty was inherited by 'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Mahmúd, of Ghazní, it was soon perceived that he was lethargic and weak-minded. The men of Sind were therefore refractory and rebellious, and in the year 445 Hijra (1053 A.D.), the men of Súmra collected in the vicinity of Tharí, and raised a man named Súmra to the seat of government. This man reigned independently for a long period, and, marrying the daughter of a zamíndár named Sád, he died leaving a son named Bhúngar as his successor. Bhúngar, son of Súmra, reigned fifteen years, and died in the year 461 Hijra (1069

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A.D.) His son Dúdá succeeded, and reigned twenty-four years, dying in 485 Hijra (1092 A.D). After him Singhár reigned fifteen years; Khafif, thirty-six years; 'Umar, forty years; Dúdá, the second, fourteen years; Phatú, thirty-three years; Genhra,[1] sixteen years; Muhammad Túr, fifteen years; Genhra,[2] several years; Dúdá,[2] fourteen years; Táí,[2] twenty-four years; Chanesar, eighteen years; Bhúngar, fifteen years; Khafif, eighteen years; Dúdá, twenty-five years; 'Umar Súmra, thirty-five years; Bhúngar, ten years. Hamír then succeeded, but he was a tyrant, and the Samma tribe overthrew him. The rise of this family is related in various ways, and several rulers are mentioned beside those above enumerated; their fall, also, is described in many incongruous ways. 'Umar Súmra gave his name to the fort of 'Umarkot.

The Story of Múmal and Mendra.

One of the most remarkable events of his (Hamír Súmra's) time is the story of Múmal and Mendra, which is told thus:—A woman named Múmal, of the family of the Gújar chiefs, on the death of her father, ruled over his lands, and built a lofty palace on the outskirts of the city, outside which she, by magic art, conducted a stone canal like a river across the entrance of the palace; and she planted two life-like lions of terrible aspect, cut in stone, at the doorway, and within the ordinary sitting-room seven sofas were placed, covered with stuff of one design, six of which coverings were made of unspun thread, and underneath each sofa a deep well was dug. She then caused it to be given out that she would choose for her husband him who should pass the river and the lions, and sagaciously seat himself on the right seat. Many men were tempted to a trial, but none attained their object; nay, they stepped into the well of annihilation.

One day, Hámir Súmra went out hunting with three of his suite, one of whom was Ráná Mendra, his minister's wife's brother. He happened to meet a travelling Jogí, who so extolled the beauty of Múmal, that Hámir Súmra felt a great desire to see her. Taking his attendants with him, they turned their heads to the direc-

[1] ["Ghenra" in one MS.]

[2] [These three names are found only in the best of the two MSS.]

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tion indicated, and on reaching its vicinity put up within view of the palace. Múmal, on learning of their arrival, despatched a sharp slave girl to ascertain their quality, and bring the most important person of the party to be hospitably entertained.

First Hamír went with the girl, but she outstripped him; and he, on beholding that deep imaginary river, returned without attaining his object, and for very shame said nothing. The next night the girl came again, and bade one of the other strangers accompany her, but he also returned as Hamír had done. On the third night, the same thing happened to the third man. On the fourth night, Ráná Mendra set out with the girl, and when she wished to precede him, according to her custom, he seized the skirt of her garment, and put her behind, saying that it was not proper for slave girls to precede their masters. When he reached the visionary river he was puzzled for a moment. On sounding the depth of the water with the lance which he had in his hand, he found it had no real existence. He at once passed over, and saw the lions at the gate, but throwing his spear at them, he found they were not really alive.

He then pursued his object, entered the palace, and went into the sofa room; there he saw seven sofas or thrones, all of the same kind, and thought to himself that one of them must be especially intended to sit on, and that perhaps there was some deception about them. He then probed each with his spear, found out the substantial one, and sat down cross-legged upon it. The girl informed Múmal of the circumstances, and of his sagacity. She instantly came out, they were mutually pleased with each other, and the marriage knot was firmly tied. Mendra passed the night in rapturous enjoyment, and repaired early in the morning to the presence of Hamír and his friends, to whom he related his adventures. Hamír said, "As the woman has now become your own, you must be pleased to let me see her once." Accordingly, at night, Mendra took Hamír with him, dressed as a shepherd. Hamír bore the Ráná some ill-will for having set aside the respect due to him; he therefore carried him off to his own city, and placed him under arrest. As Mendra had given his heart to Múmal, he, with the privity of his guards, every night secretly mounted a

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very swift she-dromedary, who could perform five ordinary day's journey and back again in a single night, and having seen his beloved, and enjoyed the charms of her company, returned to his prison.

It chanced that one night Múmal had gone to see her sister. Mendra returned, and suspecting something wrong, became displeased, and gave up going any more. The innocent Múmal was greatly distressed at Mendra's displeasure, and quitted her own residence and country. Having arrived at the city where Mendra dwelt, she built a palace adjoining his, and had windows placed opposite to his windows that she might sometimes see him. Mendra, shrouded in displeasure, closed his windows on that side, and Múmal then built a palace opposite another face of Mendra's, and so on, opposite to each of its four faces, but did not succeed in seeing her beloved. At last, when Múmal saw that Mendra had entirely averted the face of regard from her, she breathed a sigh of anguish, and, wounded by despair, gave up her life. Intelligence of this was conveyed to Mendra, and since a lover powerfully affects the heart of the beloved, and as the attraction of hearts in the world of unity tends to one and the same object, he instantly, on hearing these lamentable tidings, sighed and expired. This story is sung in Sindí verse at certain established places, and religious devotees are transported to raptures and heavenly visions of Divine love, on hearing it. A certain Mullá Mukím has written this story in Persian verse, and called it "Tarannum-i 'Ishk," or the song of love.[1]

Story of Chanesar and Lailá.

A girl named Kaunrú, daughter of the powerful and renowned Ráná Khangár was betrothed to her cousin. Being incomparably beautiful, the young lady gave herself great airs among her associates. At that time no one could be compared to Chanesar, of Dewal, for beauty of person, store of wealth, extent of territory, or force of authority, and an alliance with him was earnestly desired by many beauties. One day a girl named Jamní, one of

[1] Lt. Burton has given this tale in a more attractive form, in his *Sindh*, pp. 114–123.

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Kaunrú's companions, said to her, tauntingly, "Perhaps you entertain thoughts of being married to Chanesar, since you practice so many fine airs, and are so affected." This taunt pierced Kaunrú's heart, and without even having seen Chanesar's face, she became desperately in love with him, and almost beside herself. When Marghín, her mother, found this out, she apprised Ráná Khangár of it. As a matrimonial alliance with Chanesar was the greatest honour of the day, and there seemed no way of accomplishing that except by stratagem, the Ráná advised Marghín to take their daughter in the garb of a merchant to Chanesar's town, without letting any one know of her so doing, and before Kaunrú should become the victim of despair, and thus perhaps Chanesar himself might become ensnared in the net of good contrivance. Agreeably to this recommendation, Marghín set out with her daughter and some merchandize, crossed the river Parpat, and leaving her own country of Dhat, soon entered the Dewal territory, and arrived at the city where Chanesar lived. She sent a message through a gardener's wife, to Jhakra, Chanesar's Wazír, intimating her desire for a union. Chanesar—devoted to Lailá, whose beauty and charms might excite the jealousy of the celebrated Lailá—returned for answer that he wished for none but Lailá, bade the gardener's wife beware of bringing more such messages to him, and directed the new comers to be sent away, lest Lailá should hear of them, and be annoyed. On being informed of this, Marghín sold her merchandise, and went one day into the presence of Lailá, in the garb of a poor stranger beggar woman, saying:—"Adverse circumstances have driven me and my daughter far from our own country; in spinning thread we have no equals, if you will kindly take us as your slaves, we will so serve you as to merit general approval." Lailá took them both, and was pleased with their work. After some time, the arrangements of Chanesar's bedchamber became Kaunrú's special charge. Kaunrú one night thought of her own country, and of her splendid position there, and her eyes filled with tears. Chanesar, seeing this, asked her what was the matter. She answered that she had raised the wick of the lamp, and then scratched her eye with the hand with which she did it, which brought the tears into her eye. On hearing this,

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Lailá was very pressing to learn the truth, and Kaunrú, after much pressing, said, "The truth is, I am the daughter of a sovereign, of such wealth, that the lustre of his jewels serves him for night-lights; hence the smoke of the lamp confused my brain, and the recollection of past days entered my head, and I wept that they were no more." Lailá asked her for proof of the truth of this pretension; she instantly produced a most delicate dress, such as Lailá had never seen, with a necklace worth nine lakhs of rupees. Lailá was charmed with such precious rareties, and desired to have them. Kaunrú and Marghín said, "We will give them on condition that you give us Chanesar for one night." As most women are wanting in understanding, she agreed to the terms, and one night, when Chanesar was drunk, she made him over to Kaunrú. Chanesar passed the entire night in unconsciousness, and when he awoke in the morning, was astonished at finding who it was he had in his bosom. Kaunrú's mother was all night on the alert as to what should happen. Finding in the morning that her daughter's object was not accomplished, she began muttering from behind the curtain, "how strange it is that Lailá should sell such a husband as Chanesar for a mere necklace! and that he should be ignorant of this; it is not fitting that a man should again consort with such a wife." Chanesar hearing this, looked lovingly on Kaunrú; she told him the whole particulars of her story from beginning to end. He then said:—"Since the case is thus, be of good heart, for I am no more Lailá's, and I will love you with my whole heart."

On Lailá hearing of what had taken place, all her stratagems were futile, her constant union was changed to utter separation After the lapse of a long time, she returned to her paternal village, and passed her time in solitude. Before this affair, a girl from the family of Lailá had been betrothed to the minister Jhakra; but after what had happened to Lailá her relations would not give the girl to him. As he was bent on the match, he tried many devices to bring about the marriage, but all in vain. Lailá sent word to him that if he could by any means contrive to bring Chanesar with him, she would pledge herself his desired marriage should take place.

On receiving this message, Jhakra, with much ado, persuaded Chanesar to accompany him to Lailá's village. Lailá changed her

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dress, and putting on the garb of a woman who bears the message of assignation, veiled her face, and entered the presence of Chanesar, when she spoke reproachfully of the relation in which he stood to Lailá. During the conversation, she played off some coquettish airs, and captivated Chanesar without his knowing who she was. As all Chanesar's abandonment of Lailá, and unkindness too, arose from jealousy, and he was in reality as much attached to her as ever, on the remembrance of the joys of the time of his union with her he became beside himself, and said, "O sweet-tongued girl! thou thyself art the rarest of beauties! How long wilt thou talk of Lailá? Speak to me of thyself, for my heart yearns to thee!" She replied: "How can the heart love one faithless as thou?" On hearing her speech, Chanesar wished to tear her veil off; but Lailá, who was herself her own messenger, at the very height of his ardour, unveiled herself with her own hand. When Chanesar saw that she was indeed Lailá, he suddenly drew a cold sigh from his sorrowful heart and expired. On seeing this, Lailá, too, uttered one groan and fell down lifeless. The pair were burned according to custom, and their strange story is well remembered by the people, and is the theme of a popular and moving song in the Sindí tongue. Idra'ki Beg-Lár composed a Persian poem on this story; the present writer, for fear of prolixity, has satisfied himself with relating thus much of it.

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Nawwáb Murád Khán.

He was by birth the son of a Rája, and newly converted to the Muhammadan faith. In the year 1099 H. (1688 A.D.) corresponding with the 31st of the reign, he was appointed to the government of Thatta. It is said, that several thousand Rájpúts accompanied him. When he arrived at the ferry, he learnt that it was necessary to pass through the butcher's shambles where cows were slaughtered, before he could reach the citadel. So he despatched a message to Kází Muhammad Husain, the Kází of the city, saying that he had with him a large body of Hindú Rájpúts, and requesting him to remove the shops of the cow-slaying butchers from the passage of the

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bazar, lest they should give offence to his followers, and some disturbance should arise. As the institutions of the king, the defender of the law, were not tolerant of the threats and menaces of such persons, the most worshipful Kází, that very night, directed the butchers to double the number of their usual stalls, and place them on both sides of the roads. When the governor heard of this, seeing it would be useless to act in opposition to His Majesty, the defender of the faith, he was compelled to pass according to the fashion observed by his predecessors. He remained two years in Thatta, during which his army gave much trouble to the Musulmáns. Upon a representation made by the chief residents, a royal order was received directing him to abandon his ridiculous crotchets and consider himself removed from the government of Musulmáns. When he was dismissed, he remained for some time at the fort of Tughlikábád, better known as Kalánkot, as he found the air suited to the complaint under which he was suffering, of weakness of sight. The king, out of regard to him, did not oppose this arrangement, but when his successor arrived at Thatta, he was summoned to the court. Some of the present defences and buildings of the fort of Tughlikábád are of his construction.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE (A).—GEOGRAPHICAL.

[Sir H. Elliot in his introductory remarks on Al Bírúní's geographical chapter, observed that before the time of that writer "the whole of Upper India was a perfect *terra incognita*, and the Arabians knew much less of it than Pliny and Ptolemy." The geographical extracts at the beginning of this volume, fully prove the justice of this observation. Multán, Mansúra, Alor, and other places of note in the valley of the Indus, were visited by their early travellers, and the ports upon the coast, especially those about the Gulf of Cambay, were also known from the reports of their mariners. All beyond this was vague, and evidently drawn from hearsay information. Their scanty knowledge is farther shown by the identity of much that was written on the subject. Sulaimán and Ma'súdi drew their information from the same or very similar sources; and a great part of Istakhrí's and Ibn Haukal's description is verbatim the same, so that there can be no doubt that one copied from the other. In Bírúní we have ample evidence of a much wider knowledge, not always accurate, not always intelligible at the present time, but still showing that he had acquired, either by personal travel or by diligent investigation, a fair general knowledge of the topography of Hindustan, and even of parts beyond.[1] Idrísí gives a full compilation from the works of his predecessors, with some additional matter from sources now lost to us, but he does not appear to have used the writings of Bírúní, and his work is blemished by many false spellings.]

[1] [He cannot be absolved from the blunder of having placed Thanesar in the Doáb, but the further error of locating Muttra on the east of the Jumna is due to his translators. All the versions of Rashídu-d dín say that the river lies on the east of the city, (وبر شرقي شهر جون افتادة). See first edition pp. 73, 97. *Reinaud's Fragments*, 82, 100.]

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[Sir H. Elliot endeavoured to identify and fix the position of several of the most important and interesting of the places mentioned by the early geographers and historians, and some additions have since been made, chiefly from sources unpublished at the time when his original volume appeared. The following is an index of the notes :—

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Balharà.

[The early Arab Geographers are unanimous in their spelling of the title "Balharà." The merchant Sulaimán says it is a title similar to the Chosroes of the Persians, and not a proper name. Ibn Khurdádba says that it signifies "King of Kings." According to Mas'údí it is a title borne by all the kings of the country, while Ibu Haukal states that it is a name derived from that of the country. Idrísí follows Ibn Khurdádba in giving to it the signification of "King of Kings," but, he adds, that the title was hereditary. Thus it seems clear that it was the general title of a dynasty, and that it must have borne some such signification as that assigned to it by Ibn Khurdádba.]

[Taking the accounts of the Arab writers, and comparing them with the Indian annals, there can be no great hesitation in identifying the "Balharà" with the dynasty settled at Ballabhi-pura, the princes of which were the founders of the Ballabhi era, and were

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probably known as the Ballabhi or Ballabh Ráís. This identification, originally proposed by Colonel Tod, has met with tacit acquiescence, except from M. Reinaud, who considered the term "Balharà" to represent Málwá Rái or "King of Málwá."][1]

[Ballabhi-pura was, according to Tod, "destroyed in the fifth century, by an irruption of the Parthians, Getes, Huns or Catti, or a mixture of these tribes,"[2] In another place he gives the date of this event from Jain records as A.D. 524.[3] And in a further passage he says, that after the destruction of Ballabhi-pura, its princes "fled eastward, eventually obtaining Chitor, when the Islands of Deo and Somnath-pattan, in the division termed Larika, became the seat of government. On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhalwára became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth century."[4] Hwen Tsang visited Balabhi in the seventh century, and Thomas gives the date of its destruction as 802 Samvat (745 A.D.)[5] The ruins of the city are well known, being situate about twenty miles west of Bhownuggur, in Kattiwar; and the name survives in that of the modern town of Wallay, which stands near them.[6]]

[Hindu authorities thus record the removal of the seat of government to the country of Lárike or Láta, which country Mas'údí names as being subject to the Balharà, and which the other writers describe as forming part of his dominions.]

[The capital of the Balharà is stated by Mas'údí to be "Mánkír (or Manákír) the *great centre* of India," and to be situated "eighty Sindí parasangs (640 miles) from the sea," a palpable exaggeration. Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal say that "Mánkír is the city in which the Balharà dwells, but they do not name it in their lists of the cities of Hind. Bírúní and Idrísí make no mention of it. The unavoidable inference is that the place had fallen to decay, and was known only by tradition in the days of these Arab writers.]

[The name Mánkír or Manákír bears a suggestive resemblance to "Minagara," a city which Ptolemy places on the Nerbadda,

[1] [Rel. des Voyages, xciv. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 138, 144.]
[2] [*Travels* I. 23.] [3] [*Annals* I. 217.]
[4] [Tod, *Travels* I. 213.] [5] [Thomas' Prinsep *Useful Tables*, p. 158.]
[6] [Journal Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. p. 146.]

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among the cities of Larike. Both are probably representatives of the Sanskrit *mahá-nagara*, "great city." Mánkír is said to mean "great centre," so that the word *mahá* (great) must be represented by the first syllable *má*; and the other syllables *nakír* or *nákír* are by no means a bad Arabic transcription of "Nagara," for the alphabet would not allow of a closer version than *nakar*. In Minagara, the word *nagara*, "city" is unquestionable. Ptolemy mentions another Minagara on the East coast, somewhere near the Mahánadí river, and Arrian, in the Periplus, has another Minagara in the valley of the Indus. The syllable *mi* would therefore seem to be a common appellative, having no local or ethnological import, but corresponding with *mahá* or some similar word.]

[The bearings of Minagara and of some of the neighbouring places are thus stated by Ptolemy :—

Minagara	115°	15′	×	19°	30′
Barygaza Emporium (Broach)	113	15	×	17	20
Siripalla	116	30	×	21	30
Xeragere	116	20	×	19	50
Ozene (Ujjain).....	117	00	×	20	00
Tiatura	115	50	×	18	50
Nasica (Násik).....	114	00	×	17	00
Namadi fluvii fontes à monte Vindio	127	00	×	26	30
Fluvii flexio juxta Siripalla	116	30	×	22	00

There is a palpable error in these statements of Ptolemy, for he places Ujjain to the south of Nerbadda, and two degrees south of the bend of the river near Siripalla. But Ujjain lies to the north of the Nerbadda, and the river has no noticeable bend in this quarter. The river Mahí, however, has a very great bend; Ujjain lies to the south of it, and the respective bearings are more in agreement, so that the two rivers would here seem to have been confounded.]

[Tiatura may be Talner, and Xeragere may be Dhar, as Lassen supposes, for these are situated on well-known roads, and as General Cunningham forcibly observes, Ptolemy's geography must have been compiled from routes of merchants. Comparing the bearings of the various places, Minagara would seem to have been situated somewhere between Dhar and Broach. Lassens identifies Minagara with Balabhi-pura, but this city was situated too far west.]

[The neighbourhood of Dhar is exactly the locality in which

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Idrísí would at first sight seem to place Nahrwárá or Nahlwárá, which he leads us to infer was the capital of the Balhará in his time. This city, he tells us, was situated eight days' journey inland from Broach through a flat country. The towns of Hanáwal (or Janáwal) and Dulka lie between them, and Dulka is situated on the river (Nerbadda) which forms the estuary on which Broach stands, and at the foot of a chain of mountains called Undaran, lying to the north. Near Hanáwal there is another town called Asáwal. This description is inconsistent, for Asáwal is an old name of Ahmadábád, and that city lies to the north far away from the Nerbadda. Abú-l Fidá seems to rectify this, for he declares Cambay to be the port of Nahrwárá, which city he says is three days' journey from a port. He refers to Abú Ríhán as spelling the name Nahlwára, and on turning back to page 61, it will be seen that this is his orthography. The city described by Abú Ríhán and Abú-l Fidá is undoubtedly Anhalwára Pattan, and if Cambay be substituted for Broach in Idrísí's description, the account, so far as we understand it, will be consistent with itself and with the other writers. Cambay stands at the head of the bay which bears its name, between the mouths of the Sábarmatí on the west, and the Mahí on the east. Asáwal or Ahmadábád is on the left bank of the former, and the Arávallí chain of mountains lies to the north of Anhalwára. Idrísí specially mentions the bullock carriages of Nahrwára, and those of Guzerát are still famous. Lastly, no Nahrwára is known near the river Nerbadda. Thus Ptolemy and Idrísí would both seem to have confounded the river of Broach (the Nerbadda) with those of Cambay (Sábarmatí and Mahí).]

[Hwen Tsang, who travelled in India between 629 and 645 A.D., visited the kingdom of "*Fa-la-pi*" (Vallabhí), but his account does not help to settle the locality of the capital, for he only says that it was a journey of 1000 *li* (166½ miles) north from Málwá. The kings were of Kshatriya race, and were connected with the sovereigns of Kanya-kubja, the reigning monarch, Dhruva Bhatta, being son-in-law either of King Siláditya or of that king's son.]

[The "Balhará" would thus seem to represent, as Tod affirmed, the Ballabh Ráís of Ballabhi-pura who were succeeded by the Bala Ráís of Anhalwára Pattan. Their territories included the ports in the country of Láta (Lárike) on the gulf of Cambay. These ports

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were frequented by Arab trading vessels, and so the accounts given of the Balharà by their geographers, vague and meagre as they are, exceed all that is recorded by them of the other cotemporary kingdoms. The extent of the Balharà's territory can only be surmised, and no doubt it underwent continual change. Mas'údí, by implication, places Tanna within his dominions, but this is farther south than would seem to be warranted. The Táptí on the south, and the Arávallí mountains on the north may perhaps represent an approximation to the real extent of the kingdom. This may appear a limited dominion for a monarch of such renown as the Arabs represent the Balharà to have been; but it must be remembered that these writers were accustomed to a simple patriarchal form of government, free from the pomp and splendour of the further east.]

[There are copper records extant showing that in the first half of the fourth century grants of land in the neighbourhood of Jambúsír were made by the Gurjjara rájas and by the Chálukyas. The latter were of a Rajput tribe, and would then appear to have been making their way southwards to the scene of their subsequent power. In 812 A.D., just before the time of the merchant Sulaimán, a grant was made by the "Láteswara," that is, "King of Láta," but the names therein recorded have not been identified with those in any of the dynastic lists. Allowing for the omissions not unusual in such grants, there is a Dhruva who may correspond with the Dhruva Bhatta of Hwen Tsang.]

Juzr or Jurz.

[Sulaimán and Ibn Khurdádba write the name "Jurz" but the Paris edition of Mas'údí has Juzr, which the editors understand as signifying Guzerat. Abú Zaid says incidentally that Kanauj is "a large country forming the empire of Jurz;"[1] and relying upon this statement M. Reinaud identifies Jurz with Kanauj.[2] But Mas'údí locates the Bauüra at Kanauj, and speaks of Juzr as quite a distinct kingdom. Sulaimán and Mas'údí concur in making the country border on the kingdoms of the Rahma and the Balharà, and the former says that the country is situated on a tongue of land, and is rich in camels and horses. "Juzr" closely resembles the name "Guzerát," especially in its Arabic form "Juzarát" and the other

[1] [Ante p. 10. The Arabic text gives the name as "Juz."]
[2] [Rel. des Voyages, xcv. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 206.]

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known conditions are satisfied by this identification. Guzerát is a peninsula, it bordered on the dominions of the Balharà, and the horses of Kattiwár are still famous.]

[Hwen Tsang visited the "kingdoms of *Su-la-cha* or Suráshtra, and *Kiu-che-lo* or Gurjjara, after that of Vallabhi, but, according to his expositor, M. Vivien de St. Martin, *Su-la-cha* (*Suráshtra*) represents the modern Guzerát, and *Kiu-che-lo* (*Gurjjara*) "the country of the Gujars" between Anhalwára and the Indus. This location of the two territorial names differs from the generally received acceptation of their meaning, and rests entirely upon the expositor's interpretation of Hwen Tsang's confused statements—the only arguments adduced in its favour, being a proposed identification of *Pi-lo-mo-lo*, which Hwen Tsang gives as the name of the capital of *Kiu-che-lo*, with the modern *Bálmer;* and an ethnological theory that the Gujars *might* have given their name to this country in the course of their migrations. But no example of such an application of the name is adduced, and Hwen Tsang himself in another passage (p. 169) accurately describes this very country as being north of *Kiu-che-lo*, and stretching "1900 *li* (316½ miles), a travers des plaines sauvages et des déserts dangereux" to the river Indus. The Sanskrit *Suráshtra* and *Gurjjara* survive in the modern names *Surat* and *Guzerát*, and, however the territories embraced by the old terms may have varied, it is hard to conceive that *Surat* was not in *Suráshtra* nor *Guzerát* in *Gurjjara*. All evidence goes to prove that the old and modern names applied to the same places. Thus, Ptolemy's *Surastrene* comprises *Surat*, and the grants of the "Rajas of Gurjjara" dated in the early part of the fourth century, conveyed land in the vicinity of *Jambusara* or "Jumbooseer."—Bírúní (*supra* p. 67), shows what the Muhammadans understood by Guzerát in his day, and while *Guzerát* answers to the "*Juzr*," of his predecessors, the supposed "country of the Gujars" does not, for that cannot be said to be "a tongue of land."]

[The fact is that there is great confusion in this part of Hwen Tsang's itinerary, and his bearings are altogether untrustworthy. In the first volume he says, "Du cote de l' ouest ce royaume (*Suráshtra*) touche à la rivière *Mahi*;" but in vol. ii. p. 165, he says "La capitale touche du côté de l'ouest à la rivière *Mo-hi* (*Mahi*)." A very material difference. The first statement is quite in agreement with the true

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position of *Surâshtra*. Hwen Tsang represents his route to have proceeded *north* from *Kach* to *Vallabhi*. This error, M. Vivien de Saint-Martin observes, renders it necessary to reverse the direction, and he adds, "Ceci est une correction capitale qui affecte et rectifie toute la suite de l'itinéraire." If it is thus necessary to reverse the north and south, may it not be also necessary to do the same with the east and west? No such general correction, however, will set matters right; for Hwen Tsang says correctly that he proceeded south-east from *Gurjjara* to *Ujjain*. It is curious, moreover, that M. V. de Saint-Martin does not adhere to his "correction capitale," for Hwen Tsang states that he went *north* from *Vallabhi* to *Gurjjara* and his expositor, places *Gurjjara* to the *north*, while according to his own canon it ought to be *south*.[1]]

Táfan.

[Sulaimán writes the name "Táfak;" Ibn Khurdádba and Mas'údí have "Táfan." Reinaud cites also the variations "Tákan" and "Tában." Founding his opinion on the statement as to the beauty of the women, whom he supposes to be Mahrattas, Reinaud places this country in the neighbourhood of Aurangábád.[2] His argument is amusing, but is untenable, for it is inconsistent with the account given of the country by the Arab writers. Mas'údí says, "Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the king of Kashmír, the king of Táfan, and others;" and again, "the Mihrán (Indus) comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Bauüra, and from Kashmír, Kandahár and Táfan." Sulaiman says that "Táfak" lies by the side of the kingdom of Juzr, and this is inconsistent with Reinaud's view of Juzr being Kanauj and Táfak being Aurangábád; for if Juzr be Guzerát, Táfak must be placed to the north of it, as the dominions of the Balharâ were on the south-east. The mountains in this direction are, first, the Árávalí mountains; next, the Salt-range, and lastly, the Himalayas. In Kazwíní there is a notice of the fort of "Taifand," subdued by Mahmúd of Ghazní, in the year 1023 A.D.[3]

[1] [Stanislas Julien's "Hiouen Thsang," Map and Mémoire Analytique. Thomas' Prinsep I. 260; Vishnu Purána, p. 177; Journal R. A. S, Vol. I. p. 247, N.S.]

[2] [Rel. des Voy. ci.]

[3] [Ante, p. 99.]

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This fort he represents as being on the summit of a mountain, to which there was only one way of access, and when taken, there were 500 elephants in the place. The names are sufficiently similar, and the descriptions point to the same locality. In the absence of more definite information, the Salt-range seems to comply most closely with what we are told about the position of Táfand.]

Rahma or Ruhmi.

[According to Sulaimán, this State is bordered by those of Balharà, Jurz and Táfand, and is constantly at war with the two former. Mas'údí says it stretches along the sea and continent, and is bounded inland by a kingdom called Káman. He adds that Rahma is the title of their kings, and generally their name also. They had great strength in troops, elephants, and horses. Reinaud says it "appears to correspond with the ancient kingdom of Visapour,"[1] but it is difficult to fix the locality of this kingdom. The name is probably the Sanskrit Ráma. The use of kaurís for money, the extremely fine cotton fabrics, and the existence of the rhinoceros in the country, would point to a locality on the Bay of Bengal about Dacca and Arracan. If the neighbouring kingdom, which Mas'údí calls Káman, is the same as that which Ibn Khurdádba calls Kámrún and places on the borders of China, there can be no doubt that Kámrúp or Assam is intended, and this identification, which is exceedingly probable, will confirm the locality of Dacca as the probable site of the kingdom of Rahma. The accounts of this kingdom and of Kámrúp were probably gathered by the Arab writers from mariners who had visited the ports in the Bay of Bengal, and their ignorance of the interior of the country, led them to infer that the territories of the Balharà on the western coast were conterminous with those of Rahma on the eastern side.]

Káshbín.

[Tod identifies Káshbín with Kach Bhúj, while Reinaud supposes it to be Mysore.[1] All the description given of it is that it is an inland country, so that in the absence of any closely resembling Indian name, its locality is a mere matter of guess.]

[1] [Rel. des Voy. cii.]

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Agham.—The Lohánas.

Agham, or Agham-kot, lies about thirty miles south-east from Haidarábád, and though now almost forgotten, it was formerly a place of some consequence. Its position is not very easily identified, and the name is rarely introduced into the maps. In Lt. Burton's it seems to be entered under the name of "Angoomanoo," and in the Quartermaster-General's map of 1850, under that of "Aghamama."

The *Beg-Lar Náma* says it is on the Rain. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* mentions it among the towns on the Sánkra. Capt. McMurdo says it is on the Lohána Daryá; but he strangely fixes its site at Kalákot, seven miles to the west of Thatta, observing erroneously that it is not mentioned till long after the Arab conquest. Its position may be indicated at present as lying between the Gúní and the Rain; but it does not follow that it will answer to that description next year, as the course of these streams is constantly shifting.

It is also called Agham Lohána. In the *Chach-náma*, we find frequent mention of a chief under that name, who was governor of Brahmanábád in the time of Chach. Lohána is the designation of a powerful tribe, which at that period, under an apparent confusion of terms, is said to have included both the Samma and Lákha clans. It can merely mean that they were then in a position of comparative subordination. Under all the vicissitudes the Lohánas have undergone, they still retain their credit, as well as their religion, and constitute the most influential tribe in Sind, whether regarded as merchants or officials. But, not confined within that narrow province, they have spread their ramifications beyond the western borders of India, and are found dispersed throughout Afghánistán, Buluchistán, and Arabia, exposed to inconveniences, insults, and dangers of no ordinary kind, in pursuit of their darling object of wealth, and final return to their native soil to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The Lohánas derive their name and origin from Lohanpúr in Multán. The date of their emigration must have been very early, and even their own traditions do not attempt to fix it. Their subdivisions are said to amount at least to fifty, the chief of them being the Khudábádí and Sihwání. They all of them wear the Janeo, or

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Brahmanical thread. Though, for the most part, they worship the Hindu deities, a few have adopted the faith of Bábá Nának. They are described, by an accurate observer, as eating meat, addicted to spirituous liquors, not objecting to fish and onions, drinking water from the hand of their inferiors as well as superiors in caste, and being neither frequent nor regular in their devotions.

As the town of Agham is mentioned as early as the time of Muhammad Kásim, we may presume that it derived its name from the Lohána chieftain above-mentioned, who was the contemporary and opponent of Chach.[1]

Alor.

[This name is found in various forms—Mas'údí (p. 23) calls it Al Rúr; Ibn Khurdádba writes Al Daur (p. 14); Istakhrí has Al Rúz (p. 27), and Al Rúr (p. 28). The *Ashkalu-l Bilád* has Aldúr (p. 34), and Alrúr (p. 37); Gildemeister makes Ibn Haukal's version to be Rúz and Alrúz; Bírúní's spelling is ambiguous (see p. 48); Idrísí has Dúr (p. 79). The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* has Al Rúr.] The ruins of the town lie between Bhakkar and Khairpur, and are known by the name of Alor. Lieut. Maclagan says that it is also called Aror and that the *band* spoken of by Burnes is really an arched bridge. [There can be little doubt of the first syllable being the Arabic *al*, and the real name Rúr, as it survives in the modern town of Rorí, which stands close by the ruins of Alor.]

Amhal, Fámhal, Kámhal, or Mámhal.

[The name of the border town between Sind and Hind appears in many forms. Istakhrí has Amhal, Fámhal, and Kámhal; the *Askálu-l Bilád* has Fámhal in the text, but Kámhal in the map. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal has Kámuhul. Idrísí has Mámhal; Abú-l Fída has Kámhal, but a note states that a MS. of Ibn Haukal gives the name as Fámhal. The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* has both Kámhal and Mámhal, giving Biládurí as authority for the latter. Careless writing and the omission of sometimes of one, sometimes of two points, will account for the various readings of Fámhal, Kámhal, and Mámhal, and taking this view of the question, Kámhal would

[1] Compare, *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 39, 41, 49, 66, 144, 195, 200. *Beg-Lar-náma* MS. p. 73. *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 143. Captain McMurdo, *Journal of the Royal As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 24, 30, 247. Lieut. Burton, *Sindh*, pp. 314-317, 338-342.

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appear to be the best reading. Looking, however, at its reported position, at two-thirds of the distance between Mansúra and Kambáya, it would appear to answer to Anhalwára, and, if so, Istakhrí's solitary reading "Amhal" is right. *Wára* is a common noun, signifying "field."[1]

Armá-bel.

The name of this place frequently occurs during the early period of Arab connection with Sind; but neither its orthography nor position can be established with certainty. The *Chach-náma*, in different passages, calls it Armáel, Armaná-bíl, Armapilla, and Armábel (p. 157). The *Futúhu-l buldán* has Armáíl; which M. Reinaud reads Armâyl, but considers the true reading to be Armâbyl, for the reason given in the note.[2] Ibn Khurdádba and Istakhri write Armábíl (pp. 14, 29); Ibn Haukal according to the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* has Armáil (p. 34), and Armábíl (p. 38), Gildemeister, his translator, reads it as Armâil, and suggests Armâbil as preferable.[3] The *Nubian Geographer* has Armíyáel and Armáyíl, which his translator gives as Ermaiil (p. 77 note). The translator of *Idrísí* has the same (pp. 77 and 80). Abú-l Fídá, with his usual pretensions to accuracy, pronounces it Armábíl. The *Maráṣidu-l Ittilá'* has Armá-íl. Ouseley prefers Armaiel. An old and rare Persian lexicon writes it as Armábal.[4] The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* has Armanbíla, Armanpela, or some similar name. It is not entered in any modern map which I have seen, except that in Rees' *Cyclopædia*, where it receives the name of Ermajil, evidently derived from the map in the French or Dutch edition of Abbé Prévost's *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Vol. xv., where it bears the same name, and is apparently set down from the statement of the Nubian Geographer. It is not in Ouseley's small map, prefixed to his *Epitome of the Ancient History of Persia*, which, however, includes some other names given only by the Arab geographers.

[1] [Ritter, v. 550.]

[2] *Candâbyl* et *Armâbyl* sont peut-être l'équivalent de *Cand de Abyl*, *Arm de Abyl*. Dans cette hypothèse *Abyl* serait le nom primitif de la province. En effet, Alestakhry et Ibn-Haucal s'accordent à dire que *Abyl*, ou un mot approchant, sert à désigner un personnage qui jadis régna sur le pays et lui donna son nom.—*Fragments*, p. 192.

[3] Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 177 and 178.

[4] *Farhang-i Ibráhímshahí*.

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With respect to its locality, we read of Chach's going to it on his way from the Indus to Makrán, and his finding there a governor on the part of the late ruler of Sind; and we also read of Muhammad Kásim capturing it on his way from Makrán to Debal (pp. 119, 151 and 157). Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal speak of it as being in the province of Makrán, and six days' journey from Kíz, our modern Kedge. The other Arab geographers, as usual, follow these authorities.

Combining all these several names and statements together, I am disposed to consider that Armá-bel is the ancient and correct reading; and that its name is partly preserved in, while its position corresponds with, the modern Bela, the capital of the province of Las. It is placed on a considerable eminence—a strong and rocky site on the northern bank of the Purálí (the Arabis of the ancients); and, though it is now partly surrounded by a sorry mud wall, and contains only about 300 houses, there are old Muhammadan sepulchres and other vestages of antiquity in its neighbourhood, especially about five miles to the westward, which seem to indicate its greater importance at some former period. Coins, trinkets, and funereal jars are occasionally found there; and in the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating the province of Las from the old town of Jhow, numerous caves and rock-temples exist, ascribed by tradition to Farhád and the fairies, but which have been considered by an observant traveller to be the earthly resting abodes of the former chiefs, or governors, of the province.[1]

What adds much to the probability of this identification is, that Bela is mentioned in the native histories, not simply as Bela, but as Kárá-Bela; showing that it has been usual to prefix another name, which is now dropped in ordinary converse.

Askalanda.—Uchh.—Alexandria.

The Askalanda, Asal-kanda, and Askalandra of the *Chach-náma* is the same as the Askaland and 'Askaland-Usa of the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*, and the Askandra and Askanda of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. The close correspondence of name, especially in the last instance, induces us at once to recognise it as identical with the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus; but a little

[1] Masson's *Journey to Kalát*, p. 305; see also his *Travels in Balochistan*, etc., Vol. II, p. 28.

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examination will show this resemblance to be more specious than real.[1]

The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided in four Satrapies, of which the third (v. *supra*, p. 138) comprised the fort of Askalanda and Máíbar,[2] "which are also called Talwára and Chachpúr." It is evident, from the description of the other Satrapies, that this one contained the whole tract north-east of Alor, and south-east of the Panjnad and Ghara; almost precisely the same, in short, as the present Dáúdpútra country. Now Máíbar and Chachpúr still exist, under the modernised names of Mírbar and Cháchar, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and Indus, on the eastern side of the river, opposite to Mittankot; and in them, therefore, we should have to look for Alexandria, if, which is not probable, it was on the left bank of the Indus. Consequently, Askalanda must have been higher up the river, as subsequent passages will show.

In the time of Chach (p. 141), the governor of Pábiya "south of the river Bíás," fled to Askalanda, which, therefore, was not likely to have been far from, or across, that river. Again, some years after, (pp. 202, 203), we find Muhammad Kásim breaking up his camp at Pábiya,[3] "on the southern bank of the Bíás," to go to Askalanda. It is not expressly mentioned that he crossed that river, and we may presume, therefore, that he did not. Nowhere else do we find any indication of its position; but, as will be seen in the note upon the Meds, it was the capital when Jayadratha and Dassál ruled in Sind.

Its proximity to the Bíás and its name of Askaland-*U'sa*[4] lead us to regard it as the Uchh of more modern times. That place bears marks of the most undoubted antiquity, and the absence of all mention of it in the *Chach-náma* where we are, both in the time of Chach and Muhammad Kásim, introduced to many transactions in its

[1] That Askaland also is a corruption of Alexandria, seems probable, from the peculiar position in Balkh and Tukháristán assigned to the Askalkand, Sikilkand, and Saklakand of the Arabian geographers.—Abu-l Fida, *Geog.*, p. 473.—Juynboll, *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*, Vol. II. p. 40.

[2] ["Maibar" is the reading of Sir H. Elliot's MS. in this passage, but "Pábiya" is the more general spelling. See *supra*, p. 138, 140.]

[3] [The text has "Yábiba," but Pábiya must be meant.]

[4] [It is very doubtful if *U'sa* is really part of the name. See note in p. 109.]

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neighbourhood, can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is disguised under some other appellation.

It has been supposed, indeed, that the name of the Oxydracæ is derived from this old town of Uchh, but their position, according to Strabo and Arrian, appears rather to have been on the western side of the Acesines; and it is a curious coincidence that, in that direction also, there is another ancient Uchh, now in ruins, near the junction of the Hydaspes with that river, which offers a far more probable identification, and allows us, moreover, to assign to the Ossadii, instead of the Oxydracæ, the Uchh, or Askaland-Usa, near the junction of the Hyphasis with the Acesines. The name of the Oxydracæ assumes various forms in different authors.—*Hydracæ* in Strabo, *Syracousæ* in Diodorus, *Scydroi*, *Scothroi*, and *Scythroi* in Dionysius, *Sydraci* in Pliny, *Sygambri* in Justin, and *Oxydracæ* in Strabo, Arrian, Curtius, Stephanus, and others; but in no author are they confounded with the *Ossadii*, which constituted a separate tribe, acting entirely independent of the *Oxydracæ*.

It is certain that neither the upper nor lower Alexandria was built near the present Uchh. So cursorily, indeed, does Arrian notice the confluence near that spot, that Major Rennell and Dr. Vincent carry the Hyphasis direct into the Indus, without bringing it first into the Acesines. Nevertheless, although Alexander may himself have raised no city there, we might still be disposed to admit that the celebrity of his power and conquests may have given rise to the name of Askaland, or Askandra, did we not reflect that, if we are to put any trust in the chronology of the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*, the name must have preceded the invasion of the Grecian conqueror, and cannot therefore, independent of the other reasons above mentioned, be connected with it.[1]

Bániya.

[This name occurs in the list of the cities of Sind as given by

[1] Diod. Sic. *Biblioth Hist.* xvii. 102.; Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 14, 15; Strabo, *Geog.*, xv. *Tauchnitz*, III. 252, 273; Q. Curtius, *De gest. Al.*, ix. 16, 31. *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, pp. 27, 47; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 16, 17; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 31; Vincent, *Voyage of Nearchus*, pp. 133-135; Droysen, *Geschichte Alex.*, p. 446; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. 1, p. 471; Mannert, *Geog. der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V. Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, Vol. III. p. 199, and *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. I. Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, Vol. II.p. 415; Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, p. 33.

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Istakhrí (p. 27), and the *Ashkalu-l Bilád* of Ibn Haukal (p. 34), but no description is given of the place. Idrísí says that it is a small but pleasant place, about three days' journey from Mansúra on the road to Mámhal, and so it is laid down in the maps of Istakhrí and the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*. It is not mentioned by Abu-l Fidá, nor in the *Marasidu-l Ittilá'*. The *Bháti* mentioned by Bírúní at page 61, and the *Bátiya* in the *Chach-náma* (p. 174), are probably variant spellings of the same name.]

Bhambúr.—Barbarike.

Bhambúra, or Bhambúr, is not named in our oldest works on Sind; but it is mentioned in a modern native historian as having been captured during the Khalifat of Hárúnu-r Rashíd. It is the scene of many legendary stories of Sind; and, according to one of them, owes its destruction in a single night to the divine wrath which its ruler's sins drew down upon it. Its ruins skirt the water's edge for about a quarter of a mile, and cover a low hill almost surrounded by a plain of sand, a little to the right of the road from Karáchí to Ghára, and about two miles from the latter place. There are evident marks of its having been at one time flourishing and populous; and even now, after heavy rains, coins, ornaments, and broken vessels are found among the debris of the fort.

Coupling these manifest signs of antiquity, with the fact that the natives commonly considered Bhambúr as the oldest port in Sind, and that the legend at page 332, proves its connection with the main stream of the Indus, it may possibly represent the Barbarik Emporium of the Periplus, and the Barbari of Ptolemy; the easy conversion from the native Bhambúr into the more familiar Barbari being a highly probable result of the wanton mispronunciation to which the Greeks were so much addicted. But opposed to this is the statement of Arrian, that Barbarike was on the centre stream of the Delta, which would make Láhorí-bandar its more likely representative. Perhaps in Arrian's time there may have been direct communication between the main channel and Bhambúr.[1]

[1] Arrian, *Periplus maris Eryth.*, pp. 22, 24; Ptolemy, *Geogr.* lib. vii. c.; Capt. McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. S.*, Vol. I. p. 25; Lt. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 389; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 166, 234.

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Bráhmanábád.—Mansúra.—Mahfúza.

In the time of the native dynasties which preceded the Arabs, the capital of Lower Sind was Bráhmanábád.

[The old name of the place, according to Bírúní, was Bahmanu or Bahmanwá. The *Ashkálu-l Bilád* calls it Bámíwán (p. 34), but Ibn Haukal gives the name as "Támírámán" according to Gildemeister, and "Mámíwán" according to Major Anderson. Idrísí has Mírmán (p. 78), but this is obviously a blunder. In the *Chach-náma*, the name is written Báín-wáh, and in the *Tárikh-i Táhiri*, Páín-wáh. It is probably the Bhámbaráwáh of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 332). Captain McMurdo writes it *Báhmana*, and Briggs "Bamunwasy."[1]]

Under its immediate government were included Nírún, Debal, the country of the Lohánas, the Lákhas, and the Sammas, and the whole southern coast. Its position, therefore, was one of great importance, and as its ruin is comparatively modern, it is surprising that so much doubt should exist with respect to its locality.

Various positions have been assigned to Bráhmanábád. The *Áyín-i Akbarí* says the fort had 1400 bastions, and that "to this day there are considerable vestiges of this fortification;"[2] but it is not said in what direction, or on which side of the river, it lay; but the mention of the bastions would seem to point out that Kalákot was probably indicated. In a passage in the *Beg-Lár-náma*, mention is made of "a place called Matáhila, near the fortress of Bráhmanábád, twenty *kos* distant from Nasrpúr" (MS. p. 80). Dr. Vincent says it was within four miles of Thatta, and corresponded with Pattala,[3] concurring in this with D'Anville and Rennell.

Capt. McMurdo fixes it on the Púrán, afterwards called Lohána Daryá, but it is not quite plain what he means by the Lohána Daryá.[4] He, at any rate, altogether repudiates Thatta and Kalákot, and we must look for his Bráhmanábád near Nasrpúr. "It was situated on the Lohána Daryá, at a short distance from where it separates from the Púrán." Again, "On or near the Púrán river, in what was sub-

[1] [Ante p. 34, 61, 189; Bírúní's *Kánún*, quoted by Thomas in Prinsep, Vol. II. p. 120; Reinaud, *Fragments*, pp. 41, 113; *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 61; Jour. R. A. S. I. 27; Firishta, iv. 405; Gildemeister, *de rebus Ind.* 164; J. A. S. Beng. xxi. p. 50.]

[2] Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 115.

[3] *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 168.

[4] [The Falailí river in all probability.]

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sequently called the Shahdadpúr Pergana. Báhmana was afterwards called Díbal Kángara."[1] Dr. Burnes fixes it at Kalákot,[2] and so does Sir A. Burnes.[3] Capt. Postans says Bhambúra, mentioning at the same time native tradition in favour of Khudábád, a little above Haidarábád.[4]

There seems no reason to conclude that the Bráhmanábád, or Bahmanábád, of which we are treating, was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, upon his invasion of Sind. His city is expressly said to have been built in the province of Budha,[5] which never extended so far as the Indus. Nor is it probable that, had he built a city on the Indus, he would have done so on the eastern, rather than on the western, bank of that river. The fact is, that Bahmanábád is a mere abbreviated form of Bráhmanábád; and is still a very common mode of elision throughout Western India and the Dekhin, where Bráhman, in common parlance, is usually converted into Bahman.

Though the *Chach-náma* does not anywhere expressly point out where Bráhmanábád was situated, we are at any rate assured, from several passages, that it was on the eastern side of the Indus, and this alone is sufficient to show that the speculations which have been raised, respecting the identity of Kalákot and Thatta with that old capital, rest upon no solid foundation.

We may fairly consider, in general terms, that Bráhmanábád, after being intermediately succeeded by the Arab capital Mansúra, is now represented by the modern Haidarábád; and although it may not have been upon the identical spot occupied by the modern capital, it was at least within the island, or peninsula, formed by the Falailí and the main stream of the Indus, from which the former seems to have diverged in old days at a point higher than at present. Matárí, indeed, would seem to be the most probable site of the city, with reference to the quotation given above from the *Beg-Lar-náma*. To fix it higher up, as at Khudábád or Hála, would take it too far from Mansúra, which we have next to consider.

Biládurí tells us that old Bráhmanábád was about two parasangs distant from Mansúra, which, in the time of Muhammad Kásim, was

[1] *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 23-8, 30, 38, 232.
[2] *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 133.
[3] *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 31.—*Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 210.
[4] *Personal Observations on Sindh*, p. 161 and 163. [5] *Supra*, p. 106.

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occupied by a forest[1] (p. 122). When we consider the space which is always covered by the sites of old Indian towns, from the straggling mode of their erection, we are authorized to conclude that a large portion of Bráhmanábád was included in Mansúra, and that, in point of fact, the two sites are identical. The position of Haidarábád, upon a ridge of limestone hills about eighty feet high, must, from the first, have pointed out that site as a commanding one for a capital, and it has probably ever been thus occupied, by successive towns, from the first dawn of Sindian civilization. It is, indeed, on the site of Bráhmanábád that D'Anville would place the earlier Minagara, in which he is followed by Reinaud.[2]

The *'Ajáibu-l Makhlúkát* says that Nasrpúr was built on the site of Mansúra, and the same opinion is expressed by D'Anville,[3] and accredited by the local information of Capt. McMurdo. Tieffenthaler,[4] Vincent,[5] Rennell,[6] Tod,[7] and Gildemeister,[8] misled by the mistake of Abú-l Fazl,[9] fix Mansúra at Bhakkar. M. Reinaud considers the testimony of Biládurí, Mas'údí, Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and Al Birúní to bear out D'Anville entirely in his position of Nasrpúr; but the mere fact that all the geographers agree in representing a branch of the Indus as flowing by Mansúra, is quite sufficient to dislodge Nasrpúr, which is twelve miles from the nearest point of the river.

Biládurí tells us that, after Hakim had built Mahfúza on the Indian side of the lake,—or body of water, whatever it may have been,[10]—his successor 'Amrú built Mansúra on this (the western) side, and established it as the capital. M. Reinaud says, "Mahfúza was built in the neighbourhood of the capital (Bráhmanábád), on the other side of a lake fed by the waters of the Indus." I do not find on what authority this is stated. Mansúra was, indeed, two

[1] De Guignes, *Notices et Extr.*, Tom. I. p. 10.—Golius ad *Alfragan.*, p. 93.

[2] *Eclaircissements Géographiques*, p. 37; *Antiquité Géogr.*, p. 35.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 61.

[3] *Antiq. de l'Inde.*

[4] *Geogr. Beschr. von Hindostan*, Vol. I. p. 81.

[5] *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 145.

[6] *Memoir*, p. 185.

[7] *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. pp. 310, 338.

[8] *De reb. Ind.*, p. 21.

[9] Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 112.

[10] [*Supra*, p. 126.] Allusion seems to be made to the Phitto, now dry, the Falailí, and other streams, which, during the inundation, leave the main stream between Hála and Haidarábád.

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parasangs from Bráhmanábád, and M. Reinaud is right in stating that these two latter names were often used the one for the other,[1]—for they are so combined and converted both by Ibn Haukal and Bírúní;[2] but beyond the announcement that Mahfúza was on the eastern side of the *bahaira* (lake, marsh, or inundation of the Indus), and Mansúra on the western, we have nothing which indicates the true position of Mahfúza.

It appears to me that Mahfúza, and not Mansúra, is represented by Nasrpúr. Indeed, independent of the position with reference to the eastern and western side of the stream above mentioned, it is worthy of remark, that the meaning of the two names is the same—both signifying "the protected, the abode of refuge." The identity, or resemblance of name, therefore, would be as much in favour of Máhfúza as Mansúra.

Nasrpúr, which modern authorities universally spell as Násirpúr, was built, or rather re-constructed, on the river Sánkra, by Amír Nasr, who was detached by Sultán Fíroz Sháh for that purpose, with a thousand cavalry, in 751 A.H., 1350 A.D. Nasrpúr was subsequently the favourite residence of the Tarkháns, and was greatly embellished by them during their brief rule.[3]

It being shown above that Mansúra is nearly identical with Bráhmanábád, it remains to prove that both are not far distant from the modern capital of Haidarábád.

