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No. I.—1892.

Discovery of Buddhist Remains at Mount Uren in Mungir (Monghyr) district, and Identification of the site with a celebrated Hermitage of Buddha.—*By* L. A. WADDELL, M. B.

(*With four Plates*).

Seldom is it possible to identify an ancient site so perfectly as that now reported; for it seldom happens that the historical description is so very detailed, the geographical position so well defined, and the remains themselves so little disturbed as in the present case. And in addition to the discovery of the hermitage where Buddha spent the rainy season (the so-called 'Buddhist Lent') of the sixteenth year of his ministry, it is interesting and important to find that a famous incident in the legendary life of Buddha, which occurred here and which has hitherto been considered a solar myth, is in fact an almost unembellished record of a local event. Evidence is also offered of the forcible expulsion hence of Buddhism by the Muhammadan invaders, in opposition to the opinion expressed by many writers that Buddhism died out of India through its own inherent decay.

Discovery of site.—The antiquities at the village of Uren have quite escaped the notice of archæologists. On passing through the village some months ago, I observed numerous fragments of Buddhist statues scattered everywhere around, and was so led to explore the locality during the limited time at my disposal, with the result of discovering that the hill adjoining the village is one on which Buddha rested a season,

during the rains, and a celebrated place of pilgrimage in olden times, very fully described by the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang* in the seventh century A. D.

Remains being destroyed by quarriers.—It is a pity that the site has remained so long undiscovered, for the unfortunate proximity of the hill to the railway, and the excellent quality of the rock (granite) have induced the railway authorities to use the hill as a quarry for 'road-metal'; and only about six years ago two of the most interesting of the rock-sculptures were in this way demolished and the fragments further broken up and carried off as ballast; and the blasting operations have now extended to within a few feet of the more important rock-sculptures and markings still remaining. Many of the inscribed statues also have been carried off from time to time by the overseers or contractors supervising the quarrying operations—one of these in particular, a Mr. S—— is reported to have carried off, about thirty-six years ago, a full cart-load of the best preserved statuettes, the ultimate destination of which cannot now be traced. Sufficient evidence, however, still exists to place the identification of the site beyond all dispute, and I am glad to have been the means of rescuing these ancient remains, more especially the rock-markings, from imminent destruction.†

Hiuen Tsiang's description of the site.—The I-lan-na-po-fa-to (*Hiranya-parvata*) country of Hiuen Tsiang is held by the recognized authorities Julien,‡ Fergusson§ and Sir A. Cunningham‖ to have coincided approximately with the hilly portion (*i. e.*, the eastern half) of the modern district of Mungir (Monghyr) in the province of Bihár, with its capital at the site of the present town of Monghyr. In describing this country, Hiuen Tsiang writes:—¶

"On the western frontier of the country (I-lan-na-po-fa-to), to the

* *Si-yu-ki*, Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 190-91, London, 1884.

† Since writing the above I have again visited the site and find that further quarrying operations have been extensively carried on since the submission of this report to the Society. The western cliff, bearing numerous chaitya figures, has been in great part removed by blasting, only the fractured bases of a few of the chaityas still remaining. Also at the south-east margin of the hill, where the rock was highly polished and contained ancient markings, most of this surface has been removed by blasting. And a blast had been put in within two yards of Buddha's footprint, but had miscarried in explosion. All this destruction has occurred subsequent to my report to the Society.

‡ *Memoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, traduits du Chinois, Paris, 1853.

§ *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 230.

‖ *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 476; and Arch. Survey of India Reports, Vol. XV, p. 16.

¶ Beal, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 190.

tric uth of the river Ganges, we come to a small solitary mountain with a double peak rising high (Beal here notes 'The passage might be translated' "there is a small solitary hill with successive crags heaped up.") "Formerly Buddha in this place rested during the three months "of rain, and subdued the Yaksha Vakula (Yo-c'ha Po-khu-lo). Below "a corner of the south-east of the mountain is a great stone. On this "are marks caused by Buddha sitting thereon. The marks are about "an inch deep, five feet two inches long, and two feet one inch wide. "Above them is built a *stúpa*. Again to the south is the impression "on a stone where Buddha set down his *kiun-chi-kia* (*kuṇḍika* or water-"vessel). In depth the lines are about an inch, and are like a flower "with eight buds (*or* petals). Not far to the south-east of this spot "are the foot-traces of the Yaksha Vakula. They are about one foot "five or six inches long, seven or eight inches wide, and in depth less "than two inches. Behind these traces of the Yaksha is a stone figure "of Buddha in sitting posture, about six or seven feet high. Next, to "the west, not far off, is a place where Buddha walked for exercise. "Above this mountain top is the old residence of the Yaksha. Next, "to the north is a foot-trace of Buddha, a foot and eight inches long "and perhaps six inches wide and half an inch deep. Above it is a *stúpa* "erected. Formerly when Buddha subdued the Yaksha, he commanded "him not to kill men nor eat their flesh. Having respectfully re-"ceived the law of Buddha, he was born in heaven. To the west of this "are six or seven hot springs. The water is exceedingly hot."

General Cunningham's identification with Mahádeva hill.—So very detailed a description of this site ought to render its identification comparatively easy and certain; and it seems remarkable that guided by such a minute description the identification should have been so long delayed. It may be that this is partly owing to Sir A. Cunningham having already in his official report* identified the Mahádeva peak in the Kharakpur hills with the site just described by Hiuen Tsiang. But it had so happened that about two months previous to my visiting Uren, I had occasion to be in the neighbourhood of the Mahádeva hill referred to by General Cunningham, and I took advantage of the opportunity to visit the hill, book in hand—with the pilgrim's account and General Cunningham's remarks side by side for reference on the spot. And I confess to being thoroughly disappointed. In this case certainly the remarks applied by Fergusson to another identification of General Cunningham's are again fully applicable, *viz.*, that after arbitrarily altering the direction given by his author, he fails in every instance to "bring

* *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XV, p. 19, Calcutta, 1882.

"the natural features of the country into accord with the descriptions of the pilgrim."

Mahádeva hill certainly not the site.—That the Mahádeva hill is certainly not the site referred to by the pilgrim is evident from the following facts:—

1st. It is *not* "on the western frontier," but rather on the eastern frontier of I-lan-na-po-fa-to.

2nd. It is *not* "a small solitary hill," but is within and among the hills and not a detached hill; it is only a lower shoulder of a higher hill of the range behind.

3rd. It has *not* "a double peak rising high"—the 2nd peak really belongs to another hill of the range.

4th. It has *no* "successive crags heaped up"—on the contrary its sides are trim and sub-conical.

5th. It has *not* "to the west not far off" any place suitable for a promenade.

6th. It has *none* of the very numerous rock-markings described by Hiuen Tsiang (so far as is known, and special inquiry and search for these were made).

7th. It has *no* remains of the several *stúpas* erected on the site.

8th. The hot springs are *not* "to the west" of the hill, but actually upon the hill itself and on its eastern and N. E. slope.

9th. Lastly it has no Buddhist remains, nor remains of any kind (except a small brick shrine about 4 feet square housing a linga [Mahádeva], nor is there any history or likelihood of there ever having been remains hereabouts; and the situation is so remote from rail and roadways and villages, that had any buildings or remains ever existed here, it is scarcely possible that every trace of them could have been swept away.*

Mt. Uren fully satisfies description in every detail.—Finding thus that the Mahádeva peak was certainly not the place referred to by the pilgrim, I was, at the time I stumbled on the Uren ruins, on the outlook for a site which would be more in harmony with the pilgrim's account; and that Mt. Uren fully satisfies the pilgrim's description, even to the minutest detail, will be abundantly evident from the following particulars:—

Situation of Mount Uren.—Mount Uren is situated in the Mungir dis-

* The *Pánch Kumár* figure referred to by Genl. CUNNINGHAM was found about five miles from here and is only a five-faced '*linga*' (phallus).

trict and on the Western frontier of the I-lan-na-po-fo-to (*Hiranya-parvata*) country, formerly included in the ancient kingdom of Magadha, and within the Buddhist Holy Land. It is about twenty miles distant from the town of Mungir in a S. W. direction, and about seven miles south of the present course of the Ganges, but in the rains the Ganges flood reaches almost up to Uren. In the Survey map the name is spelt "Oorein," but the local pronunciation and spelling of the name is *Uren*.

Local traditions.—Tradition is singularly meagre both in regard to the hill itself, and the ruins and remains at its base. The only story which is current amongst the villagers is, that the hill was formerly the abode of a demon or deified giant called Lorik, famous in the nursery tales of Bihár. And to this Lorik were ascribed the known markings on the hill, *viz.*, the *lota*-mark, the two footprints, and that portion of the hill called 'the house.' The existence of Buddha's footprint and the numerous inscriptions on the summit of the hill, and a footprint and inscriptions at the S. E. base were, however, unknown to the villagers, until I pointed them out.

Conformation of Hill identical with Hiuen Tsiang's description.—Of the hill itself no more concise description could be given than that contained in Beal's translation,* *viz.*, "a small solitary hill with successive crags heaped up." The hill is also "a small solitary mountain† with a double peak rising high." In appearance, therefore, the hill literally satisfies both the original and alternative descriptions. The hill is bare and devoid of vegetation, except in a few chinks in the rock where a scanty soil and debris have accumulated. Its black naked rocks, rising in a rugged series of crags abruptly from the plain, give it a most weird appearance. The rock consists of granite of a pale bluish colour on fracture, and its surface, where unpolished, becomes covered over with a black lichen. The hill is isolated and solitary, being distant about two miles from the mass of the Mungir hills, here consisting of what Buchanan calls 'silicious hornstone'‡, and separated from these by a stretch of plain, now under rice cultivation. The height of the hill seems to be about 250 feet above the surrounding plain. The shape of the hill is seen in the accompanying sketch-map (see Plate I), which also indicates the position of the remains and rock-markings. The southern peak is the higher and forms the true summit of the hill.

* *Loc. cit.*

† One of the translations gives 'mountain' instead of hill, but BEALE shows that the word also means '*hill*,' and there are no mountains in this part of India.

‡ *Eastern India*, II, 166. It is commonly known as quartzite.

The numerous remains noted by Hiuen Tsiang identified seriatim.—In identifying *seriatim* the remains noted by Hiuen Tsiang, it is convenient to describe these in a slightly different order to that given by the pilgrim, as at least two of the rock "traces" have lately been removed, respectively five and six years ago.

The residence of the Yaksha.—1*st*, "*Above this mountain top is the old residence of the Yaksha* (*Vakula*)." This to the present day is one of the sights of the hill. The villagers call it *Lorik ká ghar* or 'the house of Lorik the giant' (*i. e.*, Yaksha). It is a somewhat flat area on the top of the hill, below the S. E. side of the summit, and is surrounded on three sides by vaguely columnar rock, slightly suggestive of rude walls.

The local survival of the name of the Yaksha, viz., Bakula.—In regard to the name of the Yaksha, *viz.*, *Vakula*,* which in modern Hindí becomes *Bakula*, it is remarkable to find the local survival of this name and the awe in which it is still held. Immediately behind Uren is the mouth of a pass which leads into the wild Singhol hills; and the pass and the hills beyond were the retreat of banditti till long after the Muhammadan invasion. The older banditti are popularly alleged by the villagers to have been cannibals, and their raids are still spoken of by the lowlanders here with dread. These highland aborigines were formerly called *rakshas* or 'demons' by the plains-people; and the oldest settlement of these raksha or yaksha tribes is about five miles beyond the mouth of the pass, and is called *Bakura*—which is identical with the name of the 'yaksha' given by Hiuen Tsiang—*l* and *r* being interchangeable, and indeed such interchange is the rule hereabouts; thus the common word *gwál*, a cowherd, is ordinarily pronounced *gwár*. And in Chinese transliteration *r* is expressed by *l*. It is a common practice to name villages after their founders: thus Bakura village = 'the village of Bakura.' And so great was the dread inspired by this Bakura that he is even now worshipped by the semi-aborigines of the plains (the Dosádhs and Gwálas) at a shrine in the village of Jalálábád†, about eight miles east from Uren, under the name of '*Ban-Bakura Náth* or the 'Savage Lord Bakura.' His image is in basalt and represents a squat muscular man in a semi-sitting posture. He has a large sensual head, thick lips and curly hair which latter is fastened in a coil with a scimitar-shaped dagger, as with the aborigines in

* A Hindú legend of a man-eating demon, bearing the somewhat similar name of *Vaka*, is told in the Mahábhárata (Wheeler's Transl., p. 110), the demon being slain by Bhíma. But the great Asura Rájá, named *Vaka*, lived near the city Ekachakra, which is believed to be within the modern district of Sháhábád, about two hundred miles to the north of Uren. This may be a Hindú version of the Buddhist story.

† And six miles north-east from Kharagpur.

the Barhut Sculptures And it is interesting in regard to Hiuen Tsiang's note that the Yaksha was converted to Buddhism, to find that these tribes had acquired profound respect for the remains at Uren; for they had carried off from the ruins to the pass several inscribed Buddhist stones and images, some of which are reverently disposed under trees at the foot of the pass and others on the summit of the pass, where they are rudely worshipped by daubing with vermillion. And most of these fragments show fractures so sharp as to lead to the belief that they had been carried off and deposited where they now are very shortly after the destruction of the Buddhist establishment at Uren.

Foot-trace of Buddha.—2nd. "*Next to the north is a foot-trace of "Buddha, a foot and eight inches long, and perhaps six inches wide and half an inch deep.*" This foot-trace of Buddha is to be found to the north of 'Lorik ká ghar' and about five yards from the summit of the hill; see No. 5 on the plan (Plate I). It is of the right foot, and its dimensions are 23 inches long by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad and about $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth. It is directed to the N.N E.

The footprint is partly natural and partly artificial, the outer border of the print, for the greater part of its extent, is outlined by a linear flaw in the granite rock, into which has poured a quartzoze material, part of which had been picked out to give greater distinctness to the outline. The inner border of the footprint is also a natural line, and the depression of the heel and sole seem also natural; but the rock, forming the ball of the great toe and the marks of the toe-tips, has all been artificially chipped, the operation having been assisted by the rock in this situation slightly tending to scale, or peel off in one or two layers. No chiselling seems to have been resorted to, nor was it needed. In the depression from the root of the toes to the heel, the rock is highly polished and contains traces of numerous inscriptions, all, except the one registered in two lines on the ball of the toes, so indistinct as to give no legible impression—and even this one, I fear will prove unreadable.

The stúpa above footprint.—3rd, "*Above it (the foot-trace of Buddha) is a stúpa erected.*" Five yards above the foot-trace, and in line with the direction in which it points, is a mound of bricks, the most prominent feature on the hill top, and suggestive of the remains of a small stúpa. The bricks are small, flattened and well-baked, and many of them are wedge-shaped. The narrowness of the rocky base, *viz.*, about 12 feet by 12 feet, would not admit of a very large stúpa being built here. In the village below are collected numerous bevelled and sculptured basalt blocks which formed the facings of small stúpas. At the N. E. base of the brick mound is seen outcropping a part of the base of a thickly plastered wall, but its direction is nearly straight, and as it is dis-

posed somewhat radiatingly to the centre of the brick mound, it may be the remains of a wall bounding a path leading up to the stúpa; but as I had no leisure to explore the mound properly, I left it undisturbed. The villagers report that at the last quarrying operations, about four years ago, the overseer carried off a black stone which was on the top of this brick-mound, and there is a square arrangement of the superficial bricks around the centre of the mound suggestive of the existence of a small square shrine here. The position being on the very top of the hill, it is quite possible that there may have been here a relatively modern shrine to a Brahmanic god, erected on the ruins of the stúpa and built with the bricks of the latter. Some of the villagers say that the officer of the 'fort' had his house here, but this is manifestly absurd, as there is no room for a dwelling house in such a circumscribed spot. This brick mound, therefore, demands careful exploration, although it is extremely improbable that any relics will be found here, as the depth of bricks now remaining is only about 3 feet or so.

Bulldha's loṭá-print.—4th. "*Again to the south is the impression on a "stone on which Buddha set down his kiun-chi-kia (kuṇḍika or water-"vessel). In depth the lines are about an inch and are like a flower with "eight buds* (or *petals*)." This mark, which is locally known as Lorik's '*loṭá*-mark'—*loṭá* being the modern term for the ancient *kuṇḍiká*,—is still an absolutely fixed point, although the mark itself no longer exists, the portion of rock on which it was graven having been blasted about five years ago. Several of the villagers whom I separately interrogated led me always to the very same spot. Fortunately, however, in this case we are not dependent on the mere testimony of the villagers. On several parts of the hill are sculptured on the rock the figures of stúpas or chaityas of most elaborate patterns. And I observed that these groups of stúpa-figures have their apices pointing towards one or other of the footprints and other sacred markings. In this case, the group of stúpa-figures which are situated immediately below, and with their apices directed towards the reported site of the *loṭá*-mark are supplemented by figures of the *loṭá* or water-vessel very specially and prominently displayed; see Plate II.

The *loṭá* is here figured in no less than three and probably four different phases, *viz.*:—

(*a*) The small single circle to the left of the stúpa (No. 1, Pl. II.), which is reported to be the exact facsimile reproduction of the actual circumference of the body of the original *loṭá*-mark—now destroyed as above noted; its diameter measures $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

(*b*) The elongated pear-shaped figure (No. 2, Pl. II), immediately

opposite the circle, on the right of the stúpa, is the same *loṭá* seen in profile, with four leafy projections at rim and with rope attached. To prevent all mistake as to the object here represented, the Buddhist artist (probably a monk) has added the indication of the four fingers in the act of grasping the rope, from which the *loṭá* is suspended.

(*c*) Below the circle, representing the circumference of the *loṭá*, is the profile of an ascetic's pitcher (No. 3), such as are still used by Hindú mendicants under the name of *kamaṇḍalu*. In this case also are represented four fingers in the act of grasping the rope-handle of the *loṭá*.

(*d*) The looped figure (No. 4) by the side of the *loṭá* profile on the right is evidently the coiled drawing rope of the *loṭá*. When straightened out, it measures 3 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The remaining figures, except the large concentric circles (which may possibly represent cymbals, being much too large for a begging bowl), are merely accessories of worship, *viz.*, a pile of granular material (evidently intended for rice and sweetmeats) on a raised tray, and the *sankha* or conch shell-trumpet (fig. 6) blown at the hours of worship also on a stand. These are evidently representative of the offerings and worship which were daily being made at the *loṭá*-print of Buddha, at the time when the drawing was executed. The inscription, contained in the base of this chaitya, seems to be merely the Buddhist creed, and is written in characters of the 8th or 9th century A. D.

Regarding the original *loṭá*-print, the villagers concur in reporting that its depth was a little over the length of the terminal phalanx (1st joint) of the index-finger, thus concurring with the pilgrim's description of "about an inch deep." The small circle, above noted as measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches across, is said to have been equal to the circumference of the shoulder of the *loṭá*-print; but the rim of the print was of about one inch greater width all round than the base, and the whole depression was ornamented 'like a flower' (*N. B.*—this was a spontaneous expression of one of the villagers, thus agreeing with the pilgrim's account.) It is not recollected by the villagers how many petals were represented: but in the *loṭá*-profile (fig. 2), represented to the right of the stúpa-figure, are four petaloid appendages to the rim, two of which are distinctly subdivided (see also larger tracing No. 2*a*. at the foot of Plate II) thus affording evidence of the subdivision of the flower into eight petals as described by Hiuen Tsiang.

Further, the villagers report that all around the *loṭá*-print, the rock was highly polished and covered with numerous inscriptions in unknown characters. That the rock hereabouts was highly polished, I find to be the case as the rock containing the *loṭá*-print was on a ter-

race, about 2½ feet above the plane of its stúpa-figures below, and a portion of this old surface, about four feet above the site of *loṭá*-print, has escaped dislodgement by the blasting and shows towards its lower border a commencing area of high polish. Finally the *loṭá*-print was situated on the southern portion of the hill (see Plate I) as stated by the pilgrim.

Foot-prints of the Yaksha.—5th. "Not far to the south-east of this "spot are the foot-traces of the Yaksha Vakula. They are about 1 "foot 5 or 6 inches long, 7 or 8 inches wide and in depth less than 2 "inches." In the exact direction and position here indicated, *viz.*, south-east from the *loṭá*-mark and at a distance of about 100 yards, were the two "footprints of Lorik" (see No. 4 on Plate I.) These marks, which were well-known to the villagers were blown up only four years ago. The two footprints were each about 18" long by 7 or 8 inches wide (described by villagers respectively as one *háth* (cubit) and two palm-breadths) and about 2 inches in depth. The divisions of the toes were clearly incised, and the surrounding stone was highly polished. One footprint was in front of the other, and they tended S. E. in the direction of *Lorik-ká ghar*, the abode of the yaksha. I would here refer to the unfortunately erratic manner in which these blasting operations are being conducted. At this particular part of the hill the only portion of the rock blasted was that which contained these two footprints and about 1½ feet on either side of them—as if this overseer (a European) had purposely demolished these ancient marks. I believe the fact really is, that these markings were made on the most compact and undecomposed rock—the so-called *jítá pathar* 'the living stone' of the quarriers, and its highly polished surface attracted their unkind attention.

Colossal statue of Buddha.—6th. "Behind these traces of the Yaksha "is a stone figure of Buddha in sitting posture about six or seven feet "high." No superficial trace of this image now exists, unless a small splinter of basalt, which I found a few yards lower down and which had formed part of some image, can be considered as such. At this site, however, is a hollow, between two shoulders of rock, which has become filled up with the debris of ages, so it is possible that excavation here might reveal traces of this statue.

Buddha's promenade.—7th. "Next to the west (of Yaksha's foot-"prints), not far off is a place where Buddha walked for exercise." In the situation here indicated is a narrow level tract between two long massive shoulders of rock, see Plate No. III. Before the great accumulation of debris had taken place, the rock on either side must have stood up like walls and bounded a rocky lane—a most suitable pro-

menade for the great ascetic, affording an outlook only to the distant hills and overhead the sky.

Marks where Buddha sat down.—8th. "Below a corner of the south-east side of the mountains is a great stone. On this are marks caused by Buddha sitting thereon. The marks are about an inch deep, 5 feet 2 inches long and 2 feet 1 inch wide. Above them is built a stúpa." Julien, however, notes* the existence of a *cave* here in which Buddha dwelt. He says "Au bas d'une caverne située au Sud-est;" yet, Beale makes no remark when giving a different translation, *viz.*, 'corner.' It will be seen presently that Julien's translation seems the correct one. I have left the identification of this site to the last, because the whole of the old surface of the S. E. corner of the hill has been removed by blasting, and the markings on the rock here must have been demolished by the quarriers. Evidence, however, is still extant of the former existence of a Buddhist sacred spot within the quarried area near the point marked No. 7 on Plate I, "on the south-east side of the hill." On the vertical face of the rock, about twenty and thirty yards to the south and S. W. of that spot, are carved two stúpas pointing to that spot, and the old surface of the rock on the verge of the quarry and about seven or eight yards above that spot shows the commencement of an area of high polish such as is only found at the sacred spots; and here are numerous traces of short inscriptions but mostly illegible. Evidence also is found of the existence of a cave here. On this edge of the quarry, in comparatively modern Devanágarí characters, is cut the inscription *Jájú ghaur, i. e.*, 'Jájú's cave or house.'† This Jájú was evidently a modern occupant of the cave in which Buddha formerly dwelt, which was close to the large pípal tree (*Ficus religiosa*), see No. 7 on Plate I, and which was removed by the railway quarriers. But the villagers possess no tradition of any ascetic or local worthy of the name of Jájú, nor indeed were they aware of the existence of this inscription, till I pointed it out. He must have lived several generations ago. The greater portion of this side of the hill was blasted about thirty years ago, but farther blasting was done three years ago and also this year, and as the ballast coolies gather up fragments of bricks as well as stones, the remains of the stúpa here must have been removed. In a hollow in the rock immediately to the west of this are the numerous remains of broken bricks presumably those of the stúpa.

The Hot Springs in relation to Uren.—The above are the remains

* *Op. cit.*, III, p. 70.

† *Ghaur* is the Mithila vernacular for *ghar*, a dwelling, and this portion of Monghyr district is included within the Mithila range of dialect. GRIERSON'S *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 331.

noted by Hiuen Tsiang as existing on the hill. But immediately following the pilgrim's description of the hill is the paragraph: "To the west of this are six or seven hot springs. The water is exceedingly hot. To the south the country (I-lan-no) is bounded by great mountain forests in which are many wild elephants of great size. Leaving this kingdom, &c."

General Cunningham considers this note regarding the hot springs as being related to the description of Buddha's hermitage on the hill. But that it is so related, is open to doubt in view of the fact that (*a*) Hiuen Tsiang, as Beale remarks,* was evidently writing from the capital of I-lan-no-po-fo-to, not having himself visited this hill, and (*b*) the preceding paragraph seemingly disposes of this hill with the words, "For-merly when Buddha subdued the Yaksha, he commanded him not to kill men nor eat their flesh. Having respectfully received the law of Buddha, he was born in heaven," and the succeeding paragraph would seem to refer to the *country* of I-lan-no and not to this *hill*.

This paragraph therefore, regarding the direction of the hot springs, may equally well be taken as indicating their direction from the capital instead of from the hill. West from the capital of 'I-lan-no po-fo-to', which, as before noted, Vivien de Saint Martin, Fergusson and Cunningham are agreed was situated at or near the present town of Mungir, are two groups of hot springs the water of which "is exceedingly hot," *viz.*, the hot springs of Janamkund, distant about 20 miles† to the south west, and the hot springs of Bhimband, distant about 25 miles to the S. S. W. and mentioned by General Cunningham. Dr. Buchanan visited these springs about the year 1810 and found the temperature of the waters to be in both cases 150° Fah.‡. And a more modern observation records the temperature as being 145°F. and 146·1°F. respectively.§

But even were the reference to the hot springs taken as an essential part of the description of the hermitage hill, then hot springs are still to be found not far off from Uren, and in a direction not altogether out of keeping with the pilgrim's description. The hot springs of Singhí Rikh are about three miles due south from Uren, and the hot springs of Janamkund are about twelve miles south-east from Uren; but, as a range of hills intervenes, the road leading from Uren to both of the above springs proceeds *south-west* for about four miles so as to get round the shoulder of this range of hills. So that on enquiring from certain villagers, at Uren, the way to the hot springs of Singhí Rikh

* *Op. cit.*, ii, foot-note, No. 11, p. 190.

† The pilgrim does not specify any distance for the springs.

‡ *Eastern India*, II, p. 198.

§ L. A. Waddell, J. A. S. B. Vol. LIX, II, p. 226.

and Janamkund, I was directed to go *south-west*, and only subsequently ascertained that these springs really lay to the south and south-east respectively.

To describe, therefore, these springs in general terms as lying to the west of Uren is perhaps allowable under the circumstances, as the pilgrim was noting down a mere hearsay report, and the determination of such niceties of direction for distant places, where tortuous passages among hills are concerned, is possible even in modern times only to those provided with a compass. At each of these two sites the hot water outflows at six or seven separate springs.

Remains on hill additional *to those noted by Hiuen Tsiang.*—In addition to the above described remains and markings noted by Hiuen Tsiang, I observed on the hill the following additional remains:—

(*a*) *Part of a rock-cut inscription in large cuneiform headed characters* on the summit of the hill about four feet to the east of Buddha's footprint, (see No. 4, Plate IV.) The rock here is much scaled, so that only a fragment of the inscription is apparent. The inscription seems to be in 5 or 6 lines. The fragment given in the plate is the only portion legible and seems to be a portion of the 3rd line. This inscription is bounded by four lines forming a square with a side of about 7 feet; the borders of which are in exact relation to Buddha's foot-print.

(*b*) *Short rock-cut inscription in later Gupta characters*, on highest peak of rock, and about three feet above Buddha's footprint. See No. 5, Plate IV).

(*c*) Innumerable names in a great variety of archaic characters cover the surface of rock, at the summit for several square yards. These are written across one another in every direction, and are evidently in most part the names of pilgrims. On such an exposed situation and worn away by the feet during so many centuries, the words are well nigh obliterated and will I fear prove quite illegible. The ordinary process of copying by ink-impression is much too rough for such markings and only indicates those written in the larger sized letters. On one part of the rock, at No. 9 on map, are characters of a distinctly Burmese type forming a closely written series of about ten lines.

(*d*) A footprint with modern Hindí inscriptions and traces of words in older charactere is found on the south-east portion of the hill at the point marked No. 6 on Plate I. The footprint measures 24 inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth; its outline is rather indistinct, and compared with Buddha's footprint it has a relatively modern appearance—the presence, however, of same letters in the Kutila character show that it must be of considerable age, although probably subsequent to the time of Hiuen Tsiang.

(*e*) Numerous *chaitya* figures sculptured on the rock on various parts of the hill. The site of these are indicated on Plate I, and they all have their apices pointing to one or other of the holy spots. On the base of the large *chaitya* figure of the *loṭá*-mark, and also on a vertical one at the south-west corner of the hill, are inscriptions, but these seem merely to contain the Buddhist creed.

Résumé of evidence identifying Mt. Uren with the hill described by Hiuen Tsiang.—Taking a brief *résumé* of the evidence for the identification of Mt. Uren, with the hill described by Hiuen Tsiang, we see that the identity is proved by :—

1st. The geographical position.
2nd. The physical conformation of the hill.
3rd. The actual presence and co-existence of all the very numerous and specialized remains and rock-markings noted by Hiuen Tsiang.
4th. The very numerous votive Buddhist statues and chaityas and the thousands of names carved on rock, indicating a sacred place of Buddhist pilgrimage.
5th. The survival of the old tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsiang that the hill-top was the abode of a demon, and his abode and footprints and the *loṭá*-mark still being pointed out, and the survival of the name and worship of 'the Savage Lord *Bakura*.'

The Remains at Base of the Hill.

I now proceed to describe the superficial remains at the base of the hill. Running out from the north base of Mt. Uren is a small flat and somewhat rocky spur on the northern extremity of which is situated the village of Uren. Occupying the north-eastern portion of this spur and adjoining the base of the hill, is a terraced area of broken bricks and fragments of Buddhist statues and hewn stones, locally known as "*Indardaun ká garh*—the fort of Indardaun, see No. 13 on Plate I. Indardaun (the Indradyumna of Buchanan*), whose name still lingers in the memory of the people, was the reigning king of Magadha, at the time of the Muhammadan invasion in 1195 A. D., and he is believed by Buchanan to have been one of the Pála dynasty which was Buddhist, and on his flight from Bengal he is stated to have built the temple of Jagarnáth, the original Buddhist character of which seems undoubted.

The so-called 'garh,' or fort, evidently a monastery.—Although it is not improbable that some of Indardaun's troops may have occupied this

* *Eastern India*, II, 23. Also Cunningham's *Repts.*, III, p. 132.

post when being hard-pressed by the Muhammadan invaders,—the historical accounts, however, state that his troops fled without offering resistance—still the whole appearance of the place seems to justify the belief that the so-called '*garh*' or fort at Uren was originally and essentially a Buddhist monastery. It is much too small in size for a fort, nor has it the outline ditch or earthworks of one or any cavity or depression within. On the other hand it teems with fragments of Buddhist statues and rough-hewn lintels and door-jambs, and seems to have been an almost solid mass of brick buildings. An old resident states that when the greater part of the ruins were being dug up for bricks on the construction of the adjoining railway embankment over thirty years ago, the appearance revealed was that of innumerable small rooms, and in one of these he saw on a shelf-like recess in the wall a folded-up cloth like a [illegible]sh, which crumbled to dust on being touched.

Historic reference to this monastery.—No mention is made by Hiuen Tsiang of a monastery at this place: this may be owing to his not having himself visited the locality. That a monastery did exist at such a sacred place, hallowed by the residence of Buddha and containing so many visible "traces" of his presence, and itself a place of pilgrimage, may be considered certain. From another source we find what seems a reference to this monastery. The fullest accounts of Buddha's life, yet known, are preserved in the Southern Scriptures, and from these it would appear that this hill is the place where Buddha spent the *Vassa* (rains—July to September, the so-called Lent) of the sixteenth season of his ministry. Reference is only made to one occasion on which Buddha converted a solitary man-eating demon; and both the Sinhalese* and the Burmese† versions of the legend agree in placing the scene at the place spelt respectively A-low and A-la-wi, which bears a remarkably close resemblance to the name of Uren—seeing that the old Sinhalese and Burmese translators being unable to pronounce the letter *r*, either elided it or substituted an *l*, thus habitually mangling Indian names. The general details of the attendant circumstances of that event also favour the view that this was the same incident which Hiuen Tsiang narrates. The Sinhalese version further states that the place was 30 yojanas (*i. e.*, over 400 miles according to Sinhalese calculation‡) distant from the great Jetavana Vihára near Srávastí, which St. Martin§ indicated and Genl.

* Spence Hardy's *Man. of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., p. 269.

† Bigandet's *Legend of Gautama*, I, p. 245.

‡ According to Indian calculation, the yojana is considered to be only about seven miles. It is generally believed, however, to have been greater than this in ancient times.

§ *Loc. cit.*, p. 355.

Cunningham* afterwards identified as a spot in the neighbourhood of Sáhet-Mahet in S. Oudh, and the direct distance hence to Uren is by the map about three hundred miles, but by road it would be much greater. Both versions note that the place was near the Ganges, and that the demon killed and ate human beings, and was converted by Buddha. The Sinhalese account states that the abode of the demon in the forest was high and conspicuous as this hill is; and the Burmese version further states that "Buddha spent herein the sixteenth Season," and adds "on that spot where so glorious and unexpected a conversion "had taken place *a monastery was erected.*"

As the hill of Uren itself offered no room for a monastery this would naturally be built on the spur at the base, now occupied by the mounds of brick ruins.

Sketch of its extent and superficial remains.—In the accompanying map (Plate I) will be seen the position, extent and outline of the mass of brick debris, which seems to be the ruins of the monastery. I should mention that in surveying the site I took the measurements by pacing, and one step is taken as being equivalent to one yard. Before the railway excavations commenced about thirty years ago, the ruins are said to have formed high mounds of bricks outlining the position of the walls. But the railway operations removed all the superficial bricks and the greater portion of the foundation of the walls were also dug up. The old villagers report that the bricks thus exhumed from the foundations were of enormous size, *viz.*, about 18 inches × 10″ or 12″ and of a thickness like ordinary modern bricks. Notwithstanding the hundreds of cart-loads of bricks thus dug up and removed, it is said that a considerable portion of the foundation still remains intact underneath the present mounds of brick debris; so that excavation may yet reveal the exact plan of the building. The surface of these terraced mounds is strewn with fragments of statues and other sculptured stones. At the point marked No. 14 on the map are fragments of what appears to be a life-sized standing statue of Buddha, and these seem to be more or less *in situ*. The numerous Buddhist images throughout the village are reported to have been all collected from this site and carried to where they now are for greater safety. At the point marked No. 15 on the map were exhumed two ornamented pillars. The points, marked No. 13 on the map, indicate unusually high mounds of broken bricks and rough-hewn granite blocks. There is no evidence that any large village ever existed here.

Multitude of inscribed images and votive chaityas.—The multitude of inscribed Buddhist images and votive chaityas of high artistic merit is

* *Arch. S. Rept.*, I. 534.

only to be accounted for on the supposition that this was a famous place of pilgrimage in olden times. The stone employed is, with few exceptions, a fine, almost homogeneous bluish basalt, which is worked into a high polish. No such rock exists in the neighbourhood. The curved appearance of several of the sculptured slabs shows that they formed portions of small stúpas, such as those which existed on the hill. These blocks were clamped together with iron bolts.

The Inscriptions.—Nearly every image bears an inscription. This, in most instances, is merely the Buddhist creed, commencing with '*Om ye dharmma-hetu*, &c.,' such as is usually engraved on votive images. But a few of the longer inscriptions may contain interesting information. For one of these see No. 3, Plate IV. Four of these inscriptions are in the curious cuneiform headed character, found in the upper rock-cut inscription, with wedge-like terminations to the up-strokes, suggestive of the old Assyrian style of letters. These appendages are also attached laterally to certain of the letters. This is possibly the same character as that contained in the two specimens, referred to by Mr. Bendall* as not having yet been deciphered by archæologists, but he does not appear to have figured them. This form of character, although Sanskritic has little in common with the style of the so-called 'nail-headed' characters, even were the apex of the triangle directed downwards instead of up. That their style is distinctly wedge-headed is evident from the rock-cut inscription, shown in No. 4, Plate IV; and it will be interesting to find, if they have a north-west origin. Mr. Fleet also notes† having lately received from Gayá a specimen of what may possibly be this character in an inscription on the bottom plate of a brass image of Buddha, which he has not yet made out. The three inscriptions, shown in Nos. 1, 2, and 4, of Plate IV, of which the first two are entire and seem to contain the Buddhist creed, may afford a key to this rare style of character. The style of the characters shows that the majority of the inscriptions date from the 8th to the 12th century A. D.; but the letters of the rock cut wedge-headed inscription when divested of their cuneiform appendages are almost Aśoka-like. One of the smaller inscriptions kindly translated by Dr. Hoernle runs 'This is the pious gift of Śrí Udaya.'

Old Tank-names in the vicinity.—It is worth while, here, to give a list of the names of the old tanks or ponds (*pukhar*) in the vicinity; especially as the names are evidently ancient, and survivals of names which are now meaningless to the villagers.

* *Journey in Nepal, &c.*, p. 54, 1886.

† *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 19, Calc., 1889.

1. Dháka kuṇḍa gadráhí.
2. Shamár gaṛhí pukhar.
3. Kumukhar.
4. Jhár Kathí pukhar.
5. Sarpandáni pukhar.
6. Amrourá do.
7. Sahán do.
8. Sitáhí do.
9. Uraiyá do.

The first three are in the immediate vicinity of Uren, and the others within $\frac{1}{8}^{th}$ to $\frac{1}{4}^{th}$ of a mile of that place. In connection with the first named I would note that *Gadrabha* is said to be the name of the house-keeper of the Yaká of "A-low" (Uren), and it is remarkable that the tank retains the old Hindí word *kuṇḍa* in stead of *pukhar*. The second tank is at the side of the so-called *gaṛh* or fort, and seems to be named in this relation. As this tank borders what is evidently the monastery, it is possible that *Shamár* may be a corruption of *Shaman* = Skt. 'Śramaṇa' a Buddhist monk. The third tank-name may mean the "Prince's" [*Śakya*] or the "potter's" tank—there have been no potters living here within the recollection of the villagers.† The fourth name evidently means the tank of 'the *Kath* forest'—*Kath* is the name of a kind of tree occasionally worshipped by the aboriginal Musáhars, and is to be found some miles off, although not now near this tank.

The purity of the Buddhism.—The purity of the form of Buddhism prevailing at this establishment is evidenced by the almost total absence of Śivaic images and the very orthodox nature of the truly Buddhist images, and this is in keeping with Hiuen Tsiang's statement that most of the monasteries in this district were of the Hínayána school—the more primitive and pure sect. The majority of the images represent Buddha in the meditative form, others show him in a sitting posture as Teacher expounding the Law, and a few represent him standing and entering into the state of *Parinirváṇa*. He is as frequently represented crowned, as with the tonsure. The monkey episode and the crouching elephant are frequent accessories. The central supporting figure in most of the basements is a squat human male figure with snake-like locks of hair, see Plate IV, No. 2. The upper two-thirds of a female figure in sandstone with leafy ornaments are somewhat after the

* Spence Hardy *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

† [The name means neither. It is a contraction of Skr. *Kumbhapushkara*, lit. 'jar-tank'. It contains no reference either to a prince or a potter. Ed.]

style of the Mathurá sculptures figured by General Cunningham.* At a hamlet about a mile to the west is a perforated screen and a portion of a slab with an elegant scroll design.

The only trace of impurity, observed by me, was found in a small four-armed figure of Avalokiteśvara and a small highly carved marble image of the Bodhisattva Tára of the Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhists. On the back of the latter image is inscribed the Buddhist creed in mediæval *Kutila* characters, and in the base are portrayed the seven treasures of a *Chakravarti* rájá, such as Śakyamuni was to have been, had he not adopted the life of an ascetic; *viz.*, (1) a wheel (*chakra-ratna*), (2) elephant (*hasti-ratna*), (3) horse (*aśva-ratna*), (4) a jewel on a trifid pedestal (*maṇikya-ratna*), (5) a general (*senápati-ratna*), (6) a minister (*grahapati-ratna*) and (7) a good wife (*strí-ratna*).

In its palmy days, this rocky hill, studded with stúpas and its profusion of images and ministering monks, must have formed a most picturesque sight.

DATE AND MODE OF DESTRUCTION OF THIS BUDDHIST ESTABLISHMENT.

Buddhism is known to have been the state-religion in Magadha so late as the reign of Mahipála, whose inscription, notifying this fact, is dated 1026 A. D. It would thus appear, in Magadha, at least, to have been little, if at all, affected by the Brahmanical persecution under Śankarácháryа.† General Cunningham states‡ that Buddhism "continued to be "the dominant religion of Magadha from the middle of the eighth century "*down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest*, when the monasteries "were destroyed, and the monks put to death by the ruthless and il-"literate Musalmans." But it is not apparent on what grounds the General makes the latter portion of this statement, and the attitude towards Buddhism of the Pála kings, subsequent to Mahipála, does not yet appear to be definitely known. Some evidence, however, seems to be available regarding the approximate date and mode of destruction of this Buddhist establishment at Uren which favours the above statement. The latest Buddhist inscriptions on the images are written in mediæval Nágarí characters, such as commenced to be current about the 12th and 13th centuries A. D. And local tradition ascribes the destruction of the '*garh*' and the temples containing the images (Buddhist) to the

* *Arch. Survey Reports.*, vol. I, pl. 40, and vol. III, pl. 6.

† "Ce fut dans ce temps (9th century A. D.) que parurent des ennemis terribles, pour les bouddistes. Çankaraatchareia et son disciple Bataatchareia, qui exterminèrent le Bouddisme, le premier dans le Bengale, le second, à Oriçca."—TARANATH in Vassilief's *Le Bouddisme*, p. 53.

‡ *Arch. Survey Report.*, vol. III, 119.

Paṭhán soldiery at the Muhammadan invasion of Bihár, which event took place in 1195 A. D. under the Afghán General Bakhtyár Khiljí.* Stewart† states that Indradyumna's troops fled without offering any resistance; thus the teeming monasteries were left unprotected, and the Muhammadans appear to have regarded the monks as the soldiery of the enemy, and massacred them wholesale. What happened in the neighbouring monastery of Bihár (*vihára*) has been chronicled by one of the historians of the invaders, and it is typical of what must have happened a few days later at Uren. He says‡ "Muḥammad Bakhtyár "with great vigour and audacity rushed into the gate of the fort and "gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of "the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Bráhmans with "shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books "were found there; and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called "for persons to explain their contents, *but all the men had been killed.* "*It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study* (madra-"sah). For in the Hindí language the word *vihára* means 'a college.'" In the above account the occupants of the monasteries are described as 'Bráhmans with shaven heads.' These were quite evidently Buddhist monks, as the rude idol-hating invaders were ignorant of the religious distinctions of the Indians, and having killed all the Buddhist monks, the subsequent historian merely designates the massacred priests by the title of the surviving priests of the people. In support of this view is the reference to shaven heads, which condition is a characteristic of Buddhist monks, and not of Bráhman priests, who leave a tail of hair uncut at the crown and do not differ in this respect from the laymen.

Invading Muhammadans the destroyers.—This tradition is also fully supported by the appearance of the remains. The deep-rooted respect paid by Hindús to images and idols of every description, even though these be of strange gods, is as well known as is the Muhammadan's religious abhorrence of images; and Paṭháns are amongst the most fanatical of Muhammadans. Most of the large statues have been shivered into pieces, and of the smaller ones scarcely any have escaped serious mutilation; and that the mutilation was deliberately done is evident from the heads being broken off and features chipped, even when these were in depressed positions and not readily reached; the marks of hatchet cuts are also visible. This same spirit for mutilating images,

* Blochmann in *Statistical Acc., Bengal*, XV, p. 63. Stewart (*Hist. Bengal*, p. 39), puts the date at 1199 A. D.

† *Loc. cit.*

‡ *Minháj-i-Siráj* in *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, transl by Elliot, II, p. 306.

on religious grounds, still survives amongst Muhammadans. I lately witnessed in Upper Burma this work of destruction taking place under very similar circumstances to what obtained at Uren, *viz.*, a force, consisting mainly of Muhammadan (and these mostly Paṭhán, *i. e.*, Afghán) troops invading a country actively Buddhistic and hoary with the antiquity of its Buddhist monuments. Although stringent orders had been issued to respect the temples and their teeming images, it was found impossible to repress the Muhammadan soldiery from clandestinely mutilating the very numerous alabaster images of Buddha which abounded in every village. One image would be dashed against another, and the hea , thus broken off, used as an instrument to mutilate the features of all the other images within reach, and the heads finally thrown far away. Had these men been altogether unrestrained, the work of destruction must have been enormous. As further illustrating the fanatical spirit of these Muhammadan invaders is the historical note* regarding their invasion of Koch Bihár: the chief (Mír Jumlah) issued "directions to destroy all the idolatrous temples and to erect mosques in their stead. To evince his zeal for religion, the General himself with a battle-axe broke the celebrated image of Narain, the principal object of worship of the Hindús of that province." This image is known to be the mutilated image of Buddha, still at Koch Hajo and worshipped by Hindús under the name of Hádhab, one of the titles of Náráyaṇa or Vishṇu. And at Uren itself, when photographing the two ornamental pillars which are now deposited in the garden of a Muhammadan gentleman of the place, I expressed a regret that the figures had been mutilated; on which the aforesaid gentleman stated that when the pillars were exhumed a few years ago, some of the features still remained entire, but he with his own hands completed the mutilation, as otherwise he could not have tolerated the pillars near his dwelling.

Mediæval Brahmanic idols similarly destroyed.—At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Magadha in the seventh century, although the dominant religion was Buddhism, many Brahmanical temples with their priests existed throughout the country. One such small Brahmanical temple appears to have become established at Uren, at the point marked No. 16 on Plate I. It was far removed from the Buddhist settlement and it enshrined one or all of the following idols, which are still found there:—

(1) A four (?) armed Durgá.
(2) A Hara-Gaurí (Śiva and Parvatí).
(3) A pot-bellied god squatted in front of a palm-leaf-like canopy ? (Gaṇeśa).

* Stewart *Ibid.*, p. 289.

The last noted idol has an inscription in mediæval Nágarí, and all of them are of very coarse workmanship. But here is the interesting point, as bearing on the destruction of the Buddhist settlement: *all these Brahmanic images have been mutilated in exactly the same manner as the Buddhist images:* the heads being broken off and the features deliberately smashed. No Hindús, nor the hill tribes, who especially worship stones, even unsculptured, could have been the destroying agents here. It is, therefore, only reasonable to believe, as the local tradition relates, that the Muhammadan invaders, not discriminating between Buddhist and Brahmanic images, mutilated both alike. Uren, it is to be noted, must have felt the full force of the invasion, as it lay directly in the line of route to Muagir, a stronghold in which the "invaders soon established themselves, as it seems to have been the second town in Southern Bihár"* at that period.

Conservation of Buddhist images by the Hindús.—The relatively good state of preservation in which many of these fragments of Buddhist images are found after the lapse of so many centuries is directly due to the extreme veneration, in which images of every kind are held by Hindú villagers. The numerous Buddhist images and sculptured stones, now collected on the brick mound, marked No. 16 on Plate VI, which seems to be the ruins of the *deva* temple and is now the *Kálí* shrine of the village, are reported to have been gathered by the Hindús from the ruins of the *garh* and deposited there, where they now are treasured up. And as further fragments from time to time are unearthed, they are added to the collection or deposited under one or other of the *pípal* (*Ficus religiosa*) trees in the village, where the larger ones are worshipped by daubing with red lead. The images of Buddha are thus worshipped under the names of *Mai* (= mother) or *Chandí Mai*, *Parbatí* or *Devi* (= goddess), all of them names of Siva's consort—the mild benign expression of the images being interpreted as indicating a female; and the votive chaityas are worshipped as *lingas* (phallus). In such veneration are these images held that I had the greatest difficulty in copying the inscriptions and taking the photographs. The villagers at first gathered in a rather threatening manner, and said that they would not allow their gods to be desecrated by the hands of any person, whether Hindú or not. I explained to them that these Buddhist images were not Hindú gods at all; but the villagers still persisted in saying that they had for generations become accustomed to regard these images as the *gráma-devatá* (village-gods) of the place, and they would not now give up that belief. Ultimately they were somewhat appeased on my promising to touch the

* Blochmann, *op. cit.*

images as little as possible, and to replace them again exactly as I found them; but seeing that the process was a rather tedious one, a guard was always kept at the place to see that I did not carry off any of the stones.

Such an attitude on the part of the villagers—who are here mostly bigoted Bábhans of the Rájpút caste and possibly descendants of the original Buddhist community—has undoubtedly tended to conserve these remains.

It must not, however, be supposed that the protection thus offered by Hindús to Buddhist images is knowingly given out of pious regard for Buddhism. This is not the case. In every instance the images are cherished in the belief that they are truly Hindú gods. The real attitude of Hindús towards Buddhist images is well seen at Bodh Gayá where the Hindú pilgrims to the adjacent Brahmanical shrines may be seen scowling and even spitting upon the Buddhist images now conserved there by Government. Indeed the Gayá pilgrimage, which every good Hindú must perform is one of direct hostility to Buddhism—the great *Gayá Asura* demon, whose suppression is the *raison d'être* of this pilgrimage, being none other than Buddha himself. This should be well considered by those who believe that the adoption of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishṇu by certain of the Hindús in mediæval times necessarily implies that Buddhism disappeared from India by amicable amalgamation with Bráhmanism.

Concluding remarks.—In conclusion, I would draw especial attention to the following points, the importance of which is indeed self-evident, *viz.*,

1st. The necessity for Government-conservation of the hill without delay, in order to prevent further removal, by the quarriers, of these surviving remnants of antiquity.

2nd. The desirability of thoroughly exploring the monastery mounds and stúpa-like sites, &c., as excavation will doubtless reveal numerous remains now buried among the ruins.

3rd. That the legend of this Yaksha is not a mere Sun-myth as supposed by Rhys Davids following Senart,* but is founded on a certain basis of fact. Divested of its embellishments, the story resolves itself into the conversion by Buddha of a notorious and dreaded non-Aryan free-booter and possibly a cannibal whose reputation still survives till the present day. In addition to the particulars already given of these so-called 'demons', it is remarkable that the detailed account of the 'Yakás', given in the Sinhalese Scriptures, is an almost exact

* *Buddhism* by Rhys Davids, p. 73, Lond., 1887.

description of the disposition and leading traits of these wild aborigines up to the present day.*

'4th. The light thrown by the local tradition, coupled with the appearance, age, &c. of the remains, on the probable manner in which Buddhism became extinguished in this part of India, *viz.*, a sudden and complete extinction by the fierce onslaught of the Muhammadan invaders. The Buddhist monks, crowded together in large communities and in special buildings, surrounded with idols, must have appeared to the fanatical invaders as *the* idolators *par excellence*, and as such were undoubtedly the so-called 'unopposing *Brâhmans* with shaven heads' of Muhammadan history† who were massacred by the troops. On the massacre and flight‡ of the monks, the destruction of the temples, &c., and the permanent occupation of the country by the Muhammadan invader, it is not surprising that Buddhism, which, for its popular existence, depends so essentially on its monastic establishment, should have utterly disappeared. Brahmanism, on the other hand, being a much more personal and domestic religion, with comparatively little display of its idols, could still survive the torrent of Moslem fanaticism.

5th. The presence of so many inscriptions in the novel cuneiform headed character is remarkable.

And lastly, additional testimony is here afforded to the marvellous accuracy of that illustrious traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, as a geographer.

Lamaic Rosaries: their Kinds and Uses.—*By* L. A. Waddell, M. B.

The rosary is an essential part of a Lama's dress; and taking, as it does, such a prominent part in the Lamaic ritual, it is remarkable that the Tibetan rosary does not appear to have attracted particular notice.

As a Buddhist article the rosary is especially peculiar to the northern school of Buddhists; and the outcome of the esoteric teachings of the Mahâyâna school, instilling belief in the potency of muttering

* "The dwelling-place of the *Yakás* is not in the *narakas* (hell); .... they are found in the earth ..... They marry and *delight in dances, songs and other amusements; their strength is great*; and some of them are represented as possessing splendour and dignity," and from what follows they are much addicted to "*intoxicating drinks.*"—Spence Hardy's '*Manual of Buddhism*,' p. 46.

† *Loc. cit.*

‡ Many of the fugitive monks, seem to have escaped into Nepal and Tibet.—'*Sketches from Nepal*' by H. A. Oldfield, M. D., II, p. 67.

mystic spells and other strange formulas. In the very complicated rosaries of Japan* it has attained its highest development.

The rosary is not enumerated in the southern Scriptures among the articles necessary for a monk. But incidental mention is made by Shway Yoe† of a rosary with 108 beads; and several of the Burmese monks I have met possessed a rosary called 'Bodhí' consisting of 72 black sub-cylindrical beads which I understood, were composed of slips of a leaf inscribed with charmed words and rolled into pellets with the aid of lacquer or varnish.

The rosary is not conspicuous amongst Southern Buddhists; but amongst Tibetans, it is everywhere visible. It is also held in the hand of the image of the patron god of Tibet—Ché-ré-si (Skt. *Avalokiteśvara*). And its use is not confined to the Lamas. Nearly every lay-man and woman is possessed of a rosary on which at every opportunity they zealously store up merit; and they also use it for secular purposes, like the sliding balls of the Chinese to assist in ordinary calculations: the beads to the right of the centre-bead being called *ta-thang* and registering units, while those to the left are called *chu-dô* and record tens, which numbers suffice for their ordinary wants.

Description of the Rosary and its Appendages.

The Tibetan name for the rosary is ཕྲེང་བ་ '*h*phreng-ba,' pronounced *theng-wa* or vulgarly *theng-nga*, and literally means 'a string of beads.'

The rosary contains 108 beads of uniform size. The reason for this special number is alleged to be merely a provision to ensure the repetition of the sacred spell a full hundred times, and the extra beads are added to make up for any omission of beads through absent-mindedness during the telling process or for actual loss of beads by breakage. Ché-ré-si and Dö-ma have each 108 names, but it is not usual to tell these on the rosary. And in the later Kham editions of the Lamaic Scriptures—the '*b*kah *h*gyur,'—the volumes have been extended from 100 to 108. And the Burmese foot-prints of Buddha sometimes contain 108 Subdivisions.‡ This number is perhaps borrowed like so many other Lamaic fashions from the Hindús, of whom the Vaishnabs possess a rosary with 108 beads.

The two ends of the string of beads, before being knotted, are passed

* *Note on Buddhist Rosaries in Japan.* By J. M. James, *Trans. Jap. As. Soc.*, p. 173, 1881.

† *The Burman: His Life and Notions* I. p. 201.

‡ *The Burman, &c.*, I. p. 201.

through three extra beads, the centre one of which is the largest. These are collectively called *doḳ-dsin* (རྡོག་འཛིན་ *rdog-hdsin*) or 'retaining or seizing beads.' The word is sometimes spelt *mdo-hdsin*, and pronounced *dô-dsin*, which means 'the union-holder.' In either case the meaning is much the same. These beads keep the proper rosary beads in position and indicate to the teller the completion of a cycle of beads.

This triad of beads symbolises 'the Three Holy Ones' of the Buddhist Trinity, *viz.*, Buddha, Dharma (the Word) and Sangha (the Church, excluding the laity). The large central bead represents Buddha, while the smaller one intervening between it and the rosary beads proper represents the Church and is called 'Our special Lama-monitor' (རྩ་བའི་བླ་མ་), the personal Lama-guide and confessor of the Tibetan Buddhist; and his symbolic presence on the rosary immediately at the end of the bead-cycle is to ensure becoming gravity and care in the act of telling the beads, as if he were actually present.

The Geluk-pa, or 'reformed' sect of Lamas, usually have only two beads as *doḳ-dsin*, in which case the terminal one is of much smaller size, and the pair are considered emblematic of a vase from which the beads spring. In such cases the extra bead is sometimes strung with the other beads of the rosary, which latter then contains 109 beads; thus showing that the beads really number 111.

Attached to the rosary is a pair of strings of ten small pendant metallic rings as counters. One of these strings is terminated by a miniature *dor-je* (the thunderbolt of Indra) and the other by a small bell—in Tantric Buddhist figures the *dorje* is usually associated with a bell. The counters on the *dorje*-string register units of bead-cycles, while those on the bell-string mark tens of cycles. The counters and the ornaments of the strings are usually of silver, and inlaid with turquoise.

These two strings of counters are called *ḍang-dsin* (གྲངས་འཛིན, *grang-hdsin*) or 'count-keepers;' but vulgarly they are known as *chub-shé* (བཅུ་བཤད་ *bchu-bshad*) or 'the ten makers.' They may be attached at any part of the rosary string, but are usually attached at the 8th and 21st bead on either side of the central bead.

They are used in the following manner. When about to tell the beads, the counters on each string are slid up the string. On completing a circle of the beads, the lowest counter on the *dorje*-string is slid down into contact with the *dorje*. And on each further cycle of beads being told, a further counter is slid down. When the ten have been exhausted, they are then slid up again, and one counter is slipped down from the bell-string. The counters thus serve to register the utterance of $108 \times 10 \times 10 = 10{,}800$ prayers or mystic formulas.

The number of these formulas, daily repeated in this way, is enormous. The average daily number of repetitions may, in the earlier stages of a Lama's career, amount to 5,000 daily, but it depends somewhat on the zeal and leisure of the individual. A layman may repeat daily about five to twenty bead-cycles, but usually less. Old women are especially pious in this way, many telling over twenty bead-cycles daily. A middle-aged Lama friend of mine has repeated the spell of his tutelary deity alone over 2,000,000 times. It is not uncommon to find rosaries so worn away by the friction of so much handling that originally globular beads have become cylindrical.

Affixed to the rosary are small odds and ends, such as a metal toothpick, tweezer, small keys, &c.

Material of the Beads.

The materials of which the Lamaic rosaries are composed may to a certain extent vary in costliness according to the wealth of the wearer. The *Khén-bo* or abbot of a large and wealthy monastery may have rosaries of pearl and other precious stones, and even of gold. Turner relates* that the Grand Táshi Lama possessed rosaries of pearls, emeralds rubies, sapphires, coral, amber, crystal and lapis-lazuli.

But the material of the rosary can only vary within rather narrow limits. Its nature being determined by the particular sect to which the Lama belongs and the particular deity to whom worship is to be paid.

Kinds of Rosaries.

The yellow rosary or *Setheng* (སེར་འཕྲེང་), is the special rosary of the Ge-luk-pa or 'reformed school,' also called 'the yellow hat sect' (*Shá-ser*). The beads are formed from the ochrey yellow wood of the *Chang-chhub* tree (ཇང་ཆུབ་), literally 'the Bodhi tree' or tree of supreme wisdom, which is said to grow in central China. The wood is so deeply yellow, that it is doubtful whether it be really that of the pípal (*Ficus religiosa*), of which was the Bodhi tree under which Gautama attained his Buddhahood. These beads are manufactured wholesale by machinery at the temple called by Tibetans *Ri-wo tse-nga* and by the Chinese *U-tha Shan*, or 'The Five Peaks' about 200 miles Southwest of Pekin. Huc gives a Sketch† of this romantic place but makes no mention of its rosaries. This rosary is of two kinds, *viz.*, the usual

* *Embassy to Tibet*, p 261, 1800.

† *Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China.* By M. Huc. Hazlitt's trans. I. p. 79.

form of spherical beads about the size of a pea, and a less common form of lozenge-shaped perforated discs about the size of a sixpence. This rosary may be used for all kinds of worship, including that of the furies.

The *Bo-dhi-tse* (བོ་དི་རྩེ་ཤིང་) rosary is the one chiefly in use among the Nying-ma-pa, or 'old, (*i. e.*, unreformed) school' of Lamas, also called the *Shá-mar* or 'red-hat sect.' It is remarkable that its name also seeks to associate it with the Bodhi tree, but its beads are certainly not derived from the *Ficus* family. Its beads are the rough brown seeds of a tree which grows in the outer Himálayas. This rosary can be used for all kinds of worship, and may also be used by the Ge-luk-pa in the worship of the fiercer deities.

The white rosary *Tungtheng* (དུང་འཕྲེང་), consists of cylindrical perforated discs of the conch shell (Tib. *tung*), and is specially used in the worship of Ché-ré-si—the usual form of whose image holds a white rosary in the upper right hand. This is the special rosary of nuns.

The rosary of plain crystal or uncoloured glass beads is also peculiar to Chérési.

The red sandal-wood rosary *Tsén-den-mar theng* (རྩེན་དམར་འཕྲེང་) consists of perforated discs of red sandal-wood (*Adenanthera pavonina*) or other wood of a similar appearance. It is used only in the worship of the fierce deity Tam-din (Skt. *Hayagríva*) a special protector of Lamaism.

The coral rosary—*Chí-ru-theng* (ཇི་རུ་ཅ་)—is also used for Tam-din, and by the Nyingmapa sects for their wizard-saint Padma Sambhava's worship. Coral being so expensive, red beads of glass or composition are in general use instead. With this rosary, it is usual to have the counters of turquoise or blue beads.

The rosary, formed of discs of the human skull—the *thö-theng* (ཐོད་འཕྲེང་)—is especially used for the worship of Dorje-jik-che (Skt. Yáma) one of the forms of the King of the Dead. It is usually inserted within the *Bo-dhi-tse* or other ordinary rosary; and it frequently has its discs symmetrically divided by 4 large *Rak-sha* beads into 4 series, one of these beads forming the central bead. There is no rosary formed of finger bones, as has been sometimes stated.

The 'elephant-stone' rosary—*Lang-chhen-dö-pa* (གླང་ཆེན་གཟི་པ་)—is prepared from a porous bony-like concretion, which is sometimes found in the stomach of the elephant. It also, being suggestive of bone, is used in worship of Yáma. The real material, however, being extremely scarce and expensive, a substitute is usually had in beads made from the fibrous root of the bow-bambu (*Zhu-shing*) which has on section a struc-

ture very like the stomach-stone, and its name also means 'stomach or digestion' as well as 'bow.'

The *rak-sha* rosary (རག་ཤ་) formed of the large brown warty seeds of the *Elæocarpus Janitrus*, is specially used by the Nyingmapa Lamas in the worship of the fierce deities and demons. The seeds of this tree are normally five-lobed, and it is interesting from a botanical point of view to find, how relatively frequent is the occurrence of six lobes. Such abnormal seeds are highly prized by the Tibetans as being the offspring of the miraculous seeds of Padma Sambhava's rosary—the legend stating that the saint's rosary string broke while at his Halashi hermitage in Nepal, and several of the detached beads remained unpicked up, and from these have resulted the six-lobed seeds. The demand for such uncommon seeds being great, it is astonishing how many of them are forthcoming to diligent search. This rosary is also commonly used by the indigenous Bon-po priests, and it is identical with the rosary of the Sivaic Hindús—the *rudráksha* (रुद्राक्ष = Rudra's, *i. e.*, fierce Siva's eyes), from which the Tibetan name of *rak-sha* is supposed to be derived.

The *Nang-ga pá-ní* rosary is only used for the worship of Nam-sé, the God of Wealth (Skt. Kubera) ; and by the *Ngáḳ-pa* or wizards in their mystical incantations. It consists of glossy jet-black nuts about the size of a hazel, but of the shape of small horse chesnuts. These are the seeds of the *Lung-thang* tree which grows in the sub-tropical forests of the S. E. Himálayas. They are emblematic of the eyes of the Garuḍa bird, the chief assistant of Vajra-páṇi (Jupiter) and the great enemy of snakes—hence is supposed to be derived the Sanskritic name of the beads, from *nága*, a serpent. Its use in the worship of the God of Wealth is noteworthy in the association of snakes—the mythological guardians of treasure—with the idea of wealth.

The rosary of *snake-spines* (vertebræ) is only used by the sorcerers (Ngáḳ-pa) for purposes of sorcery and divination. The string contains about fifty vertebræ.

The complexion of the god or goddess to be worshipped also determines sometimes the colour of the rosary-beads. Thus a turquoise rosary is occasionally used in the worship of the popular goddess Dö-ma who is of a bluish green complexion. A red rosary with red Tam-din, a yellow with yellow Jam-yang ; and Nam-sé who is of a golden yellow colour is worshipped with an amber-rosary.

The rosaries of the laity are composed of any sort of bead according to the taste and wealth of the owner. They are mostly of glass beads of various colours, and the same rosary contains beads of a variety of sizes and colours interspersed with coral, amber, turquoise, &c., *vide* The number of beads is the same as with the Lamas, but each of the

counter strings are usually terminated by a dorje: both strings recording only units of cycles, which suffice for the smaller amount of bead-telling done by the laity.

Mode of Telling the Beads.

When not in use the rosary is wound round the right wrist like a bracelet, or worn around the neck with the knotted end uppermost.

The act of telling the beads is called *tang-che* which literally means 'to purr' like a cat, and the muttering of the prayers is rather suggestive of this sound.

In telling the beads the right hand is passed through the rosary, which is allowed to hang freely down with the knotted end upwards. The hand with the thumb upwards is then usually carried to the breast and held there stationary during the recital. On pronouncing the initial word 'Oṃ' the first bead resting on the knuckle is grasped by raising the thumb and quickly depressing its tip to seize the bead against the outer part of the 2nd joint of the index finger. During the rest of the sentence the bead, still grasped between the thumb and index finger, is gently revolved to the right, and on conclusion of the sentence is dropped down the palm-side of the string. Then with another 'Oṃ' the next bead is seized and treated in like manner, and so on throughout the circle.

On concluding each cycle of the beads, it is usual to finger each of the three 'keeper-beads,' saying respectively, 'Oṃ!' 'Ah!' 'Hung!'

The Mystic Formulas for the Beads.

The mystic formulas for the beads follow the prayer properly so-called, and are believed to contain the essence of the formal prayer, and to act as powerful spells. They are of a Sanskritic nature, usually containing the name of the deity addressed, but are more or less unintelligible to the worshipper.

The formula used at any particular time varies according to the particular deity being worshipped. But the one most frequently used by the individual Lama is that of his own *yi-dam* or tutelary deity, which varies according to the sect to which the Lama belongs.

The formulas most frequently used are shown in the following table:—

Name of Deity.	The Spell.	English Transliteration of Spell.	Special kind of rosary used
1. Dor-je jik-che རྡོ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད་ Skt. *Yáma (antaka).*	ཨོཾ་ཡ་མཱན་ཏ་ཀྲྀ་ཧུྃ་ཕཊ།	Om! Ya-mân-ta-kṛi hung phăṭ!	Human-skull or stomach-stone.
2. Châ-na dorje ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ Skt. *Vajrapáṇi.*	ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་པཱ་ཎི་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ།	Om! Bădsra* páṇi hung phăt!	Rak-sha.
	ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་ཙཎྜ་མ་ཧཱ་རོ་ཁ་ན ཧཱུྃ།	Om! Bădsra-tsan-ḍa ma-hā rō-kha-na hung!	Rak-sha.
3. Tam-din ཏཾ་མཐྱིན་ Skt. *Hayagríva.*	ཨོཾ་པདྨ་ད་ཀྲིད་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ།	Om! păḍ-ma ta krid hung phăṭ!	Red-sandal or Coral.
4. Ché-ré-si or Thuk-je-chhen-po. ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ Skt. *Avalokiteśvara.*	ཨོཾ་མ་ཎི་པདྨེ་ཧཱུྃ།	Om! mâ-ṇi păḍ-me hung!	Conch-shell or Crystal.
5. Dö-ma jang-khu སྒྲོལ་མ་ལྕང་ཁུ་ Skt. *Tárá.*	ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟ་རེ་ཏུ་རེ་ སྭཱ་ཧཱ།	Om! Tá-re tut-tá-re tu-re swá-há!	Bo-dhi-tse or turquoise.
6. Dö-kar སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ Skt. *Sitá-Tárá.*	ཨོཾ་ཏཱ་རེ་ཏུཏྟ་རེ་མ་མ་ ཨཱ་ཡུར་པུ་ཉྱེ་དཀྱིལ་ན་ པུ་ཁྲིཾ་ཀུ་རུ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།	Om! Tá-re tut-tá-re ma-ma á-yur pu-nye dsa-nya-na pu khip-ḍa ku-ru swá-há!	Bodhitse.
7. Dor-je phak-mo རྡོ་རྗེ་ཕག་མོ་ Skt. *Vajravárahi.*	ཨོཾ་སརྦ་བུདྡྷ་ཌཱ་ཀི་ནི་ ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ།	Om! sar-ba Bud-ha ḍak-kin-ni hung phăṭ!	Bodhitse.

* It is noticeable that the Tibetans habitually transliterate the Sanskrit *j* by the softer palatal sibilant *ds*.

Name of Deity.	The Spell.	English Transliteration of Spell.	Special kind of rosary used.
8. Ö-zer chén-ma འོད་ཟེར་ཅན་མ་ Skt. *Márichí.*	ཨོཾ་མ་རི་ཙྱེ་མཾ་སྭ་ཧཱ།	Oṃ! Ma-rí-tsye mam swá-há!	Bodhitse.
9. Gön-po nag-po མགོན་པོ་ནག་པོ་ Skt. *Mahákála.*	ཨོཾ་ཤྲཱི་མ་ཧཱ་ཀཱ་ལ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།	Oṃ! Śrí Ma-há-kâ-la hung phāṭ swá-há!	Raksha.
10. Nam-sé ནམ་སྲས་ Skt. *Kubera.*	ཨོཾ་བཻ་ཤྲ་མ་ན་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།	Oṃ! Bai-śrá-ma-na ye swá-há!	Nanga páni or Amber.
11. Dsam-bha-la ཛམ་ལ་ *Skt. Jambhala*	ཨོཾ་ཛཾ་ལ་ཛ་ལེན་དྲ་ཡེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།	Oṃ! Dsam-bha-la dsa-len-dra ye swá-há!	Nanga páni.
12. Seng-ge-ḍa སེང་གེ་སྒྲ་ Skt. *Simhanáda*	ཨོཾ་ཨཿཧྲཱིཿསིཾ་ཧ་ན་ད་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ།	Oṃ! â-hríh Sing-ha-ná-da hung phāṭ!	Conch shell or Crystal.
13. Jam-yang འཇམ་དབྱངས་ Skt. *Manjuśrí.*	ཨོཾ་ཨ་ར་པ་ཙ་ན་དྷཱི།	Oṃ! a-ra-pa-tsa-na-dhí!*	Yellow rosary.
14. Dem-chhok བདེ་མཆོག་ Skt. *Samvara.*	ཨོཾ་ཧྲཱིཿཧ་ཧ་ཧཱུྃ་ཧཱུྃ་ཕཊ།	Oṃ! hríh ha-ha hung hung phāṭ!	Bodhitse.
15. Pāḍma-jung-né པདྨ་འབྱུང་གནས་ Skt. *Padma Sambhava.*	ཨོཾ་བཛྲ་གུ་རུ་པདྨ་སིདྡྷི་ཧཱུྃ།	Oṃ! bädsra gu-ru pädma sí-dhí hung!	Coral or bodhitse.

* The repetition of this spell *ad infinitum* forms one of the earliest elocution exercises of the boy-pupil.

The laity, through want of knowledge, seldom use with their rosaries other than the well known Lamaic formula '*Oṃ! má-ṇi pé-me hung*', *i. e.*, 'Hâil! to the Jewel in the lotus! Hung.' This refers to the Bodhisatwa Chérési (Skt. *Padma-pâṇi*), the patron-god of Tibet, who, like Buddha, is usually represented as seated or standing within a lotus-flower, and who is believed to have been born from such a flower. This formula is of comparatively modern origin, first appearing in the legendary history (*bkah bum*) of king Srong-tsan-gam-bo, which was one of the so-called 'hidden' treatises, and probably written about the twelfth or fourteenth century A. D. or later. With this formula, which is peculiar to Tibet, may be compared the Chinese and Japanese spells '*Námo Butsu*' (=Skt. Namo Buddháya, *i. e.*, Salutation to Buddha!) and *Námo O-mi-to Fu* (=Skt. Namo Amitâbháya, *i. e.*, Salutation to The Boundless Light,——the fictitious Buddha of the Western Paradise.) The Burmese, so far as I have seen, seem to use their rosary merely for repeating the names of the Buddha Trinity *viz.*, 'Phrá' or Buddha, 'Tara' or Dharma and Sangha. And the number of beads in their rosary is a multiple of 3 × 3 as with the Lamas. On completing the cycle the central bead is fingered with the pessimistic formula 'Anitsa, Dukha, Anátha.'

In conclusion may be noted the frequent use of the terms 'Rin-chhen *theng-wa*' and 'Norbu *theng-wa*,' *i. e.*, 'the Precious Rosary' and 'the Jewelled Rosary' as the titles of anthological books containing choice extracts, especially from sacred literature.

The "Tsam-chhô-ḍung" (rtsa-mchhog-grong) of the Lamas, and their very erroneous identification of the site of Buddha's death.*—*By* L. A. Waddell, M. B.

In conversations some years ago with Lamas and lay Buddhists at Darjíling, I was surprised to hear that Asam contained a most holy place of Buddhist pilgrimage called '*Tsam-chhô-ḍung*,' which, it was alleged, next to the great temple of *Dorje-dén*† (Sanskrit *Vajrásana*) at Bodh Gayá, was the most holy spot a Buddhist could visit. Asam is usually regarded as being far beyond the limits of the Buddhist Holy Land, and the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang in the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, to whom we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of ancient Buddhist geography, not only do not mention any

* རྩ་མཆོག་གྲོང ||

† རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ rdo-rje-gdan.

holy site in Asam, but Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Gauhaṭí at the invitation of the king of Kámrúp, positively notes the absence of Buddhist buildings in Asam.* Sir W. Hunter also in his statistical account of Asam states† that 'there are now no traces of Buddhism' in Asam.

I therefore felt curious to learn further particulars of this important site in Asam, which had apparently been overlooked by geographers.

In Jäschke's Tibetan Dictionary‡ I found 'rtsa-mchhog-grong' defined as a "town in West Asam where Buddha died," and this statement, it is noted, is given on the authority of the 'Gyalrabs', a vernacular history of Tibet. Csoma de Körös also notes§ that "the death of Shakya, as generally stated in the Tibetan books, happened in Asam near the city of Kusa or Cáma-rúpa (Kámrúp)."

Here then was a clue to the mystery. Buddha's death, it is well known, occurred between two *sál* trees near *Kuśinagara* or *Kuśanagara* in the North-West Provinces of India, thirty-five miles east of Gorakhpur and about one hundred and twenty miles N. N. E. of Benares; and the site has been fully identified by Sir A. Cunningham‖ and others from the very full descriptions given by Hiuen Tsiang and Fa Hian. The name *Kuśanagara* means 'the town of Kuśa grass¶'; and as the early Lama missionaries in their translation of the Bauddha Scriptures habitually translated all the Sanskrit and Páli names literally into Tibetan, *Kuśanagara* was rendered in the '*b*Kah-*ḥ*gyur' (the Tibetan version) as 'rtsa-mchhog-grong,' from 'rtsa-mchhog,' kuśa grass + 'grong' a town (=Skt. *nagara*).

Now, near the north bank of the Brahmaputra, almost opposite Gauhaṭí, the ancient capital of Kámrúp, is, I find, an old village named *Sál-Kusa*, and it lies on the road between Gauhaṭí and Dewangiri, one of the most frequented passes into Bhotan and Tibet. With their extremely scanty knowledge of Indian geography the Lamas evidently concluded that this 'town of *Sál-Kusa*' was the 'town of Kuśa,' where Buddha entered into *nirvána* between the two *sál* trees—seeing that the word *sál* was also incorporated with the equivalent of 'Tsam-chhô-ḍung', and that in the neighbourhood was the holy hill of Hájo, where,

* *Si-yu-ki*, trans. by Beal, II, p. 196.

† I. p. 39.

‡ p. 437.

§ *Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 295.

‖ *Arch. Surv. India Repts.*, I, 76; XVII, 55 &c.

¶ Kuśa grass (*Poa cynosuroides*), the sacrificial grass of the Hindús, is also prized by the Buddhists on account of its having formed the cushion on which the Bodhisattva sat under the Bodhi tree. It is also used as a broom in Lamaic temples and as an altar decoration associated with peacock's feathers in the *pumpa* or holy water vase.

as will be seen hereafter, there probably existed at that time some Buddhist remains.

No description of this Buddhist site seems to be on record, except a very brief note by Col. Dalton* on the modern Hindú temple of Hájo, which shrines a Buddhist image. As I have had an opportunity of visiting the site, and enjoyed the rare advantage of being conducted over it by a Khams-pa Lama, who chanced to be on the spot, and who had previously visited the site several times and possessed the traditional stories regarding it, I beg to present the following brief description of the site to the Society, in illustration of how the Lamas, originally misled by an identity of name, have subsequently clothed the neighbourhood with a legendary dress in keeping with the story of Buddha's death, and how this place, with its various associated holy spots is now implicitly believed by the pilgrims to be the real site of Buddha's *parinirvána*. And in this belief, undeterred by the intemperate heat of the plains, Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of Bhotan, Tibet and even from Ladak and south-western China visit these spots and carry off scrapings of the rocks and the soil in the neighbourhood, treasuring up this precious dust in amulets, and for placing beside their dead body, as saving from dire calamities during life and from transmigration into lower animals hereafter. Authentic specimens of this dust, I was informed, commanded in Tibet high prices from the more wealthy residents, who had personally been unable to undertake the pilgrimage.

The Hájo hill, or rather group of hills, where is situated, according to the current tradition of the Lamas, the spot where Buddha 'was delivered from pain,' lies to the north (right) bank of the Brahmaputra about nine miles north-west from Gauhati (Kámrúp), north latitude 26° 11′ 18″ and east long. 91° 47′ 26″, and four or five miles north of *Sil-Kusa*. The hill rises directly from the plain, forming a strikingly bold and picturesque mass; and it is a testimony to its natural beauty to find that the hill has attracted the veneration of people of all religious denominations. The semi-aboriginal Mech and Koch worship it as a deity under the name of Hájo, which means in their vernacular '*the* hill.' The Buddhists formerly occupied one of the hillocks, but are now displaced by the Bráhmans who restored the temple, which is now one of the most frequented Hindú temples in Asam. The Muhammadans also have crowned the summit of the highest peak with a masjid.

The cluster of hills presents a very symmetrical appearance as seen from a distance, forming a bold swelling mass culminating in three trident-like peaks, the central one of which is pre-eminent and is regarded by the Buddhists as emblematic of Buddha. The high peaks on either

* J. A. S. B. 1855, LXXI, p. 8.

side of this are identified with Buddha's two chief disciples, *viz.*, Sáriputra and Maudgalaputra. This triad of peaks is seen from a great distance, and it is only on near approach that the smaller hillocks are observed. These latter number about sixteen and are called *Né-tén chu-ḍu** or 'the sixteen disciples' of Buddha.

The most holy site, according to the Buddhists, is a bare flattish shoulder of rock, about eight yards in diameter, situated at the north-west base of the hill. This is stated to be the *Sí-wa tsha-gi tur-ḍö*† or 'the pyre of the cool grove' where Buddha died, and where his body was cremated. The rock here bears several roughly cut inscriptions in Tibetan characters of the mystic sentences '*Oṃ mani padme hung*,' '*Oṃ ah hung*,' '*Oṃ*' &c., and coloured rags torn from the vestments of the pilgrims are tied to the bushes in the neighbourhood. The Hindús have carved here on the rock a figure of the four-armed Vishṇu, which the Bráhman priests call *Dhúbí*, or 'the washerwoman of the gods', and the rock they call '*Letai dhupinir páṭ*.'

It is worthy of note that the Lamas, for the benefit of the resident population of Tibet have made copies of this spot in at least four places in Tibet, *viz.*, at:—

(I). *Ra-gyab*,‡ in the south-east outskirts of Lhasa city.
(II). *Pha-pong kha*,§ in the north suburbs of Lhasa.
(III). *Phur-mó chhe*,‖ about twelve miles to the north-east of Tashilhunpo.
(IV). *She-ḍag*.¶

These sites were consecrated by placing on them a piece of rock brought from this Asam site, now under report; but the latter spot bears the distinctive prefix of *Gyá-gar* or Indian, implying that it is the original and genuine site.

A high cliff, close to the west of this spot, is called 'the vulture's mound hill,'** as in Tibet vultures usually frequent the neighbourhood of the *tur-ḍö* cemeteries.

A short distance beyond this spot, in the jungle, is a roughly hewn stone basin, about six feet in diameter, called by the Lamas, *Sang-gyámá ko-ko*, or the pot in which the *Sin-je*—the death-demons—boil the heads of the damned. The Bráhmans, on the other hand, assert that it is the bowl in which *S'iva* or *Ádi-purusha* brewed his potion of lust-excit-

* བཅས་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་དྲུག ‖
† བཤེལ་བ་རྩེལ་ཕུ་རུ་ཁོད ‖
‡ རང་རྒྱབ ‖
§ ཕ་སྤོང་ཁར ‖
‖ ཕུར་སྨོད་ཆེ ‖
¶ ཤེལ་དག ‖
** ཀུ་རྒོད་ཕུད་པོའི་རི ‖

ing Indian hemp, and they point to its green (confervoid) watery contents in proof of this. They also state that a snake inhabits the depths of the bowl; but it was certainly absent at the time of my visit.

Advancing along the pathway, leading up-hill, we pass a few columnar masses of rock lying near the path, which are pointed to as fragments of Buddha's staff*, with which he unearthed this monster bowl.

Climbing up the hill we reach the temple of Kedáranáth, which is approached by a very steep roughly paved causeway. At the entrance is a long inscription in granite in old Bengálí characters, those being the characters adopted by the Asamese. Adjoining this temple is the shrine of Kamaleśvar or 'the Lord of the lotus.' Here is a tank called by the Lamas '*Tshó mani bhadra*'† or 'the lake of the notable gem'; and they state that many waters-sprites (*Nágás*, serpents or dragons) came out of this pond on the approach of Buddha and presented him with jewels. A small cell by the side of this pond is said to be the place where Buddha set down a mass of butter which had been brought to him as a gift, and the stone *linga* and *yoni* (phallus and its counterpart), now shrined here by the Hindús, are pointed to as being their petrified butter.

Crowning the summit of the hill is a large masjid built by Luṭfullah, a native of Shiráz, in the reign of the emperor Sháh Jahán, in 1656 A. D. It contains the following Persian inscription :—

بعهد دولت سلطان عادل • شهنشاه جهان و خسرو دین
ابوالغازي شجاع الدین محمد * شه و شهزادهٔ نورخنده آئین
چو لطف الله شیرازي بنا کرد * همایون مسجدی چون خلد رنگین
بدارالامن مشهور ممالک * شجاع آباد ‡ خط الله همین ‡
به هنگامي که رایات عزیمه * به صوب بنگ بود از عز و تمکین
مدام این خانهٔ دین باد معمور * بحق حرمت ‡ جناب سبتین ‡
ز فیض نعمت اللهي قوي باد * همیشه این مهین بنیاد سنگین
خرد چون سال تاریخ بتاجست * ندا آمد جلي شد خانهٔ دین

محمد سعید بقلم خود

بر ضمایر جوئندگان اخبار پوشیده نماند که این مسجد اعظم در زمان حضرت صاحبقران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي کمترین فدویان درگاه مرید و معتقد شاه نعمت الله لطف الله به اتمام رسانید في شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ۱۰۶۷ هجري

* ཐུབ་བོའི་ཐེག་ཆ།།

† མཚོ་མ་ཉི་ཏྲ་ཏ།།

[‡ The text here is corrupt. Ed.]

*Translation,**

[In the time of the Governorship of the just Sulṭán, the monarch of the world and the prince of religion,

Abu-l-Ghází Shujá'u-d-dín Muḥammad, the sovereign and son of a sovereign, an auspicious ruler,

When Luṭfulláh of Shiráz founded a sacred Masjid, beautiful like Paradise,

In the peaceful town of Shujá'-ábád well known in all countries, ...

At the time when the standards were marching towards Bengal with glory and grandeur.

May this house of religion be ever crowded (*with worshippers*) for the sake of the sanctity of .....

May this august foundation in stone be ever firm by the blessings of Ni'amatulláh.

When Reason sought for the year of the date of that foundation, a voice came :—" Jalí Shud Khánah-i-dín " (the house of religion became resplendent).

Be it not concealed to the minds of the seekers of information that Luṭfullah, the humblest devotee of the threshold, the disciple and believer of Sháh Ni'amatullah, brought this grand Masjid to completion, in the reign of His Majesty the Second Ṣáḥibqirán, Sháhjahán, the victorious emperor, in the month of the blessed Ramaẓán, in the year 1067 Hijrah.]

A detached conical hillock, about 300 feet above the plain, lying about half a mile to the north-east of the hill, and now crowned by the Hindú temple of Mádhava†, is identified with the great chaitya or *Chhöten chhen-bo*‡, which was erected over the cremated relics of the Tathágatha's body.

The present shrine of the temple seems to be the original shrine of an older Buddhist temple, which, according to both Buddhist and Asamese tradition, formerly existed here—the upper portion only is modern. Col. Dalton has described§ the general details of this building, and he states, " The Bráhmans call the object of worship Mádhab, " the Buddhists call it Mahámuni, the great sage. It is in fact simply a " colossal image of Buddha in stone. Its modern votaries have, to conceal

[* The translation has been supplied by Maulvi Abdul Hak Abid, B. A., of the Calcutta Madrasah. Ed.]

† মাধব দেবালয়.

‡ མཆོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོ།

§ *loc. cit.*

"mutilation, given it a pair of silver goggle-eyes and a hooked gilt silver-"ed nose and the form is concealed from view by cloths and chaplets of "flowers; but remove these and there is no doubt of the image having "been intended for the 'ruler of all, the propitious, the asylum of cle-"mency, the all-wise, the lotus-eyed comprehensive Buddha.'"

This large image of Buddha is called by the more learned Lama-visitors *Munir Muni Mahámuni, i. e.*, 'the Sage of Sages The Great Sage.' It is the original image of the shrine, and is stated by the Bráhmanic priests, who call it *Mádhab*, to be of divine origin and an actual embodiment or *avaṭár* of the god, in contra-distinction to the other images which are called mere '*múrtis*' or hand-fashioned copies of typical forms of the respective gods represented. This may merely mean that the Bráhmans found this image here, while the others were brought from the neighbourhood or elsewhere. What seems to be the history of the mutilation of this image is found in the account of the invasion of the Koch kingdom of Lower Asam by the Musalmans under Mír Jumlah in 1661 A. D. This chief issued "directions to destroy all the idolatrous temples and "to erect mosques in their stead..... To evince his zeal for "religion, the General himself, with a battle-axe broke the celebrated "image of Narain, the principal object of worship of the Hindus of "that province."* Náráyaṇa is one of the names of Mádhab and a patronymic of the Koch rájá's; and Hajo was a seat of the Koch rájás. And it was at Hajo that Mír Jumla took the Koch king prisoner,†

The other images, not mentioned by Dalton, but which must have existed at the time of his visit, are also of stone and are placed on either side of the large image. They are four in number and are of considerable size. According to the Lama-pilgrims they are all Buddhist images; but the crypt was so dimly lit, and the images so enveloped in clothes and wreaths of flowers that I could not distinguish their specific characters, with the exception of the head and peculiar trident of the first, and the head of the second, which were characteristic and justified their recognized names, *viz.*:—

No. 1.—*Ogyen Guru* to the left of Mahámuni.
„ 2.—*Dorje Dolö*‡ to the right of „
„ 3.—*Shakya Thuba* „ „ „ No. 2.
„ 4.—'*Sencha*' *Muni.* „ „ „ „ 3.

Although Hindú priests, as a rule, are not very methodical in their bestowal of names upon the images which they have appropriated from

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 289.
† Beveridge, *Cal. Review* July 1890 p. 12.
‡ རྡོ་རྗེ་སྒྲོ་ལྡན། |

Buddhist ruins, still I here give the Brahmanical names as reported by the attendant priests, as, this being a wealthy temple, the priests were more learned than usual, and the names should give some idea of the nature of the images. After stating that the Buddhist pilgrims gave the above-noted names to the images, these priests said that the Brahmanical names were as follows, which I give in the order of the previous list:—

No. 1. Dwitíya Mádhaber múrti.
No. 2. Lál Kanaiyá Bankaṭ Bihárer múrti.
No. 3. Basu Deber múrti.
No. 4. Hayagríber múrti.

In the vestibule are lotus ornamentations and several articles of the usual paraphernalia of a Buddhist temple including the following:—A pyramidal framework or wheeless car like the Tibetan *Chhang-ga chu-tuk*, with lion figures at the corners of each tier, such as is used to seat the image of a demon which is to be carried beyond the precincts of the temple and there thrown away. The present frame is used by the priests of this temple to parade in the open air one of the smaller images of the shrine (? Hayagríva), but the image is again returned to the shrine. Above this throne is stretched a canopy called by the Lamas *Nam-yul*. It contains the figure of an 8-petalled lotus flower and has, as is customary, a dependant red fringe. On either side is hung a huge closed umbrella. These articles have been in the temple from time immemorial.

Of the external decorations of the temple, the row of sculptured elephants along the basement, evidently a portion of the old Buddhist temple, has been figured by Col. Dalton in the paper above referred to; and is identical with the decorative style of the Kylas cave temple of Ellora figured by Fergusson in plate XV of his '*Cave Temples*'. The upper walls are covered with sculptured figures nearly life size. The ten *avatáras* of Vishṇu are represented with Buddha as the ninth. The remaining figures are of a rather nondescript character, but they are mostly male, and nearly every figure carries a trident (*triśula*)—the *khatam* of the Buddhists. The Lamas state that these figures were formerly inside the temple, but that Buddha ejected them. And it is stated that the temple was built in one night by *Jo-wo gyé-bó Bish-wa-Karma** the Vulcan of the Hindús and Buddhists.

Attached to the temple is a colony of *Naṭí* (नटी), or dancing girls,†

* ཇོ་བོ་རྒྱས་པོ་བིཤྭ་ཀརྨ།

† "Asam, or at least the north-east of Bengal (*i. e.*, Kámrúp) seems to have been in a great degree the source from which the Tantrica and Sakta corruptions

who are supported out of the funds of the temple, and who on the numerous feast days dance naked in a room adjoining the shrine. These orgies are part of the Shakti worship so peculiar to Kámrúp, but nowhere is it so grossly conducted as at this temple.* The *Naṭí* and the idol-car are also conspicuous at the degenerate Buddhist temple of Jagannáth at Puri.

At the eastern base of the hillock, on which this temple stands, is a fine large tank, called by the Lamas *Yön-chhab tshô*†, or 'the lake of excellent water.' This pond, it is said, was made by Buddha with one prod of his staff, when searching for the huge bowl already described which he unearthed here. This pond is also said to be tenanted by fearful monsters.

I have been unable to ascertain positively whether any Buddhist building existed here previous to the Lamas' fixing on the site as the Kuśanagara of Buddha's death. Certainly no monastery existed here at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit to the Kámrúp (Gauhaṭí) court in the seventh century A. D., for he says of this country that 'the people have "no faith in Buddha, hence from the time when Buddha appeared in the "world even down to the present time there never as yet has been built "one *Saṅghárâma* as a place for the priests to assemble."‡ The reference which Táránáth§ makes to the great stúpa of Kuśanagara as being situated here, in Kámrúp, was taken from report and thus would merely show that the present Lama-tradition was current during his time. Any chaitya or other Buddhist building would seem to have been subsequent to the seventh century; and in all probability marked a site visited by the great mediæval apostle of Lamaism, Guru Rimbochhe or Padma Sambhava. The different accounts of this great teacher's wanderings vary considerably, but he is generally credited in the *Padma Kahthang* and elsewhere with having traversed most of the country between Lower Asam and Tibet. There is no evidence of Buddha having visited Asam. And in this view it is to be noted that the Bhotan Lamas call the chief image of this shrine *Námo Guru* or 'The Teacher,' one of the epithets of Padma Sambhava. And the images on either side of it are also those of Padma Sambhava, *viz.*, '*Ogyén Guru*,' a mild form, and *Dorje Dolö*, a demoniacal form of this saint. Further, the chief of 'the eight Sages' or *rig-dsin*‖ (*i. e.*, receptacle of knowledge) of the Lamas is named Hungkara; and a common title

of the religion of the Vedas and Puráṇas proceeded."—H. H. Wilson, Preface to *Vishṇu Puráṇa*.

* They have their counterpart in the ἱερόδουλοι of the Greek Strabo VIII, 6 p. 20.

† ཡོན་ཆབ་མཚོ།

‡ *Op. cit.*

§ Vassilief's *Le Bouddisme*, trad. du Russe par M. G. A. Comme, p. 44.

‖ རིག་འཛིན།

for Padma Sambhava is 'the great Rig-dsin', while *Hung* is the usual symbolic term for him. And a very common Lamaic hymn connects Hungkara with this site, *viz.*,—"In the wondrous great shrine of 'the Eastern Pyre of the Cool-grove' dwells the rigdsin Hungkara (or Lô-pön Hungkara). Shower on us thy blessings! Come Guru! Come demi-gods! Come fairies! Come!" No local mention is made of the especial saint of Bhotan, *viz.*, Zhab ṭung Ngâ-wang Nam-gyal,* which might have been expected, had he entered Bhotan by this route.

The form of Buddhism here represented is of the highly Tantrik and demoniacal kind, propagated by Padma Sambháva and now existing n the adjoining country of Bhotan. Even this mild form of the image of *Ogyén Guru* has decapitated human heads strung on to his trident. The second image is of a more demoniacal kind. The third image is, of course, Shakya Muni (Buddha). The fourth image, from its Bráhmanical name, is *Tam-dín* (Skt. *Hayagríva*), one of the fiercest forms of demigods and an especial protector of Lamaism. The trident is everywhere conspicuous in the hands of the sculptured figures on the walls, and Shakti rites are more pronounced here than in any other place in Northern India.† It seems therefore quite possible that a visit to Kámrúp, as well as Káshmír, and the mystic traditions of his own land —Udyána (*Tib.* Ogyén)—may have accounted for the excessively Tantrik form of Buddhism professed and taught by Padma Sambhava.

It is also remarkable to find that the high-priest of the Hajo temple, in common with the other high-priests in Kámrúp, is called *Dalai*‡,—a title which is usually stated to have been conferred on the fifth Grand Lama of Lhasa by a Mongolian emperor in the seventeenth century A. D.; but the Tibetan equivalent of this title, *viz.*, *Gyá-tshó* or 'ocean', is known to have been used by grand Lamas previously. As, however, the word is Mongolian, it is curious to find it naturalized here and spontaneously used by Bráhmans. It seems also to be the title of village-headman in the adjoining Garo hills. The *dalai* of this temple is a married man, but the office is not hereditary. He is elected by the local priests from amongst their number, and holds office till death. He resides at the foot of the hill, below the temple, in a large house, the exterior of which is profusely decorated with the skulls of wild buffalo, wild pig, deer, and other big game, &c., like the house of an Indo-Chinese chieftain.

* ཞབས་རྡང་བག་དཀའ་རིམ་རྒྱལ།།

† Dancing girls appear to figure to some extent in certain Lamaic ceremonies in Bhotan, *vide* TURNER's '*Embassy to Tibet*', p. 32.

‡ He writes his title གཏན.

Troy weights and General currency of ancient Orissa.—*By* BÁBÚ M. M. CHAKRAVARTI, *Subordinate Executive Service of Bengal.*

Little is known regarding the measures of weights of gold and silver, or of the coins and currency in use in Orissa at the time of Hindú kings. Sterling incidentally mentions certain weights in his lucid history of Orissa. But Dr. Hunter was the first to apply European criticism to find out the relations between gold, silver and other marketable articles of Orissa.* As an intelligent attempt to clear up an extremely obscure question, his *History of Orissa* deserves all praise. It was published in 1872. Since then no one has tried to tread in his footsteps, probably owing to the absence of any reliable data. The following facts, therefore, are published in the hope that some ripe scholar may be induced to take up the threads and weave them into a harmonious whole.

My information is chiefly derived from "Mádalá Pánjí" or the Chronicle of the Temple of Jagannáth at Púrí. This work mentions the various measures in use, and furnishes details which indirectly reveal the proportions between the measures. The problem is to convert them into modern equivalents, otherwise they will not be properly understood. Here the greatest difficulty arises. Not much help is obtainable from contemporary Muhammadan historians. Orissa was one of the last kingdoms to come under the rule of the Paṭháns and Mughals, and even then, being an out-of-the-way region, attracted little notice.

The Mádalá Pánjí was begun after the erection of the present temple of Jagannáth, the generally accepted date of which is 1197-98 A. D. It does not mention the names and relations of the measures in use before this time. Probably they were the same which we find later on. Orissa appears to have formed a part of Kalinga, and was often the battle-field between the emperors of northern Hindustán and kings of Kalinga. Kalinga was essentially a kingdom of the Deccan; and the Deccan measures must have prevailed in Orissa.

Chorganga† conquered Orissa in the beginning of the 12th century, and founded the well-known Gangavaṃśa. He came from far South, and the system in force in S. India came into full operation in Orissa during the reigns of his descendants.

According to the Mádalá Pánjí, Ananga Bhíma Deva of this dynasty built the present temple of Jagannáth, and liberally endowed it with

* *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, ch. V, notes 309 and 337.

[† His Identity is uncertain, see Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of S. India*, pp. 18, 19, 44, 51, 67. ED.]

ornaments and furniture. In giving a description of these endowments, the chronicle says :—

एते पदकु सुना-रूपा मध्य ह ७३ ति सुना कम ह ५५ कु सुना प ८५९ लकुए पुथाविधि-निमन्ते दानोत्था पल समाभिए प १ मा ८ ढ़ लेखाए सुना मा ६८७२ ढ़ रूपा कम ह १८ ति प १३५ ल। ए प १ मा ८ ढ़ रूपा मा १०८० ढ़कुए रूपा कारणकु देला मा ५ सुना मा १ ढ़ लेखाए मा २१६ ढ़ गाए प १ सुना रूपो कम मा ८०७३ ढ़ सुना देला मा ७०८८ ढ़।

"All these (ornaments) in gold and silver—73 pieces. Gold work 55 pieces = 859 pals of gold, or at the rate of pala measure used for gifts and ceremonies, *viz.*, 1 pala = 8 máṛhas, = 6872 máṛhas. Silver work 18 pieces = 135 palas, or at the rate of 8 máṛhas per pala, = 1080 máṛhas (in weight) of silver, or at the rate of 1 máṛha of gold = 5 máṛhas of silver, = 216 máṛhas of gold. Total (in weight), gold and silver work 8073 máṛhas, or (in value), gold 7088 máṛhas."

नोकर ६२ पालिकु पाणि तीनो चीना लेखाए मा १८। ६ चीना

"For net 62 turns (of worship), at the rate of 3 chinás (per turn) 18 máṛhas, 6 chinás."

These two extracts suffice to show the following proportions :—

10 chinás = 1 máṛha
80 „ = 8 „ = 1 pala.

A measure, very similar to this, still continues in the interior of the Púri District :—

4 ratis = 1 chiná
40 „ = 10 „ = 1 máṛha
80 „ = 20 „ = 2 „ = 1 tolá.

For the highest weight, we have here a tolá. But a pala is an old weight found in Manu and the Atharva Pariśishṭha.* In the Institutes of Manu, the measures of gold are stated to be

5 ratis = 1 másha
80 „ = 16 „ = 1 suvarṇa (agrees with tolá)
320 „ = 64 „ = 4 „ = 1 pala or nishka (agrees with the pala of Mádalá Pánji).

The coins of ancient India were used not merely as an exchange for articles, but as weights also. Their study therefore, throws much light on the troy measures.† In South India, of which Orissa was to all intents and purposes a part, the fanam (पण of Lilávatí) was the standard coin of gold. The chinam appears to be another name of fanam, both being equal to 4 ratis. One rati is generally accepted to be equal to 1·75 grains on the average.† A standard fanam or chinam is, there-

* Quoted in Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, page 221, note 1.

† This ratio is accepted by Thomas and General Cunningham. But Mr. Smith differs (see his article in this Journal, Vol. LIII, of 1884, pages 146-7).

fore, equal to 7 grains. All old fanams approach this weight closely, varying from 6 to 7·5.* A máṛha, which is ten times a chínam, would, therefore, be 70 grains in standard weight. Several old coins have been found approaching this weight. Sir W. Elliot mentions one coin of S. India weighing 66·9 grains.† Mr. Fleet has described six coins of E. Chalukya kings varying from 65·9 to 66·8.‡ In another essay I hope to show that Chorganga, the founder of the Gangavaṃśa dynasty of Orissa, is connected with the E. Chalukya and Chola dynasties of the 11th century A. D. The coins, described by Mr. Fleet, would seem to be the máṛhas of the Mádalá Pánji. The difference of 4 to 5 grains is due partly to wear and tear, but chiefly to the fact that fanams, which formed the unit of measurement, were generally in actual weight 6·5 to 6·75 grains.

That a coin approaching to 70 grains in wt., was in use in S. India is apparent from the cotemporaneous Muhammadan records. 'Aláuddín Muhammad Sháh was the first to invade the Deccan, and according to Mír Khusrú, he contemplated the introduction of a new coin of 140 grains, a weight exactly double the standard weight of a máṛha § His successor Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, who transferred the capital from Delhi to Daulatábád (Deogir) in the Deccan, actually issued a silver coin of a standard weight of 140 grains.‖ Then again I find that 'Aláuddín before his installation distributed "5 máns of star gold" daily, and bribed some of the Máliks and Amírs to the extent of 50 máns of gold each.¶ Ferista mentions that Málik Káfur's plunder amounted to 96,000 máns of gold.* These máns are evidently misspelt for máṛhas, for 96,000 máns of gold is an amount too preposterously enormous for such a rare metal as gold.

So far as I see, therefore, the proportions were as follows :—

1·75	grains	=	1	rati				
7	,,	=	4	,,	=	1	fanam or chínam	
70	,,	=	40	,,	=	10	,,	= 1 máṛha (? varáha)
560	,,	=	320	,,	=	80	,,	= 8 ,, 1 pala.

In course of time, the Gangavaṃśa dynasty was superseded by the

* See the list given by Sir W. Elliot in Thomas' *Chronicles*, p. 170, note 1.

† See his remark in Thomas' *Chronicles*, note 2 to page 223.

‡ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, 1890, page 70 *et seq.*

§ Táríkh 'Alái of Mír Khusrú, quoted in Thomas' *Chronicles*, pp. 158-9 note 1, and p. 247, note 1.

‖ Coins 180, 181 and 182 of silver, pp. 213 and 214; half coin of brass No. 199, p. 250 of Thomas' *Chronicles*. Also Firuz Shah's coins, Nos. 228 to 233, pp. 275-6.

¶ Thomas' *Chronicles*, page 157 and note 1.

‖ Brigg's translation, I, 374.

Gajapati Súryavaṃśa dynasty. Its founder was Gajapati Kapileśvar Deva, and it is lasted from 1434 to 1535 A. D. or thereabout. During this time the máṛha coins diminished in weight to 61 grains. The reason is not clear, but the dearness of gold probably played some part in it. The fanams must have similarly diminished in weight. The gold coins described by Mr. Bidie are 60·24 and 60·75 grains.¶ Other coins of similar nature have been given in Mr. Wilson's "Description of select coins."*

In 1568 A. D., Orissa was conquered by Kalápahár the general of Sulaimán Qiráni, king of Bengal.† With this conquest, Orissa again became connected with Northern India, and the local coins were replaced by the mohurs and tankahs of Delhi. Regarding them, I need not trouble my readers.

From gold I come to silver. No silver coins of Orissa are to be found. Ferishta says that there was no silver coin in the Deccan.‡ Silver must however have been used for ornaments &c., though probably sparingly. The Mádalá Pánji enumerates several silver ornaments and utensils. The measures of silver were the same as those of gold.

Much discussion has taken place about the ratio of gold to silver. This ratio differed in different times. The first extract (see *supra*) shows a ratio of 1 : 5 at the time of Ananga Bhíma Deva. This is the lowest ratio for gold that I know of. But it is by no means improbable. Gold was plentiful in Orissa, nay, in the whole of the Deccan. In the upper beds of the rivers Mahánadí, Baitaraṇi and probably of the Ṛishikulya, gold is still found,* though in small quantities. The Malabar, and the Nílgiris, particularly the district of Wainad are noted for their gold mines. While therefore gold was comparatively abundant, silver was dear on account of the difficulty in communication with North India, the home of Indian silver. Silver was so dear that no coins of that metal were issued in the mediæval period. I am not surprised, therefore, to see the value of gold fallen to 1 : 5. No better illustration of the abundance of gold can be given than the fact that the spoils alone of 'Aláuddín and Málik Káfur from the Deccan reduced the ratio of gold to silver in North India from 1 : 10 to 1 : 8 and then to 1 : 7.†

¶ Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LII, Pt I, No. 1, page 40.

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII, p. 593.

† The year of conquest has been fixed with accuracy as 1568 A. D. See Dr. Hunter's note to page 10, Vol. II, and Mr. Beames' article in this Journal, Vol. LII, p. 233 note.

‡ Brigg's translation, Vol, I, p. 374.

* *Statistical Accounts of Bengal.*

† Thomas' *Chronicles*, page 235.

From silver to copper is an easy descent. No mention of copper coins is to be found in the Mádalá Pánji. Most probably in Orissa, such coins were not used in ordinary transactions. Their place was taken by the time-honoured cowries.

The cowries were counted by numbers, which were the same before as now.*

4	cowries	=	1	gunda				
20	„	=	5	gundas	=	1	búrí	
80	„	=	20	„	=	4	=	1 pan
1280	„	=	320	„	=	64	= 16 „	= 1 káhán.

In the Mádalá Pánjí the accounts of Ananga Bhima Deva are given in máṛhas, and no mention of cowries as units is to be found. This continued as long as the Gangavaṃśa dynasty lasted, for I find, that in the copper-plates of Nṛisiṃha Deva IV, the máṛhas are given as equivalents. With the advent of the Gajapati Súryavaṃśa, cowries became the units, and their gifts appear to have been calculated in cowries and silver tankahs.

कउड़ी मूल चवदान ड १९२॥० ट १ का ८ लेखाए का १५४०

"The original gift in cash Rs. 192-8 or at the rate of 8 káháns per rupee = 1,540 káháns."

See also No. II of the left side inscriptions at Jaybijay door of the Jagannáth temple :—" paddy 500 bharans, cowries 2000 káháns."

While the measures of cowries have remained the same, the ratio of them to other measures of the currency did not remain the same. The following shows the various proportions between coins and cowries, reduced to one common standard for facility of comparison.

I. In the Lilávati completed by Bháskaráchárya in 1150 A. D.†

16 panas (of cowries) = 1 bharma of silver
16 bharmas = 1 nishka of silver ‡

∴ 1 nishka = 16 káháns, and 1 bharma = 1 káhán.

Colebrooke adds that the comparative value of silver, copper and shells was nearly the same then as in his time, *viz.*, 4 káháns per rupee.

N. B.—If these bharmas be identical with Puráṇas, the average weight of which was from 50 to 54 grains,§ then

1 modern rupee = 165 grains of pure silver = $\frac{165}{50}$ = $3\frac{3}{10}$ bharmas or = $3\frac{3}{10}$ káháns.

* 'Ain-i-Akbarí, Gladwin's Translation, Vol. II, p. 15.

† R. C. Dutt's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 379.

‡ Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, p. 91. Quoted in Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 211.

§ Thomas' *Ancient Indian Weights.*

II. In the time of Ananga Bhima Deva. (The latter part of the 12th century A. D.)

गाए प २ कउड़ी का २८१२५० हाण ए कउड़ी का १५ हाणकु थीती तुना मां १ ः लेखाए मां १८७५० ढ़ ।

"Total of the two cowries 281250 káháns. At the rate of 15 káháns per one máṛha of jiti golá = 18750 máṛhas."

1 máṛha of gold = 5 máṛhas of silver
= about 350 grains of silver
= 15 káháns of cowries

∴ a rupee of 165 grains (pure silver) $= \frac{165 \times 15}{350}$ káháns.

$= 7\frac{1}{14}$ káháns.

III. In the time of Purushottama Deva (1470—1497 A. D.)

1 tankah = 8 káháns.

This tankah is probably one of the Bahmaní kings, described by Thomas.* Thomas does not give the weights, probably because the weights were nearly the same as those of the contemporary Delhi kings. Only one, I find, is stated to have been 165 grains.† The pure silver would not have been more than 160 grains in these tankahs,

∴ a rupee of 165 grains $= \frac{165 \times 8}{160}$

$= 8\frac{1}{8}$ káháns.

IV. 'Ain-i-Akbarí of Abul Fazl (1590 A. D. circa)‡

1 rupee = 10 káháns.

Akbar's rupee was of pure silver nearly and 175 grains in weight,§

∴ a rupee of 165 grains $= \frac{165 \times 10}{175}$

$= 9\frac{3}{7}$ káháns.

VI. In the time of Gopínátha Deva (1726 A. D.), an owl sat upon the crown of Jagannáth accidentally. A purificatory bath with *yajña* had to be performed in consequence. The Mádalá Pánjí gives details from which it appears that in the bazar

1 tankah = 2 káháns 2 pans of cowries.

But in the account one tanka was calculated at 2 káháns, 3 pans. Taking the higher value, I find

1 tankah (of the Mughal emperors)
= 175 grains

* Thomas' *Chronicles*, pp. 342, 346.

† Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 342.

‡ Gladwin's Translation, Vol. II, p. 15.

§ Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, Vol. II, p. 22 (Ed. Thomas).

$$\therefore 165 \text{ grains} = \frac{165 \times 2\frac{3}{16}}{175} \text{ káháns}$$

$$= 2\tfrac{1}{16} \text{ káháns.}$$

VI. In the beginning of this century (1803 A. D.), the official rate was

1 rupee = 4 káháns.*

VII. The present rate (1891 A. D.) is

1 rupee = $3\frac{1}{8}$ to $3\frac{3}{8}$ káháns,

being at the rate of 16 to 18 gundas per pice.

A glance at these figures will show that the cowries became cheaper and cheaper, till we come to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Then, all on a sudden, they became dearer, extraordinarily dearer, if the Mádalá Pánjí is to be believed. After some time, the value of the cowries fell to 4 káháns. At present the copper pices have driven them from the field. In the mofussil, cowries are now used only for fractions of pices and annas.

I conclude this brief essay with an estimate of the income of the Orissa kings as given in the Mádalá Pánjí. Ananga Bhíma Deva, the most-celebrated monarch of the Gangavaṃśa, is said to have issued a mudul (royal order), reported in *extenso* in the aforesaid Chronicle. In that mudul he is made to say :—

"My predecessors beginning with Kesarí kings had an income of 1,500,000 máṛhas in jítí gold; I extended my kingdom and added an income of 2,000,000 máṛhas in jítí gold; my total income is 3,500,000 máṛhas."

(Abridged translation.)

1,500,000 máṛhas of gold = 7,500,000 máṛhas of silver

= 525,000,000 grains of silver

$$= \frac{525,000,000}{165} \text{ modern rupees}$$

or 3,181,818 Rupees

Similarly 3,500,000 máṛhas of gold

= Rs. 7,121,212.

Dr. Hunter estimates the first income at Rs. 4,602,500† or nearly 50 per cent. more; but, if my reasonings be correct, neither his measures of gold, nor his ratio of gold to silver, can be accepted. In fact he himself has expressed some doubts about their validity.

* Dr. Hunter's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, note 337.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, note 309.

Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India. Second Paper.—*By* Vincent A. Smith, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service.

PART I.

While my essay on 'Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India,' published in Part I of this Society's Journal for 1889, was passing through the press, two important papers bearing on the same subject appeared, one in France, the other in Germany. I propose to give in this communication some account of the papers referred to, and to discuss the views of the writers, especially when they differ from those which I have advocated.

The French essay is written by Mr. E. Senart, and is entitled 'Notes d' E'pigraphie Indienne.'* The veteran Professor Albrecht Weber is the author of the German paper, to which he has given the name of 'Die Griechen in Indien.'†

Mr. Beveridge, our President, in his Annual Address remarked that Professor Weber's discourse "well deserves to be translated." It is beyond doubt a valuable contribution to learning, but I think an abstract account of its contents, accompanied by a discussion of doubtful topics, will be of more interest to the Society than a formal complete translation.

Professor Weber concentrates his attention almost exclusively on the literary monuments of ancient Indian civilization, and devotes only a few lines to the subject of Hellenistic influence on the architecture, sculpture, and numismatic art of India. $\left(pp.\ \frac{16}{912},\ \frac{17}{913}\right)$.‡ He laments the want of works dealing more fully with these topics. I trust that I may, without presumption, claim to have partly supplied this want.

In a much discussed passage of the Mahábhásbya, which mentions that the avaricious Maurya king offered for sale the images of the gods, he is inclined to see the first reference in Indian literature to coined money. But this is a very dubious and far-fetched notion.

The remarks on the words *Dramma*, δραχμή, and *dínára*, δηνάριον, are worth translating in full.

"The words *dramma*, δραχμή, and *dínára*, δηνάριον, in the special sense of silver and gold money respectively, remained in use as late as

* Extrait du Journal Asiatique, III. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, MDCCCXC.

† Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin; XXVII, 1890; Sitzung der-philosophisch-historischen Classe vom 17 Juli.

‡ In the references to Professor Weber the upper number indicates the page of the reprint, the lower that of the *Sitzungsberichte*.

the fifteenth century A. D., or possibly even later. According to a friendly communication of Mommsen's, the borrowing of the word δηνάριον itself (always neuter) from the Latin *denarius* dates at the earliest from the time of Cæsar and Augustus, who first introduced a gold coinage current throughout the empire, which was therefore designated by a Latin word, commonly *aureus*, though the term *denarius aureus* is also used.

The transference of the word *dínára* to India, and the introduction of it into Indian literature can hardly have taken place so soon, and we may well assume another century approximately as necessary for such introduction. From this the inference follows that no Indian work in which the word *dínára* occurs can be older than the second century of our era."

The Gupta inscriptions show that the use of the word *dínára* for certain gold coins was well established by A. D. 400, and suggest that the *dínára* was distinct from the *suvarṇa*.* I have elsewhere stated my belief, which I am still inclined to hold, that the term *dínára* in Gupta times was restricted to the coins which followed the weight standard of the Roman *aureus denarius*, based on the Attic stater of 134·4 grains, and that the term *suvarṇa* designated the heavier gold coins struck to the native standard of 80 *ratis*, or 146 grains.†

* Sánchi inscription of Chandra Gupta II, dated 93 = A. D. 412–13;
Gadhwá ditto ditto , dated 88 = A. D. 407–08;
Ditto ditto Kumára Gupta, (No. 8), date lost,
Ditto ditto ditto (No. 9), dated 98 = A. D. 417–18.
Sánchi ditto ditto, or Skanda Gupta, dated 131 = A. D. 450–51.
Gadhwá ditto ditto (No. 64), date lost.

"Lines 7 to 12 (*scil.* of this last inscription) appear to have recorded certain grants fixed in *dínáras*, for the purpose of providing food in a *sattra* or almshouse, and also to provide pairs of upper and lower garments..... The second part, again, refers to food in an almshouse, recording something in connection with it at a cost of nineteen gold coins of the kind called *suvarṇa*." (*Fleet, Corpus Inser. Ind Vol. III, pp.* 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 262, 265.)

† The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India (*J. Roy. As. Soc. for* 1889, *Vol. XXI, N. S., p.* 43.)

The jurist Bṛihaspati is, however, against this supposition. He says:—

14. A Nishka is four suvarṇas. A Paṇa of copper is a Kârshika (having the the weight of one Karsha.) A coin made of a Karsha of copper has to be known as a Kârshika Paṇa.

15. It is also called Aṇdikâ. Four such are a Dhânaka. Twelve of the latter are a Suvarṇa. This is also called a Dînâra (denarius)." (*Bṛihaspati, X,* 14, 15 *in 'Minor Law Books, Nârada and Bṛihaspati,' translated by Jolly being Vol. XXXIII of the Sacred Books of the East, page* 317.) I do not doubt the accuracy of Bṛihaspati's statement, but it can perhaps be interpreted to mean that both a *suvarṇa* and a

It is interesting to observe that etymologically the word δραχμή ("from δράσσομαι, and so, strictly, *as much as one can hold in the hand*," L. and S.) is the equivalent in meaning of the Indian *paṇa*, पण, (akin to *páṇi*, पाणि, 'hand'), which originally meant 'a handful of cowries.' (*Cunningham, Archæol. Reports. Vol. X, p. 78*).

I may also be permitted to call attention to the fact that the limiting anterior date determined as above for the transfer of the Latin word *denarius* to India is the date which I have independently fixed as that from which strong Græco-Roman influence on Indian art can be traced.

Leaving for the present Professor Weber, I shall now turn to the essay of Mr. Senart, which is principally concerned with the stone remains of the Kábul River valley, or Gándhára, the chief subject of my former disquisition.

Mr. Senart's paper is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with inscriptions in the Arian (Gándhárian, Kharoshṭrí) character, and the second with sculptures recently obtained by Captain Deane from excavations at a place called Sikrí, near the well-known site of Jamálgarhí.

The observations of the distinguished French scholar mark a great advance in the interpretation of the Arian inscriptions, though much still remains obscure. He gives facsimiles in photo-type from paper casts of three inscriptions, all in the Lahore Museum, *viz.*, (1) that from Takht-i-Bahi, (2) a short one from a locality not known, and (3) the Zeda record, and offers readings and interpretations, more or less complete, of all three, besides remarks on several other connected documents.

It is satisfactory to learn that there is no doubt that the Takht-i-Bahi inscription is really dated in the year 26 of king Guduphara (Gondophares), and in the year 103 of an era the initial point of which is still undetermined.

dínára had the same subdivisions, and, in any case, whatever may have been the usage elsewhere, the writer of the inscription at Gaḍhwá must surely have considered the *suvarṇa* and *dínára* to be different, or he would not have distinguished them. Nárada (*ibid. page* 231) writes to the same effect as Bṛihaspati.

Nárada probably wrote in the fifth or sixth century A. D., (*ibid page XVIII*); and Bṛihaspati in the sixth or seventh century A. D. While these pages have been passing through the press, a valuable little work by Sir A. Cunningham, entitled 'Coins of Ancient India' (Quaritch, 1891), has appeared. The earliest Indian coins and metric systems are there discussed. I have above, as in my previous publications, reckoned the weight of the *raṭí* to be 1·825 grain, and that of the *paṇa*, *karsha*, and *Suvarṇa* as 146 grains. Sir A. Cunningham now uses 1·8 and 144 respectively, as the elements of his calculations. He used to follow Thomas in his erroneous estimate of the weight of the *raṭí* as 1·75 grain. The figures 1·8 and 144 are very convenient.

In connection with this inscription, which records the presentation of a votive offering, Mr. Senart discusses the varieties and development of Buddhist votive formulas. He is inclined to think that the later and fuller forms were imitated from Græco-Roman formularies. This particular manifestation of western influence on India has not, I think, been previously noted, and I therefore quote in full the passage in which the theory is broached.

"En somme, c'est au Nord-Ouest que commencent les formules votives développées, elles affectent un caractère qui ne s'explique pas bien par le jeu naturel des idées natives.

Est il nécessaire d'admettre que l'imitation des formules épigraphiques de l'Occident ait contribué à les faire adopter?*

A cet égard, une double particularité me frappe dans nos deux dédicaces indo-bactriennes. L'une et l'autre affichent en bonne place un souci particulier de la 'santé,' de la 'prosperité' du roi et de sa famille. Le trait est si peu indou qu' il ne se retrouve, que je sache, nulle part dans l' Inde intérieure; il est si bien entré ici dans les mœurs qu' il se perpétue jusqu' á une époque assez basse: l' inscription de Kurra, datée du régne de Toramâna, au V^e^ siècle, le reproduit encore.

Comment ne pas songer aux vœux si fréquents dans les épigraphes gréco-romaines 'pour le salut des empereurs'? Le mot *agrabhaga*, que j'ai traduit par 'prosperité,' et qui ne peut guère, d'aprés le contexte, s'éloigner de ce sens, constitue une locution spéciale dont l' usage n'est pas consacré par la littérature. Ne semble-t-il pas révéler la recherche d' un terme approprié pour cette idée de 'fortune,' qui sort quelque peu de l' ordre des notions familières à l'esprit Indien? et ne représenterait-il pas un essai de traduction directe ou indirecte de l' ἀγαθὴ τύχη du grec?

On me pardonnera d' avoir, en passant, signalé cette impression. Je sens de combien de réserves il convient d' entourer de pareilles conjectures."

The conjecture seems to me highly probable. It may be remembered that several years ago I traced in the devices of the Gupta coinage reminiscences of the Greek ἀγαθὴ τύχη and her representative the Roman Fortuna.

While on the subject of Roman influence on the form of Indian inscriptions, I may note another conjecture which has occurred to me, namely, that the well known Indian practice of inscribing a record on several plates of copper joined by a ring may very likely have been

* Il est superflu de rappeler ici les expressions très-variées de ces vœux de santé, de bonheur, qui accompagnent tant de dédicaces grecques et latines. On en trouvera des énumérations plus ou moins complètes dans les traités d' épigraphie.

borrowed from the Romans. "Inscriptions on bronze tablets sometimes occur. These are *tabulæ honestæ missionis*, diplomas, or good conduct discharges. They are copies of decrees, promulgated at Rome, conferring upon the soldiery, as a reward for distinguished service, the privilege of Roman citizenship and the right of marriage. They seem to have been usually inscribed on two sheets of metal, which, being united by thongs, folded together like a book. Examples of these tablets have been found from the year A. D. 34 of the Emperor Claudius to the year of the Emperor Maximian, A. D. 300. They were invariably suspended on the walls of the temple in the Capitol for public exhibition."*

Mr. Senart devotes several pages to the consideration of the dated Hashtnagar inscription first published by me in the Indian Antiquary for 1889, and to a discussion of the era used in it and other inscriptions from the same region. The subsequent publication in this Journal of a photograph of the inscribed pedestal from Hashtnagar will, I think, remove the doubts which Mr. Senart felt as to the presence of the symbol for 100. He was inclined to read the date, as shown in the rougher facsimile of the Indian Antiquary, as being 84 only, but it is certain that the date is either 274, as formerly read by Sir A. Cunningham, or 284. The character preceding the 4 is certainly almost identical with each of the three characters for 20 which precede it, and so may be read also as 20, but it is not absolutely identical, being slightly straighter and narrower in shape, and this minute difference may be held sufficient to warrant us in reading it as the symbol for 10. So far as the historian is concerned it makes little matter whether the date is 274 or 284, but I think it more probable that 274 is the correct interpretation.

I altogether disagree with the opinion of Mr. Senart that "nous sommes forcés d' admettre que l' alphabet du Nord-Ouest, dans lequel est gravée l' inscription, était, au milieu du IV^e^ siécle, dès longtemps hors d' usage." But on this question I have nothing to add to what I have already printed, nor have I anything to retract.

Mr. Senart makes an important correction in the reading of the inscription by substituting *praushṭhapada* for *emborasma* as the name of the month.†

* Westropp, Handbook of Archæology, p. 500, 2nd edition, Bohn's Illustrated Library, 1878.

† In 'Coins of Ancient India' (Quaritch, 1891) Sir A. Cunningham incidentally (*page* 37) accepts Mr. Senart's reading of the date as 84. But the figures for the centuries are certainly in the record. Dr. Bühler reads "Sam 11 C XX XX XX X IV Postavadasa masasa di[va] sampmi pam[cha]mi 5 [11*]", and translates "The year 274, on the fifth, 5, day of the month of Praushṭhapada (*i. e.*, Bhâdrapada or August–September)." He observes that in the name of the month the reading

I should have mentioned that there are a few scratches or imperfect characters on the stone below the inscription, but these do not seem ever to have had any meaning.

I was inclined to refer the date 284 or 274 to the Śaka era of A. D. 78 rather than to that of Gondophares and Moga (Mauas), chiefly on account of the inferiority of the style of the figures on the pedestal as compared with that of the best Romano-Buddhist sculpture.

But, when discussing the remarkable statuette of the Emaciated Buddha of which he gives a plate, Mr. Senart points out (*note*, p. 43) that the execution of the principal figure is far superior to that of the minor figures of the relief on the pedestal. "A cet égard, on remarquera l'écart qui s' accuse entre la figure principale et le basrelief qui décore le socle, et qui est traité assai sommairement, sans doute comme une scéne conventionelle multipliée en nombreuses répliques par des artistes inférieurs. Il y'a là un avertissement qui ne doit pas être perdu pour ceux qui s' attacheront à établir la série chronologique des ouvrages gréco-buddhiques."

The observation is perfectly correct, and I readily accept the warning. I am quite willing to admit now that the era of either Gondophares or Moga is most likely that in which the Hashtnagar pedestal is dated, and that its approximate date is therefore about A. D. 220 or 230. Very probably the principal statue, which Mr. King was unable to appropriate, was executed in a style much superior to that of the pedestal. On this supposition the work is contemporary with the Jamálgarhi sculptures, and my arguments concerning the date of those remains are strongly confirmed. My approximate date for the best sculptures at Jamálgarhi is A. D. 250.

It is still uncertain whether the eras used by Gondophares and Moga are identical or different. Mr. Senart (*p.* 19) shows that the mode of expressing the date in the Taxila inscription, namely, "in the year 78 of the great King Mogas," does not imply that the era used was founded by that sovereign. "Rien n' est moins vraisemblable. Il suffit de se reporter aux épigraphes de Mathurâ (par example nos 1, 4, 6, comparés à 2, 4, 7) pour se convaincre que le nom du roi ajouté, au génitif, à l' indication de l' année n' implique ni que la date donnée se réfère à une ère fondée par lui, ni qu elle ait pour point de départ le commencement de son règne. Comme, d' autre part, quand un nom de roi est indiqué, il marque régulièrement le souverain regnant, il faut

pothavadasa is linguistically possible. (*Indian Antiquary for Nov.* 1891, *Vol. XX, page* 394). Sir A. Cunningham now calls the Arian alphabet by the name Gandharian, which is, I think, the best of the many names more or less current.

certainement entendre notre date; '1' an 78, sous le règne du grand roi Mogas.' L' imitation des formules grecques par le génitif absolu βασιλέοντος ou τυραννοῦντος, etc., explique suffisamment, par l' influence naturelle du monnayage, ce que la locution pourrait au premier aspect avoir de surprenant."

The last observation calls attention to yet another case in which Indian practice has been affected by Greek example.

Following Sir A. Cunningham, I described (*page* 142) in my former paper a brief record at Jamálgaṛhi as "seven unintelligible letters, read as *Saphaë danamukha*, incised on the back of the nimbus of one of the statues supposed to be those of kings." Mr. Senart (*page* 24) shows that the correct reading is *saphala danamukha*, "c' est á dire 'don méritoire.'" This word *daṇamukha* is unknown in literature, but occurs in the inscriptions on the Bhimaran vase and the Manikyála cylinder. Mr. Senart is unable at present to decide whether or not the word *dánamukha* implies a shade of meaning slightly different from that of the simple *dânaṃ*, and contents himself with noting (*page* 26) that in the inscriptions where the longer expression occurs it is not accompanied by the name of the gift in apposition, like *dánaṃ thaṃbho*, *thápo dánaṃ*, etc.

Pages 27–31 of his paper are devoted by Mr. Senart to the discussion of the Zeda inscription. He is unable to give a complete translation of this record, but it is satisfactory to find that it is certainly dated in the year 11, in the reign of Kanishka, as deciphered by Sir A. Cunningham.

The short record, which is numbered II by Mr. Senart, is also a votive inscription, and, subject to certain reservations, is thus translated (*page* 27); "An 68, le seizième (16) jour du mois Praushṭhapada. Don de...vadhitirana et de ses compagnons."

It is not known to what object it was attached, but doubtless it was a sculpture of some sort. The era is, of course, also undetermined. If it is that of Kanishka, the date would be 78 + 68 = A. D. 146. If it is that of either of Moga or Gondophares the date would be about A. D. 20. Either date is quite possible, but, if the earlier one is correct, we may be quite certain that the sculpture showed no trace of Roman influence, though it may have been Hellenistic in style.

The two statuettes from Sikrí of which M. Senart gives excellent phototype plates are both well executed, and seem to belong to the best period of the Gándhára school.

The first represents the Buddha seated, reduced to a state of extreme emaciation by the austerities which he practised in the first stage of his religious life. Mr. Senart cannot remember having seen any other ancient representation of the Buddha in this condition, but notes (*page*

33) that the Musée Guimet contains three modern figures of the emaciated Buddha. One of these is a fine Chinese bronze attributed to the last century. The others come from Japan, one being in wood, and the second in bronze, and are supposed to date respectively from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. All three represent the Buddha in a standing posture.

The second statuette figured is that of a woman standing, carrying on each shoulder a small standing figure, and suckling an infant, which sits astride, Indian fashion, on her right hip. The interpretation of this group is as yet unknown. Mr. Senart conjectures that the small figures on the shoulders may be intended to mark the divine rank of the principal figure, and that they are offering her a diadem or garland. Probably the woman is Máyá, the mother of the Buddha. The comparison with images of the Madonna Lactans is obvious, and is of interest when considered in connection with the numerous cases of resemblance between Buddhist and Christian works which I have cited.

The last twenty-one pages of Mr. Senart's essay are devoted to a discussion of the date of the Gándhára sculptures. His view is substantially the same as that advocated by Sir A. Cunningham (*page* 149 *of my former paper*). The following passages express Mr. Senart's general conclusions:—

"Il est fort possible que la tradition de l' architecture et de la sculpture gréco-buddhiques se soit au Nord-Ouest continuée pendant une période plus ou moins longue. Un point cependant doit être considéré comme établi, c' est que la période de floraison et de grande expansion de cet art est antérieure à la seconde moitié du IIe siècle; que, dès cette epoque, l' évolution dont il a été l' initiateur dans l' iconographie buddhique était achevée, consacrée. It serait dès lors bien arbitraire en dehors de preuves positives qui n' ont point été produites, de ramener à une époque plus basse les monuments principaux qui nous en sont parvenus, ceux surtout qui paraissent les plus caractéristiques et dont l' aspect est relativement ancien," (*page* 42).

The date of the statuette of the Emaciated Buddha is decided to be "not later than the end of the first century A. D." (*page* 44).

"Pour la date, la première moitié du IIe siècle paraît marquer le moment où l' imitation a été la plus active, et il n' y a aucune probabilité qu' elle se soit prolongée très-longtemps au delà. Si elle s' était exercée à une époque plus tardive, postérieure à la grande floraison du buddhisme sous Kanishka et Huvishka, il est à penser qu' elle ne serait pas si exactement circonstrite dans l' art Buddhique" (*page* 52).

When the passages quoted were written Mr. Senart had not seen my paper on the subject, and I shall therefore abstain from discussing

his views at length, and content myself with the observation that in my opinion he has been misled by his failure to perceive the Roman characteristics of the greater part of the Gándhára sculptures. He refers, certainly, to Fergusson's brief remarks on this topic, but dismisses them as being of little weight. To my mind, on the other hand, the strong Roman influence on the Gándhára school seems to be an obvious, palpable fact that cannot be ignored.*

Mr. Senart seeks in Parthia, not in Rome, for the special variety of Hellenistic art which supplied the model to the Gándhára sculptures.

"Au commencement du Ier Siècle avant J. C., le retour offensif d' influences occidentales représenteés par le philhellenisme des Arsacides, et maintenues par la création de la dynastie parthe particulière à cette région expliquerait l' établissement d' une sorte d' école pénétrée des traditions classiques; à la fin du Ier siècle après J. C., l' établissement de la puissante dynastie de Kanishka, tributarie au point de vue de la civilization de ses voisins de l' Iran, marque le moment où, sur la base la plus large qu 'eût jamais conquise dans l' Inde une race étrangère, cette école gréco-parthe a pu le mieux propager son influence dans l' intérieur du pays" (*page* 48).

I cannot discover in the Gándhára sculptures any distinct trace of Parthian influence, though the Persepolitan form of capital which is seen in some of the earlier works is, of course, a proof that the artists of the Gándhára school were naturally not ignorant of the art of Persia.

PART II.

Professor Weber opens his interesting essay by the intimation that it is designed to give a cursory view of what is known, partly from certain data, and partly from more or less plausible conjectures, concerning the position and influence of the Greeks in India.

The Greeks are called by Indian authors 'Yavana,' that is to say Ionians. This word seems to have been introduced through Persia, and has been successively applied to the Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Parthians, Persians, Arabs (or Muhammadans), and, finally, to Europeans.

[The use of the word is in fact analogous to the modern use of '*wiláyat*,' which includes Europe as well as Afghánistán, and other countries on the North-West frontier. *V. A. S.*]

The oldest mention of the term 'yavana' is found in the grammar of Páṇini (4, 1,49), who is now generally supposed to have flourished

* Mr. Ed. Drouin informs me that both he and Mr. Silvain Levi agree with me in the opinion that 'the Roman element had a real influence on the sculptures of the northern schools.'

about the beginning of the third century B. C. He teaches the formation of the word 'yavanáni' to indicate the writing (*lipi*) of the Yavana.

[The jurist Gautama (*IV.* 21; *page* 196 *of Bühler's translation*) enumerates Párásavas, Yavanas, Karaṇas, and Súdras together. His date is probably as early as that of Páṇini. *V. A. S.*]

The well known passage in the thirteenth edict of Aśoka which mentions the Yona (Yavana) kings, Antiochus, etc., is, of course, the earliest historical reference to the Yavanas, the date of which is certain.

Some scholars have discovered the name of Alexander in the Kálsi version of the edicts, but the reading is doubtful.

A distinct trace of the name of the great conqueror is found in the appellation of the city Alasaddá, or Alasanda, mentioned in the Mahávansa and the Questions of Milinda. This name is obviously identical with Alexandria. Some have supposed the city to be situated on the Indian Caucasus, or Hindu Kush. [But it would seem rather to have been situated on an island in the Indus, if we may trust the author of the Questions of Milinda.

"The Elder replied: 'In what district, O king, were you born?"

'There is an island called Alasanda. It was there I was born.'

'And how far is Alasanda from here?'

'About two hundred leagues.....

'In what town, O king, were you born?'

'There is a village called Kalasi. It was there I was born?'

'And how far is Kalasi from here?'

'About two hundred leagues.'

'How far is Kashmír from here?'

'Twelve leagues?"

Professor Rhys Davids is inclined to think that the town of Kalasi is identical with the 'Karisi nagara,' which seems to be mentioned on a coin of Eukratides (*acc. circa* B. C. 190) and that the coin was struck in commemoration of the fact of the Greeks having reached the Indus.* If the coin is rightly read, this conjecture seems extremely probable, but, unfortunately, the legend quoted is only "the conjectured reading of General Cunningham." (*Gardner, Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings, page* 19, *note, and Plate VI*, 8).

Professor Weber next proceeds to argue in favour of a highly conjectural theory connecting the name Skanda with Alexander, but I think my readers will excuse me from reproducing his very unsatisfactory arguments. *V. A. S.*]

* "The Questions of King Milinda," translated from the Páli by T. W. Rhys Davids, being Vol. XXXV of Sacred Books of the East, pp. XXIII and 126.

Ápiśali, one of the teachers cited by Páṇini, speaks of the formation of the compound 'Kshaudraka—Málava' (*scil.* 'senâ), 'the army of the Kshaudrakas and Málavas,' the Ὀξυδράκοι and Μάλλοι of the Greek historians. Inasmuch as we are told by them that these two peoples were at bitter enmity with one another, and only combined from fear of Alexander, it is possible that the grammarian may have had in his mind the invasion of Alexander. If this supposition is correct, both Ápiśali and his disciple Páṇini must belong to a period later than that of Alexander.

The Sauvíra city Dáttámitrí seems to be Demetrias; and the Sauvíra names Phánṭáhṛiti, Mimata, and Jamunda mentioned by Páṇini (4, 1, 148, 150) and his scholiast, suggest the Greek names Pantarchos, Mimas, and Diomedes.

The Greek name Ptolemaios or Ptolemy appears in Aśoka's edict under the easily recognized form Turamaya, but it seems also to have been adopted by Hindu literature and mythology under the form Asura Maya, and with a double signification. In the second book of the Mahábhárata Asura Maya, the architect of the Asuras, appears as the friend of king Yudhishṭhira, and builds for him a palace, the marvels of which excite general wonder and astonishment. This Asura Maya seems to me to be an appropriation by means of a popular etymology of the name Turamaya, and his skill as an architect appears to refer to the buildings of the Ptolemies, or even to the wonderful buildings of ancient Egypt. Another circumstance lends support to this supposition. A second application of the name Asura Maya is that which occurs in the extant, though certainly secondary, text of the Súrya-Siddhánta (1, 2), where he appears as the father of Indian astronomy. In this case, of course, there is no reference to king Ptolemy, but the person meant is the astronomer of the same name who flourished in the first half of the second century of our era.

It is to be observed that on both occasions the name entered India through the medium of the same mythical personality.

In the Jnánabháskara, the astronomer Asura Maya is placed in connexion with Romakapura, which must mean either Alexandria or Byzantium, or, more generally, the lands of the barbarians (*mlechchha*). The eighth book of the Kathásaritságara tells of the conquest of the gods under the command of Indra by the Asuras under the leadership of Maya. The terms Dánava and Asura must often be understood to mean foreign peoples.

[It may be remembered that I have suggested (*page* 133 *of my former essay*) that the whole conception of the Asuras and their conflicts with the gods was borrowed from the Greek legends of the Gigantomachia. The myths above referred to seem to give support to my conjecture. *V. A. S.*]

Other Greek names also may be recognized in the Hindu epics.

Tod long ago identified the Yavana king Dattámitra, who is described in the Mahábharata as taking a direct part in the struggle, with the Bactrian king Demetrius (*flor. circa* 180–165 B. C.), and this identification was accepted by Lassen. The city Demetrias built by him appears in the Rámáyaṇa under the further corrupted form Daṇḍámitrá, and in a votive formula of Buddhist tendency as Dáttámitíyaka Yoṇaka. The name of Bhagadatta, the king of the Yavanas who ruled over Máru, or Márwár, and Naraka in the West and is specially mentioned (*M. Bhár.* 2, 578, 579) as an old friend of the father of Yudhishṭhira, has been regarded by A. v. Gutschmid as a translation of the name of the Bactrian king Apollodotus (*flor. circa* B. C. 160), and this supposition appears to me a happy one.

The name of the Káshmír prince Jalauka, mentioned in the Mahábhárata, may be identified, though not without reserve, as a corruption of Seleucus.

Finally, the name of Menander is certainly represented by that of Milinda, king of Ságala (Σαγγαλα), who plays an important part in the tradition of southern Buddhism, and was remembered even down to Puranic times. The 'Milindapaṇha' will be referred to again on a later page.

The allusions to the Yavanas in Páṇini and the Mahábháshya should be here considered. The teaching of Páṇini concerning the formation of the word 'Yavanáni' to signify the writing (*lipi*) of the Yavanas has already been referred to. But it seems as if a direct use of the Yavana characters by Páṇini may be detected.

According to Goldstücker (*Páṇini*, page 53) he uses the second letter of the Indian alphabet as a sign for the numeral two, and Burnell (*Elements S. I. Palæogr.*, page 96, and *Aindra Grammarians*, page 77) supposes that he was in this passage influenced by the similar use of the letters of the Greek alphabet as numerals.

The characteristic remark in the Calcutta scholium on the passage in 3, 2, 120 *śayáná bhuñjate Yavanáḥ*, 'the Yavanas eat reclining,' is of interest. This remark is not found in the Mahábháshya (*see Ind. Stud.* 13, 381), and it clearly rests on an older observation, or rather, tradition.

Two examples given in the Mahábháshya on Páṇini 3, 2, 111, are of the highest interest, namely, *Yavano 'ruṇan Mádhyamikán*, 'the Yavana prince oppressed the Mádhyamikas'; and *Yavano 'ruṇat Sáketam*, 'the Yavana prince oppressed Sáketa.' These examples are given as illustrations of the use of the imperfect tense to signify an event which happened a short time previously, and therefore show that the oppression

of the Mádhyamika people and of the city of Sáketa must have occurred shortly before the composition of the examples. Unfortunately the geographical position neither of the people or city is ascertained with precision, but Sáketa, the Greek Σαγηδα is probably the modern Ajodhya or Oudh. [Fergusson, however, thought that its site should more probably be sought at Lucknow. It certainly was situated in the province of Oudh. Dr. Führer (*Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions, N.-W. P. and Oudh*, p. 275) is satisfied that Sánchánkoṭ, or Sujánkoṭ in the Unáo District, on the Sái river, 34 miles north-west of Unáo, represents the ancient Sáketam, the Sha-chi of Fa-Hian. According to him Ajodhya is the Visákhá of Hiuen-Tsiang, but not the Sha-chi of Fa Hian. *V. A. S.*]. The passage in the Mahábháshya indicates an extension of Greek dominion in the interior of India, which could not be suspected from perusal of the Greek writers. The reality of this extension is further supported by the chapter of the Garga-Saṃhitá named Yugapuráṇa, which mentions, not only the occupation of Sáketa by the Yavanas, but their further advance to Kusumadhvaja or Pushpapura, that is to say Páṭaliputra (Παλιβοθρα). But it is possible that we should rather suppose the text to refer to the advance of the Indo-Scythians, to whom the name of Yavanas was transferred.

The Garga family, which, notably enough (with the exception of a single passage in the Káthaka), is mentioned first in the latest sections of the Bráhmaṇas and Sútras, but comes specially to the front in the Mahábháshya (*see Ind. Stud.* 13, 410, *seqq.*), is repeatedly placed by legend in close connection with the Yavanas. Specially, a verse, which honours the Yavanas as teachers of astronomy, is ascribed to Garga.

In order to dispose of all the legendary-historical information concerning the Yavana princes of ancient times which can be extracted from the Mahábhárata, etc., it must here be noted that the Kála-Yavana or 'Black Yavana' is brought into special relation with Krishṇa and Garga. The name Black Yavana appears intended to distinguish the bearer of it from other kinds of Yavanas.

We must further observe that the Yavana king Kaserumant is shown as occupying a hostile, or more exactly, a subordinate position. I have already expressed an opinion (*Ind. Skizzen*, pp. 88, 91; *and Akad. Vorl. in. L. G.* 205) that the name of this Kaserumant is a reminiscence of the Roman Cæsar, and Mr. Léon Feer has since shown (*Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1871, pp. 47, 56, 60), that the expression *Kesara náma saṃgrámaḥ*, 'Cæsarean or Roman order of battle,' occurs in the Buddhist Avadána-śataka. If these passages belong to the period of the great deposits of Roman coins in India they supply a certain legendary back ground for them.