Among the reasons for considering Mansúra to be identical with Haidarábád, is the position assigned to it by Istakhri and Ibn Haukal, who describe it as being "a mile long and a mile broad, and surrounded by a branch of the Indus." This is the mode in which it is also described by Kazwíní. Notwithstanding this, it is laid down in the map of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*.[4] as being situated on the main stream. Istakhrí's map rightly locates it on the branch, but Ibn Haukals' map, as printed by Major Anderson,[5] places it about midway between the two. The island, to be sure, is out of all pro-

[1] Mas'údí ascribes Mansúra to Mansúr, son of Jamhúr; Al Bírúní, to Muhammad Kásim; but Biládurí is the best authority, and he ascribes it to 'Amrú, the son of Md. Kásim.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 193, 298.

[2] [*Supra*, p. 34–61—*De reb. Ind.*, pp. 18, 19, 164.] See also Golius ad *Alfragan.*, ex Hamza, p. 93.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 27, 139.

[4] [*Supra*, p. 33.]—*De rebus Ind.* pp. 166, 215.

[5] J. A. S. Beng. xxi. p. 49.

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portion large, but its position necessarily identifies it with that which is formed by the Falailí and the Indus,—and the space which the town is represented to have occupied is exactly that which constitutes the limestone ridge on which Haidarábád is built.

The distances laid down also by Ibn Haukal are, with one exception sufficiently correct. Thus, from Mansúra to Debal is six days' journey, which is exact,—on the supposition that Debal, as elsewhere shown, is Karáchí. From Mansúra to Túrán is fifteen days' journey, which also agrees well enough with Haidarábád. From Mansúra to Kandábel (Gandáva) is eight days' journey, which also agrees very well.—"He who travels from Mansúra to Budha must go along the banks of the Indus as far as Sihwán,"—which shows Mansúra to be close on the Indus, as, indeed, it is elsewhere expressly declared to be, and not so far removed as Nasrpúr. From Mansúra to Cambay is twelve days' journey. Here the distances are long, but the desert must have made continuous travelling indispensable, as the halting places were necessarily reduced to the smallest possible number.

The widest departure from the ordinary distance is that between Mansúra and Multán, which is set down by Ibn Haukal at only twelve days' journey. This is very rapid, considering that about four hundred miles separate them, requiring an average of thirty-three miles a day. But though the average be high, it is certainly not beyond the means of conveyance where camels are abundant, as in Sind.

Bírúní lays down the distance at fifteen parasangs from Multán to Bhátí, another fifteen from Bhátí to Alor, and twenty from Alor to Mansúra—making the entire distance only fifty parasangs from Multán to Mansúra; while, at the same time, he gives it as thirty parasangs from Mansúra to Loharání Bandar (p. 61). There is here also a surprising abridgment of the former distance, which, may perhaps be accounted for by considering the frontier to be reckoned from in one instance, and the capital in the other. Still, such an error or inconsistency in a space so frequently traversed, is not easily accounted for, occurring as it does in two such trustworthy authorities as Ibn Haukal and Birúní; and it would have been satisfactory to find some more plausible solution. Mas'údí, with a much nearer approach to correctness, gives the distance as seventy-

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five parasangs between Multán and Mansúra, and his statement may be considered a sufficient corrective of the other geographers (p. 24).

It may be proper to add, that none of these ancient places, mentioned in this and other Notes, have sites assigned to them in any modern maps. Burnes, Wieland, Vivien de St. Martin, Berghaus, Zimmermann, all reject them. D'Avezac enters some, but all erroneously, except Debal,—at least, according to the principles above enunciated. Even Kiepert, in his valuable *Karte von Alt-Indien*, Berlin, 1853, drawn up for the illustration of Professor Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, enters only Bráhmanábád; and that he places on the right bank of the presumed ancient course of the Sindhu, which he has laid down as flowing far to the eastward of the present Indus. As he has admitted other names more modern than these, he should not have ignored them all.

[Since the death of Sir H. Elliot the remains of a buried city, supposed to be the ancient Bráhmanábád, have been discovered and explored by Mr. A. F. Bellasis, of the Bombay Civil Service. The exact position of the ruins is stated to be forty-seven miles north-east of Haidarábád, and if their investigator is right in believing them to be the ruins of Bráhmanábád, the question of the position of that city is put at rest. The identification has presumption in its favour, though it has not yet been satisfactorily proved; and one circumstance is strongly against it:—Large numbers of coins were discovered among the ruins; but the great bulk of these were Muhammadan, and the few Hindu coins that were brought to light "seem to be casual contributions from other provinces, of no very marked uniformity or striking age." Were the ruins those of an old Hindu city, Hindu coins of a distinct character would probably have been found. The coins discovered were those of Mansúr bin Jamhúr, Abdu-r Rahmán, Muhammad 'Abdu-lláh and Umar (see *supra*, p. 127).[1]]

Debal.—Karáchi.—Thatta.—Láhori Bandar.

It is strange that the site of a port once so noted as Debal should now be left to vague conjecture; but amongst the fluctuating channels of the Sindian Delta we must rest content with mere surmises.

[1] [*Illustrated London News*, Feb. 21, 28, 1857.—Thomas' Prinsep, II. 119.]

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Some of the various opinions entertained upon the question of its locality may be here noticed. Native authorities seem decidedly in favour of considering Thatta to represent Debal, following generally the text of Firishta.[1] Mír Ma'súm ignorantly observes that Debal is Thatta *and* Láhorí Bandar.[2] Abú-l Fazl is equally inexact, or rather more so.[3] Idrísí (*supra*, p. 77) and the Arabian geographers having determined that Debal was six stations from the mouth of the Indus, Thatta was necessarily the only site which could be selected.

Modern authors have also for the most part inclined to Thatta, including De la Rochette and Rennell. Capt. McMurdo, while he says that Thatta is still known to the Arabs by the name of Debal alone, shows that the latter must have been a seaport.[4] Sir A. Burnes says, also, that Thatta is called by the Arabs Dewal Sindy,[5] and himself assigns Kalánkot as its position.[6] Lieut. Burton says, we are certain that the modern Thatta occupies the ground of the ancient Dewal, as the Arabs and Persians know it by no other name,—Shál-i Debalí still being used to mean a shawl of Thatta manufacture.[7]

D'Anville more correctly establishes it on one of the mouths of the Indus;[8] and some others, resigning Thatta, have assigned other localities to Debal. M. Reinaud inclines to the neighbourhood of Karáchí;[9] and so does Elphinstone.[10] Dr. Burnes says it occupied a site between Karáchí and Thatta, in which he follows Mr. Nathaniel Crow,[11] one of the first of our modern enquirers in Sind, who combined much discrimination with ample opportunities of local knowledge.

But there can be no question that Debal was on, or close to, the sea-coast; with which the distant inland position of Thatta is by no means correspondent. For my own part, I entertain little doubt that Karáchí itself represents the site of Debal. The very name of

[1] Briggs, *History*, etc., Vol. IV. p. 404. [2] *Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. pp. 2, 8.
[3] *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. II. p. 115. [4] *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 29, 234.
[5] *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 31.
[6] *Cabool*, p. 17. [7] *Sindh*, p. 380.—*Unhappy Valley*, Vol. I. p. 128.
[8] *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 34. [9] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.
[10] "Dewal was probably somewhere near Karáchí."—*History of India*, Vol. I. p. 507. [11] *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 133 and 162.

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Debal, or rather Dewal, "the temple," was doubtless acquired from the conspicuous position which that object must have occupied from the sea; where it was calculated to attract the gaze and reverence of the passing mariner, like its fellow shrines of Dwáraka and Somnát; and as there is no other so eligible and commanding a spot along the whole coast of Sind, from Cape Monze to Kotesar, it is highly probable that the promontory on which fort Manora now stands is the identical site occupied by the celebrated temple which gave name to the port of Debal,[1] and which, as being the Palladium of its security, was the chief object of attack to the catapults which had been brought round by the sea to effect its destruction.[2]

The following may be mentioned amongst the reasons why Debal cannot possibly have been Thatta, and which incline us to view Karáchí with favour:—

The Sarandíp vessels were, in their distress, driven to "the shore of Debal" (p. 118).[3] It could not, therefore, have been an inland town like Thatta, fifty miles from the nearest point of the sea, and one hundred miles by any of the tortuous channels of the Delta.

The pirates who attacked them were "dwellers at Debal, of the tribe which they call Tangámara." Now, these Tangámaras we know to have occupied the sea-coast from Karáchí to Láhorí Bandar, and to be the popular heroes of several local tales—especially their Ráná 'Ubaid, who lived even as late as the year 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.).[4]

Biládurí also speaks of "the Bay of Debal" (p. 116), and of the ships which had been despatched from the Persian Gulf, arriving at Debal with soldiers and mangonels (p. 120). Elphinstone considers this latter fact as decisive against Thatta;[5] but too much may be built on this argument, for, subsequently, we find these same mangonels carried by water even to Nairún.

Ibn Haukal says, Debal is a "large port on the shore of the sea,

[1] The *budd*, or temple, was contiguous to the town of Debal, not within it, (see p. 120).

[2] It is worthy of remark that Manora is the name of one of the celebrated Buddhist patriarchs. Abel-Rémusat writes it "Manura." M. Stanislas Julien "Manorata;" [or Sanskrit *Manoratha*.]—*Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. I. p. 115.—*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II. Beil ii. 2.

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 83.

[4] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 134.

[5] *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 507.

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the emporium of this and the neighbouring regions. It lies to the west of the Mihrán,[1] and has no large trees or date-palms" (p. 37). It is indeed a place of great sterility, and only occupied on account of its trade. Nothing can be more decisive against the fertile Thatta, and in favour of the barren Karáchí.

Again, from Debal to Mansúra is six stages, which, on the supposition that the latter, as elsewhere shown, is Haidarábád, would not suit Thatta in any respect, but exactly suits Karáchí.

The *Marásidu-l Ittilá* says Debal [or *Daibul*, as it writes the name in Arabic fashion] is a celebrated city "on the shore of the sea of Hind, an emporium where the rivers of Lahore and Multán discharge themselves into the salt sea."[2]

Further quotations need not be added to show that Debal was on the sea-coast, and could not have been so far inland as Thatta, or even Láhorí Bandar, which, however, is the next most probable site after Karáchí.

Láhorí Bandar, or Lárí Bandar, succeeded Debal as the sea-port of the Indus, and is first named by Bírúní; but Debal had evidently maintained its position down to the time of Jalálu-d dín's incursion into Sind, in 1221 A.D. It will appear, afterwards, from the extracts taken from the *Jahán-kushái*, that the Sultán conducted himself with the greatest severity towards the people of that port, for he plundered the country, and as he erected a mosque opposite to a Hindú temple, during his short stay there, it is evident that the place was considered then to be of sufficient consequence to be insulted in the wantonness of his fanaticism.

In Ibn Batúta's time, about a century latter (1333 A.D.), we have no mention of Debal, which seems then to have been superseded entirely by Láhorí Bandar.

Láhorí has itself been taken to be Debal. The *Tuhfatu-l kirám*, indeed, distinctly asserts that "what is now Bandar Láhorí was in former times called Bandar Debal:"—but its authority is not to be rated high in such matters,[3] and while, confessedly, there are some

[1] Gildemeister reads "east," but the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* and Istakhrí must be correct in giving "west."—*De rebus Indicis*, pp. 170, 178, 179.—See *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.

[2] Juynboll, *Lexicon Geographicum*, Vol. I. p. 421.

[3] *T. Kirám*, MS. p. 234. This may mean merely "the port *connected with* Debal," because at p. 1 we read, "Debal is now called Thatta."

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points slightly in favour of its being Debal, there are others which are decisive against it. It is itself fifteen miles from the shore of the sea: it has no bay: and a passage in Bírúní is very conclusive:—where, after saying that the gulf of Túrán (the present bay of Súnmíání) lies between Tíz and Debal, he adds, that beyond the gulf of Túrán are the small and great mouths (of the Indus), the one near the town of Loharáni, the other to the east, on the borders of Kachh. The country (between them) bears the name of Sind Ságara, or the sea of Sind (pp. 49. 65).[1] Loharání (Láhorí) is here mentioned as quite distinct from Debal, and was then evidently only just rising into importance,

Ibn Batúta calls the place "Láhiríya" or "Láhari"[2]—but it generally goes now by the name of Láhorí, probably from its presumed connection with Lahore. Its ruin and abandonment have now given a greater prominence to the port of Dhárája, which lies a little to the east of Láhorí.

The original name was most likely Lárí, being so called after Lár, the local name of the southern portion of the province of Sind.

The name of Lár had once a very great extension on these southern coasts,—for Ptolemy and the Periplus both mention Guzerát under the name of Larice;[3] and Bírúní and Abú-l Fidá place Somnát, and even Tána, in or on the borders of the province of Lár (*supra*, p. 61).[4] The merchant Sulaimán, also, calls the gulf of Cambay and the waters which wash the Malabar coast "the seas of Lár:"[5] and Mas'údí says, that "at Saimúr, Subára, Tána and other towns a language called Láriya is spoken," so that, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Lárí Bandar was the original form under which this port was first known.[6]

[1] *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 113, 119.

[2] Kosegarten, *de Mohammede ebn Batuta*, p. 17. Defrémery, Paris, 1855.

[3] Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. d. k. d. Morgenl.* Vol. I. p. 227.—D'Anville, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l'Inde*, pp. 69, 75.—Tod, *Western India*, pp. 187-9, 255.

[4] *Fragments Arabes*, p. 112.—Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, pp. 185, 188.

[5] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 200, 298.

[6] [The *Lata-desa* of Sanskrit geography, and the Larice of Ptolemy and the Periplus, is the country about the gulf of Cambay and the mouth of the Nerbudda. The Arab geographers agree, also, upon this locality. It is very questionable if that term is susceptible of the extension which Sir H. Elliot here seeks to give it. The *Lar* of Sind would rather seem to be a distinct name. See McMurdo, Jour. R. A. S. I. 224.; Hwen Tsang III. 409.]

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Hála-kandi.—The Hellenes.—Pindus.

The ruins of old Hála, or Hála-kandi, on the Indus, thirty miles above Haidarábád, lie to the south-east of the present site. Had its name appeared in the *Chach-náma*, we might have ascribed its foundation to the Rájá Hál, mentioned in p. 106. Tod names a later prince of the Samma family as the founder.[1]

It is probable that the designation of the Hála range of mountains has a similar origin, for we nowhere find them mentioned in any early work; but such a very modern attribution would scarcely satisfy a late writer, who sees in them the cradle of the great Hellenic race:—

"The land of Hellas, a name so dear to civilization and the arts, was so called from the magnificent range of heights situated in Beloochistan, styled the 'Hela' mountains. * * * The chiefs of this country were called 'Helaines,' or the 'chiefs of the Hela.'"[2]

He gives as a motto to this fanciful chapter on the Hellenes, the following lines from the fragments of Hesiod:—

Ἕλληνος δ' ἐγένοντο θεμιστόπολοι βασιλῆες
Δῶρός τε, Ξοῦθός τε, καὶ Αἴολος ἱππιοχάρμης.
Chiefs of the war-car, guards of holy Right,
Dorus and Æolus, and Zuthus' might
From Hellen sprang.

As he conceives *Æolus* to represent the *Haiya* tribe of Rájpúts, it is surprising that he disregards the more obvious resemblance of *Dorus* and *Zuthus* to the mighty *Dors* and the energetic *Zats*;—the former now nearly extinct, the latter now better known as the wide-spread Jats.

Another mountain range in the same neighbourhood is even still more unduly exalted, in a mode which sets all true relations of time, space, position, and language, at complete defiance.

"I would now direct the reader's attention to the most salient feature in the land of Hellas. The mountain chain of Pindus, traversing a considerable portion of Greece, and forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, takes its name from the Pind. Its present name is Pind Dadun Khan * * * * whence the Pind or "Salt Range" of Afghanistan was naturally transferred to a corresponding

[1] *Travels in Western India*, p. 474. Halár in Guzerát is called after a Jhareja prince of the same name.

[2] E. Pococke, *India in Greece*, p. 48.—This is an unfair contortion, in order to suit the etymology: the real spelling being *Hála*, or, more correctly, *Hára*; so that we have, unfortunately, nothing but the simple initial aspirate to support the grand Hellenic hypothesis.—See the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., pp. 130, 164.

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remarkable feature in Greece. It is not a little remarkable, that in the latter country the true Pindus * * * should give nearly the corresponding length of the Pind in Afghanistan, viz., a distance of about sixty miles."[1]

This elaborate super-structure is based on an utterly false assumption. The salt range is not, and never was, called the Pind. Pind is a common word in the Upper Panjáb, signifying simply "a village," and recurs a hundred times over in that locality—as Pind Bhattiyán, Pind Malik Aulyá, Pindí Ghaib, Ráwal Pindi, etc., etc.—and so, Pind Dádan Khán merely means the "village of Dádan Khán," and one, moreover, of modern erection. The word "Pind," indeed, has only lately been introduced into the Panjáb—long even after the name of the celebrated Grecian mountain was itself converted into the modern Agrapha.

The whole of this arrogant and dogmatical work is replete with similar absurdities; and yet the only notices it has received from our Reviewers are of a laudatory character. It is to be feared that no English publication of late years will go so far as this to damage our literary reputation in the eyes of continental scholars; and it is therefore to be regretted that it has not yet received the castigation due to its ignorance and presumption.[2]

Jandrúd.

[About a mile, or half a parasang, from Multan was the castle or fortified residence of the governor, which Istakhrí calls Jandrúd. The *Ashkálu-l Bilad*, according to Sir H. Elliot, reads Chandráwar, but the initial *ch* is at best suspicious in an Arabic work; the map has Jandrúd. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal has Jandrár, Jandar, and Jandaruz; and Idrísí says Jandúr. Ibn Haukal helps us to the right reading when he says, the Jandarúz is a river, and the city of Jandarúz stands on its banks. Immediately before this he had been speaking of the river Sandarúz, which is evidently the Sind-rúd, so that we may at once conclude that the final syllable is the Persian *rúd* (river). Sir H. Elliot, in a subsequent passage, supposes it to

[1] *India in Greece*, p. 82.

[2] The author's credit stands on a false eminence, as being one of the Editors of the reprint of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana;* and we find one of his really able collaborateurs lamenting, in his preface to the *Hist. of Rom. Literature*, that "*the Early History of Rome*, promised by the author of that remarkable work, *India in Greece*, should not have been available for these pages." [It must be remembered that these animadversions were written in 1853.]

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derive its first syllable from the Arabic word *Jand*, a cantonment or military colony,—in which case the name would signify the "cantonment on the river." Buť Háfiz Abrú, in an extract which will appear in Vol. II., informs us that the river Chináb was called "Jamd;" the name of the place, therefore, may have been Jamdrúd. Multán itself is situated about three miles from the Chináb, so that Jandrúd, or Jamdrúd, must have been its port on that river.]

Kaikánán.—Kaikán.—Kákars.

This name appears under the various aspects of Kaikánán, Kíkán, Kaikán, Kízkánan, Kabarkánán and Kírkáyán,—the first being of most frequent occurrence. Though so often mentioned, we can form but a very general idea of its position.

The *Chach-náma* tells us that, under the Rái dynasty, the Sindian territory extended "as far to the north as the mountains of Kirdán[1] and Kaikánán" (p. 138). Again, the Arabs "marched in A.H. 38 to Kaikánán, by way of Bahraj and Koh-páya," where, after some partial successes, their progress was intercepted by the mountaineers in their difficult defiles, and in the end the Arabs sustained a complete defeat. One of the objects of these expeditions to Kaikánán, which lasted for about twenty years, was to obtain horses from that province, as they are represented to have been celebrated for their strength and proportions. The tract of Budh was reached during one of these incursions, and we find one of the Arab armies returning from another incursion by way of Síwistán.[2]

Biládurí also mentions these expeditions, with some slight variations in the details; and is the only author who adopts the spelling of the Arabic *káf*, and omits the last syllable,—representing the name as "Kíkán," or "Kaikán" (p. 116),—whereas the *Chach-náma* prefers Kaikánán (p. 138). He says "it forms a portion of Sind in the direction of Khurásán," and he speaks of "Turks" as its inhabitants. In an important expedition directed against a tract of country lying between Multán and Kábul, in A.H. 44, "Turks are encountered in the country of Kaikán." In another, 'Abd-ulla sends to Muá'wiya the "horses of Kaikán" (p. 117), which he had

[1] [This name may be read "Karwán," and the initial may be optionally *G*.]
[2] MS. pp. 72–78.

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taken amongst other spoil. In another, Asad attacks the Meds, after warring against Kaikán (p. 117). In the year 221 H. Biládurí speaks of a portion of Kaikán as occupied by Jats, whom 'Amrán defeated, and then established within their country the military colony of Baizá (p. 128). On this occasion, the country was attacked from the side of Sind, not from Makrán, which will account for the mention of the "Jats," instead of "Turks."

It may also be doubted if the Kabákánán (p. 39) or Kízkánán of Ibn Haukal refers to this tract,—and yet it would be more difficult to account for its total omission, if it do not. According to them, Kaikánán was in the district of Túrán, and a city in which the governor of Kusdár resided. This apparent discrepancy can only be reconciled by supposing that there was both a province and town of that name. They give us no further indication of its position, except that the district of Atal is said to lie between Kaikánán and Kandábel,—which, of itself, attributes to it a much greater extension to the north, than if it were a mere portion of Túrán.[1]

The later Arab geographers follow these authorities, and add nothing further to our information.

Abú-l Fazl Baihakí mentions Kaikahán amongst the other provinces under the authority of Mas'úd, the Ghaznivide; and as Hind, Sind, Nímroz, Zábulistán, Kasdár, Makrán, and Dánistán are noticed separately, it shows that Kaikáhán was then considered a distinct jurisdiction.[2]

In Hwen Tsang's travels we have mention of the country of Kikan, situated to the south of Kábul, which is evidently no other than the province of which we are treating.[3]

From this time forward, we lose sight of the name, and are left to conjecture where Kaikánán was. Under all the circumstances of the case, we may be justified in considering it so far to the east as to include the Sulaimání range, which had not, up to a comparatively late period, been dignified with that name. As with respect to Asia, and many other names of countries, so with respect to Kaikánán, the boundaries seem to have receded with the progress of discovery; and though, on its first mention, it does not appear to have extended

[1] Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 164, 174, 177. [2] *Tárikh-i Mas'údi*, MS.
[3] *Foe-koue-ki*, p. 395; Hwen Tsang III. 185, 414.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 176.

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beyond Shál and Mustáng, yet, by the time of the Ghaznivides, we are authorised to conclude that it reached, on the east, to the frontier of Multán, and, on the south, to the hilly tract of Síwistán, above the plains of Sind.

Under the present condition of Afghánistán it may be considered, in general terms, as including the whole of the country occupied by the Kákars. The expedition of A.H. 44 to the country between Multán and Kábul certainly shows that Kaikánán must have comprised the Sulaimání range to the south of the Gúmal; and the celebrity of its horses would appear to point to a tract further to the west, including Sahárawán and Múshkí, where horses, especially those used on the plain of Mangachar, are still in great demand, and whence they are often sent for shipment to the coast.

There is no place extant which recalls the name of the old province, except it be Káhán, which was perhaps included within its south-eastern frontier. It is barely possible, also, that there may be some connection between the name of the Kákars and that of the ancient province which they occupy. It will be observed above, that Baihakí mentions a district of Dánistán, and the order in which it occurs is "Kusdár, and Makrán, and Dánistán, and Kaikáhán." This implies contiguity between the several places thus named, and it is, therefore, worthy of remark, that Dání is entered in all the genealogical lists of the Afgháns as the eldest son of Gharghasht, the son of their great progenitor, Kais 'Abdu-r Rashíd Pathán; and that Kákar, from whom the powerful tribe of that name is descended, was himself the eldest son of Dání. Names change in the course of ages, especially among people in a low stage of civilization; and it may perhaps be conceded that "Kákarán" and "Kaikáhán" would, under such circumstances, be no very violent and improbable metathesis.

Kajuráha, Capital of Jajáhoti.

[*Extract of General Cunningham's Archæological Report for* 1864-5,—*Page* 68.]

["The ancient city of Khajuráho, the capital of the Chandel Rajputs, is situated thirty-four miles to the south of Mahoba, twenty-seven miles to the east of Chhatrpur, and twenty-five miles to the

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north-west of Panna . . . . The earliest mention of this capital is by Abú Ríhán, who accompanied Mahmúd in his campaign against Kalinjar in A.D. 1022. He calls it Kajuráha, the capital of Jajáhoti, and places it at thirty parasangs, or about ninety miles, to the south-east of Kanauj. The true direction, however, is almost due south, and the distance about twice thirty parasangs, or one hundred and eighty miles. The next mention of Khajuráho is by Ibn Batúta, who visited it about A.D. 1335.—He calls it Kajúra . . . . The earliest mention of the province is by Hwen Tsang, in A.D. 641.—He calls it *Chi-chi-to*, or Jajhoti . . . From the accounts of Hwen Tsang, and Abú Ríhán, it is evident that the Province of Jajáhoti corresponded with the modern district of Bundelkhand in its widest extent."]

Kállarí.—Annarí.—and Ballarí.

[Such seems to be the correct spelling of three names, which appear in a great variety of forms.—Istakhrí has Kálwí, Annarí, and Balwí, but the first takes the form of Kaladi or Kalarí in his map. In the printed extract of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* the names appear as Falid, Abri, and Balzí; also, as Abri, Labi, and Maildí, some of which divergences may be credited to bad copy and misprints. Gildemeister's Ibn Haukal gives them as Ayará, Válará, and Balrá; Idrisi has Atri and Kálarí; Abú-l Fidá has Kállarí, Annarí, and Ballarí, and these agree with the names as they appear in the map of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*. They were three neighbouring towns on the road from Alor to Mansúra, Annarí standing first, Kállarí next, and Ballarí last in Istakhri's map, and in that of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*. The termination *rí* or *arí* would seem to be a common noun, and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* writes it with the Hindí *re*. Idrísí says Annarí is four days journey from Alor, and Kállarí two days from Annarí, and Mansúra only one day from Kállarí. Ibn Haukal places Annarí and Kállarí on the east of the Mihran, but Idrísí says, that it stands on the western bank (p. 79); and enters into details which show pretty clearly its relative position to Mansúra. There is a "Bulrey," marked in Allen's map of Sind, about thirty miles south of Haidarábád, but this position does not correspond with the above description.]

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Kandábel.—Túrán.—Budha.—Baizá.

It is essential to a right understanding of ancient Sindian geography to ascertain where Kandábel, of which there is such frequent mention, was situated. We can only do this by implication, and by comparison of the various passages in which the name occurs.

The *Chach-náma*[1] mentions it in three different passages, at least, if Kandhála in the last reference be meant, as seems probable, for that place. If we are to put faith in the first passage (p. 152), there would be no need for further enquiry, as it is distinctly mentioned thus:—"Kandábel, that is, Kandahár." But it may be shown that this identification cannot possibly be admitted, for Chach reaches the place through the desert of Túrán (a province of which Kusdár was the capital),[2] on his return from Armá-bel to Alor. He straitened the garrison by encamping on the river Síní, or Sibí, and compelled them to agree to the payment of one hundred horses from the hill country, and a tribute of 100,000 dirhams. Here the name of the river, and the position, put Kandahár out of the question, and we can only regard the passage as the conjecture of some transcriber, interpolated by mistake from the margin into the text.

The real fact is, that Kandábel[3] can scarcely be any other place than the modern Gandáva, and we shall find, with this single exception, that all the other passages where its name occurs sufficiently indicate that as the position. Indeed, it is probable that this very instance lends confirmation to this view, for the Síní river seems to be no other than the Síbí, now called the Nárí, but flowing under the town of Síbí, and, during the floods, joining the Bolán river, into which the hill-streams, which surround and insulate Gandáva, disembogue themselves. The river which runs nearest to Gandáva is now called the Bádra.

The *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh* tells us that Kandábel was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, "between the confines of the Hindus

[1] MS. pp. 48, 71, 115. [*Supra*, 152, 162.]

[2] Mordtmann, *das Buch der Länder.—Mardsidu-l Ittilá*, Ed. Juynboll, Vol. II. p. 214.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 176, 278.

[3] It is almost uniformly spelt in this mode, with the Arabic *Káf*, the variations being very few. The final syllable is occasionally *níl*, *bal*, and *yal*; but *bel* is most probably the correct form. We find the same termination in Armá-bel, or the modern Bela. It may possibly be connected with the Mongol *balu*, "a city," as in *Khán-balu*, the city of the Khán.—See *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. XV. p. 200.

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and the Turks"[1] (p. 106). Biládurí frequently mentions it, and speaks of Kandahár as entirely separate and distinct (pp. 117, 118, 125, 127). He tells us it was situated on a hill or elevated site, and that 'Amrán, after taking the town, transferred the principal inhabitants to Kusdár (p. 128), from which place it was situated at the distance of five parasangs.[2]

According to Ibn Haukal, and the corresponding passages in Istakhrí (p. 29), Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, and the *Ashkálu-l Bilád*, Kandábel was the capital of Budha, and a large place of commercial traffic, deficient in the produce of the date-palm, and situated in a desert, eight stages from Mansúra, and ten through the desert from Multán.[3]

All these descriptions make Kandábel correspond sufficiently with the modern Gandáva, to leave no doubt of their identity. Later historians speak of it as being on the borders of Kirmán,[4] but their notions of that province were very indefinite, and any place on the eastern confines of Sind would equally answer their loose mode of delineation.

Gandáva, which is the capital of the province of Kachh Gandáva, is surrounded by a wall, and is still one of the most important places between Kelát and Shikárpúr, though greatly declined from its former state. Indeed, Bágh is a much larger, as well as more commercial town, but the credit of antiquity cleaves to Gandáva.

Kandábel, it will be observed, is represented as the capital of Budha, which, therefore, next demands our attention, This is evidently the same province as the Búdhpúr, Búdhiya, and Budápúr (p. 145) of the *Chach-náma*.

Under the Rái dynasty, the second satrapy of Sind comprised, besides the town of Siwistán, which was the capital,[5] "Búdhpúr,

[1] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 57.

[2] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 176. The distance is too short to suit Gandáva, which is eighty miles north-east of Kusdár. Has not "parasangs" been entered instead of "stages?"

[3] Gildemeister, 172, 177, 178. [4] Elmacin, *Historia Saracenica*, ann. 101.

[5] Sihwán on the Indus is here alluded to; but the town of Sebí, or Síbí, and the province of Síwistán, are the constant source of confusion and mistake, whenever the name occurs; insomuch, that it is sometimes difficult, as in the passages here quoted, to determine positively which place is indicated. This perplexity is not diminished by the fact of the large province of Sístán, or Sijistán, being not very remote.

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and Jankán (Jangár), and the skirts of the hills of Rújhán, as far as the borders of Makrán (p. 138)." Again, "Chach marched towards the fortress of Budápúr and Siwistán." After crossing the Indus "he went to Búdhiya, the capital of which tract was Nánáráj Kákáráj), and the inhabitants of the place called it Sawís." . . . . . "After taking the fort of the Sawís, he moved towards Siwistán" (p. 145).

When Siwistán was attacked by Muhammad Kásim, the governor fled to Búdhiya, where was "a fortress called Sísam,[1] on the banks of the Kumbh," whither he was pursued by the Arab general, who encamped with a portion of his army at "Nílhán on the Kumbh." Here, the chiefs of Búdhiya determined to make a night attack upon his camp. These chiefs of Búdhiya, who were of the same family as the ruler of Sísam, are subsequently shown to be Jats;[2] whose origin was derived from a place on the banks of the Gang, which they call Kúndhár."[3] After failing in this expedition, they voluntarily surrendered themselves, as they had "found from the books of the Buddhists that Hindústán was destined to be conquered by the army of Islám," and then turned their arms vigorously against their former comrades. On Muhammad's advancing to Sísam, "some of the idolaters fled to Búdhya, higher up: some to the fort of Bahítlúr,[4] between Sálúj and Kandhábel" (p. 162); and there sued for peace, and after agreeing to pay tribute, sent their hostages to Siwistán.

In the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh* we read that Bahman, the Persian king, "built in the country of Budh a town called Bahmanábád, which according to some is Mansúra" (p. 106).

[Biládurí mentions this tract as the scene of the slaughter of Budail (p. 119), and it is, perhaps, disguised under the name of Basea in p. 123.]

In Istakhrí (p. 29), and in Ibn Haukal, it assumes the form of Budh, or Budha. "The infidel inhabitants within the borders of Sind are called Budha and Mand. They reside in the tract between

[1] In the province of Sebí (Síwistán), according to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. [It is probably "Seisan," on the Manchhar lake.—See p. 161.]

[2] Or Channas, according to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 12.

[3] [See Note, p. 160.]

[4] Bahaltúr and Bahla, in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*.

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Túrán, Multán, and Mansúra, on the western bank of the Mihrán. They live in huts made of reeds and grass" (p. 38). Again, "Atal is inhabited by Musulmáns and infidel Budhas."[1] . . . . "From Mansúra to the first borders of Budha is fifteen stages[2] (p. 39), and any one who travels that road must go along the banks of the Mihrán until he reaches Sadústán (Sihwán)."

"Nadha," or "Nudha," seems to be the reading preferred by Idrísí (p. 83), and the Nubian geographer. Kazwíní describes the country as having a population resembling the Zat, and yielding plenty of rice and cocoa-nuts. It also produces camels with double humps, which being rarely found elsewhere, were in great demand in Khurásán and Persia.[3] Ibn Haukal also remarks upon the excellence of its breed of camels. The *Marásidu-l Ittilá*'[4] likewise approves of the initial N, instead of B; but these later authorities are of no value, when arrayed against the repeated instances to the contrary from the *Chach-náma*, and the great majority of the readings in Ibn Haukal and Istakhrí.[5]

From a comparison of all these statements, it would appear that the old tract of Budh, or Búdhiya, very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kachh Gandáva, on all four sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension, of which it is impossible to define the precise limits. It is worthy of remark that, in the very centre of Kachh Gandáva, there is still a place called Budha on the Nárí river, and it is possible that the name is also preserved in the Kákar tract of Borí, or Búra, forming

[1] See also Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, pp. 164, 171, 172, 177.

[2] This, if the right reading, must be understood in the sence of remotest, because the capital Kandábel is declared to be only eight stages, and Túrán, which is conterminous with Budh on the west, is only set down at fifteen stages. The *Ashkálu-l Bilád* gives the distance from Mansúra to the nearest point of Budh as only five marches. This is probably the correct reading.—See *Journal A. S. B.*, 1852, No. 1, p. 73.

[3] *De reb. Indicis*, p. 216. [4] Ed. Juynboll, Vol. II. p. .

[5] If Nudha could be supposed the correct reading, it would lend an interest to a passage in Dionysius, who says in his Periegesis—

Ἰνδὸν πάρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκυθαι ἐννάιουσιν—v. 1088.

Νότιοι might be meant for "the Nodhites," instead of "southern," as usually translated; or the Arabs might have converted the "southern" into a separate class with a distinctive name.

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part of the Afghán province of Síwistán.[1] In the *Áyín-i Akbarí* the town of Budhyán is mentioned as being on the northern frontier of Sirkár Thatta, one hundred kos from Bandar Láhorí.

It is impossible to assent to an hypothesis lately started in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, quoted above, that this tract was designated after the present Burohees, or Bráhúís. Their name itself is too modern,—besides being belied by the usual meaning ascribed to it, of "mountaineer;"—and even their partial occupation of this low eastern tract is not yet a century old. From time immemorial it has been held by the Jats, who still constitute the majority of the population, and the Bráhúís are a mere intrusive stock from the provinces of Múshkí and Jhow, and the rugged highlands of Saháwán, which abut Kachh Gandáva on the westward. It has been surmised, also, that these Budhiyas were the Bhedya and Bhoja of the Puránic legends, and even the Bhotyas of Tibet. This is treading upon still more dangerous ground.[2] It is far more probable that, if the name had any significant origin at all, it was derived from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote tract, at the time when Bráhmanism was making its quiet but steady inroads by the more open and accessible course of the river Indus. [See *post*, Note on the Meds.]

Kannazbúr.

[Omission and misplacing of the dots have caused this name to assume a very varying form in Roman characters. Ibn Khurdádba (p. 14) calls it "Kinnazbún," and Istakhrí's version (p. 29) may be so read. The *Ashkálu-l Bilád* (p. 34) has "Kabryún;" Gildemeister's version of Ibn Haukal makes it "Kannazbúr;" Idrísí writes "Fírabúz," but "Kírbúz" sometimes occurs. The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* has "Kírbún," but Juynboll, the editor, says this is a false reading for Kannazbúr. Biládurí (p. 119) agrees in this last spelling, and the *Chach-náma* has "Kannazpúr," and "Kínarbúr." The position of the place appears to correspond with that of the modern Punjgoor in Makrán.]

[1] In the passage quoted above from the *Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh*, Bahman is said to have founded a city called Bahmanábád in the country of Budh. There is a place entered as Brahiman in Burnes' map, between Shál and Borí.

[2] V. de Saint-Martin, *Études de Géog. ancienne*, Tom. I. pp. 328-334.—Lassen *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. I. pp. 559, 611, 727.

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Mandal.—Kiraj.

It is difficult to fix the position of Mandal, one of the places to which Junaid despatched an expedition.

The name of Mandal, or Mandalam, being applied generally to signify "a region," in Sanskrit, adds to our doubts upon this occasion. Thus we have Tonda-Mandalam, Pándú-Mandalam, Chola-Mandalam, and many others. [Almost, or entirely, all of them being situated in the South.] The most noted Mandal of the Arab geographers was that whence Mandalí aloe-wood was derived; hence *agallochum* was frequently called "Mandal;" but no one seems to have known where it was situated. Kazwíní says no one can penetrate to it, because it lies beyond the equinoctial line: but he calls it a city of India, taking that word in its enlarged sense of East Indies. [The *Marásidu-l Ittilá'* calls it a city of Hind, but gives no indication of its locality. Abú-l Fidá has no notice of it.] Avicenna, in his *Kánún*, says that, according to some, it is in the middle of the land of Hind. The place here alluded to, is probably the coast of Coromandel, whence the *agallochum*, brought from the eastern islands, was distributed to the marts and countries of the west.

Avicenna's description might be made to apply to Mandala upon the Nerbadda, which in the second century of our era was the seat of the Haihaya dynasty of Gondwána;[1] but this is, of course, too far for any Arab expedition, notwithstanding that M. Reinaud considers Ujjain and Málwa[2] to have been attacked at the same period, under the orders of Junaid (p. 126). But Málabár would have been a more probable object of attack than Málwa, in the heart of India. As we proceed, we shall find other expeditions almost all directed to different points in the Guzerát peninsula,—as, indeed, was the case, even from the time of the conquest of Sind, when the inhabitants of Basra were engaged in a warfare with the Meds of Suráshtra.

[1] Langlois, *Harivansa*, Vol. I. p. 6.—*As. Res.*, Vol. IX. pp. 100, 105, 112.—*J. A. S. Bengal*, August, 1837.—*J. A. S. Bombay*, Vol. IV. p. 179.—*Mod. Traveller*, "India," Vol. I. p. 141.—Schlegel's *Ramayana*, Vol. I. pt. ii. p. 208.—*As. Ann. Reg.*, Vol. VIII. Misc. Tracts, p. 19.—Baudry, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII. col. 151.—Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. I. Beil. IV. 4.

[2] [These two names were left blank in his "Fragments," but were restored in the *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 192. In Goejes' most careful edition of the text of Biládurí the names are distinctly written "*Uzain*" and "*Málabat.*"]

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It is evident that we must seek, also, no very distant site for Mandal. Even Mandal-eswara (Mandlaisar), on the Nerbadda, would be too remote. Mandor in Rájpútána, the ancient capital of the Parihárs, or Mandra in Kachh, or Mandal in Jhaláwár, would be better, or the famous Mandaví, had not its ancient site been known by another name,—Ráen. Altogether, Mandal in Guzerát, better known as Oká-Mandal, offers, from its antiquity and its position as the western district of that peninsula, the most probable site for the Mandal of Junaid.

From the expression of the historian Tabarí, that the Arabs never recovered possession of Kíraj and Mandal, there would seem to be an implication that these places lay beyond the province of Sind, and that they were at no great distance from one another. They are also mentioned together in the passage under consideration. The "Kíraj" of Tabarí and the *Futúhu-l Buldán* seems to be the same place as the "Kaj" of Birúní. The name occurs again as "Kíraj" and "Kúraj" in the *Chach-náma* (pp. 189, 197), and was probably situate in, if not named from, Kachh, though the exact site of the town cannot now be established.

The position of Oká-Mandal on the opposite coast is a sufficient reason why it should be mentioned in connection with Kíraj, supposing that place to have been in Kachh; and, in the absence of more certain information, I should, for this, as well as the other reasons above given, feel disposed to consider it as the Mandal noticed by the Arab historians of the Sindian conquest.[1]

Manjábarí.

[Such appears to be the preferable mode of spelling the name which appears in Istakhrí as Manhánarí (p. 27), in Ibn Haukal as Manhatara, and in Idrísí as Manábarí (p. 77). It is described as being on the west of the river, three days' journey south from Sadusán (Sihwan), and two days short of Debal,—the two maps agree with this account. The route from Mansúra to Debal crosses the river at this place. It has been supposed to be the Minnagara of the ancients.—See the next article "Minnagara."]

[1] Gildemeister, *Script Arab. de rebus Indicis*, pp. 69, 71, 214.—Tod, *Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 39, 100, 725.—Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, 4to. Vol. I. pp. 651, 656, 661.—Hudson, *Geog. Vet. Script. Min.*, Vol. I.—*Periplus*, p. 23.

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Minnagara.

Vincent thinks that the Minnagara of Ptolemy, and of the Periplus usually ascribed to Arrian, is the Manjábarí of the Arab geographers. D'Anville supposes Minnagara to be the same as Mansúra. C. Ritter says it is Tatta, so does Alex. Burnes, because Tatta is now called Sa-Minagur, and Mannert says, Binagara should be read for Minnagara. These high authorities place it on the Indus. But although goods were landed at Barbarice, the port of the Indus, and conveyed to Minnagara " by the river," there is no reason why Minnagara should have been *on* that river.

The Periplus merely says, " Minnagara is inland." *μεσόγειος ἥ μετρόπολις αυτῆς τῆς Σκυθίας Μινναγάρ.* Again, the Periplus says, the " Metropolis of the whole country, is Minnagara, whence great quantities of cotton goods are carried down to Barygaza," or Broach, which could scarcely have been the place of export, if Minnagara had been on the Indus. But even allowing it to have been on the Indus, there is every reason to suppose it was on the eastern bank, whereas Manjábarí is plainly stated to be on the western.

Lassen derives the name of this capital of Indo-Scythia from the Sanskrit *Nagara*, a town, and *Min*, which he shows from Isidorus Characenus to be the name of a Scythian city. The Sindomana of Arrian may, therefore, owe its origin to this source. C. Ritter says *Min* is a name of the Sacas; if so, there can be little doubt that we have their representatives in the wild Minas of Rájputána, who have been driven but little to the eastward of their former haunts.

Minnagara is, according to Ptolemy, in Long. 115. 15. Lat. 19. 30, and he places it on the Nerbadda, so that his Minnagara, as well as that of the second quotation from the Periplus, may possibly be the famous Mándúgarh (not far from the river), and the Mánkír which the early Arab Geographers represent as the capital of the Balharà. [See the article " Balharà."]

The fact appears to be that there were two Minnagaras—one on, or near, the Indus; another on the Nerbadda (Narmada). Ptolemy's assertion cannot be gainsaid, and establishes the existence of the latter on the Nerbadda, [and this must have been the Minnagara of

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which the Periplus represents Broach to be the port]. The one on, or near, the Indus was the capital of Indo-Scythia, and the Binagara, or Agrinagara, of Ptolemy. We learn from the Tuhfatu-l Kirám that in the twelfth century Minagár was one of the cities dependent on Múltán, and was in the possession of a chief, by caste an *Agri*, descended from Alexander. When we remember that Arrian informs us that Alexander left some of his troops, (including, no doubt, Agrians), as a garrison for the town at the junction of the Indus and Acesines, this affords a highly curious coincidence, which cannot, however, be further dilated upon in this place.[1]

Naráina.

[*Extract of General Cunningham's Archæological Report for* 1864-5,—*Page* 1.]

"In his account of the geography of Northern India, the celebrated Abú Ríhán makes the city of *Narain* the starting point of three different itineraries to the south, the south-west, and the west. This place has not been identified by M. Reinaud, the learned historian of ancient India, but its true locality has been accurately assigned to the neighbourhood of Jaypur. Its position also puzzled Sir H. Elliot, who says, however, that with one exception "Narwar satisfies all the requisite conditions." But this position is quite untenable, as will be seen by the proofs which I am now about to bring forward in support of its identification with *Náráyan*, the capital of *Bairát*, or *Matsya*.

According to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Tsang, the capital of the kingdom of *Po-li-ye-to-lo*, which M. Reinaud has identified with *Páryátra*, or *Bairát*, was situated at 500 *li*, or 83⅓ miles, to the west of Mathura, and about 800 *li*, or 133⅓ miles, to the south-west (read south-east) of the kingdom of *She-to-tu-lo*, that is, of *Satadru*, on the Sutlej—The bearing and distance from Mathura point unequivocally to *Bairát*, the ancient capital of *Matsya*, as the city of

[1] Compare Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. part 1, p. 475, and Vol. V. p. 181. *Ptol. Geogr.* Lib. VII. c. I, tab. 10. Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 349. D'Anville *Antiq. de l' Inde*, p. 34. Mannert, *Geog. der Griechen and Römer*, Vol. V. pp. 107, 130, 136. Hudson, *Geog. Vet. Scriptores Græci Min.* Vol. I. Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 79. *Journal R. A. S.* Vol. I. p. 31. C. Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Ind.* p. 57. *Allgemeine Encyclop.:* Art. *Indien*, p, 91. Arriani, *De Expedit: Alex:* Lib. VI. 15.

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Hwen Tsang's narrative; and this being fixed, we may identify the capital of *Satadru*, or the Sutlej Provinces, with the famous Fort of *Hansi*, which successfully resisted the arms of Mahmúd of Ghazní. According to the *Tabakát-i Násirí*, Hansi was the ancient capital of the Province of Siwálik, and up to the time of its capture by Mas'úd had been considered by the Hindus as impregnable.

Abú Ríhán, the contemporary of Mahmúd, places *Narána*, the capital of *Karzát*, at twenty-eight parasangs to the west of Mathura, which, taking the parasang at three and a half miles, would make the distance ninety-eight miles, or fourteen miles in excess of the measurement of Hwen Tsang. But as the narratives of the different Muhammadan historians leave no doubt of the identity of *Narána*, the capital of *Kárzát*, with Náráyana, the capital of *Bairát*, this difference in the recorded distance from Mathura is of little moment. According to Abú Ríhán, *Narána*, or *Bazána*,[1] was called Náráyan نارایں by the Musulmans, a name which still exists in *Nárdyanpur*, a town situated at ten miles to the north-east of Bairát itself. From Kanauj to Narána, Abú Ríhán gives two distinct routes:—the first direct, *via* Mathura, being fifty-six parasangs, or 196 miles, and the other to the south of the Jumna being eighty-eight parasangs, or 308 miles. The intermediate stages of the latter route are, 1st., *Asi*, 18 parasangs, or 63 miles; 2nd., *Sahina*, 17 parasangs, or 59½ miles; 3rd., *Jandara* (Chandrá), 18 parasangs, or 63 miles; 4th., *Rajauri*, either 15 or 17 parasangs, 54 or 59½ miles; and 5th., *Bazána*, or *Narána*, 20 parasangs, or 70 miles. As the direction of the first stage is especially recorded to have been to the south-west of Kanauj, it may be at once identified with the *Assai Ghát* on the Jumna, six miles to the south of Etawa, and about sixty miles to the south-west of Kanauj. The name of the second stage is written *Sahina*, سہینا, for which, by the simple shifting of the diacritical points, I propose to read Sahania, سہنیا, which is the name of a very large and famous ruined town, situated twenty-five miles to the north of Gwalior, of which some account will be given in the present report. Its distance from the *Assai Ghát* is about fifty-six miles. The third stage named *Jandara* by M. Reinaud, and Chandra by Sir Henry Elliot, I take to be *Hindon*, reading حندون for چندرا. Its distance from *Sahaniya* by the Khetri Ghát on the Chambal river is

[1] [Reinaud's reading.]

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about seventy miles. The fourth stage, named *Rajori*, still exists under the same name, twelve miles to the south of *Mácheri*, and about fifty miles to the north-west of *Hindon*. From thence to *Narainpur* and *Bairát*, the road lies altogether through the hills of Alwar or Mácheri, which makes it difficult to ascertain the exact distance. By measurements on the lithographed map of eight miles to the inch, I make the distance to be about sixty miles, which is sufficiently near the twenty parasangs, or seventy miles of Abú Ríhán's account.

According to the other itineraries of Abú Ríhán, *Narána* was twenty-five parasangs to the north of *Chitor* in *Mewár*, fifty parasangs to the east of *Multán*, and sixty parasangs to the north-east of *Anhalwára*. The bearings of these places from *Bairát* are all sufficiently exact, but the measurements are more than one-half too short. For the first distance of twenty-five parasangs to *Chitor*, I would propose to read sixty-five parasangs, or 227 miles, the actual distance by the measured routes of the Quarter-Master General being 217¾. As the distance of *Chitor* is omitted in the extract from Abú Ríhán, which is given by Rashídu-d Dín,[1] it is probable that there may have been some omission or confusion in the original of the *Tárikh-i Hind* from which he copied. The erroneous measurement of fifty parasangs to Multán is, perhaps, excusable on the ground that the direct route through the desert being quite impassable for an army, the distance must have been estimated. The error in the distance of Anhalwára I would explain by referring the measurement of sixty parasangs to Chitor, which lies about midway between Bairát and Anhalwára. From a comparison of all these different itineraries, I have no hesitation whatever in identifying *Bazána* or *Naréna*, the capital of *Karsát* or *Gusrát*,[2] with *Nárayanpur*, the capital of *Bairát* or *Vairát*. In Firishta the name is written either *Kibrát*, قبرات as in Dow, or *Kairát*, قيرات as in Briggs, both of which names are an easy misreading of ويرات *Wairát* or *Virát*, as it would have been written by the Muhammadans.

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According to Abú Ríhán the town was destroyed, and the people

[1] [Rashídu-d Dín gives the distance as fifteen parasangs, see p. 60.]

[2] [See the variant readings in p. 59—to which may be added كشورات, from Sir H. Elliot's MS.]

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retired far into the interior. By Firishta this invasion is assigned to the year A.H. 413, or A.D. 1022, when the king (Mahmúd), hearing that the inhabitants of two hilly tracts named *Kairát* and *Nárdín* (or *Bairát* and *Narâyan*) still continued the worship of idols (or lions in some manuscripts), resolved to compel them to embrace the Muhammadan faith. The place was taken and plundered by Amír 'Alí."]

Nírún.—Sákúra.—Jarak.

Amongst the many places of which it is difficult to establish the true position in ancient Sind, Nírún or Nairún is one of the most perplexing, for several reasons. Its first syllable, even, is a controverted point, and while all the French authors uniformly write it Byroun, after Abú-l Fidá,[1] the English equally persist in following Idrísí[2] (p. 78), and writing it Nírún and Nerún. What imparts a presumptive correctness to the French reading is, that it is set down as the birthplace of the celebrated Abú Ríhán al Birúní. But here, *in limine*, several strong objections may be raised,—that Abú Ríhán was a Khwárizmian, and is so called by the best authorities,—that throughout his descriptive geography of India, he is more deficient in his account of Sind than in any other part,—that he nowhere mentions it as his birthplace,—and that no one ever heard of any Bírún in Sind, though many local traditions speak of a Nírún, and concur in fixing its locality. Abú-l Fidá certainly writes it Bírún, but there is often an assumption of accuracy about him which has been far too readily conceded by the moderns; for he was merely a distant foreigner, who never left Syria except to go to Mecca and Egypt, and he was therefore compelled to copy and rely on the defective information of others. Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* are not quite determinate in their reading, but the *Chach-náma* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* never write it in any other form than with the initial N, followed by *yá*, which leaves us still in doubt whether the word be Nairún, Nírún, or Nerún; but it is certainly neither Birun, nor Bírún, nor Bairún, nor Byroun.

Other considerations with respect to the name of Abú Ríhán, will be found in the Note devoted to that philosopher, in the second volume of this work.

[1] *Géographie d'Abou-l Féda*, p. 348. [2] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom. I. p. 16.