Finally, we must note the prominent position which the Yavanas, in common with the Kambojas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Balhikas, etc., take in the Mahábhárata, as well as in the Rámáyaṇa, and which is so significant for the determination of the period of composition of these works. The Romakas are also mentioned there, though but rarely.

The city Romakapura, which plays a special part in astronomical literature (*see above*) should not be understood to mean Rome itself, but Alexandria, or perhaps, Byzantium.

The city Rauma mentioned in the Vishṇu-puráṇa (*Wilson-Hall*, 1, 130) must be understood in the same way. A Romaka-siddhánta appears to have been one of the earlier works used by the astronomer Varáha Mihira, who lived between A. D. 504 and 587.

The well-known part which Yavana women play in the dramas of Kálidása (who is supposed to have flourished in the middle of the sixth century A. D.) as personal attendants of the king may be in some degree explained by the trade in "good-looking girls for concubinage," which, according to the author of the Periplus, was carried on between Alexandria and India. Samudra Gupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription [*Fleet, Corpus Inscr. III*, p. 14, *V. A. S.*] mentions the delivery of maidens as tribute by the Sassanian king of Persia, who is there called the Sháhánushábi. The superior culture and education of these foreign girls may be the explanation of the introduction of certain peculiarities in the attributes of the Indian god of love, Kámadeva. The chief of these is the dolphin (*makara*) banner which he carries, like the Greek Eros. He is also sometimes described as the son of the goddess of beauty, who, like Aphrodite, rises foam-born from the waters. But this latter myth may be of primitive Indo-Germanic origin, and refer to the dawn. Sometimes he is represented as the consort of the goddess of desire. The ancient image of Aphrodite, accompanied by Eros and the dolphin may be dimly made out in a relief on the temple of Bhuvanésvara in Orissa, which seems to date from the seventh century of our era; but the form is very degraded in execution.

It is very difficult to understand how the Kiṃnara, or monkeys in the guise of men and women, can have been turned into 'heavenly choristers,' for even Indian taste can hardly regard the screeching of monkeys as melodious. Perhaps the κινύρα used by the Greek maidens at the courts of the Indian princes may be at the bottom of the conception.

[Κινύρα was a ten-stringed instrument, and κινυρός and cognate words mean 'wailing.' The conjecture seems to me a very far-fetched one. *V. A. S.*]

Another bold conjecture would explain the amended reading '*Kharán*' in the Páṇiniyá Śikshá, when it is explained to mean the form of

greeting used by the women of Suráshṭra, to be the Greek χαίρειν. This conjecture is supported by the facts that Greek influence lasted late in Suráshṭra, and that in Byzantine inscriptions χαίρειν, written as χερίν, is used as a salutation formula instead of the imperative χαῖρε.

With reference to the political position of the Greeks in India the direct transfer into Sanskrit and Pálí of the words σῦριγξ and χαλινός in the forms *suruñgá* (underground passage; mine), and *khalína* (= bridle, rein, especially the bit of a horse's bridle) is of interest.

Merely for the sake of completeness some words may be noticed which occur only in dictionaries. Examples of these are *yavanapriya*, 'pepper,' *yavaneshṭa*, 'tin,' *yávana*, 'incense.' But in these cases the term Yavana may refer, not to the Greeks, but to other foreign nations who succeeded them.

Many articles of commerce have Indian names identical with the European, *e. g.*, *kastíra*, καστίτερος; *kastúri*, καστώρειον; *marakata*, σμάραγδος; *śṛingavera*, zingiber; and others.

But in these cases it is uncertain whether India was the borrower or the lender, and in a large number of instances there is no doubt as to the Indian origin. Examples are:—ὄπαλος, *upala*; βήρυλλος, *veluriya* (*vaiḍúrya*, *vaidurya*); καρνόφυλλον, *kaṭukaphala*; κιννάβαρι, *khinnavári*, *etc.*

[The Professor then devotes a few words to the Græco-Buddhist sculptures and the origin of coinage in India, but his general observations are only of a cursory nature, and need not be translated. I have already translated his note on the words *dramma* and *dínára*. He refers to the essay of Stephani, (*Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*; in the *Mémoires de' l'Académie de St. Petersbourg*, 6 *ser. t. IX*) as establishing the probability that the rise of the nimbus in art, which Spence Hardy regarded as of eastern origin, is more probably an importation from the West. On this question Mr. Senart has no doubt at all, and boldly says (*page* 38) that the classical origin of the nimbus is certain. It is quite possible that a close examination of the Buddhist sculptures of the Gándhára school with reference to the use of the nimbus may help to settle their date. *V. A. S.*]

According to Halévy, who has recently republished his views, the Indian alphabet itself, as it is first met with in the time of Piyadasi (Aśoka), is derived from the Greek. But this theory appears to deserve little credit, and it is much more probable that the importation of the Semitic writing into both India and Greece occurred at the one period, and that the great resemblance between several of the most important characters is thus to be explained. In any case, the further inference impugning the antiquity of Indian literature, which Halévy draws from his theory, completely fails, because the oral transmission of ancient texts undoubtedly reaches back to very early times.

The fact is of interest that the Greek names of the colour 'black' *μέλαν*, and of the reed-pen, *κάλαμος*, both found admission into Sanskrit under the forms respectively of *melá* and *kalama*. *Mēlá* occurs in the romance of the *Vásavadattá* which seems to be related to a Milesian tale (see *post*). The observation as to *kalama* applies only to the word when used in the sense of 'pen,' and not to the form of the word itself, (*see Hâla* (1881) *Vorw.*, p. XVII, *Monatsbericht*, 1871, p. 623).

It appears almost certain further that the Sanskrit word *pustaka*, 'book,' should be regarded as an inversion of a possible Greek form *πυξικον*.

[It is certain that *pustaka* was introduced into Sanskrit at a comparatively late date. It occurs in the Pañchatantra. The form *πυξικον* is not known to occur, but *πυξίον* is used in Aristophanes, Frag. 671, in the sense of a tablet for writing on. Liddell and Scott quote the same passage as a reference for the form *πυξίδιον*, which seems to be a various reading. *V. A. S.*]

We thus arrive at the most important matter in which Greek influence on India is demonstrable, namely Poetry, Science, etc. We have already seen that in the epics the Greek princes are brought into direct relations with the actors in the narrative. Great analogies and coincidences certainly exist between the Mahábhárata, and, still more, between the Rámáyaṇa and the Iliad and Odyssey. The rhetorician Dio Chrysostom (who lived in the time of Trajan A. D. 98–117) refers to these peculiarities of the Mahábhárata when he ascribes to the Indians a knowledge of the poems of Homer as transferred to their own language and dialect. This passage was formerly interpreted as indicating merely the existence of the Mahábhárata in the time of Dio Chrysostom, but, in the light of facts recently brought to light, the hypothesis that the author of the so-called 'battle-section' of the Mahábhárata actually made use of the Homeric legend, cannot well be absolutely rejected.

The Ráma legend in its Buddhist dress differs greatly from that presented by Válmíki, and there seems to be no doubt that the Buddhist version is of higher antiquity. It is thus quite possible that Válmíki may have used the Homeric legend for his arrangement of the story (*see Weber. Abhandlung "über das Rámáyaṇa"* 1870.)

The patriotism of the Hindus is grievously wounded by this theory, but no one wishes to argue that the Rámáyaṇa is *copied* from Homer. There is, however, no reason to reject as *a priori* impossible the theory that it has been *influenced* by Homer. It daily becomes more clear that elements of Homeric myth, *e. g.* Leukothea and the Trojan horse, have entered into Buddhist historical legends. But, when the mutual exchange of legendary epic materials is considered, it is rarely possible

in such discussions to obtain a result of objective certainty. Conviction may be attained, demonstration is impossible.

So far as coincidences of this sort are not to be ascribed to a purely spontaneous, natural origin and development in both places, two further possibilities must be kept in view. The first is that the coincidences in question need not necessarily be ascribed to borrowing from either side, but may be derived from primitive nature myths of early Indo-Germanic times. The second is that, granted borrowing in historical times, the Grecian legend may not have been of Greek origin, but may have first come from the East, and travelled back again to India.

What has been said above of epic myths holds good for the forms and materials of fairy tales and stories of enchantment, for folklore in short. Indian literature, thanks to the activity of the Buddhists, and, in later times, of their rivals the Jains, is specially rich in compositions of this class. Some of these, in their existing shape, date from tolerably recent times, but it is plain that they rest on old traditions and lost works, which were partly composed, not in Sanskrit, but in popular dialects.

The older works of this kind are generally associated with the name of Sátaváhana; the more recent with that of Vikramáditya.

Both of these kings are alike connected by tradition with the conquests of foreign rulers, especially the Sakas, or Indo-Scythians, and are themselves represented with features of foreign origin.

In yet another branch of literature a similar great agreement between Greece and India is apparent, that is to say, in what may be called the Æsopian Fable.

India has for some time past been considered the parent country of fables. With regard to the transfer of collections of Indian fables to the West since the sixth century A. D the statement holds good, especially for many beast stories, which, so to say, have been pressed into the service of politics, to serve as a mirror for princes. Accordingly, in this department, and for the period named, we must add to the three, or rather four, possibilities to be weighed in estimating the value of coincidences between India and the West, yet a fifth.*

But, as regards older times, we must absolutely give up the notion that India is the parent country of the Æsopian fable. On the contrary, the Greek form of the fable (putting aside the question of its

* The five possibilities referred to seem to be:—(1) Borrowing by India from Greece, (2) Spontaneous, natural, independent development in both countries, (3) Derivation from primitive Indo-Germanic (Aryan) nature myths, (4) Borrowing by Greece from India, and re-importation into India from Greece, (5) Transfer of political apologues from India to Europe in sixth century A. D. and later. [*V. A. S.*] But see *post*.

possible independent origin) gives, when compared with the Indian, a more distinct impression of simplicity and originality.

The beasts who take special parts in the beast stories either do not belong distinctively to the Indian fauna, or do not exhibit the characteristics which the Hindus attribute to them.

There is reason to suppose that two words borrowed from Greek fables occur in Sanskrit, *viz.*, *lopáka*, 'jackal,' from ἀλώπηξ, (the old Indian form being *lopáśa*); and *kramelaka*, 'camel,' from κάμηλος; both forms being based on a meaning obtained by popular etymology. Lassen is inclined to seek a Semitic origin for *kramelaka*, but the termination *ela* is decisive against this supposition.

[The word is, however, said to occur in all Semitic languages. Prof. Weber's position is hardly intelligible without further explanation. He refers to his Ind. Stud. 3, 336, Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. 1871, p. 619. *V. A. S.*]

In this case also the Buddhists have been the chief carriers of Western materials to India, especially in their Játaka stories.

So far we have dealt with essentially popular materials, and with appropriations made, so to speak, by word of mouth.

There is, however, an artistic form of Greek literature, the Greek romance, which appears to have found direct entrance into India.

Peterson, in his preface to his edition of Báṇa's Kádambarí (1883, p. 101) compares the style of the author directly with that of the Alexandrian, Achilles Tatius (A. D. 450).

I have already in my remarks on that work (*D. L. Zeitung*, 1884, p. 120) pointed out that it was very natural that the "good looking girls," the Yavana maidens, at the courts of the Indian kings should have formed a means of communication for Milesian love stories. Material resemblances, moreover, exist between the Vásavadattá of Subandhu, a predecessor of Báṇa, and a tale of Athenæus (13, 35), (*flor. circa* A. D. 230) and both Indian authors describe the bringing to life of a stone statue by an embrace, so as to recall the story of Pygmalion.

In this connection the fact is of special interest that in one of the tirades in the bombastic style usual in the Vaśavadattá the word 'ink' is expressed by *melá*, *i. e.*, μέλαν· The passage (*Vásav. p.* 239) is to the following effect:—"Though the heaven became the page, the sea the ink-bottle (*melánanda*), and the writer a Brahman, yet could he not describe in many thousand ages the agonies of love which she has suffered on his account." The same conceit is still popular in modern Greek love songs, and, according to Hall, is found also in the Qurán. (18, 109). It probably goes back to the Milesian literature.

It appears to me proper, before I go further, to insert here a brief review of what is known as to the coincidences between the subjects of Greek and Indian tales.

I shall not undertake in individual cases to decide which of the five points of view is the true one, that is, to decide whether each story (1) developed naturally, (2) or is of Indo-Germanic, or (3) of Western, or (4) of Greek origin, or (5) was conveyed from India to the West. At present such a determination is for the most part impracticable. But I can at least arrange the whole generally in a certain chronological order.

[Prof. Weber then proceeds to give, with references in each case, a long catalogue of myths relating to the sun-bird, Garuḍa, Cinderella, the wishing-cow, etc., which are all descended from primitive, Indo-Germanic, Vedic times. He classes in the same category the stories of enchanted princes, castles, etc., etc., in which German folk-lore is so rich. Some of these myths may have arisen in India, and the Greeks and Romans knew a good many of these things on their own account. An extensive and rich field of investigation here lies open. I may note that the Indian Antiquary for several years past has published numerous stories of Indian folk-lore, which are not here referred to by Prof. Weber.

He then gives a similar list of myths which have travelled from the West to India, such as the treasure-chamber of Rhampsinitus, the Rape of Ganymede, the Sibylline books, Orpheus and Eurydice, etc., etc. Christian legends will be dealt with further on. He then proceeds to discuss the origin of the Indian drama. He holds that the germ of the Indian drama is to be found in indigenous religious festivals, resembling the German Passion plays, and that this opinion is strongly confirmed by passages in the Mahábháshya (*see Ind. Stud.* 13, 490 *seqq.*). But the beginnings of dramatic art thus indicated are of a simple and grotesque kind, separated by a very wide interval from the finished work of Kálidása. The scope for Greek influence was found in this interval. He then briefly notices with approval the treatises of Brandes and Windisch, which I have discussed in my former essay.

He next takes up the subject of astronomy, his remarks on which I shall translate at greater length. *V. A. S.*]

So far as the sciences are concerned, astronomy is above all that in which Greek influence is plainly and clearly visible. The Indian astronomers themselves expressly describe the Yavanas as being their teachers. Among the five ancient Siddhántas which the astronomer Varáhamihira (A. D. 504–87) has specially made use of there are two, the Puliśa and Romaka Siddhántas, which prove this by their very

names. The name Puliśa must be understood as equivalent to Paulus Alexandrinus.

I have already mentioned (*ante*, p. $\frac{10}{000}$) that the extant Súrya Siddhánta represents Asura Maya of Romakapura as the first founder of astronomy, and that I regard him as being the Greek astronomer Ptolemy. I have also identified Manetho, the author of the Apotelesmata, [not earlier than the 5th century A. D., according to Smith's Classical Dictionary. *V. A. S.*], with Maṇittha, or Máṇiṇdha. Others regard the name of the Yavana teacher (*Yavaneśvara*) Asphuvi[d]-dhvaja (Sphujidhvaja) as a corruption of a Greek name Aphroisios or Speusippus.

Whilst the oldest Indian astronomy, resting probably on a Babylonian basis, occupies itself with the moon and its mansions (*nakshatra*); the succeeding phase, under Greek influence, concerns itself chiefly with the planets and the sun, that is to say, the zodiac.

The direct consequence of this is the conversion of the Kṛittiká series of the *nakshatras*, hitherto current, and corresponding to a Taurus zodiac, into the Aśvini series, corresponding to the Aries zodiac. Moreover, not only have the names of the planets and zodiacal signs passed by direct transcription into Sanskrit, and remained to some extent in use till the latest times (*eg. ára* = Ἄρης, and *heli* = ἥλιος), but numerous technical terms also have been incorporated into the language. Some of these have been worked into the poetic vocabulary, for example, *jámitra* (= διάμετρον) occurs in Kálídása's Kumárasambhava. [The correct form is διάμετρος, not διάμετρον. *V. A. S.*]

According to H. Jacobi, the allusions to ancient astrological notions, such as occur in Kálídása, are chiefly based on the works of Firmicus Maternus (A. D. 336–354). [The work of Firmicus Maternus is known under the title, 'Matheseos Libri VIII,' and is described as being a formal introduction to judicial astrology. *V. A. S.*].

With regard to arithmetic and algebra, in which the Indians are well-known to have accomplished much, Colebrooke (*Misc. Essays*, 2, 401, 446) was inclined to accept the fact of Greek influence, especially that of Diophantus.

On the contrary, Dr. Hoernle, in the preface to his excellent dissertation on an ancient arithmetical text, composed in the Gáthá dialect, and seemingly of Buddhist origin, decides for "the entirely native origin" of Indian arithmetic. The text in question is supposed to date from the third or fourth century A. D., but the extant manuscript does not seem to be older than the eighth or tenth century. [Compare Major Temple's exposition of Burmese arithmetic in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX (1891), p. 53. The Burmese system is said to be much the

same as that used by astrologers in India, and certainly does not seem to show the slightest trace of the influence of western science. *V. A. S.*]. Woepcke (*Mém. sur la propagation des chiffres Indienes, Paris*, 1863) supposes that there is an agreement between the so-called Arenarius of Archimedes (B. C. 287–212) and the problem concerning the atomic contents of a *yojana* set at the wedding examination of Buddha. If the alleged coincidence be accepted as established, it would be simpler to believe that the Buddhist statement, the age of which is in no way established, rests on borrowing, then to hold with Woepcke that the problem was borrowed from India. It is even possible that both the Greek and Indian forms of it are the results of Babylonian influence.

Quite recently a Sanskrit version of the Elements of Euclid has come to light. In its existing form this work does not go back to a period earlier than the beginning of the last century. The information about it is, however, extremely vague. We do not know whether this work rests on an earlier one of ancient date, or whether it is to be referred to the beginning of the preceding, that is to say, the 17th century, as the result of modern European influence, possibly that of the Jesuit fathers at the court of the emperor Akbar (1556–1605).

In any case the discovery is of interest, because the foreign material of the book has been completely melted down into an Indian shape, which fact offers an excellent parallel for similar precedents in older times.

[This melting down into Indian forms is characteristic of almost all the Indian borrowings, and is the reason that the foreign origin of so much of Indian civilization has been so tardily and unwilling recognized. I have already commented on the fact with reference to architecture, sculpture, coinage, and the drama. (*See my previous essay*, p. 189.) The only exception to the rule seems to be the sculpture of the Gándhára school, which is obviously western in character. *V. A. S.*]

Notwithstanding these possible, or even very doubtful, examples of Greek influence, the Hindus have certainly gone their own way in the province of arithmetic, geometry, etc. The oldest, and rather curiously framed, rules upon permutations and combinations are naturally connected with metrical problems, such as ' How many variations based on the quantity of the syllables are possible in a foot of two, three, four, or more syllables ' ? Here no foreign influence can well be detected.

Similarly the rules in the so-called *S'ulvasútra* are derived from practical experiments on the methods of modifying the typical bird-shape of the regulation fire-altar built of bricks. These experiments actually led to the discovery and solution of the theorem concerning the relation between the hypotenuse and the sides of a right-angled

triangle ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras, and even to attempts at the quadrature of the circle.

In connection with this subject, L. v. Schröder has recently (in 1884) maintained the proposition that this very theorem was borrowed along with other things by Pythagoras from India.

But nothing is known concerning the date of the Śulvaśutra, which is itself only an appendix to one of the so-called Śrautasútras of the Yajur Veda. Pythagoras is generally assumed to have flourished between B. C. 540–500, and this is rather an early period in which to suggest importation from India.

It is in reality unnecessary in this case to adopt the hypothesis of borrowing at all, for it is quite possible that correct mathematical results may be attained independently in different places. The definite rules of the Śulvasútra were elaborated as the result of practical experience. It should further be observed that the Śulvasútra has remained quite isolated in India, and has, according to all appearance, undergone no further development. We shall come later to the consideration of the supposed studies of Pythagoras in India.

Indian medicine also appears not to have been uninfluenced by Greek. The tendency of early writers was to exaggerate the high antiquity of medical science in India. Haas has gone too far in the other direction in supposing the Suśruta to have been subject not only to Greek but to Muslim influence, though it is possible that some modern works of Indian medicine may have been affected by Muhammadan teaching. Rudolf Roth has shown in an interesting way the relation between the Asclepiad oath and the teaching of the Charaka concerning the duties of the physician. The identity of the doctrine of the three humours is obvious. Should further coincidences of the kind be established, chronology, at any rate, will oppose no obstacle to the derivation of the Indian doctrines from Greek sources.

So far as concerns philosophy, and religious ideas, which in India are hardly separable from it, the statements of the Greek authors leave no doubt that the Indian ascetics, *γυμνοσοφιστάι*, *ὑλοβίοι* made a deep impression on Alexander and his companions. The voluntary burning of Kalanos at Athens aroused a feeling of profound, but at the same time, compassionate astonishment. Nor is any doubt possible that the doctrines of the Alexandrian Neo-Platonists and Neo-Pythagoreans, especially the doctrines of Philo of Alexandria, and the doctrine of the *λόγος* derived from him as given in St. John's Gospel, bear Indian features, or rather appear to have been impregnated with Indian ideas.

But to go back to still earlier times, and to derive the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis also from India appears to me, on the contrary, to be doubtful.

L. v. Schröder, who has recently advocated this theory, does not, indeed, go so far as one of his predecessors, who wished to explain the name of Pythagoras as equivalent to Buddhaguru, but even he maintains that the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls is derived from India, that is to say, from Buddhism. In fact only the latter assumption need be made, for it would seem that before Buddha this doctrine had not gained acceptance in India, whilst with him it forms a corner stone for his preachings intended for the people, especially the Játaka legends. Now the still imperfectly ascertained date of Buddha corresponds at least approximately with the fixed date of Pythagoras, namely, B. C. 540–500, or perhaps a little later.

On mere *a priori* grounds it seems in a high degree unlikely that Buddha was the teacher, and Pythagoras the learner. Since direct relations between the two men are not to be thought of, but only indirect ones by way of Egypt or Persia, we must, considering the difficulties of communication in those times, allow at least several decades, even if that be sufficient, for the establishment of such relations. Moreover, the doctrine of transmigration of souls is in itself so agreeable to the human mind as a means of equalizing the injustices of life on earth, by reward or punishment of the actions of men, that it may be regarded as an idea of natural growth. Of course, we cannot affirm of it, as of the so-called Pythagorean theorem, that it gives an accurate result, but it may very well have arisen independently among various peoples, in various parts of the world, without obliging us to assume a mutual borrowing.

When, however, we find Socrates, in the Gorgias, using the formula τά καλά, ὠφέλιμα, ἡδέα (or, as it is rendered in Latin, 'honestum, utile, dulce,') to express the ideal of legislation and morality, this formula agrees so closely with the three Indian objects of living, *dharma*, *artha*, *káma*, and has such an individual colouring, that it is at least difficult to suppose that the conception originated independently in both places.

In India this triad does not appear in the most ancient period, but only in more recent times, so that in this case I do not hesitate to give priority to Plato.

The Brahmans of the Vedic period were not acquainted with the formula. The Buddhists and Jains lay special stress on it. They frequently use the words *dharma* and *artha* together in the senses respectively of 'law or precept,' and 'meaning, or signification of *dharma*,' which differ completely from the sense the same words have when used in combination with the third word *káma*. This circumstance indicates that the triad was formed in consequence of a foreign suggestion.

Just as Greek stories have found their way into the Játaka legends

of Buddha, these Platonic ideas may very well have been transferred in a similar way.

Even the bridge by which they crossed may probably be recognized. For should not the dialogues between the Yavana king Milinda (Menander), and the Buddhist priest Nágasena, as given in the 'Milinda-paṇha,' be regarded as connected with the Platonic dialogues? May we not even look upon them as an intentional Indian imitation? Oldenberg suggests that reminiscences of meetings between Indian monks and Greek rhetoricians are preserved in these dialogues.

In the preceding case we have to deal not so much with a doctrine belonging to the peculiar systems of Indian philosophy as with a, so to speak, popular view. Nevertheless, even for these systems the chances of literary history are very unfavourable to their priority as compared with those of the old Greek philosophy, inasmuch as the former, on the whole, belong to a much later period than the latter.

When, therefore, in any direction a special agreement between the Greek and Indian philosophies is found to exist (such, for example, as may be the case with regard to the Indian atomic theory, developed later in a very peculiar fashion), and that agreement cannot be regarded as a spontaneous, independent, mental product of both peoples, we must always assume a borrowing from Greece.

An example of the contrary may here be noted, though it is concerned with a popular conception rather than with a doctrine of systematic philosophy. In India, besides the above mentioned triad of the objects of human life we find another of a purely ethical kind, namely, a classification of sins into those of thought, word, and deed, which testifies to a very high and pure popular moral consciousness. This triad occurs in the Avesta and Veda, as well as with the Buddhists, and so dates from the Aryan period, during which the later Iranians and Indians still formed one nation.

When, therefore, we find it in our Christian litanies from the time of Pope Damasus in the middle of the fourth century down to Paul Gerhardt ("with heart, mouth, and hands") we must recognize an Indian, probably Buddhist, influence on the western form. Some points of connection with the Protagoras of Plato, as well as with certain biblical expressions, may also be traced, but not enough to establish any systematic ethical doctrine, such as is expressed in the litanies.

In this connection must be considered the question recently propounded by Rudolf Seydel, Jul. Happel, and others, as to how far we may assume possible Buddhist influence on the Christian legends, and even on the gospels themselves.

It is obvious that, even if the supposed influence is established, the

teaching of Christ suffers no disparagement, and is in no wise touched as regards its peculiar meaning.

The question whether parables, such as those of the prodigal son, and the Samaritan woman at the fountain, which occur in nearly identical forms in Buddhist literature are of Christian origin, or, conversely, the result of Buddhist influence on Christianity, still seems to me one that is altogether open. Especially, because I do not agree with those who attribute to the Buddhist texts concerned an antiquity so high as is generally supposed.

But it is quite clear that Buddhism by means of its convents for monks and nuns, its legends of saints, its worship of relics, its towers, its bells, and, above all, through its rich ritual and hierarchical pomp, did exercise influence on the development of Christian worship and ceremonial.

The influence of Indian Buddhism on the development of Gnosticism and Mainchæism is also established. The doctrine of the Trinity, likewise, might possibly be connected with the triad of the Avesta,—Ahuramazda, Zarathustra, and the congregation,—as well as with the Buddhist triad, Buddha, Dharma, and Samgha.

It is, moreover, well-known that the two Catholic saints Barlaam and Josaphat simply owe their origin to a mistaken appropriation of a Buddhist legend. Finally, the rosary of the Catholic Church, is, according to all appearance, of Indian origin, and its very name seems to be due to an erroneous apprehension of the word *japamâlâ*, the Sanskrit term for 'prayer-necklace.'*

But we must also look in the opposite direction, for nowhere does continual give and take more constantly occur than in these matters, which so profoundly concern the human spirit.

When then, for example, it is said in the Káthaka Upanishad (1, 2, 23) :—"This *átman* (here the term practically is equivalent to 'God') is to be apprehended not through instruction, nor insight, nor yet by much learning, but only by him whom He chooses that through him He may be known," the connection of this doctrine, the idea of which is otherwise foreign to India, with the doctrine of 'election by grace' in the Epistle to the Romans is so apparent that it seems to me that Christian influence must here be assumed. In my opinion the position of this text in literary history, as the work is now extant in the Atharva recension, is in no way inconsistent with this view.

According to Oldenberg (*Buddha*, p. 56, (1890)), however, the Káthakopanishad should be regarded as præ-Buddhist, and, if this be

* *Japá* means China rose in Kirátárjuníya and Sísupála vadha (*Benfey, Dict.*) [V. A. S.]

true, the question must be decided in the converse way. For the doctrine referred to is not one of such natural growth as to justify the assumption that it arose independently in India as well as in Galilee.

As to the Bhagavadgítá it is certain that it shows the influence of Christian teaching, though Lorimer goes much too far in maintaining this proposition.

Wilson long ago traced back to a Christian basis the whole doctrine of *bhakti*, the unconditional, believing devotion to the Lord, that is to the sectarian god with whom the work is concerned.

The frequent designation of the teacher under the traditional epithet of *śveta*, white, or of a name in which *śveta* forms a part, seems to refer to white men, Christian missionaries.

The full information given in the Mahábhárata (12, 12771, *seqq.*) about the travels of the Indian wise men (Ekata, Dwita, Trita, and especially, Nárada) over the sea, as far as Śvetadwípa, the 'Island of the (*śveta*) white men,' in order to learn there the doctrine of the One God, is intelligible only when understood to refer to the journeyings of pious Indians to Alexandria, and the knowledge of Christianity which they there acquired.

The knowledge of the name of Christ, the son of the divine Virgin, obtained in this way, and further diffused by Christian missionaries and the residence of natives of India in Christian countries, and by the partially divine honour paid to him by his followers could not fail to remind the Indians of the semi-divine Krishṇa, son of Devakí, whose name seems to mean divine.

Thus it has come to pass that many Christian incidents and legends, especially those of Christ's birth among the shepherds, the stable, the manger as his place of birth, the taxing by Cæsar Augustus, the massacre of the innocents at Bethlehem, and others of the sort, are repeated in the Indian legends of Krishṇa.

The ordinary legends state that the child Krishṇa, in order to save him from hostile machinations, was removed on the night of his birth from the lying-in-room by his father and made over to his foster-parents, the shepherd couple, Nanda and Yaśodá. But certain detailed rules concerning the festival of Krishṇa's nativity exist, and are found in texts of quite modern date, which narrate the incidents in a different way, that clearly betrays a foreign origin. According to this version, Devakí, the child's mother, stays quietly lying in the manger, nursing the infant, while numerous groups of shepherds, angels, and others stand around blessing and praising. Even the ox and ass are not wanting. The star, which stands still in the sky, and fixes the date for the festival, is Rohiṇí, or Aldebaran.

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Concerning the early existence of Christian congregations in India, supposed to have been established by the Apostle Thomas, no doubt can be entertained. According to the testimony of Nilos Doxopatrios, who lived in the twelfth century, the Patriarch of Antioch, even at that late date, sent a καθόλικός, or deacon, to Ῥωμογυρι, or Rámagiri, in India. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese found the Christians of the Church of St. Thomas in Malabar using Syrian books and Arian forms of worship. They gave themselves a great deal of trouble to convert these heretics. A certain image of Devakí, nursing the infant Krishṇa, which recalls the representations of the Madonna Lactans, may be explained as a result of the delicate diplomatic skill of the Jesuit Missionaries at the court of Akbar the Great, but it is possible that its origin should rather be traced back to an ancient Byzantine motive.

In conclusion, an early reference to Christian missions, in connection, not with the worship of Krishṇa, but with that of Ráma, whose mild form is much more appropriate for the purpose, must be brought forward. I allude to the legend of Sambuka, the pious Súdra, which is used by Kálidása in the Raghuvaṇśa (XV, 50), and by Bhavabhúti in the Uttara Rámacharita. (*Act II, Wilson, Hindu Theatre,* Vol. I, p. 319).

In the Raghuvaṇśa version Sambuka simply meets his death at the hands of Ráma as a penalty for having applied himself to ascetic practices in order to attain the rank of a god (*surapadam*), although as a Súdra, he was not entitled to do so. He was therefore regarded as a disturber of the public peace, and is stated to have failed in attaining his object (*gatiṃ na prápa*).

In Bhavabhúti's work, on the contrary, the victim actually appears on the scene as the man-god, in divine form, and gives thanks to Ráma for having been aided by his coming to attain death, and thereby divine rank and blessedness.

K. M. Banerjea, in the preface to his edition of the Nárada-Pancha-rátra, has recognized, and probably with justice, in this legend an allusion to the settlement of Christian missionaries on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. It is possible that in the form of the legend as given by Bhavabhúti a faint reference to Simeon of St. Luke's Gospel (II, 25, 29) may dimly be discerned, but, if this be so, Simeon has been terribly disfigured by his Indian disguise.

Last of all, it should be observed that when a modern text, the Sukraníti, in enumerating the 32 Indian sciences, gives the last place to the *Yávanaṃ mataṃ*, which is explained as meaning 'the doctrine of the unity of God,' the reference is more probably to the Koran than to the New Testament. G. Oppert, however, the editor of this work, considers it to be very old.

The Dinájpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Mahípála.—By Professor F. Kielhorn, C. I. E.; Göttingen.

Some time in 1886 the Society before which I have the honour to lay this short paper received from Mr. Giridhari Basu, Deputy Inspector of Schools at Dinájpur, several rubbings of a newly discovered copper-plate inscription. They were submitted to the late Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, who pronounced the find an important one, but was prevented by the state of his eyes from attempting a decipherment. About six months ago the same rubbings were sent by Dr. Hoernle to myself, with an invitation, if possible, to edit the inscription for the Society. In now complying with Dr. Hoernle's request, I may well say that this new Dinájpur copper-plate is indeed of great value, because, together with the Society's Amgáchhí plate of which I owe an excellent impression to Mr. Fleet, it settles beyond dispute the line of succession of the so-called Pála dynasty of Bengal, from Náráyaṇapála down to Vigrahapála III. The new plate, it is true, in its historical portion contains nothing which is not in the Amgáchhí plate; but it enables us to read what before in that plate was illegible, just as the Amgáchhí plate supplies much of what would otherwise be doubtful or illegible in the Dinájpur plate. And having carefully compared both plates, I may state with confidence that, beginning from Náráyaṇapála, the line of Pála kings was as follows:—

(1.) Náráyaṇapála.
(2.) His son Rájyapála.
(3.) His son Gopála II.
(4.) His son Vigrahapála II.
(5.) His son Mahípála.
(6.) His son Nayapála.
(7.) His son Vigrahapâla III.

Of these, Náráyaṇapála is the donor in the Society's Bhágalpur plate, Mahípála the donor in this new Dinájpur plate, and Vigrahapála III. the donor in the Amgáchhí plate.

Like the two other plates, the new Dinájpur plate is a single one, measuring about 1′ broad by 1′ 2½″ high. It is surmounted by a highly wrought ornament, fixed on the upper part and advanced some distance on the plate, and apparently containing, within a circle, about 2¾″ in diameter, the word *Śrí-Mahípáladevasya*. The plate is inscribed on both sides, the front containing 34, and the back 28 lines of writing. On the front down to line 13, and on the whole of the back the writing is generally well preserved; but the middle of the front all the way down below line 13 has suffered much from corrosion, so that many *aksharas*

have become more or less illegible. Besides, two *aksharas* are entirely gone at the lower proper right corner, where the plate is damaged. The engraving apparently is deep and carefully executed; it was done by the artisan Mahídhara, an emigrant from the village of Posalí (line 62), the father of the artisan *Saśideva* who engraved the Ámgáchhí plate. The size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}''$. The characters are the kind of Nágarí which about the 10th and 11th centuries appears to have been current in the eastern part of northern India, and one peculiar feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is ordinarily denoted, not by the superscript sign, but by a short line, sideways attached to the upper right side of the following consonant. Essentially the same alphabet is employed in the Mungir copper-plate of Devapála, in the Budál pillar inscription of which I owe an impression to Dr. Burgess, and in some of the Gayá inscriptions. The language of our inscription is Sanskṛit. Lines 1–24, with the exception of the introductory *oṃ svasti*, and lines 54–62 are in verse; the rest is in prose. As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal, and the palatal instead of both the dental and the lingual sibilants.

The inscription is one of the devout follower of Sugata (Buddha), the *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭáraka Mahárájádhirája Mahípáladeva*, the successor of the *Mahárájádhirája Vigrahapáladeva* (l. 30). From his residence at Vi[lá]sapura[1] (l. 29), Mahípáladeva informs the officials and people concerned that, to increase his parents' and his own merit and fame and to please the holy Buddha (l. 46), after bathing in the Ganges at the time of a *Vishuvasaṃkránti*[2] (ll. 49 and 50), he has given the village of Kuraṭapalliká (exclusive of the part called Chúṭapalliká), —a village in the Gokaliká *maṇḍala* of the Koṭívarsha *vishaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*[3] (ll. 30 and 31),—to a learned Bráhman, the *bhaṭṭaputra* Kṛishṇádityaśarman, a son of the *bhaṭṭaputra* Madhusúdana and son's son of the *bhaṭṭaputra* Rishikeśa,[4] of the Párásara *gotra* and with the *pravara* Śakti, Vaśishṭha and Parášara, an inhabitant of the village of Chavaṭi, to where he or his ancestors had migrated from the village of Hastipada (ll. 47–49). The king moreover appeals to his

[1] The second *akshara* of this name is indistinct in the rubbings.—A different place is mentioned in the Ámgáchhí plate; but it is not Mudgagiri.

[2] *i. e.*, either the Mesha- or the Tulá-saṃkránti.

[3] The Koṭívarsha *vishaya* and Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* are mentioned similarly in the Ámgáchhí plate.

[4] So the name is given in the plate. The correct spelling would be Hṛishíkeśa. The plate also mentions the Veda and *śákhá* of the donee, but the words for both are illegible.

successors to respect this grant, and commands the villagers to make true to the donee all due taxes and shares of the produce (ll. 50–53).

The wording of the prose passage (ll. 24–53) of which the preceding is an abstract agrees most closely with the phraseology of the Bhágalplate.[5] The royal residence of Vi[lá]sapura and Mahípáladeva himself are described exactly as Mudgagiri and Náráyaṇapáladeva are in the other plate. And the long line of officials enumerated, the qualifications of the village granted and the exhortation to future rulers, etc. are almost identical in both plates. A difference which may be pointed out is that, while in the present inscription, just as in the Ámgáchhí plate, the donation is made to please the holy Buddha, in the Bhágalpur plate Náráyaṇapála, though also described as a devout follower of Sugata, professes to please the holy Śiva and actually makes his gift in favour of that deity.

As is the case in the other inscriptions, this grant was dated (in line 53) in regnal years; but the figures for the year and day and the name of the month are illegible in the rubbings. The date is followed (in lines 54–61) by seven of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses of which five occur also in the Bhágalpur plate, while all are given, in the same order, in the Ámgáchhí plate. And these again are (in line 61) followed by another verse which records that the *dútaka* for this grant was the minister *Bhaṭṭa* Vámana. The inscription closes with a verse containing the name of the engraver which has been already mentioned above.

I have reserved for the end my account of the introductory poetical part of the inscription (lines 1–24), which gives the genealogy of the Pála princes from Gopáladeva I. to the ruling prince Mahipáladeva. It consists of twelve verses.[6] Verses 1–5 are identical with the verses 1, 2, 4, 5 and 7, and the sixth verse is a slightly altered version of verse 10, of the Bhágalpur plate. And the genealogy furnished by these six verses undoubtedly is, as Dr. Rájendralála Mitra and Dr. Hultzsch have put it:—

1. Gopála.

2. Dharmapála. Vákpála.

3. Devapála. Jayapála.

4. Vigrahapála.

5. Náráyaṇapála.

[5] See Dr. Hultzsch's edition in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 304.

[6] All the verses occur in the Ámgáchhí plate.

I am aware that, as regards Devapála, this statement of the relationship of the earlier Pála princes does not agree with the account of the Mungir copper-plate[7] which makes that prince (not the nephew, but) the son of Dharmapála and his queen, a Rásḥṭrakúṭa princess; but I see no way of reconciling the difference. Considering that the Mungir grant was issued by Devapála himself, it is more than probable that what is stated in it is correct, and that the other inscriptions in this particular are wrong.

Having brought down the genealogy to Náráyaṇapála, our inscription proceeds as follows:—

(*Verse* 7.) 'His (*i. e.*, Náráyaṇa's) son was the protector of the middle world, the illustrious Rájyapála, whose fame is proclaimed by water-tanks as deep as the sea and by temples the walls of which equal the noblest mountains.

(8.) As the store of light proceeds from the eastern mountain, so sprang from that king of the east a son, born from his fortunate queen,[8] a daughter of the high (*tuṅga*) high-crested (*uttuṅga-mauli*)[9] moon of the Rásḥṭrakúṭa family,—the illustrious Gopáladeva, who long was the sole lord of the earth, gaily clad by the four oceans which are lustrous with many precious stones.

(9.) Him, richly endowed with the qualities of a king, the fortune of regal power,—energy, good counsel and majesty,—worshipped as her lord, dear and attached to him, and serving the earth like a fellow wife.

(10.) From him sprang in the course of time, augmenting the innumerable blessings of his parent, Vigrahapáladeva, who, dear to all, stainless and versed in every art, when he arose, alleviated like the moon[10] the distress of the world.

(11.) When the huge elephants of his army had drunk pure water in the water-abounding eastern land, and had roamed about at will in the sandal forests at the foot of the Malaya range, they like clouds took possession of the ridges of the snowy mountain, cooling the trees with showers of drizzling rain.[11]

[7] See the lithograph in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, p. 123, plate I, line 14.

[8] Or *Bhágyadevi* may be the proper name of the queen.

[9] Undoubtedly the writer, by the words *tuṅgasyottuṅgamauleḥ*, means to suggest the name of the Rásḥṭrakúṭa king spoken of; or he may even have used *Tuṅga* as a proper name, for *Jagattuṅga*. I understand the prince referred to to be the Rásḥṭrakúṭa Jagattuṅga II., who must have ruled in the beginning of the 10th century A. D.—See Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 36; and Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 53.

[10] The epithets of the king may, of course, in different senses be applied also to the moon.

[11] Viz., the water discharged from the elephant's trunks.

(12.) From him has sprung the protector of the earth, the illustrious Mahípáladeva. In the pride of his arm having slain in battle all opponents, and having obtained his father's kingdom which had been snatched away by people having no claim to it, he has put down his lotus-foot on the heads of princes?

Comment on these verses appears unnecessary. I will only say that exactly the same verses occur also in the Amgáchhí plate, with this difference only that verse 11 in that other plate is applied to Mahípáladeva's grandson Vigrahapáladeva III. For the Amgáchhí plate carries the genealogy two generations further than our Dinájpur plate, in two verses which I would venture to read and translate thus:—

त्यजन्दोषासङ्गं शिरसि कृतपादः क्षितिभृतां
वितन्वन्सर्वाशाः प्रसभमुदयाद्रेरिव रविः।
हतध्वान्तः स्निग्धप्रकृतिरनुरागैकवसति-
स्ततो धन्यः पुण्यैरजनि नयपालो नरपतिः॥
पीतः सज्जनलोचनैः स्मररिपोः पूजानुरक्तः सदा
संग्रामे चतुरोऽधिकश्च हरितः कालः कुले विद्विषाम्।
चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाश्रयः सितयशःपुञ्जैर्जगद्रञ्जय-
न्श्रीमद्विग्रहपालदेवनृपतिर्[ज्ज्ञे ततो धामभृत्]॥

'From him, (*i. e.*, Mahípáladeva), in consequence of his religious merits, was born the fortunate prince Nayapála. Renouncing the attachment to sin, putting down his foot on the heads of princes, eagerly fulfilling all desires, free from mental blindness, beloved by his subjects and the one home of affection,—he was like the sun which, when it rises above the eastern mountain, moves away from the night, touches with its rays the tops of mountains, opens up quickly all the quarters, drives away darkness, and is pleasant and red.

'From him is born the illustrious prince Vigrahapáladeva, full of majesty. Eagerly gazed at by good men, always anxious to worship Smara's enemy, expert in battle even more than Hari, a god of death for the clan of his enemies, and a supporter of the four castes, he pleases the world with the abundance of his bright fame.'[12]

[12] I am unable, in my translation, to do justice to this verse. Vigrahapála, yellow (*pita*), red (*rakta*), green (*harita*), and black (*kála*), and thus the substratum of four colours (*châturvarnya*), yet pleased the people by his white colour.

TEXT.[13]

FRONT.

L. 1 [ओं][14] स्वस्ति। [15]मैत्रीं कारुण्यरत्नप्रमुदि-

2 तहृदयः प्रेयसीं सन्दधानः सम्यक्सम्बो(म्बो)धिवि-

3 द्याश्र(स)रिदमलजलक्षालिताज्ञानपङ्कः। जि-

4 त्वा यः [का]मकारिप्रभवमभिभवं शाश्वतीं-

5 श्च प्राप शान्तिं स श्रीमाल्लोकनाथो[16] जयति द-

6 श्र्व(ब)लोऽन्यश्च गोपालदेवः॥ [17]लक्ष्मीजन्मनि-

7 केतनं समकरो वोढुं क्षमः क्षाभरं पक्षच्छेदभयादुपस्थितवतामेका-

श्रयो भूभृताम्। मर्यादापरिपा-

8 लनैकनिरतः शौर्यालयोऽस्मादभूद्गुप्ताम्भोधिविलासहासिमहिमा श्री-

धर्म्मपालो नृपः॥ रामस्येव

9 गृहीतसत्यतपसस्तस्यानुरूपो गुणैः सौमित्रेरुदपादि तुल्यमहिमा वाक्-

पालनामानुजः। यः श्रीमान्न-

10 यविक्रमैकवसतिर्भ्रातुः स्थितः शासने शून्याः शत्रुपताकिनीभिरकरो-

देकातपत्रा दिशः॥ [18]तस्मा-

11 दुपेन्द्रचरितैर्ज्जगतीं पुनानः पुत्रो व(ब)भूव विजयी जयपालनामा।

धर्म्मद्विषां भ्रमयिता युधि देवपाले यः

12 पूर्व्वजे भुवनराज्यसुखान्यनैषीत्॥ [19]श्रीमान्विग्रहपालस्तत्सूनुरजातशत्रु-

रिव जातः। शत्रुवनिताप्रसाध-

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13 From the rubbings.

14 This sign of ओं is preceded by the *akshara* नि, which is also put at the end of the first line, after प्रमुदि. The same *akshara* नि is also engraved in the upper right and left corners of the Bhágalpur plate, and it appears to be similarly employed in the Amgáchhí plate. I am unable to explain its meaning.

15 Metre, Sragdhará.

16 Read श्रीमाँल्लों

17 Metre, Śárdúlavikríḍita; and of the next verse.

18 Metre, Vasantatilaká.

19 Metre, Áryá.

13 नविलोपिविमलासिजलधारः ॥ [20]दिक्पालैः क्षितिपालनाय दध[तं देहे] विभक्ताञ्गुणान्[21] श्रीमत्तञ्झन-

14 याम्ब(म्ब)भूव तनयं नारायणं स प्रभुम् । यः क्षोणीपतिभिः शिरो [मणि-रुचाश्लिष्टाङ्घ्रि]पीठोपलं न्यायो-

15 पात्तमलञ्चकार चरितैः खैरे[व धर्म्मासनम्] ॥ [22]तोया[ग्र]यैर्ज्जलधि-[मूल]गभीरगर्भैर्द्दोर्वालयैश्च

16 कुलभूधरतुल्यकक्षैः । विख्यातकीर्त्तिर[भव]त्तनयश्च तस्य श्रीराज्यपाल इति मध्यमलोकपालः । [23]तस्मा-

17 त्पूर्व्वक्षितिधात्रिधिरिव महसां [रा]शूटा[न्वि]येन्दोस्तुङ्गस्योत्तुङ्गमौलेर्दुहितरि तनयो भाग्यदेव्यां प्र-

18 सूतः । श्रीमान्गोपालदेवश्चिरतरम[वनेरेक]पत्न्या इवैको भर्त्ताभून्नैक-[रत्नद्यु]तिखचितचतुःसिन्धु-

19 चित्रांशुकायाः ॥ [24]यं स्वामिनं राजगुणैरनूनमासेवते चा[खतरा]नुरक्ता । उत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिलक्ष्मीः एथ्वीं स-

20 पत्नीमिव श्रीलयन्ती ॥ [25]तस्माद(द्व)भूव सवितु[र्व्वंसुकोटिवर्धी काले]न चन्द्र इव विग्रहपालदेवः । विश्व?]प्रिये-

21 ण विमलेन कलामयेन येनोदितेन दलितो [भुवन]स्य तापः ॥ [26][देशे प्राचि] प्रचुरपयसि स्वच्छमापीय तो-

22 यं खैरं भान्वा तदनु मलयोपत्यकाचन्दनेषु [।] क्लान्तै [सान्द्रैस्तरुषु जडतां] श्रीकरैरभ्यतुल्याः प्रालेया[द्रे]-

23 : कटकमभजन् यस्य सेनागजेन्द्राः ॥ [27]हृतस[कल]विपक्षः सङ्गरे [वा-(बा)ऊ]दर्प्पादनधिक्षतविलुप्तं राज्यमा-

20 Metre, Sárdúlavikríḍita.
21 This is the reading of the Amgáchhí plate also. Read णाञ्श्री.
22 Metre, Vasantatilaká.
23 Metre, Sragdhará.
24 Metre, Indravajrá.
25 Metre, Vasantatilaká.
26 Metre, Mandákránta. In the Amgáchhí plate this verse occurs in the description of Vigrahapáladeva III. (lines 19 and 20).
27 Metre, Málini.

24 साद्य पित्र्यम्। निहितचरणपद्मो भूभृतां मूर्ध्नि तस्मादभ[वदवनि]पालः
श्रीमहीपालदेवः। स ख-

25 लु भागीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमान[नानाविध]नौ[वा]टकसम्पादितसेतुव(ब)न्ध-
निहितसे(शै)लसि(शि)खरश्रेणीविभ्रमा-

26 त्[।][28]निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटाश्यामायमानवासर[लक्ष्मी]समारब्ध(ब्ध)-
सन्ततजलदसमयसन्देहात्।

27 उदीचीनानेकनरपतिप्राभृतीकृता[प्र]मेयहयवाहिनीखरखुरोत्खातधू-
लीधूसरितदिगन्तरा-

28 लात्। परमेश्वरसेवासमायातानेकजन्तु[न्तु]द्वीपभूपालानन्तपादातभर-
नमदवनेः। वि[ला?]सपुरसमा-

29 वासितश्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात्। परमसौगतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीवि-
ग्रहपालदेवपादानुध्यातः परः-

30 मेश्वरः परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराजः श्रीमान्महीपालदेवः कुशली।
श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्तौ। कोटीव-

31 र्षविषये। गोकलिकामण्डलान्तः पातिसरस्य(स्व)[द्वावि]च्छिन्नतलोपेत-
चूटपल्लिकावर्ज्जितकुरटपल्लि-

32 काग्रामे। समु[प+]गतानेकराजपुरुषान्। राजराजन्यक। राजपुत्र।
राजामात्य। महासान्धिविग्रहि-

33 क। महाक्षपटलिक। महाम[ल्लि][29]। महासेनापति। महाप्रति-
हार। दौःसाधसाधनिक। महा[द]ण्डना-

34 [यक][30]। महाकुमारामात्य। राजस्थानीयोपरिक। दाण्डापराधिक।
चौरोद्धरणिक। दाण्डि[क]। [दा]ण्डपा-

[28] Here and below many of the signs of punctuation, which it is unnecessary to point out separately, are superfluous.

[29] This appears to be engraved, but the Bhágalpur and Amgáchhí plates have महासामन्त instead.

[30] These *aksharas* are almost entirely broken away.

BACK.

L. 35 [शि]क । सौ(शौ)ल्किक । गौल्मिक । क्षेत्रप । प्रा-

36 न्तपाल । कोट्टपाल । अङ्गरक्ष । तदायु-

37 क्तविनियुक्तक । हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रगौव(व)ल्या-

38 एतक । किशोरवडवागोमहिष्यजावि-

39 काध्यक्ष । दूतप्रेषणिक । गमागमिक ।

40 अभित्वरमाण । विषयपति । ग्रामपति । [तरि]क । गौड । मालव ।

खस । हूण । कुलिक । कर्णाट । ला[ट ।]

41 चाट । भट । सेवकादीन् [।] अन्यांश्चाकीर्त्तितान् राजपादोपजीविनः

प्रतिवासिनो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरांश्च । महत्त-

42 मोत्तमकुटुम्बि(म्बि)पैरोगमेदान्ध्रचण्डालपर्यन्तान् । यथार्हं मानयति ।

बो(बो)धयति । समादिशति च विदित-

43 मस्तु भवतां । यथोपरिलिखितोऽयं ग्रामः खसीमाष्टगव्यूतिगोचरपर्यन्त-

सतलः । सोद्देशः साम्रम-

44 धूकः । सजलस्थलः । सगर्त्तोषरः । सदशापराधः । सचौरोद्धरणः ।

परिहृतसर्व्वपीडः । अचाट-

45 भटप्रवेशः । अकि[ञ्चिद्ग्राह्यः][31] । समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्याय-

समेतः । भूमिच्छिद्रन्या-

46 येन । आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालम् । मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो-

(शो)भिवृद्धये । भगवन्तं बु(बु)द्धभट्टार-

47 कमुद्दिश्य । परास(श)रसगोत्राय । शक्ति । वशिष्ठ । परास(श)र-

प्रव[राय ।] . . . [द ?]सत्र(त्र)ह्मचारिणे । वाज-

48 . शाखाध्यायिने । मीमान्साव्याकरणतर्क्कविद्याविदे[32] । वृत्तिपदग्राम-

विनिर्गताय । चवटिग्रामवास्तव्या-

31 The Bhágalpur and Amgáchhí plates have अकिञ्चिन्प्रग्राह्यः

32 Read मीमांसा॰.

49 य । भट्टपुत्ररिधिकेशपौत्राय । भट्टपुत्रमधुसू(सू)दनपुत्राय । भट्टपुत्र-
[क्षणादि]त्यस(श)र्म्मणे विसु(षु)वसंक्रा-

50 न्तौ विधिवत् । गङ्गायां स्नात्वा शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । अतो
भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानुमन्तव्य-

51 म् । भाविभिरपि भूपतिभिः । भूमेर्द्दानफलगौरवात् । अपहरणे च
महानरकपातभयात् ।

52 दानमिदमनुमोद्यानुपालनीयम् । प्रतिवासिभिश्च क्षेत्रकरैः । आज्ञा-
श्रवणविधेयीभूय यथाकालं

53 समुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायोपनयः कार्य इति ॥ सम्वत् . . .
[न ?]दिने ' ।[33] भवन्ति चात्र

54 धर्म्मानुशं(शा)सिनः श्लोकाः ॥ [34]व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरा-
दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

55 तदा फलम् ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ
पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥

56 गामेकां स्व[र्ग्ग]मेक[च] भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलम् । हरन्नरकम(मा)याति
यावदाहूतसंप्लवम् ॥ षष्टिं [वर्ष]सहस्रा-

57 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत

58 वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां कृ(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ।
[35]सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भू-

59 यः प्रार्थयत्येष रामः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले
पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [36]इति कमलद-

60 लाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदा-
हृतञ्च बु(बु)द्धा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्ति-

[33] The figures for the year and day and the name of the month are entirely illegible in the rubbings.

[34] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next four verses.

[35] Metre, Śálini.

[36] Metre, Pushpitágrá.

61 यो विक्रो[प्याः] ॥ [37]श्रीमद्दीपालदेवेन [द्विजश्रेष्ठोप ?]पादिते । भ[ट्ट]-
श्रीवामनो मन्त्री शासने दूतकः कृतः ॥

62 [पोस][38]लीग्रामनिर्यात . . . दित्य[सूनुना] । इदं शासनमुत्कीर्णं
श्रीमद्दीधरशिल्पिना ॥

Some of the Muḥammadan Coins collected by the Afghán Boundary Commission from an historical point of view.—*By* Major H. G. Raverty.

I beg to be allowed to offer a few remarks on the coins procured by the Afghán Boundary Commission, described by Dr. A. F. Hoernle, the Supplementary No. IV of 1889 of the Society's Journal having just reac ed me.

I do not pretend to a knowledge of numismatics, but of history: my object here is to clothe these dry bones with a short account of some of the chief events in the lives of those rulers in whose names they were coined; and even from this, brief as it is, we shall again have a proof that truth is often stranger than fiction, and we shall find that there is more connection between some of these rulers in their lives and misfortunes than might be expected.

The coin, serial number 41, which has been described as of "'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *bin* Takash," belongs really to his father, who ascended the throne of Khwárazm in Rabí'-us-Sání, 569 H. (1173-74, A. D.), and died in the middle of Shawwál, 596 H. (1199 A. D.); for if the inscription be read, we shall find that it is "Us-Sulṭán-ul-A'ẓam, 'Alá-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, Abú-l-Muẓaffar, Takish, *bin* Khwárazm Sháh.* He obtained possession of Nishápúr, the capital of Mu'ayyid-i-A'inah-dár's territory, mentioned farther on, in 569 H. (1173-74 A. D.).

That it is a mistake to call this a coin of 'Alá-ud-Dín Muḥammad may be seen from the following coin 44, which bears this inscription, "Us-Sulṭán-ul-A'ẓam, 'Alá-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, Abú-l-Fatḥ, Muḥammad, *bin* us-Sulṭán Takish." The title, Abú-l-Muẓaffar, being that of Takish Khán, and Abú-l-Fatḥ, that of the son. The other title, 'Alá-ud-

37 Metre, Sloka (Anushṭubh).

38 The *aksharas* in brackets are illegible here; but the word पोसलीग्राम is quite clear in the Amgáchhí plate.

* See Tabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 239—244.

Dunyá wa ud-Dín, was borne by both. Before the latter came to the throne he was styled Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, but, on his accession, assumed that of 'Alá-ud-Dín, the title borne by his father.* The inscriptions given on all the other coins after No. 44; namely 49, 50, 71, 98, 100, 101, 103, 105, 106, and 109, although not worded in the same manner, *all* have Abú-l-Fatḥ, and only *one* (No. 44) has Abú-l-Muẓaffar."

Sulṭán Takish Khán, "the Khwárazm Sháh," as the Turk rulers of that territory were styled, was a very wise and sagacious Monarch of whose witticisms many anecdotes are related. He had a strong-minded wife, who, out of jealousy, on one occasion, shut him into a hot bath; and when some of the lords of his Court, who became aware of it, released him, he was quite livid, and one of his eyes was nearly destroyed. He was disloyal to the Khalífah, and this disloyalty was, subsequently, the cause of much misfortune to his son and successor, and his grandson, Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní. He was also hostile to the Shansabání Tájzík rulers of Ghúr.

Sulṭán Muḥammad, the Khwárazm Sháh, son of Sulṭán Takish Khán, was that famous, but unfortunate, Sulṭán whose extensive empire was invaded by the Chingiz or Great Khán and his Mughal hordes, an account of whose reign is given in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 253–279. His sway extended over a great part of Asia, from the frontiers of China to the frontiers of the present Turkish empire, and from the Indus to the Persian Sea.† He came to the throne in the middle of 596 H. (1200 A. D.). He reduced Hirát on three different occasions, and, towards the close of his reign, penetrated into Siberia, where "the light of twilight did not disappear to the vision; and, in the direction of the north, the glow seemed merely to incline from west to east, and the light of dawn appeared, and the day broke." He died in great misery and distress of mind and body in Shawwál, 617 H. (1220 A. D.). His son was the famous hero, Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh, who, after keeping the Mughals at bay with a handful of men, plunged into the Indus on his charger before the Chingiz Khán and his sons, and the whole Mughal army, and crossed in safety notwithstanding the volleys of arrows showered on him.‡

* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 253.

† He likewise held sway over the tract called Baníán, and sometimes known as the territory of the Koh-i-Júd, that is, the country east of the Indus, as far as the banks of the Jihlam or Bihat, north as far as the mountains of Kashmír, and south as far as, and including, the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range. The Ḳárlúgh Turks in the Sulṭán's service held it for him. This tract now comprises what are termed the "Hazara" and Rawal Pindí districts of the Panjáb.

‡ See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 291.

The mint name at page 10, which, it is said, has been read as "*Balúqúan*" or "*Talúquán*" by Mr. Rodgers, is an error for بیلیقان—Beleḳán, a city of Arrán, between Shirwán and Ázarbáiján.

That on page 11 read as "Ṭaliquán," is طالقان—Ṭál-ḳán, with no 'i' in it, and does not refer to the place styled "Talikhan" in Walker's and other maps, which was called "Ṭál-ḳán *of Tukhháristán*," east of Ḳunduz, but "Ṭal-ḳán" here meant (also written طایغان—Ṭáe-ghán by the Mughals and other Turks who change *ḳ* into *gh*), "*of Khurásán*," situated between Balkh and Marw-ar-Rúd on the Murgh-áb, three days journey from Marw-ar-Rúd in one direction, and the same from Shabúrghán or Shafúrḳán (the "Shibarghan" and "Shibirkhan" of the maps) in another, the Murgh-áb river separating them. Ṭal-ḳán of Khurásán was a famous stronghold; particulars respecting it will be found at pages 1003 and 1008 of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, and also of its capture by the Mughals, at page 1012.

The officers of the Afghán Boundary Commission were several times within a few miles, and sometimes close to, most of the famous strongholds captured or invested by the Mughals at this period, without knowing anything about them. I could have furnished them with much information on this subject; and had the Government of India supplied them with a copy of my translation of the work in question, they might have found, and explored, many famous places, and not have been ignorant of their past history.*

The mints of the coins Nos. 58 and 59 are the same Shabúrghán or Shafúrḳán, according to the same change of letters. Sulṭán Muḥammad first obtained sway over Hirát in 598 H. (1201-2 A. D.), and, on that occasion, coin No. 72 appears to have been struck; and again in 600 H. (1203-4 A. D.), and finally in 607 H. (1210-11 A. D.). The district called the Zamín-i-Dáwar followed, and on that occasion No. 71 was probably coined.

The mint name of Nos. 76 and 81 must certainly be سغد—Sughd, not "سعر," which is meaningless, nor سمر. Sughd means a depression, a place where rain water collects; and the name of a town and

* The following is a specimen. In a book lately published, entitled "Northern Afghanistan, or Letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission" by Major C. E. Yate, C. S. I., p. 184 is the following:—"What the name of Panjdeh, literally the five villages, originally arose from, I cannot say. From the fact of the Sariks being divided into five clans or sections, each with its separate settlements, it would look at first sight as if they had given the name to the place; but this is not the case, as the name is of ancient date, being mentioned, so Rawlinson says, by Hafiz Abru in A. D. 1417."

In the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí he would have found that Panj-dih was a well known place *three centuries and a half* before Háfiz Abrú wrote.

small district near Samr-ḳand, famous for its salubrity. Here the rulers generally took up their quarters, and it is famous as the Sughd of Samr-ḳand. The Sulṭán reduced that territory in 608-609 H. (1212-13 A. D.), and subsequently put its ruler, the Afrásiyábí Khán, 'Uṣmán, to death.

Likewise, the correct name of the mint of Nos. 77, 78, 84, 87, 88, 89 and 90, is not گزاروان, but a well-known place called Guzarwán—گزروان. The point of the ز appears to have been mistaken for ر. The 'Arabs, and people of 'Arab descent, called it Juzarwán—جزروان, changing hard 'g' into soft 'j,' as in Púshang and Fúshanj, Sijis-tán and Sigiz-tán. I notice in the note at page 51 of the paper on these coins, that Prof. Tiesenhauser read this word جرزوان, assuming that the point was on the third instead of the second letter. It is a well-known tract, and appears in our very latest new map under the incorrect name of "*Gurziwan.*"*

The Sulṭán obtained possession of Ghaz-*nih* [*nih* is the Tájzík for a city†: "Ghaz*nah*" is incorrect] by surprise during the absence of Sulṭán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, in 611 H. (1214-15 A. D.).

Respecting the Shansabání Tájzíks of Ghúr and their coins, the letters read as حسلو after the name Sám‡, cannot be correct, [illegible] less قسلو, which is purely Turkish. The full title of this Sulṭán, the elder brother and suzerain of Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám of Ghaznih, the conqueror of Hindústán, who established the Muḥammadan religion and power at Dihlí, was, Us-Sulṭán-ul-*A'ẓam*, Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, son of [Bahá-ud-Dín] Sám [See XI of the Shansabání Tájzíks of Ghúr, Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 341], *Ḳasím-i-Amír-ul-Mumínín.*" Consequently, the letters supposed to be حسلو and قسلو, are, doubtless, the word *Ḳasím*—قسیم in the last title of the Sulṭán.

Coin, No. 124, with the names and titles of both brothers on it, and the date 699 H., was coined, probably, immediately after the death of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, when his brother, Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín (always mis-called Shiháb-ud-Dín by Firishtah and such compilers, and Shahab-ud-Dín by English writers) became supreme Sulṭán of Ghúr and Ghaz-nih, and their dependencies.

No. 126 with the names of "Taju-d-din Ildaz" and Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, said to be thereon, but the inscriptions on which are not given, would be one of Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz's coins, after the assassination of the Sulṭán by the Khokhars (always mistaken for Gakhars," even in *Imperial Gazetters*, under the grotesque names of

* See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 376, 1003, and other places.

† In the oldest histories, and also by Bábar Bádsháh, the name is written as above, Ghazní is a modern form of the name.

[‡ No. 116, Ed.]

"*Gickers*," "*Ghukkurs*," "*Gakkhars*" and the like). Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, was his favourite Mam-lúk, and held the government of Ghaz-nih and its dependencies; and it was always intended by his sovereign, who had no son, and but one daughter, that he should succeed him on the throne of Ghaz-nih.* After his death, Sulṭán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, is said to have coined his money with the name of the late Sulṭán thereon, in which he styled himself, "the servant and slave of the Martyred Sulṭán".† Both this Turk slave, as well as his Tájzík sovereign, like others before and after them, have been turned into "*Paṭáns*" or Afgháns, and this ridiculous term is still applied to Turks, Tájzíks, Jaṭs, Sayyids, etc., as well as Afgháns, after it was shown to be wrong and mis-applied, by Elliot in his work a long time ago, as well as by myself. Sulṭán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, was the first of the Turk Mam-lúks who succeeded to sovereign power after his Shansabání Tájzík sovereign was assassinated.

No. 139. Coin of Malik Ṭughán Sháh. Ṭughán Sháh was the second of the Mu'ayyidiah Maliks of Nishápúr and its dependencies. His father was one of the Turk slaves of Sulṭán Sanjar, who was entitled Mu'ayyid-ud-Dín, and he was the Sulṭán's A'ínah-dár, or Mirror-bearer, hence he is generally styled Mu'ayyid-i-A'ínah-dár. When Sulṭán Sanjar raised several slaves to rule over the great provinces of his empire, Mu'ayyid-ud-Dín was made ruler of the Nishápúr territory. After the Sulṭán's captivity with the Ghuzz Turks, and his subsequent release and death, Mu'ayyid-ud-Dín pretended to pay obedience to the late Sulṭán's nephew, Sulṭán Rukn-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, son of Muḥammad Khán, son of the Bughrá Khán, who had married Sulṭán Sanjar's sister, and who had been set up over Máwará-un-Nahr and part of Khurásán, but Mu'ayyid-ud-Dín subsequently seized him in the fifth year of his stormy reign, and put out his eyes, after which he himself assumed sovereignty over Nishápúr and parts adjacent; and his sway extended for a time from Rai to Hirát.

He subsequently joined Sulṭán Sháh (*Sulṭán* Sháh is his name, not a title), who had rebelled against his brother, the Sulṭán, Abú-l-Muẓaffar-i-Takish Khán, the Khwárazm Sháh, and was taken captive in battle by the Sulṭán and put to death in 570 H. (1174-75 A. D.) the date on the coin.‡

Malik Ṭughán Sháh, Mu'ayyid-ud-Dín's son, who succeeded him, passed his days in riot and jollity. In order to strengthen himself against the Khwárazm Sháh, he contracted a marriage for his son, named Sanjar Sháh, with the daughter of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-

* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 500.

† Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 497.

‡ Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 128.

Sám of Ghúr, the enemy of Sulṭán Takish; but, as soon as Malik Ṭughán Sháh died in 581 H. (1185-86 A. D.), Sulṭán Takish invaded his territory, seized Malik Sanjar Sháh, and carried him off to Khwárazm. Sulṭán Takish then contracted marriage with Sanjar's mother, and married him to a daughter of his own. Consequent on this, and his captivity, the marriage contract with the daughter of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, was annulled, and she was contracted to her kinsman, Malik Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, surnamed "the Pearl of Ghúr," son of Malik Shujá'-ud-Dín, Abí-'Alí. He was the uncle's son of the two Sulṭáns, her father and uncle; but he had previously contracted marriage with a Turkish hand-maid, the mother of his son, Rukn-ud-Dín, Í-rán Sháh,* and therefore he was not capable, according to the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, of consummating his marriage with that princess. On the death of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, her father, in 599 H. (1202-3 A. D.), her uncle, Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, conferred on Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the throne of Fírúz-Koh, the territories of Ghúr, Gharjistán, and the Zamín-i-Dáwar, and the title, Malik-ul-Ḥájí—for he had performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah—'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was assigned him. He was dispossessed of his territory by his kinsman, the son of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, namely, Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd; and the coins Nos. 133, 134, 135, and 136, are Maḥmúd's, on which he is styled "Us-Sulṭán-ul-A'ẓam, Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín, Abú-l-Fatḥ, Maḥmúd, son of Muḥammad-i-Sám." It was this Sulṭán Maḥmúd, who confirmed Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, in the sovereignty of Ghaz-nín, and Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak-i-Shíl, in the sovereignty of Dihlí. After Sulṭán Maḥmúd's assassination in 609 H. (1212-13 A. D.), the Malik-ul-Ḥájí, 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was restored for a time to the throne of Ghúr by Sulṭán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, in 611 H. (1214-15 A. D.), and he then took the title of Sulṭán, after the death in battle of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Utsúz, of Ghúr, (No. XXI). The Malik-ul-Ḥájí was the last of the Shansabání Tájzík sovereigns of Ghúr. He, out of necessity, submitted to Sulṭán Muḥammad, the Khwárazm Sháh, and retired voluntarily to Khwárazm in 612 H. (1215-16 A. D.).†

Respecting the princess—the virgin bride—the daughter of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, betrothed to Malik Ṭughán Sháh's son, Sanjar Sháh, and afterwards to the Malik-ul-Ḥájí, we have some

* Rukn-ud-Dín, Í-rán Sháh, was put to death in 607 H.; and the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, then in his 18th year, was standing at the palace gate at Fírúz-Koh when his head was brought in. See my translation, p. 396.

† See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 346, 391, and 417, where more about him will found.

interesting particulars from one personally acquainted with her and the other personages here named. She was styled Máh Malikah, and entitled, Jalál-ud-Dunyá wa ud-Dín; and her mother was the daughter of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ḥusáin-i-Jahán-soz (No. XIV). She knew the Ḳur'án by heart, knew likewise the Shihábí traditions, and her handwriting "was as pearls befitting a king." The reason why she passed from the world a maid has been already mentioned. The author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí says (p. 392), that, "In beauty, purity, and self-restraint, she had no equal in the world," and adds:—"The mother of the writer of these pages was the foster-sister and school-companion of this princess; and this devotee [himself] was brought up in the princess's own hall of favour and her *ḥaram* of chastity, up to the period of his entering upon the bounds of adolescence, in the service of her royal dwelling, and her private apartments. The maternal uncles of this devotee and his maternal ancestors, were all attached to the service of that princess's Court, and to the Court of her father; and this humble individual [himself] received many proofs of that lady's favour and bounty. God reward her! At last her martyrdom and death took place in the territory of 'Iráḳ during the calamities which arose on the irruption of the infidels [the Mughals]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon her!" After Sulṭán Muḥammad, the Khwárazm Sháh, herein mentioned, had reduced the territories of the Sulṭáns of Ghúr and Ghaznih under his sway, all except their territories beyond the Indus, the members of the different Shansabání families were taken to Khwárazm, and the princess was there dwelling, when her last betrothed husband—Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Malik-ul-Ḥájí and "Pearl of Ghúr" reached it. He took up his residence near her; and in the Khwárazm dominions they dwelt for some time, until his death about three years after. He was buried adjacent to the tomb of the Shaikh Abú-Yazíd at Busṭám.* The princess had yet to bear further vicissitudes of fortune; but, at last, found rest from the world's troubles, as just related.