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Under the dynasty of the Ráís, Nírún was included within the government of Bráhmanábád (p. 158). The inhabitants of Nírún solicited from the Arabs a cartel of protection, as their city was "on the very road of the Arabs to Sind" (p. 157). After the conquest of Debal, "Md. Kásim directed that the catapults should be sent by boat towards the fort of Nírún (p. 47), and the boats went up the stream called Sindh Ságara,[1] while he himself advanced by way of Sisám"[2] (p. 157). When Md. Kásim went from Debal "to the fortress of Nírún, which is twenty-five parasangs distant, he marched for six days, and on the seventh arrived at Nírún, where there is a meadow which they call Balhár, situated on the land of Barúzí,[3] which the inundations of the Indus had not yet reached (p. 158), and the army consequently complained of being oppressed by thirst. This drought was seasonably relieved through the efficacy of the general's prayers,—"when all the pools and lakes which were round that city were replenished with water." He then "moved towards Síwistán (Síhwán) by several marches, until he reached Bahraj or Mauj,[4] thirty parasangs from Nírún" (p. 158). After his expedition to Síwistán and Búdhiya, he was directed by Hajjáj to return to Nírún, and make preparations for crossing the Indus (p. 163). He accordingly

[1] [Sir H. Elliot read this name as Dhand Ságara; but the MS. of the E. I. Lib. gives it distinctly as "Sind-ságar," and this has been adopted in the text. Sir H. Elliot's copy seems rather to read Wahand, or Wahind-ságar, a name which is also admissible, see p. 256. It is called in the text an *áb*, or "water," which has been rendered by "stream," as it is manifest that the only water communication between Debal and Nírún must have been by one of the channels of the Indus. According to Capt. McMurdo, Debal was situated on the most western branch of the Indus, called "Ságára," up which Muhammad Kásim conveyed his engines. *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 29, 32.]

[2] [Both MSS, agree in reading "Sísam" as the name of the place by which Muhammad Kásim proceeded, but it can hardly be the place of that name to which he advanced after the capture of Síwistán (pp. 160, 161).] Biládurí merely mentions the advance to Nírún (p. 121).

[3] [This sentence has unfortunately slipped out of the translation as printed at p. 158.] The word again occurs—"from the camp of Barúzí," and must be the name of a place. If the reading had not been plain in both instances, I should have preferred "Nírúní."

[4] [Sir H. Elliot's MS. of the *Chach-náma* gives this name as "Bahraj," but the E. I. Library copy has "Mauj," and this reading is confirmed by the MS. of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 7). On the other hand, Istakhrí's map as given by Moeller lays down "Bahraj" in the locality indicated by the Chach-náma. A conflict of authority leaving the true reading doubtful, though "Bahraj" seems preferable.]

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moved back by several difficult marches "to the fort which is on the hill of Nírún,"[1] where there was a beautiful lake and charming grove (p. 163). This fort was the nearest point to the capital of the Khalif. After crossing the Indus, a garrison was left at Nírún, to keep open the communications in the rear and protect the convoys (p. 144).

Istakhrí (p. 28) and Ibn Haukal tell us that "Nírún lies between Debal and Mansúra, but nearer to the latter, and that any traveller who wishes to go to Mansúra, must cross the river Indus at Manjábarí, which is on the western bank, and stands opposite to Mansúra" (p. 37). The subsequent geographers copy these authors, as usual, adding little further information. Idrísí places it distinctly on the western bank (p. 78). Abú-l Fidá says it is fifteen parasangs from Mansúra, and fixes it in latitude 26° 40′, on the authority of the Kánún of Birúní.[2]

The name of Sákara or Ságara, which is mentioned above, requires a few words of notice. The *Chach-náma* merely mentions that "the fleet of Md. Kásim came to anchor in the lake of Ságara;" but the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says, "having placed his manjaníks on boats, he sent them to the fort of Nírún, by way of the water of Sakúra, while he himself marched by land."[3] Elsewhere, we are informed in the same work, that "Debal, now called Thatta, was in the land of Sákúra."[4] Again, Tharra, which was a strong fort near Thatta, was "in the land of Sákúra."[5] Again, Dewal, Bhambúr, Bagár, and Tharra were each "excellent cities in the land of Sákúra."

In the *Áyín-i Akbarí* Sákúra is entered as a Pergana in Sirkár Thatta; and in the *Tárikh-i Táhirí* it is also spoken of as a Pergana, lying under the Makalí hills, in which Thatta itself was included[6] (p. 257). Mas'údí speaks of a Ságara or Shákira (p. 24), two days' journey from the town of Debal; and it is added that both branches of the Indus disembogue into the sea at that place. It does not seem improbable that we have the same word in the Sagapa

[1] Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 179. He insists upon reading Bîrûn. M. Reinaud considers the original to be ambiguous in this passage.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 240.

[2] *Géographie d'Abou-l Féda*, Texte Arabe, p. 348.—D'Anville, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 37, *et seq.*

[3] MS. p. 6. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 1. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 11. [6] MS. pp. 20, 48.

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of Ptolemy and Marcianus Heracleotes, for they call it "the first and most westerly mouth of the river Indus."[1]

We may consider the stream of Sákúra to correspond with the prolongation of the Gisrí or Ghárá creek, which at no very distant time must have communicated with the Indus above Thatta. Indeed, Mr. N. Crow, writing in the year 1800, says, "By a strange turn that the river has taken within these five and twenty years, just above Tatta, that city is flung out of the angle of the inferior Delta, in which it formerly stood, on the main land towards the hills of Buluchistán."[2]

The position here assigned to the Sákúra, points out the direction where we are to look for Nírún, to which, by means of that stream, there seems to have been a water communication—at least approximate, if not direct.

It is quite evident that Nírún was on the western bank of the Indus. Not only do we find Muhammad Kásim going there in order to make due preparations for "crossing" that river, not only do we find Dáhir, on receiving the intelligence of the capture of Debal, directing Jaisiya to "cross over" from Nírún to Bráhmanábád without delay (MS. p. 102), but it is also so represented both in the text, and on the maps, of Istakhrí and the *Ashkálu-l Bildd.* Nevertheless, M. D'Avezac, in the map prefixed to the *Memoire sur l'Inde*, places it on the eastern bank. His authority stands deservedly high, but can be of no value against the positive testimony here adduced to the contrary.

How then it came in modern times to be considered identical with Haidarábád it is impossible to say, but so it is laid down unhesitatingly from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, down to the latest English tourist.[3] Even if it could be accounted for by supposing that the Falailí then constituted the main stream of the Indus, we should nevertheless find that the distances assigned to Nírún from various places named would not make it correspond in position with Haidarábád.

[1] *Geog.*, Lib. vii.—*Periplus*, p. 32, in Hudson's *Geograph, Græci Minores*, Vol. I.

[2] Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 162.—See also Capt. McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 25.

[3] *T. Kirám*, MS.—Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 218.—McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. 1. pp. 30, 234.—Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 31.—Elphinstone, *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 504.—Burton, *Sindh*, pp. 131. 376. The latter says its ancient name is not only Nerun's Fort, but Patalpúr. If so, we can be at no loss for Pattala.

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And here it is obvious to remark, that the establishment of its locality depends chiefly upon the sites which are assigned to other disputed cities, more especially to Debal and Mansúra. I have elsewhere stated my reasons for considering Debal to be represented by Karáchí, and Mansúra by Haidarábád. Much also depends on the real value of the farsang,[1] which greatly varied in different places, even in neighbouring provinces. As it was probably modified in Sind by the local *kos*, we may ascribe to it the small standard of two miles and a half, which we know it to have had upon the Tigris, according to the latest and most accurate investigations. Or, without assigning to these roughly estimated distances an accuracy which they were never intended to bear, we may consider the Sindian parasang to vary from two to three miles, so as in no instance to be less than the one, or more than the other. It is usual, and doubtless more correct, to fix the standard at a higher value than even three English miles; but this is evidently quite inapplicable in Sind, and would be even more decisive against the identity of Debal and Thatta, than the present hypothesis.[2]

Guided by all these considerations, I am disposed to place Nírún at Helái, or Heláya, a little below Jarak, on the high road from Thatta to Haidarábád. The correspondences in other respects appear exact, in every instance of comparison.

It has a direct communication by a road over the hills with Bela and would be the first place in the valley of the Indus which the Arabs could reach by land, and therefore nearest to the capital of the Khiláfat.

Lakes abound in the neighbourhood, and are large enough, especially the Kinjar, to have admitted Muhammad Kásim's fleet.

[1] On the Persian farsang, the Greek parasang, or Arabic farsakh, see the *Metrop. and Penny Cyclop.*, v. "Parasang."—Ainsworth's *Preface to Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand.*—Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. XI. pp. 19-22.—Ouseley's *Orient. Geog.*, p. xxii.—Rennell's *Geog. of Western Asia*, I. xli.—Reinaud, *Géog. d'Abou-l Féda*, Tom. I.—Freytag, *Lex. Arab.*, s.v.—Forbiger, *Handbuch der alt. Geog.*. Vol. I. p. 555. In Khúzistán it is reckoned at three miles and three quarters, —*Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. IX. p. 31. This is also the length assigned by Ouseley and Kinneir. On the Tigris we have it given as only two miles and a half.—*Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, Vol. X. p. 119.

[2] Mas'údí (p. 21) is represented as laying down the Sindian parasang at eight miles. The same passage is rendered by Reinaud as "[illegible]," which would also imply a long parasang.—*Mémoire*, p. 69.

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Nírún is represented as twenty-five parasangs from Debal. (The real distance is seventy British statute miles between Helái and Karáchí.)

Nírún was situated on a hill, which would admit of its being identified with very few other places of note near the Indus. It lay between Debal and Mansúra, but was nearer to the latter. (This position also corresponds with that of Helái). It was fifteen parasangs from Mansúra. (Thirty-five miles is the distance between Helái and Haidarábád.)

We need scarcely pursue the comparison farther. We may rest assured that Nírún was, if not at Helái, at least at no great distance from it, and was certainly not Haidarábád. It is worthy of remark that Helái itself is a place of undoubted antiquity, and there are two remarkable hills in its neighbourhood covered with ruins, representing perhaps the Hyala of Diodorus.[1]

Next to Helái, Jarak offers many points of probability. It is only twelve miles from Helái, and therefore the distances already laid down, with no great profession of exactness, would answer nearly equally well. Its commanding position, on a ledge of rock overhanging the Indus, necessarily denotes it to have been always a site of importance, and this is confirmed by the evidence afforded by several substantial remains of masonry on the banks of the river, which still arrest the observation of the traveller at that place.

Sadúsán.

The *Tárikh-i Alfi*, in a passage relating to Sultán Jalálu-d dín's proceedings on the Indus, mentions that Sadúsán was subsequently called Sístán. Though the writer here commits the common error of confounding Sístán with Sihwán, or Siwistán, on the Indus, yet he leaves us in no doubt what correction to apply, and we thus derive from him an interesting piece of information; for the position of Sadúsán, which is so frequently mentioned in the Arab accounts of Sind, has not hitherto been ascertained.

Sámúi.—Tughlikábád.—Kalá-kot.

Sámúi deserves notice from the attempt which has been made to establish it as the celebrated Minnagara of the ancient geographers. It was the capital of the Jáms of the Samma dynasty, and, according

[1] *Biblioth. Histor.*, Lib. xvii. cap. 104.

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to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, it was founded by Jám Pániya,[1] under the Makalí hills, about three miles north-west of Thatta.

Subsequently, the fort of Tughlikábád was built by Jám Taghúr or Tughlik, on the site of the older Kalá-kot, about two miles south of Thatta; but that, as well as its predecessor, was left unfinished by its founder (p. 272). By a strange vicissitude, the name of Tughlikábád is now comparatively forgotten, and that of Kalá-kot erroneously called Kalán-kot (the great fort), though for a time superseded, has restored the just claims of Rájá Kalá, and still attracts the attention of the traveller. Lt. Burton calls it Kallián-kot. I fear to differ from so good a local authority, but believe Kalá-kot to be more strictly correct.

The ruins of Sámúí, Samúiya, or Samma-nagar, "the city of the Sammas," are to be traced near Thatta; and, under the wrong and deceptive spelling of Sa-minagar, have induced Col. Tod, Sir A. Burnes, and many who have too readily followed them—including even Ritter, who considers the question settled "incontestably,"—to recognise in that name the more ancient and more famous Minnagara. The easy, but totally unwarrantable, elision of the first and only important syllable has led to this fanciful identification.[2]

Sindán, Súbára or Súrabáya, and Saimúr.

[These three towns were all south of Kambáya, and the first two were ports. Saimúr, though a place of trade, is not distinctly said to be a port, but it is laid down on the sea-shore in the map. Abú-l Fidá says that Sindán was also called Sindábúr, but this is hardly in accordance with Al Bírúní and Rashídu-d dín (pp. 66, 68). He also notices the variant forms of Súfára and Súfála for Súbára. The route as given by Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal and Idrísí is—

Kambáya to Surabáya, four days;
Súrabáya to Sindán, five ,,
Sindán to Saimúr five ,,
And the first two add, Saimúr to Sarandíb, 15 days.

Idrísí also states Broach to be two days from Saimúr. Al Bírúní

[1] [This is the "Jám Júna, son of Bábiniya," of Mír Ma'súm.]

[2] Tod, *Rájasthán*, Vol. I. p. 86; II. 220, 256, 312; and *W. India*, pp. 466, 481.—Burnes. *Travels*, Vol. III. pp. 31, 79; and *Cabool*, pp. 16–18.—Lt. Burton, *Sindh* p. 388; and *Unhappy Valley*, Vol. I. p. 105.—*T. Kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 20, 82, 84.—Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 475.—McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, I. 30, 232.

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makes the distance from Broach to Sindán fifty parasangs, and from Sindán to Súfára six parasangs. Abú-l Fida says that Sindán was the last city of Guzerát, and the first of Manſbár (Malabár), three days' journey from Tana. It is hardly possible to reconcile all these statements, but there seems to be sufficient evidence for making Sindán the most southerly. It was on a bay or estuary a mile and a-half from the sea, and the modern Damán is probably its present representative. Súbára was similarly situated at the same distance from the sea, and finds a likely successor in Surát. Istakhrí's statement would make Saimúr the most southerly, but this is at variance with Mas'údi and Al Bírúní, who say that it was in Lár (the country round Broach), and with Idrísí's statement of its being at only two days' journey from Broach. But it is not easy to see how it could have been only two days from Broach and yet five from Sindán. Notwithstanding the incongruity of these statements, it must have been a place of considerable size and importance. It is the only one of these three towns that has received notice by Kazwíní. His account of the place is given in page 97 *supra*, but it supplies no data on which to fix the locality. Abú-l Fidá does not mention it, and the *Marásidu-i Ittilá'* affords no help, for it merely describes it as a city of Hind, bordering on Sind near to Debal.]

Túr.—Muhatampúr.—Dirak.—Vijeh-kot.

Túr was the ancient capital of the Súmra dynasty, called also by the name of Mehmetúr, and written by the local historians as Muhatampúr and Muhammad-Túr. It was situated in the Pargana of Dirak, and its destruction has been mentioned in the Extracts from the *Táríkh-i Táhirí* (p. 256). But its real ruin dates only from 'Aláu-d dín's invasion of Sind.

The ancient Pargana of Dirak is represented by the modern divisions of Cháchagám and Badban on the borders of the Tharr, or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bázár. There is a Pargana of Dirak still included in Thatta, which may be a portion of the older district of that name.

Another capital of the Súmras is said to have been Vijeh-kot, Wageh-kot, or Vigo-gad (for it is spelt in these various forms), five miles to the east of the Púrán river, above the Allah-band.

The site of Túr has been considered to be occupied by the modern

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Tharri, near Budína, on the Gúngrú river. There are, to be sure, the remains of an old town to the west of that place; nevertheless, the real position of Túr is not to be looked for there, but at Shákapúr, a populous village about ten miles south of Mírpúr. Near that village, the fort and palace of the last of the Súmras is pointed out, whence bricks are still extracted of very large dimensions, measuring no less than twenty inches by eight.[1] Other fine ruins are scattered about the neighbourhood, and carved tomb-stones are very numerous. Fragments of pearls and other precious stones are occasionally picked up, which have all apparently been exposed to the action of fire. The people themseves call this ruined site by the name of Mehmetúr, so that both the name and position serve to verify it, beyond all doubt, as the ancient capital of the Súmras.

The curious combination of Muhammad-Túr, is an infallible indication that "Mehmet" and "Muhatam" are merely corruptions of "Muhammad," for this name is wretchedly pronounced in Sind. The present mode is *Mammet*—our own old English word for an image, or puppet, when in our ignorance we believed *Mawmetrie*, or the religion of the false prophet, to be synonymous with idolatry, and *Mahound* with the Devil. So Shakespere, in *Romeo and Juliet*, says—

"A whining *mammet*, in her fortune's tender."

And Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*—

"And oftentimes by Termagant and *Mahound* swore."

The still grosser corruption of Muhammad into "Baphomet," or "Baffomet," is not to be laid to the charge of our nation. This was the name of the idol, or head, which the Templars are falsely alleged to have worshipped,—*quoddam caput cum barbâ quod adorant et vocant salvatorem suum.* Raynouard argues that this word originates from a misprint, or mispronunciation, of Muhammad; but Von Hammer and Michelet lean to a Gnostic origin, which we need not stay to consider, being satisfied that "Baffomet" is only another, and still more extravagant disguise, under which Europeans have exhibited the name of Muhammad.[2]

[1] *Bég-Lár-náma*, MS. p. 8.—*Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 162, 166.—Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sind*, p. 134.—Capt. McMurdo, *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 24, 226, 233.

[2] Raynouard, *Monuments hist. rel. á la condamnation des Templiers*, pp. 261-302; and in Michaud's *Hist. des Croisades*, Tom, V. p. 572; and in *J. des Savants*, for March and April, 1819.—Von Hammer, *Mysterium Baphometi revelatum* in *Fundgruben des Or.*, Vol VI. pt. i.—Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Tom. III. p. 145.

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NOTE (B.)—HISTORICAL.

The Rái Dynasty.

The *Chach-náma* (p. 138) mentions only the three immediate predecessors of the usurper Chach, and in this it is followed by the *Táríkh-i Sind.* It states that "Rái Sihara, the son of Díwáij (called also Sháhí-Sháhí) was defeated and slain by the army of king Nímroz,[1] which entered Kirmán from the direction of Fárs; and that he was succeeded by his son Rái Sáhasí." It will be observed from the annexed extract, that the *Tuhfátu-l Kirám* gives two additional reigns, which are not, however, referred to any specific authority of ancient date.

"*Dynasty of the Ráis.*—Their capital was the city of Alor, and the boundaries of their country were—on the east, Kashmír and Kanauj; on the west, Makrán and the shore of the sea of 'Umán, that is, the port of Debal; on the south, the port of Súrat (Suráshtra); and on the north, Kandahár, Sístán, the hills of Sulaimán and Kaikánán. As the commencement of this dynasty has not been ascertained, I content myself with mentioning some of the names which are known.

"*Rái Diwáij.* He was a powerful chief, whose absolute rule extended to the limits above mentioned. He formed alliances with most of the rulers of Hind, and throughout all his territories caravans travelled in perfect security. On his death, he was succeeded by his son,

"*Rái Siharas,* who followed the steps of his father in maintaining his position in happiness, comfort, and splendour, during a long reign. His celebrated son was

"*Rái Sáhasi,* who also swayed the sceptre with great pomp and power. He followed the institutions of his ancestors, and accomplished all his desires.

"*Rái Siharas II.* was his son and successor. King Nímroz raised an army for the purpose of attacking him, and the Rái, having

[1] [Sir H. Elliot considers Nímroz to be the name of the king, but it is quite open to read the words "Bádsháh Nímroz" as "king of Nímroz." This reading seems preferable, and has been adopted in the translation of the Chach-náma, p. 139.]

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advanced to the borders of Kích to meet it, selected a field of battle. The flame of war blazed from morn to midday, when an arrow pierced the neck of the Ráí, so that he died. King Nímroz, after plundering the camp, returned to his own country. The army of Siharas assembled in a body, and seated his son Sáhasí upon the throne.

"*Ráí Sáhasí II.* excelled his ancestors in estimable qualities. Having, within a short time, settled affairs within the borders of his kingdom, he enjoyed rest and peace in his capital. He remitted the taxes of his subjects, on condition that they should raise (or repair) the earthwork of six forts: viz., Uchh, Mátela, Seorái, Mad (or Mau), Alor, and Siwistán. He had a chamberlain named Rám, and a minister mamed Budhíman. One day, Chach, son of Síláij, a Brahman of high caste, came to Rám, the chamberlain, who was so pleased with his society, that he introduced him to the minister."

The names of these rulers are thus given by Capt. Postans, in two different papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and on the authority of the same work, the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*:—

No. cxi, 1841, p. 185.—"Rahee Dewahey, Rahee Siheersin, Rahee Sahursee, Rahee Siheersin the 2nd, Rahee Sahee."

No. clviii. 1845, p. 79.—"Rahi Dawahij, Sahiras, Rahi Sahasi, Rahi Sahiras the 2nd, Rahi Sahasi the 2nd."

In an earlier number of the same *Journal* (No. lxxiv. Feb., 1838, p. 93), James Prinsep observed, "*Diwaij* seems a corruption of *dwija* 'the Brahman;' and *Sahurs* resembles much the genitive *sáhasa* of our Saurashtra coins, of whom the first is a *swámiputra*, or son of a Brahman; but the date seems too recent. See Vol. VI. p. 385." But it appears from the passage just quoted, that it was a Bráhman dynasty which superseded the family of Díwáij, and there is no reason to suppose that Díwáij was himself a member of that caste.

The same Persian work, from which the above extract is taken, states that the reigns of these five Ráís lasted for the long period of one hundred and thirty-seven years, and that Chach, by his victory over Mahrat, Ráná of Chitor, established himself on the throne about he first year of the Hijra. It will be seen from the following Note, hat as this date must of necessity have been placed too early,

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the year 10 H. has been preferred, as the era of Chach's accession, and the extinction of the Rái dynasty.

Pottinger, on the authority of a native work called the *Majma'-i Wáridát*, states that the dynasty had endured for two thousand years; which, as we know from Ptolemy and the Periplus that the country was subject to frequent revolutions at the early period of our era, and at the time of Alexander was under no single ruler, must be regarded as pure fiction. If we allow that there were really five reigns, there is no great improbability in assuming 137 years, as above mentioned, for the correct period of their duration; and thus we should obtain the Christian year 495 as that in which the dynasty commenced.

It is generally assumed that Khusrú Naushírwán was the king of Persia by whom Siharas II. was slain; but as Naushírwán died in 479 A.D., it would leave, at the very least, 53 years necessary for the reign of Sáhasí II.—even supposing that his predecessor was killed in the very last year of Naushírwán, which we know cannot have been the case, as that potentate had been, for some time previous, employed in the western portion of his large empire. It is therefore quite evident, that king Nímroz[1] has been wrongly interpreted to mean that great Persian monarch; and we must therefore use Nímroz in its usual application of Sijistán, and allow the opponent of Siharas to be no more formidable a personage than the governor, or ruler, of that province; or, if we must necessarily have a Persian king—notwithstanding that no one of the name of Nímroz ever sat on the throne—then Khusrú Parvíz (591-628 A.D.) an equally great conqueror, would answer all the requirements better; for we know that the eastern provinces towards the Indus revolted in the reign of Hormuz, his father and predecessor, and his recovery of them seems indicated by his having 960 elephants in his train—which could only have been procured from India.

Doubtless, Naushírwán did invade Sind or its borders,—because the fact is vouched for by unquestionable authority in the best

[1] In one passage he is styled "Bádsháh Nímroz," and a few lines afterwards "Sháh Fárs Nímroz." It will be seen from a passage quoted in the succeeding note, that Hormuz is represented as "the son of Fárs" in the *Chach-náma*; it would appear therefore that in that work "Fárs" is identical with "Naushírwán."

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Persian annalists, and is shown by the relations, political, commercial, and literary, which appear then to have arisen between Persia and India; but it must have been during one of the earlier reigns of this dynasty; or if during the reign of Siharas II., it must have preceded the attack which resulted in that monarch's death. That he and Naushírwán were contemporary, during some portion of their reigns, is by no means improbable—for the latter reigned 48 years; and if we allow 40 for the reign of Sáhasí II., and 40 likewise for the reign of Siharas II.—the same period which Chach enjoyed, though his first years were signalized by internal rebellions and foreign invasions—we shall then find the 20 first years of Siharas's correspond with the 20 last years of Naushírwán's reign.[1]

It would detain us too long to enter upon any speculations respecting the country and race whence this dynasty derived its origin. I will merely remark, that the Scythian barbarians from Sind, who expelled the Gehlotes from Balabhipúra in the beginning of the sixth century,—the Yue-tchi, who re-established themselves on the Indus about the same time,—the Ephthalites, or white Huns, whom Cosmas declares at that period to have ruled upon the banks of that river,—and the Sáh dynasty of Suráshtra,—all offer points of relation, comparison, and contact, to which a separate dissertation might be devoted.[2]

[1] Compare Firdúsí, *Shdh-ndma*, ed. Macan, p. 1632; Pottinger, *Travels in Belochistan*, p. 386; Schlegel, *Indische Biblioth.*, Vol. I. p. 203; De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, Tom. II. p. 469; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 141; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 232-9; C. F. Richter, *über die Arsac. und Sassan. Dyn.* ap. *Erdk. v. Asien*, Vol. IV. part i., p. 524; Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II. p. 118; *As. Res.*, Vol. IX.; *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. III. p. 385; Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, Vol. I. p. 400; Bohlen, *das alte Indien*. Vol. II.; *Ancient Univ. Hist.* Vol. IX. pp. 305-9, 312, 318; L. Dubeux, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "La Perse," pp. 327, 328.

[2] Melch. Thévenot, *Rec. d. Voyages curieux*, Part i. pp. 21, 22; Montfaucon, *Coll. nova Patrum*, Vol. II. pp. 132, 179, 337-9; *As. Res.*, Vol. IX. p. 113; Tod, *Ann. of Raj.*, Vol. I. pp. 216-9; II. 311-2; *Western India*, pp, 83, 147-9, 214, 268, 271; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 407; T. Benfey, *Indien*; Lassen, *Indische Alterthums.*, Vol. II.; F. Baudry, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII., col. 153; Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxx.; *Mém. sur. l'Inde*, pp. 104, 124-7; *Journal A. S. B.*, Vol. IV. pp. 480, 684; VI. 338; 1837, pp. 377, *et seq.*; *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. IV. p. 398; VI. 351, 439; B. Nicholson, *ib.*, Vol. XIII. pp. 146-163; V. de St. Martin, *Études de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I., p. 245; Thomas' Prinsep.

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The Bráhman Dynasty.

Though we have no reason to complain of any want of detail respecting the political transactions of this dynasty, yet we are left in considerable doubt respecting the chronological adjustment of the few reigns which it comprises, and even the very name of Chach is a subject of some uncertainty. Gladwin has "Juj;"[1] Briggs has "Huj;"[2] the two Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale have "Hoj;"[3] Reinaud spells the name "Tchotch;"[4] Renouard leans to "Jaj," as he considers it a corruption of Yajnya;[5] S. de Sacy gives reasons for considering it to be "Hijaj;"[6] Pottinger writes "Chach;"[7] and he is followed by all English authors. This is certainly in conformity with native usage, and we have several existing instances of the same combination—as Chachpúr, Cháchar, Cháchagám, Chachí, Chachar, and similar names of places in the valley of Indus.

It is to this usurper I am disposed to attribute the introduction of the game of chess to the western world; and this question invites us to some further considerations respecting the correct mode of writing his name. Although Firdúsí informs us, that it was an ambassador of the king of Kanauj who introduced this game at the court of Naushírwán,[8] the statement of Ibn Khallikán seems more to be relied on, when he says that Sassa, son of Dáhir,[9] invented the game during the reign of the Persian king Sháhrám. It is true that we have to notice here an error in the parentage, as well as a contradiction with himself; for, in another place, he assigns the invention to Balhít, whom he makes a contemporary of Ardashír, son of Bábak, who reigned four centuries before Sháhrám[10]—but the main statement seems to be upheld by independent testimony, and it

[1] *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II. p. 119. [2] *Ferishta*, Vol. IV. p. 401.

[3] *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxvii. [4] *Ibid.* and *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 125-153.

[5] *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, v. "Scind."

[6] *Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 225. [7] *Travels in Belochistan*, pp. 317-9.

[8] *Shâh-náma*, ed. Macan; Vol. IV. pp. 1719-1734.—Hyde, *Historia Shahiludii*, pp. 69-92, reprinted in the *Syntagma dissertationum*, Vol. II.—Freret, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, Tom V. p. 250.—Görres, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, Vol. II., p. 452.—Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. II. p. 67, *et seq.*

[9] According to the Chach-náma (p. 152) Chach was the son of Sílâij, son of Basábas.

[10] De Slane, *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. III. p. 71, *et seq.*; Gildemeister, *de reb. Indicis*, p. 141; Hyde, *ut suprà*; N. Bland, *Journal R. A. S*, Vol. XIII. pp. 13, 14, 20, 26, 62. [D. Forbes, *History of Chess.*]

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will be seen, from Tabarí's sequence of these Persian reigns, that Chach must necessarily have been contemporary with Sháhrám, or Shahr Írán, or Shahriyár, as he is otherwise called.

The name of "Sassa" assumes the various forms of "Sissa," "Sahsaha," "Súsá," "Sísa," and "Sa'sa'." Mr. Bland, in his learned article quoted below, says they are all obviously corruptions of Xerxes, or of a name which has served as its origin—not the Persian king, but a philosopher so named, who is said by Polydore Virgil and others to have flourished in the reign of Evil-Merodach at Babylon. I look upon this as too recondite, and consider that the transposition of the parentage above alluded to, as given by Ibn Khallikán [and Biládurí[1]], is more than countervailed by the superior authority of Tabarí; who, while he omits all notice of Chach, under that identical name, yet mentions Sassa, (who cannot possibly be meant for any other person than Chach), and speaks of Dáhir, his son, as being his successor.[2] Firishta also speaks of Dáhir as the son of Sa'sa', so that we are fully entitled to consider "Sassa," as the Arabic mode of representing "Chach"—just as we have "Shanak" for the Hindí "Chank," "Shatranj" for "Chatur-anga, "Sín" for "Chín," "Shásh" for "Chách," a town on the Jíhún,[3] and many other similar conversions in the Arabic—since, there being no palatine letter corresponding with *ch* in that language, recourse can only be had to the sibilants; as may frequently be observed even in the Persian also, where no such necessity exists.[4]

Another preliminary question to settle respecting Chach, relates to his tribe and descent. There could have been no hesitation on this point, had it not been for the Chinese traveller, Hwen Tsang, who states that, at the time of his visit to Sind, the king was of the "Shu-to-lo" race.[5] This has been variously interpreted to mean a "Kshattríya,"[6] a "Súdra,"[7] and a Rájpút of the "Chatur," or

[1] [Biláduri mentions "Sasa," "son of Dahir," *ante*, p. 125.]

[2] Tabarí, in *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 176, 179.

[3] *Shdh-ndma*, ed. Macan, pp. 982, 1659; *Géogr. d'Abou-l Féda*, texte Arabe, p. 494.

[4] See J. A. Vullers, *Institut. Linguæ Persicæ cum Sansc. et Zend. comparatæ*, pp. 18, 26, 47.

[5] *Foe-koue-ki*, ed. Remusat, p. 393.

[6] "Rex e stirpe Xatrorum;" Gildemeister, *de reb Ind.*, p. 14.

[7] "Le roi, qui, sans doute, etait Tchotch, appartenait à la caste des Soudra;" Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 153. [See Stanislas Julien, Hwuen Thsang, Tome II., 170.]

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"Chitor," tribe.[1] This latter is on the supposition that it refers to the king who was succeeded by Chach, and who was related to the ruler of Chitor—but this is not admissible, for the Chinese Buddhist did not commence his travels till 628 A.D.,[2] and after traversing the whole of Chinese Tartary, Turkistán, Northern Afghánistán, Kashmír, the valley of the Ganges, the Eastern and Western Coasts of the Peninsula, and Guzerát, could not have reached Sind much before 640, when Chach was fully established upon the throne. If we could introduce the traveller into Sind before Chach's accession, I should prefer "Kshatriya," or the modernized "Chattrí," to any other interpretation of "Shu-to-lo,"—but, seeing that not a single Chinese name within, or on the borders of Sind, admits of any positive identification, we need not trouble ourselves about the meaning of this doubtful word. Our Arab and Persian authorities leave us no room to doubt that Chach was a Bráhman—at least by descent, if not also by religious persuasion; and the present Sársut (Sáraswata) Bráhmans of Sind claim him as one of their progenitors.

[According to the *Chach-náma*, Chach was a Brahman who was introduced to Sáhasí Rái by his Chamberlain. Being taken into service, he won the confidence of the Rái, and the more tender regards of the Ráni, his wife. He became Chamberlain, and, on the death of the Rái, he ascended the vacant throne, and married the widow, whose love he had previously rejected. The irregular succession provoked the resentment of Mahrat, chief of Jaipúr (or Chitor), a relation of the deceased Rái, who marched with his army to destroy the usurper and recover "his inheritance." In great perplexity Chach conferred with the Ráni, who shamed him into resistance by proposing to change garments, and herself to lead the army against the foe. Chach then went forth to battle, and when the forces met, Mahrat came forward and proposed, as the matter was purely a personal one, to settle the dispute by single combat. Chach represented that he was a Brahman, and unaccustomed to fight on horseback. His magnanimous foe then alighted to meet

[1] Lt. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 380.

[2] Klaproth says he travelled between 630 and 660.—*Reise des Chinesischen Buddhapriesters H. T.* etc. Reinaud says, between 628 and 645—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 149.—M. Stan. Julien, in his valuable translation just published (1853), fixes the period more accurately between 629 and 645.

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him on equal terms, when Chach treacherously sprung upon his horse and slew his adversary before he could recover from the surprise. After this Chach appears to have felt no Brahmanical repugnance to war and bloodshed.]

With respect to the period of his reign, we learn from the *Chach-náma* (p. 151) that Chach in or about the year 2 H.—and about the fourth year after his accession[1]—advanced to Kirmán, being instigated to that measure by the fact of the Persian throne being then occupied by a woman.

Again, we learn (MS. p. 70) that Chach had been ruler of Sind for thirty-five years, when Mughaira attacked Debal, some time between the years 13 and 16 H.

After Chach had reigned forty years, he was succeeded by his brother Chandar, who died in the eighth year of his reign (p. 152–4).

Chandar was succeeded by his nephew Dáhir, who was slain in the month of Ramazán, 93 H. (p. 170).

The *Tárikh-i Sind* (MS. pp. 14-30) has briefly abstracted the account in the *Chach-náma*, but has given no date throughout, and has carelessly omitted all notice of Chandar.

The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* gives a far better abstract of the *Chach-náma*. It represents (MS. p. 6) that Chach, after killing Mahrat, the prince of Chitor, established himself on the throne in the year 1 H.—that he reigned forty years (*ib.*)—that Chandar, who succeeded him, died in the eighth year of his reign (*ib.*)—that Dáhir was killed in the year 93 H., after having reigned thirty-three years (MS. p. 15)—and that the whole period of the Bráhman dynasty lasted ninety-two years (*ib.*)—which, however, is a manifest inconsistency, because in the detail, no more than eighty-one years, at the most, are assigned to the three reigns.

There seems reason to believe that these discrepancies can be reconciled by two very slight corrections in the reading of the *Chach-náma*.

Instead of "thirty-five years," in the first quotation, we should

[1] It may be proper in this place to remark, that Al Bírúní mentions the establishment of a Sindian era, which commences with the winter solstice of 625 A.D.—3 A.H. As M. Reinaud justly remarks, that the commencement of a new era generally indicates a change of dynasty, he is disposed to attribute the establishment of the Bráhman dynasty to this year.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 147.

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read "three *or* five years," as the period that Chach had reigned, when Mughaira attacked Debal. The form of expression is very common in denoting an indefinite period; and, as the disjunctive particle *or* is, in such uses of distributive numerals, always omitted, the difference in the reading becomes scarcely perceptible.

And in the first quotation, instead of "about the year 2 H.," I would read "about the year 10 H."—*dah* for *do*. The reading of *do* is quite out of the question, for there certainly was no female reign at so early a period as the second year of the Hijra, and none even before the tenth, if indeed so early. The confusion respecting these ephemeral reigns of the later Sassanians is notorious, and especially respecting the order of the three queens, Túrán-dukht, Azurmi-dukht, and Dukht-zanán—the last of whom is generally altogether omitted, and is perhaps identical with Azurmi-dukht;—but no author attempts to place either of them before 10 A.H. Now, since the *Chach-náma* represents that the queen mentioned by him was one of the successors of Kisra-bin-Hormuz-bin-Fárs, who had been murdered—alluding, of course, to Khusrú Parvíz—and since we learn from a passage in Tabarí that one of Kisrá's daughters was Dukht-zanán, who succeeded to the Persian throne for a short time in the year 13 H.;—and since the *Rauzatu-s Safá* assigns the reign of Túrán-dukht, another of his daughters, to the year 14 H.;—we may assume as certain that the expedition of Chach towards Kirmán occurred in one or other of those years.[1]

These simple emendations bring us close enough to the truth, to satisfy us with respect to the general accuracy of the *Chach-náma*. Where there is so much room for doubt, and where even Tabarí is not quite consistent with himself, or in conformity with others, even if the *Chach-náma* should be in error three or four years—and we have no right to assume that such is the case—there would still be no ground for impeaching the veracity of that valuable chronicle; and we are thus enabled with considerable confidence to assign to each event of the Bráhman dynasty of Sind its proper date, according to the Hijra computation.[2]

[1] As all three queens—if, indeed, there were three—were daughters of Khusrú Parvíz, and as all their reigns are comprised within two, or, at most, three years, it matters little which we select.

[2] For the doubts which prevail respecting the proper period, sequence, and names

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	A.H.
The accession of Chach to the throne of Sind	10
His expedition to Kirmán, in the fourth year	14
Mughaira's attack, in the fifth year	15
Chach's death, after a reign of forty entire years.....	51
Chandar's death, in the eighth year of his reign	59
Dáhir's death, after a reign of thirty-three entire years	93

The advances of the Arabs towards Sind.[1]

Scarcely had Muhammad expired, when his followers and disciples, issuing from their naked deserts, where they had hitherto robbed their neighbours and quarrelled amongst themselves, hastened to convert their hereditary feuds into the spirit of unanimity and brotherly love. Their energies, at all times impetuous, were now solely concentrated upon executing the injunctions of the "king of fierce countenance, understanding dark sentences,"[2] that they should enforce belief at the point of the sword, which was emphatically declared to be "the key of heaven and of hell."[3] Terror and devastation, murder and rapine, accompanied their progress, in fulfilment of the prophetic denunciation of Daniel, that this descendant

of the Sassanian princes between Siroes and Yazdijird, see—besides Mírkhond, Khondamír, and the Persian authorities—J. S. Assemanni, *Bibliotheca Orient. Clement.-Vat.*, Tom. III., p. 419; Eutychii *Annales*, Vol. II. pp. 253, 357, 408; Malcolm, *History of Persia*; Dubeux, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "La Perse," pp. 333-6; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, Vol. I. pp. 63-65, and the Tables in the *Ancient Univ. Hist.*, Vol. IX. pp. 211-277; Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, v. "Sassanides;" Moreri, *Grand Diction. Historique*, Tom. IV., p. 136, v. "Perse;" D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Or.*, v. "Sassanian," and *Enc. Metrop.* "Early Or. Hist.," p. 414. [Mordtmann in *Zeitschrift. D. M. G.*, Vols. VIII. and XII.; M. K. Patkanian in *Jour. Asiatique*, 1866, p. 220.]

[1] [A note in Sir H. Elliot's private copy shows that he intended to revise this article, after an examination of Tabarí, and, in fact, to make Tabarí's account the basis of his own. The editor was at first disposed to realize as far as possible this intention, but as the whole of Tabarí's history is now in course of translation, and will ere long be published, under the auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society, it has seemed preferable to let Sir H. Elliot's work stand as he himself penned it. There is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society a MS. History of Sind, from the commencement of the Arab conquest. It enters into full details drawn, like Sir H. Elliot's, from Sindian authorities.]

[2] *Daniel*, ch. viii. 23.

[3] Compare Chapters ii., iv., viii., ix., xxii., xlvii., lxi., etc., of the *Kordn*. See also Sale, *Kurán*, Prelim. Disc., p. 194; Lane, *Selections from the Kurán*, p. 70; Reland, *De Jure Militari Moham.*, p. 5, *et seq.*

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of Ishmael[1] "shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practice, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy, also, he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and stand up against the Prince of Princes."[2]

And so it was, that, within twenty years, they made themselves masters of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia. The conquest of Persia was a mere prelude to further extension in the east; and though a more difficult and inhospitable country, as well as internal dissensions, checked their progress for some years afterwards, yet it was not in the nature of things to be expected that they should long delay their attacks upon the rich and idolatrous country of India, which offered so tempting a bait to their cupidity and zeal. Accordingly, attention was early directed to this quarter, and it will be our business now, in collecting some of the incidental and scattered notices which betray the settled purpose of the Arabs to obtain a footing in India, to trace the slow but certain progress of their arms, until it issued in the conquest of Sind by Muhammed Kásim.

Abú Bakr, A.H. 11–13. A.D. 632–634.
'Umar, A.H. 13–23. A.D. 634–643.

Under the Khiláfat of 'Umar,—A.H. 15 or 16,—a military expedition set out from 'Umán, to pillage the coasts of India. It appears to have proceeded as far as Tána, in Bombay. As 'Umar had not been consulted on the expedition, he forbad that any more should be undertaken to such distant parts; and to 'Usmán Bin Ásí Sakifí, governor of Bahrain and 'Umán, under whose orders the piratical vessels had been despatched, he signified his displeasure in very marked terms:—"Had our party," he wrote, "been defeated,

[1] Gibbon's gratuitous scepticism respecting the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabians has been well exposed in App. I. to Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*. See also Faber's *Calendar of Prophecy*, and Fry's *Second Advent of Christ*. Occasionally, however, these authors carry the argument too far. Brucker has also arraigned the Bible genealogy of the Arabs, *Hist. Crit. Philosph.*, Vol. I. p. 214. Muhammad's own Ishmaelitish descent may admit of doubt; but that does not affect the question respecting the Arabs in the northern part of the peninsula. See Sprenger, *Life of Muhammed*, p. 18; Sale, *ubi supr.* p. 11; Reinaud's Sarrazins, 231.

[2] *Daniel*, ch. viii. 24, 25.

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be assured that I would have taken from your own tribe as many men as had been killed and put them all to death" (*supra* p. 116).

About the same time, Hakam, the brother of 'Usmán, who had been placed in charge of Bahrain, sent an expedition against Broach, and despatched his brother, Mughaira Abíu-l 'Ásí, to the bay of Debal, where he encountered and defeated his opponents, according to the *Futúhu-l Buldán* (*supra*, p. 116); but the *Chach-náma* represents that he was slain. That work also mentions that the naval squadron was accompanied by troops, that Debal was occupied by merchants, and that the governor, Sámba, son of Díwáij, had been nominated to that post by Chach, who at that time had ruled thirty-five[1] years in Sind (MS. p. 70).[2]

Shortly after, Abú Músá Asha'rí, who had been one of the companions of the prophet, and was otherwise conspicuous in the history of that period, was appointed governor of 'Irák (Basra), when Rábi, bin Ziyád Hárisí, one of his officers, was sent to Makrán and Kirmán. Orders were also despatched to Abú Músa, from the capital of the empire, directing him to afford all the information in his power respecting Hind, and the countries leading to it. As he had lately learnt the disastrous result of Mughaira's expedition, he wrote in reply to say, that "the king of Hind and Sind was powerful and contumacious, following the path of unrighteousness, and that sin dwelt in his heart." Upon which, he received peremptory orders not by any means to enter upon a holy war with that country.[3]

It is notorious that 'Umar had always a particular horror of naval expeditions, and it is probable that it arose from this untoward defeat. This repugnance is usually attributed to a later period, when, upon the conquest of Egypt by 'Amrú bin 'Ásí, the Khalif wrote to his lieutenant for a description of the sea; who replied:— "The sea is a great pool, which some senseless people furrow, looking like worms upon logs of wood." On receipt of this answer, it is said, 'Umar forbad all navigation amongst the Musulmáns, and transgressors were severely punished. Mu'áwiya was the first

[1] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 9; Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II. p. 118; *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.

[2] [This is the statement of the MS., but in page 412 reasons are given for proposing to read "3 or 5" instead of 35.]

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 70.

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Khalif under whom this prohibition was relaxed, and who despatched maritime expeditions against the enemies of his empire. The original cause of the restriction was probably that which has been already indicated, and its continuance may perhaps be ascribed to the unskilfulness of the Arabs upon the element to which the subjects of the Greek empire were accustomed from their birth. Had the Musulmáns along the shores of the Mediterranean been as expert as the Arab navigators of the Indian ocean, there would have been no need to feel alarm at the result of actions upon the high seas.[1]

In the year 22 H., 'Abdú-lla bin 'Ámar bin Rabí' invaded Kirmán, and took the capital, Kuwáshír,[2] so that the aid of "the men of Kúj and Balúj"[3] was solicited in vain by the Kirmánís. He then penetrated to Sístán, or Sijistán, and besieged the governor in his capital, who sued for peace when he found that "his city was as a tent without ropes." After this he advanced towards Makrán. In vain, also, did the chief of that country obtain the aid of the ruler of Sind, for their united armies were surprised and defeated in a night attack. With an ardour augmented by his success, 'Abdu-lla requested leave to cross the Indus; but the Khalif, true to his cautious policy, which restrained his lieutenants both on the northern and western frontiers, opposed this still more distant adventure.[4]

The invasions of this year are confirmed by Hasan bin Muhammad Shírází, who is a careful writer; but the names of the generals are differently represented. "In the year 22 H. Sijistán was conquered by 'Amrú bin al Tamímí and 'Abdu-lla bin 'Umar Khattáb. In this year also, Makrán was conquered by 'Abdu-lla bin 'Abdu-lla bin 'Unán, who had moved against that place from Kirmán. The ruler, who in the native language was styled Zanbíl, and was also king of Sind, was killed."[5]

[1] A passage in Procopius, *Bell Pers.*, i. 19, 20, seems to show that, in the time of Justinian, the Homerites of the Erythræan sea were no great navigators. The question has been examined in another note.

[2] See Vuller's *Geschichte der Seldschuken*, p. 75.

[3] The Arabic and Persian Lexicons say, they were barbarous tribes, inhabiting the mountainous borders of Makrán, and descended from the Arabs of Hijjáz. In the latter are of course to be recognized the modern Bulúch.

[4] *Tárikh-i Guzida*, quoted in *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 171.

[5] *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh*, under the Khiláfat of Umar. The name of Zanbíl will be treated of under the History of the Ghaznivides.

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The names are otherwise given in the *Habíbu-s Siyar*. Kirmán was conquered by Suhail bin Udí and 'Abdu-lla bin Autibán, Sijistán by 'Ásim bin 'Amrú Tamímí, and Makrán by Hakkam bin 'Ámar Saulbí. The conquests are also ascribed to a year later. Shohrug, the lieutenant of Fárs, was forced to yield his province to the victorious Musulmáns; upon which, Mujáshia bin Mas'ud took possession of the cities of Sirján and Jíruft, while 'Usmán bin Abíu-l 'Ásí advanced to Istakhar. In the same quarter, Sauria bin Zanním, employed with a separate division on the route from Istakhar to Kirmán, experienced a more determined resistance. In besieging one of the strongholds into which the natives had thrown themselves, he was suddenly attacked by a sally from the garrison, as well as by a numerous body of Kurds who had advanced to their relief, and was only saved through the aid of a miracle. In the end, however, the Musulmáns were victorious. These are evidently all the same transactions, disguised by change of names,—the "Kurds" of the *Habíbu-s Siyar* being the "Kúj" of the *Guzida*.

Dr. Weil, following Tabarí, gives other variations, and remarks upon Abú-l Fidá's and Elmacin's (Al Makín's) omission of the conquest of the Persian provinces in the south. The general's name is 'Abdu-lla bin Attab. "Kufej," or "Kufess," is given instead of "Kúj." The invasion of Makrán is ascribed to 23 H., in which same year, it is said, the conquest of Fárs was brought to a conclusion. The capture of Shíráz is also mentioned, although it is ordinarily supposed not to have been built till seventy years afterwards by Muhammad Kásim.[1]

'Usmán, A.H. 23–35. A.D. 643–655.

'Usmán bin Abíu-l 'Ásí was not very rapid in his conquest of the province of Fárs, for he was repulsed before Istakhar, and it is not till the year 26 H., that we find him taking Kázerún and the still famous Kila'-i sufed, or white fort, between Istakhar and the Persian Gulph.[2] The whole province does not seem to have been reduced till 28 H.

In A.H. 30, a formidable insurrection took place at Istakhar, when

[1] *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. pp. 95-98.
[2] Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 2; Price, 139, 156. *Raumatu-s Safá*

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the Musulmán governor fell a victim to the fury of the people. The fugitive king of Persia, Yazdijird, hastened to the scene, in the hope of retrieving his miserable fortunes; but after being nearly surprised among the ruined columns of the ancient palace, he was defeated with great loss by 'Abdu-lla bin 'Umar and 'Usmán, near that capital, and compelled to fly to Kirmán, and afterwards to Sijistán and Khurásán. The citadel of Istakhar was carried by assault, and many of the ancient Persian nobility, who had sought an asylum within that fortress, were put to the sword.[1]

During the next year, the pursuit of Yazdijird was followed up into Khurásán under 'Abdu-lla bin 'Ámar, then governor of Basra, after obtaining the permission of the Khalif to advance into that country. The southern provinces of the Caspian not having yet been finally conquered, it was considered the more feasible route to march by way of Fárs and the borders of Kirmán, and so advance through the desert. A rebellion which then existed in the latter province was quelled by a detachment of one thousand horse under Mujáshia. Rabí' bin Ziyád Hárisí was, at the same time, despatched to secure the obedience of Sijistán, in which province he received the submission of the metropolis, Zaranj; and 'Abdu-lla himself, having compelled the city of Tabbas to surrender on capitulation, entered the Kohistán, where he met with a sturdy resistance; but ultimately, with the assistance of Ahnaf bin Kais, he took Hirát, Sarakhs, Tálikán, Balkh, Tukháristán, and Naishápûr, and brought the whole province of Khurásán under subjection.[2]

Firishta attributes to the following year a proselyting expedition to the eastward, which is said to have been despatched from Baghdád; but as that town was not built for more than a century afterwards, no great value can attach to his sources of information. Baghdád did not become the seat of the Khiláfat till the time of Abú Ja'far Al Mansúr, in 148 A.H. 765 A.D. The three first Khalifs established themselves at Medína. 'Ali, in 36 H., chose Kúfa as his metropolis; and in 41 H., the Ummayides constituted Damascus

[1] Abulpharagii *Dynast*, p. 116; *Habibu-s Siyar*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 163; but compare also the Appendix, p. vii., in Vol. III., where the circumstances are stated differently, after Biládurí.

[2] Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 3; Price, *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*, Vol. I. p. 161; Biládurí, in *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I., Anhang, pp. ix., x.

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their capital: and so it continued during the whole period of their dynasty, which expired in 132 H., when Abú-l Abbás seated himself at Anbár, on the Euphrates;[1] and his successor, Al Mansúr, after remaining a few years at Háshimíya, in the same neighbourhood, finally established himself at Baghdád, where the seat of the Khiláfat continued, with occasional transfers to Sámarrá, till its extinction by Hulákú in 656 H.—1258 A.D.

The same kind of error frequently occurs in Persian authors respecting the government of 'Irák, or of the two 'Iráks, 'Arabí and 'Ajamí, in writing of the period treated of in this note. It was seldom that the government of the two 'Iráks, and rarely that the whole of even 'Irák-i 'Arabí, was centred in the same individual. This province, which may be considered to correspond with Babylonia, contained the two chief military cantonments of Kúfa and Basra. The former town was of some antiquity, and the seat of an Arabian prince before the time of Muhammad; but the latter was founded in A.H. 15, chiefly with the view of interrupting the communication with the Persian Gulph, and preventing the flight of the royal family of Persia by the sea route to India.[2]

It was not till the time of Mu'áwiya, that these two important places were entrusted to the charge of one person. By him their government was bestowed upon his bastard brother, Ziyád, of whom we shall find frequent mention in the following paragraphs. By the succeeding Khalif they were, after some interval, conferred upon 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád.[3] The two governments were once more combined in the person of Hajjáj, who was invested with greater power than any of his predecessors.[4]

[1] This was the original capital of the kings of Hira, before they removed to the latter town. It was destroyed by the soldiers of Julian. Respecting its position, see Dr. Gustav. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 35. Its successive ruins at various periods are to be seen the Castle of Felugia. See also D'Anville, *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 71; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, v. "Coufah."

[2] Compare Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. I. pp. 39, 72, 75, 84, and Anhang, p. ix.; Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. X.; Renouard, Art. "Persia," in *Encyclop. Metropolitana*; Preston, *Makámát of Al Hariri*, p. 37.