Respecting Coin No. 141, and the "Benú Zengí Aṭabegs of Mosil" Badr-ud-Din, Lú-lú, was, certainly, *a* ruler of Mauṣil, and exercised sway over it, but cannot be correctly styled one of the Baní Zangí. They were *Turks*, and their ancestor, entitled the Ḳasím-ud-Daulah, was Aḳ-Sunḳar, but whose name and Musalmán titles were, Abú Sa'íd-i-'Abd-U'llah. He was familiarly known as Baban, the Chamberlain, one of the mam-lúks or slaves of Sulṭán Malik Sháh, the Saljúḳ, who made him Wálí of Ḥalab in 481 H. (1088-89 A. D.).

Malik Badr-ud-Dín, 'Abú-l-Faẓá'il, Lú-lú, was an *Armenian* slave,

* See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, pp. 419-20.

one of the mam-lúks of the Malik-ul-'Ádil, Núr-ud-Dín, Arsalán Sháh, ruler of Maușil, Shám, and the Diyár-i-Bakr. On the death of Arsalán Sháh, the tenth of the dynasty, in Rajab, 607 H. (1211 A. D.), his son, 'Izz-ud-Dín, Mas'úd, entitled the Malik-ul-Ḳahir, succeeded. He left the power in the hands of Badr-ud-Dín, Lú-lú. When 'Izz-ud-Dín, Mas'úd died on the 27th Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 615 H. (1218 A. D.), his brother, 'Imád-ud-Dín, Zangí, who was governor of 'Amádiah, ruled over that part for a time, but shortly after died. His infant son for a short time succeeded,, but he also soon died, and the dynasty terminated. Malik Badr-ud-Din, Abú-l-Faẓá'íl, Lú-lú, who used to direct the affairs of his territory, continued to rule over Maușil. On the appearance of Huláḳú Khán, the Mughal, in those parts, Lú-lú tendered submission to him at Marághah, in Rajab, 656 H. (1258 A. D.), and was confirmed in possession of the territory.* Badr-ud-Din, Lú-lú, died in 657 H. aged 96, but some say he was over a hundred. His son, 'Ismá'íl, entitled the Malik-uṣ-Ṣáliḥ, was permitted to succeed him, and Huláḳú Khán gave him in marriage the daughter of the gallant, but unfortunate Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh, then with other Muḥammadan princes and princesses, captives in the hands of those infidels. The Malik-uṣ-Ṣáliḥ unable longer to bear this iron yoke, subsequently joined his co-religionists of Miṣr against the infidels, but he was taken captive, after holding Maușil against them for several months, in Ramaẓán, 661 H. (1263 A. D.), and put to death in the most brutal manner by Huláḳú's orders. The ferocious barbarian—"the great Hulagu"—directed that he should be enveloped in fat tails of the *dumbah* or fat-tailed sheep, sewn up in felt, placed on his back with his hands and feet fastened to the ground by four pegs, and then exposed to the burning heat of the summer sun, until, after a week, as was intended, the tails became putrid, and swarming with maggots, which began to attack the wretched victim, who, for a whole month, lingered in this Mughal torment. It was to such devilish doings as these that Ḳudúz, the Mamlúk ruler of Miṣr,† referred when, after he had overthrown the Nú-yín, Ḳaibúḳá, the Náe mán, and taken him prisoner, near the 'Ayn-i-Jálút—Goliatt's Spring—in Syria, he taunted him, saying that "they could do nothing like men." The Malik-uṣ-Ṣáliḥ, 'Ismá'íl, left a son, a babe of two or three years old, named 'Alá-ud-Dín, who was taken back to Maușil, and cut in twain, one-half of the child's corpse being suspended on one side of the Dijlah, and the other on the Maușil side, and left there to rot as a warning of Mughal vengeance. What became of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín's daughter, the Malik-uṣ-Ṣáliḥ's wife, has not transpired.

* See also Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 1247.

† He was a Turk-mán, and the Turk-máns were the hereditary enemies of the Mughals.

It will be seen, therefore, that a great and curious connection exists between the whole of the persons here mentioned, and the rulers whose names are impressed on these coins, from Sulṭán Takish Khán of Khwárazm, to the Malik-uṣ-Ṣáliḥ 'Ismá'íl of Maușil.

Coins of Sijistán.

Coin No. 149, read as that of "Asadu-d-dín bin Harab," cannot possibly refer to Asad-ud-Dín, for Asad, which I presume the top word on the reverse is supposed to represent, is written اسد not عضد as on the coin, and this last is certainly meant for عضد *'uẓd*—'support, 'assistance,' also 'an aider or supporter,' and part of the title, 'Uẓd-ud-Din. When Malik Shiháb-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Ḥarab (Malik IX in the list), took possession of Sistán, another party set up Sháh 'Uṣmán, a grandson of Náṣir-ud-Dín, 'Uṣmán, son of Táj-ud-Dín-i-Ḥarab, who sought assistance from the Khwárazmí officers of Kirmáns, and when Malik Shiháb-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, was put to death, his brother, Amír 'Alí, the Záhid or Recluse, was set up. Subsequently we are told (page 200 of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí,) that, "the rival Maliks of Ním-roz were struggling against each other," and, that, "the grandson of Náṣir-ud-Dín, 'Uṣmán, whom they styled by the name of Shah, sought assistance from the Malik of Kirmán," etc. The coin in question may possibly have been coined by one of these rivals, who assumed the titles of 'Uẓd-ud-Dín, and Abú-l-Muẓaffar. It must also be remembered that the Khwárazmí officer sent to the aid of Sháh 'Uṣmán, Binál-Tigín, the Turk, who appropriated Sijistán on his own account, was entitled Táj-ud-Dín. Be these speculations what they may, I can only say, that the names given in my list in the Journal Part I, for 1885, are the whole of those mentioned in history; and I have left no accessible history unsearched.

"Mongol Il-Khans of Persia."

I am much puzzled to understand why some European writers, who surely must know better, will persist in styling the Chingiz or *Great* Khán—for that is the meaning of the word Chingiz—"Jinjis" Khán (see Journal No. 2 of 1887, page 90, first line in the lower inscription,)* and why they suppose that he coined money, more particularly coupled with the name of the Khalífah, "Un-Náṣir-ud-Dín U'llah, Amír-ul-Mumínín" thereon. The title Khákán-i-A'zam" is much more applicable to the Ḳá'án, Uktáe, or even to Hulá-

* When it is even cut in stone or marble on a tomb چنگز, not چنگیز, people will still call it *Jingíz* and *Jinjis*.

kú Khán, the first of the Il-Khániáns, than to his grandfather, the Chingiz Khán,* but the coin, No. 153 is evidently that of a Musalmán ruler, a feudatory of the Khiláfat, who had to submit to the hard yoke of the infidel Mughals† and to impress it with the semi-Turkish title of Khákán-i-A'ẓam; for Khákán is a purely Turkish word. The Khalífah, Un-Náṣir-ud-Dín U'llah, died in Ramaẓán, 622 H. (1225 A. D.), up to which period the Mughals had made no permanent conquests in Irán Zamín; and Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, was still powerful in those parts until 628 H., six years after that Khalífah's decease. It was not until the reign of the Ḳá'án (قاآن), Uktáe, after his becoming firmly established on the throne—for it was not filled for two years and a half after the death of the Chingiz Khán—that armies were despatched westwards since the return of the Chingiz Khán, and his death. In 626 H. (1229 A. D.) the Nú-yín, Jurmágḥún, was sent into 'Iráḳ, against Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwarazm Sháh, and the Nú-yín, Mangútah, (the same who afterwards invested Uchchh) towards Ghaz-nih. It is stated in the history of that reign, that to Mangútah was assigned the occupation of Tukháristán, Ḳunduz, and Ṭal-ḳán; for the then Musalmán Maliks of Khurásán, Ghúr, Kirmán, and Fárs, all proceeded to the presence of the Great Ḳá'án, Uktáe, at Ḳará-Ḳuram, and requested that Shahnahs or Intendants might be sent to them, thus placing their necks under the yoke‡ "After this," says the historian, "Khurásán began to thrive again;" but the army of above 100,000 horse under Jurmágḥún slaughtered and ravaged all the tracts they passed through§; and it was part of Jurmágḥún's forces which surprised the camp of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, who was put off his guard by the false report of a patrol. The Sulṭán, who was asleep at the time, succeeded in making his escape. He turned devotee and disappeared from the scene, but is said to have lived for sixty years after that. The Shaikh, 'Alá-ud-Daulah, Al-Byabánkí-us Simnání, relates under the events of the year 688 H. (1289 A. D.) as follows:—"When at Baghdád, I used daily, at noon, to wait upon the pious and venerable Shaikh, Núr-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán-i-Isfaráíní—may his tomb be sanctified! I happened to go upon one occasion, at the usual hour, and found him absent from his abode, a

* I do not think any history can be named in which it is stated that Timúr-chí, the Chingiz Khán, ever assumed such a title as "Kháqán," or Khákán, and in the absence of some such authority for the assertion that he did, the statement may be regarded as purely imaginary.

† See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí pp. 995 and 1266.

‡ See also Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí pp. 1115 and 1126.

§ See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí p. 1117.

rather unusual occurrence at that time of the day. I went again on the following morning to wait upon him, and inquired as to the cause of his absence on the previous day. He replied, 'My absence was caused through Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, having been received into the Almighty's mercy.' I inquired, 'What, had he been living all this time?' He answered, 'You may have noticed a certain aged man, with a mole upon his nose, who was wont to stay at a certain place,' which he named. I had often remarked the venerable devotee in question; and that was the heroic, but unfortunate Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín." According to this account Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín could not have died until 688H., about sixty years after the period above-mentioned.

From all this it is quite clear, that the coin in question, No. 153, must be that of one of the Musalmán Maliks, a feudatory of the Khalífah, Un-Náṣir-ud-Dín U'llah, who had to submit at the time of the inroad of the Nú-yíns, Jabah and Swídáe, in 617 H. (1220 A. D.), who passed through those parts like a destroying whirlwind, and returned by the northern shores of the Caspian to the presence of the Chingiz Khán in the fourth month of 620H. (1223 A. D.)

I may also mention, that, in no history is it stated that the Chingiz Khán *coined money*, nor is it stated that he ever assumed the title of Khákán, which, as I have said before, is much more applicable to Uktáe than to his grandfather, and to stamp coins with the name of the Khalífah is still more impossible; and, besides, they would have Mughal inscriptions, on one side at least, even if coined in Ír-rán Zamín. For a considerable period the Mughals coined ingots (bálisht) only.* The Íl-Khánián dynasty, moreover, was not established for thirty-four years after the death of the Khalífah above-mentioned, and the total fall of the Khiláfat at Baghdád; and the first Íl-Khán was Huláká Khán himself.

Coin No. 174. There was no member of this dynasty named "Quázán," but Gházán (غازان) Khán, the seventh of the dynasty, was one of the most illustrious of them. He was the son of Arghún

* The *bálishts* of Uktáe Ḳá'án are mentioned in several histories. One, the Lubb-ut-Tawáríkh, goes farther and says, referring to the great liberality of the Ḳá'án, that no one ever left his *dargah* without experiencing it, and that during his reign he expended in this manner no less than 160,000 *tománs* of *bálishts* of gold. It is also stated, that, according to some accounts, the *bálisht-i-zar* contained 500 *miṣḳáls*; according to other accounts, it was of the value of eight *dirams* and two *dángs*; and according to others, of the value of eight *dínárs* and two *dángs*. The Musalmán *diram* and *dínár* are said to have been equivalent to a sequin or ducat. Another writer, under the head of *bálisht-i-zar*, says, it contained eight *miṣḳáls* and two *dángs* of gold, and was in use by the sovereigns of the Turks and Mughals. See also Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, p. 1141.

Khán, son of Abaḳá Khán, son of Hulákú, who succeeded in the year 694H. (1294-95 A. D.). He was the first of them who became a convert to Islám in that same year, and commanded all churches of the Christians, and idol temples (of Mughals) at Tabríz to be destroyed; consequently, previous to that period, any coin with the Musalmán *kalímah* thereon, even with the name of one of the Il-Kháns on it as well, would, in all probability, be a coin of a Musalmán feudatory under the yoke of these Mughals, who would scarcely have adopted the Musalmán *kalímah* on their coins when they were more inclined to the Christians. Hulákú's wife, Dúḳúz Khátún, and several others among them, were Christians. On his conversion, Gházán Khán assumed the title of Sulṭán Mahmúd-i-Gházán Khán. He died in Shawwál 703 H. (1303 A. D.), near Ḳazwín, and was buried at Tabríz, where a lofty domed tomb was raised over him, and is probably still in existence.

With respect to the coin No. 178, with the name of "Sulṭán Arghún," thereon, the words لعلك توتي الملك من تشا on the margin, is part of a verse from the Ḳur'án, Chapter 58:—"Possessor of all power, Thou *givest dominion unto whom* Thou *wilt*, and Thou takest away dominion from whom Thou wilt; Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou humblest whom Thou wilt." This is the same verse which Abú Sulímán, Dá'úd-i-Jaghar Beg, the Saljúḳ, heard the Mu'azzin at Marw reciting, when the envoy of Sulṭán Mas'úd of Ghaz-nih, presented himself before him. Dá'úd was at that time seated on his saddle cloth spread on the ground, with his saddle to support him, and he ordered this verse to be written down and given to the envoy as his answer to the Sulṭán's demands.

The mint name on coin No. 183, is not جنونسان as "read by Mr. Rodgers," but the well-known place called جنوشان—Janúshán.

"Bukhárá House of Tímúr."

Respecting coin No. 188, it is hardly correct to style the Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, as "of the *Bukhárá* House of Tímúr," because soon after his accession in Ramaẓán, 807 H. (1404 A. D.), he ruled the whole of his father's dominions, from Khiṭá to Rúm, and from Ṭabaristán to Hindústán, in the western part of which, under the Masnad-i-A'lá, the Sayyid, Khiẓr Khán, the *khuṭbáh* was read for him and the money stamped with his name. His capital was Hirát, which territory he had governed seven years during his father's lifetime, while his father's capital was Samr-ḳand, not Bukhárá. Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, was not "Timúr's *youngest* son,"* but his *second* son of four, the eldest having died before his father. Sulṭán Sháh Rukh

* See Journal for 1887, page 88.

Mírzá died 29th Zí-Ḥijjah, 850 H. (29th March, 1446 A. D.), after reigning forty-three years, consequently, the coin No. 191 assigned to him, if the date 848 H. is correct, is his, of course, but if 868 H. it is not. It is said to be *counter-struck* with the name of Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd.* In the 'Arabic character given at page 41 of Journal, it is ابر سعيد instead of ابو سعيد! Sulṭán—Mírzá Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán—was the grandson of Mírzá Mirán Sháh, Timúr's fourth son, who ruled in Máwará-un-Nahr and Turkistán, and whose capital was Samr-ḳand. He ascended the throne of Samr-ḳand in Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 855 H. (1451 A. D.), and, some years after, dispossessed the descendants of Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá of Khurásán and parts farther west, and acquired the whole power over Sulṭán, Sháh Rukh Mírzá's dominions, in 861 H. (1456-57 A. D.,) and lost it again, but regained it in 863 H. (1458-59 A. D.,). He was at last put to death, after being taken captive in battle by the Turk-mán, Ḥasan Beg, the Ak-Ḳúnílú, who gave him up to Mírzá Yád-gár Muḥammad, son of Sulṭán Muḥammad, son of Mírzá Bá'e-Sunḳar, the last of Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá's descendants, who put him to death 22nd Rajab, 873 H. (January, 1469 A. D.) in retaliation for his putting to death, most unjustly, when he gained possession of Hirát the first time, in 861 H., Gohar-Shád Bígam,† the venerable consort of Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá. He ruled over Máwará-un-Nahr, etc., eighteen years, and ten years over those parts and Khurásán and the rest of the empire possessed by the last named monarch.

Coin No. 193. "Husain Baikara, Governor of Khorásán" (?). Mírzá Ḥusain-i-Bá'é-ḳará, was the son of Mírzá Sulṭán Maḥmúd, one of the sons of Sulṭán Mírzá Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, above-mentioned, who succeeded his brother, Mírzá Sulṭán Aḥmad, over Máwará-un-Nahr at Samr-ḳand. When his father died in Muḥarram, 900 H. (October, 1494 A. D.), Mírzá Ḥusain-i-Bá'e-ḳará, who succeeded, deprived his brother, Mírzá Sulṭán 'Alí, of his sight, as was supposed, but his eye-sight was not wholly destroyed. He fled to, and raised an army at, Bukhárá, and advanced to Samr-ḳand. Bá'e-ḳará was unable to oppose him, concealed himself in the city, and subsequently escaped in disguise, and retired to the Ḥiṣár-i-Shádmán, the place of his birth,—the

* Whether the counter striking of coins had any particular signification I am not certain, but it seems to me, that it had in this instance, and that it was done by Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, to indicate that he had dispossessed the family of Sulṭán Sháh Rukh Mírzá of that monarch's empire.

† Mírzá Yád-gár Muḥammad was her great-grandson. The Pul-i-Khán that one used to hear so much about when the Russians seized upon the Afghan dependencies of Hirát, and were allowed to keep them, is said to have been erected at the expense of this Princess.

"Hissar" of our maps—where he was subsequently blinded and put to death by the Ḥákim of that part, Amír Khursau Sháh, after he had set him up as sovereign there, in Muḥarram, 905 H. (August, 1499 A. D.) "Husain Baikara" was, consequently, never "Governor of Khorásán."

Of course, this "Husain Baikara, Governor of Khorásán" cannot be meant for Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá, son of Manṣúr, son of Bá'e-ḳará, son of 'Umar Shaikh, son of Amír Tímúr. Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá was, perhaps, the most illustrious of the dynasty which ruled over Khurásán, and during his reign Hirát became the chief seat of learning and the arts.

This Prince, in the struggle for power, drove the Turk-máns out of Astar-ábád and its territory and assumed sovereignty over it, but his position was precarious on account of the superior power of Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, then ruling at Hirát. When the latter fell into the hands of the Turk-máns, Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá made a dash upon Hirát, possessed himself of it, and again assumed the sovereignty. Mírzá Yád-gár, Muḥammad, however, with his adherents, and aided by the Turk-máns, moved against him, and he had to fly in Ramaẓán, 874 H. (1470 A. D.). He soon recovered it again. Having made a forced march with a small following from Maimanah, he surprised Mírzá Yád-gár, Muḥammad, asleep in a drunken state, in the Bágh-i-Zághán of Hirát, in Ṣafar, 875 H. (August, 1470 A. D.), and put him to death. Sulṭán Ḥusain Mírzá was now without a rival, and he reigned uninterruptedly from that time up to the year 911 H. (1506 A. D.), when the Uzbaks under their Sulṭán, Shaibání Khán, invaded his territory. He was ill at the time; and on the 16th of Zí-Ḥijjah of that year (May) died at the halting place of Bábá Uldí of the well known district of Bádghais, for centuries the mustering place for armies on account of its luxuriant pasturage, and convenient proximity to Hirát, but respecting the past history of which almost nothing was known to the authorities when the Russians lately seized upon the best parts of the province of Hirát, and not much more now, but I shall throw some light upon it in the concluding portion of my "Notes on Afghánistán."

"Ṣafawí Dynasty of Persia."

With regard to the coins said to be of the Ṣafawí Dynasty of Persia, that dynasty finally terminated with Sháh Ḥusain in 1135 H. (1722 A. D.), for his son, Ṭhamásib, and the latter's infant son, 'Ábbás, were but puppets in the hands of Nádir Ḳulí Beg, the Afshár Turk-mán, afterwards Nádir Sháh. The Ṣafawí dynasty having been subverted by the Ghalzí Afgháns, coins Nos. 207 and 208 are not of the Ṣafawí

dynasty, but of the Ghalzí dynasty, being coins of the two Ghalzí Sulṭáns, Maḥmúd and Ashraf. Neither can coins of Nádir Ḳulí Beg, the Asháfr Turk-mán, and his sons, be styled of the Ṣafawí dynasty, any more than those of Karím Khán, the Zand, who, during the struggle for power, after the fall of Nádir Sháh, ruled over southern Persia, nor those of his rival, and subsequent true friend and adherent, the Afghán, Ázád Khán, nor coins of the Ḳáchár Turk-máns, who finally obtained the power, and who still retain it,* and, therefore, Nos. 212, 213, and 214 are not those of the Ṣafawí dynasty, but of the Afsháfrs and Zand dynasties.

The coins Nos. 225, 229, 230 and 231, classed under "Afghánistán" along with those of Durráni sovereigns, but undetermined, cannot possibly be styled correctly as belonging to Afghánistán, nor to an Afghán dynasty. Hirát was the capital of Khurásán; and in 919 H. (1513 A. D.), the period mentioned thereon, there was no Afghán *State*, nor for some two centuries after that period. What Afghánistán means will be found in my "Notes" thereon, page 453. In the year in question, 919 H., Sháh Ismá'íl, theṢafawí, was in possession of Hirát and Khurásán. He had, after the overthrow of Shaibání Khán, the Uzbak Sulṭán, near Marw, in 916 H. (1510-11 A. D.), annexed Hirát and Khurásán to his dominions. In 918 H. (1512-13 A. D.), while Ẓahír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad Bábar Mírzá, afterwards the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, was fighting against the Uzbaks, and had been defeated by them, the Ḳazil-básh troops, under the Ṣafawí leader, known as the Najm-i-Ṣání,† at Bábar's urgent call, again advanced into Máwará-un-Nahr to his aid; but they were overthrown and put to flight by the Uzbaks, and the Ṣafawí general killed, on the 7th Ramaẓán, 918 H. On this the Uzbaks at once entered Khurásán again, and Muḥammad Tímúr Khán, Shaibání's son, ruler of Samr-kand, assumed the sovereignty over Hirát and its dependencies; while his brother's son, 'Abd-ullah Khán, who held the Bukhárá territory, seized upon the Mashhad-i-Riẓáwí and other parts of Khurásán. On this, Sháh Ismá'íl, Ṣafawí,

* When the present Sháh, who is a Ḳáchár Turk-mán, visited England lately, one of the London newspapers of some repute assured its readers, that he was descended from the ancient fire-workshiping kings of the Medes and Persians, if not a direct descendant from Jamshed or Noshírwán the Just!

† I notice in several places in recent numbers of the "Journal" and "Proceedings," that 'Azíz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Second 'Álam-gír, Bádsháh of the Dihlí empire, who ruled in the stormy period between 1754 and 1759, has been turned into "ZÁNÍ." Although not a very bright genius, and very unfortunate, he was not an *idiot*: he was quite *compos mentis*. The word of his title after 'Álam-gír is the 'Arabic word *sání*—'Álam-gír i-Ṣání, not "ZÁNÍ," and of course signifies 'second'—"The Second 'Álam-gír." See "Proceedings" for 1890, page 180.

once more hastened into Khurásán to drive out the Uzbaks, for which purpose he set out in the spring of 919 H. (1513 A. D.). On his approach the Uzbaks fled. He remained in Khurásán and Hirát after that for two or three months, and conferred the Government of Hirát and all Khurásán on Zaníl Beg, the Shámlú Amír; but, in 921 H. (1515 A. D.), he nominated his son, Thamásib, then a mere child, to the government of Hirát and Khurásán, with Amír Khán, one of his great nobles, as his Atábak or Lálah (governor). The coin in question, No. 229, must, consequently, have been struck while Sháh Ismá'íl was at Hirát, or soon after, by Zaníl Beg, the Shámlú, as governor of Khurásán.

On a future occasion I may offer some remarks on the Afrásiyábí Kháns of Máwará-un-Ńahr and their coins.

On a Symbolical Coin of the Wethálí dynasty of Arakan.—By W. Theobald

In his article on the coins of Arakan, Pegu, and Burma, in the *Numismata Orientalia* Lieutenant-General Sir A. P. Phayre describes and figures nine coins which he refers to four kings, *viz.*, Varma Chandra, Priti Chandra, Varma Víjaya, and Yari Kriya, the last represented by a single coin only, the initial character of which is not clear. I have lately become possessed of a second specimen of this coin, also unfortunately not quite clear as regards the first letter of the king's name. General Sir A. Cunningham points out, however, that the first and last letters, on both my coin and that figured by Sir A. P. Phayre are clearly different, and the name cannot therefore be Yari Kriya, which, moreover, is no name. He suggests as a possible reading the name 'Arikiya' but more perfect specimens must be discovered before this reading can be confidently accepted. The coin, however, clearly belongs to the 'recumbent bull' type of the symbolical coins of Arakan, and may be thus described :—

Obverse. A bull to the left, recumbent (though from the poor execution of some coins the animal might be considered as standing), within a circle having exteriorly a beaded margin. The king's name written straight across the coin, above the bull's back.

Reverse. A central upright 'thyrsiform' object or pole, with an upright sickle-shaped support on either side; all three being supported by, or contained within, a concave horizontal base, but unconnected therewith. From the point of either 'sickle' shaped object, flows backwards and outwards, a curved fillet or plume-like band ornamented with seven globes, connected with the fillet by curved items imparting an elegant wavy or arborescent effect; while below the central ornament

are six dots or spheres, and above it, generally, the sun on the left and crescent moon on the right; the whole design being bounded by a circle, with beaded margin as on the obverse.

The central object on the reverse has been variously described. Lieutenant Latter, in describing these coins* refers to this emblem as "the trident of Siva" and adds:—"On each side is a scroll, and beneath are certain round dots." To term the object a 'trident' however is quite inadmissible, as it is impossible to conceive a trident, which has no handle, or staff, and in none of the coins in question, is there the slightest indication of any central staff whatever. Moreover, in the best preserved coin, the so-called 'trident' and its constituent parts do not appear to be united to the curved horizontal bar, but to merely rest thereon, and not always even in contact therewith; and in no case is there any trace of a handle or prolongation of the central prong below: so that the notion of this object representing a trident must, I think, be rejected.

General Sir A. P. Phayre thus describes the symbol:—"Trident of Siva, with garlands pendent from the outer blades. Sun and moon above. Below nine dots."† The term 'garland', here applied to the lateral ornaments of the symbol in question, is even less appropriate than the term 'scroll' used by Latter, as 'garland' involves the idea of an annular object, which is certainly not intended here. Assuming that the sickle-shaped objects are intended for snakes, the 'scroll' which commences near the extremity of the head of each would represent a flowing recurved crest ornamented with five or seven dots, or jewels, each of which may stand for a separate head of a five-headed or polycephalic Naga.

That the symbol is not Sivite, or intended for the trisul of Siva, is the opinion of General Sir A. Cunningham, who remarks in a letter:—"The fact that the symbol was chosen by the Burmese King to place upon his coins ought to be sufficient evidence of its Bhuddhist origin."

As the term 'trisul' or 'trisuliform' would infer a connection with Sivite worship, it will be better to call it, the tripartite symbol, whether Bhuddhist or not, though it might have become ultimately associated with Sivite worship, or, not improbably, converted into the 'trisul by a very slight process of development. All that was requisite thereto, was the addition of a staff below, and this merely involved the downward prolongation of the central upright stroke, which I have ventured to compare with the Greek 'thyrsos.' In like manner I am inclined to regard the side supporters as snakes or Nagas, without thereby intending to regard them as Sivite symbols, but rather as symbols adopted into both Buddhism and Sivaism from a cult older than either of those religions.

* J. A. S. B., XV, 239.

† *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 28, Coins of Arakan, Pegu, and Burma.

We moderns have surprising difficulty in realizing the wealth of imagination which in early days was lavished on religious symbolism, and the Protean forms and shapes which the triform conception of deity generated in the early theopneustic mind. In occasional instances even now, where the religious sentiment is strong and united with an emotional or imaginative temperament, the mind seizes on any prominent object, as a symbol of the ruling idea. For example, I was once walking in Calcutta down 'Chowringhee' with a friend, when he suddenly grasped my arm, and pointing towards the tall Ochterlony Monument, asked me in an impassioned tone what that reminded me of. As I hesitated as to what I should answer, my friend went on—'Is not that an emblem of Christ, towering above mankind, as that pillar does above yonder plain?' In like manner any triform object, of whatever elements the symbol might be composed, would to the imaginative believer in a triform godhead, stand as an appropriate symbol of deity; whether the object was made up of a pair of snakes turned towards a central 'thyrsos' or rod, as in the 'caduceus'; or the triskelis, or wheel of three spokes; or its modern homologue, the Isle of Man symbol of three legs radiately arranged round a common centre. In the published coins, the dots below the tripartite symbols are five, seven, or nine in number, but on the coin in my possession they amount to six only.

This coin appears to be a variety of one figured by General Sir A. P. Phayre* and referred to 'Yari Kriya', though no such king appears in the list, nor is that reading (in the opinion of General Sir A Cunningham) supported by the coin itself. The bull on my coin has no necklace, and the snake supporters of the 'thyrsos' (using that phrase for want of a better) have seven-jewelled in place of five-jewelled crests. The diameter of my coin is 1·25 in., and the weight 105 grains.

Ráma-tankis.—*By* Bábú M. M. Chakravarti, M. A., B. L., *Subordinate Executive Service of Bengal.*

(With one Plate)

Ráma-tankis (sometimes spelt 'Rama-tinkis') are gold medals which bear on the obverse figures purporting to be Ráma and Sítá seated on a throne and surrounded by attendants, the most prominent of whom is the monkey Hanumán. The figures on the reverse vary. These medals are always in gold, circular in area, with flat or concave sides. They are found in small numbers, chiefly in the Deccan. They are much prized by the Hindus, particularly by the Vaishnavas, and are daily

* *Ibid.* Pl. II, Fig. 12.

Obverse. *Reverse.*



1



Obverse. *Reverse.*



2



Obverse. *Reverse.*



3



Obverse. *Reverse.*



4



Calcutta Phototype Co.

worshipped with offerings of flowers and sandal paste. Their rarity and sanctity fetch for them fancy prices, and have often, it is said, led to forged specimens.

These medals, though rarely seen in the bazars, have not escaped the keen eyes of coin collectors. Stray pieces have been described by Mr. Marsden in his *Numismata Orientalia*, and by Sir W. Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India*. The Honorable J. Gibbs has dealt with them more fully in his article on "Ráma-tinkis" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Some have been presented to the British Museum. Mr. Sewell notes one in the possession of a merchant named Velláturu Rammaya* of the Cuddapa District.

I now proceed to describe the specimens in my possession. They are what are called Quarter Ráma-tankis.

No.	Quantity of gold.	Diameter.	Thickness.	Weight.	Remarks.
1	Less fine than the Jeypore but better than the Company's mohur.	1¼" nearly.	1/32"	187 grs.	
2		1¼" inch.	Do.	189 grs.	One similar to this weighs 190 grains.
3		1⅛"	slightly more than 1/32"	188½ grs.	
4.		1⅛" nearly.	Do.	193·7 grs.	
5		1"	1/24"	264·5 grs.	Resembles No. 4.

No. I. *Obverse.*—On a throne seated, Ráma facing towards the left, and Sítá to his right. A bow and an arrow in Ráma's hands. Below the throne, and towards left, is a person (Satrughna) holding an umbrella. Below the throne, and towards the right, is a lion, or monkey (Hanumán), holding Ráma's right foot; over it is a monkey, or man, dressed, and apparently reading a book.

Below the throne is a ghaṭa, or pitcher, with mangoe leaves over the mouth. On its right, impressions of two feet; on its left, two stars.

Reverse.—A platform of two lines with dots between and pendent scrolls. Over the platform are eight figures, facing towards left, and carrying fans and chámars. Over them are scrolls.

Below the platform are certain lines, which may be scrolls, or letters.

Figures less distinct than No. II, and rubbed with sandal paste. Work very rude.

No. II. *Obverse.*—On a throne seated, Ráma with a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right hand, and Sítá to the left. Both crowned. Further left, and below the throne, stands a figure (Satrughna)

* Sewell's list of Antiquarian remains in the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, p. 132.

holding a chhatra, or umbrella, over the seated persons. A monkey to the right side and below the throne, touching the feet of Ráma. Another figure over the monkey (probably Jámbuván or Sugríva), dressed and apparently reading a book. Below the throne is a ghaṭa, or pitcher, with mangoe leaves on the top, and having letters, or scrolls, on the right and left. Above the chhatra is a sun, with letters, or scrolls, on the right and left. Border dotted.

Reverse.—A platform with dots and scrolls pendent. Above the platform are eight figures, standing with face to the right, dressed, and carrying chámars and fans. Over them are ten letters resembling Páli. Over them are scrolls. Below the platform are a number of letters looking like Páli. Dotted borders.

A finely struck medal, figures distinct.

No. III. *Obverse.*—A platform of two lines with dots between. Over the platform a throne, on which are seated Ráma and Sítá facing towards the right, Ráma holding a bow and an arrow. Below the throne, and towards the left, stand three figures, one holding an umbrella, another a fan, and another a chámar. Below the throne, and towards the right, are Hanumán holding the feet of Ráma, and over him the bear, Jámbuván. Stars and moon at the top.

Below the platform are a number of lines apparently letters.

Reverse.—A platform of two lines with dots between. Over the platform are seven persons, standing dressed with face to the right, holding fans and chámars in their right hands, and kamaṇḍalus in their left.

Below the platforms are some curved lines looking like letters.

The figures are distinct, but the workmanship is rude.

No. IV. *Obverse.*—A platform of two lines with dots between. Over the platform is a throne, on which are seated Ráma, and to his left Sítá facing towards the right side. Both crowned. Ráma carrying a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right hand, his right leg dangling below the throne. Further to the right, and below the throne, are Hanumán holding his foot, and Jámbuván standing. To the left of Sítá are three figures in a standing posture, one holding a chhatra, another a fan, and another a chámar. On both sides of the umbrella top are dots representing stars.

Below the platform are undecipherable lines. The rim consists of dots between two circles.

Reverse.—A platform of two lines with dots between. Five figures standing on it dressed like *maṭh-dháris*, facing towards the right, and carrying fans and chámars. One letter to be seen on the right, and two letters on the left.

Below the platform are five or six letters. The rim has two circu-

lar lines, between which are seven letters, those towards the left being less distinct. Figures distinct, workmanship rude.

(*N. B.*—All the letters look like Telugu.)

No. V. Similar to No. IV, but shorter in diameter and thicker, and in weight heavier, by 70·8 grains.

On the obverse, beyond the circular lines enclosing letters, are dots.

The coin is duplicate of No. IV. It is worshipped daily by a local zemindar.

It will be seen that the specimens described are variants of one type. In all of them the obverses are nearly the same. In the reverses the prominent difference is in the number of figures, which are 8, 7, or 5. With the exception of No. II, the workmanship of the coins is rude, and, therefore, I once thought them to be forged. But that idea I have now given up. For a somewhat similar medal see Dr. Bidie's No. 2*. For a specimen that is certainly forged see No. 113, Plate III, in Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*†. He calls it "a modern Rám-tanka of no value." On the reverse he says is a "Nagri legend not read." From the autotype copy, I find, on the reverse, a monkey (Hanumán) in the middle, with a Nágarí legend, which I read as श्रीराम च द सिवा + वादी कम च (स ?) न + पानेसकै. The weight—123·4 grains—is sufficient to mark it as forged. No Ráma-tanki of such a low weight is known.

The illustrations depict the *abhisheka* of Ráma and Sitá on their return to Ayodhya from Laṅká.

ततः स प्रथमो दृष्टो वसिष्ठो ब्राह्मणैः सह ।
रामं रत्नमये पीठे ससीतं सन्न्यवेशयत् ॥ ५९ ॥

... ...

रत्नैर्नानाविधैश्चैव चित्रितार्थां सुशोभनैः ।
नानारत्नमये पीठे कल्पयित्वा तथाविधि ॥ ६६ ॥
किरीटेन ततः पश्चात् वसिष्ठेन महात्मना ।
ऋत्विग्भिर्भूषणैश्चैव समयोजत राघवः ॥ ६७ ॥
छत्रं तस्य च जग्राह शत्रुघ्नः पाण्डुरं शुभम् ।
श्वेतञ्च वालव्यजनं सुग्रीवो वानरेश्वरः ॥ ६८ ॥
अपरं चन्द्रसङ्काशं राक्षसेन्द्रो विभीषणः ।
मालां ज्वलन्तीं वपुषा काञ्चनीं शतपुष्करां ॥ ६९ ॥

रामायणे लङ्काकाण्डे श्रीरामचन्द्रस्य राज्याभिषेक-
भद्राख्यानं नाम त्रिंशदधिकशततमः सर्गः ॥

* Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LIII, No. II, 1884, p. 212.
† Coins of S. India, p. 152E.

According to Rámáyaṇa, Satrughna held the umbrella, Sugríva the chámar, and Vibhíshaṇa, the king of Rákshasas, the wreath of one hundred lotuses.

I do not think the Ráma-tankis were ever issued as coins. No one at present uses them as such, and no tradition exists of their having been so used in the past. Besides, the numbers found are too small for use in a currency. They are to be considered as medals struck for some special purpose. For what purpose? The nature of illustrations indicates that they were struck at the time of the *Abhishekas*, or enthronements, of kings. This idea is supported by the name by which they are known in Orissa, *Rámábhishekis.*—In short they may be considered as coronation medals, which were distributed among the Brahmins and others who assisted in the ceremony.

The dates of these medals have not yet been ascertained. Popularly they are ascribed to the time of Rámchandra in the Tretá Yuga. Following the tradition of a math in S. India, Mr. Gibbs came to the conclusion that some of them might be 800 or 900 years old. Sir W. Elliott would bring them down to the reign of the Narasiṅha line of Vijayanagar (1488–1550?). In the absence of any reading of the inscriptions, it is difficult to date the medals. From the following general considerations I am inclined to think that the oldest cannot be earlier than the 14th century A. D. The Rámatankis are S. Indian medals, and are chiefly known there. A glance at the list of S. Indian coins as given by Sir W. Elliott,* and by Dr. Bidie,† will show that the earliest coins bore the marks of animals, plants, or geometrical figures. Next to them came coins bearing the figures of gods such as Síva, Párvatí, and Vishṇu. So far as I see, these latter coins began with the Vijayanagar kings (Harihar began to reign in 1336 A. D.‡). Now Rámatankis are Vaishnava medals, with Ráma and Sítá as the principal figures. They cannot therefore be put before the Viyayanagar kings, who were the first to introduce figures of gods and goddesses on the coins. Sir W. Elliott has found a coin of Íswara with Ráma and Sítá seated, on the reverse. Íswara belongs to the second line of Viyayanagar kings§. Thus this unique coin supports the above view.

As regards the Rámatankis herein described, I imagine they are still more modern. The find spot is interesting. They have all been found in Puri, and it is remarkable that the numismatists who have collected elsewhere are not acquainted with this type. Dr. Bidie, who describes the

* Coins of S. India, pp. 152—152H.

† Journ. As. Soc., Bengal Vol. LII No. I 1883 pp. 33—53.

‡ Sewell's sketch of S. Indian dynasties p. 103.

§ For the Coin see "Coins of S. India" No. 108 p. 152E.; for Íswara see Sewel p. 108.


Journal. Ch. Soc.
27
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single similar specimen in the Madras Museum, does not name the place where it was found. It might have been sent from Ganjam, or indeed from any Telugu speaking district. One of the present coins has on the obverse letters which look like Telugu. From these considerations I am inclined to infer that the kings who struck these medals ruled over Telingana, and probably Orissa. Could they have been the Orissa kings of the Suryavańśa dynasty (1434–1538 ?), who were contemporaneous with the 2nd line of Vijayanagar kings, who were powerful enough to conquer the districts of Kistna and Godavery, and who appear from their inscriptions to have been Vaishnavas by religion ? I should not be surprised if further researches establish this view.

Since the above was written, I have come across another specimen. It has a diameter of $1\frac{3}{16}$ inches and a thickness of $\frac{1}{32}$ nearly. Its weight is 217 grains.

This weight is unique. The five specimens above described are either 3 or 4 times of 65 or 66 grains, the usual weight of a Máṛha.* But this weight (217 grains) cannot be so classified.

The following is a detailed description of this new specimen.

Obverse.—This is divided into two parts by a line with dots under.

The upper part contains Ráma seated on a throne, and to his right Sítá, both facing towards the left. Ráma has in one hand a bow and in the other hand (raised) an arrow. Below, and to the left, are Hanumán holding Ráma's foot, and Jámbuván standing. Below, and to the right, is Bharat holding an umbrella. Under the throne is conch shell.

The lower part has some undecipherable indistinct figures.

Reverse.—Five human figures standing with chámars in their hands. The outlines are very indistinct.

Note on the topography of the river in the 16th century from Húglí to the Sea as represented in the Da Asia of De Barros.—By C. R. Wilson, M. A.

(With one plate.)

The topography of the Húglí has been very ably discussed by Blochmann and Yule, and I do not propose in the present paper to re-open the general discussion. I wish to limit my observations to the course of the river as represented in the Da Asia of the Portuguese historian De Barros. The first decad of this work was originally printed in 1552, the second in 1553, the third in 1563, the fourth decad, as completed by Lavanha, appeared in 1613. It is in the fourth decad that we find the *De-*

* For Máṛha see my essay on the Currency of Orissa, published in the Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXI, No I, p. 45.

scripcao do Reino de Bengalla. The map suggests two or three topographical questions which it will be well to keep distinct as far as possible. (1) What is the meaning of the map as it stands? (2) How far is it the original work of De Barros? (3) How far can it be trusted as accurate? I shall try to deal with these questions so far as they are concerned with the course of the river from Húglí to the sea.

I. The map does not contain the name "Húglí" at all. The river is called the Ganges; and, instead of the town Húglí, we have Sátgáon standing on the Sarasvatí, close to the junction of that river with the Ganges and the Jamuná. Below Sátgáon come Agarpárá, Xore (which Blochmann identifies as Dakhinshor), and Baránagar. Then comes the town of Betor. It is here that I take up the question of the interpretation of the map. Blochmann* says: "Belor has not yet been identified, unless it is intended for the insignificant village of Belur, opposite to Chitpur, with which it agrees in position." It appears that Blochmann read Belor instead of Betor, although the *t* is quite clear in the map: hence perhaps the difficulty, for Betor is mentioned several times by writers in the 16th century, and was certainly not an insignificant village. The Bengali poets, Mukundaráma Chakravartí and Mádhava Áchárya, each wrote a Lay of Chandí, and they both speak of Betor† It was a sanctuary of the goddess Chandí, and also a good riverside market to stop at to buy provisions. Cæsar Frederick thus describes the place. "A good tide's rowing before you come to Satagan you shall have a place which is called Buttor, and from thence upwards the ships do not go because that upwards the river is very shallow, and

* *Geographical and Historical Notes on the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions,* at the end of *Hunter's Statistical Account of the 24 Paryanás.*

† For instance in the ordinary printed editions of the Chandí Mangal we read:—

ब्रराय चलिल तरी तिलेक ना रय ।
चितपुर साखिया एड़ादया याय ॥
कलिकाता एड़ादल वेणियार वाल्हा ।
वेतड़ेते उत्तरिल चवसान वेल्हा ॥
वेताइ चण्डिका पूजा कैल सावधाने ।
धनल धामखाना साधु एड़ादल वामे ॥
डाहिने एड़ादया याय द्विजलिर पथ ।
राजहंस किनिया लइल पारावत ॥

Similarly Mádhava Áchárya says:—

देघरे थाकिया साधु बले वाइवा ।
वेतालीते उत्तरिल साधुर सप्तना ॥

little water. Every year at Buttor they make and unmake a village with houses and shops made of straw, and with all things necessary to their uses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, [*i. e.*, Goa] and when they are departed every man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to marvel. For as I passed up to Satagan, I saw this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and bazars, and at my return coming down with my Captain of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soon razed and burnt, nothing left but the sign of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan and there they lade."

Where then was this Betor which it would seem was in 1565 second only to Sátgáon in importance? (*a*) According to Cæsar Frederick, it was a good tide's rowing from Sátgáon. (*b*) According to De Barros' map, as interpreted by Blochmann, Betor is somewhere opposite Chitpur. (*c*) The ordinary printed versions of Mukundaráma's Chaṇḍí give us the following sequence of villages—Chitpur, Sálikhá, Kalikátá, Betar. There can be no doubt then that this Betor, the original nursery of the trade which was afterwards transplanted to Calcutta, is the Betor which lies to the west and south of the modern Sibpur, which is even now reverenced as an old sanctuary of the goddess Chaṇḍí.

This identification of Betor leads to many interesting reflections.

(*a*) Calcutta, or what is practically the same Betor, is the oldest seat of European trade in Bengal, its importance being due to the fact that above Betor the river became much shallower, and consequently the Portuguese when they first came to Bengal were unwilling to trust their ships higher up the river.

(*b*) From the coming of the Portuguese in 1530, to their establishment at Húglí in about 1570, Garden Reach was annually crowded with Portuguese shipping, and even after 1570 it still remained a favourite reach to anchor in, as Mr. T. R. Munro has recently told us.

(*c*) It is this early importance of the place which explains why the the Setts and Bysacks came and colonised Govindpur and opened Sútánuṭi Háṭ, which again led Job Charnock to select Calcutta as the site of the English settlement.

(*d*) Critics are wrong when they argue that the main stream of the river flowed down Tolly's Nulla, or the Ádi-Gaṅgá, as late as the 16th century, because in the Chaṇḍí Maṅgal the voyagers go this way. The native boatmen avoided the present course of the river to Hijili, not because it was too shallow, but because it was too deep: so deep as to be readily accessible to the galliasses of the Arracanese pirates, whom the voyagers were most anxious to escape.

Between Betor and the sea De Barros gives the following topographical details. On the west side the Dámodar* enters the Ganges by three mouths forming two islands, and lower down the river Ganga just before its junction with the Ganges bifurcates and encloses a small delta; between the Ganga and the Dámodar are Pisolta and Pisacoly. On the east side there are two tributaries answering approximately to the northern mouths of the Dámodar and the Ganga, and between these two tributaries lies Pacuculij. Pisolta is just above the point where the Ganga joins the Ganges, and in the first chapter of the ninth book of the first decad of the Da Asia we read that the "Ganga discharges into the illustrious stream of the Ganges between the two places called Angeli and Picholda in about 22 degrees." The Ganges and the Ganga are respectively the Húglí and the Rúpnáráyan,† Angeli is Hijili, the coast land from the mouth of the Rúpnáráyan to near Jaleswar, and hence it becomes pretty clear that Picholda, which is wrongly spelt Pisolta in the map, is the same place as Pichuldoho, a small village and market on the north of the Rúpnáráyan, close to Fort Mornington Point.‡

II. Having thus identified Betor and Picholda, it will be necessary for me, before going further, to deal with my second point, and consider, how far the map is the original work of De Barros, and how far it has been prepared by subsequent and inferior hands. And this is the more important because I think that De Barros was a much better informed authority than the writers who came after him, and who seem to borrow from De Barros often without understanding him. For instance Faria de Sousa, finding in the Da Asia the statement about the Ganga, which

* The name is not given in the map, but there can be no doubt as to the identity of the river.

† The Ganga is the Rúpnáráyan. Sir Henry Yule says, "It is the Ganga of A. Hamilton; and is marked as "The Ganges" in Warren and Wood's Survey which appears in the *Pilot* of 1748, names arising from some old confusion not easily explained. It is now known as the Rupnarain" (see *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. cex.)

‡ Since I wrote the above, Pandit Haraprasád Sástri has pointed out to me that Pichhaldá is mentioned more than once in the *Chaitanya Charitá*. In Book II, Chapter 16, we read :—

मद्यप यवन राजार आगे अधिकार ।
तार भये पथे केह नारे चलिवार ॥
पिछलदा पर्य्यन्त सब तार अधिकार ।
तार भये नदी केह तैते नारे पार ॥

And again :—

मन्त्रेश्वर दुष्ट नदे पार कराइल ।
पिछलदा पर्य्यन्त सेइ यवन आइल ॥

I have just quoted, reproduces it in the following fashion :—"The *Ganges* falls into the *sea* between the *cities* of *Arigola* and *Pisalta* in about latitude 22°." In the same way, an inferior hand seems to have been employed in the preparation of the *Descripcao do Reino de Bengalla*, for which De Barros had probably left only rough drawings. It was not De Barros, I imagine, who put Baránagar on the wrong side of the river, or mis-spelt Picholda, or left out the name of Hijili altogether; it was not De Barros who inserted the existing erroneous degrees of latitude and fallacious scale of leagues; it was not De Barros who congregated together in one map a number of heterogeneous plans of Bengal without any attempt to make their measurements uniform. For, if we take the trouble to make a slight calculation, we shall find that the ostensible scale of the map is certainly not the scale of that portion which represents the course of the river from Betor to the sea, the portion which must have been best known to De Barros. The distance between the 22nd and 23rd degrees of latitude as given in the plan is $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Hence 68 miles = $\frac{1}{8}$ in, or 1 in. = 58$\frac{2}{3}$ miles; and this is no doubt the measure indicated by the accompanying scale of leagues, each of these leagues being equal, it would seem, to 3·814 English miles. Roughly speaking, then, we may say that the ostensible scale of the map is 1 in. = 60 miles. Now, if this were the actual scale of the plan of the river from Betor to the sea, the direct distance between Betor and Picholda would be 56 miles, and the direct distance between Picholda and Ságar would be 68 miles, whereas the true distances are 28 and 40 miles respectively. And again, if 1 in. = 60 miles were the actual scale, and if the 22nd degree of latitude be approximately correct, then the 23rd degree of latitude will pass south of Betor, which is really only three or four miles north of latitude 22° 30′. The preparer of the map has not shrunk from this last absurdity, and accordingly has marked latitude 23° at what is approximately latitude 22° 30′. From these three instances it is obvious that the true scale of the map of the river from Betor to the sea is 1 in. = 30 miles. This gives Betor the correct latitude 22° 30′ +; makes the direct distance between Betor and Picholda exactly right, *viz.*, 28 miles; and makes the direct distance between Picholda and Ságar 34 miles, *i. e.*, 6 miles too little. This scale, however, will not do for the river above Betor, and in fact no hypothesis will help the plan here, or explain how Agarpárá should be at least ten times nearer to Sátgáon than it is to Betor, or how Baránagar comes to be on the wrong side of the river. These mistakes seem to show that De Barros was not so well acquainted with the river above Betor, or, more probably, that the maker of the map was not sufficiently well informed to be able to properly piece together his materials.

I. (*Resumed*) I shall now return to my first point, and shall try to identify Pacuculij and Pisacoly. Blochmann* says :—

"Pacuculij has hitherto defied all attempts at identification, and the same may be said of the places Pisaculy and Pisolta, marked by De Barros as lying in Hijili.† Van den Broucke throws a doubt on the correctness of these three names, inasmuch as he leaves out Pisaculy and Pisolta, and only gives Pacuculi, 'on the authority of Portuguese maps.' In position, but only faintly resembling in sound, Pisaculy corresponds to Mahishádal, the form given in the *Aín ;* and Pacuculi corresponds in sound, and almost in position, with the old *parganá* Penchákulí, or Penchakoly, which lies just opposite to the present mouth of the Dámodar, and opposite to the 'James and Mary Sands.' *But we rather expect a place a little further down.*‡ I am, however, not satisfied with this identification, because Penchákulí is after all the name of a *parganá*, and not of a place,§ at least at present, and I am rather inclined to avail myself of a conjecture proposed by Colonel Gastrell, and take the word to be a misprint for Pacucuti, with a *t* instead of an *l*,—which would clearly be a corruption of *pakká kuthí*, or 'brick-house,' and may refer to a pucca house, or 'logie,' built by the Portuguese at the entrance of the Húglí. Such houses, belonging to various human beings, are, or were, quite common on the banks of the Húglí ; they served as depôts or retreats, and, when surrounded by a ditch, were even dignified with the name of 'forts.'" A little before this Blochmann refering to the three mouths of the Dámodar, says that they "stand for the Saraswatí, the Dámodar, and the Rúpnáráyan"; and further that "Pacaculi is placed opposite to the mouth of the river which we have identified with the Rúpnáráyan." From all this it appears that Blochmann's πρῶτον ψεῦδος was the identification of the Rúpnáráyan with one of the mouths of the Dámodar, and that this caused him to miss Pichuldoho and brought him into the greatest difficulties with regard to Pisacoly and Pacuculij. Sir Henry Yule's correct identification of the Rúpnáráyan with the Ganga has led at once to the discovery of Pichuldoho, and entirely does away with Blochmann's arguments about Pisacoly and Pacuculij. Accordingly when Blochmann argues that we cannot identify Pacuculij with Penchákulí

* *Geographical and Historical Notes on the Bardwán and Presidency Divisions*, at the end of Hunter's *Statistical Account of the 24 Parganás*, p. 384.

† This is a mistake. De Barros says that the Ganga enters the Ganges *between* Hijili and Picholda, consequently Picholda, or Pisolta, could not here been *in* Hijili.

‡ The italics are mine.

§ Blochmann seems to think that Pacuculij is the name of a place only, and not of a region ; but De Barros distinctly says that it is the name of an island, *i. e.*, of a region.

opposite the mouth of the Dámodar, because "we rather expect a place a little further down," I reply that the identification is unsatisfactory, because we expect a place a little further up. In fact if, as I think, the scale of the map is 1 in. = 30 miles, Pacuculij is 13 or 14 miles above Pichuldoho and must therefore be somewhere opposite Ulubáriá. Besides Penchákulí is undoubtedly the modern representative of Pisacoly; for (*a*) Penchákulí in 1760 was written Pichacooley*, and this, if '*ch*' be pronounced soft, is the exact equivalent of Pisacoly; and again (*b*) Pisacoly is 5 or 6 miles above Pisolta, which is about the distance of Penchákulí from Pichuldoho. It is true that Pisacoly is on the west side of the river while Penchákulí is a fiscal division on the east side; but this does not avail against the general argument. Either, as is quite possible, Pisacoly, like Baránagar, has been misplaced, or, as is more probable, Pisacoly once extended to both sides of the river, the town being on the west side, and the disappearance of the town is due to a change in the course of the river Dámodar. Pacuculij must have stood somewhere near Royapore, where also stood Calcula in the 17th century, according to Sir Henry Yule; but unfortunately the names 'Pacuculij' and 'Calcula' seem to have altogether disappeared.

Having dealt as well as I can with the places along the side of the river from Betor to the sea, must add a few words as to the meaning of the various tributary streams shown in the map. There can be no doubt about the two western tributaries. One is the Dámodar which enters the Ganges, (*i. e.*, the Húglí) by three mouths somewhere near Ulubáriá: in fact, if we reckon 1 in. = 30 miles, the middle mouth will be 16 miles above Pichuldoho is exactly at Ulubáriá. The other river, the Ganga, is meant for the Rúpnáráyan. It has two mouths. The upper one is perhaps 5 or 6 miles below the present mouth of the Rúpnáráyan, the lower one seems to correspond to the Haldí river. The two eastern tributaries are not so easily identified. The lower one is probably the Rogue's River of which we read in the 17th and 18th centuries, and which is identified by Sir Henry Yule with the Kálpí Creek. The upper tributary joins the Húglí at a point north of Pacuculij, or Royapore, which seems to preclude us from identifying it with the river of Calcula. It may perhaps be the "Bangala river" which Sir Henry Yule considers to be the same as "the Loonghee Bungla Khall of modern charts, just below Jarmaker's Reach."

III. I now come to my third and last point: how far we may trust De Barros' map as an accurate picture of the river at the beginning of the 16th century. This question has, of course, been partially answered by what has been already said, but it is as well to deal with it separately.

* Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records*, p. 205.

I regard the map as fairly accurate for the course of the river from Betor to the sea. Mr. Blochmann doubted the very existence of Pacuculij, Pisacoly, and Pisolta; but I have found Pichuldoho in the very place indicated by De Barros and have also been able to account for Pacuculij and Pisacoly. Nor is there any reason to distrust the way in which the map arranges the tributary streams. Colonel Gastrell* has argued that the principal outfall of the Dámodar, even as late as 1745, was the Jan Perdo river, which he identifies with the Káná Dámodar, one mile north of Ulubáriá, but which Sir Henry Yule identifies with the present Ulubáriá Khál; and this conjecture is in complete harmony with De Barros' map, for it represents the Dámodar as entering the Ganges (Húglí) by 3 outfalls at a point somewhere about Ulubáriá. I am not quite so sure about the accuracy of the map as regards the outfall of the river Ganga or Rúpnáráyan. To-day the Húglí on meeting the Rúpnáráyan is deflected sharply to the east, and after describing a large semicircle returns once again to its former longitude and flows due south past Ságar. In De Barros' map there is no such semicircular deflection; the river empties itself directly into the sea. Instead of the tract of land which now extends between the mouths of the Rúpnáráyan and the Haldí and forms the police circle by Sutáhátá in the Tamluk subdivision, we have a small delta enclosed between the two arms of the Ganga. If this be accepted as a true picture of the state of things in the 16th century, we must suppose that the eastern portion of Tamluk (*i. e.*, the police circle of Sutáhátá) has been thrown up since then by the deposits of the Rúpnáráyan, and that hence has been formed the Diamond Harbour, the Diamond Sand being merely the last and least result of this very process.

Having thus reached the Diamond Sand, I am tempted to add one more remark, by way of conclusion, which has to do with the topography of the 17th and not the 16th century. Sir Henry Yule says that "the sand probably got its name from some ship," and notes that "a ship in the company's employ called the *Dyamond* is pretty often mentioned circa. 1620–1640." I have found some more definite evidence on this point. From a journal kept by Job Charnock and his Council, during the time when the English were quarrelling with the Nawab of Bengal, we learn that in 1688 Captain Herron's ship was called the Diamond. Under the date 14th November 1688 the diary notes:—"In the evening anchored at Sumbereroe trees†, where Captain Walthrop came on board of us to know when we intended to go over the Braces; which was resolved of,

* Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 258–261.

† Kitesal.

to be with the morning light: he informed us how, on the 12th current, at night, he left the ship *Diamond* ashore, with her head at Buffilo point,* but in little danger, being taken care for by Captain Heath, and supposeth she got off with the flood then coming in." After this Charnock and the Council set sail and reached Ballasore. And on the 18th "the ship *Recovery* arrived in the Road, from the Braces, bringing news of the ship *Diamond's* being in safety." I think it likely that the Diamond Sand got its name from this incident, the more so as, according to Sir H. Yule, Herron, the Captain of the Diamond, was the author not only of the earliest instructions printed in detail for the navigation of the river Húglí, "but probably also of the earliest chart of it that has any claim to quasi-scientific character."

Rajah Káns.—By H. Beveridge, C. S.

The publication by our Society of the Riyázussalátín is a valuable contribution to the history of Bengal. It is to be hoped that it will lead to the discovery and publication of the sources of that work. For though Ghulam Husain's book was the foundation of Stewart's History of Bengal, he is too recent a writer for his statements to be of authority, except when he is quoting from a *risalah*, or little book, by some unknown author, or is giving the local traditions of Dinajpur and Maldah. It is a pity that so little is known about Ghulam Husain. He was a native of Zaidpur in Oudh, and was Dák Munshi under Mr. George Udny, the Commercial Resident at Maldah. He died there, and his tomb is still shown.

We owe to Ghulam Husain the fullest account that we possess of the Hindu whom he and other Muhammadan writers are supposed to designate by the name of Rajah Káns. I hope to show later on that his real name was Ganes, and that the early Muhamedan historians probably wrote his name as Gáns or Ganes. Ghulam Husain represents Rajah Káns as a cruel and bigoted tyrant. He describes him just as a worshipper of Krishna would describe Rajah Kaṁśa of Mathura, and no doubt allowance must be made in both cases for religious prejudices. But, cruel tyrant or not, Rajah Káns is the most interesting figure among the kings of Bengal. We feel that this obscure Hindu, who rose to supreme power in Bengal, and who for a time broke the bonds of Islam, must have been a man of vigour and capacity. He reminds us of the unfortunate Hemu who opposed Humáyun. Ghiassuddin, one of

* At the north edge of the Diamond Sand.

Rajah Káns' predecessors, was a jocund and able prince, and the story about the Kazi's calling him to justice for having by misadventure shot the widow's son is worthy of Herodotus. But the only other king of Bengal who can compare in romantic interest with Rajah Káns is Husain Shah. He is known in history as Alauddin Abul Mozaffar Husain Shah, but the people of the Rarh in Murshidabad call him the Rákhál Bádsháh, or Shepherd King, from a tradition that he was originally a herdsman in the house of a brahmin at Chandpur, or Chandpara, near Mirzapur, in the Subdivision of Jangipur.*

In Buchanan's account of Dinajpur† Rajah Káns is called Gones. He says that Ghyassuddin was succeeded by his son Saifuddin, and he by his slave Shihabuddin, and that then "Gones, a Hindu and Hakim of Dynwaj, (perhaps a petty Hindu chief of Dinajpur) seized the government." It does not seem certain that this Dynwaj is identical with the town of Dinajpur. It may have some connection with the Dhinaj Rai mentioned in Stewart, page 72, as a chief of Sonargaon. But the Riyáz, page 78, calls him Bhoj Rai.

Mr. Westmacott‡ was apparently the first to point out the identity of Káns and Gones. Mr. Blochmann§ doubted the identity, but I presume that his doubt was only as to the proper spelling of the name; for it is impossible to doubt, that, whatever be the true name, the person described by Buchanan as Gones is the Káns of Firishta and the Riyáz. Mr. Blochmann remarks that Gonesh is a common name, and that Muhammadans must have been acquainted with it. "But all MSS. spell the Rajah's name كهانس Káns, not گنيش Ganes." The reply to this is that *g* and *k* are often written alike in MSS. There is no *g* in Arabic, and in Meninski's Dictionary we find *g* and *k* treated as one letter. In his remarks on the letter *K* he says that it is also written with three dots and called gef, "sed raro in libris invenies expressa illa puncta, unde et hîc ea passim omitto." Another way of distinguishing between *g* and *k* is by writing or printing the former with a second slanting line, thus گ, but this is very often not done in

* J. A. S. B. XLII, 227 note. The story is that when Husain Shah became king he rewarded his old master by giving him a zamindari at the quit-rent of one ana. Hence the place is called Ekana Chandpara to this day. Another tradition about Husain Shah is that he made a road from Deoghar to Jagannath. This he did to propitiate the god who had threatened him with death for having entered his temple. The road runs from north to south through the Rarh or western half of Murshidabad and is still in use. There are many tanks along side of it which Husain Shah is said to have excavated for the benefit of travellers.

† *Eastern India*, II, 618.

‡ Calcutta Review, LV, 208.

§ J. A. S. B. XLIV, 286-87.

MSS. The old name for Rajmahal is written indifferently Akmahal and Agmahal, and on the Qandahar inscription published by M. Darmesteter in the Journal Asiatique for 1890, page 205, we find that Ghora Ghát, Gaur, and Bangalah, were engraved on the rock as Kora Kat, Kaur, and Bankalah. M. Darmesteter remarks on this peculiarity in a note at page 219. It seems therefore quite possible that the name in the MSS. was written Gáns, or Gánes. This is very nearly Ganesh, or Ganesa. Sometimes the approximation is even closer, for at page 115 of the Asiatic Society's edition of the Riyáz, we have, in a foot note, the various reading كنس Kons, or Kans, *i. e.*, I submit, Ganes.* Besides, it does not seem correct to say that all MSS. give Kans. At least one MS. must apparently have given the letter as a *g*, for Buchanan presumably got the name Gones from his Pandua manuscript.† The fact that the name Ganesh still lives in the memories of the people of Dinajpur is a strong argument in favour of the identification and of Ganesh being the real name.‡ If the name was Káns, and if Káns was a different man from Ganesh, we have the improbability that a Hindu chief of great celebrity has been forgotten by men of his own country and religion, and remembered only by Muhammadans. Then too it seems very unlikely that a Hindu should have borne the name of Káns in the beginning of the 15th century. On the other hand Ganesh is a very likely name, and we find that Ganesh was a good deal worshipped in Dinajpur, for Buchanan§ gives an engraving of a remarkable image of Ganesh, which had been originally at Bánnagar. I submit that the evidence is sufficiently strong to justify us in writing the name as Ganesh.

But, however that may be, it is clear, as I have already observed, that the Gones of Buchanan is the same person as the Káns of the Riyáz. The two accounts perfectly agree. Buchanan tells us that Gones put Shaikh Badar-al-Islam to death for not doing homage to him, and the Riyáz, page 111, tells us the same thing. Both tell us that the Rajah had a son called Jadu, who afterwards turned Muhammadan, and reigned as Jalalluddin, and both tell us of the interposition of Qutb Alam and the invasion of Ibrahim of Jaunpur. Indeed it is clear that either Buchanan's manuscript was simply the Riyáz, or some work which the author of the Riyáz has made use of. It is interesting to find that the Riyáz represents Qutb Alam as applying the title of Hakim to Rajah

* Stewart, p. 93 spells the name Kanis. This seems nothing but Ganes. In the Aín I, 413 and 415, he is called Kánsi Bumi.

† See *Eastern India*, II, 616.

‡ I got this fact from Babu Hari Mohan Singh, Manager of the Dinajpur Raj.

§ *Eastern India*, II, 625.

Káns. Hakim was Gones' title, and Mr. Westmacott tells us that it is still in use among the ryots of Dinajpur when speaking of their zamindars.

The Riyáz calls Rajah Káns Zamindar of Bhaturiah. Mr. Blochmann* says that he does not know if this name is an ancient one, and that it does not occur in the Aín. But there is good evidence of the antiquity of the name. Gladwin, in his Revenue Accounts published in 1790, at page 13, mentions Bhaturiah as giving its name to a *sír* of a particular weight, and Grant in the Fifth Report, page 347, tells us that Bhaturiah was an ancient division, and was the *jaghír* of Mir Jamla. In Jaffar Khan's settlement of 1722 or 1135 A. H., Bhaturiah was included in Chakla Ghora Ghát.† I am also inclined to think that the name does occur in the Aín. Grant tells us, page 338, that Bhaturiah belonged to Sarkár Bázuhá, and in the Aín, page 404 of the Persian text, we find a Bahuriabazu, or Bahsuriabazu, entered as a large *mahal* in that Sarkár. It is very likely that two dots have been omitted in copying, and that the name should be Bhaturia. Bázu is an affix to all the estates in Sarkár Bázuha, as Mr. Blochmann has pointed out.‡ Mr. Blochmann has also pointed§ out that Bhaturia is the name given in Rennel's Bengal Atlas, Sheet No. 6, to a large tract east of Maldah. It included Nattore. In the same map we have the town Battorya marked, and this is probably Bhaturia. It lies near the Ganges, and about half way between Pábna and Rampur Bauliah.

Mr. Blochmann has hazarded the conjecture that the name Rajshaye is a reminiscence of Raja Káns. This, however, seems very doubtful. Rajshaye does not seem to be an old name. Apparently it does not occur in the Aín, for Grant places Rajshaye in Sarkár Audambar, or Tánda, and the name does not occur under that Sarkár in the Aín. Moreover Rajshaye proper was on the west of the Ganges, and is so marked in Rennel. It therefore was no part of Káns or Ganesh's ancestral property. There is not even a *pargana* of the name of Rajshaye in the modern district of that name. The *pargana* Rajshaye, which probably gave the name to Rani Bhowáni's immense zamindari, is far away to the west of the Ganges and lies chiefly, if not entirely, in Birbhum. Rajshaye is probably a compound word of the same class as Rajmahal. It is possible even that the last syllable may not be connected with *Sháh*, but may be the Arabic *shai*, *i. e.*, property. The Rajah referred to in it is not improbably Rajah Man Singh. There is a large *pargana* in the same neighbourhood, of which the Rajshaye *pargana* is, I believe, a dependency, which goes by the name of Kumar

* J. A. S. B. XLII, 263.

† *Vide Fifth Report*, pp. 264 and 338.

‡ J. A. S. B. XLII, 216.

§ *ib.* p. 263.

Pratáp. This is an old name, and occurs in the Aín, and probably refers to Pratap Sing, the son of Bhagwas Das, and brother of Man Singh.*

It is to be regretted that the information about Rajah Káns or Ganesh is so scanty. Perhaps a diligent inquiry in Dinajpur and Bogra might lead to further discoveries. Firishta represents him in a good light, and as half a Muhammadan. The Riyáz pictures him as a bigoted tyrant. Perhaps both accounts are partially correct. Probably his severity to Badar-al-Islam was the result of political rather than religious motives. Even the Riyáz tells us that he allowed his son to be made a Muhammadan, and that he himself would have become one but for the influence of his Rani. At page 618, Buchanan calls the son Godusen, but in his *Appendix*, page 28, he calls him Juddoo Sein. This is important, for it seems to show that Ganesa was connected with the old Sein kings of Bengal.†

I now proceed to discuss the chronology of Rajah Káns or Rajah Ganesh's reign. This is a very obscure matter. There can be no doubt that the dates given in the Riyáz are wrong, for they disagree with the evidence of coins, and also with the author's statements about Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur. There is one clear date, not on a coin, which, I think, throws light on the subject. This is the date of the

* Blochmann's Aín, 447, and Stewart, 188.

† At one time I thought that Rajah Káns might be identified with the Karna Sein who ruled at Rángamáti in the Murshidabad district. Karna might easily be changed into Kán, if not into Káns; and Captain Layard, J. A. S. B. XXII, 282, was told forty years ago that Karna Sein was a famous Maharajah of Bengal who resided chiefly at Gaur. The story of the Riyáz about Rajah Káns' making golden cows might also agree with the name Gowkaran and the legend told to Captain Layard about that place. Gowkaran, is 3 or 4 miles from Rángamáti. The natives say that it is the place where Rajah Karna kept his cattle, and that Gobarhatti, between it and Rangamáti, is where the dunghill was. It is also curious that Buchanan, II, 682, heard of a "Gokarna Rajah" at Ghora Ghát in Dinajpur. Finally there is the fact that the name of the village near Rangamáti where the ruins of the Rajbari used to be, and where the moat is still pointed out, is Jadupur, which might point to Jadu *alias* Jalalluddin. It is quite possible that the legends about Rajah Karna Sein may have become mixed up, but I could not hear anything at Rángamáti about Rajah Káns or Rajah Ganesh. What I was told was that Karna Sein drowned himself in the Chauti Bhíl, when attacked by the Mahomedans, and that he had a son named Brisha Ketu. It may be noted that there is a Ganeshpur north of Jiaganj in Murshidabad.

Mr. Westmacott informs me that Dr. Buchanan's MSS. are now in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London. It might be worth while to examine them and to see if they say anything more about Rajah Ganesh than what Mr. Montgomery Martin published.

death of the famous saint Nur Qutb Alam. He is buried at Pandua, and the date of his decease is fixed by the chronogram annexed ques- Hidáyat, as 851 A. H. or 1447 A. D.* General Cunningham has also used this argument in volume XV of his *Archæological Reports*, page 175. If the inscription at page 83 of that volume refer to Nur Qutb Alam, he died even later than 851, *viz.*, in 863. However 851 is enough for our purpose, and is in all probability the correct date.†

According to the Riyáz, the saint was of the same age as Sultan Ghyassuddin, and was his fellow-student under Shaikh Hamiduddin of Nagore.‡ And the Riyáz adds that Sultan Ghyassuddin reverenced the saint all his life. But this is inconsistent with the supposition that Ghyassuddin died in 799. Qutb Alam must have been very young then, and he had not succeeded his father Ala-ulhaq, who was also a distinguished saint, and who died in 800. Ghyassuddin according to one account reigned 16 years, and before that he had been for many years in rebellion against his father. He cannot then have been young when he died, and it is extremely unlikely that his fellow-student survived him for more than fifty years.

According to the evidence of coins Ghyassuddin was reigning in 812, and, as the editor of the Catalogue of Muhammadan coins in the British Museum observes, there is no good reason for supposing that the coin was a posthumous issue. Further, we have the apparently indisputable evidence of the Chinese annals, quoted by General Cunningham, to the effect that Ghyassuddin did not die till 814, when he was succeeded by his son Saifuddin. It is true that there is the difficulty, not noticed by General Cunningham, that there are coins of Saifuddin Hamza dated 799.§ But it is easier to believe in contemporaneous than in posthumous issues, and we find that Ghyassuddin himself issued such coins in the lifetime of his father. It is to be remembered that Ghyassuddin appears to have lived latterly at Sonar-

* J. A. S. B. XLII, 262.

† 851 is the date given by Mr. Blochmann, and he supports it by the chronogram, but it is curious that in the Aín II, 220, the date of Qutb Alam's death is given as 808. In Ravenshaw's Gaur p. 52 the date of Nur Qutb's death is given as 851, but at p. 50 it is stated that according to a book belonging to the endowment Nur Qutb died in 828 (1245). The same book also gives the date of his father's death as 786. It must be confessed that 828 is a more likely date for a contemporary of Ghyassuddin than 851. [Mr. Beveridge wrote this in April. Three months later, having gained further information, he was able to fix the date of Nur Qutb Alam's death as 818 A. H. Mr. Beveridge's reasons will be found in the note which immediately follows this article. Ed.]

‡ Mr. Blochmann says that this is in Jodhpur and not in Birbhum, l.c. 260*n*.

§ See B. M. Catalogue 28.

[illegible] tomb is there. This may have facilitated Saifuddin's [illegible], or may have been accompanied by a division of the kingdom. Saifuddin reigned three years and seven months according to the Riyáz, and his slave, or adopted son, Shihabuddin reigned three years and four months. Reckoning 814 as the year of Ghyassuddin's death, this brings us to 821. But this is too late, for Jalalluddin's coins go back to 818. There must therefore be some mistake about the length of the reigns of Saifuddin and Shihabuddin. There is also the seven years' reign of Rajah Káns to be accounted for, but I think we may well believe that part of it was contemporaneous with Shihabuddin's reign, and part with that of Jalalluddin. The Riyáz tells us that when Rajah Káns was pressed by Sultan Ibrahim, he resigned the throne, and that his son Jadu was proclaimed king under the style of Jalalluddin. But when the Rajah heard that Ibrahim was dead, he resumed his power. May not the coin of 818 refer to the time when Jalalluddin became Sultan in his father's lifetime? He was a boy of twelve then, according to the Riyáz, so that the real power would remain with the father.

The Riyáz mentions the tradition that Sultan Ibrahim died shortly after his retreat from Gaur. This must be incorrect, for Ibrahim reigned till 844. It is curious that the Jaunpur annals do not say anything about the expedition of Ibrahim to Bengal. They tell us that Khwaja Jahán and his son Mubarak levied tribute from Bengal, and this fact and their apparently sudden deaths would make the story of the Riyáz square better with their reigns than with that of Ibrahim. But it is not likely that a mistake of names was made, especially as Buchanan also has the name Ibrahim. He, however, does not identify him with Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, and describes him as being the grandfather of Husain Shah, and as having been put to death by Jalalluddin. This must surely be all wrong.

Though Firishta does not say anything about Ibrahim Sharqi's attacking Rajah Káns, he describes him as having set out on an expedition against Delhi in 816, and as having returned to Jaunpur after making some marches.* Perhaps this is the occasion referred to in the Riyáz. Firishta also tells the story about Shihabuddin Qazi's silver chair, so that there can be no doubt that the Ibrahim of the Riyáz is the Sultan of Jaunpur. Perhaps both Firishta and Ghulam Husain derived their information from the history of Bengal by Mahomed Qandahari, which unfortunately seems to be no longer in existence.

* See also the Sharqi architecture of Jaunpur by Dr. Führer, p. 7. Ibrahim made another expedition in 1435 A. D. (839) *ibid* 8. The Riyáz gives it as a rumour that both Ibrahim and Shihabuddin died shortly after their interview with Nur Qutb Alam. It is true that both died at about the same time, but this was long after Rajah Káns' time.

Note on the date of Nur Qutb Alam's death.—By H. Beveridge, C. S.

I think that we have now got some more light on this question. In my paper on Rajah Káns, I gave the date 851 A. H., which is that mentioned by Mr. Blochmann, and which therefore was probably correct. At the same time, I pointed out that it differed from the date (808) given in the Aín, and also from that mentioned in Ravenshaw's Gaur (828). I am now convinced that 851 is wrong. It is much too late for one who was a contemporary and fellow-student of Ghiassuddin. I find too that the chronogram Shams-ul-Hidáyat referred to by Mr. Blochmann, which gives 851, is apparently a recent invention. As has been pointed out to me by Maulavi Fazl Rubbi, the Divan of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Mufti Ghulam Sarwar of Lahore claims,* to be the author of the chronogram His book, the "Khazínatu-l-Aṣfiyá" was only published in 1864. It is true he refers to an earlier author Shaikh Hisamuddin of Manikpur, writer of the Rafik-ul-Arfin, as giving the date 851, but I have not been able to see that work, and so I do not know what its age and authority are. Ghulam Sarwar says nothing about the date given by Abul Fazl.

The best authority on the point should be the book in possession of the Khadim, or Guardian of the Shrine,† at Pandua. The existence of such a book is mentioned in Ravenshaw's Gaur, but when I wrote for a copy to Mr. Batabyal, the Magistrate of Maldah, he informed me that the book was reported to have been stolen. However, he has sent me an extract from the late Maulvi Elahi Baksh's history, which supplies the necessary information. Maulvi Elahi Baksh tells us that the inscription "Kitaba," in the possession of the Khadim, gives 7 Zilqada 818 as the date, and نور بنور شد, Nur bnur shud, as the chronogram. This may be interpreted "Light went to Light", or "Light was with Light", and is neater and more poetical than the Shams-ul-Hidáyat of Ghulam Sarwar. It gives the figures 818 (1415-16).

I submit that this date should be accepted as correct; first because it is that preserved at the shrine; secondly because it is more detailed than the others, as it gives the date of the month as well; and thirdly because it nearly agrees with Abul Fazl's date of 808, and corresponds with history much better than 851. Jalalluddin, the son of Rajah Káns, or Ganes, apparently began to reign about 818, and the Riyáz tells us that when he ascended the throne, he sent for Shaikh Zahid, the grandson of Nur Qutb, from Sonargaon, and was henceforth guided by his advice. This implies that Nur Qutb was then dead, or very old, and at all events a man who was a grandfather in 818 is not likely to have lived till 851.

* See his book, page 383.

† It is called the Chhai Hazari endowment as consisting of 6,000 bighas.

A Vocabulary of the Korwa language;—*collected by* W. Crooke, B. A., C. S.

The following vocabulary of the language spoken by the Korwas, of whom there are a few families in the jungles of the southern part of Mirzapur, may be of interest in connection with Mr. Driver's paper in the 2nd number of the Society's Journal, Part I, for 1891. I have compared the list casually with Mr. Hislop's vocabulary of what he calls the Kuri and Muâsi dialect, and some words are certainly identical: but I leave the analysis of the language to some one skilled in the Gondi and Kolarian dialects. The glossary was taken down carefully from a Korwa, who could speak Hindi intelligibly as well as his own language:—

Mother,	*ingâ.*
Father,	*apâ.*
Son,	*hopûnu.*
Daughter,	*kori hopûnu.*
Woman,	*ereât.*
Mother-in-law,	*henhartu.*
Father-in-law,	*honhartu.*
Wife's brother,	*sarâng.*
Paternal uncle,	*kâkâ,* (Hindi).
Paternal aunt,	*kâkî,* (do.)
Married woman,	*byâh kî wabâ.*
Paternal grandfather,	*dâdâ,* (do.)
Maternal uncle,	*mâmâ,* (do.)
Maternal aunt,	*mâmî,* (do.)
Boiled rice,	*leṭî.*
Salt,	*bulung.*
Paddy,	*horu.*
Husked rice,	*kudî.*
Wheat flour,	*kaniku,* (Skt. *kaṇika*).
Wheat,	*rakti,* (Skt. *rakta* = red).
Gram,	*buṭu,* (Hind. *bûṭ*).
Fire,	*sangel,* (*singal,* Kuri).
Water,	*dâ,* (*da,* Kuri).
Clothes,	*chirâ,* (Skt. *chîra*).
A cot,	*purkum.*
House,	*ora,* (*ura,* Kuri).
Thatch,	*saramtu.*
Door,	*duârtu,* (Skt. *dvâra*).

Head,	*bhû.*
Ear,	*lutur*, (as in Kuri).
Eye,	*nain*, (Skt. *nayana*).
Forehead,	*samângtu*, (? Hind. *sâmnê* = in front).
Nose,	*mût*, (*mû*, Kuri).
Cheek,	*johâtu*, (*joka*, Kuri).
Beard or moustache,	*ḍaṛhît*, (Hind. *ḍâṛhî*).
Tooth,	*tarîn.*
Mouth,	*âham.*
Tongue,	*alangtu.*
Lip,	*ununu.*
Hair,	*ukutu.*
Hand,	*tî.*
Neck,	*hotutu.*
Shoulder,	*kandhim*, (Hind. *kandhâ*).
Upper arm,	*sûpumu.*
Wrist,	*luluâm.*
Palm of the hand,	*tarwâmu.*
Finger,	*angrimu.*
Breast,	*kurâm.*
Thigh,	*bulûm*, (*bulu*, Kuri).
Shin,	*porkatâm.*
Nail,	*nahiyâm*, (Skt. *nakha*).
Cow,	*ḍangrâ*, (Hind. *dângar* = horned cattle).
Ox,	*bail*, (Hindi).
Buffalo,	*bhains*, (do.)
Female goat,	*merom.*
He goat,	*bakrâ*, (do.)
Oil,	*sunûm*, (as in Kuri).
Ghî,	*ghî*, (Hindi).
Fowl,	*sunku.*
Tiger,	*kûl*, (*kula*, Kuri).
Leopard,	*kurari.*
Jackal,	*buwâku.*
Hare,	*kulâhi.*
Bear,	*banâ*, (*bânâ*, Kuri).
Cat,	*pûsî*, (English *pussy*).
Sâmbhar deer,	*sarmaku.*
Deer,	*silipku.*
Fish,	*hakûku*, (*kakû*, Kuri).
Owl,	*happu.*
Crow,	*kâhuku*, (Skt. (*kâka*).

Kite,	*kureṭu.*
Partridge,	*úrê.*
Quail,	*gondarî.*
Parrot,	*dûju.*
Tobacco,	*tamâk*, (Hindi).
Bamboo,	*mât.* (*mâhat*, Kuri).
Pipal tree,	*haseyâ.*
Sâl tree,	*seri.*
Leaves of the *Sâl*,	*sarjûm.*
The tribal dance or *karamâ.*	*sarangmi.*
Earring,	*mundarâ*, (Hind. *mundrî*).
Liquor,	*illi.*
Mahuâ tree,	*matkâm.*
Broom,	*junung*,
To run away,	*nayami.*
Come,	*dulang chalâma*, (Hind. *chalnâ*).
To sit down,	*durangami.*
To stand up,	*rimûmi.*
To sleep on the ground,	*gendjimi.*
To wake,	*jagámi*, (Hind. *jâgnâ*).
To laugh,	*lâdami.*
To cry,	*yâmami.*
To eat,	*jomûmi.*
To drink water,	*dâtuân.*
The spud for digging roots.	*râmi*, (Hind. *rambhâ*).
The sun,	*beyar.*
The moon,	*bângo.*
The stars,	*epalku*, (*epal*, Kuri).
The sky,	*lemir.*
The ground,	*ût.*
Thunder,	*palkêdêrâ.*
Lightning,	*thankâ.*
Weight,	*hemâlâ.*
To be angry,	*khîskena*, (Hind. *khîs* = a grin of rage).
To quarrel,	*kalahena.*
To fondle,	*duduyemi.*
To abuse,	*egiriyadeyâ.*
Bitter,	*hatiyâ.*
Sweet,	*soriyâ.*
Sour,	*jojiyâ.*

Morning,	*jhâtkaríti.*
Midday,	*tiken kenâ.*
Evening,	*ayup kenâ.*
To ascend,	*rikâtimi.*
Cold weather,	*leârtanâ.*
Hot weather,	*ogartanâ.*
To bathe,	*muân.*
Barren,	*menehepunwâ.*
To sleep,	*gitimi.*
To be bald,	*koânâ uptido.*
To cook,	*badelangi sînmâ.*
The rice is cooking,	*leti dova senidâ.*
Naked,	*utûrkenâ.*

The Korkus—By W. H. P. Driver.

The Korkus are the most westerly of all the Kolarian tribes. They inhabit the Satpura, Mahadeo, and Maikul Hills in the Central Provinces, and a few are to be found in the valley of the Tapti.

They are found in various stages of civilisation, but they mostly cling to the hills and jungles, only visiting the nearest towns in the plains for marketing purposes.

They have retained their aboriginal language (a dialect of Kolarian), and also their aboriginal songs and dances, which plainly show their affinity to the Kols of Chota Nagpore.

They are in fact closely allied to the Korwas of Sirgooja, whose traditions connect them with the Mahadeo Hills.

The following short vocabulary shows the similarity in language:—

English.	*Korwa.*	*Korku.*	*English.*	*Korwa.*	*Korku.*
One	Mi	Mia	Bear	Bana	Bana
Two	Bar	Baria	Body	Horom	Komor
Three	Pei	Aphia	Dog	Seta	Sita
I	Ing	Ing	Earth	Has	Kasa
Thou	Am	Am	Eye	Met	Med
We	Aling	Alê	Fire	Sengel	Singal
No	Bai	Bang	Hair	Ub	Hub
This	Nai	Ini	Hand	Ti	Ti
What	Chila	Chuja	Hen	Sim	Sini
To eat	Jom	Jojom	Leaf	Sakam	Sakum
To sleep	Gette	Giti	Oil	Sunum	Sunum
Come	Hint	Hijo	Salt	Bulung	Bulung
Go	Senme	Seno	Snake	Bing	Bing
To-day	Tising	Ting	Star	Epil	Ifil
To-morrow	Gapa	Gaphang	Tiger	Kul	Kula

Appearance and clothing.

In appearance the Korkus vary according to the state of civilisation which they have reached. In the wilds they have little clothing and are very dark-skinned. Round about Chikalda in the Ellichpore district (where I saw them) the men are copper-coloured and the women much fairer. The men wear 'dhotis,' coats, and ornamental 'pugrees,' which at the Fagoon festival are hung with beads and bells, and they have country-made fancy waist cloths, the ornamental ends of which are allowed to hang down in the same style as the Uraons of Chota Nagpore. They also wear metal bracelets and large earrings.

The women wear the 'sari' tucked up like a divided skirt, according to the fashion of the country, but they hide the ugliness of this fashion by bringing the end round in front like an apron. They also cover the head, and wear the short jacket common in those parts. All this gives them a very non-Kolarian appearance, which, however, is counteracted by the number of earrings, necklaces of beads, armlets, bracelets, anklets, and rings, with which they deck their persons. The anklets are thin and loose, so that they make a loud jingling noise when they walk or dance.

Occupation.

The Korkus are a quiet peace-loving people; they do not know the use of the bow and arrow, and they live chiefly by cutting and selling bamboos, firewood, and other jungle produce.

They do a little in the way of cultivation wherever they can find a level piece of ground, but the "dhya" system has been put a stop to by Government, and the valuable timber trees are carefully preserved by the Forest Department.

Food.

Their staple food consits of "Kutki" (Panicum), which they boil and eat like rice; but they also grow "Kodo" (Paspalum), and sometimes a little coarse rice besides pumpkins and beans. They also feed on various jungle products, such as the flower of the 'Mhowa' (Bassia latifolia), the plum of the ebony-tree (Diospyros melanoxylon), the fruit of the wild mangoe, the berries of 'Chironji' (Buchanania latifolia), the 'Ber' (Zizyphus Jujuba), the seeds of the 'Sal' (Shorea robusta), the bean of the giant Bauhinia creeper, the seeds of the bamboo, a wild arrow-root (Curcuma), wild yams, and others.

They are very fond of all kinds of meat, and will eat buffalo, bison, pig, goat, and other animals, but not cows or monkeys, which Hindus have taught them to revere.

Divisions and Septs.

The Korkus divide themselves into two classes: the 'Roopa,' or greater; and the 'Bondoe,' or lesser. There is also a small tribe of alien origin named 'Nehals,'

who work as cowherds for the Korkus, and have successfully grafted themselves on them, adopting their language, customs, and beliefs. These Nehals are the remnants of a once numerous tribe that inhabited the Gawilgart hills, but were broken up and nearly exterminated by Sindia's soldiers. The Korkus, though otherwise mixing freely with the Nehals, will neither marry nor eat with them. These remarks of course only refer to the Korkus of Berar.

The Korkus are divided into 12½ "Gōts," or Septs, as follows:—

1	Busum	... thatch grass.
1	Jambu	... a wild edible fruit tree.
1	Bèthè	... do.
1	Siloo	... do.
1	Sewathi	... a small thorny creeper.
1	Chilathi	... a large thorny creeper.
1	Lota	... stalks of the Makai Jawari, &c.
1	Athoa	... a wooden ladle made from Bèthè wood.
1	Kollia	... ashes.
1	Kasda	... a ravine.
1	Dhikar	... descendants of a woman who gave birth while out fishing on the banks of a river.
1	Mawsi	... An ancient people who did not live in houses.
½	Hijra	... Hermaphrodites. There seem to be a number of these, and they live by begging.

Marriage and Marriage Customs.

A wealthy Korku may have several wives; but a woman may not have more than one husband. They do not marry before the age of maturity. People of the same Gōt are not allowed to inter-marry, and children belong to the Gōt of the father. Widows and divorcees are allowed to re-marry, and the younger brother is supposed to take his defunct elder brother's wife. Divorce, or more properly separation, is very uncommon, and it is looked upon as very disgraceful for married people to separate under any circumstances.

If a wife separates from her husband, and returns to her father, the money, if any was paid for her, is returned to her husband. If a wife leaves her husband to live with another man, the bereaved husband brings pressure on her, through the elders of the village, or public opinion, and tries to get her to return; but no money compensation is ever sought or offered. Sometimes the aggrieved husband takes a bloody revenge, but this is not a common occurence.

The price of a wife is Rs. 100 nominally; but very few ever pay this price. More commonly the man serves his intended father-in-law for a term of years. The proper term is 12 years, but this is seldom or

never completed: for the young people, after once having lived together under the same roof, have the upper-hand of the stern parents, who are only too glad to compound the matter. Should the parents not acquiesce, the young people elope. It is, however, always considered disgraceful not to propitiate the parents, and public opinion, which is a very strong factor among these people, is always in favour of a proper ceremonious marriage.

Sundays and Fridays are considered propitious days for marriages. The ceremony is very like that of the Aborigines of Chota Nagpore. The marriage bower is erected in front of the bridegroom's house. The bridegroom goes to the bride's house, and carries her over to the marriage bower, when the usual ceremony of anointing, tying of cloths, and marching round together, is gone through. Then follows the usual wedding feast, which lasts late into the night.

Customs regarding children.

For five days after a birth the mother is looked upon as unclean. Then a fowl is sacrificed and a feast is given to relations and friends.

Children are named without ceremony after they are 10 or 15 days' old. The parents are supposed to dream of some ancestor, after whom the child is to be named.

Girls are tattooed on the forehead, temples, arms, and the back of the hand, but not on the legs or feet.

The Korkus have no 'Dhamkuria' or bachelors' quarters.

Regarding the Dead.

They bury their dead about 4 or 5 feet below the surface of the ground, and put stones over the graves to prevent animals from digging them up. A handy with some rice is placed on the grave, but none of the dead man's belongings are put in his grave. The surviving relations wear the clothes and ornaments that belonged to the dead. Some time after a burial they erect a 'Munda' in honour of the dead. This is an upright post carved with figures of the sun, moon, and a horse. They offer sacrifices before these monuments, and dance the 'Siduli.'

The wife inherits her husband's property, and after her the male children.

The Korkus say they sometimes see the ghosts of their dead relations in their dreams, and whirlwinds are supposed to be the ghosts of the dead flying about, but they are not nearly so superstitious as the aborigines of Chota Nagpore.

Dances.

They have different dances for the various seasons. During the 'Fagooa' the men wear long grass stems in their pugrees, and the women leaves in their hair. They dance the 'Tewar' at the 'Pola' or cattle festival. At the

Dashera the men dance the 'Kombakulapa,' a step which reminds one of the Scotch Hoolachan.

The men have a great variety of steps in their dances. They stand erect, sway about, and hop more than the women. The women usually bend forward. They sway about their arms as well as their bodies, and sometimes link their hands. In all this they resemble the Kols of Chota Nagpore, but a distinctive feature of the Korku women's dancing is the stamping of the feet, their anklets jingling in time with the music.

Their musical instruments are chiefly wooden drums and bamboo flutes. The men play on the drums, sometimes sitting, and sometimes whilst dancing.

Their tunes have a distinct resemblance to those of the Chota Nagpuris, but they have a peculiar custom of finishing their songs with a kind of 'Yodel' with the back of the hand to the mouth, and then screaming like jackals.

Religion.

The Korkus have their own priests, or 'Bhumkas', who offer sacrifices for them at certain stated times. Their office is hereditary.

They worship the following the gods or demons:—

"Gomoij," or the sun, who receives a sacrifice of a goat once a year at the Dashera; Kala Bhairam, the most dreadful of the demons, who receives a goat; Bag Deo, [illegible]a Deo, Chumria Deo, Daora Deo, and Dular Deo, who each receive a goat; Bhal Deo, who receives a cock and an egg; Hanuman Deo, and Mahabir Deo, who each receive flour, sugar, cocoanuts, and the like.

These demons inhabit high trees, hills, and streams. The Akhari Deota lives at the village Akhra.

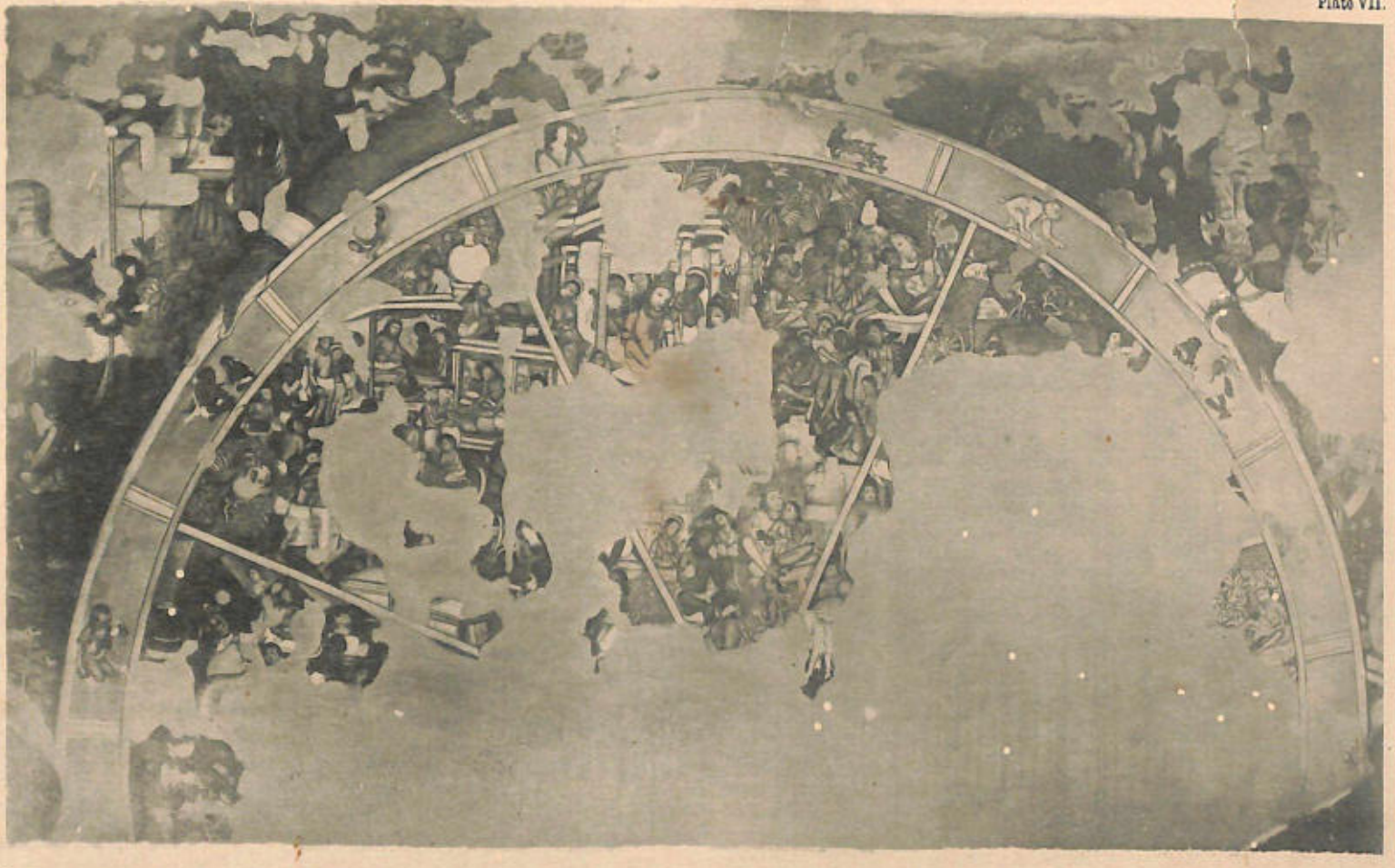
The following are the names of their festivals:—

Dashera, Pola, Dewali, Sewrat, Fagooa, Chait-puja, Bhawè, and Akhari.

In cases of individual sickness the head of the house offers a sacrifice to the offended demon.

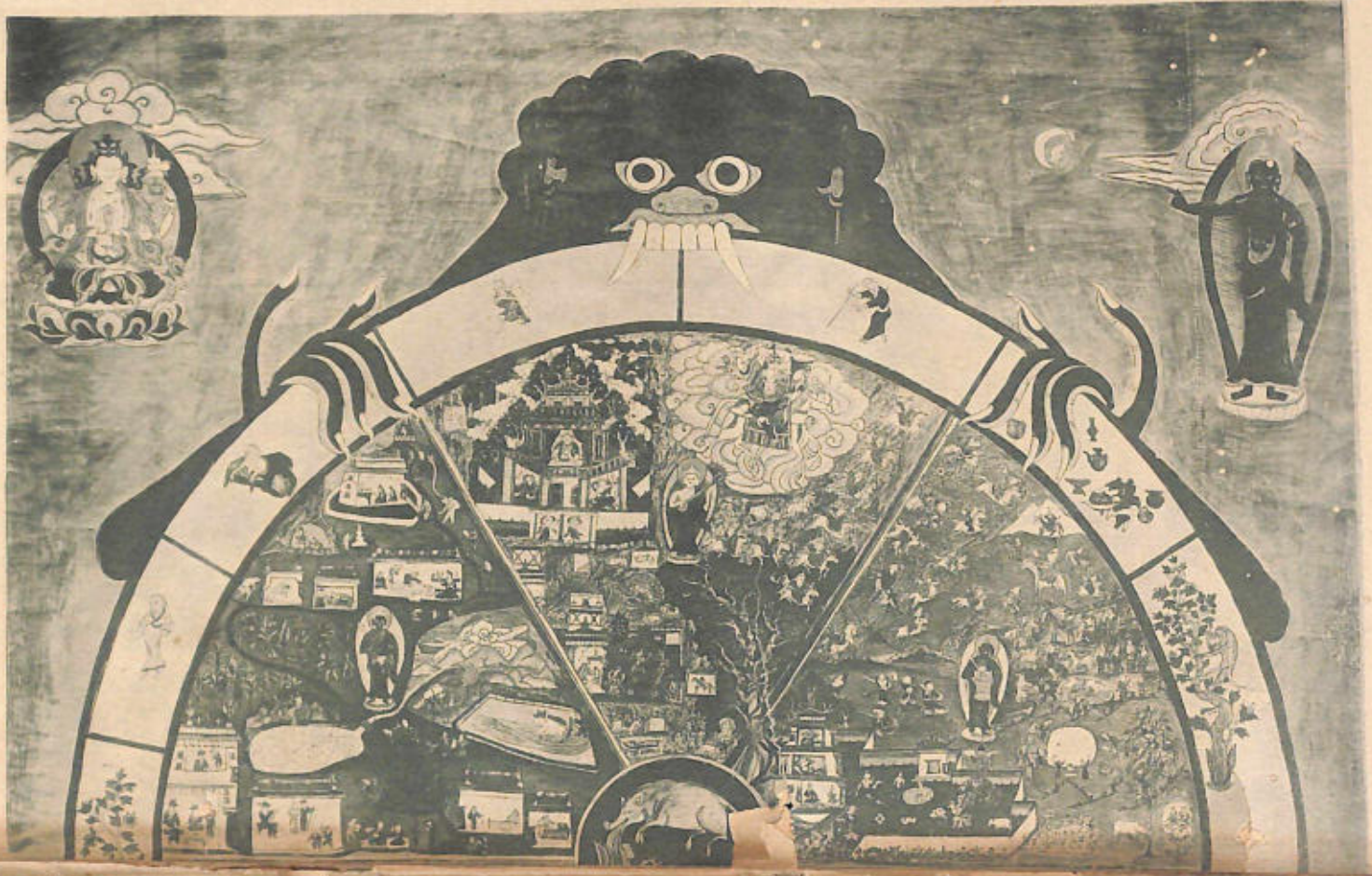
The 'Churil', or ghost of a pregnant woman, is driven out of the party possessed by blowing, and by burning chillies down the throat.

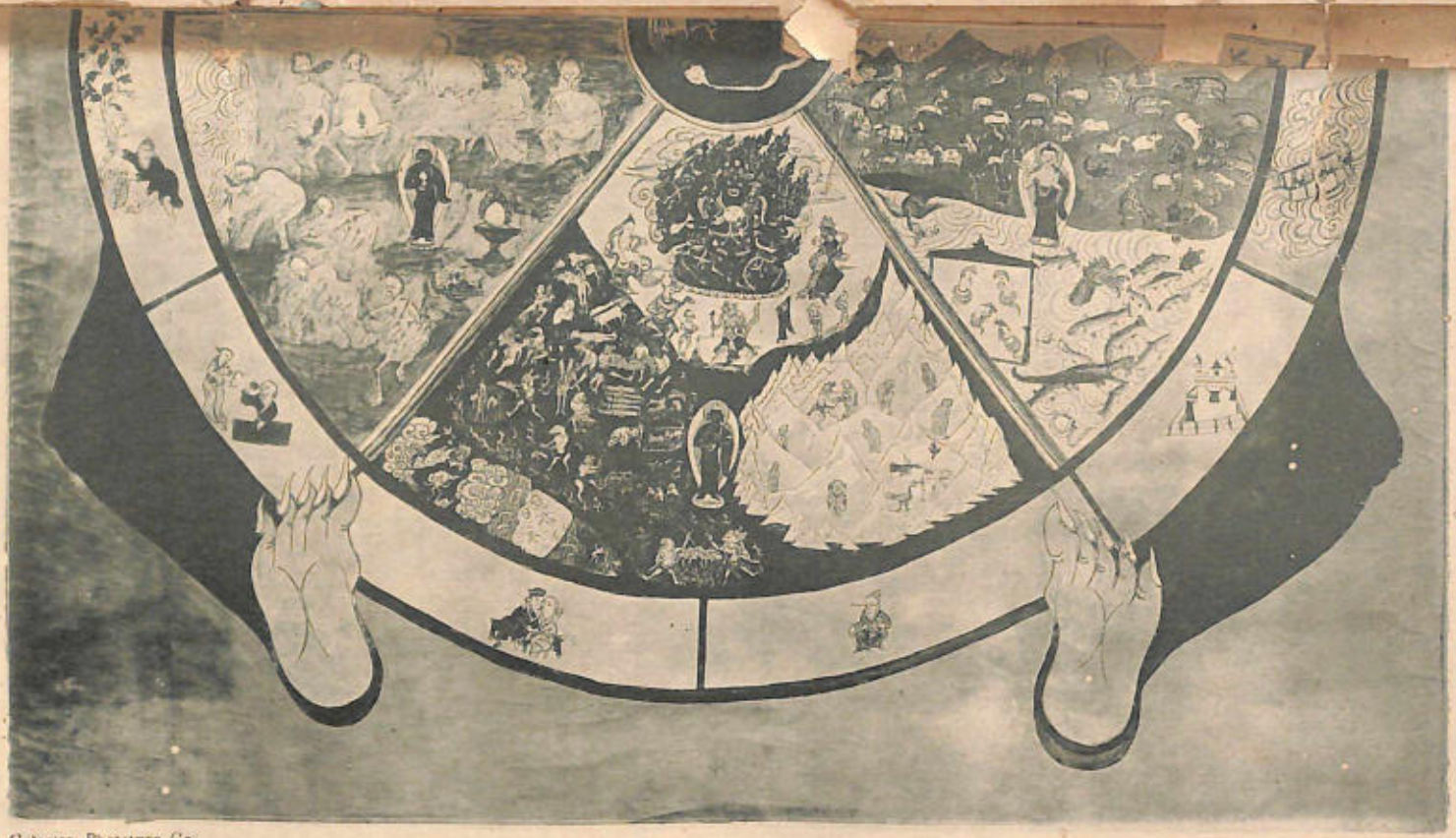
They do not believe much in wizards and witches, and they have no superstition about wearing the hair matted (Jatta) as in Chota Nagpur.



Calc. Pho. Co.

Fragment of a Wheel of Life from Ajanta.





Calcutta Phototype Co.

THE BUDDHIST WHEEL OF LIFE.

The Buddhist Pictorial Wheel of Life.—By L. A. Waddell, M. B.

(With three plates).

Its interest.

One of the most striking of the many frescoes which adorn the interiors of lamaic temples is the Sid-pa-í Khor-lô* (in Sanskrit *Bhavachakra*) or 'Cycle of Existence,' a symbolic and realistic picture of the most leading law of Buddhism—Metempsychosis—the secret of Buddha having consisted in the means he devised for escaping from this ceaseless round of re-births and its attendant suffering.

And Importance.

But although this picture of 'The Wheel of Life' is so interesting in itself as an epitome of Buddhist principles, and, perhaps, one of the purest relics of Indian Buddhism that the lamas have preserved to us; and extremely valuable as portraying in concrete and traditional form several of the abstract metaphysical conceptions of the Indian Buddhist philosophers, that are only known to the western world by their ambiguous† Sanskrit and Pali terms and Tibetan equivalents, as found in the old Buddhist Scriptures, it is remarkable that not even the most cursory description of it has yet been published. Georgi in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* appears‡ to have given a rough sketch of a rather confused copy of this picture, and his wood-cut has been in part reproduced by Foucaux,§ but no description of its details seems to have been attempted.

Its hitherto undetected presence at Ajanta.

Owing, doubtless, to its execution in perishable painted form and not as a sculpture, I can find no trace of its modern existence in India except among the cave-paintings of Ajaṇṭa. The painting at the left end of the verandah of Cave XVII, the so-called 'Zodiac' of Indian Archæologists, of which there is in the Society's collection the fine photograph here shown, *vide* Plate VII, is a fragment of a Buddhist Pictorial Cycle of Existence. And I am glad to be able, by means of lamaic sources of information, to interpret its hitherto unknown details and restore its blanks caused by the ravages of time.‖

* Srid-pa-í *hkhor-loí phyag-rgya*: ཞི་པའི་འཁོར་ལོའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ། (In Skt. *Bhavachakramudrá*).

† Koppen gives (*Die Religion des Buddha* I. 604) for one of these terms, *viz.*, *Saṅskára*, which is pictorially symbolized in this fresco, a long list of the different renderings which have been attempted, each with widely different sense. And most of the other *Nidána* terms are equally vague.

‡ I have been unable to consult Georgi's work.

§ *Le Lalita Vistará* traduit du Sanskrit par Ph. Ed. Foucaux, Paris, 1884, p. 290, (forming Tome sixième *Annales du Musée Guimet*).

‖ I have no doubt but that careful search at Ajaṇṭa, Ellora and other Buddhist caves in India would discover more of these pictorial cycles.

Its forms.

There are three forms of this pictorial wheel current in Tibet, *viz.*, (1st) the complete form showing all of the 5 or 6 regions of re-birth; (2nd) the form devoted solely to the human and animal form of existence, and (3rd) the variety devoted to existence in the various hells. The 1st is by far the most common in Tibet, and is here exhibited, *vide* Plate VIII. The 2nd form is that which is depicted in the Ajaṇṭa Cave. All agree in being constructed in the form of a disc held in the teeth and clutches of a monster; and displaying in compartments around the margin of the disc, in symbolic form, the twelve recognized Causes of Re-birth—the *Nidâna*—and usually in the centre of the disc the three Original Sins.

Its objects.

The avowed object of this picture is to present the causes of re-birth in so vivid a form that they can be readily perceived and overcome; while the realistic pictures of the evils of existence in its varied forms and the tortures of the damned are intended to intimidate evil-doers. The value of this picture for teaching purposes is fully utilized by the Lamas. It is placed in a conspicuous position, usually in the vestibule,* and is occasionally, as at Samye, 10 to 15 feet in diameter. Its strange objects and varied scenes strongly excite the curiosity of the junior monks and the laity, whose inquisitiveness is only to be satisfied, or whetted, by a short explanatory sermon. And so great is the belief in the power for good of this picture that Tibetan artists eagerly compete for the execution of so meritorious a work.

Its form in Lamaism.

Before examining the details of the Ajaṇṭa picture it is desirable to study the more complete pictorial cycle as now found in modern Lamaism and here exhibited to the Society, *vide* plate VIII. And first of all as to the history of this latter form of the picture.

Its History.

The picture, in its present form, is said to have been brought to Tibet from India. According to the Chronicles of the first Dalai Lama, a *Sid-pa-í Khor-lô* in 'the *old* style' was painted in the Samye Temple by the Indian Buddhist Monk Bande Ye-she in the 8th century A. D. And a slightly different version called 'the *new* style' was brought to Tibet by the great Indian Paṇdit Atíśa, or as he is properly called Dipaṅkara Śrí Jṇána about the middle of the 11th century A. D. Buddha himself is reported to have been the author of the original figure which, in order to illustrate his oft repeated dogma of the Causes of Existence, (*Bhava*), he drew in diagrammatic form with grains of rice from a stalk-in-ear

* And usually on the left side as at Ajaṇṭa.

which he had plucked while teaching his disciples in a rice-field. And Nágárjuna, the Fourteenth Patriarch who lived about the 2nd century, A. D. and the reputed founder of the Mahâyâna School, is credited with having introduced the pictorial and graphic details of what is called the '*old*' style.

The 'new' style.

The '*new*' style differs from the old only in the addition of a figure of Buddha and Avalokita to the outside, and the introduction of a *thub-pa* or *muni*-form of Avalokita into each of the six worlds of re-birth; and in one or two different pictorial symbols for the causes of re-birth, as will be detailed presently. Its origin is evidently later than the epoch of Nágárjuna. Buddha, it is reported, personally directed its preparation at the request of the indigent king *g*Zugs-chen-*s*nying-po (Skt. *Rúpavatísára*) of 'the middle country,' as a return gift to the heretic (*mútek-pa*) king Utrayana* of the *m*Thah-khob *s*gra-*s*grogs (=the resounding barons) country. And this latter king by the mere inspection of the picture was converted to Buddhism. A copy of this famous picture fell into the hands of the great Tantric monk Phag-pa Thogs-med (Skt. *Árya Asaṅga*) about the Sixth Century A. D.; and later Atiśa brought it to Tibet as aforesaid. Many of the pictorial details are Indian; but most of them are cast in Tibetan mould, as is to be expected where the artists for several centuries have been Tibetans.

General description.

The picture consists of a large disc with two concentric circles, the circular form symbolizing the ceaseless round of worldly existence—the 'whirling on the wheel' of Life. The disc is held in the clutches of a monster whose head is seen overtopping the whole. This ferocious demon,† who grips the disc with his claws and teeth, typifies the passionate clinging of worldly people to worldly matters. In the centre of the disc are symbolized the three original sins, and round the margin is the twelve-linked chain of Causes of Re-birth. While the remainder of the disc is divided by radii into six compartments representing the six regions of re-birth. This latter portion, together with the central part of the disc, are supposed to be in a state of perpetual rotation. In the upper part of the region representing hell is the *Bardo* or state intermediate between death and the great judgment. Outside the disc, in the upper right corner is a figure of Buddha pointing to the disc typified by a moon,‡ and in the left hand corner a

* (?) King Udayana of Kaushámbi. † Named *ma-ta-ru-ta* ཨ་ཏ་རུ་ཏ། ‡ The figure in the moon's disc is represented and regarded by the Tibetans as a hare. One of the Játaka stories connects this with Buddha's incarnation as a hare.

figure of Chénrési (Skt. *Avalokita*) the patron god of Tibet and incarnate in the Dalai Lama—who has also in the six *thubas* a presiding representative in each of the worlds of re-birth. These two external figures as well as the *thubas* are absent from the 'old' style of the picture.

The 3 Original Sins.

The three original sins or 'chief Causes of Demerit' are depicted as (1) a *pig* which has hold of the tail of (2) a *cock* which has hold of the tail of (3) a *snake* which in its turn, has hold of the pig's tail. The triad thus form a circle which revolves continuously around the world. The pig symbolizes Ignorance, the cock animal Desire or Lust, and the snake Anger or Hate.* These are at the core of re-birth, and if these three sins be avoided or overcome then virtue results and merit is accumulated.

The causes of re-birth.

The causes of re-birth, or *Nidána* (Tib. *ten-ḍel*)† are categorically given as twelve in the form of a linked chain, the result of the first cause being the cause of the second and so on, the ultimate result being suffering. In isolated fashion each 'cause' is also considered as a veil which hides the truth.

The illustrations of these causes.

The Illustrations which metaphorically symbolize these causes, and their paraphrase according to the traditional interpretation of the lamas, which must prove so valuable to students of Buddhist philosophy, are the following :—

I. A blind old woman groping her way = *Ma-rig-pa* or 'want of knowledge' (Skt. *Avidyá*) which is the cardinal cause of existence and misery, leading people to mistake for happiness the miseries of existence. In the 'old' style a man is figured leading the blind woman.

* These three sins are thus graphically described by Sir Edwin Arnold in *The Light of Asia*, p. 164 :—

"*Patigha*—Hate—
"With serpents coiled about her waist, which suck
"Poisonous milk from both her hanging dugs
"And with her curses mix their angry hiss.
"Then followed *Ruparaga*—Lust of days—
"The sensual sin which out of greed for life.
"Forgets to live; and Lust of Fame * * * (the) Fiend of Pride
* * * * * * And—Ignorance, the Dam
"Of Fear and wrong, *Avidya* hideous hag
"Whose footsteps left the midnight darker."

† *Rten-hbrel* རྟེན་འབྲེལ ।

II. A potter with his wheel making pots = *Du-che** or 'impressing or con-joining + action' (Skt. *Sañskára*), showing the fruits of worldly labour are perishable objects—action being misdirected as a result of ignorance. The Sanskrit equivalent *Sañskára* is usually translated as 'tendencies or inherited instincts'; but neither the pictorial metaphor nor the Tibetan equivalent easily admit of this interpretation.

III. A monkey eating fruit = *Nam-she*† or 'entire-knowledge' (Skt. *Vijñána*) of good and evil fruits—tasting every fruit in the sense of a roving libertine, thus engendering Consciousness.

IV. A dying man with a physician feeling his pulse = *Ming-zug*‡ or 'name + body' or form (Skt. *Náma-rúpa*), *i. e*, individual being as the result of consciousness. Its fleeting character is shown by the individual being about to lose his name and personality in death. In the 'new' style the picture shows passengers being ferried across the ocean of life or individual existence.

V. An empty house = *Kye-chhed*§ literally 'birth brothers,' or the 5 mortal sense-organs and volition (Skt. *Shaḍáyatana*), illustrating the organs and will which are the 'result' of individual being—the hollowness of these is typified.

VI. A pair of lovers kissing = *Reg-pa* or 'contact,' (Skt *Sparśa*) which results from the exercise of the sense organs and the will. In the 'new' style this is also represented as a man ploughing with a pair of oxen, or manually tilling a field.

VII. An arrow entering a man's eye = *Tshor-wa* or 'perception' (Skt. *Vedaná*), the result of contact. It includes emotions as well as physical sensation and pain.

VIII. A man drinking wine = *Sre-pa*‖ or 'desire for more' (Skt. *Tṛishṇá*) which results from the exercise of the perceptive faculty.

IX. A man gathering a large basketful of fruit = *Len-pa* or 'taking' (Skt. *Upádána*)—grasping indulgence in worldly matters and amassing of worldly wealth, as the result of desire.

X. A pregnant woman = *Srid-pa* or 'continuity of existence' or reproduction (Skt. *Bhava*), as the result of the clinging to worldly life and wealth.

XI. A mother in child-birth = *Kye-wa*¶ or 'birth' (Skt. *Játi*) as a result of No. X.

* འདུ་བྱེད། † རྣམ་ཤེས། ‡ མིང་གཟུགས། § སྐྱེ་མཆེད། ‖ སྲེད་པ། ¶ སྐྱེ་བ།

XII. A human corpse being carried off = *Ga-shi** or 'decay + death' (Skt *Jarámaraṇa*) with attendant sufferings and associated re-births which are thus made to be the ultimate results of ignorance.

I leave to Sanskrit and Pali scholars the detailed analysis and comparison of these lamaic pictures and their paraphrases.

The regions of re-birth.

The six regions of re-birth ('gro-bai rigs,' Skt. *Gáti*) are shown in the middle whorl. They are demarcated from each other by rainbow-coloured cordons representing the atmospheric zones that separate the different worlds. No place is allotted to the other phases of existence believed in by the lamas, *viz.*, the everlasting existence in the Western Paradise of *Devachen*, and of the celestial Buddhas and demoniacal proctectors of lamaism, and the expressed absence of such expressions of the current modern beliefs favours the claim of the picture to considerable antiquity. Some of the older pictures in Tibet agree with the doctrine of the southern Buddhists,† in omitting from their theory of metempsychosis, the world of the *Asuras*, enumerating only the remaining five worlds of re-birth.

Classed in the order of their superiority, the six worlds are :—

1*st.* The heaven of the gods of the Hindus or *Lhá* (=Sanskt. *Sura* or *Deva*) the highest world.

2*nd.* The world of the ungodly spirits or *Lhamayin* (=Skt. *Asura.*)

3*rd.* The world of man or *mi.* (= Skt. *Nara*).

4*th.* The world of the Beasts or *du-dő.* (= Skt. *Tiryyak*).

5*th.* The world of the Tantalized ghosts or *Yí-dag* (=Skt. *Preta*).

6*th.* Hell or *Nyal-kham*, (Skt. *Náraka*) the lowest of all.

Bournouf‡ writing from Chinese and Ceylonese sources classes *mankind* above the *Lhamayin*, but the order now given is that adopted by the lamas. Existence in the first three worlds is considered superior or good and in the last three inferior or bad. And these worlds are shown in this relation in the picture, the highest being heaven and the lowest hell.

Theoretically the place of one's re-birth is determined solely by one's own deeds (*las* = Skt. *karma*) during the latest worldly existence; but the lamas now make faith, charms and ritual take to a large extent

* རྒ་ཤི །

† Hardy's *Man. of Buddhism*, p. 37. The lamaic account is contained in the 'mngon-pa-í mdsod', translated by Lotsawa Bande-dpal rtsegs from the work of the Indian Pandit slob-dpan dbyig-gnyen.

‡ *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 377.

the place of the good works of the earlier Buddhists. Happiness and misery in this life are the result of the virtue and vice of past existences; while virtue and vice in the present life are only rewarded or punished in the next existence.

The judgment scene.

The judgment in every case is done at the impartial tribunal of *Shinje Chhô-gyal** or 'Religious king of the Dead'—a form of the Hindu Yama. He is painted of fearful form, enveloped in flames and wielding a flaming sword, but this is his appearance only to the wicked. The religious see him in the mild form of Chénrési (*Avalokita*) as incarnate in the Dalai Lama of Lhasa—who he really is, according to the lamas and to give effect to this idea he is usually given a monster attendant on either side as representing Manjusri and Vajrapáni—this triad forming the *defensores fidei* of Lamaism. The judgment scene is figured in the upper portion of the compartment devoted to the Hells. Here are seen entering the presence of The Great Judge the souls of a lama, a king, a man, woman, and child:

"Souls that by Fate
"Are doomed to take new Shapes."

They are coming from *Bardo*, that is the ghostly state which intervenes between death and judgment, and during which the spirit is free to roam among its old haunts, and work harm on its quondam enemies and friends. During the interval of *Bardo* therefore, which lasts only for 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, 43, and at most forty-nine days, lamas are employed for a longer or less period, according to the means of the relatives, to prevent the wandering ghost harming the survivors. On arrival in the presence of the king of the dead, the soul is stripped of its clothes and manacled by the attendant *Shinjes* or underling Yamas. And at this juncture the personal angels of the individual who have accompanied him throughout his worldly life and also in *Bardo*—the good angel or *lha* who sat on his right shoulder and inspired him to good deeds, and the bad angel or *dud* (literally demon) who sat on his left shoulder and tempted him to sin—those two angels now leave him and become incorporated in the god and demon, who stand respectively on the right and left hand of the king of the dead as recording angels and advocates; and they now bear witness for and against the soul which is being tried. These personal angels are practically identical with the *Bonus Genius et Malus Genius* of the Romans—the Genium Album et Nigrum.†

The good angel pours out as white counters the good deeds done

* ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཤིན་རྗེ། †HORAT. 2 *Epist.*

by the individual during life; and the demon by black balls exposes the sins.* These are weighed one against the other in scales to ascertain which preponderates, and the result is called out to the judge.† There is also a record of the deeds in the book named *las-gya dé*. But this impartial judge does not implicitly trust his subordinates. He consults a divine mirror,‡ which he holds in his left hand, and in which the naked soul and all its past deeds, good and bad, are reflected, and he gives judgment accordingly.

Determination of place of rebirth.

If the virtues are in excess of the sins then the soul is reborn in one or other of the first three forms: as a god if the virtue be of the first degree, as an ungodly spirit if the virtue be of the second degree, and as a human being if the virtue is of the lowest order. While those whose sins preponderate are reborn in one or other of the last three forms, the most wicked going to hell and the least wicked to the beasts.

The details of these several regions and their inhabitants according to Tibetan books and traditions are as follow:—

The Gods.

I. The Gods or *LHA*. These are the gods of Hindu mythology rendered finite and subject to the general law of metempsychosis. Their life is the longest and most blissful of all the six states of being, but they too must die and be reborn in hell or another of the six regions. Their abode is an Olympus on the summit of Mount Ri-rab (Skt. *Meru*) an invisible mountain-heaven in the centre of the universe according to Hindu and Buddhist cosmography.

The atmosphere of this region is golden yellow. The picture of the region of the gods pourtrays the following states:—

1. *Godly Birth.* The god is born at once fully developed within a halo of glory from a lotus flower, and is provided with the special attributes of a god,—the oriental symbol of immaterial birth—*viz.*, (1) a lotus footstool, (2) splendid dress and ornaments, (3) goddess companions, (4) a *pag-sam-shing* (Skt. *Kalpataru*)§ or wish granting tree which instantly yields any fruit or food wished for, and bends

* This demon is more powerful than the good angel; and to indicate this and his knowledge of futurity the demon is given the 3rd eye—the eye of fore-knowledge.

† A similar ordeal by scales is a part of the creed of Muhammadans. Washington Irving's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 286.

‡ The *las-kyi melong* or 'mirror of deeds.

§ The Wish-granting tree of Indra's heaven is described in the 45th Section of the *S'ilpa S'astra*.

to the hand of the gatherer, (5) a wish granting cow which yields any drink wished for, (6) self-sprung crops (usually painted as Indian corn or maize), (7) in a golden stall a jewelled horse-of-fore-knowledge which Pegasus-like carries his rider wherever wished, throughout the worlds of the past, present, and future, (8) a lake of perfumed nectar (Skt. *Amrita*) which is the *elixir vitæ* and the source of the divine bodily lustre. Shining is a peculiarly divine attribute: the usually accepted etymology of the word for '*divinity*,' *viz.*, Skt. *Deva* and Latin *Deus*, is the root *Div*, 'to shine.'

2. *Godly Bliss.* The bliss of the gods is depicted by an assembly of be-jewelled gods and goddesses enjoying themselves in splendid palaces in the midst of a charming garden enamelled with flowers of which they make their wreaths. Gay birds warble in the foliage, and noble animals peacefully roam together there. Amongst the quadrupeds are deer, lions, and elephants with jewelled heads. Amongst the birds are the peacock, parrot, cuckoo and the '*Kala-pinka*,* which repeats the mystic 'Om mani padme, Hung.'! One of the blissful conditions of godly life especially dwelt upon, is that the most dainty morsels may be eaten without sense of repletion, the last more being as much relished as the first.

In the centre of this paradise, and on a somewhat more magnificient scale, is the palace of the superior gods entitled "the peerless palace of Indra,"† which is situated in the celestial City of Amarávatí —Indra's Capital. It is invested by a wall and pierced by four gates which are guarded by the four divine kings of the quarters. It is a three-storied building; Indra occupying the basement, Brahmá the middle and the indigenous Tibetan war-god—the *dGra-lha* the uppermost story.

The Heavens of the Lamas.

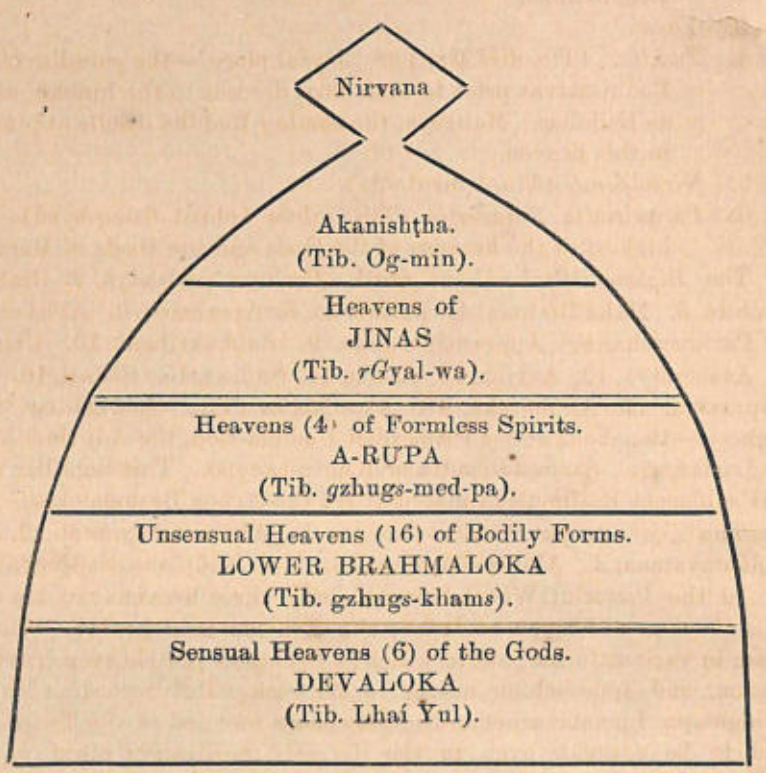
This curious perversion of the old Buddhist order of the heavens is typical of the more sordid devil-worship of the majority of the Lamas. The more learned Lamas, however, adhere to the orthodox Buddhist cosmogony and they pourtray the series of the heavens graphically in the form of a Chaitya, which I here reproduce, and which is very similar to that used diagrammatically by the Southern Buddhists.‡

* ཀ་འོ་བྱའི་སྐད ।

† 'The transcendentally superior house of Lha-i dbang-po brGya-byin.

‡ Upham's *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 74.

THE HEAVENS OF THE NORTHERN BUDDHISTS.



The *Trailokya* (Tib. 'Khams *gsum*' or 'The Three Regions; comprise The Regions of—

I. Desire, *Kámadhátu* (Tib. Dod-paí Khams). The lowest of the 3 regions, comprising the earth and the six *devalokas* (Tib. Lha-Yul) or Heavens of the Gods.

II. Form, *Rúpadhátu* (Tib. *gzugs* Kyi Khams) or form free from sensuality. It comprises the 18 Brahmalokas; which are divided into 4 regions of contemplation (Dhyána).

III. Formlessness, Arúpadhátu (Tib. *gzugs* med-paí Khams). The Highest of the Heavens and near to Nirvána.

The *Six Devalokas* are in series from below upwards:—

1. *Cháturmahárájakáyikas.*—The abode of the 4 Guardian Kings of the Quarters.

2. *Trayastriṅśas* (Tib. Sum-chu tsa sum) or 'The 33' Vedic Gods

with Indra (Jupiter) as chief. This heaven is the *Svarga* of Brahmanism.

3. *Yama.*

4. *Tushita.* (Tib. *d*Ga ldan) or 'Joyful place'—the paradise of the Bodhisattvas prior to their final descent to the human world as Buddhas. Maitreya, the coming Buddha dwells at present in this heaven.

5. *Nirmánarati* (Tib. *h*phrul *d*ga).

6. *Paranirmita Vaśavartin* (Tib. *g*zhan *h*phrul *d*bang byed)—the highest of the heavens of the Gods and the abode of Mára.

The *Eighteen Brahmalokas* are 1. Brahma parisadya, 2 Brahma purohita, 3. Mahá Brahma, 4. Parátábha, 5. Apramáṇa, 6. Ábhásvara, 7. Paritasubha, 8. Appramánasubha, 9. Subhakritsna, 10. Utpala, 11. Asañasatya, 12. Avriha, 13. Atapa, 14. Sudasa, 15. Sudasi, 16. Punyaprasava, 17. Anabhraka, 18. Akanishṭha (Tib. *Og-min*) or 'The Highest'—the abode of the Primordial Buddha-God, the Ádi Buddha of the Lamas, *viz.*, Samantabhadra or Kuntu-zangpo. This together with next subjacent Brahmaloka placed above the Arúpa Brahmalokas.

The *Four Arúpa Brahmalokas* are 1. Akásánantáyatana, 2. Vijñánántayatana, 3. Akinchañáyatana, 4. Naivásañjñana Sañjñayatana.

In the Pictorial Wheel however only three heavens are depicted, *viz.*: the sensual heaven of Indra, the Trayastrinśa (=33), with its desire in various forms; above which is Brahma's pure heaven free from passion, and approaching nearer to Nirváṇa. But according to the Nyingmapa Lamaic scheme the passionate war-god of the Tibetans is held to be superior even to the divinely meditative state of the Brahmaloka.

3. *War with the Asuras.* The Tibetan war-god is also figured as directing the army of the gods in their war with the Lhama-yin or Asuras who are constantly trying to obtain some of the precious fruit of the great *Yong du sa tol** (Skt. *Párijáta*) tree, or "tree of the concentrated essence of earth's products," whose branches are in heaven, but whose root trunk are in the country of the Lhama-yin. The climber which encircles this tree is called the *Jambuti* tree, and is the medium by which the quintessence of the most rare delicacies of Jambudvípa is instilled into the larger tree.

The story of the War-god.

To account for this high position thus given to the War-god, it is related that formerly in fighting for the fruits of this tree the Asuras were victorious; and the defeated gods under Indra besought *g*Sang

* ཡོངས་འདུས་ས་སྤྱི།

bai-*b*dag-po* for counsel. This divinity advised the gods to call to their aid the war-god *dGra-lha* and also to obtain from the depths of the central ocean the invisible armour and the 9 self-created weapons, viz., (1) *rMog-bya khyung-keng-riis*, a helmet of the skeleton bones of the Garuda bird. (2) *Khrab-nyi-shar-lto-rgyab*, the coat of mail shining like the sun. (3) *Lba-khebs-rdorje-go-chha*, necklet. (4) *Lak-hay-mtshön-chhā-lam-lok*, a weapon resisting and returning glove. (5) *Snying-khebs-mdah-mtshön-kun thub*, a breast-plate entirely able to withstand arrows and other weapons. (6) *Püs-khebs-nyes-pa-skyobs-ched*, a knee-cap which defends against destruction. (7) *Phubm-sba-dmar-gling-drug* a 6 embossed shield The nine sorts of weapons are:—(1) a *hKorlo* or spiked-wheel which entirely routes the enemy; (2) a *dGra-sta*, or an axe which chops the enemy; (3) a *ral-gri* or sword which slices the enemy; (4) a *Gzhu* or bow which scatters the brains of the enemy; (5) a '*mdah*' or arrow that pierces the vitals; (6) a *zhagspa* or noose which ensnares the enemy; (7) a *mDung* or spear which pierces the hearts of the foe. (8) a *Ur-rdo* a whirring sling-stone that produces the sound of a thunder-dragon, and (9) a *Dorje* or thunder-bolt which demolishes the enemy. The story seems founded on the Brahmanical legend of Indra's obtaining from the Sea the talismanic banner which conferred victory over his enemies.†

The gods having obtained these weapons and armour invited the war-god *dGra-lha*, who came enveloped in thunder-clouds and attended by his nine sons, but he demanded worship from Indra and the other gods as the price of his assistance. On receiving this adoration the *dGra-lha* marshalled the forces of the gods and repeating 'Hung!' thrice the warriors became dazzling bright, and shouting *Kye-kye!* thrice their armour shone, and saying *Bswa-bswa!* thrice they became heroes in strength; and shouting *Ha-ha!* thrice they assailed and utterly routed the Lhamayin. Since this time the gods have systematically worshipped the *dGra-hla*.

Appearance of the War-god.

The *dGra-hla*, who has many of the traits of the Hindu Ráhu, the monster who causes solar eclipses, is figured of white colour clad in golden mail and flying on a white horse through the clouds. In his uplifted right hand he holds a whip with three knots and in his left hand a red banner. His bow-sheath is of a leopard hide and his quiver of tiger skin. A sword is thrust into his waist-belt, and from each shoulder springs a lion and a tiger. The mirror of fore-knowledge is suspended

* =? Dorje-chhang.

† *Brihat Saṅhita*, translated by Dr. KERN, J. Roy. A. S., VI, p. 44.

from his neck. He is accompanied by a black dog, a black bear, and a man-monkey; and birds circle around his head. Under his direction the warrior-gods are hurling their weapons across the frontier with appaling effect on the army of the Lhamayin.

4. *The misery of the Gods.* The misery of the gods is also depicted. The god enjoys bliss for almost incalculable time; but when his merit is exhausted then his lake of nectar dries up, his wish-granting tree, cow and horse die, his splendid dress and ornaments disappear, his garden and flowers wither, his body no longer bathed by nectar loses its lustre and his person becomes loathsome to his goddess-companions and the other gods who shun him, and he dies miserably. If he has led a virtuous life during his existence as a god then he may be reborn in heaven otherwise he goes to a lower region and may even be sent to hell.

Misery of the gods.

II. The Titans or 'Ungodly Spirits'—the *LHAMAYIN*. These are the *Asuras* of Hindu mythology. Their leading trait is pride, and this is the world of rebirth for those who during their human career pharasaically boast of being more religious than their neighbours. The class of Lhamayin were originally gods; but, through their pride, they were like Satan expelled from heaven; hence their name, which means 'not a god.'*

The Asuras.

They occupy the region at the base of the Mount Ri-rab and are therefore intermediate in position between heaven and earth.

They have a duration of life infinitely greater than the human, and they have great luxury and resources for enjoyment; but through their pride they envy the greater bliss of the gods, and die prematurely, fighting vainly against the gods for some of the fruits of the heavenly wish-granting tree and the nectar.

Into this world, as into heaven, people are born at once fully grown from a lotus flower; and each immediately on birth receives a beauteous wife and a wish-granting tree and cow. The wish-granting tree and cow yield respectively whatever food or drink is wished for. But they receive no horse of fore-knowledge, or lotus-carpets like the gods.

They have three chiefs, the highest of whom is named *sGra-chen-hdsin* (Skt. *Rāhula*). The 3rd is 'the Commander of the Heroes' in their conflict with the gods under *Lhai-wang-po gya jin* (Skt. *Devendreśvara*).

Their region is represented of an almost colourless atmosphere. They live in a large fort, the chief building in which is the three-storied palace of their king occupying the highest and the Commander-in-chief the lowest. The ground, both inside and outside the fort, is carpeted with

* Analogous to this is the common colloquial term *mi-ma-yin* or 'not a man' applied to those who lead vicious and dissolute lives.

flowers of which the inhabitants, male and female, make the wreaths and garlands which they wear. They are dressed in silk; and when the heroes are not engaged in fighting they spend their times in all sorts of gaiety with their wives. In the right hand corner is shown the birth from the lotus flower and the acquirement of a mate, a wish-granting tree and a cow. The rest of the picture is devoted to their misery, which consists in their hopeless struggle and fatal conflict with the gods. The commander of the forces is seen in conclave with his leaders,* horses are being saddled and the 'heroes' are arming themselves with coats of mail and weapons. Another scene shows the battle raging along the border separating their country from heaven, and the General mounted with his staff as spectators in the background. The warriors of the first line are all killed and horribly mangled by the weapons hurled at them by the gods, these weapons being composed of adamant (*Dorje phāllom*), while the weapons of the *Lhamayin* are of mere iron. The Dorje—the thunderbolt of Jove is the peculiarly potent weapon of the gods. A most deadly weapon possessed both by gods and Lhamayin is a spiked wheel, which is thrown so as to revolve like a circular saw and each of the spikes is armed with a different sort of weapon. The other weapons used by both combatants are arrows, spears, swords, and hatchets. The second line of the troops is in full flight on perceiving the absolute defeat of their companions at the front.

The misery of the Asuras.

The ultimate fate of every Lhamayin is to die painfully warring against the gods with whom they are in constant conflict, and they have no access to the nectar with which a wounded god obtains instant recovery. Another scene depicts the women of the community gathered round "The Reflecting Lake of Perfect Clearness" after the departure of their mates to the battle. In this lake are mirrored forth all the doings and ultimate fate of their absent mates, and there is also shown the region of rebirth of themselves and their spouses—which is nearly always hell owing to the passionate life which they lead in the Asura world. And while their lovers die painful and passionate deaths, the misery of the womenfolk of this world is to look into this fascinating lake and experience the horror of such hideous spectacles. In the picture some women are shown peering into the lake and on the other two banks they are giving vent to their grief.

One of the chief sources of the miseries of the Lhamayin world is that it has no book and is therefore void of religion. In this view it is lower than the human world, though otherwise of higher rank.

* Note that greatness of rank is shown by enlarged bodily dimensions.

III. MANKIND. The atmosphere of this region is colourless or blue. It shows the miseries and strife of human existence as well as some of its pleasures.

Mankind.

The following phases of life are depicted amongst others :—

1*st.* Birth in a cottage.

2*nd.* Children at play.

3*rd.* Manhood, village scenes, people drinking wine under shade of a tree, a man playing a flute, women spinning and weaving, a borrower, two traders, a drunken man.

4*th.* Labour by sweat of brow, men tilling a field, gathering fuel in a forest, carrying a heavy load.

5*th.* Accident, a man and horse falling into a river.

6*th.* Crime, two men fighting, one under trial before the judge, and one undergoing corporal punishment.

7*th.* Temporal Government : the king and his ministers.

8*th.* Old age—decript old people.

9*th.* Disease, a physician feeling pulse of a patient.

10*th.* Death, a corpse with a lama feeling whether breath be extinct, and a lama at head doing worship, and a woman and other relatives weeping.

11*th.* Funeral ceremonies. A corpse being carried off to the funeral pyre on the top of a hill preceded by a lama blowing a thigh-bone trumpet (*kangling*) and rattling a *damaru* drum : he also has hold of the end of a white scarf which is affixed to the corpse. The object of this scarf is to guide the soul by the white path to the pyre so that it may be disposed of in the orthodox manner and have the best chance of a good re-birth, and may not stray and get caught by outside demons. Behind the corpse-bearer is a porter with food and drink offerings and last of all a mourning relative.

12*th.* Religion is represented by a temple placed above all other habitations with a lama and monk performing worship ; and a hermit in his cell with bell dorje, and *kangling* ; and a chhorten (chaitya) being circumambulated by a devotee.

The most pessimistic view is taken of human existence. It is made to appear as almost unalloyed misery—the sensations of ordinary heat and cold, thirst and hunger, depression of surfeiting with food, anxiety of the poor for their daily bread, of the farmer for his crops and cattle, unfulfilled desires, separation from relatives, subjection to temporal laws, infirmities of

Human miseries.

old age and disease and accidents are amongst the chief miseries referred to. The lamas categorically divide the miseries of human existence into 8 sections, *viz.* :—The miseries of (1) birth ; (2) old age ; (3) sickness ; (4) death ; (5) ungratified wishes and struggle for existence ; (6) misfortunes and punishments for law-breaking; (7) separation from relatives and cherished objects ; (8) offensive objects and sensations.

The Beasts.

IV. The Beasts. The atmosphere of this region is darker, but it has hills and trees and also some men as hunters and cattle owners ; as it is merely a different phase of the human world. This is a state of greater misery than the human.

This is the world of re-birth for the ignorant, irreligious, and *mu-steg-pa* (*viz.*, Brahmanical and other heretics) abusive disputators and savages (*k*la-*k*lo).

The inhabitants of this world are divided into (1) the 'free' (kha-*k*thor) or land and air animals, and (2) the imprisoned (*bying*) aquatic animals.*

The picture shows animals of various kinds devouring one another, the larger preying on the small ; and also small ones combining to hunt and kill the larger ones. Human hunters also are setting nets for, and others are shooting game. Domestic animals are shown laden with burdens or ploughing and being goaded, some are being milked and shorn of their wool, others are being branded or castrated or having their nostrils bored, others killed for their flesh or skin, &c. All are suffering great misery through anxiety and pain of preying or being preyed upon.

In the water is shown a merman—*Nága's* house, with its inmates in grief at being preyed upon by the Garuda a monster bird like the fabled *roc* which by the rush of air of its wings cleaves the sea to its depths in search for *Nágas*.

The Yidags.