[3] *Supra*, p. 117; Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 369, 387, 391.

[4] The succession to these governments may be traced in the following passages of the first volume of Price's *Mohammedan History;* Kúfa, pp. 128, 137, 152, 153, 168, 184, 191, 192, 262, 379, 383-9, 392, 426, 445, 524, 536, 543; Basra, pp. 123, 146, 159, 164, 184, 191, 192, 230, 349, 379, 381, 385, 389, 392, 429, 439, 446, 451,

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To revert to the eastern conquests—Dárábgard, which together with Fasá was taken in 23 H., subsequently revolted, and was again taken in 28 H.[1]

Abdu-lla 'Ámar, who was a cousin of the Khalif, and had succeeded the popular Abú Músá Asha'rí in the government of Basra, thinking the opportunity favourable for extending the Muhammadan conquests in the east, obtained permission to detach Hakím bin Jaballa al 'Abdí to explore Sijistán and Makrán, as well as the countries bordering on the valley of the Indus; but it appears that Hakím reported so unfavourably of the vast regions which he examined, that all idea of conquest in that direction was abandoned.—"Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold. If few troops are sent there they will be slain; if many, they will starve" (*supra*, p. 116). The discord which prevailed among the Musulmáns after the death of 'Usmán, was an additional reason for not prosecuting any adventures in so remote a region; but private adventure does not seem to have been debarred, and was, no doubt, prosecuted under the tacit consent of the Khalif.[2]

'Ali, A.H. 35–40. A.D. 655–660.
Hasan, A.H. 40–41. A.D. 660–661.

Under the succeeding reign of 'Alí, it is related, on the authority of 'Ámar bin Háris bin 'Abdu-l Kais, that Tághar bin Dá'ir was appointed to the charge of the frontier of Hind, and an army was placed under his command, comprising a select body of nobles and chiefs. Towards the close of the year 38 H., they marched by way of Bahraj and Koh-Páya, obtaining on the road great booty and many slaves, until they reached the mountains of Kaikán, or Kaikánán, where they met with a stout resistance from the inhabitants, of whom no less than twenty thousand had assembled to intercept their progress through the passes. But when the Arabs shouted out "Alláhu akbar," and their voices re-echoed from the hills to the right and left, the infidels, hearing these shouts of triumph, were

460, 529, 543, 548. And in the first volume of Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*; Kufa, pp. 85, 135, 171-2, 176, 195, 369, 411, 428, Anh. p. vi.; Basra, pp. 72, 173, 195, 269, 277, 353, 366, 411, 611.

[1] Biládurí, ap. Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. I. Anhang, p. ix.

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 172; *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 72; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 9.

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confounded and alarmed. Some came forward and embraced Islám, and the rest took precipitately to flight. From that time to the present, says the credulous author, voices proclaiming that God is great, "Alláhu akbar," are heard at the same season throughout these mountains. It was upon this occasion that Háris bin Marra, distinguished himself by his bravery. "They were engaged in this victory when they were informed of the martyrdom of 'Alí; and on their return, when they arrived at Makrán, they learnt that Mu'áwiya bin Abí Sufyán, was Khalif.[1]

This is, no doubt, the same expedition which Biládurí (p. 116) attributes to Harab bin Marra Al 'Abdí,—that is, a man of the ancient and powerful tribe of *'Abdu-l Kais* (the *Abucæi* of Ptolemy), which was established in Bahrain, and devoted itself chiefly to piracies on the high seas. The same country has always been prolific of such enterprises, until they were effectually repressed by the British Government in India. The name of Al 'Abdí shows that the preceding narrative is founded on the authority of a member of that tribe, and 'Amar, being perhaps a son of the very Háris, the hero of the story, family pride may have suppressed all notice of the defeat. Harab's adventure commenced and ended at the same times which are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, but the result is represented very differently. At the opening of the campaign, he was so successful, that in a single day he divided one thousand captives amongst his adherents. Nevertheless, he was in the end completely defeated in the country of Kaikán, and only a few Arabs survived to tell the tale of their disasters.

Col. Tod mentions that the generals of 'Alí made conquests within the kingdom of Sind itself, which were abandoned at that Khalif's death; but he does not give his authority for this improbable statement.[2]

DYNASTY OF THE UMMAYIDES.

A.H. 41–132. A.D. 661–750.

1. *Mu'áwiya*, A.H. 41–60. A.D. 661–679.

Under the Khiláfat of Mu'áwiya, the first of the Ummayides, we

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 73; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.
[2] *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I., p. 242.

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are informed by a respectable authority, that 'Abdu-r Rahmán conquered Sind in the year 42 H.[1] It seems, however, probable that the expedition here alluded to is the one which occurred two years later, under Muhallab, one of 'Abdu-r Rahmán's officers, and which is more fully recorded in a subsequent Note upon the advances of the Arabs on the Kábul frontier.

In A.H. 46, 'Abdu-lla bin Suár, who was about that time entrusted with the command of the Indian frontier on the side of Kaikán, and "who was so generous and hospitable that no other fire but his own was ever lighted in his camp," enriched himself with the spoil taken from the eastern borders; and when he returned to Mu'áwiya, presented that Khalif with some of the horses of Kaikán. He remained some time with Mu'áwiya, and then returned to Kaikán, where, being attacked by the Turks with all their forces, he was slain in the conflict (p. 117).[2]

The *Chach-náma* adds, amongst other details of this expedition, which need not be here given, that Mu'áwiya appointed 'Abdu-lla bin Sawáriya, at the head of four thousand cavalry, "to the government of Sind," and said, "in the country of Sind there is a mountain which they call Kaikánán. There the horses stand very high, and are well made in all their proportions. They have before this time been received among the spoils taken from that tract. The inhabitants are treacherous, and are protected by their mountain fastnesses from the effects of their rebellion and enmity." He sent also 'Ámar bin 'Abdu-lla bin 'Ámar to conquer Armáel. After sustaining a complete defeat from the Kaikánís (called Turks by Biládurí), who swarmed around, and closed their egress by the passes, the remnant of the Arab army returned to Makrán.

This is related on the authority of "Muhlat, who heard it from Hindalí, who reported it on the authority of Kásim, who said, 'I heard it from Nasr bin Sufyán.'" This Hindalí is frequently mentioned in the *Chach-náma* as a transmitter of these traditions.[3]

The statement of the next incursion is somewhat confused.

Upon the death of 'Abdu-lla, Sinán bin Salma was appointed to

[1] *Tárikh-i Yafi'i*, sub ann. 42 H.

[2] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 291.

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 74, 75; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.

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succeed him; but Mu'áwiya wrote to Ziyád, the powerful governor of 'Irák, who also held the lieutenancy of Khurásán, Sijistán, Bahrain, and 'Umán, besides Kúfa and Basra, directing him to select a man better suited to command on the marches of India. Accordingly, Sinán was superseded by Ahnaf Kais, "the ablest among the true believers," who went to Makrán, but was removed after a period of two years and one month. Hindalí is again one of the authorities for this account.[1]

By Biládurí (p. 117) this is otherwise represented. Ziyád bin Abú Sufyán raised Siná bin Salama to the command of the Indian frontier. He was a man of merit, and feared God, and was the first who obliged soldiers to affix to their oath the penalty of divorce from their wives. On proceeding to assume charge of his functions, he reduced Makrán, and founded cities in that country. He established his residence there, and exacted a rigorous account of the revenues of the province. By Ibn Al Kalbí this conquest is attributed to Hakím, above mentioned.

Ziyád then raised Ráshid bin 'Amrú, of the tribe of Azd, to the command. Ráshid went to Makrán, and thence made a successful inroad upon Kaikán; but was subsequently slain in an attack upon the Meds. He is said to have been succeeded by the Sinán, before noticed, who exercised his functions for two years (p. 117).[2]

"Abú-l Hasan heard from Hindalí, who had heard from Bin-i Aswad," that when Ziyád had suspended the son of Salama from his functions, Ráshid bin 'Umar Al Khizrí, a man of good birth and of noted courage, was summoned to the presence of Mu'áwiya, who seated him by the side of his throne, and entered into long and familiar discourse with him. He pointed out to his officers that Ráshid was an excellent man, to whom their obedience was due, and that they should aid him in the battle, and not leave him alone in the field.

When Ráshid arrived at Makrán, he had an interview with Sinán, respecting whom he asseverated with an oath that he was a great man, well worthy to head an army in the day of battle. Sinán had received orders from Mu'áwiya to meet Ráshid on the road, and to

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 76.
[2] Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. I. p. 291.

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communicate to him full information respecting the state of Hind and Sind. When Ráshid had duly learnt this, he determined on prosecuting his route towards the frontier; and having received the revenue which had been assessed upon Koh-Páya, he went on to Kaikánán, where he collected the tribute due for the current and preceding years, and brought away much plunder and many slaves.

After a stay of one year, he returned by way of Siwistán, and reached the hills of Mandar and Bahraj, where the inhabitants had assembled to the number of fifty thousand to obstruct his passage. The contest raged from morning till evening, when Ráshid was martyred.

Ziyád appointed Sinán to take his place, and bestowed great honours upon him, notwithstanding he had so lately been disgraced, because, as our author says, he had been blessed at the time of his birth by the prophet, who had himself bestowed the name of Sinán upon him. After advancing to Kaikánán, he met with great success, and established his rule in several countries, and at last reached Budha, where he was by some treachery put to death.[1]

Ziyád then conferred the command of the Indian frontier upon Al Manzar bin al Jarúd al 'Abdí, who was surnamed Al Asha'as. He invaded Núkán (Búdha?) and Kaikán; and the Arabs were enriched with booty,—for the whole country became a prey to their devastations. They seized upon Kusdár, where they made many captives. Al Manzar died in that town (p. 117).[2]

2. *Yazíd I.*, A.H. 60-64. A.D. 679-683.

3. *Mu'áwiya II.*, A.H. 64. A.D. 683.

In the year 61 H., we find mention of another governor of the Indian frontier, of the name of Al Manzar, or Al Munzir; but as the one before mentioned had been appointed by Ziyád, who died in 53 H., and as the second Al Manzar, or Al Munzir, was appointed by 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád, who succeeded his father, after a short interval, in the government of 'Irák, including both Kúfa and Basra, and as, moreover, the parentage is represented as entirely different, we must needs conclude that they are different personages. The one with whom we now have to deal was son of Hár, son of Bashar,

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 77, 78; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.

[2] Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. I., p. 292.

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who "put on the vesture of government under evil auspices," for, as he was journeying, his mantle was caught in a splinter of wood, and was rent; and 'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád, who had nominated him, predicted, on that account, that he would not return alive from the journey he had undertaken;[1] but he had selected him, as no one was his equal in constancy and courage. And true it was, that no sooner had Al Munzar arrived within the borders of Búrání, than he fell sick and died.[2]

His son, Hakkam, was in Kirmán, when his father died. He was treated with kindness by 'Ubaidu-lla, who presented him with three hundred thousand dirhams, and appointed him to succeed his father for six months, during which period he is represented to have conducted himself with energy and boldness.[3]

One of the commanders appointed to the Indian frontier by 'Ubaidu-lla, was Harri al Báhalí. He engaged with great fervour and success in the border warfare, and acquired immense booty (p. 118).[4]

4. *Marwán I.*, A.H. 64-65. A.D. 683-684.
5. *'Abdu-l Malik*, A.H. 65-86. A.D. 684-705.

To the year 65 H. Colonel Tod attributes a Muhammadan invasion of Rájpútána, by way of Sind, in which Mánik Rái, the prince of Ajmír, and his only son were killed. But the whole story is puerile and fictitious; independent of which, the Arabs had quite enough to do nearer home.[5]

When 'Abdu-l Malik, the son of Marwán, ascended the throne, his dominions were circumscribed within the limits of Syria and Palestine, rebellion being rife in the various provinces. The east was especially affected by these internal commotions. Kúfa was in the hands of Muktár and the Shí'ites, who had taken up arms to avenge the death of Husain, the son of 'Alí. The Azárikans, or followers of Náfi' ibn Azrak, had established themselves in the provinces of Fárs, Kirmán, and Ahwáz; and Arabia and Khurásán

[1] And as Samuel turned about to go away, Saul laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent. And Samuel said unto him, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day."—1 *Sam.* xv. 27, 28.

[2] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 72; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 9.

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 80.

[4] Weil, *loc. citt.*

[5] *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. II. p. 444.

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obeyed 'Abdu-lla ibn Zubair, the rival claimant of the Khiláfat, who was in possession of Mecca. Within eight years after ascending the throne, 'Abdu-l Malik triumphed successively over all his enemies, re-established the authority of the Ummayides over the Muhammadan empire, and began to restore the foreign relations of Islám, which had greatly declined during the early vicissitudes of his reign.

'Ubaidu-lla bin Ziyád, one of the ablest of his generals, invaded the territory of Kúfa, but was defeated and slain, in 67 H., by the army which advanced against him under Muktár. This disaster was not retrieved till four years afterwards, by 'Abdu-l Malik's obtaining possession of Kúfa. Meanwhile, Muhallab had defeated the Azárikans, whom he had pursued into the very heart of Kirmán, and deprived them of their conquests in Fárs and Ahwáz. He then deserted 'Abdu-lla's cause, and submitted to 'Abdu-l Malik. Khurásán was obtained by similar corruption and treachery, and 'Abdu-lla was slain at Mecca by the army commanded by Hajjáj bin Yúsuf Sakifí. Thenceforward, 'Abdu-l Malik had leisure to attend to the extension of the empire towards the east.

To this especial object was directed his nomination of his successful general, Hajjáj, to be governor of 'Irák, who commenced his rule by conferring the charge of Makrán upon Sa'íd bin Aslam Kalábí. Sa'íd, however, had unfortunately to encounter the rivalry of Mu'áwiya and Muhammad, the sons of Haras, surnamed the 'Alláfí, from the title of 'Alláf, which was borne by one of their ancestors (p. 118).

As the 'Alláfís, or 'Allánís as they are styled in the *Chach-náma*, are conspicuous in the subsequent history of Sind, that work dwells more particularly upon their history. It appears that upon Sa'íd's arrival at Makrán, he put to death a man of the name of Safhúí bin Lám al Hamámí. This man was claimed as a relative and fellow-countrymen of the 'Alláfís, who came from 'Umán, and they determined to seek satisfaction for his death. Accordingly, they attacked Sa'íd, who was then on his return from collecting the revenues of his jurisdiction, killed him in the fray, and took possession of Makrán. Hajjáj then ordered Sulaimán 'Alláfí, one of the leading men of that tribe, to be seized, and sent his head to the family of

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Sa'íd. At the same time, more vigorous measures were taken to assert the authority of the government, and Mujáa' was directed to proceed to Kirmán. He sent forward 'Abdu-r Rahmán bin Asha's to lead the advance, but he was waylaid by the 'Alláfís, and slain. They did not, however, think proper to engage in further collisions with the government, but fled to Sind in 85 H., where they sought the protection of Dáhir, who received them kindly, and entertained them in his service.[1]

The 'Alláfís remained in Sind till the arrival of Muhammad Kásim, when they came forward and sued for forgiveness, which was accorded to them, as will be seen in the translated Extracts from the *Chach-náma* (p. 168).

Sa'íd was succeeded by Mujjá', the son of the Si'r Tamímí, most probably the same Mujjá' above mentioned, who is called in the *Chach-náma* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, the son of Sa'íd, as well as the son of Safar in the former, apparently by error of the transcriber. He despoiled the border districts, and took many prisoners from the territory of Kandábel, the entire conquest of which was not effected till some years afterwards by Muhammad Kásim. Mujjá', after holding his office for the period of only one year, died in Makrán, about the same time as the Khalif 'Abdu-l Malik (p. 118).[2]

6. *Walíd I.* A.H. 86–96. A.D. 705–715.

Under this powerful prince the Khiláfat attained the greatest extent of dominion to which it ever reached. A little previous to the accession of Walíd, Muhammad, son of Hárún, was appointed to the Indian frontier, where he was invested with full powers to conduct operations as he thought best.[3]

He was directed to search out the 'Alláfís, and to seize them by every means within his power, in order that the blood of Sa'íd might be avenged by their death and destruction. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 86,[4] he secured one of the 'Alláfís, who was put to death by direct orders of the Khalif, and his head was despatched to Hajjáj, with a letter, in which the governor promised,

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 80, 81; and *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., pp. 7, 9.

[2] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 82; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., pp. 7, 9; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 504.

[3] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 82.

[4] Firishta says he was not appointed till 87 H.—*History of Sind.*

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"if his life were spared to him, and his fortune propitious, he would seize all the rest of that obnoxious tribe." He was engaged, according to one author, for five years, according to another, for five months, in the important occupation of "conquering the rivers and forests."[1]

Under the auspices of the cruel tyrant, Hajjáj, who, though nominally governor only of 'Irák, was in fact ruler over all the countries which constituted the former Persian kingdom, the spirit of more extended conquest arose, which had hitherto, during the civil wars, and before the re-establishment of political unity under 'Abdu-l Malik and his son Walíd, confined itself to mere partial efforts on the eastern frontiers of the empire. By his orders, one army under Kutaiba, after the complete subjugation of Khawárazm, crossed the Oxus, and reduced, but not without great difficulty, Bukhára, Khojand, Shásh, Samarkand, and Farghána—some of which places had been visited, though not thoroughly subjected, at previous periods, by the Muhammadan arms. Kutaiba penetrated even to Káshgár, at which place Chinese ambassadors entered into a compact with the marauders.[2] Another army had, by Hajjáj's directions, already operated against the king of Kábul, and a third advanced towards the lower course of the Indus, through Makrán.

The cause of this latter expedition was the exaction of vengeance for the plunder, by some pirates of Debal, of eight vessels, which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, filled with presents, pilgrims, Muhammadan orphans, and Abyssinian slaves, to propitiate the good-will of Hajjáj and the Khalif. The pirates are differently named by the authorities whom we have to follow. The *Futúhu-l Buldán* says they were "Med." The *Chach-náma* says they were "Tankámara." The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says they were "Nankámara;" but in a subseqent passage gives the name more distinctly as "Nagámara." 'Abdu-lla bin 'Isa, who wrote a commentary upon the Díwán of the poet Jarír, towards the close of the fourth century of the Hijra, says they were "Kurk," for which a marginal reading

[1] *Chach-náma*, MS., pp. 82. 83; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, p, 10.

[2] Hammer, *Gemäldesaal*, Vol. II. pp. 123, 124; Abel Rémusat, *sur la Geog. de l'Asie centrale*, pp. 94-106. Compare also, respecting the relations between the Persians and Chinese, De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, Tom. I., pp. 54-59; Fréret, *Mémoires de l'Acad.*, Tom. xvi., pp. 245-255; *Chine in Univ. Pittoresque*, Asie I. 297.

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substitutes "Kurd." Reiske states his inability to comprehend what tribe is meant by this name. Reinaud says, "Kurds" are out of the question;[1] but that "Kurks" are mentioned by Ibn Al Asír, under the annals of 151 H., as having made a descent upon Jidda, and that two years afterwards a flotilla was despatched from Basra to make an attack upon the "Kurks," whom he surmises to be probably natives of Coorg, to the east of Mangalore.[2] But these are an inland nation, and cannot possibly have been engaged in maritime expeditions. Whoever they were, they must have been inhabitants of Debal, or its immediate neighbourhood, and though the name be extinct now, the Kurk, Kerk, or Kruk, may possibly represent a tribe which flourished at one time near the mouth of the Indus.[3]

The Meds are familiar to us, as being frequently mentioned by Ibn Haukal and the early writers on Sind.[4] The name of Tangámara presents great difficulties; but as there is a variation about the first letter, and as the omission of diacritical points would admit of the word being read Sangámara, it may be proper to point out, if that should be the correct reading, the identity of the two first syllables with those of Sangada, which Arrian tells us was the name of the mainland in the neighbourhood of Krokala.[5] How far the name extended does not appear, but it is curious that, to our time, it seems to be preserved beyond the eastern mouth of the river, in the celebrated pirate-coast of the Sanganians, or Sangárs, who for centuries have committed their ravages on the shores of Sind and Guzerát, until their total suppression under our government.[6] It

[1] They are, however, a very migratory race. We find them in Khurásán, Kábul, Fárs, Kirmán, the Dasht-i be-daulat, and even in Sind, in the province of Kachh Gandáva, where they are classed as Bráhúis. It is also worthy of remark, that Ibn Haukal speaks of some of the inland Jats as being "like unto the Kurds."—Gildemeister, *Scriptor. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, p. 181.

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 181. [3] See separate note respecting the Kerks.

[4] The Meds are also treated of in a separate note.

[5] Ἐκ δὲ Κρωκάλων ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρος . . . ἔπλωον . . . ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἅπας Σάγγαδα.—*Nearchi Paraplus*, p. 5, in Hudson's *Geograph. Minores*, Vol. I.

[6] The principal station of the Sangárs is Juckow, in Kachh. Al. Hamilton says:—"The next province to Catchnaggen (Cach-nagar) is Sangania. Their seaport is called Baet, very commodious and secure. They admit of no trade, but practice piracy." Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VIII. p. 310. See also Ovington

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may be remarked, also, that there is a tribe called Sangúr still dwelling on the coast of Makrán, at Malán and Batt.

It is probable, therefore, that the several authorities may be right in part, and that the different piratical tribes of the mouths of the Indus may have joined in the expedition which gave Hajjáj grounds for demanding reparation from Dáhir, the ruler of Sind.

Upon his declaring his inability to restrain their excesses, Hajjáj earnestly solicited from the Khalif permission to exact due vengeance from Dáhir and his subjects, offering to pay, from his own resources, double what would be exhausted from the public treasury. But the Khalif replied:—"The distance is great, the requisite expenditure will be enormous, and I do not wish to expose the lives of Musulmáns to peril."[1] In the same spirit of caution, or forbearance, Músa was checked in his career of conquest in Spain; and when the remonstance was disregarded, a second envoy, despatched with more peremptory orders, seized the bridle of his horse in the presence of the whole army, and led him away to Damascus to answer for his contumacy.[2]

When, at last, the repugnance of the Khalif had been overcome by the urgent remonstrances of Hajjáj, and by his generous offer of double payment, which was at a subsequent period rigorously demanded, 'Ubaidu-lla bin Nabhán, was sent against the sea-port of Debal, where he met with defeat and death (p. 119).[3]

Hajjáj then wrote to Budail, of the Bajalí tribe, directing him to advance against Debal. As Budail was at 'Umán, M. Reinaud considers it probable that he proceeded by sea to his destination; but the *Chach-náma*, though somewhat confused, is fuller than the *Futúhu-l Buldán*, and tells us that Budail was ordered to proceed to Makrán, that Muhammad Hárún was directed to place three thou-

and D'Anville. Tod says the name was not that of any particular nation, but simply "Sangamdharians," the pirates of the "Sangams," or sacred embouchures of rivers. —*West. India*, p. 442, "Sankha," or "Sankhadwár," the old name of Bet, offers an equally probable origin. Mac Pherson (*Ann. of Comm.* I., 172) suggests Sangara, the joined canoes mentioned in the Periplus.

[1] Abú-l Fidá, *Annal Mosl.*, Vol. I. p. 107; *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 85; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 10.

[2] Condé, *Hist. de la Dom. de los Arabes en Esp.*, ap. De Marlès; Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, xviii.; Crichton, 336.

[3] Biládurí, *Fragments Arabes*, p. 190.

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sand men at his disposal, for the purpose of proceeding to Sind, and that 'Abdu-lla bin Kahtán Aslamí was ordered to join him from 'Umán, which he accordingly did at Nairún. Budail advanced at the head of three hundred men from Makrán, and was joined on the way by the reinforcements from Muhammad Hárún. In the battle which ensued, Budail, after fighting gallantly, was thrown from his horse, surrounded by the enemy, and killed, and many Musulmáns were taken captive. The *Futúhu-l Buldán* and the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* represents the action as having taken place at Debal, but the *Chach-náma* is not clear upon this point.[1]

Hajjáj was sorely afflicted at this disastrous result of his expedition, and vowed that he would take ample vengeance for the various indignities which had been heaped upon him. As the people of Nairún dreaded the consequences of Hajjáj's anger, and reflected that their city stood on the very road by which the Arabs would enter Sind, their governor, who was a Samaní, or Buddhist, sent privily some confidential messengers to Hajjáj, promising to remit tribute regularly, and soliciting from him some writing, under which Nairún might be secured from further annoyance at the hand of the Musulmáns. This bond was readily granted, and the Samaní was enjoined to obtain the freedom of the prisoners taken in the late action, with the threat of "putting to the sword of Islám the lives of all infidels as far as the borders of China, if this demand was not complied with."

After this, 'Umar bin 'Abdu-lla requested that the government of Hind might be confided to him, but he was rebuked by Hajjáj, and told that the astrologers, after being consulted, had pronounced that the conquest of that country could be effected only by the hand of Muhammad Kásim.

Muhammad Kásim, as he is universally styled by the Persians, but by Biládurí, "Muhammad bin Kásim Sakifí," and by Abú-l

[1] Briggs gives the leader's name as "Budmeen." Reinaud as "Bodayl." *Lt.* Postans as "Bazil." The *Chach-náma* as "Bazíl," or "Buzail." [Biládurí gives it distinctly "Budail."] As "Budail" is an old Arabic name, it is probably the correct reading in this passage. Compare Ferishta, Vol. IV. p. 403; *Fragments Arabes*, p. 190; *Journal A.S.B.*, No. clviii., p. 85; *Chach-náma*, MS., pp, 85, 86; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 8; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I., p. 504; Sale, *Korán*, Vol. I. p. 138.

[2] *Chach-náma*, MS., p. 86; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 8.

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Fidá, "Muhammad bin Al Kásim," was in the bloom of youth, being only seventeen years of age, when this important command was conferred upon him. It is probable that, although he is represented to have already administered the province of Fárs with ability, he obtained his appointment less from personal merit, than from family interest, for he was cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj; but the result showed the wisdom of the selection. His rapid career of conquest along the whole valley of the Indus, from the sea to the mountains, has been fully narrated in the translations from the *Futúhu-l Buldán* and *Chach-náma*. From them it is evident, that his successes, like those of his contemporary, Tárik, in Spain, were as much attributable to his temper and policy as to his courage and strategy. There was, though by no means little—as Debal and Multán bear witness—yet much less, wanton sacrifice of life than was freely indulged in by most of the ruthless bigots who have propagated the the same faith elsewhere. The conquest of Sind took place at the very time in which, at the opposite extremes of the known world, the Muhammadan arms were subjugating Spain, and pressing on the southern frontier of France, while they were adding Khwárazm to their already mighty empire. In Sind, as in Spain, where submission was proffered, quarter was readily given; the people of the country were permitted the exercise of their own creeds and laws; and natives were sometimes placed in responsible situations of the government. Much of this unwonted toleration may, in both instances, have arisen from the small number of the invading force, as well as from ignorance of civil institutions; but we must still allow the leaders credit for taking the best means of supplying these deficiencies, and seeking assistance from the quarters most able to afford it.[1]

The two authorities above-mentioned differ from each other in some particulars, and the *Chach-náma*, which is the source of the Persian accounts, furnishes a few details, wearing, especially towards

[1] Respecting Spain, see De Marlès *Histoire des Arabes en Espagne*, Tom. I. p. 14; III. 401; Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads*, xvii. Tárik's moderation was by no means imitated by his early successors. The soldiery plundered the towns, devastated the country, and profaned the churches. A native historian has remarked that the miseries of the vanquished constituted the happiness of the victors.—Mariana, *De rebus Hispaniæ*, Lib. vi., c. 19.

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the close, the appearance of embellishment; but there is no startling discrepancy in the general history of the conquest, of which the broad features are preserved with fidelity in both naratives.

The Persian authorities, following the *Chach-náma*, mention that Muhammad Kásim penetrated to Kanauj, which, as the borders of that country then extended nearly to Ajmír, is no improbable circumstance, if we do not construe the expression to signify literally that the city of Kanauj was conquered. But even the possession of that great capital would not have satisfied the ambitious aspirations of Hajjáj; for he had ordered Muhammad to penetrate to China; and with the view of exciting emulation between him and Kutaiba, had promised, that whichever of them arrived there first should be invested with the government of the celestial empire: a fair challenge and a fair start,—for in the self-same year, one was on the Indus, the other on the Jaxartes, in the same longitude, and at the same distance from the eastern goal, which fanaticism and avarice, as well as the desire to secure a safe and remote asylum upon the death of Walíd, had designated to these rival generals as the guerdon of success and victory.[1]

The Progress of the Arabs in Sind.

From faith in Firishta, who has been followed exclusively by our modern historians, it has been usual to consider that the conquest of Sind was effected by only six thousand men, who, by some misapprehension of the original, are wrongly stated to be Assyrians. The more correct statement, given by our Arab authorities, shows that, independent of an advanced guard under Abú-l Aswad Jaham, which was ordered to join Muhammad Kásim on the borders of Sind, there were six thousand picked cavalry from Syria and 'Irák, six thousand armed camel-riders, thoroughly equipped for military operations, with a baggage train of three thousand Bactrian camels, which, however, Mír Ma'súm converts into three thousand infantry. In Makrán, Muhammad Kásim was joined by the governor, Muhammad Hárún, with other reinforcements; and five catapults, together with the necessary ammunition, were transported by sea to Debal. The number of men conveyed by the naval squadron may be esti-

[1] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 186; *L'Univers. Pitt. Asie*, v. 327.

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mated by the fact, that we find one catapult alone requiring no less than five hundred men to work it. These heavy machines had been used by the Prophet in the siege of Táif, and had done effective service only a few years before at Damascus and Mecca, as well as in the re-conquest of northern Africa; but they were so ponderous that they could be rarely used, except where the means of transport by water existed, or but a short distance by land had to be traversed. Hence Kutaiba, in his campaign beyond the Oxus, was often compelled to regret that a long and tedious land-carriage deprived him of the advantage of these implements, which were nearly indispensable in the operations in which he was engaged.

Besides these Arab troops, we find the Jats and Meds enlisting under Muhammad Kásim's banners, which, independent of its moral effect in dividing national sympathies, and relaxing the unanimity of defence against foreign aggression, must have been of incalculable benefit to him, in his disproportionate excess of cavalry, which could be of but little service in a country intersected by rivers, swamps, and canals.

This desertion of the native princes was doubtless occasioned by the severity with which they had treated the Jats and Lohánas upon the capture of Bráhmanábád. The inhibition of riding on saddles and wearing fine clothes, the baring the head, the accompaniment of a dog, the drawing of and hewing wood for the royal kitchen, were more suited to Musulmán intolerance than the mild sway of Hindúism; and accordingly, after the conqueror's first acquisitions, we find him so indifferent about retaining the good will of his allies, that he imposed the same conditions upon them, which he enforced with even greater stringency than his predecessors.

After the news of Muhammad Kásim's success reached Damascus, he was joined by other troops and adventurers eager for plunder and proselytism; insomuch that when he left Multán, for the purpose of proceeding to Dípálpúr and the north, we find it stated in the *Tárikh-i Sind* and *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, that he had no less than 50,000 men marching under his standard, besides those whom he had left in the forts and garrisons of Sind. Hence we may see, that paucity of numbers was by no means so much against the chance of Muhammad Kásim's success as has hitherto been supposed.[1]

[1] Elphinstone's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 510.

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There is no occasion here to follow this conqueror through all the rapid stages of his successful career. These will be found fully set forth in the translations from the *Chach-náma* and *Futúhu-l Buldán*, which furnish details hitherto wanting in the authorities accessible to us. Abú-l Fidá and Abú-l Faraj tell us merely that Hind was conquered by Muhammad Kásim in the year 94 H. Ibn Kutaiba, ascribes the conquest to 93 H., but gives no particulars. Elmacin (Al Makín) only tells us that Hind and Sind were conquered, and that King Dáhir was slain by the Musulmáns, and had his head cut off; and Weil gives the following as the sum of all that the great historian Tabarí has to say upon this theme: "In the year 90 (?) Muhammad ibn Kásim, whom Hajjáj had appointed to command an army, slew the king of Sind, named Dass ibn Sassa. In the year 94, Muhammad ibn Kásim conquered India. In the year 95, the farthest India was conquered, with exception of Kíraj and Almandal."[1] A like complaint has been made of the meagreness of our modern writers with respect to this interesting period of Indian history, but without just cause, for they really had no documents to appeal to.

Though Muhammad left Shíráz in the year 92 H., he does not appear to have reached Debal till the beginning of the following year. The precise date is not mentioned, yet Hajjáj replies to the announcement of its capture, on the 20th Rajab, 93 (1st May, 712 A.D.); so, as news between Sind and the capital is said to have been conveyed in seven days, the fall of Debal may be dated in the beginning of that month.[2]

After the conquest of the capital Alor, in Ramazán of the same year, the *Futúhu-l Buldán* carries him no further than Multán, from which place he returns on hearing of Hajjáj's death; but the *Chach-náma* takes him to the very foot of the Kashmír hills, to the part where the Jhelam debouches from the mountains, and forms the streams and islands which cannot fail to strike the traveller with the minute correctness of Quintus Curtius, in describing (viii. 45) the scene of Alexander's decisive victory over Porus, after passing the Hydaspes. In the *Chach-náma*, the place is called *Panj-mahiát*,

[1] *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. pp. 161, 184, 188, 506; *Annales Moslemici*, Vol. I. p. 148; *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 201; *Historia Saracenica*, p. 84.

[2] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 1.

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or "The Five Waters,"—a miniature Panjáb, in short (*supra*, p. 144). It was here that Chach fixed the boundary of Sind and Kashmír; and the planting of fir-trees, to mark the site, shows how elevated a spot these conquerors had reached in their northern progress.

The balance of authority is perhaps in favour of Jalálpúr, as the place of Alexander's crossing the Hydaspes: argument and ocular demonstration conclusively decide in favour of the upper passage; but we need not discuss the point further. The literature of the question may be ascertained by consulting the references in the note.[1]

The Khalif Walíd died six months after Hajjáj, in Jamáda I. A.H. 96—A.D. January, 715; and as Muhammad Kásim's recal was immediately consequent upon that event, he must have remained altogether about three years and a quarter in Sind and the Panjáb.

Our authorities differ respecting the mode of Muhammad Kásim's death; but it must be admitted that there is much more probability in the statement of the *Futúhu-l Buldán* than in that of the *Chach-náma*, which is followed by all the later writers. The former states that he was seized, fettered, imprisoned, and tortured to death with the Khalif Sulaiman's sanction; the latter, that the two daughters of Dáhir, who had been sent to the capital for the Khalif's haram, complained that they had already been violated by their father's conqueror,—upon which, Walíd, in a fit of wrath, ordered that he should be sewn up in a raw cow-hide, and so transmitted to Damascus. When his body was exhibited to the girls, they declared that their assertion was untrue, and that they had uttered it merely to be avenged on the destroyer of their family and country. The tale goes on to say, that the capricious tyrant, in an agony of remorse for his hasty conduct, ordered them to be immured alive. Others say they were tied to horses' tails, and so dragged about the city.[2] The

[1] Droysen, *Geschichte Alex's*, p. 389; Burnes, *Travels to Bokhara*, Vol. 1. p. 57; Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. pp. 452-4; vii. p. 93; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, p. 80; Williams, *Life of Alex.*, p. 267; *Trans. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 148-199; H. T. Prinsep, *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1843, p. 628; J. Abbott, *ibid.*; Vol. XVII. p. 1; XVIII. and 1852, pp. 219-231.

[2] The account given in the *Chach-náma* has been already printed. The following is from Mír Ma'súm. It will be seen that both these authorities represent the Khalif Walíd as the destroyer of Muhammad Kásim. "At that time a letter came from the Khalif Walíd, to this effect:—'After taking Alor, you sent to the capital, among the prisoners, two daughters of Rája Dáhir, in charge of Muhammad, the son of 'Alí

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whole story certainly savours more of romance than reality, but the reason which has been advanced against it—namely, that the

Tuhmán Hamadání, accompanied by Abyssinian servants. One night the Khalif had the two girls brought into his haram, and he then gave them into the charge of the bedchamber attendants, with orders to pay them every attention, and present them when they had recovered from the fatigues of their journey. Two months afterwards the Khalif remembered these two Hindi slaves, and ordered them to be brought into his presence. An interpreter accordingly summoned them. When their veils were thrown back, the Khalif, on seeing them, became distracted with admiration of their great beauty. He then asked them their names; one said her name was Parmal-Devi, the other said her name was Súraj-Devi. The Khalif ordered the attendants to leave one of them there. She then rose and said: 'I am not fit for the bedchamber of the Khalif, because Muhammad bin Kásim dishonoured us both before he sent us to the Khalif.' When the interpreter explained this, the fire of anger and jealousy was kindled in the Khalif, and he gave orders that as a punishment for this want of respect, Muhammad bin Kásim should be wrapped up in the raw hide of an ox, and be sent to the capital. To enforce this order, the Khalif wrote some words of menace in the margin of the letter in his own hand, 'Wherever Muhammad bin Kásim may be, when this reaches him, he is to come to the capital, and make no fail in obeying this order.' Muhammad bin Kásim was at Udhápúr, when the Khalif's chamberlain brought this mandate. When he had read it he directed that officer to carry the order into effect. He accordingly wrapped Muhammad bin Kásim in a raw hide. Three days afterwards the bird of life left his body and flew to heaven. The chamberlain put the body into a box, and carried it to the capital. When he arrived in Syria, he brought the box before the Khalif on a day of public audience. The Khalif enquired if Muhammad were alive? the chamberlain replied that he had been enclosed in a raw skin, and that he died three days afterwards. The Khalif then directed the box to be taken into the female apartments, and ordered that it should be opened there in his presence. He then called for the daughters of Rája Dáhir, and said, 'Come and see how supreme are my commands; behold, Muhammad bin Kásim!' They both came forward to look at him and recognised him, and, raising their hands, they blessed and praised the Khalif. They then said, 'Kings of great justice should not proceed hastily in perilous matters, nor act precipitately upon the information of friends or enemies in the most important of all concerns.' When the Khalif enquired what was the meaning of their address, they replied: 'We raised this charge against Muhammad bin Kásim out of enmity to him, because he slew our father, and through him dominion and wealth have departed from our house; we have come as prisoners into a foreign land; the king in his anger did not weigh our words, nor distinguish between our truth and our falsehood, but issued his fatal order. The truth is, this man was to us as a father, or a brother; his hands never touched the skirts of our purity; our object was to revenge our father, and so we made this accusation. Our wishes have been fulfilled, but there has been a serious failure in the king's justice.' When the Khalif heard this, he was overwhelmed with remorse for a whole hour; but the fire of anger then burst from the furnace of his bosom, and he gave orders for the two girls to be tied to the tails of horses, and, after being dragged round the city, to be thrown into the Tigris (*Dajla*). Muhammad bin Kásim was buried at Damascus. Two years after his death the people of India rebelled, and threw off their yoke, and only from Debalpur to the Salt Sea remained under the dominions of the Khalif."

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sewing up in a hide was a Tátár mode of punishment, and not Arab—constitutes no valid objection; for, though it undoubtedly was practised by the Tátárs—as when the savage Huláků murdered the last Khalif of Baghdád—yet an earlier example might have been discovered in the Arab annals. Even before the time of the Sind conquest, we find the adherents of the first Mu'áwiya enclosing the body of the governor of Egypt in the carcass of an ass, and burning both to ashes.[1] And as for the general tone of romance which runs through this version of Muhammad Kásim's death, we find a case somewhat parallel in contemporary history; for, when Músa, the conqueror of Spain, was treated with similar indignity by Sulaimán—the same relentless Khalif who persecuted the conqueror of Sind,—and was lingering in misery and exile at Mecca, the head of his son, who had been murdered at Cordova, was thrown down at his father's feet, while the tyrant's messenger taunted him in the midst of his agony and despair.[2]

CONTINUATION OF THE UMMAYIDE DYNASTY.

7. *Sulaimán*, A.H. 96-99. A.D. 715-717.

Yazíd, who was appointed to succeed Muhammad Kásim, died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind. Habíb, the son of Muhallab, was then appointed to pursue the war in that country; for, in the interval, the princes in India had revolted, and Jaisiya, the son of Dáhir, had regained possession of Bráhmanábád. The local historians, indeed, tell us that, for two years after the departure of Muhammad Kásim, the natives recovered and maintained possession of the countries which had been conquered from them. Habíb encamped on the banks of the Indus, and the inhabitants of Alor submitted to him, after he had defeated a tribe which opposed him in arms (p. 124).

'Ámar bin 'Abdu-lla is also mentioned as one of the Sindian governors during this reign.[3]

[1] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 242.

[2] Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domin. des Arabes.* Tom. I., p. 98. Gibbon, Chap. li.

[3] *Tarikh-i Sind*, MS., p. 37; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 18; *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 571.

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8. *'Umar II.*, A.H. 90-101. A.D. 717-720.

The Khalif Sulaimán, who died A.H. 99—A.D. 717, was succeeded by 'Umar bin 'Abdu-l Azíz. 'Umar addressed letters to the native princes, inviting them to embrace Islám, and to swear allegiance; proposing, as the reward of their acquiescence, that they should be allowed participation in the rights and privileges of other Musulmáns. The son of Dáhir, and many princes, assented to these proposals, and took Arab names. 'Amrú bin Muslim al Bahálí was the Khalif's lieutenant on this frontier, and he was successful in the invasion of several Indian provinces (p. 124).[1]

9. *Yazíd II.*, A.H. 101-105. A.D. 720-724.

Under the reign of Yazíd bin 'Abdu-l Malik, the sons of Muhallab fled to Sind with their families. 'Amrú sent Hálál al Tamímí in pursuit of them, and on his encountering the fugitives at Kandábel, he slew Mudrak, Mufazzal, Ziyád, and all the sons of Muhallab, including Mu'áwiya, who had placed Muhammad Kásim in chains. This happened in the year 101 or 102 H., and forms an episode of some interest in the civil warfare of the Ummayides, which is fully recounted by the Arabic historians of that dynasty.

When Yazíd, the son of Muhallab, had fairly committed himself to a contest with his namesake, the reigning Khalif, he had, in order to extend his power, and procure an asylum in the event of defeat, despatched his agents to obtain possession of the several provinces of Ahwáz, Fárs, Kirmán, and Makrán, as far as the banks of the Indus. Kandábel, "on the remotest frontiers of the empire," he had especially consigned to the charge of Wadda ibn Hamíd al Azdí, in order that he might ensure a safe refuge for his family in case of any disaster. His defeat and death shortly ensued;—upon which, Mufazzal and his other brothers, having equipped at Basra a sufficient number of vessels for the conveyance of themselves and the surviving members of the Muhallabí family, embarked for the coast of Kirmán, whence they proceeded, as originally designed, to Kandábel. There Wadda proved treacherous to his charge, and the whole family, it is commonly said, were extirpated in the action which took place under its walls; but some

[1] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 191; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS., p. 18.

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members, at least, must have survived; for, besides others of the same family, we read of one Yazíd Muhallabí, fifty years afterwards, as governor of Africa, and his son, Dáúd, as governor of Sind.[1] The women and children were sold into slavery, from which they were only redeemed by the humanity of a generous individual, named Jarráh, the son of 'Abdu-lla.[2]

10. *Hashám*, A.H. 105-125. A.D. 724-743.
14. *Marwán II.*, A.H. 127-132. A.D. 744-750.

'Amrú was succeeded in the command of the Indian frontier by Junaid, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán al Marrí, in which appointment, originally made by 'Umar, the governor of 'Irák, he was confirmed by the Khalif Hashám, son of 'Abdu-l Malik.

From the mention of the "Sindian frontier," it would appear that the Arabs were still excluded from the province itself; and it is, indeed, said in the passage from the native historian quoted above, that the new converts again apostatized, and revolted against the government. Junaid proceeded to Debal, but upon his reaching the banks of the Indus, the son of Dáhir opposed his passage, on the ground that he himself had been invested by the Khalif 'Umar with the government of his own country, in consequence of having become a Muhammadan. A contest took place between them on the lake of As-sharkí, when, the vessel of the son of Dáhir being quite disabled, he was made prisoner, and subsequently put to death. Sasa, his brother, fled towards 'Irák, to complain of Junaid's conduct; but he also, having been cajoled by the perfidious promises of Junaid, was killed by that Amír.

Junaid sent an expedition against Kíraj, which had revolted. The walls having been demolished by battering rams, the town was taken by assault, and pillaged. He despatched his officers also to various other places, of which it is difficult to determine the names. They may be mentioned as Marmád,[3] Mandal,[4] Dalmaj, Barús, Uzain,

[1] Ibn Khaldún, in *Hist. de l'Afrique*, by *M. Noël Desvergers*, quoted in *Mém.*, p. 194.

[2] Abú-l Fidá, *Ann. Mos.*, Vol. I. p. 442, and note 207; Erpenii Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.*, p. 78; Price, *Muham. Hist.*, Vol. I. pp. 531-543; Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. I. p. 603.

[3] Had not Broach been subsequently mentioned, I should have conceived this word to be meant for the river Nerbudda (Narmada), It may be a mere repetition of the syllable which forms the root of Marusthalí, "or great sandy desert," itself the origin of Márwár.

[4] See Note *A*, page 390.

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Máliba, Baharimad, Al Bailáimán,[1] and Jurz ; but in most instances, it is almost impossible to identify them, with any approach to certainty (p. 126).[2] It is sufficient to observe, that these several expeditions are represented to have been rewarded with immense booty, and that about this period the extension of the Arab conquests, both by sea and land, seems to be confirmed by passages in the Hindú, as well as the Chinese, chronicles.[3]

Junaid was succeeded, about 107 A.H., by Tamím bin Zaid al 'Utbí, who had been previously sent to Sind by Hajjáj. He was found to be feeble and incompetent, but generous and profuse withal, having lavished no less than eighteen millions of *tátaríya*[4] dirhams, which he found in the public treasury of Sind. He died near Debal, "at a place called Buffalo Water, because herdsmen drove their cattle into it, to protect them against the bears (*dabáb*), which infested the banks of the Mihrán." Under his government the Musulmáns evacuated some Indian provinces, and, "up to this period," says Biládurí, "they have not recovered them all, and their settlements are not so far in advance as they had been previously."

After Támím, the government was entrusted by Khalad, governor of 'Irák, to Hakim al Kalabí. The inhabitants of Hind had relapsed into idolatry, except those of Kassa. Had they also followed the pernicious example, the Arabs would have been deprived of all retreat in case of danger. Hakim built a city on the eastern borders of a lake, which he named Mahfúza, "the guarded."[5] He made this a place of refuge for the Musulmáns, established it as the capital, and resided in it. Hakim entrusted 'Amrú bin Muhammad bin Kásim[6] with an expedition beyond Mahfúza, from which he returned victorious; and when 'Amrú was, in his turn, nominated

[1] "Nílmán" probably. There is a "Nílhán" mentioned in the *Chach-náma* (p. 160), and a "Nílma" in the *Bég Lár-náma* (p. 292). The latter is midway between 'Umarkot and Jesalmír.

[2] *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 192.

[3] Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. pp. 231, 242-250, 781; Ma-twan-lin, in *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. I. p. 196; *L'Univers. Pitt., Asie* I. p. 390, *et seq.*

[4] This word is supposed to be corrupted from the "Stater" of the Greeks [but see note, *supra*, p. 3.]

[5] The province of Las, above Sunmíání Bay, answers well to this safe position of retreat, in the event of Arab discomfiture.

[6] From this parentage we may consider him to be a son of the conqueror of Sind.

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governor, he founded a city "on this side the lake, which he called Mansúra, 'the victorious,' and which is now," adds Biládurí, "the capital, where the governors reside."

Hakim recovered from the enemy some of the territories which had been lost; but, though the people were content with his government, he was murdered during his administration. The governors who succeeded continued the war against the enemy, and reduced to obedience many of the provinces which had revolted. The names of these governors are not mentioned by Biládurí; but the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says, respecting this period, "Sulaimán, the son of the Khalif Hashám, on being put to flight in his action with Marwán, was appointed to Sind, which he ruled well, and remained there till the accession of the 'Abbásides, when he hastened to pay his respects to Saffáh. Abú-l Khattáb also was appointed to Sind by Marwán."[1] The *Tárikh-i Sind* also mentions this latter appointment.[2]

DYNASTY OF THE 'ABBÁSIDES.

1. *Abú-l 'Abbás as Sáffáh.* A.H. 132–136. A.D. 750–754.

When the 'Abbásides succeeded to the Khiláfat, Abú Muslim entrusted the government of Sind to 'Abdu-r Rahmán, who went to Sind by way of Tukháristán, and met on the frontier Mansúr bin Jamhúr, the governor on the part of the late Ummayide Khalif.[3] 'Abdu-r Rahmán was totally defeated, his army put to flight, and he himself slain (*supra*, p. 127).[4]

Abú Muslim then conferred the governorship upon Músa bin K'ab ut Tamímí, who, on his arrival in Sind, found the Indus placed between him and Mansúr. The rivals, however, managed to encounter each other, and Mansúr and all his troops, though far superior to their opponents in numbers, were compelled to fly; his brother was slain, and he himself perished of thirst in the sandy desert.[5]

[1] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 18.

[2] This may have been the same Abú-l Khattáb who was governor of Spain in Marwán's time. There was also a contemporary Zendic leader of this name.—M. Quatremére, *Journal Asiatique*, Aug. 1836, p. 131.

[3] Ibn Khaldún and Elmacin wrongly assert that he was appointed by Saffáh.—See Weil, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. II. p. 15.

[4] [See note upon the coins of 'Abdu-r Rahmán and others, *supra*, p. 374.]

[5] Hammer, *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. II. p. 158. Weil, *Geschichte der Chal., ubi suprà.*

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Músa, when he became master of Sind, repaired Mansúra, enlarged the mosque, and directed several successful expeditions against the infidels. According to the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, it was Dáúd bin 'Alí who expelled the Ummayide governor.

2. *Abú Ja'far al Mansúr.* A.H. 136–158. A.D. 754–775.

About the year 140 H., the Khalif Al Mansúr appointed Hashám to Sind, who conquered countries which had hitherto resisted the progress of the Muhammadan arms. He despatched 'Amrú bin Jamal with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada,[1] against which point, we are informed by Tabarí and Ibn Asír, another expedition was despatched in 160 H., in which, though the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, sickness swept away a great portion of the troops, while they were stationed in an Indian port, and the rest, on their return, were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia; so that the Khalif Mahdí was deterred from any further attempts upon India.[2]

A body of troops, at the time when 'Amrú was employed against Barada, penetrated into "the kingdom of Hind, conquered the country of Kashmír, and took many women and children captive."[3] The whole province of Multán was also reduced. At Kandábel, there was a party of Arabs, whom Hashám expelled the country. They are suspected, with some reason, to have been adherents of 'Alí.[4]

[1] [This name has been rendered "Nárand," in page 127, after Goeje, but as the MS. has no points, the word may be *Bárand*, *Bárid*, etc.] MM. Reinaud and Weil despair about identifying this name. I believe it to be Barada, or Jetwár, on the coast of Guzerát, and the Bárúd, or Bárúa, of Birúní. Perhaps, also, it may have some connection with the Bar-ace of Ptolemy, and the Periplus. Barada stretches along the south-western shore of the Peninsula of Guzerat, between the divisions of Hálár and Sorath. The port of Púrbandar, in Barada, is the great emporium of this and the neighbouring coasts, on account of its favourable position. The town, which was captured in 160 H., and which is represented to have been a large one, was probably Ghúmti, of which the ruins attract the curiosity of the traveller, and still continue to excite the devotion of the Hindús. Tradition says it stood a siege of seven or eight years, but the precise era of its destruction is not known.

[2] *Frag. Arabes*, pp. 3, 120, 212.—*Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. II. p. 115.

[3] This does not mean the present province of Kashmír. Hwen Tsang speaks of the Panjáb, about A.D. 640, as being a dependency of Kashmír, and the upper portion of the plain-country was frequently attached to that kingdom. The Kashmírian annals ignore these Sindian victories, and even interpose the glorious reign of Lalitáditya. See Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 10–14.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 152–4, 188–191.—Stan. Julien, Hiouen Thsang, I. 162.

[4] Corrig. ex Tabarí, ap. Kosegarten, *Chrestomathia*, pp. 98–104. Conf. *Fragments*, 212; *Mém.*, 193; Gildemeister, 23; Weil, II. 56; Abú-l Fidá, II. 28.

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About this time, the Sindian Arabs engaged in a naval expedition against Kandahár,[1] at which place the idol-temple was destroyed, and a mosque raised upon its ruins. Here, again, we have greatly to reduce the distance within which these operations are supposed to have been conducted. M. Reinaud, in his earlier publication,[2] in which he is followed by Dr. Weil,[3] considered the place here indicated to be Kandhár, near the Gulf of Cambay; but, in his subsequent one,[4] he inclines to the opinion that Gandhára, on the Upper Indus, is meant; of which Waihind was the capital. There is little probability of either being correct, and we need not look any further than the peninsula of Káthíwár, on the north-west angle of which is situated Khandadár, one of the objects of our attack in 1809, when, unlike its neighbour, Mália, it surrendered to Col. Walker's detachment without resistance.