V. The Tantalized Ghosts or *YIDAGS*. The atmosphere of this region is of a dark smoky colour. This is the special world of those who in their earthly career were miserly covetous, uncharitable or gluttonous. It is a kind of outer hell. Its inhabitants are in constant distress through the pangs of hunger and thirst. Jewels, food and drink are found in plenty, but the Yidags are given microscopic mouths and gullets no thicker in diameter than a hair through which they can never ingest a satisfying amount of food for their huge bodies. And when any food

* Ruskin says "a fish is much freer than a man"—but the Lamas think otherwise.

is taken it becomes burning hot and changes in the stomach into sharp knives, saws, and other weapons which lacerate their way out from the bowels to the surface making large painful wounds. Their constant thirst is expressed by a flame which is seen to issue from their mouth and whenever they attempt to touch water it changes to liquid fire; frequently Avalokita is figured in the act of giving water to these Yidags to relieve their misery. And their tiny legs are unable to support comfortably their large bodies. Four kinds of Yidags are specified, *viz.*,—(1) *phyiyi sgrib-pa chan* or 'the foreign or gentile polluted beings.' (2) *Nang-gi sgrib-pa chan* or the lamaic polluted beings, (3) *Zas-skom-gyi sgrib-pa chan* or the eating and drinking polluted beings—these are they who on eating and drinking have the ingested material converted into lacerating weapons, and (5) *kha-thor* or free Yidags.' These are not confined in the Yidag prison but are free to roam about in the human world where they endeavour to injure man.

The Hells.

VI. The Hells or *NYAL-KHAM** (Skt. *Náraka*). The atmosphere of the hells is represented of the deepest black:

"Light was absent all. Bellowing there groan'd
A noise, as of a sea in tempest torn
By warring winds, the stormy blast of hell."

Dante Canto V. 29.

The lamaic hell is a true Inferno situated in the bowels of the earth like Hades. Only eight hells are mentioned in the older Buddhist works; but the lamas describe and figure eight hot and eight cold hells and give two extra hells, named respectively *nyal-tshe-wa*† which includes the state of being flies and insects in the human world, and *nye-khor-wa* an outer Hades through which all those escaping from hell must pass without a guide.

Outer Hells.

The Nye-khor‡ is at the exit from, and outside Hell, preperly so called. It is divided into five sections. The first bordering hell consists of hot suffocating ashes with foul, dead bodies and all kinds of offal. Then is reached a vast quagmire, beyond which is a forest of spears and spikes. Then a great deep ocean of freezing water; on the further shore of which the ground is thickly set with short squat tree trunks each surmounted by three sharp spikes which impale the unwary groping fugitives. Refer-

* དམྱལ་ཁམས །

† ཉེ་ཚེ་བ་ = 'near to life.'

‡ ཉེ་འཁོར་ = 'near to cycle' (*i. e.*, re-birth).

ence to these last two localities occurs in the ordinary Litany for the dead which says-' may his *chhu-wo-rab-med* ocean become a small rivulet, and the *shal-ma-ri* tree a *pag-sam shing* or divine wish-granting tree."

Hot and cold Hells.

Those who have sinned in anger are sent to the hot hells; while those who have sinned through stupidity go to the cold hells; and each receive punishment appropriate to his misdeeds during life. The duration of stay in the cold hells is very much shorter than in the hot hells as the sin is of a more passive and venial kind.

The Hot Hells.

The hot hells are seen in the picture to to the left (of the spectator) and the cold hells to the right. The hot hells of the lamas bear names of apparently identical meaning with hells of the Southern Buddhists. The cold hells seem to be an invention of the lamas.

I. The Hot Hells. These are enveloped by a wall of fire and many of the fearful scenes are fit to illustrate Dantes' *Inferno*. The *shinjes* or executioners are hideous flame-enveloped monsters with heads of various animals, and all their pincers and other instruments of torture are red-hot. The following are the hot hells.

1. *Yang sö** (Skt. *Samjíva*) = ' again revived.' Here the bodies are cut and torn to pieces and then reunited, only to have the process repeated *ad infinitum* throughout the period spent in hell. This restoration of the body is an essential part of the process in all the hells. The body when thoroughly mangled is restored and the racking torture applied afresh, so that the agony never ceases.

2. *Thí-nag*† (Skt. *Kálasútra*) = ' black lines.' Here the bodies are nailed down and 8 or 16 black lines drawn aloug the body which is then sawn asunder along these lines by a burning hot saw. Another punishment here is the especial one of the slanderer or gossiper who has his or her tongue enlarged and pegged out and constantly harrowed by spikes ploughing through it.

3. *Du-jom*‡ (Skt. *Samgháta*) = ' concentrated oppression.' Here bodies are squeezed between animal headed mountains, or monster iron books, this last is an especial punishment for monks, laymen and infidels who have disregarded or profaned the scriptures, and also for priests who have taken money for masses which they have not performed. Others here are pounded in iron mortars and beaten on anvils.

4. *Ngu-böd*§ (Skt. *Raurava*) = ' weeping and screaming.' The torture here is to be kept in glowing white iron houses and have melted iron poured down the throat.

* ཡང་སོས། † ཐིག་ནག། ‡ སྡུག་འཇོམས། § ངུ་འབོད།

5. *Ngu bod chhenpo* (Skt. *Mahâraurava*)='greater weeping and screaming.' Here they are cooked in cauldrons of molten iron.

6. *Tshawa** (Skt. *Tápana*)='heat.' The body is cast upon and transfixed by flaming iron spikes in a fiery chamber.

7. *Rab tu tshawa* (Skt. *Pratápana*)='highest heat.' A three spiked burning spear is thrust into body, and the latter is then rolled up within red-hot iron plates.

8. *Nar-med*† (Skt. *Avíchi*='endless torture.' This is the most severe and longest punishment. The body is perpetually kept in flames though never consumed. This is the hell for those infidels and others who have injured or attempted to injure Lamaism or Buddhism.

The Cold Hells.

II. The Cold Hells are encircled by icy mountains and have attendants of appalling aspect, as in the hot hells.

1. *Chhu-bur chen* (Skt. *Arbuda*)='blistered or chapped.' The torture here is constant immersion of the naked body in icy cold water, under which the body becomes covered with chilblains.

2. *Chhu-bur dolwa* (Skt. *Nirarbuda*).‡ The chilblains are forcibly cut and torn open producing raw sores.

3. *A-chhu* (Skt. *Aṭaṭa*)='Achhu' an exclamation of anguish beyond articulate expression—which resounds though this hell.

4. *Kyi-hüd* (Skt. *Hahava*). A worse degree of cold in which the tongue is paralysed and the exclamation *Kyi-hü* or *Ha-ha* alone possible.

5. *So-tham-pa* (Skt. *Ahaha*). Here both jaws and teeth are spasmodically clenched through cold.

6. *Ut-pal tar gé-pa* (Skt. *Utpala*).§ Livid sores which become everted like blue Ut-pal flowers.

7. *Péma tar gé-pa* (Skt. *Padma*). The raw sores become like red lotus flowers.

8. *Péma Chhenpo tar gé-pa* (Skt. *Puṇḍaríka*). Raw sores where the flesh falls away from the bones like the petals of the great red lotus; and which are continually pecked and gnawed by birds and insects with iron beaks.

Duration of torment in hell.

It is a redeeming feature of the Buddhist hell that its torment is not everlasting. After the sins which have been committed in the previous existence are expiated—which may require a period ranging from a year, or two, to thousands of years, the soul is reborn in another world, usually the human. This result is due to the merit of good works done in a former existence. The lamas explain it by saying that it is

* རྩོད་པ། † མནར་མེད། ‡ ཀྲུ་གྱུར་ཞེས་པ། § པདྨ་དཀར་ཆེན་པོ་ལས་པ།

like the discharge of a criminal who has expiated his offence in jail; on release he gets back his clothes and any other properties he can justly lay claim to, and also the benefit of any virtuous deeds he formerly had done.

Extraction from hell by the Lamas.

But through the aid of the lamas the duration of the stay in hell can be reduced to a few days or even hours. Although the ordinary mass for the dead urges the spirit to proceed direct to the Western Paradise, in practice the vast majority of human beings go inevitably to hell—the proportion of those who escape hell being not greater than the proportion which the quantity of earth which can lie on a finger nail bears to a fistful of earth. As a consequence special prayers to neutralize this hell-going tendency are always done within the period of *Bardo, i. e.*, 49 days succeeding death; and when the Bardo period is over, it is customary to apply to the lamas for information as to where the soul then is. The lamas on casting lots and referring to certain books find the particular hell in which the soul is being tortured. An elaborate and costly worship is then prescribed for the extraction of the soul, and this is usually declared successful, though not unfrequently it is declared—as in the case of the priest and his client in Lever's Story—to be only partially effectual, and then it has to be repeated on a still more costly scale. The usual worship done in such cases is called *dge-ba* or virtue. It consists of offerings of (1) food, lamps, &c., to the Gods; (2) food, money, and other presents to the Lamas; (3) and of food, beer, clothes and other charity to the Poor. And the Lamas in return for their fees do masses, and especially appeal to *Thukje Chhenbo* or 'The Greater Pitier' who presides over the six worlds. The lamaic hell is not of a purgatorial or cleansing nature. It is merely a place of expiation where punishment is awarded in proportionate degrees for offences committed during the previous existence.

The six Thub-pas.

The six *Thub-pas* (=Skt. *Muni*) who preside over the six worlds appear only in the 'newer' style of the Wheel of Life. They are all 'emanations' from Chenresi in his form of 'the great pitier.' Out of pity for the misery of the animal beings of the six worlds he became incarnate in each of these worlds. (1) In the world of the gods as *rGya-byin dkar-po* or the white, vast giver (Indra), with a harp and the mystic six-syllables (*i. e., Om mani padma Hung !*) he soothes the gods' misery of *kpho-thing*. (2) In the Lhamayin world as *Thags-bzang-ris ljang-khu* or the green weaver of good figures (and 2nd in rank to Rahula) dressed in full armour or holding a coat-of-mail he assists the Lhamayin in their

by Ilth but at the same time represses their fighting propensities. (3) In the human world as *Shakya Ser-po* or 'the Golden Śakya Muni' with an alarm-stick and begging bowl he preaches salvation to men. (4) In the world of the beasts as *Senge-rab-rtan mthing-ga* or 'the Indigo coloured highest supported Lion,' holding a book he preaches the six syllables. (5) In the world of the Yidags as *Kha-hbar dmar-po* or 'the Red Burned Mouth, holding a cowrie-shaped box, he preaches the six syllables. (6) In hell as *Chhos-rgyal nag-po* or the Black King of Religion, holding water and fire he preaches the six syllables.

It is possible that this introduction of Chenresi into each of the six worlds and his identification also with the Judge of the Dead was the invention of the great Priest-King, Lama Ngag-wang Lô-zang, with the view of increasing his own and successors' prestige as the human incarnation of Chenresi (Avalokita), the Judge of the Dead and the Regent of each of the worlds of Existence.

The Ajanta 'Zodiac.'

We are now in a position to examine the mutilated fragment of the Indian picture—the so-called 'Zodiac'—in the Ajaṇṭa cave. When Mr. Ralph visited this cave in 1828,* only about a third apparently was then wanting. In 1879 Mr. Burgess notes that only 'a mere fragment now remains,'† and it is the photograph of this fragment which is the only illustration now extant; and as this photograph has not been published and it is essential for comparison with the Tibetan form of the picture it is here re-produced *vide* plate VII.

Its details.

This Ajaṇṭa picture it will be at once remarked differs from that above described, mainly in is realistic details being restricted to different phases of human and animal life.

Its monster-holder.

The monster who holds the disc has, as in the Tibetan picture, gripped it with his tusks; but his hands have not seized it with such firmness, and he wears bracelets and other ornaments—in some of the Tibetan pictures he is also represented with ornaments. Burgess notes,‡ that the arms of this monster are *green*. It is probable that originally brown pigment has become thus changed, by oxidation or otherwise, during the lapse of centuries, as in Tibet the monster who holds the disc is always painted brown.

The external snake.

In the centre of the disc are no symbolized orginal sins; but the snake which is one of this triad is figured outside and to the left of the disc holding

* *B. A. S. J.*, 1836.

† *The Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, 1879, p. 62. ‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

persons in a variety of occupations enslaved in its coils. It is fail; ce that the remaining two original sins were also figured outside the justl:. An animal resembling a pig seems to have seized hold of the nal had this snake.

Its pictorial Nida'-nas.

The pictures around the margin of the disc illustrating the causes of re-birth are of special interest for their metaphorical meaning. Burgess' statement that these have been sixteen in number was evidently deduced from the first pair almost coinciding with one of the internal divisions; but it will be noticed that none of these pictures really bear any such exact relation to the internal divisions. The original number must have been twelve.

As the fragment comprises little more than defaced portions of the upper half of the disc, we have only the first six and the last three pictorial causes of re-birth for comparison with those of the lamaic picture.

1*st.* *Avidyá*—which seems here to have been made the twelvth Niḍána—is figured as a man leading a (blind ?) camel, instead of a man leading an old blind woman as in the lamaic picture. The idea is practically the same; but the difference in the emblem picture, it seems to me, is easily explained. The Lamas constructed many of their copies of the larger Indian Buddhist pictures and images from the written descriptions and notes of pilgrims. The Tibetan word for 'a camel' is 'rnga-mo' and for 'an old woman' 'rgad-mo' (the *d* is silent); and as camels are almost unknown in Central Tibet, the word for camel was evidently interpreted as 'an old woman' to which word it bears such close resemblance. We may take it for granted that the camel of the Indian picture was *blind*, as blindness is always an essential part of the Lamaic definition of this emblem.

2*nd.* *Saṅskára.* This is identical with the Lamaic picture, *viz*, a potter making pots.

3*rd.* *Vijṇána.* This too is identical with the lamaic picture.

4*th.* *Náma-rúpa.* This too is identical with the lamaic picture.

5*th.* *Shaḍáyatana* or '*The sense organs.*' This is pictured by a mask, —which is a much better representation of 'the empty house' of the senses than the empty house ordinarily depicted by the lamas.

6*th.* *Sparśa* or '*Contact.*' Only the feet of two figures are seen, but the attitude and dress seem to indicate 'a pair of lovers kissing' as in the lamaic picture for No. VII. In most Tibetan pictures I have noticed that causes Nos. VI and VII are transposed.

10*th* *Bhava.* What I consider to be No. X, may be a pregnant woman drinking nourishment.

11*th*. *Játi* or '*Birth*' represents a child connected by a 'navel-string' with its parent.

12*th*. *Jarámaraṇa* or '*Decay and Death*.' This is a sitting figure, which the lamas, to whom I have shown the picture, say is a corpse bound and ready for removal.

A pictorial cycle of Buddha's own existence.

The body of the disc appears to have been divided by radii into eight compartments, of which only portions of five now remain. The scenes in these compartments, seem to me, illustrations of some of the more celebrated of the mythical former births of Buddha as contained in the Játaka tales, *e. g.*, a brahman giving charity, existence as Indra and earthly kings, a *garuḍa* and snake, an elephant, a deer, a monkey, a pigeon, a thief, ascetic, &c., &c. This Ajaṇṭa picture therefore seems to be the Pictorial Cycle of Existence of Buddha himself.

The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study.—*By* Major H. G. Raverty, *Bombay Army (Retired)*.

(With three plates).

The identification of the routes taken by Alexander the Macedonian, and the countries, towns, and rivers mentioned in his campaigns, extending from the mountains of Hindú-Kush to the Persian Sea, included in the present Afghán state, the territory of the Panj-áb, and Sind, has exercised the ingenuity of many oriental scholars, and also of many students of oriental subjects.[1] Later on come the travels of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, of whom the former visited India about seven hundred, and the latter nearly one thousand years, after the time of Alexander; and these also exercise the ingenuity of scholars and students, and exercise it very greatly too, particularly the travels of the last named pilgrim, who enters into much greater detail. He remained many years in India, and is said to have been "well-versed in the Turkí and Indian languages," but he chose to write all the names of places and persons in the Chinese.

Most of the writers on these subjects, if we exclude their "identifications" in the Afghán state, appear to have based their theories chiefly upon the *present courses* of the rivers of Northern and Western India, which, probably, have altered their courses a hundred times over, and to have expected to find places on their banks *now* as they stood

[1] I make a difference between the two, as between those who can refer to the native writers for themselves, and those who have to depend upon Dow's and Briggs's 'Ferishta,' and the like.

more than two thousand years ago.[2] I am not going to attempt, in the present paper, to improve upon these interesting researches, although I cannot help, farther on, pointing out two or three palpable errors. What I propose to do here is to notice some of the numerous fluctuations in the courses of the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus,[3] and of the rivers of the Panj-áb. The changes in the courses of two of these rivers, together with the drying up of the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Bahindah, were so considerable that they reduced a vast extent of once fruitful country to a howling wilderness, and thus several flourishing cities and towns became ruined or deserted by their inhabitants.

At page 1150 of my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," there is an account of the despatch of armies into different parts on the accession of Kyuk Khán as ruler over the Mughal empire founded by his grandfather, the Chingiz, or Great Khán.

One of these armies was detailed for the invasion of Hindústán; and the Nú-ín or Nú-yán (both modes of writing this title being correct), Mangútah, who was at the head of the Mughal *mings* or *hazárahs* occupying, or located in, the territories of Tukháristán, Khatl-án,[4] and Ghaznín,[5] was appointed leader of the forces in question. He was an aged man, and had been one of the Chingiz Khán's favourite officers.

In the year 643 H., which commenced on the 28th May, 1245 A. D., he invaded the Dihlí Kingdom by way of the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, and the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, keeping along its western frontier, and entering the province dependent on Multán. His object was first to assail the frontier strongholds of Multán and Uchchah or Uchchh, both then situated in one and the same Do ábah, the Sind-Ságar above mentioned. He began with Uchchh, which, at the period in

2 See note farther on.

3 I need scarcely mention that the name Indus was, and is unknown to Oriental geographers and historians. It was Europeanized, if I may say so, by the Greeks out of Sindhu, or they may have called it the Indus as being *the* river separating Hind from Irán-Zamín, their "Ariana," and not intending it to be understood that Indus was the proper name of the river; for it was known to the Hindús as 'Sindhu' or '*the* River,' and 'Áb-i-Sind' by the early Muhammadan writers, and sometimes 'Nahr-i-Mihrán.

4 Incorrectly styled "*Khotlán*" in the "essay" by Yule, in Wood's "Oxus" and other books of travels: the first vowel is short 'a.' This district or territory was famous for its horses, which, from the country, were known as Khatli horses.

5 The name of this famous city is thus written by the oldest authors, *nih* being the Tájzík for city. The other forms of the word are merely vitiated forms of the above. "Ghazna," as some European authors write it, is totally wrong. The other forms of the word are Ghaz-nín, and Ghaz-ní, but the first is the correct one.

question, was under the charge of the Khwájah (Eunuch) Sáliḥ, the Koṭ-wál, who was acting as the Deputy of the feudatory of the district, Mu-ayyid-ud-Dín, Hindú Khán, the Treasurer of the Dihlí kingdom.[6] At this period, Multán and its territory was in the possession of Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, Ḳarlugh, Ḳárlúḳ, or Ḳarluḳ Turk, who was not a vassal of the Dihlí kingdom,[7] and who had lately been dispossessed of his own territories beyond the Indus by the Mughals, and had recently seized upon Multán.

In due course the Nú-ín Mangútah, reached the banks of the Sind near Uchchh—it must have been about the middle of October of that year, as the news reached Dihlí in the following month, in Rajab—and Malik Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, speedily abandoned Multán, and, embarking on the Áb-i Sind, started down that river in order to gain Sindú-stán, as the city of Síw-istán and its territory, since known as Sihwán, was then called, to gain the port of Dewal or Debal ('*b*' and '*w*' being interchangeable) on the sea coast of Sind.[8]

[6] See under "Shamsíah Maliks," no. ix, page 744 of the "Ṭabaḳát" Translation, and also page 809. There it says the Mughals "invested the fortress of Uchchh, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and the territory of Mansúrah"; and, that, "Within that fortress, a Khwájah-Saráe [Eunuch], one of the servants of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, Abú-Bikr, named Mukhliṣ-ud-Dín, was the Koṭ-wál Bak [Seneschal], and a slave of Kabír Khán, Aḳ-Sunḳar, by name, was the Amír-i-Dád [Lord Justiciary].

[7] He was independent, and coined money in his own name. At the period referred to, after having previously submitted to the Mughals, he found their yoke so unbearable that he abandoned Ghaznih, Ḳarmán, and the territory north of, and including, the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range, and occupied Multán. Some of the coins of this same Ḳárlúgh Malik have recently been found near the village of Chittah in that very Koh-i-Júd. The tribe of Ḳárlúgh, Ḳarlugh, Ḳárlúḳ, or Ḳarluḳ Turks gave name to the tract of country in the Panj-áb, miscalled by us "Hazara" but in history, called the country or district of the Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh, that is, where the *naing*, or *hazárah*, or legion, consisting of Ḳárlúgh Turks, was located when the Khwárazm Sháhs dominated over those parts. See the Society's "Transactions" for November, 1889, where the coins of Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, are noticed under the designation of "Qurlagh." In Thomas's "*Pathán Kings of Dehlí*," he is called "a rebel" at page 97, but, as he was never subject to the Dihlí rulers, he was not a rebel. He was a feudatory under the Khwárazm Sháhs who held those parts, and, after their fall, had to submit to the Mughals. More respecting him and his son will be found in my Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. See notes on page 175, and page 177. His son, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was neither "a powerful monarch," nor did he ever hold dominions in Sind. See "Ṭ aḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 781, 859, 877, and 1154.

[8] If Multán had then another broad and unfordable river immediately on its west side, as the Chin-áb now flows, Malik Ḥasan would scarcely have needed to evacuate Multán, and probably would not have done so, and, certainly, not with

Mangútah having made his preparations, proceeded to invest Uchchh. The author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí says, that he first destroyed the environs and neighbourhood round about the city. "The people of the fortress put forth the utmost exertions and diligence, and used immense endeavours in defending the place, and despatched great numbers of the Mughals to hell." Having failed in all their endeavours to take the place, and, in the last assault, having lost one of their principal leaders, and hearing of the near approach of the forces of the Dihlí kingdom under Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, in person, they began to give up hopes of taking the fortress. To continue in the words of the author: "When the sublime standards reached the banks of the river Bíáh, the army moved along its banks[9] towards Uchchh, as has been previously related and recorded. On the Mughal forces becoming aware of the advance of the forces of Islám, and the vanguard of the warriors of the faith having reached within a short distance of the territory [dependent on Uchchh], they did not possess the power of withstanding them. They retired disappointed from before the fortress of Uchchh, and went away; and that stronghold, through the power of the sovereign of Islám, and the Divine aid, remained safe from the wickedness of those accursed ones."

This detailed account of the investment of Uchchh is kept by the author for the last part of the Ṭabaḳát, but he also refers to the event in two earlier passages. Under the reign of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, page 667, he says: "In the month of Rajab of this same year, news was received from the upper provinces, of an army of infidel Mughals having advanced towards Uchchh, of which force the accursed Mangútah was the leader. Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, for the

such precipitation as he used on the occasion in question. At that period, however, *no river* intervened between Multán and the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, which was almost as close to it then as the Chin-áb is now, and, consequently, Malik Ḥasan's retreat might have been cut off. He, accordingly, embarked on the combined rivers Chin-áb (including the Bihat) and Ráwí, which then ran north and *east* of Multán, and united with the Bíáh some miles farther south, and so, placing a river between himself and the Mughals, he was enabled to get down into Sind, without danger of molestation, by the Bíáh and Hakrá, or Wahindah, into Lár, or Debal.

What afterwards became of him has never been mentioned in history, and it is not improbable that he may have reached the Dakhan, and have taken service there, and there ended his days. An account of the Ḳárlúgh or Ḳarlugh Turks will be found in my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 877, and note to page 1130.

9 This was after the combined Bihat, Chin-áb, and Ráwí had united with it, and below the point of junction indicated in the map showing the ancient courses of these rivers at the period in question which will be given later on.

purpose of repelling the Mughal forces, assembled the troops of Islám from various parts. On their arrival on the banks of the Bíáh, the infidels withdrew from before Uchchh, and that success was gained. The writer of this work was in attendance on the sublime Court on that expedition; and persons of understanding and men of judgment agreed, that no one could point out to view anything of an army like that host and gathering in years gone by. When information of the numbers and efficiency of the victorious forces of Islám reached the infidels, they decamped, and retired towards Khurásán again."

In his account of Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban,[10] who, before he succeeded to the throne, bore the title of Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, the author says: "In this same year [643 H.], Mangútáh, the accursed, who was one of the Mughal leaders,[11] and of the Maliks of Turkistán, led an army from the borders of Ṭáe-ḳán and Ḳunduz, into the territories of Sind, and invested the fortress of Uchchh, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and of (*i. e.*, included in) the territory of Manṣúrah. * * * While every one of the [other] Amírs and Maliks was showing indecision about this undertaking, Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam showed determination in carrying it out; and, when the royal standards moved forwards towards that [threatened] quarter, Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam—Be his power prolonged!—despatched guides in advance on the line of route, so that [the troops] used to get over the marches with rapidity. He was wont to represent to the troops that the [next] halting place would be about eight *kuroh* off, and [consequently] about twelve *kuroh*, and even more than that, they used to march, until the troops reached the banks of the Bíáh, and passed over that river; and he conducted them to the banks of the Ráwah [Ráwí] of Láhor.[12]

[10] See the Shamsíáh Maliks, No. XXV, page 809.

[11] This same leader had been one of the commanders with the Bahádur, Tá-ír, who, in the sixth month of 639 H. (December, 1241 A. D.), had attacked and sacked Láhor, the whole of the inhabitants of which were either massacred or carried off captive. See "Translation," pages 727, and 1132-1136.

[12] As the Bíáh and Ráwí then flowed, centuries before either the Sutlaj or the Bíáh deserted its bed, the Dihlí forces would be in the fork between the Ráwí and the Bíáh, in the Bárí Do-ábah, near their junction, with their flanks protected by the rivers, and in a position to threaten the Mughal line of retreat. Having crossed the Ráwí above the junction, or below the junction of the three rivers, they could have marched down the Do-ábah to Uchchh without having any other river to cross, and reinforcements from Multán could have joined them. On the other hand, they would have caught the Mughals in the fork between the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, which flowed near Uchchh on the west, and the Sind Rúd, described further on, on the east, both unfordable rivers, and, in case of defeat, the Mughals would have been

"In this manner used he to show such-like determination on this expedition, and such lion-heartedness, and was wont to stimulate the Sultán and Maliks to repel the infidel Mughals, until Monday, the 25th of the month Sha'bán, 643 H. (about the last week in January, 1246 A. D.), when intimation reached the royal camp that the army of infidel Mughals had raised the investment of Uchchh. The cause of it was, that, on reaching the vicinity of the river Bíáh, Ulugh Khán i-A'zam appointed couriers, and directed so that they wrote letters from the sublime presence to the garrison of the fort of Uchchh, and announced to them the approach of the royal standards, the vast number of the array and elephants, the host of cavalry with the army, and the courage of the soldiery in attendance at the august stirrup, and despatched them towards the fortress of Uchchh. A division of the army was moved on in front, to act as a reconnoitring force and form the advanced guard.

"When the couriers reached the vicinity of Uchchh,[13] a few of these letters fell into the hands of the host of the accursed,[14] and some reached the people of the fortress. On the drum of joy being beaten in the fort, and the subject of the letters, the advance of the victorious army, and approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the accursed Mangútah, and the cavalry of the advanced guard approaching the banks of the river Bíáh of Láhor, near to the frontiers of the territory of Sind, fear and terror became manifest in the heart of the Mughal [leader].

"When Mangútah became aware of the advance of this great army," the author continues, "and that it moved towards the river Bíáh,[15] near the skirts of the mountains, and from thence, in the same manner, was marching downward along the banks of that river,[16] he made inquiry of

caught in a trap and annihilated. Such being the case, the Mughals retired by three divisions, up the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah by the route they had come, keeping close to the east bank, before any of the Dihlí troops, beyond the detachment referred to, had crossed the Ráwí.

13 It is probable, nay, almost certain, that these couriers came down the right bank of the Bíáh the whole way, leaving the great army when it crossed the Bíáh and the Ráwah or Ráwí on the way to Láhor. A glance at the map indicating the former course of the Bíáh and the other rivers will show why they did so.

14 The author had good reason for calling the Mughals "accursed." They had ruined and depopulated his native country and the parts adjacent, the tracts between Hirát and Kábul and Ghaznín, exceedingly populous and flourishing before the invasion of the Mughals, from whose devastations they have not recovered to this day.

15 Thus showing that it still flowed in its old bed; for, after it left it, it lost its name, and that was only in the last century.

16 Below the junction with the others previously mentioned as uniting with it near Multán to the south.

some persons what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islám towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by Sarastí and Márúṭ was nearer. They replied, that, on account of the number of islands on the banks of the river,[17] there might not be a road for the army of Islám. Mangútah remarked: "This is a vast army: we have not the power to resist it: it is necessary to retire;" and fear overcame him and his army, lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off.[18] Their army was formed into three divisions, and routed, they fled, and numerous captives, both Musalmán and Hindú, obtained their liberty."

Before I proceed to adduce my authorities and information on this subject, I had better refer, as briefly as possible, to an article which appeared in a late number of the *Calcutta Review*, entitled "The Lost River of the Indian Desert."[19]

The writer of the article in question, in support of his arguments respecting the period at which he supposes the Hakṛá to have disappeared, or, more correctly, the period at which its waters ceased to flow, quotes the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" as his authority, from *a portion only* of that work contained in Elliot's "Indian Historians," Vol. II, p. 363, which was translated by the late Mr. J. Dowson, Hindústání Professor

[17] To this the following note was appended. "Long, narrow banks of sand, probably extending, in places, for several miles, and sometimes, of some height, are doubtless meant here, such as are found after the annual inundations, with water, sometimes of considerable depths between; and to the effects of the past inundation, the people no doubt referred. These would have caused great obstruction, and have taken much time to cross, as well as have entailed great trouble, therefore, the forces of Dihlí kept farther north, and made their march a flank movement at the same time, which may have been the original intention. In what direction they went may be seen farther on." Here it has been already related.

[18] I wish this last expression to be particularly noticed. See also, and compare, this passage with that in Elliot's *Historians*, Vol. II, pp 363-64.

[19] I may mention that part of the present paper was originally intended as a note to the investment of Uchchh in my "Translation" [See page 1155], but, on after consideration, on account of its length, I thought it would be more advisable to publish it as a separate article in the "*Journal*," after completing the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. I unfortunately mislaid the rough draft, which our lamented friend, Mr. Arthur Grote, saw and read over; and he agreed with me, that it was better adapted for publication in a separate form. In March 1887 I found the MS. quite unexpectedly, among some maps, after I had given up all hope of seeing it again, as I feared I had burnt it, by mistake, along with some old proofs of the "Translation." The appearance of another article on the same subject, by Mr. R. D. Oldham, in the Society's "*Journal*," No. IV of 1886, determined me no longer to delay its publication. What I have here stated will explain my reference to "a late number of the *Calcutta Review*."

at the Staff College, previously alluded to, from the incorrect Persian text of the original published at Calcutta; but, from that translated portion contained in Elliot's work, the *detailed* account of the investment of Uchchh is omitted altogether. Thus it will be seen, that the observations contained in the *Calcutta Review* article, are based entirely upon this single extract in Elliot's "Historians."[20] The writer, consequently, has been *partly* misled by the rendering of an incorrect passage in the Calcutta printed text, as stated in a note to my "Translation," and *partly* by his *own* errors in reading "*drought*" where "*fissures*" are mentioned in Elliot, and in losing sight occasionally of the old course of the Bíáh, or "Bias" previous to its junction with the Sutlaj, when both rivers lost their names and became the Haríárí, Nílí or Gharah.

The passage quoted from Elliot occurs in the account of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, under the events of the year 643 H., and is as follows. "In this year the accursed Mankútí (Mangú Khán)[21] marched from the neighbourhood of Tálikán and Kunduz into Sindh. * * * The Dihlí army arrived on the banks of the Biyáh, made the transit of the river, and reached Láhor on the banks of the Rávi. * * * Trusty men record that when Mankútí heard of the approach of the army of Islám, under the royal standard, that it proceeded by the river Biyáh, near the skirts of the hills, and that it was advancing along the banks of the river, he

[20] My translation of this particular portion of it, perhaps, had not reached India at the time.

[21] The late Mr. J. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's "Historians of India," and translator of some, and reviser of all the extracts from the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí contained in that work, turned the old, one-eyed leader of the time of the Chingiz Khán into Mangú Khán, his grandson, and called him *Mankútí* instead of Mangútah. The Great Ḳá'án, Mangú, was the son of the Chingiz Khán's youngest son, and did not succeed to the sovereignty until *five years after* this investment of Uchchh, which happened during the reign of Kayuk, and, moreover, he was never near the Indus in his life, nor within hundreds of miles of it. See "Ṭabaḳát," Translation, note to page 1180. Blochmann, in his printed text of the A'ín-i-Akbarí, where this investment is briefly referred to, has منلویه, the shoulder of the ك being left out, made that letter '*l*' instead of '*g*,' and the letter ت—'*t*'—has been turned upside-down and made ي—'*y*.' These are probably printer's errors, because in the MSS. of the work the name is correctly written. The author of the "*Notes on the Lost River*," presently to be noticed, also has "Mangú Khán," but "Mankútí" *is left out altogether!*

It is wonderful how people will jump at impossible conclusions; and because one of the Mughal sovereigns was called منكو—Mangú—which name they may have read of, immediately they see the word منكوته—Mangútah—they at once assume that the former must be meant, and this, too, when the author in another place had stated, that Mangútah was an aged man, with dog-like eyes—[some copies have 'one-eyed'], and that he had been one of the Chingiz Khán's favourites.

See "Ṭabaḳát," Translation, note to page 1180.

made inquiry of a party (of prisoners)[22] why the army of Islám marched along the bases of the mountains, for the route was long, and the way by Sarsutí and Marút (Mírat?)[23] was nearer? He was answered that *the numerous fissures on the banks of the river* rendered the way impossible for the army."[24]

The writer of the *Calcutta Review* article on the "Lost River," might have noticed, that, in a foot-note, the editor and translator says, "*The text*—از کثرت جر بر کنار آب راه نباشد[25] *is far from intelligible and apparently contradictory. The royal forces are said to have marched along the banks of the river, although that route is declared to have been impracticable. The whole passage is omitted in Sir H. Elliot's MS.*"

The translator and editor appears to have been much puzzled, certainly, and seems to have forgotten that he took the army "*across the river* "*Rávi*," as far as Láhor, just before, because it was doubtful whether it could proceed along the banks of the "Biyáh." He has confused one river with the other; and, if the route along the left or east bank of the Bíáh was *supposed to be* impracticable, it did not follow that there was no way along the right or west bank. As previously stated, there were other reasons for not following the course of the Bíáh direct to Uchchh, even if the route had been practicable on the other or on both sides of "the river," which referred to the Hakṛá, which flowed past Márúṭ, and not to the Bíáh at all.

The "Review" writer, further says: "In the same volume, page

[22] There is not a word about "prisoners" in the original.

[23] Here it will be seen, that, in two places where the author was perfectly right as to the names Mangútah and Márúṭ, Mr. Dowson thought he knew better, and turned the first into "*Mangú Khán*," and the latter into "*Mírat*," and has thereby shown the extent of his historical and geographical knowledge. Mírat is just *five degrees east* of Márúṭ, and, more than that, lies north-east of Dihlí, in a totally opposite direction.

[24] See Elliot's *Historians*, Vol. II, page 364.

[25] I have noticed in my "Translation," in note 3, page 812, that the word جر supposed to mean "*fissures*," is but part of the plural form of جزایر namely جزایر, part of the word being left out in the Calcutta text, signifying 'islands,' etc. Under any circumstance, جر—*jar*—does not mean either a fissure or fissures, but the Hindí چر—*char*—means, 'a bank,' 'an island.' This word is used in the Panj-áb for such shoals, banks, or islands as are found on, and near the banks of rivers after the subsidence of the annual inundations, and this local word *may have* been used by the people of whom Mangútah made inquiry.

See the large scale map of the Baháwal-púr territory, and some idea may be formed respecting such 'islands' or 'banks' as the author refers to, still to be seen in the ancient channel of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and also the notice of that channel which will be found farther on.

344, the same expedition is referred to, but there it is merely stated that when Sultán 'Alán-d-dín arrived on the banks of the Biyáh, the infidels raised the siege of Uch."

From the correct version of this identical passage, as it occurs in the Persian text of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," given at page 812 of my "Translation," it will be noticed, that, as usual with its author, he has not mentioned the details therein, but retained them for his account of the invasion of the Mughals, which I have given at the beginning of this article.[26]

What are the facts respecting this investment of Uchchh? The Dihlí forces having first crossed the Biáh, coming from Dihlí in the direction of Láhor by the direct route between the two places, Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, afterwards raised to the title of Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam,[27] who was the Sulṭán's chief of the staff, so to speak, or rather, the real commander, conducted the army of Hind towards the Ráwah, as it is called, as well as Ráwí, of Láhor. We also learn from the passage in the account of Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, which has just been discussed, what determined the Mughal commander to raise the investment of Uchchh. It was not only that one of the most famous of the Mughal leaders had perished in the recent assault, and that the invaders had been repulsed in making it, as stated in the detailed account, but, on reaching the banks of the Biáh on the way from Dihlí to Láhor—I am referring to it as it flowed in its old bed, not as it and the Sutlaj flow now under the names of Haríárí and Gharah—Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, despatched couriers to Uchchh[23] with letters for the defenders, some of which were purposely allowed to fall into the ene-

[26] At page 1150 of my "Translation."

[27] Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, who was set up as ruler of Dihlí in the following year, after Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh had been imprisoned, married the daughter of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam. After the decease of his son-in-law, who died childless, he succeeded to the throne under the title of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban. He was a *Turk* of the Ilbarí tribe, but compilers of Indian Histories and Gazetteers, and archæological experts, turn him, like many other Turks, Tájziks, Jats, and Sayyids, into "*Paṭháns*," which is synonymous with Afghán, it being the vitiated Hindí equivalent of Pushtún, the name by which the people generally known as Afgháns call themselves, in their own language.

A specimen of this "Paṭhán" fallacy appears in the "Transactions" of the *Society* for November, 1889, page 226. Referring to a find of coins from the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range, they are described as "all of one kind, *viz.*, coins of the Paṭhán Sulṭán of Dehlí, Ghaiáṣa-d-Dín Balban." Now this very personage is no other than the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam mentioned above, who was an Ilbarí Turk, not an Afghán or "Paṭhán." If the 'Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" were more studied, such great errors would not occur. It is quite time to give up Dow and Briggs' "Ferishta."

[23] See note 13, page 160.

my's hands, intimating, in somewhat exaggerated terms, the advance, and near approach, of a vast army with numerous elephants: and, in truth, it was said to have been the most formidable army that had been assembled for a very long period. Malik Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, immediately after the army had passed the Biáh on the route to Láhor, had also pushed forward a considerable body of cavalry towards the frontier of Sind, and this force, at least, went by the right or west bank of the Biáh, through the Bárí Do-ábah, between it and the Ráwí. On the couriers reaching Uchchh, the drums and other so-called musical instruments announced to the Mughals that the defenders were aware that succour was at hand, and that they would speedily be relieved; and what with their own recent, unsuccessful assault, and the loss of one of their famous leaders, it became clear to the Mughals that Uchchh was not to be taken as easily as they had expected.

Another important point to be considered is, that this march from Dihlí towards Láhor and the Ráwí was a flank movement, to cover, and succour Multán[29] if necessary, and threaten the line of the Mughals' retreat towards the Júd Hills—the Namak-Sár or Salt Range—the route by which they had come against Uchchh.[30]

It will also be noticed that the Nú-ín Mangútah was quite alive to this flank movement, when, on hearing of the route taken by the Musalmán forces, he said it was "time to retire," and the author adds, "lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off."

Another reason for the advance of the Dihlí army towards Láhor, instead of going direct from Dihlí to Uchchh through the *now* desert waste, was, that the Biáh and Ráwí, which did not flow then as they do now, were more easily crossed higher up at the season in question—the months of December and January[31]—when these operations took place,

[29] Multán and Uchchh, as before mentioned (see note 8, page 157, and note 12, page 159) were then situated in the same Do-ábah, no great river intervening between them, but a cutting from the river Chin-áb, called the Lolí Wá'-han, flowed past the fortifications of Multán, and filled its ditch, or formed a wet ditch around it, which, in the cold season, could be filled at pleasure. There were likewise several canals about, at lesser or greater distances.

The Áb-i-Sind or Indus, at this period united with the Biáh and its tributaries near Uchchh on the west, as confirmed by tradition mentioned in note farther on, and continued so to do down to modern times.

[30] The Ránah, Jas-Pál, Síhrá or Sehrá, and his Khokhar tribes, acted as the Mughal guides, for which they were severely chastised in the following year, 644 H., the first of the reign of Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Shúh. See pages 678 and 815 of my "Translation."

[31] The Mughals raised the investment of Uchchh on the 25th of the month Sha'bán, about the end of January, 1246 A. D.

and lay through the most populous parts of the country, on the main route from Dihlí through the north-western provinces, where facilities for crossing this vast army were ready at hand, where supplies were abundant, and where some of the great feudatories of those parts would join the Sulṭán's army *en route* with their contingents.[32]

At this period the Bíáh flowed in its old bed past Debál-púr and the Wihat or Bihat, the Chin-áb or Chin-áo, and the Ráwah or Ráwí, having united into one stream to the north-east of Multán, flowed near it on the east side, and united with the Bíáh some twenty-eight miles to the southward of that city, and east of Uchchh, instead of west of it, as the united rivers of the Panj-áb now flow. This movement enabled the Dihlí forces to threaten the Mughal's line of retreat northwards, consequently, there would have been no road open to them except down stream or across the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, and these alternatives were, evidently, not approved of by Mangútah.[33] As stated by the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," who was present in attendance on the Sulṭán and his army in his ecclesiastical capacity, as soon as the Mughal Nú-ín became aware that the army of Islám was marching down the east bank of the Ráwí (which was generally fordable) through the Bárí Do-ábah, near the junction of the rivers, in order to reach Uchchh, he immediately found it necessary to retire; and, as the author of the above work[34] states, "The advance of the victorious army, and approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the accursed Mangútah, and the cavalry of the advance force approaching the frontier of Sind [below the

Even if the Dihlí forces had taken the direct route by Márút, they would still have had the Hakrá and the Bíáh below the junction of its tributaries to cross, both deep, broad, and unfordable rivers, in order to reach Uchchh, which then lay between the Sind Rúd or the Bíáh and its tributaries, and the Áb-i-Sind or Indus. Moreover, the Mughals before Uchchh might then have been in a position to oppose their crossing the former river.

[32] In crossing higher up stream, the Sulṭán of Dihlí merely did as Alexander the Great is said to have done before. Strabo, in his Geography (B. XV), says: "He resolved therefore to get possession of that part of India first which had been well spoken of, considering at the same time that the rivers which it was necessary to pass, and which flowed transversely through the country which he intended to attack, *would be crossed with more facility near their sources.* He heard also that many of the rivers united and formed one stream, and that this more frequently occurred the farther they advanced into the country, so that from want of boats it would be more difficult to traverse."

[33] He probably had no means of crossing the Áb-i-Sind, consequently he had to beat a hasty retreat up the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, by the same route as he came down against Uchchh.

[34] See pages 812, and 1156.

junction of the Ráwí and other rivers with the Bíáh south-south-east of Multán], * * * he made inquiry of some persons [natives of the country, without doubt], what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islám towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by Sarastí and Márúṭ was near. They replied, that, on account of the number of islands on the banks [of the river],[35] there might not be a road for the army of Islám."

The writer in the *Calcutta Review*, misquoting, as it will be seen, his own authority, says: "It is said in the Tabakát-i-Nasirí that, when Uchh was besieged by the Mughals in H. 643 (A. D. 1245), the army *sent* [the Sulṭán, 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, commanded it in person] *was unable to march by Sarsutí and Marot, in consequence of the* DROUGHT *on the bank of the river*"! What river he does not say; but, in Elliot's "Historians," which he quotes, there is not one word about "*drought*," and in the author's text there is not one word to indicate that "the numerous *fissures* rendered the way impassable," as Mr. Dowson translated the words راہ نباشد—*ráh na-báshad*—which means that there *might not be* a road—a doubt, not a certainty. Consequently, as far as the authority of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" is concerned, there is not the least reason for supposing that either the Ráwí or the Bíáh had then changed their courses, or that the Hakṛá had dried up.

"Marot," the writer continues, "is now in the heart of the desert, but then the high road from Dehlí to Multán passed under its walls, and followed the course of the Hakra from Sarsutí to within a few marches of Uchh. After this period, armies marching from Dehli to Multán *always* took the road by Abohar and Ajohdan; but the more direct way by Marot *was occasionally taken by travellers for some time later.*"[36]

All this, like the "*drought*," is mere *surmise*. That there was a route by Márúṭ is certain, but no scrap of *evidence* can be produced to show that armies, going from Dihlí to Multán "always" took the route by Márúṭ, nor would the writer be able to point out any place where it is stated that the route by Márúṭ was the "high road between Dehli and Multán," or any authority for the statement, that armies marching

[35] As I have before noticed, which of the rivers is not mentioned, and in coming from Dihlí by way of Márúṭ the Hakṛá would have had to be crossed, under any circumstances, unless the troops crossed the Ghag-ghar at Sarastí or near it, and after that had been crossed, the Bíáh and its tributaries, forming the Sind Rúd, would have to be crossed likewise.

[36] Yet, at page 3 of his article in the *Calcutta Review*, the writer says: "Our knowledge of the condition of this tract of country previous to the time of Sulṭán Fíráz Sháh in the fourteenth century is *very vague*."

from Dihlí to Multán, "after this time *always* took the road by Abohar," or to name a single instance of an army taking that route in preference. The Márúṭ road was taken both by bodies of troops and travellers long after, and was taken by an English traveller—Arthur Conolly—in company with a caravan of that branch of the Tarín Afgháns commonly known as the Sayyids of Pushang, as late as 1830.

As to the route being "closed at this period and after" because of the disappearance of the "western branch of the Naiwal," which "was the last of the channels connected with the Hakra which, therefore, at this time (about A. D. 1220) finally ceased to flow," the writer of the article in the "*Review*," himself says, that "a great part of the Indian Desert has undergone little change since pre-historic times," and, that "its ancient name of Marusthali (region of death) proves this." Does the "seige of Uch" belong to pre-historic times? The writer attributes the movement of the Dihlí army towards Láhor, instead of following the route by "Marot," to the drying up of the Hakṛá; while, in other places he says, that, "the downfall of the Sumras must have occurred between A. D. 1223," and, that that year had "been preceded by the disappearance of the Hakṛa river." Now the year 1220 A. D. is equivalent to the year 617 H., which commenced on the 7th of March of the above year, or twenty-six years *before* the investment of Uchchh; and the year 1223 A. D., is equivalent to 620 H., which began on the 3rd of February, or just three years *less*. This is certainly very contradictory.

"If the "Hakṛá river" had dried up in 1220 A. D. or in 1223, the route by "Abohar" between twenty-three and twenty-six years *after*, would have been no better than that by "Marot." Both routes would have lain through much the same description of country; for Uboh-har[87] was situated on one of its tributaries, and we know from Ibn Baṭúṭah that there was no want of water in that part *eighty years after the investment* of Uchchh.

Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah the Turk,[88] who ruled over the territories of Sind and Multán, on the sudden death of Sulṭán Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, I-bak-i-Shil, from the effects of the accident which befell him when playing at the game of *chaughán* at Láhor in 607 H. (1210-11 A. D.), annexed all the country east of Multán and Uchchh, as far as Tabarhindah (the old name of Bhaṭindah), Kuhṛám, and Sarastí.[89] This fact

87 The derivation of this name, which in error is written Abúhar generally by the Muḥammadan historians, will be found farther on.

88 He is one of those turned into a "Paṭhán" by the experts.

89 Sarastí is the ancient name of Sirsá: Sursutí is the name of a river, the ancient Saraswatí.

clearly shows, that, at this period, the Kájí Wá-hah, Hakṛá, or Wahindah, by which two latter names it is best known in the annals of Sind and Multán, had not ceased to flow, and that Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, annexed all the intervening territory between the banks of the Hakṛá, which bounded the then dependencies of Sind and Multan on the east, up to, and including, those districts abovenamed, which its tributary, the Chitang, bounded on the south. It is beyond question that he would not have annexed a howling wilderness or "a region of death." It has also been proved beyond all doubt, that Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, set out from Dihlí by way of Tabarhindah for Uchchh with his forces in 625 H. (1228 A. D.) to oust Ḳabá-jah therefrom, and take possession of Sind and Multán, and came through this present desert tract; that the Bíáh and its tributaries, or Sind Rúd, flowed near to Uchchh on the east at that time; for the latter's fleet was moored in front of the *ḳaṣbáh* of اهراوت—Ihráwat[40]—and that one of the Amírs of I-yal-timish, Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khán, who commanded the advanced troops of his army, had been placed in charge of the district of Wanjh-rúṭ on the Hakṛá, a place which is known to this day, and which then gave its name to the district.[41] It is very evident that the Malik abovenamed would not have been placed in charge of a desert, as Wanjh-rúṭ would have been, if the Hakṛá had disappeared in either 1220 A. D. or 1223 A. D., because these events happened *five years after the last named date*, in 625 H. (1228 A. D.).

The author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," himself proceeded by way of Hánsí[42] and Abúhar [Uboh-har] to Multán on the 24th of Zí-Ḥijjah, 647 H. (the end of April, 1248 A. D.), four years *after* the investment of Uchchh

[40] This place has disappeared, and its site is now unknown, as far as I can discover, which is not surprising, considering the vast changes which have taken place in this part.

[41] Perhaps it will not be forgotten, that there were a number of flourishing *maḥálls* or sub-districts of the Bakhar and Multán *sarkárs* of the Multán *ṣúbah*—three of the former *sarkar* and seven of the latter—east of the present bank of the Indus and Gharah near Uchchh, and extending to the Hakṛá, and probably beyond, of which one is Diráwar on the very bank of the Hakṛá, which are still well-known. These alone paid no less than 78,01,510 *dáms* of revenue, equal to 1 *lakh* and 9,537 *rúpís*, or £10,953, per annum, not including free grants, and furnished 1,370 horsemen, and 8,600 foot for militia purposes, in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh.

[42] He mentions why he went by Hánsí and Uboh-har. He says (page 687): "When he reached the Hánsí district [it was the fief of his patron, the Ulugh Khán], the author took possession of the village conferred upon him by Ulugh Khán, and opportunity offered to proceed to Multán by way of Abúhar; and, on Sunday, the 11th of the month, Ṣafar, 648 H., an interview was obtained with Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar on the banks of the Bíáh."

by the Mughal Nú-ín, Mangútah (at which time also he accompanied the relieving army from Dihlí as already mentioned), and returned from Multán by way of the fort of Márúṭ and Sarastí again, in Jamádí-us-Ṣáni of the following year, about the middle of October, 1248 A. D. He had gone to Multán for the purpose of despatching forty head of Indian captives—male slaves[43]—to be turned into money, "to his dear sister in Khurásán"; and, although he set out in the hot season —the end of April—he says nothing about any "impossibility" in the route, "drought," or "fissures," nor does he mention any difficulty or obstruction whatever. Besides all this, he had an interview with Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, one of the greatest Amírs and feudatories of the Dihlí kingdom, "*on the banks of the Bíáh*, after leaving Abúhar [Uboh-har], and this would have been simply impossible if the Bíáh had left its old bed and had united with the Sutlaj. Moreover, if one great river [the Hakṛá] had recently dried up, or disappeared, and if another river nearly as large [the Bíáh], on the banks of which his interview with Malik Sher Khán actually took place, had abandoned its old bed to meet another [the Sutlaj], halfway, which must have also similarly abandoned its channel, so that a vast tract of territory previously populous and fruitful had been turned into a desert, can it be conceived for a moment, that, if such vast changes had really taken place he would not even have hinted at them? Besides, it would have been physically impossible for him to have held an interview on the banks of the Bíáh with Sher Khán, if any change had taken place, because, when it deserted its bed, *it ceased to be the Bíáh*. In going by this route he must have crossed both the Hakṛá, and its tributaries, including the Sutlaj as well as the Bíáh, to reach Multán by Uboh-har, and the Bíáh and the Hakṛá again on his return by way of Márúṭ.

In another place (page 782), he says, he went to Multán on the occasion in question, and reached it in Rabí'-ul Awwal, 648 H. (June, 1250 A. D.), a journey which few would have attempted at that season, *if* all the rivers had dried up; and, that two days before his arrival, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán (not Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, but a totally different person) had reached Multán from Uchchh, and was then investing it; that he, the author, remained at Multán for two months—July and August—during which time Malik Balban relinquished the investment and retired to Uchchh again; and that he himself returned to Dihlí by nearly the same route as he had come.[44]

[43] Turned into "100 beasts of burden," by Mr. Dowson, See Elliot's *Historians*, Vol. II, page 350, and "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 686, 783, and 822.

[44] At page 822 of the "Translation" he says he set out from Dihlí for Multán

At pages 787-88, under Malik Badr-ud-Dín, Sunḳar-i-Ṣúfí, entitled Nuṣrat Khán, it is stated, that, "in 657 A. H. [which began on the 28th of December, 1258 A. D.] he was placed in charge of the then western frontier districts of the Dihlí kingdom, namely, the city of Tabarhindah [subsequently called Bhaṭindah], Sunám, Jhajhar, and Lak-wál [Lakhhí-wál],[45] and the frontiers as far as the ferries over the river Bíáh," which shows that the Bíáh still flowed in its old bed, and also tends to prove that the parts between the places mentioned above and the Bíáh were not then deserted by the rivers, and not reduced to a desert. Had they been so, of what use was it defending the line of a dried-up Bíáh and its "ferries" from the waterless desert side? The Mughals, or their vassals and tributaries, including Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, were then in the possession of the tracts on, and west of, the Bíáh, consisting of the provinces of Uchchh, Multán, and Láhor. The author adds, that, "up to the date of this book being written [his history], he [Nuṣrat Khán] is still stationed on that frontier, with ample military resources and a large army."[46]

In several other places in his work, the author throws considerable light on this subject. At page 723, he says, that, after he first came to Uchchh from Ghaznín by Baníán, in Ṣafar, 625 H., he went to the camp of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khán, at the time Sulṭán I-yal-timish was about to invest Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, in that stronghold, Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar, having lately been put in possession of the district of Wanj-rúṭ (properly, Wanjh-rúṭ)[47] of Multán. This place

in Zí-Ḳa'dah [the eleventh month], 647 H., by way of Hánsí and Uboh-har, right across the present desert tract. He adds: "When the rainy season set in, and the rains of compassion fell, on the 26th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal [the fifth month of the following year], he set out on his return by way of the fort of Márúṭ, Sarastí, and Hánsí [page 688], and reached the capital in the following month. See also note to page 823 of that work.

[45] Now generally known as the Lakhhí Jangal. It is described farther on.

[46] Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar appears to have again been placed in charge of the western frontiers after his kinsman, the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, became Sulṭán. The author of the Táríkh-i-Fírúz Sháh-í (who follows the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí after a lapse of ninety-five years, however, but there is no contemporary writer between them), states, that, "Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, who was the brother's son of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, held charge of all the western frontier in the beginning of his reign, and held it up to the time of his own death, four or five years after. He says: "This Sher Khán held charge of all the western frontier, Sunám, Lohowar [Láhor], Debál-púr, and other fiefs exposed to the Mughal inroads. See note farther on.

[47] Miscalled "Beejnot," in the maps. There is another place called Wanjh-rúṭ, in Upper Sind, near the western channel of the Haḳrá and the old bed of the Bíáh,

is now in the midst of the desert, in the Baháwal-púr state, but, at the period referred to, it was the chief place of a district on the banks of the Hakṛá, extending upwards towards Uchchh, but, chiefly, along its right or east banks. Multán had been already taken possession of by one of the Sultán's Maliks, the feudatory of Sarastí, who had marched down the Bárí Do-ábah from the direction of Láhor.

The author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" repeatedly mentions the river Biáh up to the time when his history closes, and, perhaps, it will not be amiss to state briefly what he says.

I have mentioned that Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán had attempted to recover Multán from Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar,[48] when the author was there in 648 H. (1250 A. D.) The latter had, some time before, wrested Multán out of the hands of the Ḳárlúgh Turks, who had compelled Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, to surrender it to them. After Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban had withdrawn from Multán, Malik Sher Khán marched against Uchchh. At this time Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, was absent at Nág-awr, or "Nágor," and he at once hastened from thence towards Uchchh to endeavour to save it; and, thinking that Malik Sher Khán would take into consideration that they were both servants of the same sovereign, and would abandon his designs upon Uchchh, he presented himself in his camp; but Malik Sher Khán, who appears to have known that he was a traitor at heart, detained him as a prisoner until he consented to surrender the place. This he did, and had to retire to Nág-awr again. The author says that, with Uchchh given up to him, all Sind came under Malik Sher Khán's sway. Now, the route from Nág-awr to Uchchh led across the Hakṛá, and through the vast tract at present chiefly desert; but Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban and his following do not appear to have had any difficulty, either in going or coming, with regard to water or forage.[49]

and which was included in the same district, which extended from the Bikánír border to the banks of the Hakṛá, and the first named place appears to have been its chief town.

[48] In the "Mujmal-i-Faṣíḥ-í," under the events of the year 648 H. (1250 A. D.) it is stated, that, in that same year, Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar retook Multán from the Mughals, and ousted a rival Malik of the Dihlí Court, who was disaffected, and intriguing with the Mughals, from Uchchh; and that, soon after, he had himself to retire to the *urdú* of Mangú Ḳá'án, while his rival went to Hulákú. Multán was retaken from the Ḳárlúghs, who were for some time vassals of the Mughals. The "disaffected Malik," of course, refers to 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán.

The year 648 H. commenced on the 4th April, 1250 A. D.

[49] Nág-awr then formed an important fief and province of the Dihlí empire, which Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán was allowed to hold, as well as Sind and Multán. Its dependencies adjoined those of Uchchh and Multán on the

In Shawwál, 650 H. (January, 1253 A. D.), Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, set out from Dihlí with his forces in the direction of Láhor, with the intention of marching to Multán and Uchchh, in order to recover them from Malik Sher Khán, and restore them to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban. Malik Sher Khán was the kinsman of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, and this movement against him was the first step in a plot which was then on foot, to overthrow the power of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, and remove him from the court. The forces marched from Dihlí by Kaiṭhal, because the feudatories of Budá'ún, Bhiánah, and other parts, were to join with their contingents. The troops reached the banks of the Bíáh, but, as the conspirators had succeeded in getting the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam banished to his fiefs of Hánsí and the Siwálikh territory, the Sulṭán, who was a mere tool in their hands, marched back with them to Dihlí in the first month of the following year.

Towards the close of that year the Sulṭán again put his forces in motion for the purpose of securing Uchchh and Multán. On reaching the banks of the Bíáh, a force was despatched towards Tabarhindah, another of Malik Sher Khán's fiefs; but he, leaving those places in the hands of his dependents, had retired towards Turkistán, to proceed to the presence of the Great Ḳá'án, Mangú Khán; and those provinces were taken from Malik Sher Khán's dependents, and entrusted to the charge of Malik Arsalán Khán, Sanjar-i-Chast; and the Sulṭán again retired from the banks of the Bíáh, beyond which the forces did not move, and returned to Dihlí.

About 653 A. H., the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, (1255 A. D.), was again placed in charge of Uchchh and Multán, apparently,

west. Can any one imagine it would have been possible or desirable to have held Multán, Uchchh, and Nág-awr, with a howling waterless desert between, and those districts also half a desert, with the principal river dried up, and two others merged into one, and thus rendering another vast tract desolate?

Nág-awr, at the period in question, was generally held by a separate feudatory, but 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, possessed great interest with the rulers of the Shamsí dynasty, to whom he was related by marriage, having espoused a lady of the family of Sulṭán I-yal-timish. He rebelled several times, and yet his conduct was passed over, and he was again and again restored to favour, as may be seen from the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí."

In Akbar Bádsháh's reign, Nág-awr was one of the two western *sarkárs* of the Ajmír *súbah*; and Bikánír, of which Jasal-mír was only a *maḥáll* or sub-district, was another *sarkár* of Ajmír. Even in that day, when some of the rivers had greatly changed, and a great deal of desert intervened between Nág-awr and the Multán *súbah*, it contained thirty-one *maḥálls*, and yielded a revenue of 40,389,830 *dáms*, equal to 1,009,743 *rúpís*, or upwards of ten *lakhs*. It is now a dependency of Jodhpúr in the territory of Már-wár.

to counteract the designs of Malik Sher Khán in going to the presence of Mangú Ḳá'án, the supreme ruler of the Mughal empire. With the assistance of Malik Shams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Kurat, who held the fief of Hirát, and other parts adjacent, as a vassal of the Mughals—and heavy was their yoke—and through him, he tendered allegiance to Hulákú Khán,[50] then in Ír-ráu-Zamín on the part of his brother Mangú Ḳá'án, and requested that a Shaḥnah or Commissioner should be sent to Uchchh. This was done, and the Nú-ín, Sálí, or Sálín, also written Sárí,[51] was sent thither at the head of a body of Mughal troops in 654 A. H. (1256 A. D.).

In 655 H. (1257 A. D.)[52] Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, who, with the troops of Uchchh and Multán,[53] was then on the banks of the Bíáh, advanced up the *do-ábah* in order to effect a junction with other disaffected Maliks of the Dihlí kingdom.[54] Having united, they pushed on to Manṣúr-púr, Kuhrám, and Samánah, their object being to seize upon Dihlí if they could.[55] The Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, who had again regained the greatest power in the state, moved against them at

[50] See preceding note, and "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 786 and 860.

[51] In this word, as in many others, the letters '*r*' and '*l*' are interchangeable.

[52] According to some other writers, in the preceding year.

[53] The reason why Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlú Khán was able to hold these places, although at the same time in open rebellion against his sovereign, the Sulṭán of Dihlí, was, because Uchchh and Multán, and their dependencies, chiefly lay *west* of the Bíáh and Hakrá, and *between* the latter and the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, which then flowed much nearer to Multán, and farther west and beyond the Ráwí and Chin-áb. Both strongholds, likewise, lay in the same *do-ábah* or delta, the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and this rendered them liable to attack from the Mughals coming downwards from the direction of the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, in the same *do-ábah*, which was in the possession of the Mughals. The fact that Malik Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, evacuated Multán immediately on the Mughals approaching the banks of the Áb-i-Sind to attack Uchchh in 643 H., and retired precipitately into Sind, to Síw-istán and the sea coast, confirms this. To do so, he did not take boat, on the Áb-i-Sind, or he might have been captured, but he embarked on the Bíáh or Sind Rúd, below the confluence of the three other rivers of the Panj-áb with it, and from it got into the Hakrá or Wahindah, and by it reached the neighbourhood of Bakhar, and subsequently Lower Sind.

When Abú-l-Faẓl wrote, Multán was in the Bárí Do-ábah, and Uchchh in the district known as Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-Áb or Panch Nad, that is, lying on either side of the united five rivers below their junction.

[54] Including Malik Ḳutlugh Khán, who had married the mother of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, who had rebelled against that Sulṭán in 653 H. (1255 A. D.), and coined money in his own name, hence he is not allowed to appear in the list of the Sulṭán's Maliks. He, too, was a *Turk*, not a "Paṭhán." See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" pages 673 and 703. Also the *Society's* "Transactions," for 1889, page 226.

[55] See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 785.

the head of the Sulṭán's forces. They managed, however, to give him the slip when within ten *kuroh* of them; for, having fellow traitors within the walls of the capital, who offered to open the gates to them, they made a forced march of one hundred *kuroh* in the space of two days and a half, and reached it on the evening of the Thursday. The Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam had, in the meantime, received intimation of these doings, and he set out in pursuit of them. In the interim the traitors within had been secured; and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, and his confederates found the walls manned and gates closed ready for a vigorous defence when they perambulated the place on the evening in question. On the Friday morning, the Sulṭán's forces under the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam having appeared upon the scene, the insurgents took to flight; and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, being deserted by the troops of Uchchh and Multán in their precipitate flight, was left with only about 200 or 300 followers. He, however, succeeded in effecting his escape. This was in Jamádí-ul-Ákhir of the year above mentioned (July, 1257 A. D.).

At this time, the Nú-ín Sálí or Sálín or Sárí, having entered the territory east of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, reached Uchchh, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, had to join his camp. After this the Mughal leader despatched the Kurat Malik, Shams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, who had to accompany him on this expedition whether he liked it or not, to occupy Multán;[56] and the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa-d-Dín, Zakaríyá, who appears, in the absence of a settled government, to have been the chief authority there, or, at least, the person possessing the most influence, had to pay down 100,000 *dínárs* to save the place from being sacked. The fortifications are said to have been dismantled by Sálí's command, and a Turk *mamlúk* or slave of Malik Shams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Tájzík Kurat feudatory of Hirát and Ghúr, Chingiz Khán, by name, was made Ḥákim of Multán.[57]

Both Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, and Malik Jalál-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, brother of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, ruler of Dihlí,

[56] Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, was probably ashamed to accompany those infidels thither to the presence of the Shaikh, therefore, the Tájzík Kurat Malik of Hirát and Ghúr was made the means of communication.

[57] I hope this Chingiz Khán will not be mistaken by the archæological experts for Timur-chí, the Mughal, the Chingiz or Great Khán, because history states that he did not coin money; while the coins, if they may be so called, of his immediate successors were *bálishts* or ingots. Many of those petty Musalmán rulers, who were reduced to vassalage by the Mughals, like Malik Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, and Shams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Kurat, *had to put the names* of these "infidels" *on their coins.* See Thomas's "Pathán Kings of Dehlí," pages 91—98. Neither Ḥasan, nor his son, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad were very" powerful monarchs." See also "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," Translation, pages 781, 859—863, and 1128—1132 for an account of them.

who had gone to the presence of Mangú Ḳá'án, and had been honourably received, were also permitted to return; and the latter was allowed to hold the province of Láhor, independent of Dihlí, as a vassal of the Mughals, but he did not long retain it.

It is stated in another history[58], that, after settling the affairs of Uchchh and Multán, Sálí marched towards Láhor, which was then in the possession of Kuret Khán, or Khwán as it is written in the original, and that Sálí entered into an accommodation with this person, on the payment of 30,000 *dínárs*, 30 *kharwárs* of soft fabrics, and 100 captives; and that, after this, the Kurat Malik of Hirát and Ghúr, Shams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, who, as the vassal of the Mughals, had to accompany the Nú-ín with his contingent and was probably quite weary of acting against his co-religionists on the side of the Mughal infidels, left the Nú-ín, Sálí, and retired towards Ghúr.

This person, Kuret Khán, who was in possession of Láhor, does not appear, however, to have been a feudatory of the Dihlí kingdom;[59] and the city of Láhor was in ruins, or in a very ruinous state, it having been sacked and depopulated and destroyed by the Mughals in 639 H. (1241–42 A. D.). After that time, the ruins were occupied by the Khokhars, a powerful Jaṭ tribe. These people have always been mistaken for Gakhars (by those who knew no difference between them), and the Gakhars for Khokhars.

A great army was assembled at the capital for the purpose of moving against the Mughal invaders and the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, but serious disturbances broke out in the hill tracts of Mewát and parts adjacent, that had first to be quelled. Respecting this, the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" says, at page 850: "Nevertheless, it was impossible to chastize that sedition by reason of anxiety consequent on the appearance of the Mughal army, which continued to harass the frontier tracts of the dominions of Islám, namely, the territory of Sind, Láhor, and *the line of the Biáh*;[60] until, at this period, emissaries of Khurásán, coming from the side of 'Iráḳ, from Huláú [or Huláḳú], the Mughal, had arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital."

These emissaries had not come on Huláḳú's part, but respecting a matrimonial alliance mentioned at page 859 of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí." Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, who then ruled over the *khittah* of

[58] "The Mujmal-i-Faṣíḥ-í."

[59] There is a Malik named Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Kuret Khán, among the feudatories of Dihlí, but he had never been in charge of Láhor according to the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí." See page 756.

[60] Had the Biáh been dry, they could easily have passed the frontier, but it was an unfordable river in the direction here referred to.

Baníán in the Koh-i-Júd,[61] was desirous of giving a daughter of his in marriage to the son of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, and an agent had been sent to him by the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam agreeing to his request. As Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, was a vassal of the Mughals, at that time, and as Hulákú Khán, the ruler of I'-rán Zamín on behalf of his brother, the Great Ḳá'án, Mangú, was therefore the Malik's immediate superior, the Malik had deemed it necessary to send the agent of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam to Hulákú Khán to obtain his sanction for the proposed alliance. It was this Ḳárlúgh emissary who had arrived along with the agent of the Ulugh Khán at this juncture, and with him had come a Mughal Shaḥnah, or Commissioner, resident in Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad's territory, probably to spy out the nakedness of the land. Advantage was taken of the arrival of these emissaries, who were detained for a time at some distance from the capital.[62] The Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam set out at the head of the troops,[63] and making forced marches, suddenly and unexpectedly entered the hill tracts of Mewát, and attacked the rebels with vigour and effect. The rebellion was crushed, the rebels severely punished, and the forces returned to Dihlí. The Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam advised the Sulṭán to give these emissaries a public reception; and so they were conducted with great pomp and parade to the Sulṭán's presence, and 200,000 footmen well armed, and 50,000 cavalry fully equipped in defensive armour, besides numerous war elephants, were assembled for them to behold and report on when they returned into Khurásán. This stroke of policy had the desired effect; and the author says: "Huláú [Hulákú] sent orders to the Mughal forces under the standard of Sárí [Sálí], the Nú-ín, saying: 'If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the dominions of the Sulṭán,[64] the command unto you is this, that all four feet of such

[61] He was the son of the late Malik, Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳarlúgh, who had possessed himself of Multán shortly before the Mughals invested Uchchh in 643 H.

[62] At a place called Bárútah. See "Translation," page 851, note 8.

[63] The Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam had a body of 3,000 Afgháns, horse and foot, along with him in this expedition, *the first time* they are mentioned by a contemporary historian as in the service of any of the feudatories of the Dihlí kingdom. They were only now become sufficiently numerous to take service under the Muḥammadan nobles of the Dihlí state. The territories north, west, and south of their mountain home—I am referring to "*the* Afghánistán," as described in my "Notes" on those parts, not to the Afghán *state*—were either in the possession of the Mughals, who were infidels, or their vassals, who groaned under their yoke, like Náṣir-ud-Dín, the Ḳárlúgh, above referred to.

[64] This, of course, only refers to the country *east* of the Bíáh, for the Mughals or their vassals were in possession of all *west* of that river at the period in question, and had been for some time, a fact which Indian history compilers (up to date), do not appear to have been cognizant of.

horse be lopped off.' Such like security did the Most High God miraculously vouchsafe unto the kingdom of Hindústán through the felicity attending the rectitude of the Ulugh-Khání counsels."

All these facts show, that, at the period in question, the Bíáh still flowed in its old bed, and that the Sutlaj river had not united with it. The writer of the article on the "Lost River" in the Calcutta Review, however, again quoting the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" from Elliot's "Historians," in reference to the investment of Uchchh, says, that, "when he [Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh] arrived on the banks of the Biyáh the infidels raised the siege of Uchh," and that, "here the allusion is to the united streams. The Satlej is not mentioned although the writer was with the army, that river having become merged into the Biyáh."[65] Here again the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" is not correctly quoted, and the writer contradicts what he mentioned before from that work. It was only *after* the Dihlí troops had crossed the Bíáh, and moved towards the Ráwah or Ráwí of Láhor, and were marching down the left or east bank of the latter river, in the Bárí Do-ábah, between that river and the Bíáh, and the troops were approaching Uchchh from the northwards, that the Mughals, who had been repulsed in a recent assault, in which they had lost one of their famous leaders, finding their line of retreat threatened, raised the investment and "retired in three divisions." In no instance throughout the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" is such a river as the Sutlaj referred to; and I totally fail to see what proof the writer of the article has to show that the author "makes allusion to the united streams," when no such river as the Sutlaj is mentioned in his work,[66] nor in any history of that period.