Under Hashám, the supreme authority was enforced with vigour throughout the whole country, and the people are represented to have lived in abundance and content.

The government of Sind was then bestowed upon 'Umar bin Hafs bin 'Usmán, a Súfrian, commonly called Hazármard.[5] This must have been previous to 151 H., for in that year we find him transferred to the government of Africa, where he was killed in the year 154 H. He was succeeded in the African government by Yazíd bin Hátim, or bin Mazíd Muhallabí, while Rúh, the brother of Yazíd, became governor of Sind in 154 and 155 H. (771 A.D.). At the time of Rúh's departure for the valley of the Indus, some one observed to the Khalif Mansúr, that the two brothers had little chance of being enclosed in the same tomb. Nevertheless, upon the death of Yazíd, he was succeeded in Africa by his brother Rúh, and the two brothers were actually interred by the side of one another at Kairoán.[6]

5. *Hárúnu-r Rashíd*, A.H. 170-193. A.D. 786-809.

We have, during this prosperous period, another instance of transfer between Africa and Sind; for Dáúd bin Yazíd Muhallabí,

[1] [Goeje's text gives "Kandahár."]
[2] *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 212.
[3] *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 56.
[4] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 196.
[5] Tabarí and Abú-l Fidá place the government of Hashám subsequent to that of 'Umar.
[6] Ibn Asír, *Kámilu-t Tawárikh*, anno. 171, ap. *Mém.*, p. 194. The years of Rúh's Sindian administration are differently given in *Fragments*, p. 213.

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who had provisionally succeeded his father in the former province, was appointed to the latter about the year 184 H. (800 A.D.), and died there while holding the office of governor.[1] These transfers, no doubt, were designed to prevent governors becoming too powerful and independent, by maturing intrigues, and courting popularity with the inhabitants of any particular province; but they must have also been attended with the salutary effect upon the governors themselves, of removing prejudices, suggesting comparisons, imparting knowledge, and enlarging the general sphere of their observation.

The native historians mention other governors during this reign. One, a celebrated Shaikh, called Abú Turáb, or Hájí Turábí. He took the strong fort of Tharra, in the district of Sákúra, the city of Bagár, Bhambúr, and some other places in western Sind. His tomb, which bears on its dome the early date of 171 H. (787 A.D.), is to be seen about eight miles south-west of Thatta, between Gúja and Korí, and is visited by pilgrims.[2]

Abú-l 'Abbás was also a governor of Sind during Hárún's Khiláfat, and remained in that post for a long time. This is all the information which we derive from Mír Ma'súm respecting the Arab governors, though he professes to give us a chapter specially devoted to this subject.[3]

The vigour which marked this period of the Sindian government may, perhaps, be judged of by the impression which the advances of the Arabs were making upon the native princes on the northern frontier of India. Even the Khákán of Tibet was inspired with alarm at the steady progress of their dominion.[4]

One interesting synchronism connected with the reign of Hárún should not be omitted in this place. Tabarí mentions that this Khalif despatched, by the Arabian sea, an envoy, accompanied with numerous presents, to some king of India, representing that he was sore afflicted with a cruel malady, and requesting, as he was on the point of travelling on a distant journey into Khurásán, that the famous Indian physician, Kanka or Mánikba, might be sent to attend

[1] Abú-l Fidá, *Annales Moslem*, Vol. II. p. 78.
[2] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 234.
[3] *Táríkh-i Sind*, MS. p. 38, and *Tuhfatu-l Kiram*, MS. p. 19.
[4] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II., pp. 163, 180.

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him on his tour in that province; promising, on the honour of a prince, that he should be permitted to return to his country immediately on the Khalif's arrival at Balkh. The physician, who was sent in compliance with this request, was so successful in his treatment, that his imperial patient was in a short time sufficiently recovered to proceed to his destination, through the passes of Halwán. Nevertheless, the Khalif died at Tús, before he had accomplished all the purposes of his journey; but, in due time, the Indian physician, according to promise, was allowed to proceed to Balkh, whence he returned in safety to his native country; which, if not Sind itself, was probably no great distance from it, as the embassy of invitation had proceeded by sea. Some authorities, however, represent that the physician, in the first instance, crossed over the Hindú-kush, and returned home by the Persian Gulf.[1]

7. *Al Mámún*, A.H. 198-218. A.D. 813-833.

During this Khiláfat, Bashar bin Dáúd, who was invested with the chief authority in Sind, raised the standard of revolt, withheld payment of the revenues, and prepared to resist the Khalif with open force. Ghassán bin Abbád, an inhabitant of Kúfa, and a near relative of the Khalif, who had about ten years previous been governor of Khurásán, Sijistán, and Kirmán, was sent, in 213 H., against the insurgent, who surrendered himself to Ghassán under promise of safe conduct, and accompanied him to Baghdád, where he obtained pardon from the Khalif.[2]

Ghassán then appointed "to the government of the frontier," Músa, son of the famous Yahya, the Barmekide, and younger brother of Fazl and Ja'far, the ministers of Hárúnu-r Rashíd. Músa captured and slew Bala, king of As-Sharkí (the east), though five hundred thousand dirhams were offered as a ransom (p. 128).

In another work, Músa's appointment is ascribed to Hárún's reign. He was removed, because he squandered the revenues. He was succeeded by 'Alí bin 'Isa bin Hámán.[3]

There appears some difficulty about this period, with respect to

[1] Ibn Abú Usaibiah, in *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 110.—Price, *Mohammedan History*, Vol. II. p. 88.—A. Sprenger, *Biographical Dict.* L. U. K., Vol. II., p. 300.

[2] Abú-l Fidá, *Annales Moslem.*, Vol. II. p. 150.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 18.

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the succession to the government of Sind. It is asserted that, previous to the arrival of Ghassán, Táhir bin Husain, who had been the main cause of the elevation of Mámún to the Khiláfat, received Sind as a portion of his eastern government, when he was appointed to Khurásán in 205 A.H. (820 A.D.), in which province he died before he had held it two years. Others, again, say that 'Abdu-lla bin Táhir (the Obaid-ulla of Eutychius)[1] received the province of Sind, when he succeeded to his father's government in Khurásán. Firishta also tells us, that the Sámánís extended their incursions to Sind and Thatta; but it may reasonably be doubted if either they, or the Táhirís,[2] exercised any power in the valley of Indus, any more than did the Suffárides (except perhaps Ya'kúb), or the Búwaihides, whose seats of government were much nearer, and who had many more facilities for establishing their power in that direction. There is a confusion, also, respecting the precise date of the Barmekide governor above alluded to.[3]

8. *Al-Mu'tasim-bi-llah*, A.H. 218-227. A.D. 833-841.

Músa, the Barmekide, after acquiring a good reputatíon, died in the year 221 H., leaving a son, named 'Amrán, who was nominated governor of Sind by Mu'tasim-bi-llah, then Khalif. 'Amrán betook himself to the country of Kaikán, which was in the occupation of the Jats, vanquished them, and founded a city, which he called Al Baizá, "the white," where he established a military colony. He then returned to Mansúra, and thence went to Kandábel, which was in the possession of Muhammad bin Khalíl. The town was taken, and the principal inhabitants were transferred to Kusdár. After that, he sent an expedition against the Meds, killed three thousand of them, and constructed a causeway, which bore the name of "the Med's causeway." Upon encamping near the river Alrúr,[4] he summoned the

[1] Eutychii *Annales*, Vol. II. p. 430.

[2] [See note on the Tátariya dirhams, *supra*, p. 3; Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. II. p. 118.]

[3] Compare M. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Tom. III. p. 496.—M. de Slane, *Dict. d'Ibn-Khallikán*, Tom. I. p. 542.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 198.—*Fragm. Arabes*, p. 215.—Gildemeister, *de reb. Indicis*, p. 24.—Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 228.

[4] [This is the reading of Goeje's text (see *supra*, p. 128), but Sir H. Elliot read "Aral," respecting which he says] This river, by some considered an artificial canal, runs from the lake Manchhar, and falls into the Indus, near Sihwán.

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Jats, who were dependent on his government. "When they obeyed the call, he stamped a seal upon their hands,[1] and received from them the capitation tax, directing that when they presented themselves to him, they should each be accompanied by a dog, so that the price of a dog rose as high as fifty dirhams."

The meaning of this strange provision is not very evident, but we have seen above, that it originated with the Bráhman dynasty, and was approved by Muhammad Kásim. It does not appear whether the tribute-dogs were taken away by the Arabs, or whether it was intended to encourage the breed, by making it necessary that every man should have his dog. It is only for one of these two reasons that the price could have been enhanced. In the former case, they must have been taken, either for the purpose of being slaughtered[2] by the Arabs, in order to diminish their number, which might have amounted to a nuisance, or they were taken and kept to be used by themselves, as by the Tálpúr princes of later times, in hunting—or in watching flocks, as we see them employed to this day in the Delta, where they allow no stranger to approach a village. For the same reasons they are held in high repute in Bulúchistán.

Had any people but Saracens been rulers in Syria and Mesopotamia, we might have even surmised that these animals were an article of export, for the celebrity of Indian dogs was great among the ancient occupants of the same country, and by them they were largely imported, as they were considered the best for hunting wild beasts, and even lions were readily attacked by them.[3] Xerxes, as Herodotus tells us, was followed in his expedition to Greece by Indian dogs, of which "none could mention the number, they were so many" (vii. 187); and Tritæchmes, the satrap of Babylon, kept

[1] This means, most probably, a permanent brand, which at that time was a favourite mode of marking a distinction between Christians, or Jews and Muhammadans.—*Mod. Universal Hist.*, Vol. XI. p. 16.

[2] This is improbable, because, however unclean they may be in the eyes of the faithful, the killing of them is considered unlawful, "since they have souls!" This decision was gravely pronounced by a Turkish muftí, on the occasion of a plague in Constantinople, when they were transported to a desert isle.—*Ibid.* Vol. X. p. 196.

[3] These were perhaps from the countries of the upper, rather than the lower, Indus. The Sind hound is described by Vigne, in his *Travels in Kashmir*, Vol. II., p. 411. Respecting the ancient estimation of these Indian dogs, see the passages from Strabo, Diodorus, Ælian, Plutarch, and Gratius, cited by R. Geier, *Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores*, p. 378; Ctesias, *Indica*, c. 25; *Arist. Hist. Animal.* VII. 23.

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such a number of Indian dogs, that four considerable towns in the plains were exempted from all other taxes, and devoted to their maintenance" (i. 192). But, as dogs are held in abomination by Muhammadans, we cannot conceive that these tribute-dogs were disposed of in this fashion. Whatever may have been the cause of this article of the engagement, it is a curious fact, that the effect seems to have survived in the very scene of these operations; for it is notorious, that the rare crime of dog-stealing is practised to the west of Aral and Manchhar, and travellers are obliged to adopt especial precautions in passing through that district.[1]

After this triumphant affair with the Jats, 'Amrán again attacked the Meds at several different points, having many Jat chiefs under his banners; and he dug a canal, by which the sea-water flowed into their lake, so that the only water which they had to drink became salt.

The spirit of faction which prevailed between the Nizárian and Yamánían Arabs, was the cause of 'Amrán's death, he having been appointed by 'Umar bin 'Abdu-l 'Azíz al Habbárí, who espoused the Nizárian cause, and whose family, in Ibn Haukal's time, was supreme in Mansúra. It was during 'Amrán's government, that the Indians of Sindán[2] declared themselves independent; but they respected the mosque, which the Musulmáns of the town visited every Friday, for the purpose of reading the usual offices and praying for the Khalif. Sindán had been originally captured by Fazl bin Máhán, once a slave of the family of Sáma,—the same probably that afterwards made itself master of Multán. He sent an elephant to the Khalif Mámún, and prayed for him in the Jámi' Masjid, which he erected in Sindán. At his death, he was succeeded by his son Muhammad, who fitted out a flotilla of seventy barks against the Meds of Hind, put many of them to the sword, and took Mália.[3] In his absence, one of his brothers, named Máhán, treacherously usurped the government of Sindán, and wrote to propitiate the goodwill of Mu'tasim; but the Indians declared against

[1] Masson's *Travels in Afghanistan, etc.*, Vol. II. p. 141.

[2] There was a Sindán fifty parasangs south of Broach, and eleven north of Tána, which is spoken of by the old Arab geographers (see p. 402). But the town here spoken of is more probably the Sindán, or Sandán, in Abrása, the southern district of Kachh. See Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 46, 47.

[3] [This name is unintelligible in the text, it may be Máli, Káli, or Fáli].

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him, and crucified him, and subsequently, as before stated, proclaimed their independence, by renouncing allegiance to the Muhammadans (p. 129).

It was in 'Amrán's time, also, that the country of Al 'Usaifán,[1] situated between Kashmír, Kábul, and Multán, was governed by a certain prince of good understanding. His son falling ill, the prince asked the priests of one of the idols worshipped by the inhabitants, to beseech the idol to heal his son. The priests, after absenting themselves a short time, returned, and said the idol had heard their prayers, yet the son died notwithstanding. The prince, exasperated at their fraudulent pretensions, demolished the temple, broke the idol in pieces, and massacred the ministers. He then called before him some Musulmán merchants, who developed to him the proofs of the unity of God, upon which he readily became a convert to the faith (p. 129).

Among the notices of Mu'tasim's reign, we find it mentioned that, in order to reward Ikshín, the Turk, for his seizure of the notorious fanatic Bábek, who had spread great consternation by the effects of his first successes, the Khalif bestowed upon him twenty millions of dirhams from the province of Sind—which was equal to two years' revenue; but it does not appear that Ikshín ever went there to collect it, and it was probably a mere assignment upon the general revenues, which might be paid when convenient, or altogether repudiated. The mention of a particular province is strange, under the circumstances of the time, and would seem to show that but little was received into the general treasury from that source. Ikshín, in short, was entitled to collect that amount, *if he could*, by rigid extortions in the province itself; just as, at a later period of Indian history, the miserable *jágírdár* was put off by assignments upon turbulent and rebellious provinces.[2] The value of such drafts, even

[1] If the Yúsufzáis had not been declared to have occupied their present tracts at a much later period, we might have conceived them to be here alluded to. We might even trace the earlier and extinct Assacani in this name, as written in Arabic characters. See Mützell's note to Quintus Curtius, viii. 37.—Arrian, *Indica*, i.—C. Müller, *Scriptores rerum Alex.*, p. 102.—*L' Univers Pitt*, ix. Babylonie, 306.

[2] "I represented to Abdul Hasan, that it was His Majesty's (Jahángír's) pleasure and none of my request, and being His Majesty's gift, I saw no reason for being deprived of my right." * * * "I could not get a living that would yield me

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upon the general treasury, may be estimated by an amusing anecdote related of the Khalif Al Hádí. An eminent Arab poet having once presented to him some of his lucubrations, the prince, who was a good judge of such performances, discovered such beauties in them that he was extremely pleased, and said to him :—"Choose for your recompense, either to receive 30,000 dirhams *immediately*, or 100,000 after you have gone through the delays and formalities of the Exchequer." The poet replied with great readiness :—"Give me, I pray, the 30,000 now, and the 100,000 hereafter;" which repartee, we are told, was so pleasing to the Khalif, that he ordered the entire sum of 130,000 dirhams to be paid down to him on the spot, without any deduction.[1]

15. *Al Mu'tamad-'alà-llah*, A.H. 256-279. A.D. 870-892.
18. *Al Muktadar-bi-llah*, A.H. 295-320. A.D. 908-932.

During the nine reigns which occupied the period between Al Mu'tasim and Al Muktadar, the power of the Khalifs had been gradually on the decline. The Turkish guard had become more and more outrageous and arbitrary; independent dynasties, such as the Táhirides and Suffárides, after having shorn the kingdom of some of its fairest provinces, had themselves expired; eunuchs, and even women,[2] had sat upon the judgment seat and dispensed patronage, while corruption and venality openly prevailed; and now, at a later period—notwithstanding that literature flourished, and the personal dignity of the Khalif was maintained in the highest splendour — yet, not only had the Sámánís conquered the whole of Máwaráu-n nahr and Khurásán, not only had the Dailamites penetrated to the borders of 'Irák, and all northern Africa, except Egypt, had been lost for ever to the Khiláfat,

anything, the Vizier giving me always assignments on places that were in the hands of outlaws or insurgents; except once that I had an assignment on Lahor by special command of the king, but of which I was soon deprived." * * * "The nobles had their assignments either upon barren places or such as were in rebellion; Abul Hasan having retained all the good districts to himself."—Capt. Hawkins' *Narrative*, in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*. Yet the writer, according to a compatriot who visited Agra in 1610, was "in great credit with the king, entitled by the name of a *can*, which is a knight, and keepeth company with the greatest noblemen."—Capt. R. Coverte, in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VIII. p. 256.

[1] *Modern Universal History*, Vol. II. p. 152. [2] *Elmacin*, 345.

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but, as if to crown the measure of its misfortunes, the Karmatian heretics, having plundered Kúfa, Basra, and Sámarra, had possessed themselves of Mecca during the very time of pilgrimage, had massacred the pilgrims, and even carried off the sacred black stone itself, the principal and universal object of Muhammadan veneration.

Under such circumstances, the most distant provinces necessarily partook of the decline from which the heart of the empire was suffering; and Sind, neglected by the imperial government, came to be divided among several petty princes, who, though they transmitted no revenue and rendered no political allegiance to the Khalif, were, like other more powerful chiefs, who had assumed independence, glad to fortify their position by acknowledging his spiritual supremacy, and flattering him by the occasional presentation of some rarity from the kingdoms which they had usurped. Among these ostentatious displays of empty fealty in which revolted governors were wont to indulge,—comprising, in the words of Gibbon, "an elephant, a cast of hawks, a suit of silk-hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber,"[1] we may specially mention two loyal and characteristic offerings from India,—"a cart-load of four-armed idols,"[2] and "the largest and longest teak-tree which had ever been seen"[3] (p. 129).

The virtual renunciation of political control in Sind may be dated from the year 257 H., when the Khalif Mu'tamad, in order to divert the Suffárides from their hostile designs against 'Irák, conferred upon Ya'kúb ibn Lais the government of Sind, as well as of Balkh and Tukháristán, in addition to that of Sijistán and Kirmán, with which he had been already invested.[4]

[1] *Decline and Fall*, Chap. li.

[2] *Biographical Dictionary*, L.U.K., Vol. II. p. 287; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 289.

[3] *Fragments Ar. et Pers.*, p. 216. M. Reinaud contends that the word *sdj* here means a species of dress, which had belonged to some man of extraordinary stature. This is by no means probable,—whereas a teak-tree from Sind, where so many were imported from Malabar, would have been natural and appropriate. Teak is the ξύλα σαγαλίνα of Arrian's Periplus, which Vincent conceives to be an error for σανδαλίνα. He wrongly attributes another error to the reading of σησαμίνα—which has proved equally puzzling to Salmasius, as well as to Heeren and his Oxford translator. Both words are perfectly correct, and are derived from two native terms, *sdj* and *sisam*, in use at the present day.—Vincent, *Commerce and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. pp. 378, 379; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Talboys, Vol. III. pp. 439; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Tom. III. pp. 473, 474; *Gildemeister*, 39; *Hofmam. V. Santalina and Sasem.*

[4] Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 438.

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The two principal kingdoms which were established in Sind a few years after this event, were those of Multán and Mansúra, both of which attained a high degree of power and prosperity. It is probable that the independence of those states commenced upon Ya'kúb ibn Lais' death in 265 H. (879 A.D.), for his successors were comparatively powerless, and the Sámánís, at the commencement of their rule, had little leisure to attend to so remote a province as Sind.

Mas'údi, who visited the valley of the Indus in the year 303-4 H. —915-6 A.D., and completed his "*Meadows of Gold*" in 332 H.—943-4 A.D., furnishes a brilliant account of the state of Islám in that country. The Amír of Multán was an Arab of the noble tribe of Kuraish,[1] named Abú-l Dalhat al Munabba, son of Assad as Sámí, and the kingdom of Multán is represented to have been hereditary in his family for a long time, "nearly from the beginning of Islám," —meaning, probably, its introduction into Sind; and Kanauj, he asserts, was then a province of Multán, "the greatest of the countries which form a frontier against unbelieving nations."

He was descended from Sáma, son of Lawí, son of Ghálib, who had established himself on the shores of 'Umán before the birth of Muhammad. The Amír had an army in his pay, and there were reckoned to be 120,000 hamlets around the capital. His dominion extended to the frontier of Khurásán. The temple of the Sun was still an object of native pilgrimage, to which people resorted from the most distant parts of the continent, to make their offerings of money, pearls, aloe-wood and other perfumes. It was from this source that the greater part of the revenue of the Amír was derived. Mas'údí remarks, as does Ibn Haukal, that the threat of injuring or mutilating the idol was sufficient to deter the native princes from engaging in hostilities with the Amír.

Mansúra was governed by another Kuraishí, whose name was Abú-l Mundar 'Umar bin 'Abdu-lla. He was descended from Habbár bin Aswad, who was celebrated for his opposition to Muhammad, and on the return of the prophet to Mecca in triumph, was among the few who were excepted from the terms of the amnesty which was at that time proclaimed. He subsequently became a convert, and towards the year 111 A.H., one of his descendants came to the

[1] The Kuraishís still muster very strong in the neighbourhood of Multán.

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valley of the Indus to seek his fortune. Some time after, his family, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed in the country, made themselves masters of the lower Indus, and established themselves at Mansúra. Our voyager states, that he was kindly received by the Amír, as well as his minister. While he was there, he found some descendants of the Khalif 'Alí, whom persecution had compelled to seek a refuge in that distant country.

The principality of Mansúra extended from the sea to Alor, where that of Multán commenced. It was said to contain 300,000 villages, which is, of course, a ridiculous exaggeration; but the whole country was well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were obliged continually to protect themselves against the aggressions of the Meds and other savage tribes of the desert.

The chief of Mansúra had eighty elephants of war. Their trunks were armed with a kind of curved sword, called *kartal*, and were covered with armour to protect them in fight.[1] The entire body of the animal was similarly protected, and each was attended by a detachment of five hundred infantry. Other elephants, not used in war service, were employed to carry burdens and draw chariots.[2]

23. *Al Muti'-li-llah*, A.H. 334–363. A.D. 945–974.
25. *Al Kádir-bi-llah*, A.H. 381–422. A.D. 991–1031.

A few years after Mas'údí, the valley of the Indus was visited by Istakhrí, and by Ibn Haukal, who has included nearly the whole of Istakhrí's relation in his own, and has entered into some further detail.

The account of Sind by Ibn Haukal, who wrote his work after the year 366 H. (976 A.D.), when he was for a second time in India, has been given in the preceding pages, and need not be repeated here. With respect to the condition of the country at the time of his visit, he observes that Multán was not so large as Mansúra, and was defended by a citadel; that the territory was fertile and produce cheap, but that its fertility was inferior to that of Mansúra, and its

[1] Kazwíní mentions a ridiculous story of a man, named Hárún, who wrote a poem, in which he boasted of having contended with an elephant so armed, and having put it and its attendant host to flight, by eradicating its tusks. *'Ajáibu-l Makhlúkát*, v. "Multán." [2] *Supra*, p. 18; *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 213–217.

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soil was not cultivated with the same care. The Amír[1] lived outside the town, and never entered it, except for the purpose of going to the mosque, on Fridays, mounted on an elephant. There appears to have been no native coinage, but the money in circulation was chiefly Kandaháriân and Tátaríyan dirhams. The dress of the Sindians was like that of the people of 'Irák, but the Amírs habited themselves like the native princes. Some persons wore their hair long, and their dresses loose, with waistbands, on account of the heat, and there was no difference between the garb of the faithful and idolaters.

The Amírs of Multán and Mansúra were independent of one another; but both deferred to the spiritual authority of the Khalif of Baghdád. The former was still a descendant of Sáma bin Lawí, and the latter a descendant of the Habbárí family.

Alor, the ancient Hindú capital, was nearly as large as Multán, surrounded by a double wall, and was a dependency of Mansúra. Its territory was fertile and rich, and it was the seat of considerable commerce. Ráhúk (or Dahúk) also, on the borders of Makrán, and to the west of the Hála range, was included in Mansúra.

There were other principalities to the west, besides these two in the valley of the Indus:—such as Túrán; which was under the authority of a native of Basra, named Abú-l Kassam, "tax-gatherer, administrator, judge, and general, who could not distinguish between three and ten:"—and Kusdár; which was governed by an Arab, residing in Kaikánán, named Mu'ín bin Ahmad, who admitted the name of the 'Abbáside Khalif into the public prayers:—and Makrán; the ruler of which was 'Isa bin Ma'dán, who had established his residence in the city of Kíz, about the size of half of Multán:—and Mushkí, on the borders of Kirmán; which was presided over by Matahar bin Rijá, who had an independent jurisdiction extending through three days' journey, but used the Khalif's name in the public services of religion.[2]

Ibn Haukal observes, that at Mansúra and Multán, and in the rest

[1] Istakhrí speaks of him as *Mdlik*. Ibn Haukal calls him *Amír*; but the chief of Mansúra he designates as *Mdlik*; so that it is evident he uses the terms in the same signification.

[2] Gildemeister *de rebus Ind.* p. 173.

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of the province, the people spoke the Arabic and Sindian languages; in Makrán, Makránian and Persian.

With respect to those other parts of India to which the Musulmáns resorted, such as the maritime towns in the jurisdiction of the Balharà, between Cambay and Saimúr, Ibn Haukal observes that they were covered with towns and villages. The inhabitants were idolaters, but the Musulmáns were treated with great consideration by the native princes. They were governed by men of their own faith, as the traveller informs us was the case with Musulmáns in other infidel dominions, as among the Khazars of the Volga, the Alans of the Caucasus, and in Ghána and Kaugha in Central Africa. They had the privilege of living under their own laws, and no one could give testimony against them, unless he professed the Muhammadan faith. "I have seen," says Ibn Haukal, "Musulmáns of this country invoke against other Musulmáns the testimony of natives of probity who did not profess the Muhammadan creed; but it was necessary that the adverse party should first give his consent." They had erected their mosques in these infidel cities, and were allowed to summon their congregations by the usual mode of proclaiming the times of prayer.

Such privileges could only have been conceded to men whose favour was worth gaining, and it is to be regretted that they were indisposed to show to others in similar circumstances the indulgences so readily allowed to themselves. In the Middle Ages, it was only the power and political influence of the Amalfitans, Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, that were sometimes able to extort from the reluctant Musulmáns those immunities, which were willingly granted by the more easy and indifferent Crusaders and Greeks,—comprising the security of their changes, magazines, and churches, the recognition of their Bailos, the privilege of being tried by their own laws, and by judges of their own appointment. These republics must then have occupied in Egypt and Constantinople the same kind of position as the Arabs on the coast of India, excepting that the tenure of the former was more precarious, and more subject to the caprices of despotism, the fluctuations of trade, and the ascending or waning influence of the principal carriers.

The commercial establishments in the peninsula of India do not

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seem to have excited any religious scruples in the minds of the Khalifs, or even of those casuistical divines who guided the consciences of these "Vicars of God" and their subjects. Trade was openly prosecuted in that land of infidels by Arab merchants, without any fulminations from these spiritual authorities, and probably with their encouragement. In this respect, there was a singular contrast between the sentiments that animated Muhammadans and Christians: for to Christians, on the contrary, whether merchants or princes, the permission of their "Vicar of God" was necessary, before they could traffic with infidels; as only he, in his infallibility, could authorize a departure from the most sacred injunctions of Holy Writ. Even as late as the year 1454, the dispensing power to trade with Muhammadans was exercised in favour of Prince Henry of Portugal by Pope Nicholas V., in a famous Bull, which refers to similar concessions from his immediate predecessors, Martin V. and Eugenius IV., to Kings of that country.

This intercourse with the Saracens was not merely subject to these formal, and perhaps interested, restrictions, but was strongly and honestly reprobated by many sincere believers: and not without reason, when we reflect, that some of these traders, especially the Venetians, disgraced their honour and their faith by supplying the Egyptian market with Circassian slaves, and even rendered their mercenary assistance in driving the Crusaders from Acre, the last and only stronghold left to them in Palestine:—

E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei,
Che ciascun suo nemico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincere Acri,
Nè mercantante in terra di Soldano.[1]

The revenues, which the Arab princes of Sind derived from their several provinces, are pronounced to have been very small,—barely more than sufficient to provide food and clothing and the means of maintaining their position with credit and decency; and, as a

[1] Dante, *Inferno*, Cant. xxvii. See also *Parad.* Cant. ix. xv. The sentiment was common, and Petrarch exclaims against this venality, with equal indignation, in his *Trionfo della Fama*. On the general subject, compare Muratori, *Antiquit. Ital. med. ævi*, Vol. II. col. 905–16; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 934; Robertson, *Disquis. on Ancient India*, Notes xlv. and xlvii.; Heeren, *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, Pt. ii. sec. 1; Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 238; Brencman *de Republ. Amalf.*, 8; McPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, I. 370, 396, 435; Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scrip.*, Vol. VI. col. 186, XII. 322, 330; XVII. 1088, 1092.

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necessary consequence, only a few years elapsed before they were driven from their kingdoms, and compelled to yield their power to more enterprising and energetic assailants.

The Karmatians of India are nowhere alluded to by Ibn Haukal ;[1] but it could not have been long after his visit, that these heretics, who probably contained within their ranks many converted natives and foreigners as well as Arabs, began to spread in the valley of the Indus. Abú-l Fidá dates the commencement of their decline from 326 H. (938 A.D.). This was accelerated by two ignominious defeats in Egypt in 360 and 363, and their overflow was completed in 'Irák in 375 (985 A.D.). It must have been about this latter year that, finding their power expiring in the orignal seat of their conquests, they sought new settlements in a distant land, and tried their success in Sind. There the weakness of the petty local governments favoured their progress, and led to their early occupation both of Mansúra and Multán,—from which latter place history records their expulsion by the overwhelming power of Mahmúd the Ghaznivide.

It appears from local histories, as well as the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh*, that Mahmúd also effected conquests in Sind. Though this matter is not commonly recorded by his historians, there is every likelihood of its truth; for, being in possession of Kusdár and Multán, the country was at all times open to his invasions. As it is well established that, after the fall of Somnát, he marched for some days along the course of the Indus, we can readily concur with the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh* in ascribing his capture of Mansúra to the year 416 H., on his return from that expedition: and, as it is expressly stated that he then placed a *Muhammadan* prince on the throne, we may safely infer that the previous occupant had rejected that faith, and was therefore a Karmatian, who, having usurped the government from the Habbárí dynasty, had thus, after a duration of three centuries, effected the extinction of the Arab dominion in Sind.[2]

[1] [Unless they were the inhabitants of "Rasak, the city of schismatics."]

[2] Compare Mordtmann, *das Buch der Länder* ; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 163–182 ; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography* ; *Modern Universal Hist*, Vol. II. pp. 383, 387, 398, 415 ; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 233–242 ; *Fragm. Arabes*, p. xxiv. ; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, *v.* "Carmath ;" Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 675 ; III. 11, 33, 65 ; De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns.* ; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 21. Hamza Isfahání, ed. Gottwaldt, Vol. II. p. 156, *et seq.* ; Abú-l Fidá, *Annal. Mosl.*, Vol. II. p. 406.

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Sind under the Arabs.

Having in the previous Note exhausted all the scanty materials which history has left us respecting the political progress of the Arabs in Sind, we may now proceed to consider some of the questions connected with the maintenance of their power in that province.

The internal administration of the country was necessarily left in the hand of the natives; as the Arabs, upon their first acquisition of territory, had brought with them no men capable of exercising civil functions. Indeed, wherever we follow the steps of these fanatics, we find them ignorant of the first principles of public economy, and compelled, by the exigencies of their position, to rely upon native assistance in the management of the finances and accounts of their subject provinces. So, indeed, in a certain measure, do the English in India; but with this essential difference, that they direct and control the ministerial officers, both of collection and record, introduce their own systems, modify or abrogate the old ones as occasion arises, and initiate all proceedings connected with the several departments of the exchequer: but the Arabs, either through indolence, pride, or ignorance, left themselves at the mercy of their subordinates, and were unable to fathom the depths of the chaotic accounts kept by their native financiers, who practised the most ingenious devices of flattery, falsehood, cajolery, and self-interest—rendered more acute by religious hatred—in order to blind their credulous dupes as to the actual resources of the countries which they governed. The rack and the threat of circumcision would sometimes extort the illicit accumulations of past years; but, in the long run, the pliant and plausible officials were the gainers; and compromises, in a little ready cash, were gladly accepted, in lieu of closer scrutiny and more accurately balanced ledgers.

Hence those charges so readily brought, and so eagerly listened to, by Khalifs as well as Amírs, of defalcations and embezzlements: hence those demands for indefinite sums from refractory servants: hence those extortionate fines, levied according to mere surmises and conjectures, since no means existed of ascertaining the real amount of revenue and expenditure. Brought up in their native deserts, with no greater knowledge of schemes of administration than was to

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be obtained by studying the phylarchies of the Bedouins, and invested suddenly with dominions which they were not competent to manage, however easily they might overrun and subdue them, the Arabs were compelled to seek in the political institutions of their subjects the means of realizing the exactions which, as victors, they felt it their right to demand. The maintenance, therefore, of native officials (who were styled Bráhmans in the case of Sind) was a matter of necessity rather than choice, at least at this early period of their sway; for the guide-books mentioned by Ibn Haukal, which indicate some knowledge of statistics and finance, were the products of a much later age.

The first show of independence of such aid, even at the capital itself, was not exhibited till the reign of 'Abdu-l Malik, when he adopted an Arab currency, in supersession of the Greek and Persian money, with which trade had been hitherto carried on: though the old denominations of *denarius* and *drachma* were still retained, under the slight metamorphoses of *dínár* and *dirham*. Walíd next abolished the Greek language and character from the public offices of finance, and substituted the Arabic,—thus still further freeing the Arabs from the trammels which these foreign systems had interposed. The land-tenures and personal taxes, being based upon principles introduced by the victorious Moslems, retained their Arab nomenclature.[1]

The original conquerors of Sind received there, as elsewhere under similar circumstances, large possessions in land (*iktá'át* or *katáya'*), which, as beneficiary grants for public services, were exempt from all taxes, except the alms (*sadaka*) defined by law. They were, of course, held on the condition of continued military service, and as long as this was rendered, they never reverted to the fisc. According to the regulations promulgated by 'Umar, soldiers were not allowed to devote themselves to agriculture or any other profession, and therefore the lands of these grantees continued to be cultivated by the former possessors, now reduced to the condition of villeins and serfs.[2] Other soldiers, not so beneficed, received stipends from the public revenue, to which they themselves contributed nothing in the shape of taxes. Four-fifths of the prize-money was invariably

[1] Elmacin, *Historia Saracenica*, p. 77; *L'Univ. Pitt. Asie, V. Arabie*, 405–6.
[2] Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 279, 280.—*Blacas*, I. 316.

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distributed among them, and, indeed, at first, formed their sole remuneration, insomuch that a man who received pay was entitled neither to plunder nor the honour of martyrdom. One-fifth of the spoil was reserved to the Khalif for religious and charitable purposes, according to the injunctions of the Kurán. The man "who went down to the battle, and he who tarried by the stuff," received equal shares, and the horseman was entitled to a double portion. Had the Khalif attempted to augment his share, the hardy warriors would have resisted his claim, with the same freedom as the fierce and sturdy Gaul, when he raised his battle-axe, and reminded Clovis that the famous vase of Soissons was public spoil.[1]

Much also of the conquered land was, during the whole course of Arab occupation, liberally bestowed upon sacred edifices and institutions, as *wakf*, or mortmain; of which some remnant, dating from that early period, is to be found even to this day in Sind,[2] which notoriously swarms with sanctified beggars and similar impostors, and contains, according to the current saying, no less than 100,000 tombs of saints and martyrs, besides ecclesiastical establishments, which, under the Tálpúrs, absorbed one-third of the entire revenue of the State.

That the whole valley, however, was not occupied or assigned by the victors is evident, not only from the large amount of the land-tax—which, had that been the case, would have yielded no revenue to the government—but from the fact of many native chiefs being able to maintain their independence, amidst all the wars and turmoils which raged around them. This is manifest from the story of 'Abdu-lla bin Muhammad, the 'Alite, which has been related in the preceding note. There we find a native potentate, "only one amongst other Sindian kings," possessing much land and many subjects, to whom 'Abdu-lla was recommended to fly for protection, and who was represented as holding the name of the prophet in respect, though he continued to worship his own idols.

[1] Gregory of Tours, *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, Lib. ii. c. 27. On the subject of the Muhammadan law of booty, compare *Heddya*, B. ix. c. 2, 4; *Mishcát ul Musábih*, Vol. II. p. 244; Defrémery, *Hist. des Samanides*, 226; Sale, *Korán*, Prel. Disc., pp. 198-201; and Vol. I. pp. 200, 207; II. 424; Reland, *De Jure Militari Muhammedorum*, Sect. 19-27; Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 254.

[2] [Kosegarten, *Ibn Batuta*, 22.]

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The conquerors, taking up their abode chiefly in cities of their own construction, cultivated no friendly intercourse with the natives, whom they contemned as a subject race, and abhorred as idolaters. They remained, therefore, isolated from their neighbours, and when their turn came to be driven out from their possessions, they left a void which was soon filled up, and their expulsion, or extermination, was easily accomplished, and nowhere regretted.

In no place do we find any allusion to Arab women accompanying Sindian camps, or—as often occurred in other fields—stimulating the soldiers to action, when they evinced any disposition to yield to their enemy,[1] The battle of the Yermouk, which decided the fate of Syria, was gained as much by the exhortations, reproaches, and even blows of the women, as by the valour of the men; for thrice were the faithful repulsed by the steady advance of the Grecian phalanx; thrice were they checked in their retreat, and driven back to battle by the women,—Abú Sufyán himself being struck over the face with a tent-pole by one of those viragos, as he fled before the enemy. In the remotest east, again, we find, as early as the time of 'Ubaidu-lla, his brother's wife mentioned as the first Arabian woman who crossed the Oxus,—on which occasion, unfortunately, she disgraced the credit of her sex, no less than her exalted rank, by stealing the jewels and crown of the queen of the Sogdians. Not many years after, the sanguinary battle of Bukhára, fought in the year 90 H., between Ibn Kutaiba and the Tátárs, was, in like manner with that of the Yermouk, restored by the tears and reproaches of the women who accompanied the Arab camp.[2] These, soldiers, therefore, were prepared for immediate colonization and settlement, and must have consisted of the surplus emigrant population already settled in Khurásán. Accordingly, we find in this instance, that Baikand was converted into a fortress, and that part of the army was located in its neighbourhood, and composed several hundred military stations.

Sind, on the contrary, on account of the distance and difficulty of

[1] Reinaud, *Sarrazins*, 18.

[2] So, with respect to the Germans, Tacitus says:—Memoriæ proditur quasdem acies inclinatas jam et labantes a feminis restitutas, constantiâ precum, et objectu pectorum, et monstratâ cominus captivitate, quam longè impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent.—*Germania*, c. 3.

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communication, and the absence of intermediate Arab colonies, was invaded by men prepared for military operations alone; and who could not possess the means of carrying their families with them, when only one baggage-camel was allowed to every four men, for the transport of their food, tents, and other necessary equipments, and when supplies ran short even before the Indus was crossed.

Subsequently, when the road was more open and free, these agreeable additions to their society may have poured in, along with the later adventurers who flocked to the new conquest; but we nowhere meet with even any incidental allusion to the circumstance, but with much that militates against its probability: so that there was, perhaps, among the descendants of the Sindian colonists, less infusion of the real blood of Arabs than in any other province subjected to their dominion.

When Muhammad Kásim, upon passing the Indus, gave to any of his soldiers so disposed leave to retire to their homes, only three came forward to claim their discharge; and of these, two did so, because they had to provide for the female members of their family, who had, with the rest, been left behind in their native country with no one to protect them. Nor were the consolations of a speedy restoration to their deserted homes held out to the first conquerors. To them the return was even more difficult than the advance, as we may learn from a passage in Tabarí, where he tells that, on the accession of the Khalif Sulaimán, he wrote to those ill-used men—the companions of the gallant hero whom he had tortured to death—in these harsh and cruel terms:—"Sow and sweat, wherever you may find yourselves on receipt of this mandate, for there is no more Syria for you." Here, then, these exiles must have remained during the ten years of his reign at least; and as they were not likely to have returned in any numbers after his death, we may conceive them congregated into several military colonies, seeking solace for their lost homes in the arms of the native women of the country, and leaving their lands and plunder to be inherited by their Sindo-Arab descendants.

These military colonies, which formed a peculiar feature of Arab settlement were styled *junúd* and *amsár*,—"armies" and "cities,"—the latter appellation implying settled abodes, contrasted with the

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previous migrations to which the tribes had been habituated. In many instances they rose into important cities, as in the case of Basra, Kúfa, and Damascus, and early became the principal centres of Arab learning, law, grammar, and theology, as well as of tumult, violence, perfidy, and intrigue. The principal seats of these cantonments in Sind appear to have been Mansúra, Kuzdár, Kandábel, Baizá, Mahfúza, and Multán; and indeed, the military camp near the latter town,—whether the real name be "Jandaram" or "Jundrúz" (*Gildemeister*), "Jundráwár" (*Ashkálu-l Bilád*), "Jundáwar" (*Abú-l Fidá*) or "Jandúr" (*Nubian Geographer*), seems to derive its first syllable from *jand*, the singular number of *junúd*, above mentioned.[1]

The local troops, which were enlisted in the country, dispersed to their own homes as soon as the necessity was satisfied for which they were raised; but there were some which assumed a more permanent character, and were employed on foreign service, with little chance of return.

That Sindian troops were levied, and sent to fight the battles of the Arabs in distant quarters, we have undoubted proof. I speak not here of the numerous Jats of 'Irak, Syria, and Mesopotamia, who—as I hope to be able to show in another place—were, ere long, transformed into the Jatano, or Gitano,—the Gypsies of modern Europe. These had been too long in their settlements to be called "Sindians" by a contemporary historian, like Dionysius Telmarensis, to whom the terms "Jat," "Asáwira," and "Sabábija," were more familiar. This author, in his *Syrian Chronicle*, distinctly mentions "Sindian" cohorts as forming a portion of the motley army of Alans, Khazars, Medes, Persians, Turks, Arabs, etc., which made an irruption into the Byzantine territory in 150 A.H.—767 A.D.[2] Four years afterwards, we find a body of Sindians and Khazars—said to be slaves—attempting to seize upon the imperial treasury in Harrán. Most probably, they also composed part of these foreign levies.

In admitting these provincials into their armies, the Arabs merely

[1] Possibly the Jandáwal, or Chandoul, of Kábul—the separate quarter occupied by the military colony of the Kazalbásh—may have a similar origin.—[See Note on the name *Jandrúd*, page 380, *supra*.]

[2] Jos. Sim. Assemanni, *Biblioth. Orient. Clementino-Vat.*, Vol. II. p. 103; Rampoldi, *Annali Musulmani*, Tom. IV. p. 89; *Univ. Hist.* II. 126; *Gild.*, 17.

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imitated the policy of the Romans, who did the same from motives of expediency—hoping to find employment for turbulent spirits, and to neutralize the elements of rebellion, by sending foreign mercenaries into provinces remote from their native soil.[1] Thus we find Slavones and Berbers, Syrians and Copts, Babylonians and Persians, and even Christians and Jews, Magians and Idolaters, in the early period of the Khiláfat, extending the Arab conquests among distant nations; just as, in the days of its decline, the Khalifs had Africans, Farghánians, Turks, Alans, etc., acting as their Prætorian guards, both in protecting them against their own subjects, and deposing their employers at their own will and pleasure:[2]—the difference only consisted in this, that the former constituted auxiliary corps, into which, when any foreigner was enlisted, he was adopted by some Arab tribe as a member, and being called *maulá*, or client, of that tribe, he had the same rights and privileges as if he had been born in it; whereas, Mu'tasim, when he enrolled his foreign bodyguard, made the Arabian troops subordinate to his mercenaries, whom, in order to elude the law, he called his own clients—an evasive practice which was continued by his successors.[3]

When the profession of faith in God and his Prophet was no longer the symbol which united these furious zealots; when literature, science, philosophy, poetry, and other objects of intellectual culture, ceased to be regarded as criminal pursuits;[4] when opulence, luxury, and the arts which refine and embellish social life, had converted roaming and rugged soldiers into indolent and effeminate voluptuaries,—the necessity of recruiting their ranks from extraneous sources, led to a modification of their military institutions, and to the abandonment of those exclusive sentiments, which had once bound the Arabs by a common tie of fraternity in rapine and propagandism. Some of these foreign recruits were, no doubt, obtained by the hopes of ready participation in the spoils which were the invariable concomitant of Arab conquests; but most of them were

[1] In the Roman occupation of Britain, we find even Indian cavalry stationed at Cirencester.—Wright. *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 252.

[2] "Firmamentum imperii et postea pestem."

[3] *Biographical Dictionary, L.U.K.*, Vol. II. pp. 294, 372.

[4] G. O. Fluegelii, *Dissert. de Arab. Script. Gr. Interpret.* p. 5; Reinaud, *Sarrasins*, i. 74, 243.

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very unwilling soldiers, raised by an arbitrary conscription, and only reconciled to their fate, after long experience of their new profession, and when their distant homes had been forgotten. That the power of levying troops for foreign service was generally felt as a sore grievance by the unfortunate provincials, is evidenced by the terms for which the people of Tabaristán held out, when they capitulated to their victors; for while they agreed to become tributary in the annual sum of five hundred thousand dirhams, they stipulated that the Moslims should at no time levy any troops in their country.[1]

Commercial activity, also, succeeded to the zeal for war, which offered no longer the same inducements of honour and profit that had been realized by the early conquerors. A new stimulus was thus found for the spirit of adventure which still survived, in the perils and excitements of trading speculations, both by land and sea,—prosecuted at a distance and duration, which at that time it is surprising to contemplate. Sind was not backward in this season of enterprise, for she appears to have kept up a regular commercial communication with the rest of the Muhammadan empire. Caravans were often passing and repassing between that country and Khurásán, most commonly by the route of Kábul and Bámián. She also held communication with Zábulistán and Sijistán, by way of Ghazní and Kandahár. Zábulistán was, at the period of Mas'údí's visit, a large country, known by the name of the kingdom of Fíroz, and contained fortresses of great strength. The people were of divers languages and races, and different opinions were even then entertained respecting their origin. In Sijistán, which has greatly deteriorated since that period, the banks of the Hendmand were studded with gardens and cultivated fields; its stream was covered with boats; and irrigation was carried on extensively by means of windmills.[2]

[1] Washington Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 141 and 255; from Hammer-Purgstall's *Gemäldesaal*. It is worthy of remark, that the Tapyri, whose name is preserved in Tabaristán, are not included, in the copious catalogue of Herodotus, among those joining in the armament of Xerxes.

[2] This is nearly the earliest mention we have of them, even in the east. Our knowledge of these contrivances in Europe ascends no higher than 1105 of our era. In Muhammadan countries we have allusions to them as early as 645; Price, *Retrospect of Muh. History*, Vol. I. p. 140; Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et inf. Latinitatis*, v.

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With respect to the routes from the North to India, Bírúní observes:—"We reach Sind from our country (Turkistán) by going through the country of Nímroz, that is to say, Sijistán, and we reach Hind through Kábul. I do not mean to say that is the only route, for one can arrive there from all directions when the passes are open." (See p. 54.)

We learn from notices in other authors, that there was commercial traffic by sea-board also. Much of the merchandize which was carried through Sind to Turkistán and Khurásán,—and thence even so far as Constantinople,[1] by the resumption of a route which had been much frequented at an earlier period[2]—was the product of China and the ports of Ceylon, 'Umán, and Malabar; from which latter province was derived, as at the present day, all the timber used in the construction of the boats which plied on the river. From Arabia, horses were frequently imported into Sind; and armies and munitions of war were sent up the mouths of the Indus, as we have already noticed with respect to the expeditions of Muhammad Kásim and some of his predecessors.[3] The whole coast of Kirmán and Makrán was, doubtless, studded with Arab settlements of the Azdís, who were the chief mercantile carriers from Obolla and 'Umán, and who had many brethren settled in Sind; and so it has remained, indeed, from the time of Alexander to the present Imám of Maskát, for the names of Arabis, Arabius, Arabitæ, etc., of Nearchus and the ancient geographers, were most probably derived from the opposite peninsula in the west, and are still represented by the Arabú of the coast of Makrán, like as the neighbouring Oritæ, or Horitæ, seem to survive in the modern Hor-mára and Haur.[4]

The toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice

[1] Ramusio, *Raccolta di Nav.*, Tom. I. p. 374, B.; Robertson, *India*, pp. 42, 77, 106, 121; MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I. pp. 141, 194, 370; Reinaud's *Rel. des Voy.*, 42; *Weil*, II. 305.

[2] Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xi. c. 7, Vol. II. p. 427, ed. Tauchnitz; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 17, 23; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I. p. 38; *Mod. Trav. India*, I. 148; *Ind. Alterthum.*, II. 531, 603; *Hakluyt*, IV. 409.

[3] Cosmos Indicopl. ap. Montfaucon, *Coll. nov. Patrum*, Tom. II. p. 334; Elmacin, *Hist. Sarac.*, Ann. 101; Kosegarten, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, p. 99.

[4] See Geier, *Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores*, p. 128; Mützell's *Notes to* Q. Curtius, pp. 873, 874; Droysen, *Geschichte Alex's*, pp. 467-9; Vincent, *Voyage of Nearchus*, pp. 181-211; Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, Dec. iv. p. 290; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I. pp. 279, 297.

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of their religion, was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries; but it was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity, than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders.[1] When time had fully shown the necessity of some relaxation in the stern code of Moslim conquest, it was directed, that the natives might rebuild their temples and perform their worship, and that the three per cent., which had been allowed to the priests under the former government, should not be withheld by the laity for whom they officiated. Dáhir's prime minister was also retained in office, in order to protect the rights of the people, and to maintain the native institutions; while Bráhmans were distributed throughout the provinces to collect the taxes which had been fixed. But, where power had, for a short time, enabled the Moslims to usurp the mastery, the usual bigotry and cruelty were displayed. At Debal, the temples were demolished, and mosques founded; a general massacre endured for three whole days; prisoners were taken captive; plunder was amassed; and an apostate was left in charge of the government, exercising co-ordinate jurisdiction with an Arab chief. At Nairún, the idols were broken, and mosques founded, notwithstanding its voluntary surrender. At Alor, though the lives of the inhabitants were spared, a heavy tribute was imposed; and though the temples were treated like "churches of the Christians, or synagogues of the Jews," yet that was no great indulgence, if we may judge from the proceedings at Jerusalem and Damascus—where the ringing of bells and building of chapels were prohibited; where the free admission of Musulmáns was at all times compulsory; where the forcible conversion of churches into mosques was insisted on, without the offer of compensation; and where they were sometimes devoted to the meaner uses of cow-houses and stables. At Ráwar, and 'Askalanda, all the men in arms were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away captive. At Multán, all men capable of bearing arms were massacred; six thousand ministers of the temple were made captive, besides all the women and children; and a mosque was erected in the town.

Among the chief objects of idolatry at Multán, the Bhavishya Purána and Hwen-Tsang mention a golden statue of the Sun; but

[1] Reinaud. *Sarrazins*, 35.

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the Arabic writers speak of the principal idol as being composed of no other more valuable substance than wood, representing that it was covered with a red skin, and adorned with two rubies for eyes. Muhammád Kasim, ascertaining that large offerings were made to this idol, and wishing to add to his resources by those means, left it uninjured; but in order to show his horror of Indian superstition, he attached a piece of cow's flesh to its neck, by which he was able to gratify his avarice and malignity at the same time. Biládurí says it was considered to represent the prophet Job, which appears an Arab misreading of Áditya, as it is correctly styled by Bírúní, for without the vowel points, there is no great difference in the original. This idol was allowed to maintain its position during the whole period of the supremacy of the Khalifs; but Bírúní informs us, that when the Karmatians became masters of Multán, they did not show themselves equally tolerant or provident respecting the valuable resources of the shrine; for their leader, Jalam, the son of Shaibán, had the idol broken in pieces, and the attendant priests massacred; and the temple, which was situated on an eminence, was converted into the Jámi' Masjid, in lieu of the one which existed before. That was closed in order to evince their hatred of the Ummayide Khalifs, under whom it had been constructed; but when Sultán Mahmúd took Multán, and subdued the Karmatians, he re-opened the ancient mosque, upon which the new one was abandoned, and became "as a plain destined to vulgar uses."

The same idol was subsequently set up, and received the offerings of the people. How long it maintained its ancient credit is not known for certain; but at Multán, the Sun is no longer the object of worship, having yielded to the temple of Prahládpúrí, now itself in ruins, but occupying, doubtless, the same lofty eminence in the citadel which was formerly consecrated to Áditya.

On counting up the cost of the Sindian expedition, Hajjáj found that he had expended 60,000,000, and had received 120,000,000 dirhams.[1] As that could only have been the Khalif's usual share of

[1] This is from the *Futúhu-l Buldán*, and is taken as being the most exact statement. That in the *Chach-náma* differs considerably, and affords no means of comparison between actual receipt and expenditure. There is no reason to apprehend error in the transcription of these numbers, because the Arabic original does not express them in ciphers, but words.

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one-fifth, the total value of the plunder obtained must have been 600,000,000 dirhams. Now, as one million of dirhams, at fivepence-halfpenny each, is equivalent to about £23,000 of our money, and as the relative value of money was ten times greater then than now, we may conceive the amount to be largely exaggerated; since the country could not by any possibility have yielded such a booty, even with the exercise of the utmost Arab violence and extortion to enforce its collection. Even if we take Hajjáj's calculation to represent the whole sum, and not merely one-fifth, we should still find it difficult to believe, either that Sind and Multán together could at that time have yielded two millions and three-quarters sterling, or that one-half of that sum could have been expended in their conquest by such a frugal and abstemious race as the Arabs, who had no need of a modern commissariat, at once extravagant and cumbersome, to follow their agile movements.[1]

The consideration of this question naturally introduces the subject of the public revenue of Sind. From the statements of Ibn Khurdádba, Ibn Khaldún, and Ibn Haukal, we derive some valuable notices of the revenue of the 'Abbásides, with more especial reference to the period of Mámún's reign. Ibn Khaldún's table has been given by Von Hammer, in his *Länderverwaltung*, and to this additions have been made by Dr. Sprenger, from the very rare manuscripts of the other authors, both preserved in the Bodleian library. From these authorities combined, we are able to deduce some useful inferences respecting the comparative revenue of the different provinces of the Khiláfat. Thus, we find that the province of Sind yielded annually a sum of 11,500,000 dirhams, and 150 pounds of aloe-wood, Multán being, most probably, included, as it is not mentioned among the other provinces. Of the neighbouring provinces, Makrán is set down at 400,000 dirhams; Sijistán at 4,600,000 dirhams, 300 variegated robes, and 20,000 pounds of sweetmeats;[2] Kirmán at

[1] All the calculations of Saracen booty in Egypt and Syria are even more extravagant, and justify the suspicions of Gibbon; though he had no right to arraign the accuracy of Elmacin's translator, Erpenius—"*felicissimus ille Arabicarum literarum instaurator*,"—as he is styled by Hottinger. I conceive that we have not yet got the proper equivalent of the early *dindr* and *dirham*. Reinaud, *Sarrasins*, 104, 192; *Univ. Pitt. Asie*, V. *Arabie*, 317.

[2] Ibn Khurdádba says 6,776,000 dirhams.

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4,200,000 dirhams, 500 precious garments, 20,000 pounds of dates, and 1,000 pounds of caraway seeds;[1] Tukháristán at 106,000 dirhams; Kábul at 1,500,000 dirhams, and 1,000 head of cattle, amounting to 700,000 dirhams more; Fárs at 27,000,000 dirhams, 30,000 bottles of rose-water, and 20,000 bottles of black currants;[2] Khutlan, in Hyátila, bordering on Balkh, at 1,733,000 dirhams; Bámián at 5,000 dirhams; and Bust at 90,000 dirhams.

These amounts are to be considered merely approximate, because the revenues, unless where they were assessed at a fixed sum, varied every year according to the abundance, or scarcity, of the crop.

It may, at first, admit of doubt, whether these sums represent land-tax merely, or all the taxes in the aggregate. Ibn Khurdádba and Ibn Haukal specially say "land-tax." Ibn Khaldún uses the term "revenue." This is the more remarkable, as it will be observed from the notes, that his statements contain the lowest sums. The two accounts, of course, refer to different epochs, and frequently to different limits, which were arbitrary and fluctuating, just as our Domesday Book, having been compiled by different sets of commissioners, represents a different status in different passages, though the names of persons, classes, and tenures may be in every other respect identical. As an instance, in our Arabic record of these variations, we find it stated, under Fárs, that "Amrán bin Músa, the Barmekide, added Sind to this province, so the revenue amounted, after defraying all expenses, to 10,000,000 dirhams." The remark in itself is not particularly intelligible, but its very obscurity makes it serve the better as an illustration. It is probable that, in so large an empire, the limits of the provinces were frequently subject to alteration, to suit the views and interest of favoured governors; and that they were also, without any such personal bias, sometimes fixed on an ethnical, sometimes on a geographical, basis. Another cause of variation has been suggested—namely, that the greatest part of what had been delivered in kind in the time of Márwán, to which Ibn Khaldún refers, was paid in money in the

[1] Ibn Khurdádba says 5,000,000 dirhams, and under the Khusrús 60,000,000—the limits of the province being, of course, different. The amounts entered in the text rest on the authority of Ibn Khaldún.

[2] Ibn Khurdádba says 30,000 dirhams, but I suspect error.

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time of Ibn Khurdádba. This is probable, and is the natural course of fiscal transition all over the world.

But, after giving due weight to all these considerations, the sums set down against some of the provinces are so large—whether we take the higher or lower amount, or the earlier or later date—that we must conceive them to embrace the entire collections of every kind, and must be allowed the liberty of construing *kharáj* in its enlarged sense of 'tribute,' rather than its limited one of 'land-tax,—just, indeed, as it is so considered at the present day in Turkey.[1] The assessment upon Sind and Multán,—being 11,500,000 dirhams, or about £270,000,—must be considered moderate, if it is intended to comprise the land-tax, the poll-tax, the customs duties, and all miscellaneous items into the bargain; but it is not an improbable amount, when we contemplate the liberal alienations and reserves, which have been alluded to at the commencement of this Note, as well as the change in the value of money. Under the Tálpúrs, notwithstanding that many large and productive tracts were afforested by them, Sind is said to have occasionally yielded £400,000; and under the Kalhoras, tradition represents the revenue at the exaggerated amount of £800,000. At present, with security on all its borders, and tranquillity within them, it does not pay to the British Government more than £300,000, and the expenses have been hitherto more than double that sum. This deficiency, however, cannot last long, for its cultivation and commerce are rapidly on the increase.

The Arab governors may be considered in the light of farmers-general, for they usually bound themselves to pay to the Khalif the sums at which the various provinces,—after allowance made for ordinary expenses,—were set down in the public register. Where the disbursements were left to their discretion, and where the revenues were not fixed, but dependant upon the seasons, we may presume that, on the plea of frontier wars, local services, and internal tumults, very little was ever remitted to the capital from the remote provinces of the empire; for the governors themselves were the judges of these necessities—the declaration of peace or war being left to their arbitrary determination and pleasure.

[1] *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung.* Cantemir, *Hist. of the Othman Empire*, p. 366.

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The ordinary revenue, which they were entitled to collect from the provinces committed to them, was derived from the land-tax, and from the capitation-tax upon those who had not embraced the Muhammadan religion; but there were many miscellaneous cesses besides, which, in the aggregate, yielded large returns, and contributed to swell their profits.

The land-tax was usually rated at two-fifths of the produce of wheat and barley, if the fields were watered by public canals; three-tenths, if irrigated by wheels or other artificial means; and one-fourth, if altogether unirrigated. If arable land were left uncultivated, it seems to have paid one dirham per *jarib*, and one-tenth of the probable produce, but the statement is not clear upon this point. Of dates, grapes, and garden produce, one-third was taken, either in kind or money; and one-fifth (*khums*) of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls, and generally of any product not derived from cultivation, was to be delivered in kind, or paid in value, even before the expenses had been defrayed. One-fifth of the value of slaves and booty was reserved for the Khalif. The customs and transit dues, for which unbelievers had to pay a double rate, and the taxes on trades and manufactures, and handicrafts, were also important sources of public revenue.[1]

These taxes were according to the original institutes of 'Umar, when he assessed the Sawád, or cultivated lands of 'Irák; but, in course of time, they were everywhere greatly enhanced, even to one-half of the produce of the land, or rather according to the ability of the people to pay. In short, the rates above-mentioned were merely a nominal value put upon the land: for the collection of the revenues was, in many instances, left to rapacious farmers, who covered their contracts and benefitted themselves besides, at the expense of the cultivators. The same course of proceeding was observed by the agents of the Tálpúrs to the latest period of their

[1] See *Biog. Dict., L.U.K.* v. "Al Mámún," where the revenue table is given at length. It is also in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. VI. p. 362, *et seq.*; and in Hammer-Purgstall's, *die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, 39; and in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, v. "Caliph." The *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXX. p. 52, contains the most comprehensive of all these tables, with very useful remarks appended, to which the foregoing paragraphs are indebted. See also *L'Univers Pitt. Asie*, v.; *Arabie*, 403, 404.

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rule in Sind, and was one of the chief causes which contributed to the impoverishment of the country.[1]

Moreover, the absence of an accurate measurement must have rendered all such assessments nugatory and fictitious; for it was only in the Sawád, above referred to, which was the small tract lying immediately around the future capital of the Khalifs, that there was anything like a detailed survey; and of that the merits were more due to their predecessors than themselves. Gibbon says, "the administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth; and this monument, which attests the vigour of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age." In this, he is by no means borne out by the passage which he quotes as his authority from the *Chorographia* of Theophanes; and, moreover, an extended sense has been given to "Persia," which really applies only to a remote corner of that large empire.[2]

Besides this ordinary land-tax, we read, in the *Chach-náma*, of other burdens laid upon Sindian cultivators, which seem to have been independent of the former: such as the *báj*, and the *'usharí*.[3] Other extraordinary conditions were occasionally imposed on some

[1] The little confidence to be placed in the apparent moderation of recorded rates, may be exemplified by modern practice in Sind, where we are told that "it was not uncommon for the government to collect vast quantities of grain for the supply of troops, when any military expedition was on foot; in which case, the rulers made no scruple of seizing a half of the produce of the whole country, leaving the farmer to settle with the cultivator the best way he could."—Capt. McMurdo, *Journal R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 240.

[2] *Decline and Fall*, chap. li. note 32. On the Sawád of 'Irák and Baghdad, see Abú-l Fidá, *Geogr.*, pp. 52, 307; *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*, ed. Juynboll, Vol. II., p. 63.

[3] Literally, "tithe-lands," like the Decumates Agri of the Romans; see Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. 29. Respecting the law of *'usharí*, see Hamilton's *Hedaya*; Harington's *Analysis*, Vol. I.; Galloway's *Law and Constit. of India*; N. B. E. Baillie's *Land-tax of India according to Muh. Law.*

Legally, no land was subject both to *kharáj* and *usharí*; but it may be questioned whether the Sindian *'usharí*, though it was confessedly considered as an indulgence, is to be construed in its strict legal application. The parties from whom it was taken were the people of Nairún and the Channas west of the Indus, of whom we still find a remnant not far from Manchhar lake, and from whom the Kalhoras are in reality descended, notwithstanding their various attempts to disguise the humiliating fact. Mr. Renouard conceives that the Kalhoras are Kurds, because the *Jahán-numá* mentions that name among the Kurdish clans. There may possibly have been some connection between them and the converted Channas, for we know that Kurds are to be found as far eastward as Gandáva.

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of the tribes. We have seen above, under Mu'tasim, that the Jats dwelling beyond the river Aral were compelled to bring a dog on each occasion of paying their respects, besides being branded upon the hand. The Bhatia, Lohána, Sihta, Jandar, Máchí, and Goreja tribes had also peculiar duties devolving upon them.

Sumptuary laws, moreover, were established, and enforced with great stringency. Certain tribes were prohibited from wearing fine linen, from riding on horses, and from covering their heads and feet. If they committed theft, their women and children were burnt to death. Others had to protect caravans, and to furnish guides to Muhammadans.[1]

The natives were also enjoined, in conformity with an old law of 'Umar's, to feed every Muhammadan traveller for three days and nights. It must be confessed, however, that many of these laws were already established under the Bráhman rulers; unless, as seems not improbable, the Muhammadan aspect about these ancient institutions derives its hue from the prejudices of the historian who records them.

But whatever were the peculiar features of some of the local imposts, all the unconverted tribes were, without exception, liable to the capitation-tax (*jizya*), which, as it was a religious as well as a political duty to collect, was always exacted with rigour and punctuality, and frequently with insult.[2]

The levy of this impost in Sind from those who had not embraced Islám, was considered so important at the very earliest period, that we find Hajjáj sending another person into the province to collect it, even during Muhammad Kásim's government. "Abu Khufas Kutaiba bin Muslim came on the part of Hajjáj, and returned to Khurásán, after leaving his agents to collect the poll-tax from the infidels; and, after a time, Tamím bin Zaid came from Hajjáj on the same errand."[3]

[1] So Abú 'Ubaida, on the conquest of Emesa, imposed upon such as chose to remain in infidelity a ransom of five gold-pieces a head, besides an annual tribute; and caused their names to be registered in a book, giving them back their wives and children, on condition that they should act as guides and interpreters to the Moslims in case of need.—W. Irving, *Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 60, 261; see Kemble's *Saxons in England*, I. 294.

[2] Price, *Retrosp. of Muhamm. History*, vol. i. pp. 109.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 18.

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According to the original ordinance of 'Umar, those persons who were of any persuasion non-Muhammadan, were called *Zimmis*, or those under protection, and were assessed with a toleration, or poll-tax, at the following rates. A person in easy circumstances had to pay 48 dirhams a year, one of moderate means 24 dirhams, and one in an inferior station, or who derived his subsistence from manual labour, 12 dirhams. Women, children, and persons unable to work paid nothing. But a century had not elapsed, when 'Umar the Second, considering these rates too moderate, calculated what a man could gain during the year, and what he could subsist on, and claimed all the rest, amounting to four or five dinárs, about two pounds, a year.

As the tax ceased upon any one's becoming a Moslim—when he was enfranchised from his dependence, and was invested with the privileges of a citizen and companion—its severe enforcement was often found more efficacious than argument or persuasion, in inducing the victims to offer themselves as converts to the faith. For the professing Muhammadan had but to pay the tithe for alms, and the import and export duties of one in forty, or two and a-half per cent.,[1] and he was free from all other imposts; but, when the original principles of the government began to be departed from, when the once vigorous administration became feeble and degenerate, and the Khalifs appropriated to themselves a large proportion of the revenues which the Kurán had assigned to God, the Prophet, and his relations, then the Muhammadans themselves also became subject, as well as the protected people, to new tallages and cesses; insomuch that the severity of the pressure occasioned general discontent, and often resulted in revolution and bloodshed.

Hence we find Ibn Khaldún, the most philosophic of all the Arabian writers upon history and social economy, thus speaking of the effect of these exactions upon the government which introduced them:—"With the progress of luxury the wants of government and its servants increased, and their zeal diminished; so that it became requisite to employ more people, and to give them higher pay. Consequently, the taxes were gradually increased, till the pro-

[1] In Muhammadan Spain this duty was as high as twelve and a-half per cent. on small commodities.—See Reinaud's *Sarrasins*, 280.

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prietors and working classes were unable to pay them, which led to continual changes in the government."

This increased employment of officials had no reference to those maintained for the distribution of justice to the people. In a country like Sind, where the mass of the nation professed their ancient religion, there were no tribunals for the purpose of adjudicating suits between members of that despised and depressed race. The power of life and death was exercised by every chief who could maintain the slightest show of independence, as well as by the Amírs; but, under the latter, legal formalities were more rigorously, if not justly observed. The Kází, who was appointed to the judgment-seat by their orders, professed, in controversies between Muhammadans, to decide according to the precepts of the Kurán; while even between Hindús and Muhammadans the same unerring guide was appealed to, under which, of course, the former obtained a very small modicum of justice. Public and political offences, whether by one party or the other, were tried by the same standard; but in all suits for debts, contracts, adultery, inheritance, the rights of property, and the like, the Hindús—being left without any form of law or any established judicatory to appeal to—had to accommodate their own differences, and, therefore, maintained their *panchâyats*, or arbitration committees, in full efficiency. It was fortunate, under these circumstances, that the public opinion of the caste, as expressed in these domestic and self-constituted *fora*, operated more strongly upon their minds, sentiments, and actions, than rewards and punishments derived from higher and holier sanctions.

To the Hindus, indeed, the public tribunals were only the means of extortion and forcible conversion, as they have proved themselves to be to the very latest period of Muhammadan dominion in Sind, under which, there were judicial penalties for riding on horseback, especially with a saddle; under which, the wearing of beards, and the adoption of Muhammadan costume were compulsory; and under which, religious processions, and even music, were altogether prohibited.[1] Hence there was, and could be, no sympathy between the

[1] Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, pp. 72-75; Captain McMurdo, *Journal*

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conquerors and the conquered, arising from confidence in the purity of justice,—for the primary obligations, inseparably connected with the institutions of political society, were utterly ignored by the Arab rulers of Sind, and no regard was had to that, which Milton calls—

> The solid rule of civil government;
> * * * *
> In which is plainest taught, and earliest learnt
> What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
> What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat.

It is expedient that these matters should be often brought back to remembrance and pondered on; for the inhabitants of modern India, as well as our clamorous demagogues at home, are very apt to forget the very depth of degradation from which the great mass of the people have been raised, under the protection of British supremacy.

In reflecting on the causes which accelerated the downfall of the Khalif's dominion in Sind, one of the most obvious and powerful accessories which offers itself to our view, as conspiring towards that end, is the diversity of interests and feelings among the several tribes which achieved and confirmed the conquest. No long time elapsed, after the first glow of enthusiasm had died away, and given place to more sober sentiments, when the Arabs showed themselves as utterly incapable, as the shifting sands of their own desert, of coalescing into a system of concord and subordination. The passions which agitated these hordes in their ancient abodes, the hereditary feuds and blood-revenges, which had even formed the dates of eras amoung their Bedouin ancestors, and which could be revived in all their bitterness by the recital of a ballad, a lampoon, or a proverb, were not allayed, but fostered, by transplantation from their original soil.[1] And so it was in Spain; crowds of adventurers poured in who preferred a distant fortune to poverty at home. Emigrants from Damascus occupied Granada and Cordova; Seville and Malaga were planted by settlers from Emesa and Palestine; the natives of

R. As. Soc., Vol. I. pp. 249-252; Lieut. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 358, and *Unhappy Valley*, Vol. I. pp. 225-229; Capt. Postans' *Personal Observations on Sindh*, pp. 159, 258; Sir A. Burnes, *Cabool*, p. 15.

[1] Pocock, *Specimen Histor. Arab.* pp. 43, 178; Sale, *Koran*, Vol. I. p. 233; Foster, *Mahom. Unveiled*, Vol. I. p. 6.

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Yemen and Persia were scattered about Toledo; and the fertile valleys of the South were partitioned among 10,000 horsemen from Syria and 'Irák. These, as in Sind, all became so many rival factions eager in the pursuit of power, mutually rancorous and hostile, and cherishing, in the pride and petulance of their hearts, the most invidious distinctions of races and precedence.[1]

Even as early as the deposition and recall of Muhammad Kásim, we find him alluding to the clannish feud between the Sakifís and Sakásaks. "Had he chosen to appeal to the sword," he exclaims, "no cavaliers of the tribes of Sakásak or 'Akk could have wrested from him the country he had conquered, or laid violent hands upon his person." These were both Yamánían tribes; the first was descended from Saksak bin Ashrab, and the second was an offshoot of the great tribe of Azd, which, under Muhallab, was the first to carry the Arab arms into India, and which rendered itself so conspicuous in the conquest of Khurásán.[2] The Sakifí tribe, to which Muhammad Kásim belonged, was originally from Táif, about fifty miles south-east of Mecca. It continues a powerful people to this day, possessing the some fertile region on the eastern declivity of the Hijjáz chain of mountains. In the wars of the Wahábís, they defended their ancient stronghold of Táif with a spirit worthy of their ancestors.

We have seen above, under the Khiláfat of Mu'tasim, that the rancour, which prevailed between the Yamánían and Nizárian tribes, again broke out into open hostility in Sind. It was not, however, in Sind only, but wherever the Muhammadan standard was displayed, that these two great divisions were arrayed against each other; and as this feeling operated as one of the main causes of the success of the 'Abbásides against the Ummayides, its original malignity could not fail to be aggravated in every Moslim country, as long as the remembrance of that change of dynasty survived.

What imparted additional acerbity to these feuds in Sind, was

[1] Crichton, *Arabia and its People*, p. 339; Dunham, *History of Spain*, Vol. IV. p. 2; Procter, *Encyclopædia Metrop.*, Vol. XI. p. 294. All of whom are indebted, more or less, originally to Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. li. *ad finem*; and he, with his usual honesty of acknowledgment, to Casiri, *Biblioth Arab-Hispan.*, Tom. II. pp. 32, 252.

[2] The Imám of Muscat is an Azdí.—*Enc. Metr.* v. Oman.

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the persecution of the adherents of 'Alí, which, though with some intermissions, especially about Mámún's time, was maintained with considerably rigour during the period of Arab occupation. We have in the preceding note seen some instances of these religious quarrels, and they must have been of frequent occurrence in Sind; for its position on the remote eastern frontier of the Empire, and the difficulty of access to it over mountains and barren sands, must have offered a promising asylum to political refugees, of which we have ample evidence that they readily availed themselves. Hence heterodoxy, during the period of the Khiláfat, flourished with unusual vigour in Sind and Makrán; and hence such schismatics as Khárijís, Zindíks, Khwájas, Sháríites, and the like, as well as Muláhida, or atheists of various denominations, throve, and propagated;[1] more especially the Karmatians, who, after being first introduced through this kingdom, maintained their hold in Western and Northern India long after they were suppressed in other provinces of the Empire.

The 'Alite refugees have preserved many traces of their resort to Sind, to which we may refer the unusual proportion of Saiyid families to this day resident in that country, the names of such places as Lakk-'alaví and Mut-'alaví,[2] founded and still inhabited by 'Alites, and the many Saiyids of even Eastern India, who trace their first settlements to Thatta, Bhakkar, and other places in the valley of the Indus.

These vague reminiscences, indeed, may be considered to comprise one of the most enduring monuments of Arab dominion in Sind. They were almost the only legacy the Arabs left behind them; affording a peculiar contrast in this respect to the Romans, after they had held Britain for the same period of three centuries. Notwithstanding that their possession was partial and unstable, our native soil teems with their buildings, camps, roads, coins, and utensils, in a manner to show how completely they were the master-spirits of that remote province.[3] But with regard to the Arab dominion in Sind, it is impossible for the traveller to wander

[1] See Weil, II. 15; Burton, 249.

[2] The latter is now better known as Matárí. The two great families of Lakkyárí and Matári Saiyids constitute the Majáwars, or attendants at the shrine of the celebrated saint, La'l Sháh-báz of Sihwán.

[3] See William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg.* Lib. 1. cap. i.

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through that land, without being struck with the absence of all record of their occupation. In language, architecture, arts, traditions, customs, and manners, they have left but little impress upon the country or the people. We trace them, like the savage Sikhs, only in the ruins of their predecessors; and while Mahfúza, Baizá, and Mansúra have so utterly vanished, that "etiam periêre ruinæ," the older sites of Bhambúr, Alor, Multán, and Sihwán still survive to proclaim the barbarism and cruelty of their destroyers. It has, indeed, been observed, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that no people ever constructed so many edifices as the Arabs, who extracted fewer materials from the quarry: the buildings of their first settlers being everywhere raised from the wrecks of cities, castles, and fortresses which they had themselves destroyed.[1]

With respect to the descendants of the early Arab conquerors, we find it stated, by two local historians, that when 'Abdu-r Razzák, Wazír of Sultán Mahmúd, and the first Ghaznivide governor of Sind, was in the year 415 H. (1024 A.D.) directed to proceed to that country from Multán,[2] and that when, after having captured Bhakkar, and established his power upon a firm basis, he proceeded in 417 to Siwistán and Thatta, he found in those places, among the descendants of old Arab settlers, "only a very few, who had remained bound, as it were, to the country by family ties and encumbrances; and who, being men of learning and ability, were at that time holding posts of honour, and in the enjoyment of certain religious endowments."[3]

Eighteen Sindian families, or tribes, are said to have sprung from these ancestors:—the Sakifí,[4] Tamím, Mughairide, 'Abbásí, Sadíkí, Fárúkí, 'Usmání, Pahanwar,[5] Mankí,[6] Chabria, Bin-i Asad, 'Utba,

[1] Crichton's *Arabia and its People*, p. 426.

[2] The period of his departure from Multán is not clearly stated by either authority. One seems to say 414, the other 416. Now, as Mahmúd was, during Ramazán 415, in Multán, on his way to Somnát, that appears to be a more probable year than either of the other two.

[3] *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 21. Mír Ma'súm says that the Wazír turned the Arabs out of these places; but that "some who had families, and were respectable and learned men, had high situations conferred upon them according to law,"—*i.e.*, they were appointed to judicial offices.—*Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 38.

[4] The original Kázis of Alor and Bhakkar. From this family was descended the author of the *Chach-náma*.

[5] The descendants of Háris.

[6] A branch of the Tamím.

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Bin-i Abí Sufyán,[1] Bájaride,[2] and the Bin-i Jarímа Ansárí, who were the progenitors of the tribe of Sapya, the lords of Siwistán. To these are to be added the Jats and Bulúchís, descendants of Hárún Makráni. It will be observed that, although the families are said to be eighteen, the enumeration extends to only seventeen, unless the Sapya and the descendants of Jarímа Ansárí are reckoned as two.

The same authority mentions, that some of the tribes now in Sind, and who appear from their names and occupations to have been originally Hindú, are in reality descendants of the Arabs. Thus, the Thím were originally Tamím; the Morya are pronounced to be descendants from Mughaira; and the Súmra are likewise held to be the offspring of adventurers from Sámarra, who accompanied the Tamím in great numbers. All these affiliations are gratuitous guesses, and about as probable as the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph, of the descent of the Jats and Bulúchís from Hárún Makráni. But that some of the inferior tribes are descendants of the Arabs is by no means opposed to reason or probability, and this more especially among those now classed as Bulúchís. The Rind, for instance, when they assert that they came originally from Aleppo and Damascus, may have truth on their side; but we should be cautious in admitting nominal resemblances or ambitious genealogies; especially where, as in the case of the Súmras, Sammas, Dáúdputras, and Kalhoras, there has been a political purpose to serve, and sycophants ready at all times to pander to a despot's aspirations.

The Súmra Dynasty.

The assignment of this dynasty to its veritable lineage and proper period among the rulers of Sind, is one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in the history of Muhammadan India; and the obscurities and inconsistencies of the native accounts have by no means been cleared by the European comments which have been made upon them.

Our first informant is Mír Ma'súm, whose account has been given

[1] Of this tribe are many of the *darweshes* of Rail, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Haidarábád. Among these celebrated saints are to be included the ancestors of Shaikh Abú-l Fazl, as shown in his work, styled the *Kachkúl*.

[2] Occupants of Jángár, about ten miles west from Sihwán.

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at length in the Extracts from his history. He tells us (supra. p. 215,) that in the time of 'Abdu-r Rashíd, Sultán Mas'úd, 443 A.H., 1051 A.D., the men of the Súmra tribe revolted from the rule of Ghazní, and placed on the throne of Sind a man of the name of Súmra. He closes his unsatisfactory account by saying:—"If any of my friends know more on this subject, let them publish it; I have said all I can upon the matter."

Abú-l Fazl gives us no information in the *Ayín-i Akbarí* (Vol. II. p. 120), beyond the announcement that there were thirty-six Súmra princes, who reigned 500 years.

Firishta seems afraid of venturing on this difficult and doubtful ground. He merely observes (Vol. IV. p. 411,) that, on the death of Muhammad Kásim, a tribe, tracing their origin from the Ansáris, established their government in Sind; after which, the Súmra Zamíndárs reigned for 500 years;[1] but he adds, "neither the names nor the history of these princes are at present extant, since I have failed in my endeavour to procure them. In the course of years (although we have no account of the precise period) the dynasty was subverted by that of the Sammas,[2] whose chief assumed the title of Jám. During the reigns of these dynasties, the Muhammadan kings of Ghazní, Ghor, and Dehlí invaded Sind, and seizing many of the towns, appointed Muhammadan governors over them."

The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* (MS. p. 25,) says their dominion lasted for only 143 years, from 700 to 843 H., that they were Hindús, that Alor was within their dominions, and that their capital was Muhammad-Túr, in the Pargana of Dirak. Dúdá is made contemporary of 'Aláu-d Dín, and the popular stories relating to Dalú Rái and 'Umar Súmra are given at length.

The *Beg-Lár-náma* (MS. p. 8) merely observes that, after the Muhammadan conquest, men of the Tamím tribe governed Sind, and after some time, the Súmras succeeded them, occupying the seat of government for 505 years; their capital being Muhatampúr.

[1] The *Kanzu-l Mahfúz*, on the authority of the *Tárikh-i Bahádur-shdhi* says the Súmras lasted for 500 years after the *aulád Tamím Ansárí*.

[2] [The words of this sentence as given by Gen. Briggs, are "the dynasty of Soomura subverted the country of another chief called Soomuna, whose chief," etc. Sir H. Elliot's emendation is obviously necessary.]

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Muhammad Yúsuf says in his *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* that when Sultán 'Abdu-r Rashíd, son of Sultán Mahmúd, inherited the kingdom of Ghazní, the people of Sind, finding him an indolent and weak-minded monarch, began to be refractory and contumacious, and in A.H. 445 (1053 A.D.), the men of the tribe of Súmra, having assembled around Tharrí, seated a man named Súmra on the cushion of government. He ruled independently for a length of time, and left as successor a son, Bhúngar, born to him by a daughter of a Zamíndár named Sád. Bhúngar, after ruling 15 years, departed to the world of eternity in A.H. 461, and left a son named Dúdá, who after a rule of 24 years, died A.H. 485;[1] then Sanghar reigned for 15 years; Hafíf, 33 years; 'Umar, 40 years; Dúdá II. 14 years; Pahtú, 33 years; Genhra, 16 years; Muhammad Túr, 15 years; Genhra II. several years; Dúdá III. 14 years; Tái, 24 years; Chanesar, 18 years; Bhúngar II. 15 years; Hafíf II. 18 years; Dúdá IV. 25 years; 'Umar Súmra, 35 years; Bhúngar III. 10 years. Then the government fell to Hamír, who was deposed by the tribe of Samma, on account of his tyranny.[2]

The latest native authority is the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. pp. 21, 26, 126), which, in one passage, says that the Súmra tribe sprang from the Arabs of Sámira, who arrived in Sind in the second century of the Hijra, accompanying the Tamím family, who became governors of Sind under the 'Abbásides; that the whole term of their sway may be reckoned at 550 years, as they were mere nominal tributaries during the last two centuries of the 'Abbáside government, and enjoyed full independence when the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghaznivide and Ghorí kings.

In another passage we are informed that they were invited to Sind by Chhota Amrání, who being grieved at the injustice of his brother, the famous Dalú Ráí, repaired to Baghdád, and obtained from the Khalif one hundred Arabs of Sámira, whom he brought to Sind, together with Saiyid 'Alí Musaví, who married Dalú Ráí's daughter, and left descendants, now inhabiting the town of Mut'alaví.

When Ghází Malik, in the year 720 H. (1320 A.D.), marched towards

[1] [See the passage from Malet's translation of Mír Ma'súm, *supra*, p. 216.]

[2] [This passage is quoted in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, and another translation of it will be found at page 344.]

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Dehlí with an army collected from Multán and Sind, overthrew Khusrú Khán, and assumed the title of Ghíásu-d dín Tughlik Sháh, the tribe of Súmra took advantage of his being occupied with the affairs of those distant parts, and collecting together from the neighbourhood of Tharrí, chose a person named Súmra as their ruler. He established perfect tranquillity throughout the country, and married a daughter of a Zamíndár, named Sád, who made pretensions to independence. His wife bore him a son named Bhúngar by whom he was succeeded. His son Dúdá succeeded him, and acquired possession of the country as far as Nasrpúr. He left an infant son, named Singhár. Tárí, daughter of Dúdá, assumed the reins of government till Singhár became of age. He, when installed in power, marched towards Kachh, and extended his territory as far as Nángnai. As he died childless, his wife Hímú appointed her own brothers to the governorship of the cities of Túr and Tharrí. A short time after this, another Dúdá, a Súmra, governor of the Fort of Dhak, assembled his kinsmen from the neighbourhood, and destroyed Hímú's brothers. While this was going on, Pahtú, a son of Dúdá, raised an insurrection, and held authority for a short time; after which, a man named Khairá obtained the principality. Then Armíl undertook the burden of government, but as he proved to be a tyrant, the tribe of Samma rose against him, and slew him in A.H. 752 (1351 A.D.). So far the "confusion worse confounded" of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*.[1]

The attempts of European authors to explain these discrepancies are not successful.

Pottinger informs us that "Hakims were regularly sent from court (Ghazní) to this province, until the reign of Musaood, the son of Muhmood, when a great tribe, called Soomruh, appeared in arms and expelled all the partizans of the king; but their chief, whose name was Sunghar, immediately making an apology for this outrage, and offering to pay tribute to the amount of the revenues before collected, he was pardoned, and appointed governor, in the the stead of the person he had deposed. The tribute was paid with great regularity for one hundred and fifty years after this arrangement, when the Empire of Ghuznee was overturned by the Ghoorian

[1] *Supra*, p. 343.

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dynasty; on which the Soomruhs, in whose tribe the government of Sinde had gradually been allowed to become hereditary, declared themselves in a state of independence, and although they were repeatedly worsted in the wars that followed this declaration, yet they managed to preserve their liberty till the final extinction of the race, or at least the princes of it, in the person of Duhooda, who died without children, in the year of the Hijree, 694, about 335 years from the time his ancestors had first made themselves so conspicuous.

"On the demise of Duhooda, numerous candidates for the vacant government started up, and it was a continual struggle for nearly a century who should succeed to it. Among the last of them, two brothers, called Kheeramull and Urukmull successively held it for a time, but at length the tyranny of the latter became insupportable, and the head of the tribe of Sumuh went to his palace, accompanied by the ministers of the country, and put him to death. The populace with one accord elected this chief, who had relieved them from so dreadful a scourge, their king, and he was accordingly placed on their throne, with the title of Jam, or leader, which he was said to have adopted from his family being descended from the celebrated Jamshed, king of Persia."[1]

Dr. Bird, relying on some Persian authorities, including the *Tárikh-i Sind*, tells us that the Súmras, who became first known in the Indian history in the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazní, were originally Muhammadans descended from Aboulahil, an uncle of the Prophet, and that one of the tribe who, in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, obtained power in Sind, married into the family of Samma, and had a son named Bhaonagar. The chief who had been thus placed at the head of the tribe was named Hallah, the son of Chotah, a descendant of Omar Sumra, first of the family mentioned in their history. Contemporary with Chotah was Deva Ráí, sometimes called Dilu Ráí, the ruler of Alore. "The son born to Hallah had for his descendants Dodar, Singhar, Hanif, and others, who appear to have originally possessed the Dangah pergunnah in the Registan, or sandy desert, from whence they extended themselves into the pergunnahs of Thurr, Sammawati, Rupah, and

[1] *Travels in Beloochistan*, pp. 391.

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Nasirpur." Dr. Bird adds, that nothing satisfactory regarding them is to be found in any Indian author, except the statement of their descent from the family of the Prophet, in which, therefore, he seems to concur. "They derive their name," he continues, "from the city of Saumrah, on the Tigris; and appear to have sprung from the followers of Tamim Ansari, mixed with the Arab tribes of Tamim and Kureish." o o o "In Masudi's time, many chiefs of the Arabs descended from Hamzah, the uncle of the prophet, and Ali, his cousin, were then subject (to the chief of Mansúra.). To these ancestors we may trace the Saiyids of Sinde, and the family of the Sumrahs." [1]

The difficulty of solving this question is shown by so confused a statement written by a well-informed author.

Elphinstone observes that, "Kásim's conquests were made over to his successor Temím, in the hands of whose family they remained for thirty-six years, till the downfall of the Ummayides, when, by some insurrection, of which we do not know the particulars, they were expelled by the Súmras, and all their Indian conquests were restored to the Hindús; part of the expelled Arabs, according to Firishta, having found a settlement among the Afghans." And, again, that "after the expulsion of the Arabs in 750 A.D., Sind, from Bhakkar to the sea, was ruled by the Súmra Rájpúts, until the end of the twelfth century; that it is uncertain when they first paid tribute to the Muhammadans, probably, the beginning of that century, under Shahábu-d dín, or his immediate successor." Here, the whole period of the 'Abbáside governors, and of the independent rulers of Multán and Mansúra and the Karmatians, is entirely neglected. So important an omission by such a writer teaches us, as in the preceding paragraph, how obscure are the annals with which we have to deal.[2]

In calling the Súmras Rájpúts, Elphinstone is without doubt correct, for notwithstanding the assertions of the local writers, the real fact must be admitted, that the Súmras are not of Arab descent at all, and that this fictitious genealogy was assumed by them, when

[1] *Sketch of the History of Cutch*, Appendix vi.; *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 10; and again, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. pp. 126.

[2] *History of India*, Vol. I. pp. 228, 511.

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the majority of the tribe were converted to Islám; and that, as the name of Sámarra offered a sufficiently specious resemblance, that town was adopted as the probable seat of their origin, though it was not built till after the supposed period of their emigration.[1]

That the Súmras were not Moslims during at least the early period of their sway, seems to be proved by their names, though this argument is not quite decisive, for down to modern times in Sind, Muhammadan converts have been occasionally allowed to retain their Hindú names. Still, reasoning generally, the retention of Hindú names points, *primâ facie*, to the probability of the retention of the native religion. Now, when we come to examine the Bhúngars and Dúdás among the Súmras, we find that even to the latest period, with one, or at most two, doubtful exceptions, they are all of native Indian origin. The fact of their being called "Hamír," in Sindian ballads (a probable corruption of "Amír") scarcely militates against this, as it was, both in ancient and modern times, a distinctive appellation of the rulers of Sind, and was only superseded where, as in the case of the Jáms, there was a more familiar title of local origin. The ascription of so honourable an address and so high a lineage, is easily accounted for by the natural tendency to aggrandisement which has actuated all bards and minstrels, from Demodocus and Tyrtæus to the last prizeman of the Cambrian Eisteddfodd. That many of the tribe still continue Hindús, roaming as shepherds through the *thals* of Jesalmír and the Upper Dhat country to the east of Sind, we know from personal communication. Even if it might be admitted that, in the present day, they had forgotten their Arab origin, and lapsed into Hindúism from their former creed; still, that could not have occurred at the very earliest period of their history, within a century or two of their emigration, and before their high and holy origin could possible have been forgotten.

The Súmras of the desert are one of the subdivisions of the Pramára Rájpúts, and from frequently combining with their brethren the 'Umars, gave name to a large tract of country, which is even still recognized as 'Umra-Súmra, and within which Alor is situated.

[1] The various modes of writing and pronouncing the name of this town are given in the *Marásidu-l Ittilá'*, ed. Juynboll, II. 5, 27, but not one admits of a *u* in the first syllable.

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Renouard surmises that they may be "Som-Rái," that is, of the Lunar race, but, being without question of the Pramára stock, they are necessarily Agni-kulas. Their successors and opponents, the Sammas, were of the Lunar race.

It is not improbable that the Lúmrís, or Númarís, of Bulúchistán may be of the same stock, who, when they derive their lineage from Samar, the founder of Samarkand, may have been originally nothing but Súmras. This, however, would not be admissible, if they really have that consanguinity with the Bhátís which they profess, and which would throw them also into the Lunar family.[1]

It is not only from passages which professedly treat of the Súmras that we know them to be Hindús, but from an incidental notice in foreign historians, such as the authors of the *Jahán-kushá* and the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh;* where, in writing of the expedition of Jalálu-d dín to Sind, in 621 A.H. (1221 A.D.), they mention that, when he was approaching Debal, the ruler of that country, Hasrar, took to flight, and embarked on a boat, leaving the Sultán to enter the place without a contest, and erect mosques on the sites of the Hindú temples which he destroyed. This Hasrar is, in Firishta's account of the same expedition, named Jaisí, which, if it be correctly written, is more probably a titular than a personal designation; for we learn it was the name borne by the son of Dáhir, who ruled in the same province, and was so called from the Sindí word *jai*, "victory." It seems, however, not improbable that the name is neither Hasrar, nor Jaisí, nor Jaisar, but Chanesar, the popular hero of some of the Sindian legends respecting the Súmra family. Neither of the three other names is to be found amongst those of the Súmra rulers, and written without the diacritical points, they all vary but little from one another. Admitting this to be the case, we obtain an useful synchronism in the Súmra dynasty, notwithstanding that the local ballad of Dodo and Chanesar makes them contemporaries of 'Aláu-d dín, a name more familiar to native ears than Shamsu-d dín, the actual ruler of Dehlí at that period, and his predecessor by nearly a whole century.

[1] Tod, *Annals of Rdjasthán*, Vol. I. pp. 92, 93; II. 310–12; *Encyc. Metropol.* Vol. XXIII. p. 780; *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 14; Masson, *Journey to Kelát*, pp. 298, 355.

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There is, however, one very curious passage in an author, whom we should have little expected to afford any illustration to the history of Sind, which would seem to prove that, before they apostatized from their ancestral faith to Islám, the Súmras had intermediately adopted the tenets of the Karmatian heresy. In the sacred books of the Druses, we find an epistle of Muktana Baháu-d dín, the chief apostle of Hamza, and the principal compiler of the Druse writings, addressed in the year 423 H. (1032 A.D.), to the *Unitarians of Multán and Hindústán in general, and to Shaikh Ibn Súmar Rájá Bal in particular.*[1] Here the name is purely Indian, and the patronymic can be no other than our Súmra. That some of that tribe, including the chiefs, had affiliated themselves to the Karmatians is more probable than the other alternative, suggested by M. Reinaud,[2] that certain Arabs had adopted indigenous denominations. It seems quite evident from this curious coincidence of names, that the party particularly addressed was a Súmra; that this Súmra was a Karmatian, successor of a member of the same schism, who bore in the time of Mahmúd a Muhammadan name (Abú-l Fath Dáúd), and whose son was probably the younger Dáúd mentioned in the letter; and that the Karmatians of the valley of the Indus were in relation and correspondence, not only with those of Persia and Arabia, but with the Druses, who adored Hákim, the Fátimide Khalif of Egypt, as a God.

That the Karmatians obtained many converts to their infidel opinions is rendered highly probable by the difficulty of accounting for their rapid conquest of Sind by any other supposition. Being merely refugees from Bahrein and Al Hassa after their successive defeats, mentioned in another note, and their subsequent persecution in Arabia, they could scarcely have traversed an inhospitable country, or undertaken a long sea voyage, in sufficient numbers, to appear

[1] He calls Rájá Bal the true descendant of Bothro and Houdelhela, and mentions many other members of his family, some of whom have Arab, and others Indian names, eulogising their faith and virtues. "Oh, illustrious Rájá Bal, arouse your family, the Unitarians, and bring back Dáúd the younger into the true religion; for Mas'ud only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged, against 'Abd-ulla, his nephew, and against all the inhabitants of Multán, so that the disciples of the doctrines of holiness, and of the unity, might be distinguished from the party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity, and rebellion."

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 256.

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suddenly with renovated power in Sind. Many Hindú converts doubtless readily joined them, both in the hope of expelling their present masters, and in the expectation of receiving a portion of their ancient patrimony for themselves, after the long exclusion under which they had groaned. One of the Bulúch clans, indeed, still preserves the memory of its heresy, or that of its progenitor, in retaining its present title of Karmatí.

Independent of the general dissemination of Shía' sentiments in the valley of the Indus, which favoured notions of the incorporation of the Godhead in Man, the old occupants of the soil must, from other causes, have been ready to acquiesce in the wild doctrines of the heretics, who now offered themselves for spiritual teachers, as well as political leaders. Their cursing of Muhammad; their incarnations of the deity; their types and allegories; their philosophy divided into exoteric and esoteric; their religious reticence; their regard for particular numbers, particularly seven and twelve; the various stages of initiation; their abstruse allusions; their mystical interpretations; their pantheistic theosophy, were so much in conformity with sentiments already prevalent amongst these willing disciples, that little persuasion could have been required to induce them to embrace so congenial a system of metaphysical divinity, of which the final degree of initiation, however cautiously and gradually the development was concealed, undoubtedly introduced the disciple into the regions of the most unalloyed atheism. So susceptible, indeed, must the native mind have been of these insidious doctrines, that Hammer-Purgstall and others, who have devoted much attention to these topics, have very reasonably concluded that the doctrines of these secret societies,—such as the Karmatians, Isma'ílians or Assassins, Druses, Bátinís, and sundry others, which at various periods have devastated the Muhammadan world, and frequently threatened the extinction of that faith,—though originally based upon the errors of the Gnostics, were yet largely indebted to the mystical philosophy and theology of Eastern nations, and especially of India, where the tenets of transmigration and of absorption into the Deity were even more familiar both to Buddhists and Bráhmans than they were to these miserable schismatics.

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The Hindú population, therefore, though they had much to dread from them, if it continued obstinately in the path of idolatry, was likely to offer a rich field of proselytism to such zealous fanatics as the Karmatians, or "people of the veil," whose creed could not have been less attractive to an ignorant and superstitious multitude, from its eluding in many instances the grasp of human apprehension, and from its founder being announced, in profane and incomprehensible jargon, to be "the Guide! the Director! the Invitation! the Word! the Holy Ghost! the Demonstration! the Herald! the Camel!"

Assuming, then, that this Ibn Súmar, the ruler of Multán in 423 H. (1032 A.D.), was in reality a Súmra, we must date the commencement of the Súmra dynasty at least as early as that period, and most probably even before Mahmúd's death, in the lower course of the Indus; for it has already been observed, on the authority of Ibn Asír, that Mahmúd on his return from Sommát, in 416 H., (1025 A.D.), placed a Muhammadan chief in possession of Mansúra; for that the incumbent had abjured Islámism. So that the expelled ruler must necessarily have been a Karmatian, or a Hindú; and, in either case, doubtless a Súmra, who, in the distractions of the Ghaznivide Empire, would have allowed no long time to elapse before he recovered the dominions from which he had been expelled.

This re-establishment might have been delayed during the reign of Mas'úd, who is expressly mentioned by Baihakí as comprising all Sind within his dominions. The Súmras, indeed, may possibly have allowed a titular sovereignty to the Ghaznivides, even down to the time of 'Abdu-r Rashíd in 443 H. (1051 A.D.); or paid tribute as an acknowledgment of fealty; but after that time, the advance of the Saljúks on the northern frontier of the empire, and the internal disorders of the government, must have offered too favourable a conjuncture for them to profess any longer an even nominal subordination to distant monarchs unable to enforce it.

The Súmra power could at no time have been extensive and absolute in Sind; and the passage translated above at p. 340, from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, showing seven tributary chiefs in Sind in the time of Násiru-d dín, represents perhaps the true state of the country during a great portion of the so-called Súmra period. Moreover, this unfortunate province was subject to perpetual incursions from

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the Ghorian, Khiljí, and Tughlik dynasties of Dehlí and the Panjáb, as well as the still more ruinous devastations of the Moghals. The retreats in their native deserts offered temporary asylums to the Sindians during these visitations, till it pleased the stronger power to retire, after ravaging the crops and securing their plunder: but, beyond the personal security which such inhospitable tracts offered, the Súmras could have enjoyed little freedom and independence, and can only claim to rank as a dynasty, from the absence of any other predominant tribe, or power, to assert better pretensions to that distinction.[1]

The Samma Dynasty.

In considering the annals of this race, we are relieved from many of the perplexities which attend us during the preceding period. After expelling the Súmras in 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.), the Sammas retained their power, till they were themselves displaced by the Arghúns in 927 A.H. (1521 A.D.). Some authorities assign an earlier, as well as later, date for the commencement of their rule. The *Beg Lár-náma* says 734 A.H. (1334 A.D.), making the dynasty last 193 years. The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* says 843 A.H. (1439 A.D.), giving it no more than 84 years. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* says 927 H., which gives 175 years.

The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* is obviously wrong, because when Sultán Fíroz Tughlik invaded Sind in 762 A.H. (1361 A.D.), he was opposed by a Prince whose title was Jám, one borne by Sammas only, not by Súmras,—and this we learn from a contemporary author, Shams-i Siráj, whose father himself commanded a fleet of 1000, out of 5000, boats employed upon the expedition. The power of the Jám may be judged of by his being able to bring a force of 40,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry to oppose the Sultán of Dehlí, whom he kept

[1] Compare Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Book i., and *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. VI.; *Biog. Universelle*, v. "Carmath;" Renouard, *Encyc. Metropolitana*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 301, 308; M. Jules David, *Syrie Moderne*, pp. 195-7; M. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Tom. I. p. CDXCI, II. 341; and *Journal des Savants*, ann. 1818; the entire work of De Sacy has been copiously abstracted in the first and second Volumes of Col. Churchill's *Mount Lebanon*, 1853; Weil, *Ges. der Chalifen*, Vol. II. p. 214, III. 65; Sale, *Koran*, Prel. Disc., Vol. I. p. 252; *Secret Societies of the Middle Ages*, pp. 37-44; Bohlen, *Das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 206.

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at bay for two years and a-half. Ten years previous, we also know from contemporary history that, upon Muhammad Tughlik's invasion, the chief of Thatta was a Súmra, and not a Samma. We may, therefore, safely concur with the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* in taking the year 752 H. as that of the accession of the Sammas, which was, indeed, coincident with that of Sultán Fíroz, for his reign commenced while he was yet in Sind, and this change of dynasty was probably in some measure contingent upon his success in that province, before he advanced upon Dehlí.

All these authors concur in fixing the extinction of the Samma dynasty in 927 H. (1521 A.D.).

Native writers have done their best to render the origin of this tribe obscure, in their endeavours to disguise and embellish the truth. The extracts from the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* will show the propensity of the Sindian mind to wander into the region of fable and romance. Nothing can be made out of such arrant nonsense. In another passage the author throws discredit on the Arab descent, and inclines to that of Jamshíd. The Arabic origin from Abí Jahl has been assigned, in order to do honour to the converts from Hinduism, The Jhárejas of Kachh, who are of Samma extraction, prefer claiming the distant connection of Shám, or Syria. The descent from Sám, the son of the prophet Núh, has been assigned, partly for the same reason of nobilitation, partly that a fit eponymos might be found for Samma; and Jamshíd, or Jam (for he is known under both forms indiscriminately), has been hit upon, in order that a suitable etymology might be obtained for the titular designation of Jám.

Tod derives the word Jám from Samma, but the correctness of this etymology may be doubted, for it was not the designation of the family generally, but merely of the chiefs. Indeed, Jám is a title still borne by many native rulers in these parts—such as the Jám of Bela, the Jám of Nawánagar, in Suráshtra, the Jám of Kej, the Jám of the Jokyas, a Samma tribe, and others—and has no necessary connection with Persian descent, much less with such a fabulous monarch and legislator as Jamshíd. In the same manner, it has been attempted to engraft the genealogy of Cyrus on the ancient Median stock, by detecting the identity between Achæmenes and

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Jamshíd;[1] but here, again, notwithstanding that the hypothesis is supported by the respectable name of Heeren, we are compelled to withhold our assent, and are sorely tempted to exclaim—

Alfana vient d'equus, sans doute;
Mais il faut avouer aussi,
Qu'en venant de la jusqu' ici
Il a bien changé sur la route.

What the Sammas really were is shown in an interesting passage of the *Chach-náma*, where we find them, on the banks of the lower Indus, coming out with trumpets and shawms to proffer their allegiance to Muhammad Kásim. Sámba, the governor of Debal, on the part of Chach, may be considered the representative of the family at an earlier period.[2]

They were then either Buddhists or Hindus, and were received into favour in consideration of their prompt and early submission. They form a branch of the great stock of the Yádavas, and their pedigree is derived from Samba, the son of Krishna, who is himself known by the epithet of "Syáma," indicative of his dark complexion. Sammanagar, on the Indus, was their original capital, which has been supposed by some to be the Minagara of the Greek geographers, and is probably represented by the modern Sihwán. Sihwán itself, which has been subject to various changes of name, may, perhaps, derive that particular designation (if it be not a corruption of Sindomana), from the Sihta, themselves a branch of the Sammas, mentioned in the *Chach-náma*, and also noticed at a later period of Sindian history, as will appear from some of the preceding Extracts. The name is also still preserved amongst the Jhárejas of Kachh. The more modern capital of the Sammas, during part of the period under review, and before its transfer to Thatta, was Sámúí, mentioned in another Note. Since the Sammas became proselytes to Islám, which occurred not earlier than 793 H. (1391 A.D.), their name, though it still comprises several large erratic and pastoral communities, is less known than that of their brethren, or descendants, the Samejas, and the demi-Hindú Jhárejas, of Kachh, who do

[1] Schnitzler, *Encyclc. des Gens du Monde*, Tom. I. pp. 144; Wahl, *Allgemeine Beschreibung des Pers. Reichs*, pp. 209; *Zendavesta*, I, 14; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I. pp. 377.