[65] Mr. R. D. Oldham, too, in his recent paper previously alluded to, appears to have been unaware that the Bíáh flowed near to Multán at this period, or at least he does not refer to it as if he had been aware of the fact; and at this period no Haríárí or Ghárah, miscalled the Sutlaj, existed. The Sutlaj was then a tributary of the Hakṛá, and flowed much farther to the east. See note 67.

[66] What "*we* call it now" is no criterion of its correctness; and the writer in the Calcutta Review (page 11) himself says, that, "The modern term Satlej is rarely if ever used, except by those who have been brought into contact with Europeans." The "*modern term*," too, is at least as *old* as the A'ín-i-Akbarí.

It will perhaps be well to state, to make the subject clear, that, as long as the Sutlaj or Shattluj flowed in its own separate bed, that is, before it and the Bíáh both left their respective channels and united into one river, the Sutlaj was a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah. After the junction of the two rivers for a time, they both lost their old names, but, having again soon after separated, the Sutlaj returning to its old channel, they flowed apart for about one hundred *kuroh*, equal to about one hundred and seventy-five miles, and again took their old names of Bíáh and Sutlaj. After this, in the last century only, they again united, and lost their old names once more, and from that time have flowed in one channel, both having deserted their

When the Bíáh and Sutlaj finally united their waters, it was not that the Sutlaj flowed in the bed of the Bíáh, but both left their old beds and united midway, as their deserted channels remain to show. Moreover, after their junction, both rivers lost their names, and thenceforward they were known as the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah.[67] If the Bíáh had left its old bed, and had moved from thirty-five to forty miles further eastwards, thus still more reducing the Dihlí territory, the author would certainly have mentioned such a fact, but, as the Sutlaj did not then exist in that part, being then a tributary of the Hakṛá, it is by no means strange that it is never mentioned in his work. The author does not mention the Hakṛá, nor the Chitáng, nor the Chin-áb, nor the Ghagghar, but that, too, is no proof that they did not exist, for we know that they did.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban's march upwards along the banks of the Bíáh in 655 H., is also considered a proof that the two rivers, the "Biyáh," and the "Satlej," had united, or rather that the "Satlej had merged into the Biyáh;" but I have already mentioned, at page 174, why Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, took the route in question. The extracts I have given from the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" clearly show, that, up to the period its author wrote, namely, up to 658 H. (1259 A. D.), the Bíáh had not left its old bed; and, furthermore, it is certain that it still continued to flow in its old bed for more than one hundred and fifty-seven years after the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, up to the time of the invasion of India by Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, in 801 H. (1397-98 A. D.), as I shall presently show; and, moreover, there are people still living,[68]

ancient beds. The names of the river while united were Machhú-Wáh, Haríárí, Ḍanḍ, Núrní, Nílí, Ghallú-Ghárah, and Ghárah, the two last being only applied to the lower part of the stream, after the final junction. See the account of the Sutlaj farther on.

About the only writer who describes the Haríárí or Ghárah correctly and in a few words is Elphinstone, who says (Vol. 1, p. 32), respecting Baháwalpúr: "The river winds much at this place, and is very muddy, but the water, when cleared, is excellent. It is here called the Gharra, and is formed by the joint streams of the Hyphasis or Beyah, and Hysudrus or Sutledge."

[67] Abú-l-Faẓl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, calls it Ghárah, Haríárí, or Núrní. The Ḍanḍ or Ḍanḍah refers to a minor branch described further on, but not to be confounded with the high bank of the old channel of the Sutlaj farther east, which in the dialect of the people of that part is called *ḍanḍah*.

[68] There lately died in the village of Dhokí in the Montgomery (the old "Googaria") district, an old Jaṭ named Bagh Mall, who, according to a Láhor paper, which gave an account of him a little while before, had reached the advanced age of 118 years, having been born in A. D. 1770. The account says:—"Though so old, Bagh Mall can still walk about, and goes as far as the village well, about 100 yards or so, and also to the village *dharmsala* every day. His vision is a good deal impaired, and

who remember the time when the Bíáh *first* deserted its ancient bed, and the Sutlaj finally left its last independent channel, now known to the people as the "Great Ḍanḍah," and the two united and formed the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah as they now flow.

I certainly fail to see that because "the Tartar chief, Kadar" [a Mughal, I presume, and Mughals are not Tartars, although both are branches of the Turks] "came with an army from the Jud mountain in 695 A. H (A. D. 1296) and crossed the Jhelam, Beyah, *and* Satladar (Satlej)" [which the writer just before said had "merged into the Biyáh" fifty-two years previously, when the army marched from Dihlí to relieve Uchchh.] and was "defeated near Jhalandar," therefore "he must have crossed them above their junction" [the two latter, I presume, are meant, but *three* are named], The "must" here is merely to support the previous theory that the Sutlaj had united with the Bíáh and flowed in the latter's bed, which it never did do. This "Tartar chief" could not have crossed the Sutlaj at all, to have been defeated near Jalhandar,[69] even after the Bíáh and Sutlaj had united into one stream and ran as it runs to this day, because, if he had crossed the Sutlaj from the west to the east bank, he would have *passed out of* the Jalhandar Do-ábah, and have *left* Jalhandar some twenty-eight miles to the northward. That *Do-ábah* refers to the tract of country lying *between* the Bíáh and the Sutlaj (in whatever direction they flowed, and may flow), which latter river now bounds it on the south. To reach that *Do-ábah* from the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, the Chináb and the Ráwí would have to be crossed as well as the "Jhelam" and "Beyah," but not the "Satladar (Satlej)"; and if it is a proof, because the Sutlaj is "not mentioned" by the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" on the occasion of the investment of Uchchh, that it must have "merged into the Biyáh," we might just as well say that it is a proof that the Chin-áb and Ráwí had merged into the Jhilam, or some other river,

he is rather deaf, but otherwise seems in wonderful health for his wonderful age. * * * His descendants number eighty persons—children, grandchildren, and great-grand children,—who take great care of him. The old man's memory is, of course, somewhat gone; but as a proof of his age *he says he can remember the drying up of the Bias* [Bíáh], which is supposed to have occurred some hundred years ago" "*Allen's Indian Mail*," January 21st, 1889.

When Wilford wrote his remarkable "Essays," showing that he was far in advance of his time, and Rennell published his "Memoir on a Map of Hindoostan," in 1788, the Bíáh and Sutlaj had not yet united and formed the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, but they did so very shortly after.

69 Abú-l-Faẓl always writes it Jálandhar. The Survey account I shall presently refer to has the name as above. The correct name of this *do-ábah* is Bist-Jalhandar, and it was also known as Sehiṛ-Wál.

since they are not mentioned in the case of this "Tartar" invasion, which was one of the numerous inroads of the Mughals into the Panj-áb territory.

I may mention here, that, when the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, son of Jahán-gír, son of Amír Timúr, in Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 800 H. (December, 1397 A. D.), crossed the Áb-i-Sind or Indus and invested Uchchh as the Nú-ín, Mangútah had done in 643 H., reinforcements under Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Ná'ib of Sárang Khán, who was then governor of the provinces of Láhor and Multán, were despatched to the succour of Uchchh. Pír Muḥammad, obtaining information of this, raised the investment of that place, and marched to meet Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, whom he fell upon on the banks of the Bíáh, and overthrew him. He, with difficulty, re-crossed the river, but, in so doing, lost a number of his men, who, in their hurry to escape, threw themselves into the Bíáh and were drowned. Having effected the passage, Táj-ud-Dín Muḥammad retired precipitately towards Multán, which he succeeded in reaching, but was closely followed by the Mughals, who invested him therein. To effect these movements, if the Bíáh and Sutlaj had united, both pursuer and pursued would have had to cross the *Gháraḥ*, but they had not yet united. The Ráwí still flowed east of Multán and united with the Bíáh, which still flowed in its own bed; but, the Chin-áb, having separated from the Ráwí and Bíáh, and altered its course more towards the west, passed Multán on the west instead of the east, and thus Multán was in the Rachan-áb Do-ábah, and Uchchh in the Bíst-Jalhandar, instead of the Sind Ságar, while at present, consequent on other changes in the courses of the rivers, Multán is in the Bárí Do-ábah, and Uchchh has long since been shut out of the Do-ábahs altogether.

So much for the Bíáh and Sutlaj having merged into one *before* the investment of Uchchh in 643 H.

The old bed of the Hakṛá can be traced much farther south-west than "Kururwalla, in Lat. 29°, 53′, Long. 73°, 53′." It can be traced down to the sea coast of Sind, as I have here traced it.

The writer of the article in the "Calcutta Review" has also stated, that the upper part of the Hakṛá "is called *Sotra*, which is probably a corruption of *Satroda* or *Satruda*, the old name of the Satlej[70] [in the "Tartar invasion" he called it the "*Satladar*"]. "Hakrá," he continues, appears to be the modified form of *Sagara*, the letter S being pronounced H in Rajputana and Sindh." It might have been added, that this inveterate propensity likewise prevails in Káṭhiáwár.[71] But,

[70] Only the Sutlaj *was not* the Hakṛá, but merely one of its tributaries. See the notice of the Hakṛá farther on.

[71] Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau, of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Engineers, in his

how comes it that the '*k*' in Hakṛá is changed into '*g*'? The name Ságarah (or Shágarah in some MSS.) is as old as the time when Al-Mas'údí wrote, as will appear farther on.[73]

He also says that "the Satlej when it abandoned the western Naiwal [Ná'e Wálí, the eastern and western, are names of old channels in which, in ancient times, the Sutlaj flowed] entered the valley of the Biyas. * * * At this time [the siege of Uchchh in 643 H.] therefore, took place the first junction between the rivers, and their combined streams were henceforth known as the Beyah." What is the difference? and what name may it have previously borne if it was only *henceforth* called the "Beyah"?

This, however, is nothing less than a contradiction on the writer's part of his own previous and succeeding statements. He must have meant to say, or ought to have said, that, *after* their junction, whenever and wherever that might have happened, they lost their respective names, and were henceforth called Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah; and, in any case, the Sutlaj never entered the valley of the Bíáh, nor did the Bíáh enter the valley of the Sutlaj, because the tracts through which the Bíáh flows after leaving the hills, and a goodly portion of which I have myself traversed, and that through which the united streams now flow, is perfectly flat from their point of junction. The right or western bank of the old bed of the Bíáh, like that of other rivers of this part, is much the highest, and forms the eastern side of the great central plateau separating the valley in which it flowed from the valley of the Ráwí, and forms the greater part of the Ganjí Bár, described in the account of the two rivers farther on; and beyond this high bank the Bíáh could not possibly pass, unless it had risen some forty feet to do so. The old bed of the latter river lies some thirty miles on the average farther west than the united stream, the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah. The Sutlaj and Bíáh met half way, so to speak, *both leaving their old beds*, and formed a new one for a short distance, but they soon separated, and did not unite again until low down in the south-west part of the Multán district, as will be described in its proper

"Personal Narrative" says, that "the Bhatee borderers substitute a guttural *kh* in place of *s*, as "*bukhtee*" for "*bustee*;" *o* for *a* [for '*ah*" as a final letter, as in Sind]; and *sh* for *s*," etc. Tod, on the other hand (as in the extract above, which is really from him), says the natives of these parts cannot pronounce the sibilant, so that '*s*' is commuted into '*h*'."

[73] *Ságar* is the Sanskrit for 'ocean,' 'sea,' etc., and it is still known as the Sind-Ságar near the sea coast. Tod calls it the "Sankra," which is another form of the name; and it is called the Sankrah in the treaty entered into by Nádir Sháh, and Muḥammad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihlí, when ceding all the territory west of it to the Persians. The substance of that treaty is given farther on.

place. It was only towards the close of the last century that they again united, again lost their respective names, formed a new river and a fresh bed, and commenced to flow as at present.

The writer also states that, "the application of the name Satlej to the stream below its confluence is a modern innovation, and is not to be found in old writings, Hindú or Mohammedan." In this he is perfectly correct. It was stated by Abú-l-Faẓl in the A'ín-i-Akbarí nearly three centuries ago, that, "after the junction of the two rivers *they both lose their names*, and the united streams are known as the Ḍanḍ, or Ḍanḍah, Haríárí, and Núrní, and lower down, as the Ghárah or Ghárá (both modes of writing being correct)." Then quoting Tod, the Review writer says, "Tod, in his "Annals of Rajast'han," says, that the Bhaṭṭi traditions say the *Garrah* is always called *Beah*. To this day, the river below Fírozpur is known to the boatmen as Bíyáh [sic] or Garrah. The modern term Satlej is rarely if ever used, except by those who have been brought into contact with Europeans."[73]

I may add that the boatmen never call it "Satlej," nor Sutlaj *below* the confluence of the two rivers, and that, more correctly speaking, we might say that the Sutlaj unites with the Bíáh, instead of the Bíáh uniting with the Sutlaj. The Sutlaj was the interloper, and its entering the channel of the Bíáh at Loh or Loh-Wál temporarily, caused the Bíáh to desert its ancient channel altogether.

Before closing these remarks upon the article in the "Calcutta Review," I would point out what appears so very contradictory in the writer's statements. At page 10 he says, that, "when the Sulṭán ('Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh), reached the banks of the *Beyah*, the Mughals raised the siege of Uchh," and that "the allusion is to the united streams, the Satlej having become merged into the *Beyah*." Now, after stating that "the Satlej is an interloper, and the *Beyáh* the original stream," which last statement is undoubtedly correct, he says that "the Satlej is no other than the Hakra or Naewal"; that "the Abohar" was the last which deserted its bed in the first half of the thirteenth century; that, although they *met* at Hariki Pattan [Harí ke Paṭan—The Ferry of Harí] in 1593, they have only flowed in the same bed since

[73] Tod in his "Rajast'han," says, note page 262, Vol II, that "The Garah is invariably called the *Behah* in the chronicle [which he is supposed to be quoting]. Gharah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (*gar*) suspended in its waters. The Gharah is composed of the waters of the *Behah* and *Sutlej*."

Gárá (گارا), not "*gar*" is mud in Hindí, but *kneaded* and *prepared* for pottery or building, but the name of the river is Ghallú-Ghárah (گھاگرا) and Ghárah. See notes 66 and 67.

1796"; and that "since then the lands on the banks of the old *Bíyás* became waste."[74]

If these last statements are correct, then the former one, that, when the Mughals raised the siege of Uchchh in 1245 A. D., "*the allusion is to the united streams, the* SATLEJ *having become merged into the Bíyáh*," is incorrect; as must likewise be the statements, that, after this siege of Uchchh, "*armies marching from Dehli to Multán were obliged to abandon the direct route by Marot, in consequence of the disappearance of the Hakra*," which we are now told "*is no other than the* SATLEJ *or Naewal;*" and that afterwards, they "*always took the road by Abohar and Ajodhan*," must be equally wrong, since the writer adds, that "*the*

[74] Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, after gaining possession of Uchchh in 931 H. (1524-25 A. D.), and destroying its defences, marched from thence towards Multán, and reached the banks of the Gharah; and the Langáh Jaṭs of Multán took post on the banks, and there awaited his attack.

This clearly shows that the Biáh and Sutlaj had then, in Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain's day, already united above Fírúz-púr, and become the Hariárí, Ḍandah, or Núrní, as afterwards described by Abú-l-Faẓl. But they soon separated again, and each resumed its former name, the only difference being that an intermediate, but very minor branch remained, called the Ḍandah. After flowing apart for about one hundred *kuroh*, they again united and formed the Gharah, as described in note 66, page 178, and in the notice of the rivers farther on; for, until they again united in the south-western part of the then Multán territory of the Langáh Jaṭs, there was no Gharah. The latter, however, was not then as it subsequently became, and now is, because it then passed some miles east of the site on which Baháwal-púr now stands, and also east of Uchchh, to unite with the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus.

Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, moreover, is stated to have made peace with the Langáh ruler of Multán, on the stipulation, that the Gharah, in future, should form the boundary between the Multán territory and Sind, and that all to the southwards of the Gharah should belong to Sind. The point where the two rivers again united after flowing apart, will be found in the account of Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá's capture farther on.

It is further mentioned that Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain attacked the fortress of Dir-áwar (since become the chief stronghold of the Dá'úd-putrah chiefs of Baháwal-púr), which through '*l*' and '*r*' being interchangable in these parts, is also called at times Dil-áwar and Dir-áwal, and that he had to take a month's supply of grain and *water* sufficient for his forces along with him, because it was "situated in a desert tract, so that even the birds of the air were afraid to glance at it." This place is close to the west bank of the deserted Hakrá or Wahindah, about fifty miles south-south-west of Baháwal-púr. This statement also shows that the Sutlaj had then ceased to be a tributary of the Hakrá as it had hitherto been, and that by the Sutlaj uniting with the Biáh, both rivers, under the new names of Gharah, etc., had become tributaries of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus.

The above information I may mention is from Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, the historian of Sind, who wrote as far back as near the close of the reign of Akbar Bádsháh.

western branch of the Naewal was the LAST *of the channels connected with the Hakra which, at this time (about* 1220 *A. D.) finally ceased to flow";* for the investment of Uchchh occurred twenty-five years *after* this last channel according to that statement, finally ceased to flow![75]

My geographical and historical information concerning the Bíáh, the Sutlaj, and the ancient Hakṛá or Wahindah, and its tributaries, and concerning the other rivers of the Panj-áb, differs considerably from that contained in the article in the "Calcutta Review," but it agrees generally as to the "Lost River" itself; and, in justice to the writer, it must be allowed that he was one of the first,[76] in the present day, to call prominent attention to the fact that the Hakṛá did once run through the so-called "Indian desert," which appeared almost to have been forgotten.

A good deal of my information is taken from a geographical work, the result of a personal survey, by a well read and very intelligent native of India of foreign descent, made *previous* to 1790 A. D., which was the year in which his work was completed, or just six years *before* the time the writer in the Review above mentioned, in his last statement just quoted, says, that the Bíáh and Sutlaj "first flowed in one bed." Farther on I shall give some extracts from his admirable Survey record.

Before attempting to describe the changes which have taken place in the courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb, and the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, and the disappearance of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, it will be well to give a few extracts from the old Musalmán geographers and historians; and although some part of what they say, is, seemingly, mere nonsense, we must allow for the conjectural spelling of translators (in cases where we have not the original works to refer to), who have attempted to render names, which, in the MSS. translated, have often no vowel points whatever. Indeed, for geographical purposes, and recording proper names in general, the 'Arabic character is, from the carelessness of copyists, and the nature of the characters themselves, an unfortunate one.

[75] Thus far I had written twelve years since, as a note to the investment of Uchchh at page 1155 of my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí." I have allowed it to stand just as it was then written.

[76] The Report of Lieut. J. G. Fife, of the Bombay Engineers, to the Government of that Presidency on the project of "restoring water to the ancient channel of the Indus called the Eastern Narra," in which the Hakṛá is referred to, as having once flowed through these parts, is dated as far back as September 1852, and Burton also refers to it in his work on Sind, published in 1851.

The geographers and geographical works I propose to quote are the following. Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá, son of Jábir-al-Balázirí, who wrote his "Futúḥ-al-Baladán" about 270 H. (883–84 A. D.).[77] Abú-l-Ḳásim-i-'Ubaid-ulláh, known as Ibn Khurdád-bih, who wrote about 275 H. (888–89 A. D.), or, certainly, before 300 H. (912 A. D.). Abú-Zaid-al-Ḥasan, a native of Síráf, who appears to have written shortly after Ibn Khurdád-bih; for the writer who follows, met him at Baṣrah in 303 H. (916 A. D.), and seems to have compared notes with him. Abú-Ḥasan, surnamed Al-Mas'údí, who wrote his "Murúj-uz-Zahab wa Ma'ádin-ul-Jauáhir" in 332 H. (943–44 A. D.); Abú-Isḥáḳ-al-Istakhárí,[78] who wrote between 340 and 350 H. (951–52 and 961 A. D.). The "Kitáb-ul-Masálik wa Mamálik," written a few years after the preceding, and nearly about the time that Muḥammad, Abú-l-Ḳásim, son of Ḥauḳal, hence, chiefly known as Ibn Ḥauḳal, wrote his "Ashkál-ul-Bilád," whose work bears a considerable resemblance to the "Masálik wa Mamálik" in many places. Ibn Ḥauḳal completed his work in 366 H. (976 A. D.). He appears to have met Al-Istakhárí in his travels somewhere in Sind, or in the Multán territory. The next in point of date is the celebrated Abú-Riḥán, Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, familiarly known as the *Ustád* or Master, Bú-Riḥán, surnamed Al-Berúní, who wrote about the year 420 H. (1028 A. D.),[79] or soon

77 He died in the year 279 H. (892–93 A. D.).

78 He is not called "*Istakhrí*," because he was a native of that famous Persian city called Istakhar or Persepolis. The word means a pond, lake, or sheet of water. 'Arabs write the name Iṣṭakhar.

79 He finished his work, the Taḥḳíḳ (not "*Tárikh*," as in Elliot and Sachau) -ul-Hind by the first day of the year 423 H., which commenced on the 18th of December, 1031 A. D. In the year preceding, in several places in his work, he styles it "our year," because it was that in which his great patron, Sulṭán Mas'úd, obtained the restitution of his rights as the eldest son and heir of his father, and assumed the throne at Hirát in the fifth month of that year. He did not compose it in "*Afghanistan*," nor in "*the Afghan-Indian empire*," as Prof. E. Sachau, the editor of the text and translator of the same, assumes, because Ghazní, or Ghaz-nín or correctly, Ghaz-nih, but never "*Ghaz-na*," although included in the modern Afghán *state*, is not, and never was, included within "*the* Afghánistán," or native country of the Afgháns. What that means and constitutes may be seen from my work entitled "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., page 453 to 470; and the world has not yet seen an "*Afghan-Indian Empire*," and Sulṭán Maḥmúd was a *Turk*, not an Afghán.

Some errors of a similar kind will be found in the English Preface to the 'Arabic text, and also in the Preface to its translation by the same learned Professor.

Abú-Riḥán was not brought to Ghaznih, under any compulsion, nor was he detained against his will by Sulṭán Maḥmúd in his dominions; for his contemporary and admirer, Abú-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaḳí, tells us, that he first came to the Sulṭán's court, in the suite of the Khwárazmí ruler, the son-in-law of the Sulṭán, and that *of his own accord* he entered Sulṭán Maḥmúd's service. It was in the train of that conqueror, and that of his chief patron, Sulṭán Mas'úd, that Bú-Riḥán had the opportunity of

after. He is extensively quoted by the author of the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, and by the Fanákatí, but honestly so; for they both acknowledge what they have extracted from his "Taḥḳíḳ-ul-Hind. After him comes Abú-'Abdullah, Muḥammad, surnamed Al-Idrísí, who wrote his work "Nuzhat-ul-Mushtáḳ," about the middle of the twelfth century of our era, about 545 H. (1150–51 A. D.). The next is Zakaríyá, the Ḳazwíní, who wrote his "Aṣár-ul-Bilád" a century or more after Al-Idrísí, about 661 H. (1263 A. D.), a short time only after the siege of Uchchh by the Mughals, before noticed. He, however, quotes chiefly from the "'Ajá'ib-ul-Baladán" of Muṣ'ir,[80] son of Muhalhil, the 'Arab, who travelled into India and China in 331 H. (942–43 A. D.), and these quotations may really be considered to refer to the places noticed as they existed when the latter wrote. Lastly, the work of Ibn-al-Wardí-al-Ḳarshí, who wrote between 668 and 684 H. (1269–1285 A. D.), or about twenty years after the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" was completed.

Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá, al-Balázirí,[81] states in his "Futúḥ-ul-Baladán," that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, after his conquest of Sind, advanced to Multán, and, that "the Muḥammadans discovered there, beneath the idol-temple a *Bait* [بيت], ten cubits in length and eight in breadth, containing a considerable quantity of gold." The 'Arabic word "*bait*" here used does not mean "a house" only, as some appear to have assumed, but it signifies also "a vault," "a chamber," "receptacle," "repository," and many other meanings of a similar kind, and here refers to a receptacle or repository for the treasure, such as was not

visiting Hind, and instituting his inquiries respecting that country. He may have visited parts farther east along with the troops of those Sulṭáns in their expeditions, but he appears not to have dwelt any time in those parts, except at Multán, and Láhor—at that period the seat of Government of the Muḥammadan territories recently conquered from the Hindús—and here he was enabled to institute his inquiries (taḥḳíḳát, hence the title "Taḥḳíḳ-ul-Hind") respecting Hind and its people. He is neither called "*Bíráni*," as in Elliot, nor "*Alberuni*," as in Sachau, but was entitled *Al-Beráni*. He is not so entitled because of any place so called; for he was a native of Khwárazm, and there was no place so called in that country. Being a foreigner, or rather a stranger—for, when he wrote, Khwárazm was an integral part of the Ghazníwí empire—when mentioned as Abú-Riḥán, that being not an uncommon name by any means, by way of distinction, he was styled Abú-Riḥán or Bú-Riḥán, the Berúní, that is, the outsider—the stranger or alien.

[80] This name in 'Arabic signifies, 'one who notices any novelty,' 'a spectator,' 'observer,' 'spy,' etc. Mis'ar, as in Elliot, Vol. I, page 95, is meaningless.

[81] He is so called because he was addicted to the use of a mixture—some say intoxicating—made from the *balázir*, or Malacca bean, which is used in medicine. The word is an 'Arabic one, and written with the letter ض. He is incorrectly called "Al Biládurí," "Beládsorí," "Biladori," and the like, anything but by the correct name.

unusually, but generally, contained in Hindú idol-temples, *beneath* where the idol stood, and such as Sultán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín discovered beneath the idol in the temple of Som-náth.[82] The Balázirí continues: "There was an aperture from above into this receptacle through which the gold was poured in; and it is from this circumstance that Multán is called 'the *Farkh* [فرخ] or Temple containing the *Bait* or Receptacle for Gold.' The idol-temple of Multán received rich offerings from the people of Sind, and others who made pilgrimages thereto."

This writer details the history, rather than the geography, of Sind and Multán.

Ibn Khurdád-bih, whose work does not contain much on the subjects here discussed, says: "Multán is called 'the *Farkh* [فرخ] or Temple of the *Bait* or Receptacle of Gold,' because Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, the conqueror of Sind, and lieutenant [of his uncle and father-in-law], Al-Ḥajjáj, acquired forty *buhárs*[83] of gold in a depository or receptacle in that place, which was henceforth called 'the *Bait* or Receptacle of gold.' * * * From the Mihrán to مسر [*sic* in MSS. and in the printed text of M. Barbier de Meynard], which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four day's journey."[84]

Abú-Zaid-al-Ḥasan of Síráf states, that "the idol [temple] called Múltán or Multán lies on the frontiers of Manṣúriyah;[85] and people come a distance of many months' journey, and make pilgrimages thereunto. They bring thither the *'úd-i-ḳumárí* [the sweet-smelling wood

82 The depositing of treasure in a vault or chamber in the midst of idol-temples was not peculiar to Multán, as shown from the fact here related, under or beneath the idol, and not in its "belly," as some of the "Firishta" translations have. Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar also states, that, when Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, early in 94 H., captured Asal Kandah or Askandah, north of the Bíáh, and a considerable distance above Uchchh for which it has been "identified" (see note further on), its idol temple was destroyed, and in the midst thereof, deposited, an immense treasure was found.

At this very time (1889 A. D.), the *Mahant*, or religious superior of the idol temple of Tripátí, in the Madras Presidency, has been convicted of robbing the vault or chamber under the idol, and appropriating the treasure contained therein. See also page 191, and note 97.

83 See page and note just referred to respecting this word and its meaning.

84 Elliot (Historians, Vol. I, page 15) actually makes *Bakar* out of this, which he of course means Bakhar on the Áb-i-Sind or Indus. The word, as it now stands, is unintelligible, but might *possibly* refer to Basmid [بسمد]. Besides, the author says "*on the borders of Sind*," while Bakhar is, and always has been, in its foundation, *in Sind*, but, at the period in question it was unknown. The place referred to lay, no doubt, east of Multán.

85 The territory dependent on it, at that period, all Sind, of which Manṣúriyah was the capital.

brought from Ḳámrún], so-called from the country where it grows. * * * This *'úd* is presented to the attendants of the temple, who use it as incense. * * * It is valuable, fetching, at times, as much as two hundred *dínárs* the *mann*. * * * The merchants purchase the wood from the attendants." * * * This is all he says either respecting Multán or Manṣúriyah.

Al-Mas'údí says: "Respecting the rule over Múltán, we have already said that it belongs to the descendants of Usámah, son of Luwaí, son of Ghálib, [one copy has "descendants of 'Uṣman" *i. e.*, the Baní 'Uṣmán], a Ḳuresh, who has a powerful army. Múltán is one of the frontier territories of the Musalmáns,[86] which they compute to contain within its limits of about 120,000 villages and estates [one copy has "towns and villages," which is absurd] [87] We have already mentioned the *bud* or idol of Múltán, which is also known as Múltán. * * * At the time of my arrival in that city, after the year 300 H. [912-13 A. D.], the Malik then ruling was named Abú-l-Liháb-al-Munnabib, son of Asad-al-Ḳureshí [in one copy, Abú Dilahát, son of Asad-ul-Munabbih-us-Sámí-ul-Ḳureshí]. It was at the same time that I visited Manṣúriyah. Abú-l-Munzir, 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ullah, then ruled over that territory. I also saw his Wazír, Riyáḥá [ ], also his two sons, Muḥammad and 'Alí. I also met an 'Arab, one of the Sayyids, among the Maliks [there], who was noted under the name of Ḥamzah. A great number of the posterity of 'Alí [the Khalífah], son of Abú-Ṭálib, and of 'Umar, son of 'Alí, the offspring of Muḥammad, son of 'Alí, had taken up their residence there.[88] Between the Maliks of Manṣúriyah, and the family of the Ḳází, Abí-ush-Shawárib, there was close relationship, and a common origin. In fact, the Maliks who, at present, rule over that territory are

[86] What at that period was considered the frontiers of Khurásán, not as it is known at present. The territory dependent on Multán extended to the skirts of the mountains west of the Indus, as far up as the southern boundary of Bannú.

[87] What are known as *mauza's* and *chaks*, and might be termed villages and hamlets, consisting of tracts of land containing a few inhabitants.

One of the "Gazetteers" I have referred to, tells us, that, "*Al Masádi* [sic] describes Mooltán as *surrounded* by 120,000 hamlets—an evident exaggeration, but one which gives an idea of general prosperity."

The territory dependent on Multán was about two hundred and fifty-six miles in breadth from S. E. to N. W., and rather more in length from N. E. to S. W., narrowing to about one hundred and eight.

[88] This was written about two centuries after it was founded, and it is referred to centuries after, consequently, Manṣúriyah was not so "short lived" as some have imagined, nor was it such a small fortress, seeing that in Al-Istákhrí's time it was twice the size of Multán. See "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" for 1884, page 282.

descended from Habbár, the son of Al-Aswad, and are known under the designation of Baní 'Umar, from 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, the Kuresh. This 'Umar must not be confounded with 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, son of Marwán, the Umaiyah [Khalífah]."[89]

"From Múltán to Manṣúriyah is seventy-five *farsangs* of Sind, that is to say, the *farsang* of eight *mil*." At eight miles to each, as here given in the text, the distance would be just six hundred miles from Manṣúriyah.[90]

In another place he says: "This territory (Múltán) obeys a Kureshí of the Baní-us-Sámah, the son of Lawí, son of Ghálib; and this place is the general rendezvous of the *káfilahs* which proceed into Khurásán."

"The Kitáb-ul-Masálik wa Mamálik says: "Múltán is a city about half that of Manṣúriyah, and is called 'the *Farkh-i-Bait-uz-Zahab* [The Temple of the Receptacle or Vault of Gold]." Múltán has a strong *ḥiṣár*, but Manṣúriyah is more populous. The reason why Múltán is called the *Farkh-i-Bait-uz-Zahab* is, that, when the Musalmáns captured it, they were poor and needy. They there found much gold, and they supplied their wants, and acquired strength.

"About half a *farsang* outside Múltán there are *kúshks* [lofty edifices], and there the Amír of Multán has his residence. * * * He is a Kuresh of the descendants of Sám [سام][91] son of Luwaí [لوی], who seized upon Múltán. He does not pay obedience to the Khudáwand [Master, Possessor, Lord, etc.] of Manṣúriyah, but reads the *khuṭbah* for the Khalífah."

Ibn Ḥauḳal's statements agree with the preceding pretty well so far, but here he states, that, "About half a *farsang* from Múltán are lofty edifices called Chandráwar, the residence of the Amír, who never enters Multán except on Fridays [to say his prayers in public]. He is a Kuresh, of the sons of Sám, son of Núḥ,[92] who first occupied this part; and he reads the *khuṭbah* for the Khalífah."

Abú Riḥán-al-Berúní says "there was a famous temple at Múltán

89 See note farther on.

90 The direct distance, as the crow flies, is about three hundred and fifty miles or about one hundred and ten ordinary *farsangs*. Eight miles to the *farsang* cannot be correct: it is about three. The *yojánah* was eight *mil*, and this, I expect, is how the distance became confused. However, in any case, the distance is not correct. See Bú-Riḥán's computation of the *farsang* at page 191, and also note 118, page 209.

91 The "Baní Usámah" of Al-Mas'údí above.

92 This word نوح—Núḥ—which was without a point, is, without doubt, meant for لوی—Luwaí—as mentioned by Al-Mas'údí, and in the Masálik wa Mamálik. Both works concur in the first name—Sám. Respecting this word, and these Amírs, a strange mistake has been made. See farther on.

dedicated to the sun, and, consequently, styled آدت [Áditya]. * * * When the Karámiṭahs [descended from this Sám, son of Luwaí, just named] took possession of Múltán, the subduer thereof Jalam,[93] son of Shaibán, destroyed the idol and broke it to pieces, and slew the priests. The *kaṣr* [the 'Arabic of *kúshak* previously mentioned] which was constructed of kiln burnt bricks on an elevated position,[94] he made the Masjid-i-Jámi' [Friday Masjid] instead of the old one, which he commanded should be shut up, out of hatred towards every thing that had been done previously under the governors on the part of the Baní Umaiyah."

In another place he says, with reference to the changes in the names of cities, that Múltán was originally called Kashṭ-púr [کشت پور —Káshya-púr ?], then Hans-púr [هنس پور], then Bag-púr [بگ پور], then Sánb or Sánab-púr [سانب پور], and, at length, Múlistán [مولستان], *múl* signifying, 'root,' 'origin,' 'lineage,' etc. (also 'the nineteenth lunar mansion') and *istán*, a place.[95]

He also refers, but not expressly, with reference to the *Farkh* of the Receptacle or Repository of Gold, to the weight known as *bhár*, which, he says, is mentioned in the annals of the conquest of Sind, and states, that it is equal to the weight of two thousand *fuls* or *puls* [*fulús*—small copper coins about the weight of an Indian *paisah*], which absurd statement makes it equivalent to the weight of an ox."[96] In another place he computes the *farsakh* or *farsang* as equivalent to four *míl* or 16,000 cubits [ذرع], not yards.

Then comes Al-Idrísí, who states, that, "Multán is close to Hind; indeed, some writers place it in that country. It equals Manṣúriyah in size, and is called 'the *Bait* or Receptacle of Gold.' * * * Multán is a large city, which is commanded by a fortress having four gates, and

[93] See page 189 what Al-Mas'údí says about the rulers, and the preceding paragraph. Mas'údí wrote a century before Bú-Riḥán, and knew more about the rulers of Multán than that writer, who evidently is mistaken in the name, or the text is wrong. The Amír who is referred to is the one who, on the part of the 'Abbásís, ousted the Amír on the part of the Umaiyahs, named Músá, son of Ka'ab-uṭ-Tamímmí, from this territory.

[94] There are no elevated positions there now, except the position on which the fortress stands, and the Mandí-Awá, which, at the siege of Multán, was captured and occupied by the Bombay column, on the day of the attack on the suburbs the 26th January, 1849. I am inclined to believe that that is the spot indicated.

[95] Shahámat 'Alí, author of the "Sikhs and Afgháns," who served in political employ for many years in this vicinity, in his abbreviation of the "Annals of the Dá'úd-putrah Nawwábs," says, that Multán at different periods was known as Hest-púr, Bakhar-púr, etc.

[96] See following note.

surrounded by a wet ditch. * * * It [Multán] is called 'the *Farkh* [فرخ] or Temple of the Chamber or Receptacle of Gold,' because Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, found forty *buhárs* of gold concealed in a *bait* [vault, chamber, repository, receptacle, and the like] there. *Farkh* and *Bihár* [or Wihár, '*b*' and '*w*' being interchangable, and miscalled vulgarly "Vihár"] have the same signification.[97] The environs of this

[97] It must be remembered, that Abú Zaid-al-Ḥasan, and also Al-Mas'údí, just quoted, state, that *the idol* and its temple also were called Multán: the city which sprung up around it was also called after the idol. Consequently, the finding of so much gold "in Multán," does not refer to the city or town, but *the temple of the idol, Multán.*

Elliot, in the first volume of his "Indian Historians," page 14, quoting from a French translation of Ibn Khurdád-bih's work, has translated the name applied to this temple as follows:—

"Multán is called "the *farj* of the house of gold," because Muhammad, son of Kásim, lieutenant of Al Hajjáj found forty *bahárs* of gold *in one house of that city*, which was henceforth called "House of Gold." *Farj* (split) has here the sense of a "frontier." A *bahár* is worth 333 *mans*, and each *man* is two *ratls*."

As to this very strange translation, he makes no comment; and, in other places, although the correct word is given by him, and its correct meaning also (which has thus been turned into *farj*) clearly shown, it was not perceived by him or his Editor apparently.

At page 35 of the same volume, in his extracts from Ibn Ḥaukal, Elliot has: "Multán is half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the *boundary* of the house of gold." To this is appended the following footnote:—"The Ashkálu-l-Bilád says "*burj*" or bastion [this in the original character would be برج without points; so it will be seen how this fearful blunder has arisen], which, at first sight, would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "*farj*" are so strong [!!] as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iraœ* (p. 67), that we are *not entitled* [!!] to consider "*burj*" as the correct reading. (Quatremére concurs in reading "*farj*." *Jour. des Sav.* See also Ibn Khurdádba and the account given in the Chachnáma)."

The letters of this word, in the originals generally, are فرج, without points, the scribes deeming it unnecessary to point so well known a word. Some ignorant scribe mistook it for برج, and so made بُرج—*burj*—a bastion of it, and another took it for مرج, and so made مَرج—*marj*—a meadow of it, and never guessed what the correct word was; but they very properly, did not think themselves "entitled" to write it '*farj*.' Three words can be made of this فرج, namely:—1. فَرج—*farj*, which I am certain *will not be found so pointed in any MS. copy of any of the works quoted* by Elliot; 2. فَرح—*farah*—which signifies 'joy,' 'gladness,' 'cheerfulness,' etc.; and 3. فَرخ—*farkh*—which signifies, as described in the Muḥammadan dictionaries, 'a pagan temple,' and also 'an idol,' the plural form of which is فُرخار—*farkhár*—signifying 'idol temples' in general, and likewise idols; and, in this sense, the word will be found mentioned in Abú-Riḥán-al-Berúní's "Asár-ul-Báḳiyát," a translation of which was lately published by Prof. C. E. Sachau, in which

city are watered by a little river [a canal or water-cut, no doubt] which unites with the Mihrán of Sind. At one *mil* from Multán

the author uses the word *farkhár* with another, plainly showing (as Al-Idrísí also shows), their significations; namely, *bihár* or *wihár* thus—"FARKHÁR WO BIHÁR"—the first referring to Hindú temples, and the latter to Budhist convents or monasteries.

Certainly, *our* dictionaries, among other meanings, describe "*farj*" as "the confines of a hostile country," "a dangerous place," "splitting," "separating," and the like, but the more general and universally applied and understood meaning is, "*pudenda tum maris tum feminæ*;" but why on earth this latter word, "*farj*," bearing such a meaning, should have been chosen instead of "*farkh*" is inexplicable, unless the French translator was quite ignorant of its existence, or of its correct signification and application. Besides, there was no plausible reason for *selecting* the word "*farj*" in preference to the two other words which the unpointed letters فرج are capable of representing.

In his extracts from Idrísí's geography, (p. 82) Elliot himself renders the word "*farkh*"; and the reason why Multán was called "the *farkh* of the *bait* of gold" is clearly mentioned by the 'Arab author In his extract from the Balázirí's work he has also "*farkh*," and yet he failed to perceive that his previous rendering from the French translation was wholly unsuitable, and must be wrong, and that *bait* had other meanings than simply "a house." Had he given it a moment's thought, he certainly would have rejected "*farj*."

Again, in his extracts from the "Chach-Náma," on the very same subject, he has (Vol. I., p. 205): "I have heard from the elders of Multán that in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was Jíbawín, and was a descendant of the Rái of Kashmír. He was a Brahman and a monk, he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a *reservoir* on the eastern side of Multán, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built *a temple* fifty yards square, and he made there *a chamber in which he deposited forty copper jars* each of which was filled with African gold dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty *mans* of gold was deposited there. *Over it* there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir."

This is not quite what the Chach Námah states, which is literally to the following effect:—

"It was thus ascertained from the elders of Multán, that, in ancient days, and in times long past, in this city there was a Rá'e, Jas-want [جسونت—Jas-wín ?] by name, of the posterity of the Rá'e of Kash-mír. He was a Bráhman and a priest, and in the observance of his religion strict and zealous. He was constantly occupied in the adoration of idols. When his treasures exceeded the bounds of computation and calculation, he constructed a reservoir of water, 106 *gaz* long, by 106 *gaz* broad; and in the midst of the reservoir he erected an idol-temple, 50 *gaz* by 50 *gaz*, and therein made a receptacle [دوکانی], and there deposited forty copper jars or vessels, each of which was filled with fragments of African gold, amounting to 300 *manns* of buried treasure. Over the receptacle was the place for an idol, and there an idol was set up, formed of red gold. Round about the reservoir trees were planted." Muhammad, son of Kásim, having obtained information of this from the priests,

is Jand-úr [جندور—Chand-úr? the Chandráwar of Ibn Ḥauḳal, and Jand Rúd of some others], a collection of fortifications[98] strongly built, lofty, and well supplied with fresh water. The Amír of Multán passes the spring and his leisure time here: Ibn Ḥauḳal states, that, in his time, the Amír used to proceed every Friday from these fortifications to Multán, mounted on an elephant, according to an ancient custom."

had the place opened and the treasure was found. "On being weighed, the gold dust contained in those forty vessels or jars was found to amount to 13,200 *mans* of gold." This, together with the gems and pearls obtained in the sack of Multán, was deposited in the treasury. I may mention that the lowest computation of the *mann* is 2 lbs of 12 oz. each, but, according to some, 6 lbs; and, by the lowest computation, would amount to the enormous weight of 26,400 lbs, or 316,800 ounces of gold. No wonder the place was called "temple of the depository of gold."

It is quite time that this "*farj*" error should be corrected and washed out. What more can be required to do so than these accounts?

Al-Idrísí says above, that "*farkh* and *bihár* have the same signification," considering, it seems, that, where idols are worshipped, must be an idol-temple, but the word "*buhár*," written with short '*u*' for the first vowel, and not '*i*,' as in the word signifying a Buddhist temple, refers to a weight, said to be equal to about 400 lbs English, and it also means," a vessel in shape like an ewer.' The Sanskrit word भार, written in 'Arabic characters بهار, pronounced *bhár*, means 'weight,' 'weight of gold,' etc., but, as the Chach Námah says, he deposited forty *jars* or *vessels*, the Persian word of that meaning just referred to is doubtless correct.

[98] To the eastward of the fortress of Multán, facing the tomb and shrine of Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa-d-Dín, Zakaríyá (*vul.* "Bahawul Hak"), at about the distance of a mile and a half or little more, and extending a considerable distance either way, are—or were, for they may have been demolished by the railway Vandals for railway ballast *now*—the remains of many stone and brick-built buildings (as near as I can recollect after the lapse of some thirty-five years), which bore the marks of considerable antiquity, and among them was a good size *masjid*. I have often ridden to them of an evening, but never thought of instituting any inquiries respecting the ruins, and much regret now that I did not. I certainly wondered what could have been the object of building such structures in a perfectly waterless position; for there were no traces of wells near by, as far as I can remember. The ruins were bounded farther east, I *now* find, by the bed of a stream, a small branch of the Ráwí, possibly, which had been utilized as a canal; and this may have been the "little river" mentioned above. That the Ráwí and all the other rivers of the Panj-áb flowed east of Multán at the period these buildings were inhabited there is no doubt whatever. The Lolí Wá-han (which is a mere canal or cutting from the Chin-áb) ran nearer to the fort walls on the north-east, and passed, and still passes, near the east side of it, but it is now a very petty stream. It is noteworthy that the lands immediately south-east of the city of Multán are styled Ṭaraf Ráwí—the Ráwí Side—to this day.

It is possible that the ruins I have mentioned were connected with, or were included in, "the collection of forts referred to in the text above. At the time the author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" was at Multán there was a standing camp hereabouts.

Zakaríyá, the Ḳazwíní, says very little respecting Multán in his "Áṡár-ul-Bilád," but refers to what he had previously written from the "'Ajá'ib-ul-Buldán," which agrees generally with what others have written about it and its idol-temple.

Ibn Al-Wardí-al-Ḳarshí, who wrote between the years 668 H. and 684 H. (1269 and 1285 A. D.), mentions Multán very briefly, but, like all others, he says it is called the "*Farkh* [فرخ]*-i-Bait-uz-Zahab*"—The Temple containing the Receptacle or Vault of Gold."

Having related what the old writers say about Multán and its '*Farkh*,' I will now turn to Manṣúriyah as the next most important place connected with the courses of the rivers, and having completed that, I shall be better able to mention what they say respecting the rivers themselves, and the places lying along or near their banks.

Ibn Khurdád-bih gives no particulars respecting it, and Al-Mas'údí says but little. He states that Multán is seventy-five *farsangs* of Sind, each *farsang* being eight *mil* [miles], distant from Manṣúriyah.[99] The villages and inhabited places dependent on Manṣúriyah [the territory] amount to 300,000. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields.[100] It is constantly at war with a nation called Med, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontier thereof. Like Multán it is on the frontiers of Sind,[101] and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. Manṣúriyah is so called from Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, the Amír on the part of the Baní Umaiyah."[102]

[99] How then is it possible that Manṣúriyah could refer to Bakhar as Abú-l-Faẓl (and those who follow him) erroneously supposed? This is the greatest error ever made by Abú-l-Faẓl. See note 90, page 190.

The Multán territory extended south as far as Alor or Aror; while the territory of Manṣúriyah extended from and included Alor or Aror and its district southwards to the sea-coast.

[100] This may be somewhat highly coloured, but the lands along the course of the Mihrán, and farther east along the banks of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, were remarkable for their fertility. See the "Report on the Eastern Narra," page 34, paragraph 3; 39, 7; and 40, 17.

[101] Others, more correctly, state, that it is in Sind, of which there is no possible doubt.

[102] It is strange that such discrepancy should exist respecting the foundation of its place. The Manṣúr here referred to is Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, who was the th. Amír of Sind on the part of the Baní Umaiyah, who was defeated by Músá, last Aof Ka'ab-ut-Tamímí, who was despatched from Marw by Abú Muslim into the son in after he declared for the accession of the Baní 'Abbás to the Khiláfat. See farther on.

The Balázirí states (see farther on), that Ḥakam, Amír of Sind, about the year 120 H. (738 A. D.), built Maḥfúẓah, and that 'Amro ('Amr) son of Muḥammad, the unfortunate conqueror of Sind, who served under Ḥakam, founded Manṣúriyah; while

The Istakhrí says, "Manṣúriyah which is a city of Sind, is about a *mil* [mile] long and a *mil* broad, and is surrounded [part of the territory dependent on it] by a branch of the Mihrán [as shown in the map taken from the Masálik wa Mamálik]. The inhabitants are Musalmáns."

The Masálik wa Mamálik, with which work that of Ibn Ḥaukal very nearly, but not altogether, agrees, states that, "Manṣúriyah which they call Sindiyah,[103] is a city of Sind, about a mile long and a mile broad, and surrounded [*i. e.*, part of the territory dependent on it] by a branch of the Mihrán. It is like an island. The people of Manṣúriyah are Kureshís, the descendants of Habbár, son of Al-Aswad, who seized upon it; and, up to this time it is in the hands of his descendants. * * * The people in their dress and habits are like the people of 'Iráḳ, but their Bádsháhs[104] are like Hindús in appearance, and have rings in their ears."

Bú-Riḥán-al-Berúní enters into no particulars respecting this place, in this part of Rashíd-ud-Dín's history, but, in his account of the rulers of Dilhí, in another part, he says (as quoted by Rashíd-ud-Dín), that, "previous to the time of the Sámánís, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, marched from the side of Sijis-stán into Sind, and subdued Bahman-no [بهمنو], to which he gave the name of Manṣúriyah,[105] and to Multán, Ma'múriyah."

Al-Idrísí says, on the contrary, that Manṣúriyah was founded in the beginning of the Khiláfat of Al-Manṣúr [Abú-Ja'far-al-Manṣúr], the 'Abbásí, the second Khalífah of that family, who did not succeed to the Khiláfat until 136 H. (754 A. D.), some sixteen years after the time of Ḥakam and 'Amro ('Amr) and some four years after the overthrow of Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, the last Umaiyah Amír.

It would appear from this, if all three writers are correct, that Manṣúriyah was founded in Ḥakam's time, finished in the time of Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, and the name merely continued by Abú-Ja'far-al-Manṣúr. Bahman-ábád, or Bahman-nih, the Bahman-no of the Sindís, was founded centuries before, by Bahman, son of Isfandiyár, in the reign of Gushtásib, sovereign of Í-rán-Zamín, who made conquests in the valley of the Indus, and western Hind, which were retained up to within a few years of the fall of the Í-rání empire. See the following note 105, see also my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc. pages 318 and 509.

[103] That seems to mean the Sindí Manṣúriyah, or Manṣúriyah of Sind, to distinguish it from the other Manṣúriyah.

[104] This word does not refer to sovereigns here, but to chiefs. See my "Notes on Afghánistán," page 154.

[105] See the extract from Bú-Riḥán, page 219. This place, Bahman-ás im-east Bahman-nih, notwithstanding that more than one old author distinctly states by whom it was founded, European writers persist in calling "Brahmanábád," because it is incorrect, seemingly.

A specimen of this dangerous system appears in Professor E. Sachau's edition of the text of Bú-Riḥán's work, printed at the expense of the India Office. At pages

In the printed text lately issued, this paragraph appears somewhat different from the above. It states that Muḥammad, ibn Al-Ḳásim, ibn Al-Munabbih, conquered Sind from the side of Sigistán, and subdued

11, 82, 100, and 162, the printed text has بهمنوا, and this word is, actually, indexed and transliterated *Bráhmanábád!* In the same way بزرج is indexed and transliterated "*Barygaza*"; and the words پنج ند—*panch nad* are rendered "*Páncanada*"!! In this way, the words of an author are changed by persons who fancy they know better than he did; and those who have to trust to translations are thus led astray, and the author is often condemned for the conceited errors of his editor. The latter might, at least, say, that he had thought fit to substitute what *he* thought correct, and then the student could choose between them. The Zain-ul-Akhbár of the Gardaizí, written in the reign of Sulṭán Furrukh-zád of Ghaznih, about 445 H. (1052-53 A. D.), a rare and highly esteemed chronicle, states, that, "Bahman, son of Isfandiyár, who used to be styled Ard-shír-i-*Daráz Bázú*, or of the long arm," and respecting whom, in connection with the tracts on the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, many traditions are related (and to some of which I have referred in my "Notes" above-quoted respecting Bannú), "founded a city in the *zamín* of Sind, which was named by him Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih, and which they call [when he wrote] Manṣúriyah." The author of the Mujmal-ut-Tawárikh, who wrote his work about 525 H. (1131 A. D.), quoting an old work from the Hindí language, translated in the year 417 H. (1026 A D), the year in which Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznih or Ghaznín undertook the expedition against Som-náth, says—"In the time of Gushtásib, ruler of Ír-ráu-Zamín, Bahman, his grandson, surnamed Ard-shír, son of Isfandiyár, led an army into Hind and Sind, and subdued a considerable portion of it. No member of the family of the ruler, named Sunágh, retained any power therein. Bahman founded a city between the frontiers or borders of the Hindús and Turks [the "Indo-Scythians," as they are styled] to which he gave the name of Ḳand-á'íl, and, in another part, which they call Búdah, he founded a city which he named Bahman-ábád; and, according to one statement, this is Manṣúriyah." As to Ḳand á'íl, see page 217.

According to Tod (Vol. II, p. 44), the Ráná of Odeypoor is descended from Bahman.

This statement, I find, is confirmed by the chronicler, Muḥammad, son of Jarír, ut-Ṭabarí, whose statements may be considered indisputable, considering the sources of information which he possessed. He informs us, that the Malik of Hind who had been reduced to subjection by Bahman, threw off his allegiance, and that Bahman despatched the 'Álim, or Sage, Akhtúnúsh, one of the three sages who had accompanied Bukht-un-Naṣṣar against Jerusalem, with forces against the Malik of Hind, whom he encountered in battle, overthrew, and slew. Bahman conferred that territory on Akhtúnúsh. When the second of the three sages (the third had previously died), Dáriúsh or Dáryúsh, who held the government of the provinces of 'Iráḳ and Bábal died, Bahman conferred them upon Akhtúnúsh, and directed him to leave a Khalífah or Deputy to administer the affairs of Sind and Hind [the Bíáh and its tributaries, it will be remembered, is called "the River of Sind and Hind"], as his presence in 'Iráḳ and Bábal was the most requisite. He, therefore, leaving a Deputy in Sind and Hind, returned as commanded. Akhtúnúsh had put his wife [Queen Vashti] to death on account of some misbehaviour, after which he married a woman

the cities of بمبّنوا and مولستان, the first-named of which *he called* [sic] Al-Manṣúriyah, and the latter, Al-Ma'múriyah. This word بمبّنوا appears in three places with this additional letter at the end, but, in another

of the Banú Isrá'íl, whose name was Hadassah (Esther). He greatly favoured the Banú Isrá'íl, and released them from captivity. By his Isrá'ílí wife he had a son Kyrash (کیرش) by name, who succeeded his father as ruler of 'Iráḳ and Bábal.

This 'Álim or Sage, Akhtúnúsh, which name is also written Akhtúrnúsh—in Hebrew, Akhshúirús—who was made ruler over those territories, is the Ahasuerus of Holy Writ, and Artaxerxes of the Greeks.

We also know from Aṭ-Ṭabarí, as well as from many others, that Núshírwán, the Just, held extensive tracts of territory in the direction of Sind, if not in Sind itself. As to the influence of the sovereigns of Ír-rán-Zamín in that direction, Al-Mas'údí states, that Kai-Ká-ús founded a city in Kash-mír, and that his son, Síáwakhs [سیاوخس—Síáwash?], during his father's lifetime, founded a city in Sind, called *Mihr-ján*. Al-Mas'údí also states, that the kings of Sind and Hind, and of all the countries to the north and south, sent ambassadors to Núshírwán with rich presents, and to enter into terms of peace with him, because of the greatness of his power, the strength of his armies, the extent of his dominions, his rapid conquests, and the vengeance he had exercised upon so many kings and rulers, and also because of the justice of his rule.

In another place, the author of the Muj-mal-ut-Tawáríkh, in his account of "Kafand," a Hindú king contemporary with Alexander, the Macedonian, says: "It is stated that he, Kafand, sent a Bráhman to Sámíd, his brother, directing him "to go to Manṣúriyah, expel the Ír-ránís from the places which Bahman had conquered, and erect idol temples in the place of fire temples." The author, of course, does not mean that this city was then called Manṣúriyah, but Bahman-ábád which they called Manṣúriyah when he wrote.

Strabo, in his Fourteenth Book, referring to the account of India given by Eratosthenes, which he considers to be the most credible account of that country, says that at the time of the Greek invasion, the Indus was the boundary of India and of Ariana, and in the possession of the Persians, and that, afterwards, the Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they received from the Macedonians.

There is no doubt whatever, that the rulers of Ír-rán-Zamín, from time to time, held a considerable portion of the valley of the Indus, and that, up to the end of the reign of Núshírwán, the rulers of the western most parts of Hind, including the ancient Turk rulers of Kábul of the Budhist faith, were tributary to him. Subsequently, when the Ír-ráni empire began to decay, some of these rulers began to regain their independence, and thus we find one dynasty of them, Hindús, under the title of "the Ran-Thel," in possession of Sind and Mukrán in one direction, east Kábul in the other, and opposing the 'Arab forces in their advance eastwards. (See my "Notes on Afghánistán," page 567.

The Gardaizí relates how Bahrám-i-Gor, the Ír-ráni sovereign, came into Hind in disguise, and that Shermah its ruler, thinking he was merely a person of a noble Ír-ráni family, gave him his daughter in marriage, and conferred upon him, as her dower, Sind and Mukrán.

place, it appears as برهمناباد, the extra ر, of course, being added by some one else to make it suit the "Bráhman" theory. Where the extra ا came from in the first word it is hard to say; but, as both Rashíd-ud-Dín,

When Sulṭán Muḥammad-i-Sabuk-Tigín in 417 H. (1026 A. D.), marched against Som-náth by way of Jasal-mír and Nahar-Wálah, he, on his return, took another route from thence towards Multán by way of Manṣúriyah and the banks of the Jihún [of Sind—the Hakrá or Wahindah], and expelled its Karámiṭah ruler. See farther on. What with the aridity of the desert near the coast, and the annoyances of the Jaṭs of Multán and Bháṭiah on the side of Jihún [*i* e., the "great river"—the Mihrán of Sind] and other afflictions, a great number of his troops perished, as likewise did the greater part of the cattle of his army." The "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," the earliest work written after the Gardaizí and the Baihaḳí wrote, says he was purposely misled by a Hindú guide into this waterless desert part, which refers to the *ran* or marsh of Kachh. (See note 128) But from all that is said, it appears that the country through which his route lay, for part of the way at least towards Jasal-mír, had only recently become waterless; and it is between this period and the return of Chhotah, Amaráni, as related by the Sayyid, Ṣadr 'Alí Sháh, that Bahman-nih, Bahman-no, or Bahman-ábád was destroyed by some convulsion of nature, or other calamity.

Manṣúriyah can scarcely have escaped; yet, from the way in which it is subsequently mentioned, there is very great doubt whether it was much injured, and it was certainly not wholly destroyed at the same time. One proof of this is, that Ibn Ḥauḳal visited it in 350 H. (961 A. D.), and that when Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín, the governor on the part of the Ghaznín Sulṭán of the conquered territory immediately east of the Indus—the present Panj-áb and part of Sind—rebelled in 425 H. (1033-34 A. D.), and had to fly, he made towards Manṣúriyah. At first he defeated a body of troops sent against him by Sulṭán Mas'úd, who then despatched another and larger force, under Tílak, the Hindú, son of a barber, and commander of the Hindú troops in the Muḥammadan service Tílak overthrew Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín on several occasions; and was in the habit of mutilating such of the rebel's followers as fell into his hands, whether soldiery, or merchants and traders, by cutting off their noses and hands. At last Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín had to fly from the Láhor province, Tílak having by money tampered with his Turk-mán troops, and made for Manṣúriyah of Sind, with two hundred followers, and endeavoured there to cross the Mihrán of Sind—the Hakrá or Wahindah and its tributaries—but it so happened, that, at that time, the river had risen considerably, and all the Jaṭs and Hindús around were in pursuit. No time was to be lost, and in his attempt to cross he was carried away by the current and drowned. His body having been swept along for a short distance, was washed into an inlet or creek or side channel (see farther on for a description of these terms), and brought to land, where it was recognized by his followers. The head [illegible] off and sent to Balkh where Sulṭán Mas'úd then was. This is differently and [illegible] the Baihaḳí, but the Gardaizí is much more circumstantial.

The "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣiri" states, that, in 623 H. (1226 A. D.), about the time that its author was at Uchchh, "a body of the Khalj tribe of Turks, part of the forces of the Khwárazmí Sulṭán, after the downfall of his power west of the Indus, retiring before the Mughals, appeared on the north-west frontier of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah's territory of Sind, and acquired supremacy over the *'arṣ*—territory—of

and Fakhr-ud-Dín, the Fanákatí, nearly six centuries ago, read this name from MSS. copies of Bú-Riḥán's work as I have written it above, and as travellers, older by a century than he, also wrote it, I need merely

Manṣúriyah, which is one of the cities of Síw-istán, but they were defeated, and their leader slain."

From what the author has stated it is not certain whether, at the period in question, the city or fortified town of Manṣúriyah was inhabited or not; but it would appear from the context that it was, notwithstanding that he seems to refer more to its territory than the fortified town. It can scarcely be supposed, that the earthquake, which is said to have so suddenly destroyed Bahman-ábád and its inhabitants, would not have affected Manṣúriyah likewise, to some degree at least, seeing that it was only about six miles distant from it. If it was inhabited when the Khalj Turks appeared there, it must have been in a ruinous state, and the inhabitants probably very few.

The accounts given by modern writers respecting Bahman-nih or Bahman-ábád, are contradictory and erroneous, with few exceptions Nearly all persist in calling it Bráhman-ábád because, perhaps, the shortened form of the word Bráhman happens to be Bahman, and this shortened form to contain the same letters as the name of the son of Isfandiyár, but it never occurred to them, with a single exception, that it was not possible for the Í-rání terminations of *nih* and *ábád* to be applied, at that period at least, to a Sanskrit word. Burton, who is the only exception, says (in his Scinde," Vol. I., p. 200): "Now Brahmanabad—a wrong name by the by—because the word is partly Sanskrit, and partly Persian; consequently, not Scindian."

The Balázirí is the only old 'Arab geographer who mentions "*old* Bahman-ábád," and he wrote about 270 H. (883–84 A D.), but he does not mean by that that it was in ruins or had been destroyed, but the contrary. He says, that "Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, went to old Bahman-ábád where the remainder of Dáhir's forces had rallied, and that it was situated two *farsangs* [little over six miles] from Manṣúriyah, which, at that time, had not been founded, and that its site, at that period, was a *jangal*." See also farther on, where he says Manṣúriyah lay on the *west* side of the *estuary* of the river, and Maḥfúẓah on the *east* side.

The Fanákatí, who quotes from Bú-Riḥán, says, that, "Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, after the capture of Debal, first took بهمنو (Bahman-no), to which he gave the name of Manṣúriyah, and to Multán (quoting from Bú-Riḥán, apparently), the name of Ma'múrah."

The error of Bú-Riḥán, as to Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, having named Bahman-ábád Manṣúriyah, I have already noticed.

This difference between the names Bahman-ábád, Bahman-nih, and Bahman-no, may be easily accounted for. *Nih* and *ábád* are of much the same significations in Persian, but, in the dialect of Sind, *nih* would become *no*, as in Dar-belah—Dar-belo Ubárah—Ubáro, Ṭhaṭhah—Ṭhaṭho; Hakṛá or Hakṛah—Hakṛo, and the like; and thus Bahman-nih became Bahman-no. See

The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí says, that Bahman-ábád was destroyed after Alor or Aror had been deserted by the Hakṛá through the iniquity of Dilú Rá'e, and that, at that period, Dilú Rá'e's brother, Jhotah or Chhotah, Amaráni, was then dwelling at Bahman-ábád, and that it was swallowed up in the earth—men, buildings, and all—the only signs of it being, in that author's time, a *manár* or tall tower. He also

notice the fact of its appearance in the printed text, and shall not follow it. The statement, that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim named Bahman-no, "Al-Manṣúriyat," shakes my faith in Bú-Riḥán's accounts considerably,

says that Jhotah or Chhotah, and his Musalmán wife, reached the town *of* Síw-istán, that is *the* town or chief town of the Síw-istán district, and which, in his day—about 1035–40 H. (1625–1631 A. D.)—was called Sihwán.

Just thirty years before this, Abú-l-Faẓl, in his A'ín-i-Akbarí, described Bahmanábád, but his master's Hindú proclivities led him to alter or mistake the name for Bráhman-ábád, he not perceiving how strange a Sindí—Sanskrit—proper name appeared with a Persian termination. He says: "In early times Brahman-ábád was the seat of government. It was a large city, and its fortifications had fourteen hundred towers, and the distance between each was one *ṭanáb*. To this day, of the towers and walls, numerous indications remain. After Brahman-ábád Alor became the capital." The *ṭanáb* measure consisted then of sixty *iláhí gaz*, each of about thirty inches, but, we cannot calculate the extent of the walls, because we do not know the diameter of the towers. I have elsewhere mentioned the terrible error he makes in mistaking Bakhar for the site of Manṣúriyah; and he seems to have been totally ignorant that Manṣúriyah lay close to Bahman-ábád.

Mr. A. H. Bellasis, of the Bombay Civil Service, who was the discoverer of the ruins of this ancient city in 1854, identified the great mound—the *tall*, but not "Thúl" nor "Túl"—with Bahman-ábád itself, and I think correctly so. He says in his account of it: "On first entering Brahmanabad [he, too, calls it by the Bráhman name], so extensive and so complete are its ruins, that you feel lost in contemplating its utter desolation. * * * After a little examination, the most prominent object that presents itself is the ruin of a high tower of brick-work standing isolated on a large heap of ruins." This is the same as is referred to by the author of the Tárikh-i-Táhirí, upwards of two centuries before. He supposed this to have been the citadel, but Thomas objected to this, "because the local coins consisted exclusively of specimens of 'Arab governors of Sind, with the name of Manṣúr on the margin, and because not a single piece could be attributed to any Hindú Rajah of Sind." It must be recollected, however, that the Musalmáns had been the rulers of Sind for more than two centuries before the destruction of this city.

While calling the ruined city "Brahmanabad," Mr. Bellasis also calls it "Bambra-ke-Thúl," and adds that "*Bambra* is a name frequently applied to old ruined cities [not to this one only] in Sind," and that "Thúl" means a tower or bastion. Here he is in error: the word is the 'Arabic word *tall*, a heap, mound, or hillock; and this word is in common use—"Tall-al-Kabír" of Egyptian fame for example.

With Bellasis's account before him, apparently, Cunningham ("Ancient India," in 262) makes out Hwen Thsang's chief city of middle Sind "O-fan-cha," to have was called "*Bambhra-ka-Tul*, or the Ruined Tower" ["*O-fan-cha*" is the Chinese related "ruined tower" perhaps], or simply Banbhar, which according to tradition, was the site of Brahmanwâs or Brahmanábad." Here it will be noticed how Bellasis's words and meaning have been changed. The latter says *Bambra*—not "Bambhar" nor "Bambhra"—is frequently applied *to old ruined cities* in Sind, not to "Brahmanabad" alone.

Cunningham continues: "In the middle ages, under Hindu rule, the great cities

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In another place (pp. 272–273) the same writer says: "Mr. Bellasis's measurement of *Bambhraka-thûl* [sic] was within a few yards of four miles. * * * I conclude that the great mound of Bambhraka-thûl *represents the ruined city* of Mansura, the capital of the 'Arab governors of Sindh. The Hindu city of Brâhmana or Brâhmânabâd must therefore be looked for in the neighbouring mound of ruins now called Dilura, which is *only* 1½ *mile distant from the larger mound.*" This may be reversed, I think; for the 'Arabs are more likely to have had a small and compact fortified town than one with four miles of wall to defend. But we are plainly told by the Balázirí, quoted farther on, that Manṣúriyah was built two *farsakhs* distant from "old Bahman-ábâd," which is equal to over six miles. What is referred to as "the ruined city of *Depur*, 5 miles in another direction," is more likely to be the site. It lies to the north-eastwards of Manṣúriyah.

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Cunningham further adds, that "the date of *Dilu Rai* is doubtful. M'Murdo has assigned A. H. 140, or A. D. 757, as the year in which *Chhota*, the brother of *Dilu*, returned from Mekka, but as Mansura was a flourishing city in the beginning of the tenth century, when visited by Masudi and Ibn Hauḳal, it is clear that the earthquake cannot have happened earlier than A. D. 950 [here he is near the mark: 339 H. is 950 A. D.]. * * * But it is difficult to believe that there were any Hindu chiefs in *Bámana* during the rule of the 'Arabs in Mansura [See what the "Masálik wa Mamálik" says on this, page 196]. * * * Mansura must have been founded *on the site* of Brâhman-âbad, which must have been destroyed by an earthquake."

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Dr. J. Burnes ("Visit to Sinde," page 133), and Sir A. Burnes, following Crow's statement, also considered "*Kullan Kot*, near Tatta" to be "Brahmanabad." The correct name of the place they thus mistook for Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, is Kalyán Koṭ—*kalyán*, in Sanskrit, meaning 'prosperous,' 'happy,' etc.

Tod (Vol. II, page 229, note §). among other wild assertions, actually tells us that "Omar, in the first century [the Khalífah 'Umar, died in 23 H. i. e. 643-44 A. D.], had established a colony of the faithful at *Bekher* [as he spells Bakhar], afterwards *Mansooria*;" while a few pages farther on (233), he says, "the celebrated Caliph Al Walid was the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions, was Arore, the capital of Upper Sind." At page 269 he says: "the ancient capital of Sind was *Mansoora*, better known to the Hindus as *Rori Bekher*." At page 310, he states, that, "The islandic Bekher, or *Mansoora* (so named by the lieutenant of the Caliph Al Mansoor) is considered as the capital of the Sogdi, when Alexander sailed down the Indus;" and he also supposes that "the Sogdi and Soda [the Sodah tribe] are the same. At page 93 of his first volume, he states, that "the Soghdi country is Dhat in the desert.

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miles of Ṭhaṭhah; but Elliot, after stating that "there seems no reason to conclude that Bráhmanábad or Bábmanábad was founded by the Persian king [he was not king at the time], Bahman, upon his invasion of Sind," tells us that "his city is expressly said to have been built in the province of Budha [this is what he sometimes writes Nudha, and is correctly, Búdah, described at pages 207, 8, and 9] which never extended so far as the Indus." At page 78 he tells us, that "Mansúra" [which he also says was *close to* "Bráhmanábad"] is "on the *west* of the principal branch of the Mihrán;" and at page 370, that, "we may rest assured that it was on the *eastern* side of the Indus." Again, at page 83 he says, "from Multán to the vicinity of Mansúra the country is occupied by a warlike race called *Nadha*, and at page 106, that Bahmanábad was founded by Bahman *in Budha*" which is "supposed to be Mansúra." At page 189, also, quoting from the "Chach-náma," where he writes the name "Brahmanábád or *Bátn-wáh*," he has the following note:—"The real name of this place was *Bahmaná* or *Bahmanwá*." At page 34 he had previously called it "Bámíwán," and at page 61 "Bahmanú Mansúra." After all this, and in several places calling it by its correct name, and indicating its correct position, he winds up with "we may fairly consider that Brahmanábád [with the extra '*r*'], after being immediately succeeded by the 'Arab capital, is now represented by the modern Haidarábád." However, all his contradictions of his own quotations, even when correct, and all his speculations on this subject, based, apparently, on the supposition that the Mihrán of Sind always flowed west of Ḥaidar-ábád in nearly the present channel of the Indus, have been refuted by the discovery of the ruins of Bahman-níh, Bahman-noo or Bahman-ábád, close to the *west* bank of the principal channel of the great river, as the old geographers and historians had clearly stated it was The value of other similar speculations of his may be judged of accordingly. See note 147

Crow, who, in the last century, was the Honourable East India Company's Agent at Ṭhaṭhah, also falls into error respecting Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, as well as "Tatta being Debal Sindy." He says: "Brahminabad, called by the natives *Kulan-kote*, the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the south-west of Tatta," etc.