[2] *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 70, 109.

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honour to their extraction by their martial qualities, however notoriously they may be deficient in other virtues.

It being admitted that the Sammas are unquestionably Rájpúts of the great Yádava stock, and that they have occupied the banks of the lower Indus within known historical periods, there seems nothing fanciful in the supposition that their ancestors may be traced in the Sambastæ and Sambus of Alexander's historians. The name of Sambastæ, who are represented as a republican confederacy, is doubtful, being read Abastani in Arrian, and Sabarcae in Quintus Curtius; but Sambus, of whose subjects no less than 80,000 (let us hope Diodorus was more correct in saying 8,000) were wantonly slain by that mighty destroyer—

"That made such waste in brief mortality."

and whose capital was the Sindonalia, Sindimona, or Sindomana above named, appears under the same aspect in all three authors, with the closer variation of Samus in some copies,[1] and may fairly claim to have represented an earlier Samma dynasty in Sind than that which forms the subject of this Note.[2]

The Arghún Dynasty.

The family of the Arghúns derive their name, as stated at p. 303, from Arghún Khán Tarkhán, the grandson of Hulákú, the grandson of Changíz Khán. Amír Basrí is there said, in general terms, to be one of the descendants of Arghún Khán. The descent more accurately traced, is as follows:—

Arghún Khán.	Amír Elchí.
Uljáitú Sultán Muhammad Khudábanda.	Amír Ekú Tímúr.
	Amír Shakal Beg.

[1] He is *Sabbas* in Plutarch, *Saboutas* in Strabo; and under the further disguises of *Ambigarus* in Justin, and *Ambiras* in Orosius.

[2] Compare *Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 31; *Beg-Lár-ndma*, MS. p. 9; *Tárikh-i Táhirí*, MS. pp. 42, 51; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 15, 37, 166; Shams-i Siráj, *T. Firozshdhi*, MS.; Zia Barní, *T. Firozshdhi*, MS.; Tod, *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. p. 86; II. pp. 220, 226, 312; and *Travels in W. India*, pp. 464, 474; Dr. Burnes, *History of Cutch*, Introd. pp. xi. xiv, 1, 73; Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. pp. 151, 155; Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, pp. 446-9; Ritter, *Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. I. pt. i. pp. 473-4; Diod. Siculus, *Biblioth Histor.*, Lib. xvii, cap. 102, 103; Arrian, *Anab.*, Lib. vi. cap, 16; Q. Curt. Rufus, *De Gest. Alex.*, Lib. ix. cap. 32; C. Müller, *Scriptores Rerum Alex. M.*, p. 71; R. Geier, *Alex. M. Histor. Scriptores*, p. 174.

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Bartak Beg.	Míram Beg.
Mír Shekhú Beg.	Ahmad Walí.
Mahmúd Beg.	Farrukh Beg.
Yár Beg.	Amír Basrí.
Mír Farrukh Beg.	

The Arghún dynasty of Sind consisted of only two individuals—Shujá', or Sháh, Beg, and his son Mirzá Sháh Husain, with whom the family became extinct. The relations of the former with the Emperor Bábar, when possession of the province of Kandahár was contested between them, and of the latter with the Emperor Humáyún, when that unfortunate monarch took refuge in Sind for nearly three years, constitute their reigns as of some importance in the general history of India, especially when we consider that the memoirs of Bábar are defective in the period alluded to.

The duration of their rule is variously stated at 35, 36, and 41 years. The last period is correct only if we date from 921 H. (1515 A.D.), when, according to the *Tárikh-i Táhirí*,[1] Sháh Beg invaded and occupied a portion of Upper Sind: but as the final conquest of Lower, as well as Upper Sind was not effected from the Sammas till 927 H. (1521 A.D.), it is more correct to assume 35 years as the period.

All authorities concur in representing that the Arghún dynasty—Sháh Husain having died childless—closed in 962 A.H. (1554-5 A.D.)[2]

The Tarkhán Dynasty.

When Aúng, Khán of the Keraite Mongols, and celebrated in Europe under the name of Prester John, had, at the instigation of the jealous enemies of Changíz Khán, at last resolved to destroy that obnoxious favourite; two youths, named Ba'ta and Kashlak, who had overheard the discussion of the measures which were determined upon for execution on the following day, instantly flew to the camp of Changíz Khán, and disclosed to him the circumstances of the premeditated attack and his critical position. Being thus

[1] The *Tarkhán-náma*, following the chronology of the *Tárikh-i Sind*, says that this first invasion occurred in 924 H.

[2] Compare *Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 136; *Beg-Lar-náma*, MS. p. 30; *Tarkhán-náma*, MS. p. 24; *Tárikh-i Táhirí*, MS. pp. 14, 51, 76, 81; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 42, 52.

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forwarned, he was able to defeat the scheme, and after defending himself against great disparity of numbers, escaped the danger which impended over him. Upon proceeding to reward his gallant companions in the conflict, Changíz Khán conferred upon the two youths, to whose information he was indebted for his life, the title of Tarkhán, expressly ordaining that their posterity for nine generations should be exempted from all question for their offences, that they should be free from taxes and imposts, and permitted to enjoy all the plunder they should acquire in war, without being obliged to resign any part of it to the Khán. From these are said to be descended the Tarkháns of Khurásán and Turkistán.

Another set of Tarkháns were so denominated by Tímúr. When Tuktamish Khán was advancing against that potentate, he was gallantly opposed by Ekú Tímúr, who fell in the unequal conflict; but his surviving relatives, whose gallantry and devotion had been witnessed by Tímúr, were honoured by him with the title of Tarkhán, and it was enjoined, amongst other privileges, that the royal servitors should at no time prohibit their access to his presence, and that no criminal offence committed by them should be subject to punishment, until nine times repeated. From these are said to be descended the Tarkháns of Sind.

Others say, Tímúr bestowed the title upon a set of men who gave him shelter in his youth, when he lost his way in a hunting expedition.

Another origin is ascribed to this name, which is evidently fanciful, namely, that it is a corrupt mode of pronouncing "tar-khún," quasi, "wet with the blood (of enemies)."

Though it is probable that the Tarkháns of Sind may, as the local histories assert, be able to trace their origin to Ekú Tímúr, who, as we have seen in the preceding Note, was the great grandson of Arghún Khán, and who was the member of the Imperial family from whom the Arghúns also were descended,—yet the Tarkháns of Khurásán and Turkistán cannot all be descended from the family of Ba'ta and Kashlak, because Arghún Khán was himself a Tarkhán, and we find the title borne by others who could have had no connection with those favoured youths. Thus, Tarkhán, prince of Farghána, hospitably entertained the last monarch of Persia; and

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thus, among the events of 105 H. (723 A.D.), Tabarí makes frequent mention of the Tarkháns as officers under the Khákán of the Khazars, to the west of the Caspian sea. Bábu-l Abwáb was garrisoned by a thousand Tarkhánís, the flower of the Tátár tribes. One chief's name was Hazár-Tarkháni; and other instances might easily be adduced of the antiquity of the title.

We find the name descending to a late period of the annals of India, and scions of this family still reside at Nasrpúr and Thatta; but the dynasty of the Tarkháns of Sind may be considered to have expired in the year 1000 H., when Mirza Jání Beg resigned his independence into the hands of Akbar's general, the Khán-i Khánán, after the kingdom had remained with the Tarkháns for a period of 38 years.

The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* extends their rule even to 1022 H., or rather, it should have been 1021 H., when Ghází Beg Tarkhán died at Kandahár; but he was only an imperial officer, having no independent jurisdiction, and entitled merely a Jágírdár. Even then, it is impossible to make, as that authority does, the Tarkhán period reach to 53 years; so that, as before mentioned, we must date the extinction of Sind as an independent kingdom, from 1000 A.H. (1591-2 A.H.), and thenceforward the consideration of its affairs merges in the general history of the Tímúrian empire.[1]

Shah Beg's Capture of Thatta.

The *Tarkhán-náma* states, that when Sháh Beg advanced to the capture of Thatta, the river, meaning the main stream of the Indus, ran to the north of that city. If this statement be correct, it shows that a most important deviation must have occurred since that period in the course of the river. But I believe that the assertion arises from a mere mis-translation of the *Tárikh-i Sind*, of Mír Ma'súm, which is generally followed *verbatim* in the *Tarkhán-náma*.

[1] Compare *Modern Universal History*, Vol. III. p. 250; D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. I. p. 44; *Shajrat ul Atrák*, p. 71; *Journal R. A. S.* Vol. XI. p. 123, XII. p. 344; Price, *Retrospect of Muham. Hist.*, Vol. I. p. 470, II. 483, III. 117; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orientale*, v. "Tarkhán;" *Zafar-náma*, MS.; *Rauzatu-s Safá*, MS.; *Habibu-s Siyar*, MS.; *Tárikh-i Táhirí*, MS. pp. 14, 76; *Tarkhán-náma*, MS. pp. 4, 23, 51, 69, 118; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. pp. 52, 62; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I. p. 500.

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Mír Ma'súm says (p. 138), that "Sháh Beg advanced by daily marches towards Thatta, by way of the Lakhí pass, and encamped on the banks of the Khánwáh, from which Thatta lies three kos to the south. At that time the river generally flowed by Thatta; therefore he was in doubt how he should cross." Now this is not very plain, and we should even more correctly interpret the original, if we were to say that, "Thatta lies three kos to the *north* of the Khánwáh." We know that this could not have not been meant, but the statement, as it stands, is puzzling, and the author of the *Tarkhán-náma*, in the endeavour to be exact, has complicated matters still further. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, (p. 41) says that the subsequent action took place "on the stream called 'Alíján, which flows below Thatta," but does not mention whether this was the same stream near which Sháh Beg encamped, though from the context we may be allowed to presume that it was. The *Táríkh-i Táhirí* is more specific, and states (p. 48) that "he encamped on the bank of the Khánwáh, that is, the canal of water which Daryá Khán had dug, for the purpose of populating the Pargana of Sámkúrá and other lands at the foot of the hills, and the environs of the city."

It is evident, therefore, that Sháh Beg pitched his camp, not on the main stream, but on one of the canals, or little effluents, from the Indus. The Ghizrí, or Ghara creek, is too far to the westward, though it is represented in some maps as running up as far as the Indus itself, and joining it above Thatta. Indeed, there still exist traces of its having been met by a stream from the river at no very remote period, and, during the inundations, the city is even now sometimes insulated from this cause. In the absence of any more precise identification, we may safely look to this deserted bed as corresponding with the ancient 'Alíján, and suiting best the position indicated.

Authorities differ about the date of Sháh Beg's crossing this river, and capturing Thatta, by which an end was put to the dynasty of the Jáms, or Sammas. The *Táríkh-i Sind* says it occurred in the month of Muharram, 926. The *Táríkh-i Táhirí* is silent. The *Tarkhán-náma* says Muharram, 927 (corresponding with December, 1520); differing only in the day of the month from the *Tuhfatu-l*

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Kirám, where the correctness of this latter date is established by an appropriate chronogram :—

"Kharábí Sind.—The Downfall of Sind."

The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* (p. 51) refers this chronogram to the period when Sháh Husain plundered Thatta, on the ground of extravagant joy having been evinced by its inhabitants upon the death of his father, Sháh Beg; but this is evidently a mistake, and is adopted merely to accommodate his false chronology.

The Death of Sháh Beg Arghún.

Authorities differ greatly respecting the time and place of Sháh Beg's death. The *Tarkhán-náma* states that it occurred in Sha'bán, 926 H., not far from Chandúka, said in the *Tárikh-i Sind* (MS. p. 196) to be thirty kos west of Bhakkar, and that the accession of Mirzá Sháh Husain was celebrated where Sháh Beg died.

Fírishta says he died in 930 H., but mentions no place.

Mir Ma'súm (MS. p. 154) says, he died after leaving Bhakkar, on his way to Guzerát,—in the same page Agham is the particular spot implied—and that the words *Shahr-Sha'bán* ("month of Sha'bán") represent the date of his death, *i.e.*, 928 H. (1522 A.D.). That very night, he adds, Sháh Husain was proclaimed his successor, and, three years afterwards, Sháh Beg's coffin was conveyed to Mecca, where a lofty tomb was erected over it. He mentions (MS. p. 171) that Sháh Husain's succession took place at Nasrpúr, though he has previously led us to suppose it was Agham.

The *Tárikh-i Táhirí* (MS. p. 49) says that his death took place in 924 H.—"some say it occurred in Multán, some in Kandahár."

The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 42) states that he died at Agham on the 23rd of Sha'bán, 928 H. It is mentioned in that work also, that this month represents the date of his death. The author gives satisfactory reasons why the reports just quoted from the *Tárikh-i Táhirí* must necessarily be both incorrect.

Under these conflicting evidences, we may rest assurred that the chronogram is correct, and that Sháh Beg Arghún, the conqueror of Sind, died at Agham, on the 23rd of the month Sha'bán, 928 A.H. (18th July, 1522 A.D.).

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NOTE (C.).—ETHNOLOGICAL.

Native Opinions on the Aborigines of Sind.

The names, which are given in the *Beg-Lár-náma* (p. 292) as three:—"Bína, Ták, Nabúmiya," amount to four in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 4)—"Banya, Tánk, Múmíd, and Mahmír." They are given from Sindian authorities by Lieut. Postans, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. cxi. 1841, p. 184), as "Nubeteh, Tak, and Moomeed;" and again, by the same author (No. clviii. 1845, p. 78), as "Nubuja, Jak, and Momid."

It would be a matter of great interest to restore these tribes correctly, and ascertain the course of their migrations. I can trace the mention of them to no earlier authority than the *Beg-Lár-náma*. All their names, except one, defy positive identification, and we may put the list of the *Vishnu Purána* and the *Asiatic Researches* through all kinds of contortions, without meeting any race that will yield a sufficient resemblance for our adoption. That single exception is "Ták," about which there can be no doubt. "Bína" may possibly represent "Mína," the probable founders of the celebrated Minagara, and the present occupants of the upper Árávalí range. Or if "Baniya" be the correct reading, then the designation may have been applied to them, as being foresters. In "Múmíd" we may perhaps have the "Med" of the Arabs; and in the "Mahmír," we may chance to have the representatives of the "Mhairs," or "Mairs" of Rájpútána, if, indeed, they differ from the Med. We can venture upon nothing beyond these dubious conjectures.

That we should find the "Ták" in Sind at an early period, is by no means improbable, and if the statement rested on somewhat better, or more ancient, authority than the *Beg-Lár-náma*, it might be assumed as an undoubted fact, with some degree of confidence.

Tod exalts the Táks to a high and important rank amongst the tribes which emigrated from Scythia to India, making them the same as the Takshak, Nágabansí, or serpent-race, who acted a conspicuous part in the legendary annals of ancient India. His speculations,

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some of which are fanciful, and some probable, may be found in the passages noted below.[1] One thing is certain that the Táks were progenitors of the Musulmán kings of Guzerát, before that province was absorbed into the empire of Akbar.

Tod observes, that with the apostacy of the Ták, when Wajíhu-l Mulk was converted, and became the founder of the Muhammadan dynasty of Guzerát, the name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rájasthán, and that his search had not discovered one of that race now existing; but there are Táks amongst the Bhangís, who, though of spurious descent, have evidently preserved the name. There are also Tánk Rájpúts in the central Doáb and lower Rohilkhand, whose privileges of intermarriage show them to be of high lineage; and there is a tribe of nearly similar name existing near Jambhú, not far from their ancient capital Taksha-sila, or Taxila; of which the position is most probably to be sought between Manikyála and the Suán River, notwithstanding some plausible and ingenious objections which have been raised against that opinion.[2]

Buddhists in Sind.

Biláduri calls the temple of the sun at Multán by the name of *budd*, and he informs us, that not only temples, but idols, were called by the same name. As the Buddhist religion was evidently the prevalent one in Sind when the Musalmáns first came in contact with Indian superstitions, it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name, and not to the Persian *but*, "an idol," which is itself most probably derived from the same source.

[1] *Annals of Rdjasthán*, Vol. I. pp. 53, 92, 95, 99, 103–6, 536, 673, 738, 739, 796, 800; and Vol. II. pp. 225, 227, 445, 678, 735. His ardent admirer, Mr. E. Pococke, exalts them still higher, by mis-spelling their name:—"The Tág is a renowned Rajpoot tribe! The Toga of the Rámas was the dress worn by this tribe! The race was the Taga-des (Toga-tus), that is, Tagland. . . The Gena Tagata, or Gens Togata, that is, the Tág Race!"—*India in Greece*, p. 172.

[2] On this interesting and much-vexed question, consult Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. und Römer*, Vol. V.; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 451; *Asiatic Res.*, Vol. VIII. pp. 346, 348; *Modern Traveller*, "India," Vol. I. p. 119; *Annals of Rdj.*, Vol. I. pp. 92, 104, 693; II. p. 227; *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 118; XI. 157; *Mem. sur l' Inde*, pp. 64, 107; Lassen, *Indische Alterth.*, Vol. II. p. 145; M. Stan. Julien, *Hist. d' Hiouen Thsang*, p. 143; and, above all, J. Abbott, *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1852, pp. 216–218, 254–263; in which work, Taxila has frequently formed the subject of discussion.—[*Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. XX. p. 221.].

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With regard to the *budd* of Debal,[1] M. Reinaud has observed that the word not only is made applicable to a Buddhist temple, but seems also to indicate a Buddhist *stupa*,[2] or tower, which was frequently the companion of the temple; and he traces the word *budd* in the *feouthau*, or rather *foth*, which we find mentioned in the Chinese relations, as serving at the same time to designate a Buddha, and the edifice which contains his image. "*Feou-thou*" says Klaproth, "is the name which they give to pyramids, or obelisks, containing the relics of Sákya, or other holy personages. Chapels, likewise, are so called, in which these images are placed.[3]

Although Chach, who usurped the throne about the beginning of the Hijrí era, was a Bráhman, there is no reason to suppose that he attempted to interfere with the then popular religion of Buddhism. Bráhmanism is, indeed, so accommodating to anything that partakes of idol-worship, that Chach and Dáhir might have made their offerings in a Buddhist temple, without any greater sacrifice of consistency than a Roman was guilty of in worshipping Isis and Osiris, or than we witness every day in a Hindú presenting his butter and flowers at the shrine of Shaikh Saddú, Ghází Mían, Sháh Madár, or any other of the apotheosized Muhammadan impostors of Hindústán. There is even no incompatibility in supposing that Chach, though a Bráhman by birth, still continued a Buddhist in his persuasion;[4] for the divisions of caste were at that time secular, not religious,—the four classes existing, in former times, equally amongst the Buddhists and amongst the Hindús of continental India, as they do at this day amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and amongst the Jains of the Peninsula, where even Bráhman priests may be found officiating in their temples.

There are several indications of the Buddhist religion prevailing

[1] The temple of Debal is described as being one hundred and twenty feet high, surmounted by a dome also of equal height.—*Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 10.

[2] The origin of our English "tope." It is curious that, in Icelandic also, *stupa* signifies "a tower." See further, respecting this word, Hammer-Purgstall, in *Wien Jahrbücher*, No. cvii. p. 17; Burnouf, *Budd. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 349; Fergusson, *Illustr. to Anc. Archit. of Hindústán*, p. 14. [*Journ. R. A. S.*, I. (N.S.) p. 481.]

[3] *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 193, 200; *Foe-koue-ki*, pp. 19, 41, 50, 91, 355; *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 90, 177, 290.

[4] There seems, indeed, reason to believe that his brother and successor, Chandar, was actually a Buddhist ascetic.—V. *sup.*, p.153.

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at that period in the valley of the Indus, not only from the specific announcement of the Chinese travellers, and the declaration of Ibn Khurdádba to that effect, but from certain incidental allusions of the Arabic writers, made without any particular reference to the opposite factions of Bráhmans and Buddhists—between which the distinctions, especially of worship, oblations, mythology, and cosmography, were generally too nice to attract the observations, or excite the enquiries of such ignorant and supercilious foreigners. Thus, when priests are mentioned, they are usually called *Samani*;[1] the state elephant is white, a very significant fact (*supra*, p. 170); the thousand Bráhmans, as they are styled, who wished to be allowed to retain the practices of their ancient faith, were ordered by Muhammad Kásim, with the permission of the Khalif, to carry in their hands a small vessel as mendicants, and beg their bread from door to door every morning—a prominent ceremony observed by the Buddhist priesthood (p. 186); and, finally, the sculpturing, or otherwise perpetuating, the personal representations of their conquerors (p. 124); all these indicate Buddhist rather than Bráhmanical habits. To this may be added the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any mention of priestcraft, or other pontifical assumption, of widow-burning, of sacerdotal threads, of burnt-sacrifices, of cow-worship, of ablutions, of penances, or of other observances and ceremonies peculiar to the tenets of the Bráhmanical faith.

The manifest confusion which prevailed amongst the Arabs regarding the respective objects of Bráhman and Buddhist worship, prepares us, therefore, to find, as remarked at the commencement of

[1] Vide. translations of the *Futùhu-l Buldan* (p. 121) and the *Chach-náma*, *passim*. These are the Sarmanes, Sarmanæ, Garmanæ, Samanæi, and Semnoi, of Clemens of Alexandria, Strabo, and other Greek writers. The name is derived from the Sanskrit, *Sramana*, "a religious mendicant, an ascetic, especially one of the Buddhist faith." More information can be had respecting the various disguises and applications of this word, by consulting Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, pp. 45–50; C. Müller, *Fragm. Histor. Græc.*, Vol. II. pp. 435–7; Lassen, *Rhein. Mus.*, Vol. I. pp. 171–190; *Ind. Alterth.*; Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 114; Humboldt, *Cosmos*, Vol. II. pp. 59; Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, Vol. VII. p. 15; *Journal A. S. Bombay*, No. viii. p. 91; Dr. Wilson, *Antiq. of Western India*, p. 63; *Journal R. A. S.*, No. xii. 378–402; Burnouf, *Budd. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 275; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 491; Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. pp. 319–322.

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this Note, that the temple of the Sun at Multán is, by Biládurí, styled a *budd* (p. 123). Even in the time of Mas'údí, the kings of Kanauj, which he asserts to have then been under Multán, are all styled *Búdh*, *Búdah* or *Bauüra*, doubtless from the worship which the Arabs had heard to prevail in that capital (p. 22); and in this he is followed by Idrísí (p. 81), who wrote as late as the middle of the twelfth century: so that the use of *budd* is very indefinite; and whether applied to man, temple, or statue, it by no means determines the application to anything positively and necessarily connected with Buddhism, anymore than the absence of that word denotes the contrary, when incidental notices and negative testimonies, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, can be adduced to support the probability of its prevalence.

The Jats.

[General Cunningham in his Archæological Report for 1863-4, says, "The traditions of the Hindu Játs of Biána and Bharatpur point to Kandahar as their parent country, while those of the Muhammadan Játs generally refer to Gajni or Garh-Gajni, which may be either the celebrated fort of Ghazni in Afghanistan or the old city of Gajnipur on the site of Rawul-Pindi. But if I am right in my identification of the Játs with the *Xanthii* of Strabo, and the *Iatii* of Pliny and Ptolemy, their parent country must have been on the banks of the Oxus, between Bactria, Hyrkania, and Khorasmia. Now in this very position there was a fertile district, irrigated from the Margus river, which Pliny calls *Zotale* or *Zothale*, and which, I believe to have been the original seat of the *Iatii* or Játs. Their course from the Oxus to the Indus may perhaps be dimly traced in the *Xuthi* of Dionysius of Samos, who are coupled with the Arieni, and in the *Zuthi* of Ptolemy who occupied the *Karmanian* desert on the frontier of Drangiana. As I can find no other traces of their name in the classical writers, I am inclined to believe, as before suggested, that they may have been best known in early times, by the general name of their horde, as *Abars*, instead of by their tribal name as *Játs*. According to this view, the main body of the *Iatii* would have occupied the district of *Abiria* and the towns of *Pardabathra* and *Bardaxema* in Sindh, or Southern Indo-Scythia, while

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the Panjab or Northern Indo-Scythia was chiefly colonized by their brethren the *Meds*.

[When the Muhammadans first appeared in Sindh, towards the end of the seventh century, the *Zaths* and *Meds* were the chief population of the country. But as I have already shown that the original seat of the *Med* or *Medi* colony was in the Panjab proper, I conclude that the original seat of the *Iatii* or Ját colony, must have been in Sindh. * * * * At the present day the Játs are found in every part of the Panjab, where they form about two-fifths of the population. They are chiefly Musulmans, and are divided into not less than a hundred different tribes. * * * * To the east of the Panjab, the Hindu Játs are found in considerable numbers in the frontier states of Bikaner, Jesalmer, and Jodhpur, where, in Col. Tod's opinion, they are as numerous as all the Rajput races put together. They are found also in great numbers along the upper course of the Ganges and Jumna, as far eastward as Bareli, Farakhabad, and Gwalior, where they are divided into two distinct clans. * * * To the south of the Panjab, the Musulman Játs are said by Pottinger to form the entire population of the fruitful district of Haraud-Dajel, on the right bank of the Indus, and the bulk of the population in the neighbouring district of Kach-Gandava. In Sindh, where they have intermarried largely with Buluchis and Musulmans of Hindu descent, it is no longer possible to estimate their numbers, although it is certain that a very large proportion of the population must be of Ját descent.]

The Kerks.

The pirates, whose insolence led to the final subjugation of Sind, are stated, by a very good authority, to be of the tribe of Kerk, Kruk, Kurk, Karak, or some name of nearly similar pronunciation. The reading is too clear to be discarded in favour of 'Kurd,' or 'Coorg,' as has been proposed; and M. Reinaud, while he suggests the latter reading, which has been shown to be highly improbable, on the ground of Coorg being not a maritime, but an inland hilly country — nevertheless informs us that, in the annals of the Arabs, the Kurk are more than once spoken of as desperate pirates, carrying their expeditions even as far as Jidda,

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in the Red Sea.[1] We must, therefore, necessarily be content to consider them as of Sindian origin, otherwise Rái Dáhir would not have been called to account for their proceedings.

Though the name of Kerk be now extinct, and declared to be entirely incapable of present identification, we must enquire whether we cannot find any trace of their having occupied the banks of the Indus at some remote period. And, first of all, the resemblance of the name of Krokala, which has conspicuous mention in the voyage of Nearchus, is sufficiently striking to attract our observation. Dr. Vincent and Heeren consider Krokala to be the modern Karáchí. A later authority says Chalna, a small rocky island, about four miles from Cape Monze.[2] Neither of these authorities knew that there is at present a large insular tract, which bears the name of Kakrála, at the mouth of the Indus, answering exactly all the requirements of Arrian's description—"a sandy island, subject to the influence of the tides."[3] It is situated between the Wanyání and Pittí mouths of the river; but modern travellers differ about its precise limits. Captain Postans places it further to the west, and makes it include Karáchí.[4] This is no shifting, or modern name. We can see from the *Ayín-i Akbarí*, and from some of the works quoted in this volume, that it has been known, and similarly applied, for the last three centuries at least; and it may, without question, be regarded as the Krokala of Arrian. Its origin is easily accounted for, by conceiving it to mean the "abode of the Krok," or whatever their real designation may have been before its perversion by the Greeks. The only other vestige of the name is in Karaka, a place three miles below Haidarábád.

In pointing out another possible remnant of this ancient name, I am aware I shall be treading on dangerous and very disputable ground. Nevertheless, let us at once, without further preliminary, transfer ourselves to the north-eastern shores of the Euxine sea,

[1] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, *p.* 181.

[2] *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 194; *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. II. p. 246; *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, Vol. V. p. 264; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 479.

[3] Nearchi *Parapius*, p. 4; Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 21.

[4] *Personal Obs. on Sindh*, p. 24; McMurdo, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 212; Burnes, *Travels to Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 12; *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "Inde," p. 68.

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where we shall find, among other peoples and places recalling Indian associations, the tribe of Kerketæi or Kerketæ[1]—the bay of Kerketis[2]—the river of Korax[3]—the mountains of Korax[4]—the town of Korok-ondame[5]—the river and peninsula of Korok-ondame[6]—the sea, or lake, of Korok-ondametis[7]—the tribe of Kerketiki[8]—the city of Karkinitis[9]—the city of Karkine[10]—the bay of Karkinitis[11]—the city of Kirkæum[12]—the river of Karkenites[13]—the region of Kerketos[14]—the tribe of Koraxi[15]—the wall of Korax[16]—and other similar names,—all within so narrow a compass as to show, even allowing many to be identical, that they can have but one origin, derived from the same fundamental root—Kerk, Kurk, Karak, Korak, Kark—retaining immutably the same consonants, but admitting arbitrary transpositions, or perhaps unsettled pronunciations of unimportant vowels.

It may be asked what connection these names can possibly have with our Sindian stock. Let us, then, carry the enquiry a little further, and many more Indian resemblances may be traced:—for,

[1] Hellanicus, *Fragm.* 91; Scylax Caryand., *Periplus;* ed. Hudson, p. 31; Strabo, *Geograph.*, xi. 2; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II. pp. 399, 406; Dionys., *Perieg.* V. 682. Pallas and Reineggs consider that the Charkas, or Circassians, derive their name from the Kerketæ. They certainly occupy the same sites.

[2] Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 8. [3] Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9.

[4] Ptol., *Geogr.*, *ib.* and iii. 6; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 9, 12; Pompon, Mela, *de situ Orbis*, i, 19; iii. 5.

[5] Strabo, *Geogr. ib.* p. 403; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9; Stephanus Byzant., *Ethnica*, s.v.

[6] Strabo, *Geogr.*, *ib.*; Pompon, Mel., i. 19; Dionys., *Perieg.*, 550.

[7] Strabo, *Geogr.*, *ib.*; Steph. Byz., s.v.

[8] Pompon. Mela, i, 19; Priscian, *Perieg.*, 663.

[9] Steph. Byz., v. Καρκινῖτις; Herod., iv. 99.

[10] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 26; Ptol., *Geogr.* iii. 5.

[11] Strabo, *Geogr.*, vii. 3; *ib.* p. 90; Pompon. Mel., ii. 1; Artemidori, *Fragm.* p. 87.

[12] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4; *Etymolog. Magnum*, v. Κίρκαῖον; Apoll. Rhod., *Argon.*, ii. 400; iii. 200.

[13] Ptol., *Geogr.*, iii. 5. [14] Eustathius, ad Dionys., *Perieg.*, 682.

[15] Hecatæus, *Fragm.*, 185; Scylax Cayand, *Periplus*, p. 31; Steph. Byz., s.v.

[16] Bayer, *de Muro Caue;* Reineggs, *Histor.-Topograph. Beschreibung d. Kaukasus*, Tom. I. p. 16; Steph. Byz., v. Κόραξοι. The common names of Charax, and its compounds, Characene, Characoma, etc., in Syria, Asia Minor, and along the course of the Euphrates and Tigris, offer an inviting resemblance, but have no connection with these. The origin of these names is, curiously enough, both Hebrew and Greek; the Hebrew signifying a "wall," or "fortress;" χάραξ, a "fosse." The Kerak, or Karac, which we so often read of in the history of the Crusades, is derived from the former.

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next to these wild Kerketiki, we are struck with finding the very Sindians themselves.

KERKETIKIque, *ferox ea gens*, SINDIque *superbi*.[1]

We have also a Sindikus portus[2]—a town of Sinda[3]—the tribe of Sindiani[4]—the town of Sindica[5]—the tract of Sindike[6]—the town of Sindis[7]—the tribe of Sindones[8]—the town of Sindos[9]—the tribe of Sinti[10] Here, again, it may be admitted, that some of these may be different names for the same tribes and the same places.

The old reading of the passage in Herodotus, where the Sindi are mentioned (iv. 28), was originally Indi, but commentators were so struck with the anomaly of finding Indians on the frontiers of Europe, and they considered it so necessary to reconcile the historian with geographers, that they have now unanimously agreed to read Sindi, though the reading is not authorized by any ancient manuscripts. It is impossible to say what is gained by the substitution; for Sindi must be themselves Indians, and the difficulty is in no way removed by this arbitrary conversion. Hesychius, moreover,—no mean authority—says that the Sindi of the Euxine were, in reality, Indians; nay, more, though writing two centuries before our Kerks are even named or alluded to, he expressly calls the Kerketæ also "an Indian nation."[11]

It has been remarked, that even if no such direct testimony had been given, the hints that remain to us concerning the character and manners of these Sindi, the peculiar object of their worship, and their dissolute religious rites and sorceries, would leave no doubt as to the country from which they were derived.

It is from this region that the Indian merchants must have sailed

[1] Orphei *Argonautica*, Cribelli versio, v. 1049; see also Herod., iv. 28; Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, iv. 322; Strabo, *Geogr.*, xi. 2; *ib.* p. 403; Val. Flacc., *Argon.*, vi. 86.

[2] Scylax Caryand., *Periplus*, p. 31; Strabo, *Geog.*, *ib.*, p. 406; Ptol., *Geogr.* v. 9; Steph. Byz., v. Σίνδικος. This is still called Sindjak, a haven near Anapa. Rennell's map makes it correspond with Anapa itself.

[3] Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9. [4] Lucian, *Toxaris*, c. 55.

[5] Herod., iv. 86.—Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 5. [6] Strabo, *ib.* pp. 399, 403, 404.

[7] Hesychius, *Lex.*, s.v. [8] Pompon. Mela, i. 19. [9] Pompon. Mela, i. 19.

[10] Scylax Car., *Peripl.*, *ib.*—Hesychius, *Lex.*, s.v.—Polyænus, *Stratagem.*, viii. 55.

[11] Σίνται, *ἔθνος Ἰνδικόν*. Κερκέται, *ἔθνος Ἰνδικόν*. Conf. *Interprett.* Hesych., Vol. II. p. 234.

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who were shipwrecked in the Baltic, and presented by the king of the Suevi, or of the Batavi, to L. Metellus Celer, the pro-consul of Gaul; for they could not have been carried round from the continent of India to the north of Europe by the ocean. Various solutions of this difficulty have been attempted. It has been surmised that they might have been Greenlanders, or mariners from North America, or even painted Britons: but the fact cannot be disputed, that they are called plainly "Indians," by all the authors who have recorded the fact, however improbable their appearance in those regions might have been.[1]

Their nautical habits were no doubt acquired originally in the Indian Ocean, and were inherited by generations of descendants. It is even highly probable that their inveterate addiction to piracies, which led to the Muhammadan conquest, and has only now been eradicated by the power of the British, may have been the cause of this national dislocation, which no sophistry, no contortion of reading, no difficulty of solution, can legitimately invalidate. The very term of *ignobiles*, applied to them by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 8), and the curious expressions used by Valerius Flaccus (vi. 86),—

> *Degeneresque* ruunt Sindi, glomerantque, *paterno*
> *Crimine* nunc etiam *metuentes verbera*, turmas,—

imply a punishment and degradation, which are by no means sufficiently explained by reference to the anecdotes related by Herodotus (iv. 1–4), and Justin (ii. 5).[2]

Whether this degradation adheres to any of their descendants at the present time will form the subject of a future essay; but before closing the subject of these early Indian piracies, we should not omit to notice the evident alarm with which they always inspired the Persian monarchy, even in the days of its most absolute power. Strabo and Arrian inform us, that in order to protect their cities

[1] Qui ex Indiâ commercii causa navigantes, tempestate essent in Germaniâ abrepti, —Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 67. Compare Pompon. Mel., *de sit. Orb.*, iii. 5. The original authority is Cornelius Nepos, *Fragmenta*, p. 731; ed. A. van Staveren, Lugd. Bat., 1734, where the Notes should be consulted. See also Ramusio, *Navigat. et Viaggi*, Tom. I. p. 373 D.

[2] Ukert, *alte Geographie*, Vol. III. pt. ii. pp. 494–496, 510; W. D. Cooley, *Maritime and Inland Discovery*, Vol. I. pp. 82–87; *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.*, Tom. VI. p. 263; XLVI. p. 403; M. Viv. de St. Martin, *Etudes de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I. p. 273.

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against piratical attacks, the Persians made the Tigris entirely inaccessible for navigation. The course of the stream was obstructed by masses of stone, which Alexander, on his return from India, caused to be removed for the furtherance of commercial intercourse. Inspired by the same dread, and not from religious motives, (as has been supposed), the Persians built no city of any note upon the sea-coast.[1]

We may here make a passing allusion to another memorial of Indian connexion with these parts. The southern neighbours of these Euxine Sindi were the Kolchians. C. Ritter, in his *Vorhalle*, quoted at the end of this Note, asserts that they came originally from the west of India. Pindar[2] and Herodotus[3] both remark upon the darkness of their complexion. The latter also mentions that they were curly-headed. He states that he had satisfied himself, not only from the accounts of others, but from personal examination, that they were Egyptians, descended from a portion of the invading army of Sesostris, which had either been detached by that conqueror, or, being wearied with his wandering expedition, had remained, of their own accord, near the river Phasis. He also mentions the practice of circumcision, the fabrication of fine linen, the mode of living, and resemblance of language, as confirmatory of his view of an affinity between these nations. He has been followed by Diodorus and other ancient writers, as well as many modern scholars, who have endeavoured to account for this presumed connection.[4] I will not lengthen this Note by pursuing the enquiry; but will merely remark that this Egyptian relationship probably arises from some confusion (observable in several other passages of Herodotus), respecting the connection between the continents of India and Ethiopia,—which pervaded the minds of poets and geographers

[1] Strabo, *Geograph.*, xvi. 1; *ib.*, Vol. iii. p. 338; Arrian, *Expedit. Alex.*, vii. 7 Amm. Marcellinus, xxiii. 6; Robertson, *Ancient India*, Note x.; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. x. pp. 24-32; *Ind. Alterthum*, ii. 601. Heeren and others have questioned whether these dykes were not rather maintained for the purposes of irrigation.

[2] Κελαινόφρεσσι Κόλχοισιν.—*Pyth.*, iv. 378. The Scholiast dwells on the subject.

[3] *Hist.*, II. 104. See also Eustathius ad Dionys., *Perieg.*, 689.

[4] *Bibl. Hist.*, i. 28, 55; Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.*, iv. 259-271; Strabo. *Geogr.*, xi. 2, *ib.*, p. 409; Val Flacc., *Argon.*, v. 421; Fest Avien., *Descr. Orbis*, 871; Amm. Marc., xxii. 8; Ukert, *alte Geogr.*, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 509; St. Martin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 255-270.

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from Homer[1] down to Ptolemy,[2]—or rather down to Idrísí and Marino Sanuto;[3] and which induced even Alexander, when he saw crocodiles in the Indus, although their existence therein had already been remarked by Herodotus, to conceive that that river was connected with the Nile, and that its navigation downwards would conduct into Egypt.[4]

It is admitted that grave objections may be raised, and have been urged with some force, against carrying these presumed analogies too far; and sceptics are ready to exclaim with Fluellen, "there is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth o o o there is salmons in both." But, while some have endeavoured to trace the indications of a direct Indian connection between the inhabitants of the Euxine shores and India, on the ground of such names as Acesines,[5] Hypanis,[6] Kophes, or Kobus,[7] Typhaonia,[8]

[1] *Il.*, xxiii. 205; *Odyss.*, i. 23.

[2] *Geograph.*, vii. 3, 5. There had been a decided retrogression in the system of Ptolemy; for Herodotus, Strabo, and some others had a far correcter knowledge of the Southern Ocean.

[3] Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 568, 664-8; M. Jaubert, *Geog. d'Edrisi*; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Vol. II. p. .

[4] Strabo, *Geograph.*, xv. 1, Vol. III. p. 266; Arrian, *Expedit. Alex.*, vi. 1; Geier. *Alex. M. Historiarum Scriptores*, p. 118.

It is fair to remark, that such ignorance is not reconcilable, either with the general arrangement of Alexander's plans, or with the real geographical knowledge which his inquisitive mind must have imbibed. Respecting the supposed geographical connection of these two countries; see Schauffelberger, *Corpus Script. Vet. qui de India scripserunt*, 1845, 1. 12; Sir J. Stoddart, *Introd. to the Study of Un. Hist.*, pp. 112, 218; Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, pp. 1-5, 64; Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Geogr.*, v. "Arabicus Sinus" and "Asia;" Gildemeister, *Script. Arab de rebus Indicis*, pp. 27, 145; Humboldt, *Cosmos* (Sabine), Vol. II. Note 419; D'Anville, *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 187; Cooley, *Mar. and Inland Discov.*, Vol. I., pp. 113, 128, 150; Valentyn, *Beschryving van Oost Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 62; Robertson's *India*, Note xxxii; Ctesiæ *Operum Reliquiæ*, ed. Baehr, pp. 309, 454. These quotations do not refer to the large and interesting question of their civil, religious, and ethnographical affinities, which Heeren, Bohlen, and others have treated of in learned disquisitions.

[5] A river of Sicily.—Thucyd., *Bell Pelop.*, iv. 25.

[6] A western tributary of the Dneiper, according to Herodotus. Also, the name of another river which fell into the Pontus Euxinus. Herod., iv. 17, 52; Ovid., *Pont.*, iv. 10, 47; *Metamorph.*, xv. 285.

[7] A river on the eastern shore of the Euxine.—Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4; Arrian, *Perip.*, p. 10.

[8] Rocky mountains in the Caucasus and India.—*Etymol. Magn.*, s.v. Τυφαόνια.

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Phasis,[1] Caucasus, and such like, being found in both one country and the other; and while the resemblance between the worship of Odin and Buddha has been strongly urged by similar advocates;[2] it may, on the other hand, and with great reason, be asserted that these names are not local in India, and that they have generally been grafted on some Indian stock, offering a mere partial likeness, either through the ignorance of the Greeks, or with the view of flattering the vanity of Alexander, by shifting further to the eastward the names and attributes of distant places, already removed almost beyond mortal ken and approach, and lying far away—

"Extra flammantia mœnia mundi."[3]

In the grossness of their indiscriminate adulation, they were at all times ready to ascribe to that conqueror the obscure achievements of mythical heroes, whose glory was inseparably connected with certain streams and mountains, which even they, in the plenitude of their power, had found it no easy matter to traverse and surmount. Strabo, indeed, informs us that the Argonautic monuments were industriously destroyed by Alexander's generals, from a ridiculous alarm lest the fame of Jason might surpass that of their master. Parmenio is especially mentioned both by him and Justin, as one whose jealousy was prompted to destroy several temples erected in honour of Jason, "in order that no man's name in the east might be more venerable than that of Alexander."[4]

Hence, it has been justly remarked, even by early writers, open to the influence of reason and philosophy, and guided by the results

[1] A river of Scythia, as well as of Kolchis and of Taprobane.—Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, x. 48; Val. Flac., *Argon.*, ii. 596; Pausan., iv. 44; Steph. Byz., v. Φάσις. Respecting the Kolchis of Southern India, see Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Geography*, v. "Colchis" and "Colchi Indiæ."

[2] This Odin-Buddha-Hypothesis, as the Germans call it, has been, perhaps, somewhat too readily condemned by Remusat, Klaproth, A. W. Schlegel, Ukert, and others. Compare *Asiatic Researches*; *Fundgruben des Or.*, Vol. IV., p. 201; *Asia Polyglotta*, p. 144; *Introd. to Univ. Hist.*, ut sup., pp. 275-8; Finn Magnusen, *Mythologiæ Lexicon*, Copenhagen, 1848.

[3] Compare on this subject, Strabo, *Geogr.*, vii. 35, xi. 2, Vol. II. p. 77, 408; the Scholiast upon Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.*, ii. 397, 417; Ukert, *alte Geographie*, Vol. III. pt. 2, pp. 205, 505.

[4] Justin, *Hist. Phil.*, xlii. 3; Strabo. *Geogr.*, xi. 5, Vol. II. p. 421, xi. 11, p. 441, xi. 14, p. 456, xv. 1, Vol. III. p. 253, xvi. 4, p. 412; Arrian, *Indica*, ii; *Exped. Alex.*, v. 3.

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of an extended observation, that the Greeks have transposed these localities upon very slender foundations, and that many of the barbaric names have been *Hellenised.*"[1]

We find frequent instances of the same tendency to corruption in our own Oriental nomenclature, but with even greater perversions. Thus, we have heard our ignorant European soldiery convert Shekhawatí into 'sherry and water;' Siráju-d Daula into a belted knight, 'Sir Roger Dowler;' Dalíp into 'Tulip;' Sháh Shujá'u-l Mulk into 'Chá sugar and milk,' and other similar absurdities; under which, in like manner, "many of the barbaric names have been *Anglicised,*"

But when we apply the same argument to the cases under consideration, we shall see it has no force; for here there has been no room for the corruptions and flatteries to which allusions have been made; nor did it ever occur to the Greeks to enter upon the same comparisons which are engaging our attention. When we carry these identifications yet further, we shall find names with which the Greeks were not even acquainted; and it is not between streams, towns, and mountains, that the similitudes exist, but between peoples in the one country and places in the other,—the latter known, the former unknown, to ancient historians and geographers,—who have, therefore, left the field open for moderns alone to speculate in.

Now, it is not merely in the two instances already adduced that these striking monuments of connection attract our observation; but, when we also find the Maidi next to the Sindi and Kerketæ,[2] a tribe

[1] Nikanor, in Steph. Byz., *Ethnica*, v. Τάναις. Compare Hesych., *Lex.* v. Σανδαροφάγος; Schlegel, *Ind. Bibliothek*, Vol. II. p. 297; Droysen, *Geschichte Alex.'s*, p. 405; Wesseling, ad Diod. Sic., xvii. 83; Bernhardy, ad Dionys, *Perieg.* 714.

[2] (Pseudo-) Arist., *de Mirabel Auscultat.*, c. 123. The Sindi were by some authors considered to be a remnant of the Maiotæ; Steph. Byz., v. Σινδοί; Strabo, *Geogr.*, xi. 2, *ib.* Vol. II. p. 404. This extraordinary juxtaposition of Sindi and Maidi again occurs in Thrace; See Thucyd., *Bell. Pelop.*, ii. 98. Respecting the Sindi, Sindus, Sintica, and similar names in Thrace and Macedonia, see Herod., vii. 123; Cæsar, *Bell Civ.*, iii. 79; Liv., *Hist. Rom.*, xxvi. 25, xl. 22, xliv. 46, xlv. 29 Polybius, *Excerpt.*, x. 37; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 10; Steph. Byz., v. Σιντία; *Ency Metrop.* v. "Thrace." Homer tells us also of Sintians on Lemnos, who 'spoke a strange language;' *Il.* i. 594; *Od.* viii. 294; and they had before his time been noticed by Hellanicus of Lesbos; *Fragmenta*, 112, 113. From these, the Scholiast on Thucydides says, that the Thracian Sindians were derived. More Indian families might be mentioned in Lycia and other intermediate countries, but enough has been adduced on the subject to suit our present design.

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of Arii or Arichi,[1] an island of Aria or Aretias,[2] a river Arius,[3] a tribe of Maetes or Mæotai,[4] a town of Madia,[5] a town of Matium,[6] a tribe of Matiani,[7] a town of Mateta,[8] a tribe of Kottæ,[9] a country of Kutaïs,[10] a city of Kuta,[11] a city of Kutaia,[12] a tribe of Kolchi,[13] a district of Kolchis,[14] a Kolchian sea,[15] a tribe of Koli,[16] the mountains of Koli,[17] a district of Koli,[18] a province of Iberia,[19] a tribe of Iberes,[20] a tribe of Bounomai,[21] a district of Minyas,[22] a city of Male,[23] a tribe of Baternæ,[24] a river of Bathys,[25] a port and town of Bata;[26] when we find all these names in close juxtaposition, reminding us in their various forms of our own Meds, Káthis, Koles, Abhírs, Mínas, Mallinas, and Bhatis, tribes familiar to us as being, at one time, in and near the valley of the Indus; and when we consider, moreover, that all these different names, including the Sindi and Kerketæ, were congregated about the western region of the Caucasus, within a

[1] Strabo, *Geogr. ibid.*; Steph. Byz. v. Ἀρίηχοι; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9.

[2] Apollon. Rhod., *Argon.*, ii. 103; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, v. 13.

[3] Scyl. Caryand., p. 32. The connection of the Arii and Maidi will be developed in the following Note.

[4] Scymnus Chius, 870; Strabo, ii. 5, xi. 2; Priscian. *Perieg.*, 644. As for the lake Mæotis being so called, as Herodotus (iv. 86) says, because it is the *mother* of the Pontus, it is surprising that so frivolous a reason has met favour with modern geographers. See, on this name, Zeuss, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 296.

[5] Ptol., *Geogr.* v. 9. [6] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4.

[7] Pompon. Mel., *de sit Orb.*, i. 2. [8] Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 8. [9] Ptol., *Geogr.*, vi. 7.

[10] Orphei *Argonaut.*, 824, 1009; Apollon. Rhod., *Argonaut.*, ii. 399, 403, iv. 511.

[11] Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 174; Steph. Byz., v. Κύτα; Eustath., ad. *Il.*, iv. 103.

[12] Val. Flaccus, *Argon.*, vi. 428, 693; *Etymol. Mag.*, p. 77.

[13] Herod., ii. 104; Diod. Sic., i. 28; Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv. 378.

[14] Strabo, xi. 2, *ib.* p. 408; Ptol., v. 10; Pomp Mela, i. 19.

[15] Strabo, *ib.* p. 399. [16] Scyl. Car., *Periplus*, p. 31; Steph. Byz., v. Κῶλοι.

[17] A portion of the Caucasus; Hecatæus, *Fragm.*, 161, 186; Steph. Byz., *ib.*

[18] Steph. Byz., *ib.*; Ptol., *Geogr.*, vi. 5.

[19] Ptol. *Geogr.*, v. 9; Val. Flacc., *Argon.*, vi. 120; Pliny, Plutarch, Pomponius Mela, etc.

[20] Strabo, *Geog.*, xi. 2, p. 406; 3, p. 412; Appian, *Mithridates*, 101, 116.

[21] Orphei, *Argonautica*, v. 1036. Their relation to the bucolic Abhírs, or Ahírs as we now call them, will be obvious to any one who has resided in India *Ind. Alterthum.* II. 547, 953, 956. [22] Servius ad Virgil, *Eclog.*, iv. 34.

[23] Scylax Caryand., *Periplus*, p. 32, and the note of Vossius, p. 42.

[24] Valer. Flacc., *Argon.*, vi. 70.

[25] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 4; Peutinger, *Tab.*, Segm. vii. This may be derived, as is usually supposed, from βαθὺς 'deep.'; Dr. Falconer's translation of the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, p. 44.

[26] Scyl. Carland., *Peripl.*, p. 31; Strabo, *Geogr.*, *ib.* p. 406; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9.

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space scarcely larger than the province of lower Sind, and when again we reflect upon the curious coincidence, that Pliny[1] calls the former province "Scythia Sendica," while Ptolemy[2] calls the latter "Indo-Scythia;" that even as late as the fifth century, the judicious ecclesiastical historian, Socrates,[3] as well as the accurate geographer, Stephanus,[4] continued to call the former by the name of "India," it is very difficult to resist the conviction, that these cumulative instances of combinations and affinities cannot be altogether accidental, or the mere result of diligent and ingenious exploration.

But, even allowing that all these miscellaneous instances of resemblance, brought forward in the preceding paragraph, are indeed purely fortuitous,—and it is willingly acknowledged that there is "ample room and verge enough" for a sharp eye, a nice ear, and a playful fancy, in the selection of such alliterative illustrations,—even if we reject them altogether as the products of a wild and dreamy imagination, and since they add little to the cogency of our argument, they may be resigned as such without a murmur, still it is impossible to yield the Sindi, the Kerketæ, or even the Maidi, to the cavils of such an illiberal and hostile spirit of criticism, for, with respect to them, it must be confessed by all but the most obstinately sceptical, that they, at least, stand boldly and prominently forth, as undoubted evidences of actual Indian occupancy on the shores of the Euxine.

It is not the purport of this Note to show how these coincidences could possibly have arisen; how nations, separated by so many mountains, seas, forests, and wastes, could have preserved any signs whatever of original identity, much less of such close approximation in names, as has been here adduced. Ukert, the strongest opponent of this supposed connection between the Caucasus and India, mentions that the ancients are express in asserting that the Indians

[1] Plin., *Nat Hist.*., iv. 26.

[2] *Geogr.*, vii.; Eustathius ad Dionys., *Perieg.*, 1088; Mannert, *Geog. der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V. p. 220; Ersch and Gruber, *Encycl. der Wissenschaften*, s.v. "Indo-scythia;" *Nouv. Journ. Asiatique*, 3rd series, Tom. VIII. p. 264.

[3] *Eccles. Hist.*, i. 15. See also the note by Isaac Vossius to Scylax Caryand., p. 40, ap. Hudson, *Geog. Gr. Min.*, Vol. I.; and Fréret, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, Tom. IV. p. 603.

[4] *Ethnica*, vv. Γοργίππια et Σίνδικος. See also Is. Tzetzes ad Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 174, where he calls the Kolchians Ινδικοὶ Σκύθαι.

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never sent out of their country any armies or colonies;[1] but migrations might easily have arisen from other causes, and a hint has been thrown out above, that in this particular instance, the expatriation might perhaps not have been altogether voluntary.

In another part of this work I have traced, step by step, the progress of one Indian family from the banks of the Indus to the remotest shores of Europe; and in the following Note upon the Meds, I have shown several instances of compulsory transportations to countries nearly as remote; so that this branch of the enquiry need not engage our attention further in this place, the object of showing the probable existence of a tribe of Kerks, both on the Indus and Euxine, having, it is hoped, already been sufficiently proved to the satisfaction of every candid and unprejudiced mind.[2]

The Meds.

We find the Meds frequently mentioned by the Arab authors on Sind, and, together with their rivals the Jats, they may be considered the oldest occupants of that province, who, in their names as well as persons, have survived to our own times.

The first account we have of them is in the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*. That work mentions that the Jats and the Meds are reputed to be descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, and that they occupied the banks of the Indus, in the province of Sind. The Meds, who devoted themselves to a pastoral life, used to invade the territories of the Jats, putting them to great distress, and compelling them to take up their abode on the opposite side of the river; but, subsequently, the Jats, being accustomed to the use of boats, crossed over and defeated the Meds, taking several prisoners and plundering their country.

[1] Strabo, *Geogr.*, xv. 1; *ib.* Vol. III. p. 251; Diod. Sic., *Biblioth. Histor.*, ii. 38.

[2] Compare also Wahl, *Asien*, Vol. I. pp. 793, *et. seq.*; Malte Brun, *Universal Geography*, Vol. II. pp. 27–52; Lünemann, *Descriptio Caucasi*, Gotting., 1803; Rommel, *Caucas. regionum et gentium Straboniana descr.*, Lips. 1804; Ritter, *Asien*, Vol. II. p. 622; and *die Vorhalle der Europäischer Völker-geschichten*, pp. 51, 75, 300; Eichwald, *Geogr. d. Kasp. Meeres*, p. 303, *et seq.*; Boeckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vol. II. pp. 100–110; M. V. de St. Martin, *Mém. histor. sur la Géog. anc. du Caucase*, Sect. ii, iii, in *Etudes de Géog.*, Vol. I; Ukert, *Alte Geographie*, Vol. III. pt. ii. pp. 282–286; Christoph. Cellarius, *Notitiæ orbis antiqui*, Vol. II. pp. 356–367.

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At last these two tribes, seeing the inutility of protracting their contests any longer, agreed to send a deputation to Duryodhana, the king of Hastinápur, begging him to nominate a king to rule over them. Duryodhana accordingly nominated his sister Dassal (Duhsálá), the wife of Jayadratha, who exercised the functions of government with great wisdom and moderation. The families and adherents of 30,000 Bráhmans, who were collected from all parts of Hindústán, were sent by Duryodhana to her court, and from that time Sind became flourishing and populous, and many cities were founded. The Jats and the Meds had separate tracts of land assigned to them, and were governed by chiefs of their own election.

The queen and Jayadratha made the city of 'Askaland their capital; the same place, apparently, which is called in a subsequent passage 'Askaland-úsa, perhaps the Uchh of later times, as has been shown in another Note of this Appendix (p. 365).

Jayadratha was killed in the fatal field of Thanesar, and his faithful wife ascended the funeral pile, after their reign had continued for more than twenty years. On the same field was extinguished the dynasty called after the name of Bharata, he being the most celebrated ancestor of Dhritaráshtra, the father of Duryodhana and the Kurus. On the transfer of the empire to the Pándavas, Yudhishthira conferred Sind upon Sanjwára, the son of Jayadratha and Dassal (Duhsála), and from him Hál was descended (*supra*, p. 103). As the Great War, in which these heroes enacted a conspicuous part, has been supposed, on astronomical grounds, to have taken place during the twelfth century B.C.,[1] we must assign an equal antiquity to their contemporaries the Meds of Sind, if we put faith in this narrative; but as this early settlement is not, in Lassen's opinion, opposed to probability in the case of the Jats, we need not withhold our faith in its correctness with respect to the Meds. Indeed, admitting that the 'Jartikas' of the *Mahá-bhárata* and the *Puránas* represent the Jats, we cannot but consider the 'Madras' as repre-

[1] Sir W. Jones, *Works*, Vol. III. p. 213; VII. 77. Some fix it earlier. See Prichard, *Researches into the Phys. Hist. of Mankind*, Vol. IV. p. 101, *et seq.*; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 499, *et. seq.*; Prof. Wilson, *J. A. S. Bengal*, Vol. XIII. p. 81.

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senting the Meds—confirming thereby the antiquity and synchronism of these two races on the banks of the Indus.[1]

During the period of Arab occupation, Muhammad Kásim is represented as making peace with the Meds of Suráshtra, "seafarers and pirates, with whom the men of Basra were then at war." This gives a great extent to their dominion at that period towards the south-east.

In the time of Mu'tasim Bi-llah, 'Amrán, the Barmekide, governor of Sind, directed an expedition against the Meds, in which he killed three thousand of them, and constructed an embankment, which he called the Meds' embankment, probably for the purpose of depriving them of the means of irrigation, as was done so effectually in 1762 and 1802 at Mora and Ali Bandar, when the Sindians ruined the prosperity of north-western Kachh. The word *Sakar*, 'embankment,' is preserved in the town of that name opposite to Rorí, where, however, the mound is a natural limestone formation of about one hundred feet high, and not an artificial causeway.[2] Nevertheless, we might, if we could be sure that any Meds were then on the western side of the Indus, pronounce this to be the identical locality; for certainly, in Biládurí (*supra* p. 128), the whole transaction seems to be closely connected with 'Amrán's proceedings against Kandábel and the Jats on the Aral river, not far from Sakar, insomuch that, immediately after settling affairs with them he returns to attack the Meds, having the chief of the Jats in his company. But, as on the occasion of this second attack, he dug a canal from the *sea* to their lake, rendering their water salt and nauseous, there can be no question of this scene, at least, being in the south-eastern portion of the province, where they were settled in the greatest numbers; and here, therefore, we must also look for the embankment raised in the first incursion. They are said to have been attacked by 'Amrán from several different directions, and were thus doubtless reduced to great extremities.

[1] Lassen, *de Pentapotamiâ Ind.*, p. 20, and *Indische Alterth.* Vol. I. pp. 97, 397, 821; Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, Index; *As. Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 346; M. Vivien de St. Martin, *E'tudes de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. i. p. 337.

[2] Sakar, or Sakhar, as it is now pronounced, is better known to the natives as "Chipríbandar," which would imply that it was, in part at least, artificial.

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During the reign of the same Khalif, we find an Arab chieftain, Muhammad bin Fazl, who had taken possession of Sindán, in the Abrása district of Kachh, attacking the Meds with a squadron of seventy vessels;[1] on which occasion he took Málí, of which the position may be identified with Mália on the Machú. This powerful armament seems to have been directed against the sea-board of the tract invaded by 'Amrán, now occupied by the Ran of Kachh; where Vígogad, Vingar, and Ballyárí, on the northern, and Phangwarrí, Nerona, Bitáro, etc., on the southern shore, are all known, both by concurrent native tradition, as well as by independent European observation, to have been once washed by the sea.

All these various expeditions, however, had but little permanent effect in reducing the power of the Meds, for Mas'údí informs us that, when he visited Sind, the inhabitants of Mansúra were obliged continually to protect themselves against their aggressions.[2]

Ibn Haukal notices them under the name of Mand (p. 38), and though, without the diacritical point, the word might be read Med, yet as all the MSS., few as they are, concur in this reading, it must be retained. He describes them as dwelling on the bank of the Indus from the borders of Multán to the sea, and in the desert between that river and Fámhal, the frontier town of Hind. They had many stations which they occupied as pasture grounds, and formed a very large population, unconverted to the faith. What Abú-l Fidá says of them is taken from this passage, and we do not read of them in any subsequent author.[3]

Hence we might suppose that the tribe is entirely extinct, and have left no memorial of their existence, except the passages above quoted. M. Reinaud, indeed, observes that he finds it impossible to apply the name of Med or Mand, to any known population, and therefore conceives that the denomination is disfigured. But he is mistaken in this supposition, for the tribe of Med still exists, both to the east and the west of the Indus;[4] and those on the coast, being

[1] *Bárija* in the original. *Supra*, p. 124, 128. See Note on the word "Barge."

[2] *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 43, 50, 188, 215, 234.

[3] Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, p. 172.

[4] In the *Ayín-i Akbarí* also we have a tract called after their name within the Sirkár of Hájí Khán.

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unable now to practice piracy after the mode of their ancestors, devote themselves to the more tranquil pursuit of fishing. To the east, we find them roving on the borders of Sind and Jodhpúr, the site of their occupation during the Arab period; and to the west, they are found in the little ports of Makrán, from Súnmyṇí to Charbar, divided into the clans of Gazbúr, Hormárí, Jellar-zái, and Chelmar-zái.

It is possible that the Meds, or some offshoot of that stock, may have been designated as Mand, for that syllable enters into the name of several native tribes and places existing to this day: as the Mand-ar, the Mand-hor, the Mind-hro, besides the Bulúch tribe of Mond-ráni, as well as the ancient towns of Mand-rá and Mand-ropat, in Cháchagám, to the east of the Gúní, Mand-rása to the north of the Makalí hills, and Mund-ra and other similar names in Kachh.

That the Mers of the Árávalí mountains and Káthíwár are descendants of the same family, is also not beyond the bounds of probability. The native pronunciation, especially in the western and north-western provinces of Hindústan, tends so much to an intermixture of the cerebral letters *r* and *d*,—the written character, indeed, being the same in both, and the diacritical marks being a mere modern innovation—that Mer and Med may be identical: and the addition of the aspirate, which sometimes makes the former into Mher, or, as we commonly write it Mhair, offers still no argument against identity, for that also is an optional excrescence, especially in the names of peoples and families. For the same reason, the connection of the Mahr of Umbáro, and other tracts in the Upper Sind, where they are reckoned by their neighbours as the aboriginal inhabitants of the country between Bhakkar and Baháwalpúr, is equally plausible.[1]

Tod pronounces the Mers to be of Bhattí origin, and derives their name from *Meru*, "a mountain." But at the same time that he pronounces them to be Bhattís, he says they are a branch of the Mína, or Maina, one of the aboriginal races of India. These statements are obviously incompatible, and the Bhattí hypothesis must be rejected.

[1] To them may perhaps be ascribed the distinction of giving name to the Mihrán, or Indus.

The old town of Mhar in Kachh, where there is a temple of great antiquity and celebrity, dedicated to the goddess Ásapúra, may probably trace its origin to a similar source.

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During the whole period of their known history, they have been conspicuous for their lawless and predatory habits, from the time when four thousand Mer archers defended their passes against Pirthí-Ráj,[1] down to A.D. 1821, when their excesses compelled the British government to attack them in their fastnesses, and reduce them to complete obedience. Since which period, it is gratifying to observe that they have emerged from their barbarism, and, under the judicious management of European officers, have learnt to cultivate the arts of peace, and set a notable example of industry to the surrounding tribes.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the fact that the Mers of the Árávalí are but little advanced beyond the tract where the Meds are known, a thousand years ago, to have formed a numerous and thriving population; that their brethren, the Mínas, can themselves be traced in their original seats to the banks of the Indus; that Káthíwár, or the Saurashtran peninsula, was the very nursery of the piractical expeditions for which the Meds were about the same period celeberated and feared, and where Mers still reside, we may conclude that to declare them identical, is doing no great force to reason and probability.[2]

The simple permutation of a letter—not unnaturally forced, but based upon a law of common observance—introduces us to a new connexion of considerable interest; for we may make bold to claim, as an ancient representative of this race, Meris, or Moeris, the king of Pattala, who, on the approach of Alexander, deserted his capital, and fled to the mountains. The site of this town, at the head of the Delta of the Indus, answers well to the position which we may presume the chief of the Meds to have occupied at that period; and, that the name was not personal, but derived from his tribe, we may be satisfied, from the common practice of Alexander's historians, as

[1] With reference to the concluding paragraphs of this Note, the celebrity of Median archery—the *Medi pharetrâ decori*—should be borne in mind. Horat., Carm. ii. Od. 16; Propert., Lib. iii. Eleg. 11.

[2] Compare Chr. Lassen, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1840, Tom. iii. p. 189, and *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 369; Tod, *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. pp. 680-686; II. 323; Renouard, *Encyclop. Metrop.*, Vol. XX. pp. 40-42; Col. Dixon, *Report on Mhairwára*; M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Études de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I. p. 339.

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exemplified in the instances of Abisares, Porus, Sambus, Musicanus, Assacanus, and Taxiles, who have these names severally attributed to them from the nations, countries, or towns over which they ruled. Dr. Vincent, in admitting, as the etymon of Moeris, the Arabic words *Mir Rais*, "the ruling chief," has suffered his too easy credulity to be played upon by an ambitious young orientalist. Bohlen has attempted to trace in the name of Moeris a corruption of *Mahárájá*, "the great king," in which he is followed by Ritter; but, independent of the fact that his kingdom was circumscribed within very narrow limits, he is expressly noticed by Arrian, under the humble title of ὕπαρχος, which invariably implies subordination, and not supremacy.[1] A more probable, but still unlikely, origin has been suggested, from the tribe of *Maurya*;[2] but they were far away in the east, remote from Sind, so that altogether locality and verbal resemblance are most favourable to the present hypothesis, that Meris is a Grecised form for the "chief of the Mers."

We may even extend our views to a still more remote period, and indulge in speculations whether this tribe may not originally have been a colony of Medes. There is nothing in the distance of the migration which would militate against this supposition, for Herodotus mentions the Sigynnæ, as a colony of the Medes settled beyond the Danube:—"How they can have been a colony of the Medes," he observes, "I cannot comprehend; but anything may happen in course of time."[3] The Medians are also said to have accompanied the expedition of Hercules, when he crossed over from Spain into Africa.[4] The Sauromatæ were Median colonists beyond the Tanais, or Don.[5] The Matienoi, or Matienes,[6] the Kharimatai,[7] and possibly the Mares,[8] were Caucasian colonists from Media, preserving in their names the national appellation of Mata or Madia.

[1] Q. Curt. Ruf., *De gestis Alex. Mag.*, Lib. ix. ch. 34; Arrian, *Anab.*, Lib. vi. ch. 17; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 474; Bohlen, *das Alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 91; Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. p. 157.

[2] Theod. Benfey, *Indien*; M. F. Baudry, *Encyclopédie Moderne*, Tom. xviii. coll. 140, 144.

[3] Herodotus, v. 9.

[4] Sallust. *Jugurtha*, 14; *Nouv. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Tom. xii. p. 181, *et seq.*

[5] Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.*, ii. 43; Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 7. See on this subject, Zeuss, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 298.

[6] Dionysii. *Perieg*, 1002; Herod., i. 189; iii. 94; v. 49, 52.

[7] Stephan. Byzant., s.v. Χαριμάται.

[8] Herod., iii. 94; vii. 97; Steph. Byzant., s.v.

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They may either have been transplanted to the banks of the Indus when the Medo-Persian empire extended so far to the eastward; or they may have migrated thither at some indefinitely early period; or they may have sought an asylum there upon the occupation of their country by the Scythians; or during the persecution of the Magi, who consituted one of the six tribes of Medes, just as the Párs'ís did in Guzerát, at a later period and on similar occasion. It is worthy of remark that Ibn Haukal places the Budhas, or Budhyas, in the same category with the Mand, representing them as comprising several tribes to the west of the Indus. Now, the Budii were also one of the six Median tribes, and the juxtaposition of these two names in the province of Sind should not escape notice, for they also may have formed a body of similar emigrants.[1]

All arguments against the probability of such dispersions stand self-confuted, when we consider that Sindians were on the Euxine;[2] and that, besides the familiar instances of Samaritans and Jews under the Assyrians, we read over and over again in Persian history, of the deportations of entire tribes, expressly termed *'αναστάστοι* by Herodotus.[3] Thus we have the removal of Pæonians to Phrygia,[4] of Barcæans from Africa to Bactria,[5] of Milesians to Ampe, near the Tigris,[6] of Egyptians to Susa,[7] of Eretrians from Eubœa to Ardericca,[8] and to Gordyene,[9] of Antiochians to Mahúza,[10] and others which it would be tedious to specify.

There is another curious coincidence worthy of notice. It is well known, that from below the junction of the Panjáb rivers down to Sihwán, the Indus takes the name of *Sar*, *Siro*, or *Sira*, and from below Haidarábád to the sea, that of *Lár*. It is more correct, but unusual, to add an intermediate division, called Wicholo, "central," representing the district lying immediately around Haidarábád, just

[1] Herodotus, i. 101; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 172.

[2] I have entered on this subject in another Note; and will here merely again remark upon the singular fact of Sindi and Maidi occupying the same tract on the Euxine, and again, the Sinti and Maidi being found in close proximity with each other, even in Thrace.

[3] Herodotus, iv. 204. [4] Herodotus, v. 98; vii. 80.

[5] Herodotus, iv. 204. [6] Herodotus, vi. 20. [7] Ctesias, *Persica*, c. 9.

[8] Herodotus, vi. 119; Philostrati, *Vita Apollon.*, i. 24–30.

[9] Strabo, *Geogr.*, xvi. 1; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. III. p. 351.

[10] *Ancient Universal History*, Vol. IX. p. 305.

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as on the Nile, the Wustání, "midlands," of the Arabs represented the tract between Upper and Lower Egypt.[1] Sir A. Burnes says that *Sir* and *Lár* are two Bulúch words for "north" and "south." But the first is a Slavonic word also, which Gatterer and Niebuhr tell us is retained in *Sauro*-matæ, signifying "northern" Medes. There were also a province of Siracene, and a tribe of Siraceni, and other similar names *north* of the Caucasus.[2] The Slavonic and Persian show a great similarity: thus, *spaco* signifies "a bitch" in both, and the same with the first syllable of Sauromatæ, or Sarmatæ.[3] Hence *Sar* for the "northern" Indus, was more probably a remnant of Median than Bulúch emigration, though the Persian element could be accounted for, even on the latter supposition, seeing what a strong tincture the Bulúchí language retains of its original Fránian connection.[4]

Moreover, amongst the several tribes of Kshatriyas, who, having neglected to observe the holy customs, and to visit the Bráhmans, became so degenerate that they were expelled their caste, and regarded as "Dasyus," or robber tribes, Manu enumerates the "Pahlavas."[5] "They are," continues the holy legislator, "Dasyus, whether they speak the language of Mlechchhas, or that of Áryas." *Árya* in Sanskrit, *airya* in Zend, means "noble," "sacred," "venerable;" hence a portion of Upper India is called Áryavarta, "the holy land," or "country of the Áryas." The Medes being also of the same original stock, were universally called Arii. The Áryas of Manu, therefore, are not necessarily, as some interpret, only degenerate natives, but may likewise have been Medes occupying the

[1] Dr. Eadie, *Early Or. History*, p. 13; Lt. Burton, *Sindh*, p. 4.

[2] Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, iv. 26; Strabo, *Geogr.*, xi. 2, 5; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II. pp. 399, 419, 422; Tacitus, *Annal.*, xiii. 15; Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 9; Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript.*, Vol. II. p. 1009.

[3] Vuller's Institut, p. 32.

[4] Sir A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. pp. 64, 268; Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, pp. xiv. 107; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 224; *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. III. 128, 130; Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, Vol. I. 96; Herodotus, i. 110; *Report of British Association*, 1851, p. 145; *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*, MS. p. 166; Gatterer, *Comment. Soc. Scient. Gott.*, Vol. xii. pp. 160, 161.

The name of *Sar* is probably at least as old as the "Sorani" of Stephanus, a tribe which must have been on, or near, the Indus, because an Alexandria, enumerated by him as the fourteenth, was built within their territory. If the people of Sar are not meant, allusion is perhaps made to the Sodhas, who once occupied that country.—See *Ethnica*, v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

[5] [*Cf.* Pehlavi].

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valley of the Indus. It is probable that a still earlier, and more degenerate branch of the same family may be spoken of under the name of "Meda," in the code of Manu, "who must live without the town, and maintain themselves by slaying beasts of the forest." Allusion seems here to be made to the Mers of the Árávalí.[1]

These indications need not be enlarged on further in this place. Many will, of course, look upon them as fanciful and extravagant. Others, who feel so disposed, must pursue the investigation for themselves; for it is foreign to the main design of this Note, which has merely been to show that we have the Meds of the Arabs retaining their own name to this day, as well as probably under a slightly varied form, in and around the original seats of their occupation. That object has, it is hoped, been accomplished satisfactorily, and with regard to all extraneous matter, to use the words of Cicero, *sequimur probabilia, nec ultrà quam id, quod verisimile occurrerit, progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinaciâ et refelli sine iracundiâ parati sumus.*[2]

[General Cuuningham, in his Report for 1863-64, says:—"The *Meds* or *Mands* are almost certainly the representatives of the *Mandrueni*, who lived on the *Mandrus* river, to the south of the Oxus; and as their name is found in the Panjáb from the beginning of the Christian era downwards, and in none before that time, I conclude that they must have accompanied their neighbours, the *Iatii*, or *Játs*, on their forced migrations to Ariana and India. In the classical writers, the name is found as *Medi* and *Mandueni*, and in the Muhammadan writers, as *Med* and *Mand*." To show that these

[1] Herodotus, vii. 62; *Institutes of Manu.*, ii. 22, 36, 45, 48; Heeren, *Historical Researches*; *Asiatic Nations*, Talboys, Vol. III. p. 322; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums.*, Vol. I. pp. 515, *et seq.*; *Ind. Bibliothek*, Vol. III. p. 71; Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie*, vv. "Indo-Germanischer Sprachstamm," p. 1, 46, and "Indien," pp. 4, 15, *et seq*; *Abhandlungen der Koenig. Bayer. Acad. der Wissenschaften*, 1829, p. 146; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 119-124; Pott, *Etym. Forschungen*, pp. lxxii.; Burnouf, *Comm. sur le Yaçna*, Note p. cv.; M. F. Baudry, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII. col. 122-130.

[2] Besides the special references given above, compare M. Vivien de Saint Martin, *Mém. Hist. sur la Geogr. anc. du Caucase*, pp. 242, 248, in *E'tudes de Géographie*, Vol. I.; and *Hist. de l' Asie Min. Ancienne*, p. 218; Boeckh, *Corpus Inscript.*, Vol. II. p. 83; Schafarik, *Slawische Alterthümer*, Vol. I. pp. 302, 333, *et seq.*; Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. III. Abth. ii. pp. 119, 269, 273, 279, 284, 333, 337, 346.

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two spellings are but natural modes of pronunciation of the same name, the General notices the various ways in which the name of a village on the Jhelam is spelt in different maps and books—*Meriala, Mandiali, Mámriála, Mandyála, Mariála,* and *Merali.*]

["The earliest notice of the *Meds* is by Virgil, who calls the Jhelam *Medus Hydaspes.* The epithet is explained by the statement of Vibius Sequester, which makes the Hydaspes flow "past the city of Media." Now this is clearly the same place as Ptolemy's *Euthymedia,* or *Sagala,* which was either on or near the same river, and above Bukephala. Lastly, in the Peutingerian Tables, the country on the Hydaspes, for some distance below Alexandria Bucefalos, is called *Media.* Here then we have evidence that the *Medi,* or *Meds,* were in the Panjáb as early at least as the time of Virgil, in B.C. 40 to 30, and as we know that they were not one of the five tribes of *Yuchi,* or *Tochari,* whose names are given by the Chinese writers, it may be inferred, with tolerable certainty, that they must have belonged to the great horde of *Sus,* or *Abars,* who entered India about B.C. 126, and gave their name to the province of Indo-Scythia."

[As the date of the Peutingerian Table is not later than A.D. 250, we have a break of upwards of four centuries before we reach the earliest notices of the Muhammadan writers. In these we find the *Meds* or *Mands* firmly established in Sindh, along with their ancient rivals the *Játs,* both of whom are said to be the descendants of Ham, the son of Noah. Rashíd-ud dín further states that they were in Sindh at the time of the Mahá-bhárata, but this is amply refuted by the native histories of the province, which omit both names from the list of aborigines of Sindh. Ibn Haukal describes the Mands of his time (about A.D. 977), as occupying the banks of the Indus from Multan to the sea, and to the desert between Makrán and Famhal. Masudi, who visited India in A.D. 915–16, calls them *Mind,* and states that they were a race of Sindh, who were at constant war with the people of Mansura. These notices are sufficient to show, that at some time previous to the first appearance of the Muhammadans, the *Meds* must have been forced to migrate from the Upper Panjáb to Sindh. There they have since remained, as there can be no doubt that they are now represented by the *Mers* of the Árávalí Range to the east of the Indus, of Káthiáwar to the south, and of Biluchistán to the west."

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["The name of *Mer*, or *Mand*, is still found in many parts of the Punjáb, as in *Meror* of the Bari and Rechna Doabs, in Mera, Mandra, and Mandanpur of the Sind Ságar Doab, and in Mandali, of Multan. Mera, which is ten miles to the west of Kalar Kahár, is certainly as old as the beginning of the Christian era, as it possesses an Arian Pali inscription, fixed in the side of a square well. The *Mers* would seem also to have occupied Lahore, as Abú Ríhán states that the capital of Loháwar was named *Medhukur* or *Mandhukur*.[1] This place is said to have been on the east bank of the Ravi, and, if so, it was most probably Lahore itself, under a new name. There is an old place called Mandhyawála, on the west bank of the Ravi, and only twelve miles to the south-west of Lahore, which may possibly be the *Mandhukur* of Abu Ríhán. But the old mound of *Mirathira*, in the Gugera district, in which figures of Buddha and moulded bricks have been discovered by the railway cuttings, is a more likely place. This frequent occurrence of the name in so many parts of the Panjáb, and always attached to old places, as in *Mera*, *Mandra*, and *Meriali*, of the Sindh Ságar Doab, and in *Medhukur* or *Mandhukur*, the capital of Lohâwar, offers the strongest confirmation of the conclusion which I have already derived from the notices of the classical authors, that the *Meds* or *Mers* were once the dominant race in the Panjáb. The special location of the *Medi* on the Hydaspes by classical writers of the first century of the Christian era, the evident antiquity of *Mera*, *Meriali*, and other places which still bear the name, and the admitted foreign origin of their modern representatives, the *Mers*, all point to the same conclusion, that the *Medi*, or *Meds*, were the first Indo-Scythian conquerors of the Panjáb."

[o o o o "About this time (30 to 20 B.C.) the Meds may be supposed to have retired towards the south, until they finally established themselves in Upper Sindh, and gave their name to their new capital of *Minnagara*. As this could scarcely have been effected with the consent of the former occupants of Upper Sindh, whom I suppose to have been the *Iatii*, or *Jats*, I would refer to this period as the beginning of that continued rivalry, which the historian Rashídu-d dín attributes to the *Jats* and *Meds*.[2] To this same

[1] [See *supra*, p. 62.]

[2] [See the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*, *supra*, p. 103,]

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cause I would also refer the statement of the Erythræan Periplus, that about A.D. 100, the rulers of Minnagara were rival Parthians, who were mutually expelling each other."]

The Wairsí and Sodha Tribes.

Wairsí, we are told in the *Beg-Lar-náma* (MS. p. 55), was a chief among the Sodhas. It would have been more correct to say that Wairsí was the chief clan among the Sodhas; for Wairsí was not a personal designation, as is evident from many passages of that work. It is written indiscriminately Wairsí and Wairsa, and a cognate, but then hostile, clan bore the closely similar name of Waisa (MS. pp. 190, 191). The Sameja tribe, often mentioned in the same work, is also a branch of the Sodhas.

An exact translation of the text to which this note refers would represent Rájia as the daughter of the Ráná (which, by the way, is spelt throughout in the original as Ra'ná); but at p. 61 we learn that she was his sister's son, and so she is also styled in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 73). Indeed, had she been his own daughter, we should not have found Abú-l Kásim Khán-i Zamán, who was the issue of the marriage with Mír Kásim Beg-Lár, passing his childhood among the Bhattís of Jesalmír after his father's death, but rather among the Sodhas of 'Umarkot.

The Soda or Sodha tribe (spelt Soda by Col. Tod, and Sodá by the Rev. Mr. Renouard) is an offshoot of the Pramára, and has been for many centuries an occupant of the desert tracts of Western India, into which they have receded, like their predecessors, when driven forward by more powerful neighbours from the banks of the Indus. Col. Tod contends that they are the descendants of the Sogdi of Alexander's time, in which there is greater probability than in most of his speculations. Sogdi may be a corruption, derived from the greater familiarity of historians with the northern nation of that name. The Sodræ of Diodorus offers an equal resemblance of name and position. It is not plain which bank of the river the Sodræ or Sogdi then occupied. They are not mentioned by Q. Curtius, and Arrian's use of "right" and "left," as applied to the banks of the Indus, is so opposed to the modern practice of tracing a river from its source downwards, that it adds to the confusion.

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The transaction mentioned in the text shows the early period at which the Hindús began to disgrace themselves by their intermarriages with Muhammadans; and the high repute of the beauty of the Sodha women has served to maintain that practice in full vigour to the present time.

At the period treated of, we find the Sodhas in possession of 'Umarkot, of which the name and consequence have been subsequently much increased, independant of its importance as a border fortress, by being the birth place of the renowned Akbar.

The Ráná of the Sodhas was expelled from 'Umarkot by the Tálpúrs of Sind; and the present representative of the family, who still retains his title of Ráná, resides at Chor, a few miles north-east of his former capital, shorn of all power, and hard pressed for the means of subsistence.[1]

NOTE (D).—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Terrors of the Moghal Helmet.

(Page 276).

The reader of the history of the Crusades will recognize a similar anecdote, relating to a hero more familiar to him than Daryá Khán. The chivalrous Sire de Joinville tells us, that Richard's name acted as a powerful sedative upon the children of the Saracens, and that even their very horses were presumed to start at his shadow:—

"Le roy Richard fist tant d'armes outremer a celle foys que il y fu, que quant les chevaus aus Sarrasins avoient pouour d'aucun bisson, leur mestres leur disoient:—'*Cuides tu*,' fesoient ils à leurs chevaus, '*que se soit le roy Richart d'Angleterre?*' Et quant les

[1] Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. V.; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 471; Tod, *Annals of Rájasthán*, Vol. I. p. 93; II. p. 310–319; *Encyc. Metrop.*, Vol. XXIII. p. 781; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 33; Mitford, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. X. pp. 231, 232, notes 15 to 17; Dr. Burnes, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 105; *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. IV. p. 93; Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I. pp. 137–145; Arrian, *Anab.*, vi. 15; Diod. Sic., *Biblioth. Hist.*, xvii. 102; Mrs. Postans, *Cutch*, pp. 52, 136.

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enfans aus Sarrasins bréoient, elles leur disoient:—'*Tay-toy! tay-toy! ou je irai querre le roy Richart qui te tuera.*'"[1]

It is curious that we should learn this from a Frenchman only. Our English chroniclers, who exhaust the language of panegyric in speaking of Richard, omit this anecdote, which appears to be derived from a mere eastern mode of expressing terror.

In the passage taken from the *Tárîkh-i Táhirí* we have not only children taking fright, but women even bringing forth prematurely, at the name of Daryá Khán. The same effect is ascribed in that work (pp. 48, 52) to the Moghal cap:—"Such fear of the Moghals fell upon both men and women, that the men lost all courage, *and the women miscarried at the very sight of the Moghals with their terrific head-pieces.*" But the shape and feature of this alarming helmet, or *Táki*, are not described. The *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (p. 42) tells us that even horses started at it, as those of the Saracens at Richard of England.

We might, from the expressions used, conceive that their helmets, like those of Ulysses and some of the barbarous nations of antiquity, were covered with alarming devices of open jaws and fiery dragons, and that the Moghals in Sind stalked about,—

> ——— tegmen torquens immane leonis,
> Terribili impexum setâ, cum dentibus albis,
> Indutus.[2]

but had this been the case, we should have most probably had more frequent mention of the circumstance, especially by Khusrú, who was their prisoner, and delighted to record their hideous faces and fashions.

But neither in Khusrú, nor in any other author, do we find notice of such an helmet, or *chapelle de fer*, as would give rise to the fears here depicted. A good European observer of their manners merely remarks that the upper part of their casque was of iron or steel.[3] The tail of hair, if it was worn according to its present dimensions,

[1] *Hist. du roy St. Loys*, ix. p. 116; see also Matt. Westm., p. 304.

[2] Virg. *Æn.*, vii. 666

[3] Galea autem est superius ferrea vel de chalybe, sed ille quod protegit in circuitu collum et gulam de corio est."—J. de Plano-Carpini, in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, Tom. IV. p. 687.

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might, notwithstanding its being honoured as a royalty,[1] have excited surprise, and perhaps ridicule, but no alarm. From an early period, ever since the Moghal tribes were known to Europe, this appendage has naturally excited observation, just as it does now, where they border on European nations.[2] Procopius[3] and Priscus[4] remark upon it as a peculiarity of the Huns.

It is probable that these Moghals in Sind may, in their day, have worn a head-dress, such as Rubruquis, more than two centuries before, had attributed to their women. Even at present, the Turkman female cap is no pigmy, being higher than a military chako, over which a scarf is thrown, reaching down to the waist. But this is nothing to what it was in the time of our adventurous traveller. That was indeed calculated to inspire terror, and produce the results attributed to the *Táki*. It must have been more formidable than European courts ever produced, even in the horned and steeple coiffure of the fifteenth century.

"Their women have an ornament for their heads, which they call *Botta*, being made of the barke of a tree. o o o It hath a square sharp spire rising from the toppe thereof, being more than a cubite in length, and fashioned like unto a pinacle. o o o o Upon the midst of the sayd spire, or square toppe, they put a bunch of quills or of slender canes, another cubite long, or more. o o o Hereupon, when such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld afar off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads, carrying their lances upright; for the sayd *Botta* appeareth like a helmet with a lance over it."[5]

This is like the fantastic *fontange* of Europe, raised an ell above the head, and pointed like steeples, which caused our pious preachers

[1] "A Mongol is amenable to punishment if he pluck another by his tuft of hair, not on account of the assault, but because the tuft is declared to be the property of the Emperor."—Pallas, *Mongolischen Völker*, Vol. I. p. 194.

[2] M. J. de Klaproth, *Voyage au Caucase*, Tom. I. p. 83.

[3] *Historia Arcana*, p. 31, Lugd. 1623. He says the Massagetæ adopt the same custom.

[4] *Excerpta de Legationibus*, 2.

[5] Rubruquis, cap. 8, ap. Hakluyt, *Voyages and Discoveries*, Vol. I. p. 108. The original Latin is given at p. 232, and a similar description by Jean de Plan-Carpin, at p. 615 of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, above quoted. Quatremere, *Hist. Mong.*, p. 102, note 30.

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infinite trouble, as well as missionary perambulations, for its suppression. So like, indeed, that it would really seem to be derived direct from the eastern model, but that these comical fashions are the product of no particular age or country; for even before the decline of the Empire, the Roman lady—

"Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput; Andromachen a fronte videbis."[1]

Nevertheless, when we consider that, about the time of the capture of Constantinople, Turkish turbans were all the rage in Western Europe, we may perhaps admit, that, had we not become acquainted with Tartar costume, the marvellous absurdity of the steeple-cap never could have been introduced amongst us. Paradin describes it as—"Made of certain rolls of linen pointed like steeples, about an ell in height. These were called by some, great butterflies, from having two large wings on each side, resembling those of that insect. The high cap was covered with a fine piece of lawn, hanging down to the ground, the greater part of which was tucked under the arm."[2]

This must evidently be the same as the Tartar *Botta*, and the illuminations of that period make the dimensions still more portentous, and the resemblance to the eastern original still more striking. The *paysannes* of Normandy have to this day preserved this monstrous extravagance for the gratification of modern eyes.[3]

If this was not the Alpine chapeau which spread such dismay in Sind, it may have been the lofty dark sheepskin *Tilpak*,[4] which the Turkmans now wear, about a foot high. An exaggerated form of this would have been alarming enough to produce the effect described.

Dismounting for Combat.

We find that the practice of dismounting, previous to coming to close combat, is frequently alluded to in these local histories, as being of common observance among many of the border tribes between Sind and Rájpútána.

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi. 501. Ruperti's note gives other instances.

[2] Paradin, *Annales de Bourgogne*, p. 700.

[3] Wright, *Archæological Journal*, No. i.; Addison, *Spectator*, No. 98; Planché, *Hist. of British Costume*, pp. 146-149, 236-263; Argentre, *Hist. de Bretagne*, livr., x. ch. 42; Bayle, *Dict. Histor.*, v. "Andromaque," rem. G. and v. "Conecte."

[4] I presume this is the same as the Kalpak, on which see *L'Univers. Pitt.*, vi. 67.

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Here in the Extract from the *Beg-Lar-náma*, at p. 293, it is the Sodhas and Ráthors who adopt it. A few pages before, we find the Jhárejas of Guzerát, who accompanied Jám Fíroz against Mirza Sháh Husain, appealing to that custom, as established among themselves; declaring that they always fought with the enemy on foot.

We have seen above (p. 411) that Rái Chach and Mahrat of Chitor contend against each other on foot; the former representing that, being a Brahman, he was unable to fight on horseback; then again mounting his horse unexpectedly, he slays his antagonist with the most deliberate treachery.

It is probable that the Ráná of Chitor would not have so readily been deceived by this insidious challenge, had it been at all opposed to the military practice of those times. Indeed, to the present day, we find Sindians, unlike most Asiatic nations, still somewhat repugnant to fighting on horseback, and priding themselves more on being foot soldiers than cavalry.

I allude in a subsequent note to the dismounting being followed by binding those fighting on the same side, one to the other, by their waistbands: but this seems to have been resorted to only in desperate circumstances, when there was no chance, or intention, of escape. The mere dismounting appears not to have been attended with any vow of self-sacrifice.

In Persian history we meet with similar instances of this dismounting to engage in single combat. Thus, after the fatal battle of Kádisíya, the Persian general, Takharján, dismounts to fight with the Arab champion, Zahír.

The practice was very common in the Middle Ages in Europe, being introduced chiefly for the purpose of obviating the inconvenience of the cumbersome armour of that period. The cavalry dismounted, leaving their horses at some distance, and combated with their lances on foot. William of Tyre (xvii. 4) says of the Emperor Conrad's cavalry, in the second Crusade:—"De equis descendentes, et facti pedites; sicut mos est Teutonicis in summis necessitatibus bellica tractare negotia." The English did the same in their engagement with the Scotch, in 1138, near North Allerton, commonly called the Battle of the Standard. Comines also (i. 3) observes upon it as a Burgundian fashion: "Entre les Bourgig-

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nons, lors estoient les plus honorez ceux que descendoient avec les archers."

In the wars of Edward III. dismounting was not uncommon; and Sir John Hawkwood, one of his knights, the famous partizan leader, disguised by contemporary writers under the name of Aucud or Agutus, introduced it into Italy. And it was, as we learn from Monstrelet (ii. 10, 20), practised by the English in their second wars with France, especially at the battles of Crevant and Verneuil.[1]

Colligation in Fighting.

The extraordinary custom alluded to in the *Beg Lár-náma*, of a devoted band tying themselves together by their waistbands, before fighting *à tout outrance*, is mentioned in the same terms in the *Tárikh-i Sind* (MS. p. 173).

"When they saw the army of the Moghals, they *dismounted from their horses, took their turbans from off their heads, and binding the corners of their mantles, or outer garments, to one another*, they engaged in battle; for it is the custom of the people of Hind and Sind, whenever they devote themselves to death, *to descend from their horses, to make bare their heads and feet, and to bind themselves to each other by their mantles and waistbands.*"

These people appear most of them to have been Sammas; and it is among their descendants in Kachh that we find this curious custom again alluded to (*Tárikh-i Sind*, MS. p. 194), when Mirzá Sháh Husain attacked Ráí Khangár. Here we have a new feature added, of serrying shields together like a compact phalanx.

"The men under Khangár, having set themselves in battle array, *dismounted from their horses, locked their shields together, seized their spears in their hands, and bound the corners of their waistbands.*"

The *Tarkhán-náma* omits all mention of the proceedings between Ráí Khangár[2] and Mirzá Sháh Husain, but they are noticed in the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám* (MS. p. 194); and the observance of this strange practice is also there alluded to, in words similar to those quoted from the *Tárikh-i Sind*.

[1] Hallam's *Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I. p. 508.

[2] According to a stanza familiarly quoted in Guzerát, there have been no less than seven Jhareja chieftains of this name. We need not here show which was the opponent of Mirzá Sháh Husain.

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The dismounting from horseback, prior to actual contact in the field of battle, is mentioned in a previous note of this Appendix, and appears to have been a more common occurrence; but the colligation evidently implies desperation, even unto death.

Some barbarous nations of antiquity seem to have adopted the same practice, but more with the object, apparently, of keeping their ranks unbroken, than symbolizing any vow of self-destruction. So, at the battle of Campi Raudii, we read of the Cimbri binding themselves together by long chains run through their belts, avowedly for the purpose of maintaining an unbroken line.[1] There is good reason to suppose that the Soldurii of Gaul and the Comites of Germany showed their devotion occasionally in a similar fashion.[2]

Even as late as the days of chivalry, we find a resort to the same singular mode of showing a desperate resolve to die in the field. See what the heroic king of Bohemia, together with his faithful and devoted companions did at the glorious battle of Creçy:—

"The valyant kynge of Behaygne (Bohemia), called Charles of Luzenbourge, sonne to the noble Emperour Henry of Luzenbourge, for all that he was nyghe blynde, whan he vnderstode the order of the batayle, he sayde to them about hym, "Where is the lorde Charles, my sonne." His men sayde, "Sir, we can nat tell; we thynke he be fightynge." Than he sayde, "Sirs, ye ar my men, my companyons, and frendes in this iourney; I requyre you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may stryke one stroke with my swerde." They sayde they wolde do his commaundement; and to the intent that they shulde not lese hym in the prease, *they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles eche to other*, and sette the kynge before to accomplysshe his desyre, and so they went on their ennemyes. The lord Charles of Behaygne, his sonne, who wrote hymselfe Kynge of Behaygne, and bare the armes, he cam in good order to the batayle; but whan he sawe that the matter went awrie on their partie, he departed, I can nat tell you whiche waye. The kynge, his father, was so farre forewarde, that he strake a stroke with his swerde, ye and mo than foure, and fought valyantly, and so dyde his company; and

[1] Plutarch, *Marius*, cap. 27.

[2] Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, Lib. iii. Cap. 22, vii. 40; Tacitus, *Germania*, Cap. 14; J. Schiller, *Thesaur. Antiq. Teutonicarum*, iii. pp. 38, 749.

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they adventured themselfe so forewarde, that they were ther all slayne; and the next day they were founde in the place about the kynge, *and all their horses tyed eche to other.*"[1]

A curious instance occurred even lately, when Muhammad 'Ali gained his victory over the Wahábís at Bissel. Several bodies of the Azir Arabs, who had sworn by the oath of divorce, not to turn their backs on the Turks, were found by the victors tied together by the legs, with the intent of preventing each other from running away, and in that unbroken and desperate line of battle were literally cut to pieces.[2]

Barge, an Arabic word.

The term used by Biládurí to represent a vessel of war is *Bárija*. He uses the same word, in the plural, in speaking of the vessels which were captured by the Meds, on their voyage from Ceylon to to the Persian Gulf, an act of piracy which led to the Arab conquest of Sind (*supra*, p. 118).

Bírúní says also, a century later, that the *Bawárij* are established at Kachh and Somnát, and are so called because they devote themselves to the pursuit of piracy, in ships which are called *Bera* (*supra*, p. 65).[3] This is a native word still in use for a boat, but the origin of the term *Bawárij* must be sought, not in the Indian *Bera*, but rather in the Arabic *Bárija*, which Golius, on the authority of the *Kámús*, tells us to mean a large vessel of war.[4]

From the same source our English *Barge* seems to be derived, which, though at first view it may appear rather a startling assertion, will perhaps be admitted, when we see how our best etymologists have failed in their endeavours to trace its real origin. Johnson (Todd) says it is derived from old French *Barje*, or *Barge*, and Low-Latin *Barga*. He should have ascertained whence the French *Barje* is itself derived. Tooke says, *Barge* is a strong boat, and *Bark* is a stout vessel, derived from the past participle of

[1] Froissart's *Chronicles, translated by Lord Berners*, Cap. 30, Vol. I. p. 157.

[2] Sir H. Brydges, *History of the Wahauby*, p. 91; Dr. Crichton, *History of Arabia*, p. 602.

[3] See also Gildemeister, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 185.

[4] Navis magna bellica.—*Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, s.v.

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beorgan, "to protect," "to strengthen."[1] Crabb says from *Barca*.[2] Richardson, from the Gothic *bairgan*, "to fortify." Webster, from Dutch *Bargie*. Palgrave tells us that the piratical boats of the Danes were called *Barga* and *Barka*;[3] and *Barca* is used by the Monk Abbo, in his unpolished poem (A.D. 891) on the siege of Paris by the Normans.

Barcas per flumina raptant.[4]

But we have no occasion to look for any connection between our words *Bark* and *Barge*. The former is confessedly an old word, the latter comparatively modern. The former is, indeed, much older than even the Danish or Norman piracies. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, who died A.D. 431, applies it thus:—

Ut mea salubri *Barca* perfugio foret
Puppis superstes obrutæ.[5]

In consequence of its use by Byzantine authors, altered into *Βαλκα* by Nicetas,[6] Salmasius and J. C. Scaliger have sought for a Grecian origin of the word, and the latter finds it in *Βάρος*, quasi, "a ship of burden."[7] Others, again, say from "Barca, a city of Africa;" and Roderic of Toledo, from "Barco, a city of Spain."[8]

Our more immediate concern, however, is with *Barge*, respecting which it is obvious to remark, that, though its present use is confined to fluviatile transits and pageantries—whether for the conveyance of coals or cockneys, merchandize or Lord Mayors—it was, on its first introduction, designed for higher purposes. Our oldest writers apply it solely to sea-going craft. Thus Chaucer:—

He knew wel alle the havens, as they were,
Fro' Gotland to the Cape de Finistere,
And every creke in Bretagne and in Spaine:
His *barge* ycleped was the Magdelaine.[9]

[1] *Diversions of Purley*, Vol. II. p. 181.

[2] *Technological Dictionary*, s.v.

[3] Quoting Hincmar—"quas nostrates *Bargas* vocant."—*History of Normandy and* England, Vol. I. p. 510.

[4] *De bello Paris*, Lib. ii. This poem was published in Latin and French, with notes, by M. Taranne, in 1834.

[5] *Poëmata*, 13. [6] *Alex.*, Lib. i. Num. 7. [7] *Exercitat.*, 71.

[8] *De rebus Hispan.*, Lib. i. Cap. 5. These quotations are from Hofmann, *Lexicon Universale*, Vol. I. p. 476. See also Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, VV.

[9] Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, v. 412.

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Even as late as the fifteenth century, the great Swedish ship of 1000 tons burden was called the King's *barge;*[1] and the largest vessel hitherto built in Scotland was called the Bishop's *barge.*[2] But what is more to the purpose is, that we do not find mention of the word till the Crusades had introduced it, through the Arabic language, into our vocabulary,[3] and then only as a large ship, used chiefly on military expeditions. So, in the very old Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion :—

Among you partes[4] every charge.
I brought in shippes and in *barge*,
More gold and silver with me,
Than has your lord and swilke[5] three.

Again, a little further on :—

Against hem comen her navey,
Cogges,[6] and dromounds,[7] many galley,
Barges, schoutes, and trayeres fele,[8]
That were charged with all weal,
With armour, and with other vitail,
That nothing in the host should fail.[9]

Coupling this early and distinctive use of the term with the fact of its being first used during the Holy Wars, and with the unsatisfactory guesses of our lexicographers, we may safely conclude that the English *Barge* is no other than the Arabic *Bárija*, however much it may now be diverted from the original design of its invention.

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XI. p. 364.

[2] Mac Pherson's *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 689.

[3] Admitting that the *g* in the Low-Latin *Barga* may have had the soft pronunciation of *j*, and that *Barge* is thence derived, we can still refer its origin to the Arabs in Spain.

[4] Divide. [5] Such. [6] Cock-boats.

[7] Large vessels of burthen. This word, though a Greek etymology is assigned to it, is probably itself Arabic.—MacPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 352.

[8] Many long-boats.

[9] Ellis, *Early English Metrical Romances*, pp. 315, 324.

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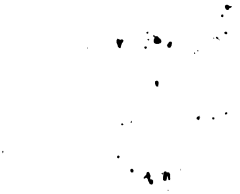

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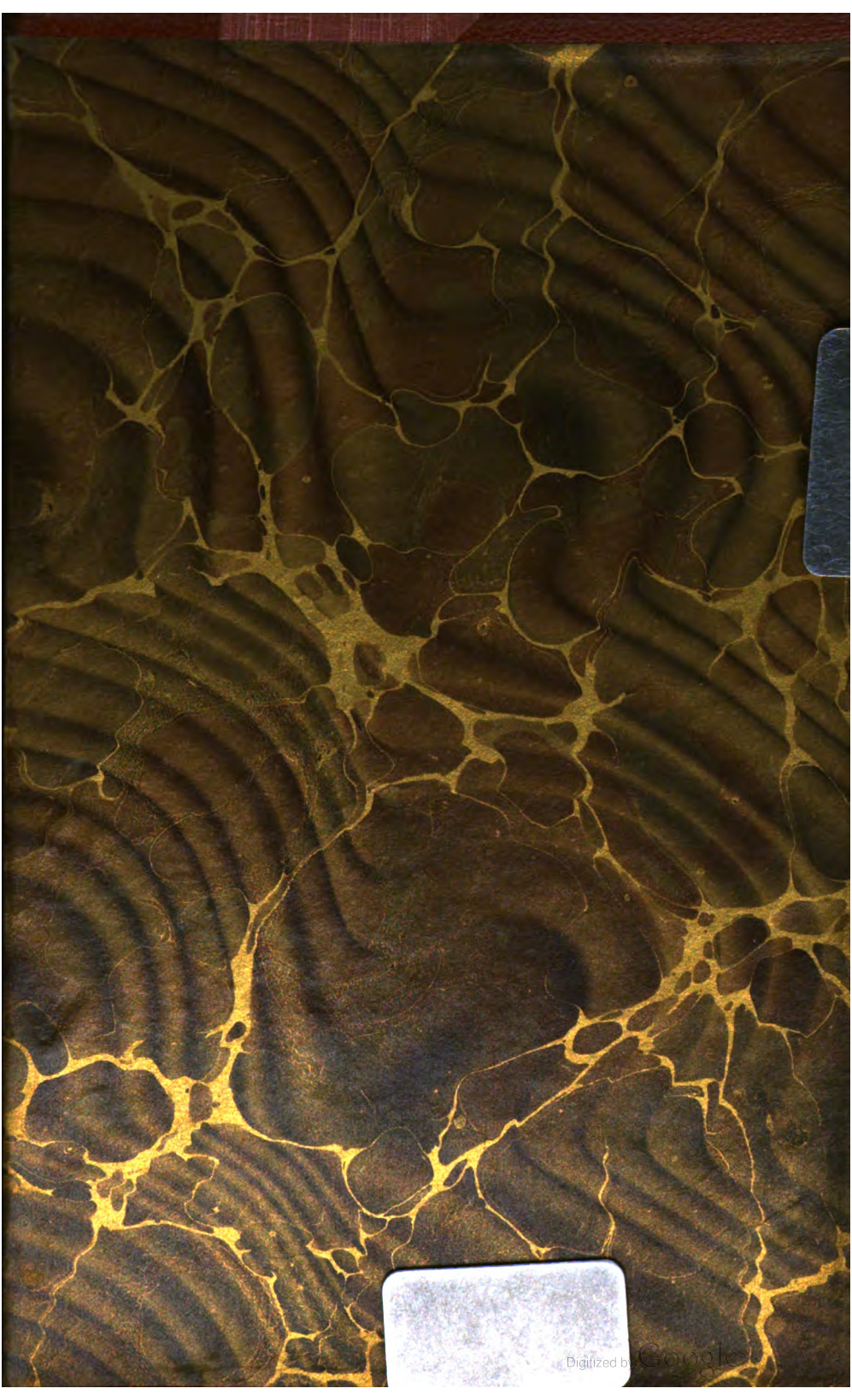
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