Dr. J. Burnes ("Visit to Sinde," page 133), and Sir A. Burnes, following Crow's statement, also considered "*Kullan Kot*, near Tatta" to be "Brahmanabad." The correct name of the place they thus mistook for Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, is Kalyáṇ Koṭ—*kalyáṇ*, in Sanskrit, meaning 'prosperous,' 'happy,' etc.

Tod (Vol. II, page 229, note §). among other wild assertions, actually tells us that "Omar, in the first century [the Khalífah 'Umar, died in 23 H. *i. e.* 643-44 A. D.], had established a colony of the faithful at *Bekher* [as he spells Bakhar], afterwards *Mansooria*;" while a few pages farther on (233), he says, "the celebrated Caliph Al Walid was the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions, was Arore, the capital of Upper Sind." At page 269 he says: "the ancient capital of Sind was *Mansoora*, better known to the Hindus as *Rori Bekher*." At page 310, he states, that, "The islandic Bekher, or *Mansoora* (so named by the lieutenant of the Caliph Al Mansoor) is considered as the capital of the Sogdi, when Alexander sailed down the Indus;" and he also supposes that "the Sogdi and Soda [the Sodah tribe] are the same. At page 93 of his first volume, he states, that "the Soghdi country is Dhat in the desert.

Khiláfat until some forty-two years after the death of Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the conḳueror of Sind.

At page 312, we have "The great Pūar [Pramárah] sovereignty, of which Arore or the insular Bekher [they are all one to him], was the capital, when Alexander passed down the Indus." Again, at page 332, we have: "On the *island of Bekher* there are the remains of the ancient fortress of *Mansoora* named in honour of the Caliph Al Mansoor, whose lieutenants made it the capital of Sind on the opening of their conquests [it was "Omar" at page 229, but Al Wálid at page 233)." At page 243, he says, that, "on the final conquest of Sinde the name of its capital, *Arore*, was changed for *Mansoora*;" while at page 449 of the same volume we have the following. Referring to abandonment of Sinde by the lord of Bamuní, he says, in a note, "'the lord of Bamuni,' in other places called *Bahmanwasso*, must apply to the ancient Brahminabad, or *Deval*, on whose site the modern Tatta is built."

In vol. I. p. 217, he had previously stated, that, "Sinde being conquered by Omar, general of the Caliph Al Mansoor, the name *Minagara* was changed to *Mansoora*;" but, after that again, at page 243, he says: "I had little doubt that *Mjnagara* was the *Saminagara* of the Yadu Jharejahs. * * * On every consideration I am inclined to place it on the site of *Sehwan*."

Here are no less than nine or ten statements respecting Manṣúriyah, all different, and all totally incorrect; but see note 111 for still greater errors.

McMurdo is the only European writer who, before the discovery of the actual site of Bahman-no or Bahman ábád, nearly fixed on its right position. He placed it on the "Purán" [*puránah* signifies 'old,' 'ancient,' etc.] afterwards called the Lohána Dhoro, but he calls it, in error, the "Lohána Darya," which was "at a short distance from where it separates from the Purán."

He was mistaken, however, respecting the period of the destruction of Bahmanábád or Bahman-no in supposing it to have occurred about 140 H. (757-58 A. D.).

The most pertinent observations on the subject of Bahman-ábád are those of the Sayyid, Ṣadr 'Alí Sháh of Ṭhaṭhah, who was consulted by Bellasis respecting the period of its destruction. He says, that "the city of Bahman-ábád appears to have been founded before the Hindú dynasty of the Bráhmans [yes: a very long time before], which commenced in the first year of the Hijri or A. D. 622, [this is incorrect: Sihrás Rá'e fell in battle with the 'Arabs at the close of 23 H.—October, 644 A. D.]. * * * and that Chach, the first of the Bráhman kings, subdued among others, "Agher [Akham, the Lohánah of the Chach Námah], chief of Bahmanábád"

This is the Agham, *Lohána* of Elliot. The Lohána Hindú race—called "Lohánah Jats in the Chach Námah—"are," he says, "the most influential tribe in Sind, and all wear the Brahminical thread." (Vol. I, p. 362). To suit certain other incorrect theories, he afterwards turns these Lohána Jats into "Lohání Afgháns"? It is only since the time of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, when considerable changes were made in the mode of writing, that the initial letter of their name, which is, correctly, Núḥární, they being descendants of Núḥ, son of Ismá'íl, began to be written by Hindústání writers, Lúḥární, with '*l*,' for '*n*,' and by those who did not understand the Pus'hto letter '*ṛa*,' Lúháni; and they do not "wear the Brahminical thread." The Lohánah (or Lohána as the Sindis write and say) *Baniyás* still flourish in Sind, but they have not, even yet, grown into Núḥárni Afgháns.

Al-Idrísí says: "Manṣúriyah is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán, although it is at a distance from the river. [In another place he also says, that it is a mile square each way.] It lies west of the principal branch of the river. * * * Manṣúriyah was founded at the beginning of the reign of Abí Ja'far-al-Manṣúr, of the Baní 'Abbás. This Khalífah gave his name to four different cities: the first was Bagh-dád in 'Iráḳ, the second, Manṣúriyah of Sind. * * * It is a great, populous, and rich city, and carries on a considerable trade. The buildings are constructed of burnt bricks, tiles, and plaster. * * * The name of the city in the Hindí [the Sindí dialect of the Prákrit ?] language is Mír-Mán [میرمان. This seems to me to be an error in the MS.], and it is considered one of the dependencies of Sind, like Multán, Sharúsán [Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán],"[105] etc., etc.

Zakaríyá, the Ḳazwíní, who, as before mentioned, quotes chiefly from the work of Muṣ'ir bin Muhalhil, who wrote in 331 H. (942–43 A. D.), says: "Manṣúriyah, so called after the second 'Abbásí Khalífah, is also styled Manṣúriyah-i-Ṣání, or the Second Manṣúriyah, and a branch of the Mihrán encircles it. It is very hot, and has many ḳeas, but it is a place of considerable size, and has good and sweet water."

Ibn Al-Wardí-al-Ḳarshí, likewise says, that "it was one of four cities to which Abí Ja'far-al-Manṣúr, the 'Abbásí Khalífah gave his name of Manṣúr,[106] the others being Baghdád in 'Iráḳ, Al-Maṣíṣat on the sea of Shám [Syria], and Al-Ráfiḳat in the Diyár-i-Muẓar."

At page 187, in his own extract from the Chach Námah, "the *Jats* of Lohána" are mentioned, also, that they consist of "*Lakha* and *Samma*," and that "they plundered within the territory of Debal." The Puránah, one of the old channels of the Mihrán of Sind or the Hakṛá, is called the Lohána Ḍhoro after them to this day.

Tod, in his "Rajas'than," says (page 320): "The Lohana, were formerly Rajpoots [fancy Elliot's Afgháns!], but betaking themselves to commerce, have fallen into the third class. They are *scribes* and *shop-keepers*, and object to no occupation that will bring a subsistence, and as food, excepting their cats and their cows, they will eat anything." See also Burton's "Scinde," Vol. I, p. 236.

Ṣadr 'Alí Sháh further observes, that, "the city must have been ruined before the *expiration* of the *fourth century* of the Hijrah, or about 1020 A. D. [on the 26th April, 1020 A. D., the year 411 of the Hijrah commenced], because Chhotah, Amaráni, brother of Dilorah, Amaráni [Dilú Rá'e], who departed to Baghdád, on account of his brother's injustice, where he embraced Islám, married the daughter of a celebrated 'Arab, and returned with her into Sind before the expiration [before the middle ?] of the fourth century, along with a number of other 'Arabs, among whom was the Sayyid, 'Alí Músá." He evidently meant, before the *middle* of the fourth century. He is rather too late by about thirty or forty years; while McMurdo is too soon by nearly two hundred and fifty. The fourth century of the Hijrah commenced on the 24th August, 1009 A. D.

[106] It is used as an adjective, as is the Past. Part. of نصر, signifying, 'aided,' 'defended,' 'victorious,' 'conquering,' etc.

I will now relate what these writers say respecting the rivers, and the places on or near their banks.

All that Ibn Khurdád-bih says is, that, "from Barmásir [برماسر][107] to Debal is eight days' journey; and from Debal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the ocean is two *farsangs*."

Al Mas'údí says: "The Mihrán of Sind issues from sources well known, situated in the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Sind, the country of Ḳinnauj, the territory of Búdah [بودة—or بؤودة—Banúdah in one MS.], the territory of Kash-mír, and Ḳandhár [Kandhárah or Kandháro ?],[109] and Ṭafán [طاقين —Ṭáḳín—also طافن—Ṭáfin—and الطاقة in some MSS., which may be Aṭ-Ṭáfah, or Aṭ-Ṭáḳah, or even Aṭ-Ṭáḳar], and flows on towards Múltán, where it receives the name of "Mihrán of Gold," the same as the word Múltán signifies [!] the "Frontier of Gold."[110] * * *

"From Multán the Mihrán takes its course through the country of Manṣúriyah,[111] and near the territory of Debal falls into the sea. * * * It forms many inlets and creeks, such as the creek or estuary of Ṣindbúr or Ṣand-bur [صندبور—Ṣand-púr ?] in the country of Bághir [باغمر—Wághir, '*b*' and '*w*' being interchangeable].[112] * * *

"The Malik of Hind is the Balharí [البلهري]; and the Malik of Ḳinnauj, who is one of the Maliks of Sind, is Búdah [بودة—or Banúdah بؤودة—or Barúzah, بروزة—or Nauwarah نوورة—in as many different

[107] In the text of M. C. Barbier de Meynard this name is written Nármashírat (نارمشيرة); and in Elliot's extracts from the same author, it is "Narmasírá." The name in Ibn Haukal is as I have given it above; and it is a well known town of Kirmán, and is repeatedly mentioned down to modern times.

[108] Thus in the original, but Elliot (p. 21), turns it into "Banüra," and renders the rest of the passage as follows: "and from Kashmír, Kandahár, and Táfan; and at length running *into* [sic.] Multán, it receives the name of Mihrán of gold, just as Multán means boundary of gold." Did they find a "house of gold" in the river too?

[109] Not Ḳandahár certainly, eight degrees farther west, which was not known by that name at the period in question: it was then styled Bál-yús.

[110] The word مرج—meadow—is also, without doubt, a mistake for فرخ. It was probably written without points in the original copy of the text quoted, and that *farkh* is meant, the statements which follow fully confirm. See note 97.

[111] Mas'údí must be wrong, of course, although he visited these parts considerable (942-43 A. D.), and wrote from personal observation; for does not Tod, who name, never there, tell us in his "Rajas'than," that "the remains of the ancient fortress an of Mansoora are on the island of Bekher"? See note 105, page 204.

[112] See Burnes' "Travels," vol. I, page 308. There was an old fort hereabouts, swallowed up during the earthquake of 1819, called Sindrí or Sandrí. It lay on the east or Kachchh side of the estuary of the Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar.

MSS., the Búdhiyah—بودهيه of the Chach Námah], which is the title of all the Maliks of Ḳinnauj. There is likewise a town called by this name, and at present it is within the pale of Islám, and is among the dependencies of Múltán.[113] From thence [Búdah] issues one of the rivers which together form the Nahr-i-Mihrán of Sind. * * * This Búdah, who is the Malik of Ḳinnauj, is the enemy of the Balharí, the Malik of Hind. The Malik of Ḳandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro before noticed], who is one of the Maliks of Sind and its hill tracts, rules over the territory of جچی or جچ [Jachch or Jachchí, the tract lying between Uchchh and Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro, a small territory then dependent on Multán. Jachch Wá-han, once its principal town, is still in existence]. Out of it comes the river Rá'íd [راءِد],[114] one of the rivers which go to form the Mihrán of Sind. Ḳandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro] is called the country of the Rahbúṭ [in the original, الرهبوط—Al-Rahbúṭ, and also Al-Rahyút—الرهيوة—and, no doubt, meant for Ráj-put—راجپوت]. Another, the third of the five rivers, is called Háṭil [هاطل],[115] and comes from the mountain tracts of Sind, and flows through the country of Rah-búṭ or territory of Ḳandhár [Kanḍhárah or Kanḍháro]. The fourth river of the five comes from the territory of Kábul and its mountains,[116] which form the frontier or boundary of Sind towards بسط

The Wágirs are still well known in the tracts between Lower Sind and Kachchh, and Surath or Káṭhiáwár (vul. "Kattywar)," and have given much trouble at different times. Ṣind-búr, or Ṣand-búr was certainly in Kachchh. See also the old 'Arab map, page 213.

[113] This distinctly shows in what direction this Ḳinnauj was situated, and that it has nothing whatever to do with the celebrated city of that name on the Káli Nadí, near its junction with the Ganges. See also note farther on.

[114] Elliot has "*Hahaj*" but for the purely 'Arabic letter ج to appear twice in an Indian word is impossible. The part here referred to lay on either side of the Hakrá, adjoining Jachch on the north. The name still remains in Kanḍhárah, or Kanḍháro in the Sindí dialect, in the south-west corner of the Baháwal-púr state adjoining Upper Sind, the "Kundairoh," "Kundeara," and "Kandera" of as many different maps. It lies on the east bank of the old channel of the Hakrá, near its western branch, called the Rá'ín or Rá'íní, the "*Rainee Nullah*" of the maps, respecting which more will be found farther on. Jachch or Jachch Wá-han, appears in the maps as "*Jujja*." The petty ruler referred to in the text above was evidently one of the Ránás subject to the 'Arab rulers of Multán. As late as the time of celebrán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, seven of these Ránás were tributary to Multán, and the middle

who The word here given can only refer to the Rá'ín branch of the Hakrá or Wahindah. See note 120, page 209.

[115] This appears to be the same word, with the addition of another letter, as in the extract from Bú-Ríḥán, who says: "The river Kuj or Kaj, which falls from the hill range of Bháṭil." See note farther on.

[116] This cannot refer to the river of Kábul and its tributaries, since the word

[Bust ?], Ghaznín or Ghaznih, دزعون [which may be Darghún, Zara'ún, or Daza'ún—its whereabouts or what the correct word may be, I will not venture to speculate on; one copy has نقش instead, and an additional word بعنجرا], ar-Rukhaj, and the territory of Dáwar [داور—also داون and داون], which is the frontier of Sijis-stán. Another of the five rivers comes from Kash-mír, which is also part of the country of Sind [!]."

"The territory of Búdah [بودة],[117] Malik of Ḳinnauj, extends to

بسط must refer to بست—Bust—on the Hílmand; and if so, shows that mighty changes have taken place in this direction since the Mas'údí wrote. All the rivers of the parts here referred to, now flow south-westwards, and empty themselves into the lake of Zarang. The only streams that come from anything like the direction of Ghaznín and Bust are the Gumul and its tributaries, and the streams from the direction of Kalát-i-Nichárah, but the latter rise some two hundred miles south-east of Bust on the Hílmand. It will be noticed how many rivers are said to go to form the Mihrán, which do not refer to the other rivers of the Panch Nad or Panj Áb. I have elsewhere mentioned, that, in former times, the Áb-i-Sind must have been joined by some considerable tributaries from the westwards; and, from my geographical inquiries, it is evident to me, that the river of Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kúrram"), and its tributary the Gambílah, which still unites with it, formerly sent a greater volume of water into the Áb-i-Sind than at present. It is said, that, previous to the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion of Hind, in 801 H. (1398 A. D.), the country around Laka'í of the Mar-wats was a vast lake. Lower down again the united waters of the river of the Jzíoba'h and the Gumul used, likewise, to contribute a considerable body of water to the main stream in ancient times; and, doubtless, minor streams, now changed and dried up or diverted, used to contribute their waters, as well as the rivers lower down, from the southern Afghánistán by Síwí, the course of one of which was changed by an earthquake in Akbar Bádsháh's time, as well as other tributaries from the Balúchistán, which united with the Áb-i-Sind when it, or a branch of it, flowed westwards from near Rújan, as explained in the account of that river further on. I believe that a considerable river flowed through what now constitutes the Bolán defile or pass, respecting which I have more to say presently.

In Vol. II of his "Archæological Reports," page 27, Cunningham, strange to say, "identifies" Ptolemy's "*Sabbana*" as "the modern town of *Zhobi*, at the junction of the Zhobi and Gomal rivers. The *Saparnis* would therefore be the Zhobi river, or perhaps the Gomal itself."

The only difficulty would be where to find this "modern town of Zhobi." By "Zhobi," I suppose he refers to the river of the Jzoba'h or Jzíoba'h Dara'h in the Afghánistán, but such a town as Zhobi does not, and never did, exist. See also pp. 26 and 32 of the same "Report." ...a 331 H.

117 I ought to notice here, that, although the 'Arab writers mention the name Mihrán, and sometimes, Mihrán Rúd, as if the Áb-i-Sind, above and immediately below, Multán, was so called; yet they did not mean it to be so understood, as here shown, and as subsequently confirmed. They referred to what went to form the Mihrán of Sind, which consisted of all the rivers from the Áb-i-Sind to the Chitáng. After all had united they obtained the name of "Mihrán of Sind," and this name it

about one hundred and twenty square *farsangs*, each *farsang* being equal to eight *mil* [miles].[118] This Malik has four armies, according to the four cardinal points, each consisting of 700,000 or 900,000 men [!]. The south army defends the territory from the Balharí, Malik of Maukír [before stated to be Malik of Hind] ; while that of the north is for the purpose of carrying on war with the Malik of the territory of Múltán [consequently, it, Ḳinnauj here referred to, must be *south* of Múltán], and with the Musalmáns, his subjects, who are established on that frontier ; while the other two armies are sent wherever an enemy shows himself."

"When all these rivers [five are referred to] have passed the "Gate of the Bait or Receptacle of Gold," or Múltán, they unite between it and Manṣúriyah[119] into one stream, at a place called *Dosh-i-Áb*[120] [lit. Meeting-place of Waters, or Waters-Meet, from the Tájzík or Persian '*dosh*'—'meeting,' 'coming into contact,' etc.], which flows towards the town of Alror [الرور or Aldor—الدور],[121] which lies on its western

bore, until it finally emptied itself into the ocean. The Áb-i-Sind or Indus with its affluents was one tributary, and the Bíáh, with its affluents, the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind as it is called, another, which united with the Hakrá or Wahindah and its affluents, and formed the Mihrán of Sind as above described. Consequently, the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, were really tributaries of the Hakrá or Wahindah ; for, after the Áb-i-Sind or Indus deserted the other, it still remained the Mihrán of Sind ; and this is borne out by the statements of all the 'Arab and native writers, as will herein appear. See note 156, page 218.

[118] A vast area truly ! Even if we compute it at 44 square *farsangs* of 8 miles each, 26,600 square miles is the result. The *farsang* generally was about three *mil*, each *mil* being equal to 4,000 *gaz*, the *farsang* being 12,000, and each *gaz* being equal to 24 fingers' breadth measured sideways, or six clenched fists. The Sindí *farsang*, it will be noticed, is stated to be eight *mil*. See note 90, page 190.

[119] Tod, Vol. II, page 229, note to "Arore," says: "The remains of this once famous town *I had the happiness to discover* by means of one of my parties in 1811." Any one, unacquainted with the history of these parts, would imagine from this, that its site had remained unknown up to the period of this wonderful discovery—"on the island of Bekher," where Aror never stood.

[120] The place of junction here referred to lay near to Ṣáḥib Garh and Baghlah of the present day, about seventy-two miles south-west of U'chchh. When the Mas'údí wrote, the branch of the Hakrá which flowed past Aror on the east, had not, according to the tradition, been as yet diverted. Elliot's editor (Vol. I, p. 23), unacquainted with Sulṭán U'chchh, the meaning of '*dosh*,' supposed it to be "Dúáb," as he writes Do-ábah.

[121] The '*al*' in this word, as here written, and by all the old geographers, is not, and must not be mistaken for, the 'Arabic article *al*, because the name Alor or Aror was the Hindí name centuries before the Musalmáns had any acquaintance with it, and it may be, and is, written and styled Aror, with '*ar*' as well as with '*al*.'

The derivation of the word Ruṛhí is evidently derived from the Sanskrit रूढ—

[*sic*] bank, and is a dependency of Manṣúriyah, where [*i. e.* at Alror or Aldor] it receives the name of Mihrán. There [but, in one copy, "Farther on"] it separates into two branches, and both these branches of the great river, styled the Mihrán of Sind, fall into the sea of Sind [or Hind] near the town of Shágarah [شاگرہ—Ságarah ?], one of the dependencies of Manṣúriyah, a distance of two days' journey from the town of Debal.[122] * * * After Tíz of Mukrán [eastwards], the littoral of Sind commences, where are the mouths of the Mihrán or Nahr of Sind, the principal river of that country. In this part stands the town of Debal; and it is [near?] there that the coast of Hind joins that of Barúẓ (بروض), where they make the spears called *barúẓí*."

"The territory of Manṣúriyah contains 300,000 villages and estates [what we style *mauẓa's* in India probably], lying in a fertile tract of country, well planted and cultivated. This territory is continually at war with a people called Med, originally from Sind, and also with other races.

rár, in reference to its situation on the rocky limestone ridge, and the signification of which word is, 'rough,' 'stiff,' 'rugged,' 'hard,' etc. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc, page 326, note ¶.

Mr. A. W. Hughes, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service, in his "Gazetteer of the Province of Sind," p. 678, says it is "the ancient Loharkot," but what, or whose, "Loharkot" he does not inform us, nor does he give us his authority; and yet, on the next page, says it was founded "by one Saiyad Rukandin [Rukn-ud-Dín perhaps is meant] Sháh in H. 698 (A. D. 1297).

Cunningham, on the other hand, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (p. 258): "The true name of Alor is not quite certain. The common pronunciation [of English writers? but how is it *written?*] at present is Aror, but it seems probable that the original name was *Rora*, and that the initial vowel [here the "initial *vowel*," so called, is the first *letter* of the alphabet, and a *consonant*] was derived from the Arabic prefix *Al*, as it is written *Alror* in Biladúri, Edrisi, and other 'Arab authors [and also "*Aldor*," with '*d*,' as given in Elliot's work]. This derivation is countenanced by the name of the neighbouring town of *Rori* [here a letter is left out to support the theory], as it is a common practise in India thus to duplicate names. So *Rora* and *Rori* would mean Great and Little *Rora*. This word has no meaning in Sanskrit [as I have shown above], but in Hindi it signifies "noise," "clamour," "*roar*," and also "fame." It is just possible, therefore, that the full name of the city may have been Rora-pura, or Rora-nagara; the "Famous City." Why not, at once, call it the "*Roaring* City"?

But the "*Hindí*" word here quoted by him happens to be Sanskrit रव unfortunately for this "Famous" theory, the name is not written *Rorí* by ages ple of the country, but Rúṛhí—روڑھي; and as ڑ is interchangeable with ل in Hindí of and other dialects, it is also called Lúṛhí as well as Rúṛhí. There is another word روڑ (रोड)—*roṛá*, of the same derivation, signifying, 'stone,' 'rock,' or 'a fragment' of either. The period when Rúṛhí was founded will be mentioned farther on.

[122] Compare the map taken from the "Masálik wa Mamálik" at page 213.

"Manṣúriyah and its dependencies, like Múltán and its territory, is a frontier. The name, Manṣúriyah, it derived from Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr, who had been placed there by the Baní 'Ummiyah, as Ḥákim. * * * Sind is the territory nearest the Musalmán dominions: Hind lies more east. Nofír, son of Fúṭ, son of Ḥám, son of Núḥ, at the head of his descendants and followers, took the direction of Sind and Hind, where his posterity multiplied, and were remarkable for their gigantic stature. They established themselves in the territory of Manṣúriyah, a dependency of Sind. This confirms the tradition, that Hind and Sind had been peopled by the descendants of Nofír, son of Fúṭ, son of Ḥám, son of Núḥ."

The Istakhrí says: "Samand is a small city [or town] situated like Multán, on the east of the river Mihrán. Between each of these places and the river the distance is two *farsangs*.[123] * * * The town of Alror [الرور] is about the size of Multán. It has two walls [بارو], is situated near [not *on*, it will be observed] the Mihrán, and near the borders of Manṣúriyah [the territory]. Nírún is about half way between Debal and Manṣúriyah. * * *

"The river of Sind, which is called the Mihrán of Sind [lower down stream], is said to issue from a mountain range in which several of the tributaries of the Jíḥún rise.[124] The Mihrán passes by the borders of Samand [the Samandúr of the Ḳazwíní, who quotes this work][125] and Alror [or Aldor] from the neighbourhood of Multán, and from thence to Manṣúriyah,[126] and farther onwards, until it unites with the ocean to the east of Debal. Its waters are very pleasant [sweet].[127] It is said that there are crocodiles in it as large as those of the Níl [Nile]. It rises and inundates the land just like that river does, and after the waters subside seed is sown in the same manner as I have described in the account of Miṣr [Egypt]. The Sind Rúd [or River of Sind and Hind]

[123] Compare the Mas'údí's statement, pages 189, 90. If the Sindí *farsangs* before mentioned, of eight *mil* to each *farsang*, the distance would be sixteen English miles, but, according to the more correct computation, about six.

[124] See my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., page 563, note *.

[125] See page 213 and farther on, also the old map from Purchas.

[126] Elliot has, at page 30, the following:—"The Mihrán passes by the borders of "amand and Al Rúr (Alor) *to* the neighbourhood of Multán," etc. It is impossible ing e river to have flowed backwards *from* "Al Rúr" *to* Multán. It is exactly ed with

[127] Compare this with the statement in the "Masálik wa Mamálik" and Ibn Ḥauḳal, farther on.

Ḥáfiẓ Abrú says the Sind river or Ab-i-Sind runs into the territory of Manṣúriyah, its course being from north to south, and, at the end, turning towards the east.

is about three stages from Multán. Its waters are very pleasant [sweet] even before its junction with the Mihrán."

This statement is important, for here we have two large rivers, the Mihrán and the Sind Rúd distinctly mentioned. The following, too, is remarkable, and shows what changes have taken place to the westwards, respecting which I shall have more to say presently. He says: "Mukrán is mostly desert, and has but *few rivers. Their waters flow into the Mihrán on both sides of Manṣúriyah.*"[128]

"The cities and towns of Sind are Manṣúriyah, Debal, Nírún, Kálwí [or Kálarí], Anarí, Bálwí [or Bálarí], Maswáhí, Bahraj [بهرج of the old 'Arab map,[129] generally written without points], Bániyah, Manjánrí [Manjábarí of others], Sadúsán [Sharúsán or Síw-istán], Alroz [with 'z'—Alror before],[130] etc. The cities of Hind [131] are Múltán, Jandrúd [Chand-rúd?], Basmad, Sindán, etc.[132]

"The distance from Armá'íl in Mukrán to Debal is four days' journey; from Manṣúriyah to Debal, six; Manṣúriyah to Múltán, twelve; from Manṣúriyah to Fámhal, eight; between Múltán and Basmid, about two; from the latter to Alroz [Alror], three; thence to Anarí, four, from which to Kálwí [or Kálarí] is two, and from the last-named place to Manṣúriyah one day's journey. Bániyah [باسه[133]—without points] lies

[128] See also the Kazwíní's account, page 205. How far Manṣúriyah or its jurisdiction extended at that period may be gathered from Al-Idrisí, who says: "Between Kíz and Armá'íl are two tracts of territory touching each other: one, named Ráhún, is a dependency of Manṣúriyah, and the other, called Kalwán, depends on Mukrán." Manṣúriyah comprised all middle and lower Sind.

[129] In the old 'Arab map page 213, it is placed west of Manṣúriyah on the west-bank of the Mihrán. See page 215 and also farther on.

[130] These are the فالوي (Fálúí), ايرى (Irí), بذوي or بلوي (Balúí), Maswáhí, Bahraj, نايته (Náyatah), Manjábarí, Sindúsán, and Aror of the "Masálik wa Mamálik."

[131] This clearly shows that the Sind Rúd of the Masálik wa Mamálik map just referred to, is that which flowed between those places.

[132] The Basmad, سريان (Saríán) or سيران (Sírán or Sairán) or سيدان (Saidán), and كنفانه of the before mentioned work respectively.

[133] Elliot, "Historians," Vol. I, page 15, has: "From the Mihrán to *Bakar*, which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey." All this is pure surmise; for the word is unintelligible, and, in the Paris copies, according to his own account, is illegible. In them it is نذر which may be anything else; and, the printed text of M. Barbier de Meynard it is نكدب; yet, even with this before him, Elliot made it *Bakar*, a place never mentioned by any of the old geographical writers here quoted, because it did not then exist, and this too after translating the additional passage given in this note from Idrísí thus:—"From hence [Báníá] to Mámhal

between Manṣúriyah and Fámhal, at one day's journey from Manṣúriyah and from Debal to Manjánrí [Manjábarí] is two days' journey. From Bániyah to Manṣúriyah three days' journey; to Fáhmal six days'; and to Debal two."[134]

The Masálik wa Mamálik, which, as I have before mentioned, is, in many places, like Ibn Ḥauḳal, differs from him considerably in others. It states that, "From Multán to Basmíd or Samíd [it is written both ways in the original MS.] to the Rúd-i-Sind is three days' journey. Basmíd or Samíd is a small city [or town], and that, and Multán and Jandáwar [جندادر the original has ج but as this purely 'Arabic letter could never occur in a Hindí name, it is probably intended for چ Chandáwar or ج Jandáwar] are situated on the east side of the Rúd [river] of Multán, each at a *farsakh* distant [but, according to the map of Sind contained in the original MS., they are a long distance east of the river, and in it Multán does not appear, being farther up stream]. Samíd or Basmíd is a city full of wealth and affluence, and is not less [in size] than Multán, and has two walls [باره], placed on either side of the river Mihrán.[135] * * * The Mihrán comes out near Multán, passes the boundary or limits of Basmíd, and Manṣúriyah, and east of Debal unites with the ocean. The Rúd-i-Sind[136] is three days' journey from Multán, and is a pleasant [sweet] river, and unites with the Mihrán Rúd. It is subject to inundation like the Rúd-i-Níl and has likewise crocodiles."

Here again two great rivers are mentioned, just as Al-Idrísí states,[137] the Mihrán, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wa Hind, but the Masálik wa Mamálik goes farther, and adds: "The Jand Rúd [جند رود or چند رود

and Kambáya the country is *nothing but a marine strand*, without habitations, and almost without water, consequently, it is uninhabitable for travellers."

No doubt the Kunchí *ran* is here referred to, into which Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh was led by a treacherous guide, like as Sulṭán Maḥmúd before him, as related at page 80, See also note 105.

[134] Al-Idrísí states that, "between Bániyah and Fáhmal (Elliot has "Máhmal" here), and Kambáyah, the country is a salt, marshy shore, without habitation, and almost without fresh water, and therefore it is impassable to travellers." Its position therefore is towards the sea coast and the Kunchí *ran*, or great marsh of Kachchh, and not as Elliot supposes within fifteen *farsangs* of Aror. See his work, Vol. I, pp. 73, 74, and 367.

[135] The Mihrán here, and the Rúd-i-Multán above, both refer to the Ab-i-Sind. for the contrary, as mentioned in the preceding note 117, which see, also note 123.

[136] The Táríkh-i-Táhirí, referring to the Sind Rúd, says it is also known as the Panj-Áb, and below Bakhar is known as the Bahmín [بهمن]. See page 216.

[137] He wrote, it must be remembered, in 545 H. (1150-51 A. D.).

Chand Rúd ?—this is a different word from چنداور above mentioned] or Samand Rúd [سمند رود] is also a great river, and a sweet, on whose banks stands the city [shahr] of Jand [or Chand ?]. *It unites with the Mihrán Rúd below the Sind Rúd*, towards the territory of Manṣúriyah."[138]

We have here, therefore, three large rivers. The first is the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus; the second the Bíáh and its then tributaries, the Bihat,[139] the Chin-áb, and the Ráwah or Ráwí, which, in those days, passed north-east and afterwards east of Multán, and united with the Bíáh, some twenty-eight miles to the southward of the last named city, forming the Panch Nad or Panj Áb of the geographers; and the third river is the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, and of which, at the period in question, the Sutlaj, was a tributary, as were likewise the Ghag-ghar, the Sursutí, and the Chitang.

I now turn to Ibn Ḥauḳal, who states, that, "Basmíd is a small city [*shahrkí*], and it, and Multán, and Chandwár [in another copy چنداور—Chand-áwar] are placed on the east side of the Rúd of Multán. From each place to the bank of the river will be one *farsang*. Basmíd

[138] This is the Samand of the Istakharí in the only copy available, but the Kazwíní, who quotes him copiously, says, that the Istakharí calls it the Samandúr, consequently part of the word has been left out in the copy of the Istakharí quoted. See page 51.

It will be noticed from this important statement, that the old 'Arab map here given (and likewise as shown in the map to Ibn Ḥauḳal's work) does not quite agree with the writer's description. But two rivers are indicated, the Mihrán Rúd and the Sind Rúd, and, that between what appears as دصور or الدور near their junction, down as far as حلوي and سدوسان but a single river is indicated; while farther east, a line, with five towns on it, runs down to, and includes حلوي above noticed, and that one of these five is Basmíd, and another, Anarí, two days' journey from Basmíd. The description says, that the Sind Rúd [the Rúd-i-Sind wa Hind—the Bíáh and its tributaries] unite with the Mihrán Rúd [the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind] above Basmíd, which is three days' journey below Multán and three days' journey above Aror; and that the walls of Basmíd rise on either side of the Mihrán. Further, that the Samand Rúd [the Hakṛá and its tributaries] unites with the other two still lower down towards Manṣúriyah, at a place known as Dosh-i-Áb. I have not interfered with the 'Arab map, but I have indicated what is meant from the description, which agrees with other old writers, at the right hand side of that map.

[139] There appears to have been another river besides the Bihat, Chin-áb, and Bíáh, and I have seen somewhere what tributary of one of these four peoples, which formed the fifth, but I cannot recall it to mind. Neither the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind, nor the Shutlaḍr, were included among the Panch Nad or Panj Áb, or Five Rivers; and to this day, the people dwelling near the junction of the other rivers, including the Sutlaj, after the junction, style the united stream the "Sapt Nad" or "Sat Nad"—the "Saptah Sindáwah" of the Hindú legends—or Seven Rivers.

is a city full of affluence and convenience, and will not be less [in size] than Multán. It has two walls [بارو—or بازو—sides ?] placed or situated on the banks of the Mihrán Rúd.[140]

"Debal is situated to the east [شرقي—sic in MSS.[141]] of the Rúd-i-Mihrán, and on the sea coast. It is the harbour of that territory. They cultivate the land without irrigation. It is a confined place [تنگ, a word which also means 'barren'], but for the sake of trade people take up their dwelling there.

"Nírún is a city situated between Debal and Manṣúriyah on the road thither, and is situated on the west side of the Mihrán; and Bahraj or Bharaj [بهرج[142]—also written البهرج and بهرح in other copies], Maswáe or Maswáhí or Maswá'í [مسواي or مسواهي or مسوائي], Sindúsán or Sidúsán [سندوسان or سدوسان], and Haníbar [هنيبر] or Halbah [هلبه] or Haliyah [هليه] or Halat [هلة] or Hazah [هذه] are situated on the western side of the Mihrán. Írí [ايري] or Ídí [ايدي or ايدي] or Andí [اندي —and Abrí—ابري], and Fálúí [فالوي] or Dálúí [دالوي][143], lie on the east side, in such wise, that, in going from Manṣúriyah to Multán, they lie at a distance from the banks of that river.

"Balúí [بلوي or Jalbúí—جلبوي[144]] is situated on the Mihrán, near unto a channel which branches off from the river behind Manṣúriyah [as shown in the map of the Masálik wa Mamálik, just opposite Sadúsán or Síw-istán].

"Fámhal [فامهل] is a city [or town] situated on the nearest border of Hindústán, as far as Ṣaimúr [صيمور]; and from Fámhal to Mukrán,

140 In Elliot (p. 37), this description is applied to Alror. He has: "The country [city] of Alrúr is as extensive as Multán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra."

The text I have quoted is as above, and agrees with the "Masálik wa Mamálik."

141 In the map to Ibn Ḥankal's text, as in the Masálik wa Mamálik map, Debal is placed *west* of the river. The above, therefore, is palpably a mistake of the copyists. See the map from Purchas.

142 This is the same place as is mentioned by the Istakhrí, and by the Balázirí in the account of Muḥammad's advance against Sadúsán, or Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán.

143 Such are the variations in different copies. In the text translated by Anderson for the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for 1849, the words are contrary.

144 The name is thus written in the map to Ibn Ḥankal's text in the Bodleian Library. It will be noticed, that, in writing, if the upper part of ج is rounded a little, as in quick writing, it is liable to be mistaken for ر; and this last letter, if the upper part is lengthened, as it is very apt to be in MS., may easily be mistaken for ج. This place is the Kalarí of the Istakhrí.

to Nudhah [Nudiyah of the Sindián historians], to the boundaries of the territory of Múltán, all appertain to Sind. Bániyah [بانيه][146] or Nániyah [نانيه] or Mániyah or Máníah [مانيه—but all are doubtful, because the word is chiefly written بانه, without points, and مانه, and even نايبر], is a small city [or town] which 'Abd-ul-'Azíz-i-Ḥabbárí the Ḳureshí, the ancestor of the tribe who hold Manṣúriyah in subjection,[146] built. Mand [مند] belongs to Hindústán, and there are infidels dwelling therein; and all that has been mentioned belongs to Hindústán."

Then follows the important statement, that, "The junction of the Mihrán with the Sind Rúd [the Bíáh and its tributaries as elsewhere explained] is below Multán, but above Basmíd. The Jadd [or Chand] Rúd [the Hakṛá] unites with the Mihrán below the junction of the Sind Rúd, towards Mansúriyah."

Nudiah [نده], or Nudiyah [نديه][147] is a flat open tract of coun-

146 It is, from its situation, the same place as mentioned by the Istakhárí, and towards the south-east of Manṣúriyah, as shown in the map to the Masálik wa Mamálik. See page 213. It is written without points in the map to the Bodleian MS. See note 163.

146 That is, the towns dependent on Manṣúriyah and its district, and situated therein. See page 190.

147 Elliot sometimes renders this "Budh," "Buddha," and "Búdhiya," but says that Idrísí and Ḳazwíní prefer "*Nadha* or *Nudha*," and immediately after [p. 388, vol. I] says: "The old tract of Budh or Búdhiya, very closely corresponds with Kachh Gandáva," and straightway goes to "Bori or Búra in the Afghan province of Siwistán," and of course, becomes hopelessly confused.

The Boṛah or table land, so called, of the southern part of the Afghánistán—for there is no town called "Bori," much less "Búra," as he imagined—is out of Sind altogether, and one hundred and twenty-five miles farther north than Gandábah and more than three hundred and fifty miles north of Bahman-ábád.

In a note at page 389 he says: "In the passage above quoted from the *Mujmalu-t-Tawárikh*, 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 Bori." This shows the utter confusion into which he has fallen. He should have added to the above, that, in the work last quoted, the author says that "this Bahman-ábád is said to be Manṣúriyah by some," and he assigns it its proper position. See Elliot, Vol. I, page 109 as to "Mansúra" and Bahman-ábád, and note 105, para. 18.

I may add, that, Ibn Ḥaukal, and the Masálik wa Mamálik, have Nuṣb, Ráwí, نصب —at all times; and in changing it to, or reading it as, "Budh," as it was, and "Budhiya," Elliot may have been under the impression, that it must be correct to do so, if the people were Budhists, or in support of some theory that required to be bolstered up. See also pages 206 and 208.

It so happens that Nudah or Nudiyah lay on the *west* of the Mihrán, while Búdah the Búdiyah of the Chach Námah, lay on the *east*. See what Wilford, who

try, situated between Ṭúrán [the territory dependent on Ḳuṣdár, from which Ḳandá'íl is five *farsangs* distant] and Mukrán, and Multán and the towns of Manṣúriyah ;[148] and this tract lies to the west of the river Mihrán. From this part *bakhtí* [hairy, double-humped] camels are taken to other parts of the world.[149]

The *Ḳaṣbah* [bázár town] of the tract called Nudiyah is a place of traders, and they call it Ḳandá'íl.[150] The inhabitants of this tract of country are in appearance like the people of the desert [of 'Arabia], and have dwellings constructed of canes[151] along the banks of the Mihrán, from the boundaries of Multán as far as the sea coast; and they have also grazing lands between the river and Fámhal [farther east, and elsewhere said to be "the first place belonging to Hindústán in that direction"]. They are a numerous tribe. Fámhal, Sindúsán [or Sadúsán, Sihwán of the present day], Samúr, and كنانه or كنابه,[152] all four towns, have Ádináh masjids, which the Musalmáns founded.

was far in advance of his time, says respecting these parts in the 9th volume of the "Asiatic Researches," page 225. Búdah or Búdiya has nothing whatever to do with Bráhúís as M. de Geoje, states in his notes to the text of what he calls "Beladsori" (referring to the Balázirí) : they were unknown in that early day.

[148] See pages 189, 90.

[149] Compare this passage in Elliot, Vol. I, p. 38.

[150] The Istakhrí says, respecting Ḳandá'íl, that it was so called after A'íl [ايل], a man of that name who subdued it; so here we have the word Ḳand, as in *Ḳand*-ahár, and in Samr-*ḳand* and Bey-*ḳand*. The word is plainly written قندائيل. With the above very plain statement before him, Elliot persists time after time, in calling the place "*Kandabíl*" and "Kandhábel." Cunningham, of course, follows Elliot in the spelling, but he considers that, "Ptolemy's *Badana*, which lies immediately to the north of the rivulet, must be the present Gandáva, as the letters B and G are constantly interchanged. In the books of the early 'Arab writers [according to Elliot's versions, it should have been added] *it is always called Kandábil.*" See "Elliot," vol. I, pages 29 and 84, as to its conqueror. It so happens, that Ḳandá'íl is not Gandábah, but stood on a hill, which Gandábah does not. The Masálik wa Mamálik distinctly states, that there is but five *farsangs* distance between Ḳuṣdár, the situation of which is well known, and Ḳandá'íl, which is eight days' journey from Manṣúriyah, and ten from Multán.

M. Barbier de Meynard's 'Arabic text of Ibn Khurdád-bih, p. 57, contains the same error respecting Ḳandá'íl, and Ḳuṣdár, after the same fashion is "Ḳuṣdán." See son ii., "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., page 558, note §§.

[151] Because the river was continually altering its course. It was the same when ابو دلفي wrote upwards of six centuries after; and canes play a great part in the construction of dwellings of all kinds, both for man and beast, in Sind and the Indus valley higher up, up to the present day. The people here referred to are the Sammahs and Jhárijahs (or Zhárijahs) or both.

[152] This word is unpointed and may mean anything. Elliot reads it "*Kambáya*," but as he reads Ḳandá'íl as "*Kandábil*," we must make allowance, and be permitted

Respecting the distances between some of the places mentioned above, he says: "From Manṣúriyah to the boundary of Nudah [or Nudiyah, as the Sindís write it] is five stages or days' journeys. [*marḥalah*]; from Manṣúriyah to Fámhal eight; from Multán to Basmíd two; from thence to Alror [الرور] or Alroz [الروز][153] three; from thence to Abarí [ابري] or Irí [ايري] four; from thence to Faldí [فلدي] or Fálúí [فالوي] four. From Faldí or Fálúí [the Kalarí of others] to Manṣúriyah one stage or a day's journey; from Debal to Nírún four;[154] from Fáldí or Fálúí [Faldí before, the Kalarí of others] to Ladán four *farsangs*; and Bániyah [written Máníah or Mániyah and in other ways before[155]] or Náníah is distant one stage or a day's journey from Manṣúriyah.

The source of the Mihrán, the waters of which are pleasant, is in the same mountain range in which the Jíḥún takes its rise. It comes out at [*i. e.*, near] Múltán, and[156] passes the boundary [حدّ] of Basmíd Alror or Alroz,[157] and by Manṣúriyah, and falls into the sea to the eastward of Debal. * * * The Sind Rúd, the waters of which are also wholesome, is likewise a great river, and at three stages or days' journey below Múltán unites with the Mihrán Rúd."

to doubt its correctness. The Gulf of Kachchh and the whole peninsula of Káṭhiáwár [vul. "Kattywar"] intervenes, and Kanbháyat (vul. "Cambay") was not subject to Musalmáns at such an early date as the time of the writer above quoted. Part of Kachchh is doubtless referred to here. The north-west part if it is called Kandhár and Kandáhar.

153 Two copies have *the rúd*—ال رود—instead of Alror—الرور

154 In two copies of the text this name is written Biroz or Birúz [بروز] and Píroz or Píruz [پيروز] respectively.

155 See note 105, and pages 212 and 215.

156 Although Ibn Ḥauḳal calls this river, which is the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, by the name of "Mihrán," it will be noticed that he makes a distinction between it and the "Mihrán Rúd." Had he not done so, we could only suppose that he considered the two other great rivers to be tributaries of this one, but he evidently means the river which "went to form the Mihrán of Sind," as others do, or what he here calls the Mihrán Rúd.

Bú-Riḥán calls the river the Sind until it unites with the others, and the united streams he calls the Nahr-i-Mihrán. See the previous note 117, and the extr from that author at page 221.

157 This word does not occur in two out of three copies of the text consulted. See page 213, and also the learned note in Elliot, Vol. I, pages 380-81, from the pen of his Editor, on the subject of "Chand Rud." He takes it for granted, that the Chin-áb always flowed as at present. In the text, page 48, he has another meaning for "Chand." He says "there is some confusion here," and he has made it still more confused.

Another copy quoted by Elliot has: "The Chand Rúd is also a great and pleasant [خوش] river on whose bank is the city or town of Rúd. It falls into the Mihrán below the Sind Rúd towards the territory of Mansúrah." This, however, does not agree with three other MS. copies which I have used, but agrees with the Masálik wa Mamálik just quoted; and, for a *town* "Chand *Rúd*" is an impossible name, and must refer to the river, or a town situated thereon.

Bú-Riḥán-al-Berúní, says, after noticing the junction of the river of Kábul with the "Nahr-i-Sind:" "The river Bihat, called Jíhlam, on the west, unites with the Áb-i-Chándrá [the Chand Rúd of Ibn Ḥauḳal before noticed] at Jhárawar [جهاراور][158] or Jhára Rúd [جهارود or] Jandráhah [جندراهه] nearly fifty *mil* [miles] above Múltán, and flows past it on the west. Then the Áb-i-Bíáh [!] increases it [by uniting with them] from the east. Then the Íráwah [ايراوه—the Ráwah of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí—the Ráwí] joins them. The Nahr-ul-Kaj [or Gaj—نهر الكج—in one copy Laj—لج[159]—the upper stroke of the ک being left out, but that letter may be mistaken for ل if not marked thus ک] branches off from the Nahr-ul-Kút [نهر الكوت], which issues from the mountains of Bahátil [بهاتل], and joins them, after which the Nahr-i-Shutlad [شتلد or Shutladr شتلدر] unites with them below Múltán at a place called Panch Nad."[160]

[158] In one place in his text, Bú-Riḥán says the Sind is called Wahind; that جندراهه or جهاراور refers to the Chandar Bhág—the Chandar-Bhágá or Chin-áb—that the Bíáh flows to the *west* of Loháwar, and the Íráwah—the Ráwah or Ráwí—on the east of Loháwar.

The Bíáh never yet flowed west of Láhor, within "the range of history," but the Ráwí has, but not very far west of it. It will be seen how he has reversed matters. In another place, as in the text above, he makes the Bíáh unite with the Chin-áb *above* or *north* of the Ráwí, again reversing facts.

[159] His Nahr-ul-Kaj or Gaj, and Nahr-ul-Kút or Gút can only refer to those tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah which came from the hills east of Jasal-mír in early times, noticed farther on. In the recently published printed text, in place of this Nahr-ul-Kút we have Naghar Koṭ—نغركوت!

The letter here written ج may be meant for چ. Bahátil is the Háṭil of Mas'údí. See page 206, 7.

[160] Professor Sachau indexes these two simple Hindí words in his printed text son in "Alberúni," under the meaningless form of "*Pāncanada*;" and translates the passage as "a place called *Pāncanada*"! A person who had to depend on his translation would suppose Bú-Riḥán had so written it.

The author of the "Lost River" article in the "Calcutta Review" appears, from the following, to have had a confused idea of the Panj Áb or Panch Nad He says (page 14): "Thus, too, is solved the difficulty in providing a place for the Satlej among the five branches of the "Panjnad," which has compelled modern geographers to transfer that name *from the Indus* to the Chinab [!]. The latter has

I have entered here just what he says, but there is evidently great confusion; for we know that the Bíáh—if it is here referred to—united with the Chin-áb and its tributaries *before* or *above* the Ka[illegible]mar- is here stated. Moreover, the mention of "Sutlad" rather shows that the copyist wrote the names as he knew them best. Indeed, with regard to all the extracts from Bú-Riḥán contained in the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, it is difficult to decide which are actually his, and which Rashíd-ud-Dín's (the author), because, especially in reference to the river reaching the sea by two channels, which, in those early days it did not do, as I shall presently show, the latter mentions events as if stated by Bú-Riḥán which occurred three centuries after his death. I shall also prove that no "Sutlad"—Shuttlaj or Sutlaj—flowed in the direction here indicated, even at the time that Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, invaded these parts more than four centuries after Bú-Riḥán wrote.[161]

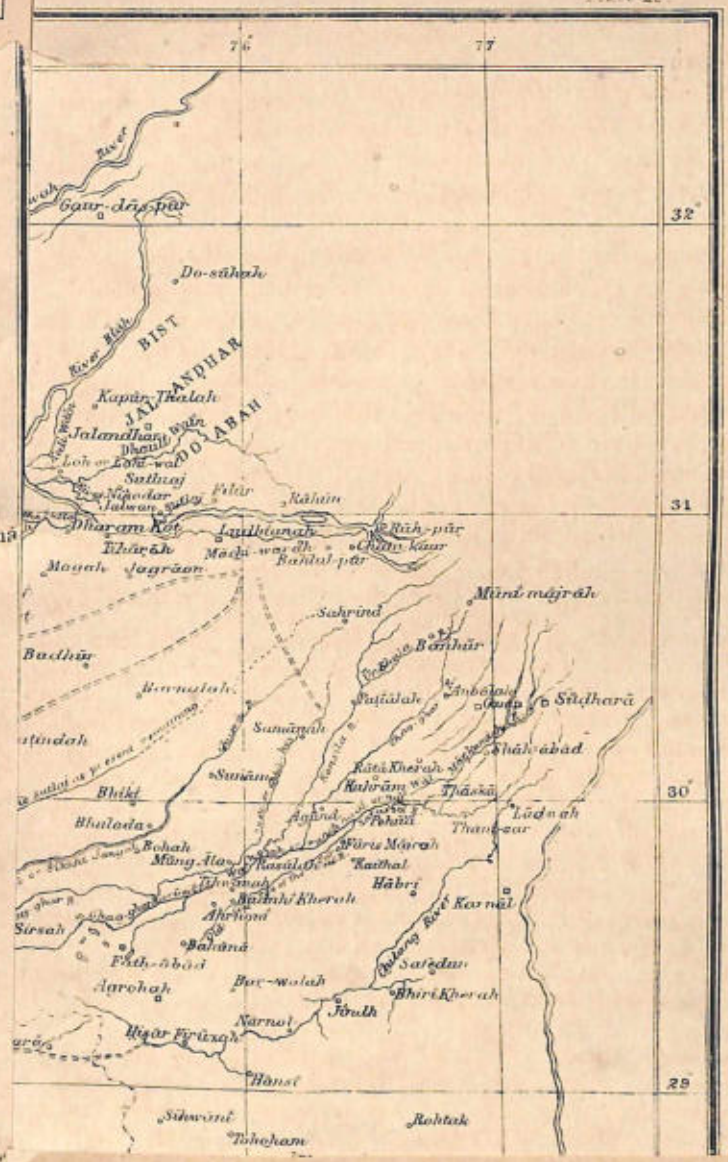
To continue his account, however, he states, that, "After this, the united streams become a vast river, and during the season of inundation, the waters spread out to the extent of ten *farsangs* in breadth, and swallow up all the other great streams, and the refuse brought down by

no claim whatever to this title, which Burns justly observes (Travels III—287) *is unknown upon its banks.* The "Panjnad" or "Panjáb" is the Indus itself. The application of the term to any one river appears to be of *late date.*"

All this is contrary to fact. All those who have dwelt in, and are acquainted with the geography of this part, know, and as the best maps show, that the rivers which unite above Uchchh, receive the name of Panch-Nad, as Bú-Riḥán, here relates, and as does Abú-l Faẓl likewise; and it is only after the united streams join the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, that they cease to be styled the Panch Nad or Five Rivers, and when all have united they are known, even to the present day, as the "*Sapt*" or "*Sat Nad,*" or Seven Rivers. I believe that what has been read as شتلد—*Shutlad*—was really meant by Bú-Riḥán for "*Sapt Nad*" or "*Sat Nad*"—ستلد. See note 139.

It should be borne in mind, when comparing statements contained in Mas'údí, the Masálik wa Mamálik, and Ibn Ḥankal, that those writers visited Sind as well as Multán and other places, while Bú-Riḥán never went farther south than Multán or farther east than Láhor.

161 It is beyond a doubt, that, until the Bíáh and the Sutlaj both left their respective beds to unite and flow in one channel, when they lost those names, the Sutlaj was a tributary of the Hakrá, but, after that, the united rivers, under the name of Haríarí, Ghárah, etc., became tributary to the Áb-i-Sind or Indus. These facts ought not to be overlooked; and yet we find recent authors writing of "Per[illegible] dikkas carrying the Greek arms to *Ajudan* on the banks of the *Sutlej*, ages b[illegible] the Sutlaj and Bíáh uniting approached within twenty-five miles of Ajúḍḍhan." Shall say that Ajúḍḍhan was in existence even ten centuries *after* the time of Alexander the Macedonian? It is nearer to the Sutlaj at the present time than it ever was before, and the distance is eight miles and a half. In the last century it was twenty-five miles distant. See note farther on.


76°
77°
32°
31°
30°
29°
Gaur-dāspūr
Do-sāhah
BIST
JALANDHAR
DOĀBAH
Kapūr Thalah
Jalandhar
Satluj
Phillaur
Rāhon
Dharam Kot
Ludhiyanah
Rāh-pūr
Machi-wara dh.
Ram kaur
Mauah
Jagrāon
Mūnā majrāh
Sahrind
Badhūr
Banūr
Sūdharā
Shāhābād
Samānah
Sunām
Bhikī
Bhulaṛah
Bohah
Māng Āla
Thasal
Kaithal
Hābrī
Karnāl
Sirsah
Bahānā
Fath-ābād
Agrohah
Bar-walah
Jīndh
Bhirī Kherah
Narnol
Hisār Firūzah
Hānsī
Sihwāl
Rohtak
Tisheham

it remains sticking in the branches of the trees [which are submerged during the inundations] and appears like the nests of birds in them. The united waters bend to the westward[162] from the city or town of Aror [اورور—the Aldor—الدور—of others] in the *middle* of the territory of Sind, and are received into the Nahr-i-Mihrán or Mihrán River, which flows slowly through the midst of the country, and forms a number of islands [*i. e.*, the waters flow in several channels which again unite, and the lands between are islands] until the river reaches Manṣúriyat [منصوريهٔ as he always spells the word in the original]. This city is situated among the branches of the river, and from that place the river unites with the ocean by two channels. One is near the town of Lohárání [لوهاراني],[163] and the other bends round towards the east in the confines of Kaj [كج—Kachchh—كچهه], and is called the Sind Shákar [سنده شاكر—Sind-Ságarah—سنده ساكرهٔ], which means The Sea of Sind. * * * The river Sarasat [سوست] unites with the ocean to the east of Súmináth."[164] This last named river is, of course, the Saraswatí, which

[162] This is not given in the printed text.

[163] In another place, Bú-Riḥán, immediately after referring to Lohárani at the mouth of the Nahr-i-Mihrán, where it unites with the ocean, says, that, "from Bazánah [بزانه, also نرايه and نرايهٔ in other MSS., and in copies of Rashíd-ud-Dín's work], between south and west, is the city of Anhal-wárah [نهلوارهٔ - انهلوارهٔ and بهلوارهٔ], distant sixty *farsangs*; and from Súmináth, on the sea, fifty. From Anhal-wárah or Nahal-wárah towards the south is Láo-des or Lár-des [لاوديس or لاديس], the *kaṣbahs* [bázár towns] of which are Bahzúj or Bahrúj [بهروج or بهزوج], and Dhanjúrá or Rhanjúrá [دهنجورا or رهنجورا], distant forty-two *farsangs*. Both these places are on the sea-shore east of دانهٔ [or تانهٔ—Táná]. This is what Elliot reads "Bániya" at page 27, "Bilha [Bánia]" at page 37, "Bánia" pages 39 and 40, "Tána" and "Bhátí" at page 61, and "Bániá" at pages 77 and 79. From Bazánah to the west is Multán, fifty *farsangs* distant [a distance which will not suit Guzarát]; and from Bhátí [بهاتي - نهاتي or بهانى or بهاى; for it is written in as many different ways] fifteen *farsangs*. From Bhátí south-west [south-*east* in one copy] fifteen *farsangs*, is Aror, Arro, Aro, or Udar [اودر - ارو - ارور - اورو] meant, probably, for ادو or ادهو, [foreigners, it will be remembered, always leave out the ه in Hindí words]. Bhátí lies between two branches of the Sind Rúd [not the Nahr-i-Mihrán, it will be observed], thence twenty *farsangs* to Bahman-no Manṣúriyat; and from thence to Lohárani, which is the mouth of the river [he mentions two mouths in the text above: this was the western mouth at that period]; where it empties itself, is distant thirty *farsangs*." Compare also Elliot, Vol. I, page 61, who says, at page 58, that this "Naraya" as he read it, and which his Editor altered into Narâna, is "the capital of Guzerát," but, in the original, the word is "كورات and كوزات" in different copies.

[164] See page 182.

falls into the sea near Pattan Som-náth, not the classical river, the tributary of the Ghag-ghar, described farther on, the sacred river of the Bráhmans.

In another place he states, that, "from Bazánah [بزانه—also written نرانه and نرايه in different MSS.] where roads branch off to the west, is Multán, distant fifty *farsangs*, and to Bhátí [بهاتي[165]—also written بهاني

165 The place called "Bhátí" above, is what Elliot at page 79 calls "Bánía" where the country is "*a marine strand;*" and whatever may be its correct name, whether Bazánah, as Bú-Riḥán writes it, be the capital of Guzarát or not (but Anhal-Wárah *was* its ancient capital), all these places, undoubtedly, lay near the sea coast, between the mouth of the Mihrán of Sind and Káṭhiáwár, and this evidently was Elliot's idea when writing about it as "the capital of Guzerát." Notwithstanding this, from the footnote 9, page 58, of the volume referred to, written by the Editor, Mr. Dowson, it appears that Elliot considered it, "one of the most interesting places in the North-Western Provinces [sic] to identify [this "marine strand" in the North-Western Provinces!] from the pages of Bírúní." He thought it to be represented by the modern *Narwar*, and entered into details in support of this view, but he was unable to account for its being called the capital of Guzerát."

Then the Editor tells us, that General Cunningham takes another view, and says: "I have identified *Guzerát* with *Bairát*, or the ancient *Mat*[illegible] Firishta [*i. e.*, "Briggs?"] gives these two names as *Kairát* and *Nárdín*, which he says, were two hilly tracts, overrun by Mahmúd of Ghazní. Now *Guzerát* and *Kairát* are only slight corruptions of *Bairát*, when written in Persian characters; and *Nárdín* and *Narána* are still slighter alterations of *Náráyana*, which is the name of a town to the north-east of *Bairát*." See also pages 394, 5, and 6 of Elliot's Vol. I.

Now let us see how "*Guzerát*" and "*Kairát*" look so much like "*Bairát*" in Persian characters:—گزرات - کیرات - بیرات and how very much alike are "*Nárdín*" "*Narána*" and "*Náráyana*":—ناردين - نرانه - نارايفه. There is not very much similarity here, I think: at least, I cannot discover it. The word, however, is بزانه *Bazánah*.

But alas for these "satisfactory" identifications! The names given by Firishtah in his Persian text are نور و قرات - Núr and Ḳirár, which refer to two *darahs* north of *Jalál-ábád* and the river of Kábul, in the Káfiristán, no less than *eleven degrees farther north*! The mistake respecting them I pointed out in my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 77; and I have also given an account of Amír Maḥmúd's expedition to those *darahs* in my NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 134 and 135, from the author from whom Firishtah derived the information, and who wrote in the time of Amír Maḥmud's grandson, Sulṭán Farrukh-Zád. See also Elliot, vol. I, page 47, where the same *darahs* of Núr and Ḳirát, written "*Núrokírát*," as one word, are mentioned along with Lamghán north of Jalál-ábád and the river of Kábul.

According to Bú-Riḥán, who mentioned this so called "Núrokírát" above referred to, this *Bazánah* is 60 *farsangs* = 180 miles from Anhal-Wárah, and we know where that is, and it is a long way from *Lamghán*, and from *Bairát* too. Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, also cannot be referred to here, because this Bhátí is but 20 *farsangs* = 60 miles, north of Manṣúriyah, and 30 *farsangs* = 90 miles from Lohárání, at the mouth of the Mihrán of Sind; and it is said that this place—Aro, Ador,

or نهاني or هاني or التي The town of the Bhátiah is evidently meant here] fifteen *farsangs*. From thence between south and west is Aro or Arú [ارز in MS., perhaps Aror ارور ?], distant fifteen *farsangs*. From بهاني between two arms or branches of the Sind Rúd, is Bahman-no, or Bahman-no Manṣúriyat,[166] distant 20 *farsangs*, from which Lohárání, which is the place of outlet [of the river], is distant thirty *farsangs*."

Referring to other routes going from Ḳinnauj to the Mihrán, he says, after mentioning Sunám, that, going north-west from thence [Ḳinnauj] nine *farsangs* is Arat-húr [ارت هور also written Arat-húz - ارت هوز or Ádatt-húr - آدت هور], then to خجنبر or خجنير or خجر or خجرمر or خجنير [which I will not attempt to speculate upon] six *farsangs*. From thence to Mandhúkúr [مندهوكور] the *ḳaṣbah* or *bázár* town of Loháwar, east of the river I'ráwat [the Ráwah or Ráwí], eight *farsangs*; then to the river Chandráhah [چندراهه] twelve; then to Jíhlam west of the Bihat [? MS. has بيت and printed text مايت] eighteen *farsangs*; from thence to Dahind [دهند or Wahind-وهند and ويهند-Waihind, in the printed text], the *ḳaṣbah* of Ḳandhár [Ganḍhárah], which the Mughals[167] call Ḳará-Jáng [قرا جانك] west of the Áb-i-Sind, twenty *farsangs*." * * * Referring to the mouths of the Nahr-i-Mihrán, he says: "After this, you come to the lesser and greater mouths of the river, and then reach the [haunts of the بوارج] Bawárij who are pirates, and Kach [Kachchh] and Súmínát. * * * From Debal to Kohrá'í or Koharáí [كوهرأي] is twelve *farsangs* [thirty-six miles or little over].[168]

etc.,—which is probably *Addo* of the maps, about 60 miles east of Bhúj in Kachchh—is but 15 *farsangs* =45 miles from "Bhátí." The places referred to here mostly lie near the sea coast, Elliot's "Marine strand," extending from the eastern mouth of the Mihrán of Sind to Súraṭh, the Saurásh̲ṭráh of the Hindús—Káṭhiáwár—and of this there can be no doubt. See page 258.

166 See note 105, *ante*, page 196, and note 146, *ante*, page 216. These distances, if correct, would show this place بزانه—Bazánah—to be situated in the north-west corner of the present Jasal-mir state.

167 The words "which the Mughals call Ḳará-Jáng" will not be found in Bú-Riḥán's text. Here we have Rash̲íd-ud-Dín, not Bú-Riḥán, for the simple reason, that, at the period the latter wrote, and for more than a century after, the Mughals were unknown to the Musalmán writers. For more respecting this Ḳará-Jáng, see Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1216; and compare Cunningham, "Ancient India," page 55.

168 See *ante* page 206, and note 112. The overflow from the channel of the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar still reaches the sea by the inlet which appears as "Kohri" in our maps, the names in which are generally incorrectly written. The Hajamro mouth of the Indus is just thirty-four miles (or lately was: it may have changed considerably since the publication of the most recent maps) from the Kohrá'í mouth to the north-west. Bawárij is the plural of بارجه, a war-boat apparently, and certainly refers to boats or vessels.

Al-Idrísí, who wrote about 545 H. (1150–51 A. D.), nearly a century before the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, says, that "Sand-úr[169] [for Chand-úr or Jand-úr ? '*s*' is interchangable with, and often substituted for '*ch*' and '*j*' by foreigners] is situated three days' journey south of Multán, which is famous for its trade, wealth, and extravagance of its inhabitants. It is said to form part of Hind [he afterwards mentions it among other places belonging to Hind], and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrán above Samaid [Basmid of others].[170] Going from Multán towards the north there is a desert tract which extends as far as the eastern boundary of Túbarán.[171] From Multán, as far as the neighbourhood of Manṣúriyah, the country is held by a warlike race called Nudah [or Núdiyah, as the Sindís write it], consisting of a number of tribes scattered about between Ṭúbarán and Mukrán, Multán and Manṣúriyah, like the Barbar nomads. These Nudahs [Núdiyahs] have peculiar dwellings, and marshy places in which they take shelter, if necessary, to the west of the Mihrán. They possess a fine breed of camels, particularly a sort called *karah*, like the camel of Balkh [the Bakhtí camel], which has two humps, and is held in great esteem in Khurásán, and other parts of Irán.[172] * * * The place chiefly frequented by the Núdahs [or Núdiyahs] for purposes of trade and other matters is Ḳandá'íl."

Al-Idrísí also says respecting Debal, that it is a populous place, but not fertile, and is inhabited merely because it is a harbour for the vessels of Sind and other parts. "Going west," he says, "from the mouth of the great Mihrán [the principal or eastern branch] Debal is six *mil* [miles] distant. From Debal to Nírún, also on the west of the Mihrán, is three days' journey.[173] Nírún is about midway between Debal and

169 This name occurs in an old map which I shall give farther on between Rúrhí and Multán, and it would therefore seem that it was known in the early part of the last century; and, from its position therein, appears to have been situated somewhere about Nohar, or Islám-Koṭ of the present day, near the banks of the Hakrá, or farther north. It seems to be identical with the town or city of Jand or Chand mentioned *ante*, at pages 213-14.

170 See *ante* page 216.

171 This appears to refer to the southern parts of the great, elevated plateaus extending from a few miles east of the Indus to the high left bank of the Bíáh, and through which the rivers forming the Panj Áb, or Panch Nad, now cut their way, and which from what is known as the *thal* or *bár*-i-Chináo west of the Chin-áb, and *bár* and *dhaiyá* east of it. These elevated plateaus represent three distinct geological periods apparently, respecting which more will be found in the notice of the rivers farther on.

172 See *ante* page 217, where Ibn Ḥauḳal says much the same, and note 146.

173 The position of Nírún is plainly shown in the old maps of the Masálik wa Mamálik and Ibn Ḥauḳal, as well as from the description of its whereabouts in those

Manṣúriyah, and persons going from one to the other cross the river here. Nírún is a place of little importance, but it is fortified. * * *

two works, and in others, including Al-Idrísí in the text above. Modern writers identify its position satisfactorily to themselves, but differ as to its whereabouts. Elliot fixes it at Jarak, while Cunningham prefers Ḥaidar-ábád. He says ("Ancient India," p. 279) "the people still know it—Haidarábád—as *Nirankot*," but this requires confirmation. He also says, "it *was* situated on the *western* bank of the river. * * * *At present* the main channel of the Indus runs to the west of Haidarábád, but we know that the *Phuleli* or eastern branch, was formerly the principal stream. According to McMurdo, the change of the main stream [by which McMurdo means the Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Ságarah, not the "Phuleli"] to the westward of Haidarábád, took place prior to A. H. 1000, or A. D. 1592 [Haigh previously quoted, says "the change occurred only in the middle of the last century," and he is perfectly right], and was coincident with the decay of Nasirpur [Naṣr-púr is the correct name], which was only founded in A. H. 751, or A. D. 1350."

The Naṣr-púr here referred to, I may observe, lies some seventeen miles N. N. E. of Ḥaidar-ábád, and was founded by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk ruler of Dihlí; while the place referred to by Elliot ("Indian Historians," Vol. I, p. 216) as being a place of great importance as early as the time of Dúdah, the Sumrah, who was contemporary with Sulṭán 'Abd-ur-Rashíd of Ghaznín, some three centuries before, refers to an entirely different place. That refers to Naṣír-púr in the south-east of Sind. It was still the chief place in that part in Akbar Bádsháh's time, and gave name to one of the five *sarkárs* into which the territory dependent on Ṭhaṭhah was divided. It was here that the same Sulṭán founded a fort on the banks of the Sankrah [Hakṛá], on his advance against Ṭhaṭhah the last time from Guzarát.

Cunningham continues: "As Nasirpur is mentioned by Abul Fazl [Gladwin's translation?] as the head of one of the subdivisions of the province of Thatha, the main channel of the Indus [the main channel, as I have before mentioned, was the Hakṛá] must have flowed to the eastward of Niran Kot or Haidarábád at as late a date as the beginning of the reign of Akbar." I may observe that Abú-l-Faẓl's work was completed in the forty-second year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and that Naṣír-púr (a different place from Naṣr-púr) was, as stated above, the name of the most south-easterly *sarkár* of the Ṭhaṭhah province, one of the seven *maḥálls* of which was Naṣir-pur, giving name to the *sarkár*, and that Amar-Koṭ was another. In this part a small fortified town was also founded by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk, on his advance from Gondhal to Ṭhaṭhah.

Elliot, on the other hand, identified, according to the writer previously quoted, Nírún Koṭ with "Jarak, and the Kinjar lake near Heláí in its neighbourhood, as that in which the fleet of Muhammad Kasim [Muḥammad, *son* of Ḳásim, is meant, the latter having been dead for years] lay," but Cunningham adds that "the Kinjar lake has no communication with the Indus," and thus he disposes of Jarak "identified" by Elliot and others; but Elliot says (Vol. I, p. 400): "I am disposed to place Nírún at Heláí, or Heláya, a little below Jarak. * * * Lakes abound in the neighbourhood, and are large enough, especially the Kinjar, to have admitted Muhammad Kásim's fleet."

The attempt to identify places mentioned in the ancient history of Sind according to the recent state of the channel of the Indus, as if its banks had been of adamant instead of hour-glass sand and mud, and had not changed in the space of eleven,

From it to Manṣúriyah is a little more than three days' journey. Manṣúriyah is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán, but it is at a distance

much less twenty-three centuries is sufficiently absurd, but it is still greater when, from his own authorities (page 157), the fleet of boats of Muḥammad was sent up the Sind-Ságar (or Wahind Ságarah as stated in the Ohach-Námah. See note 181, page 231), that is, the Hakṛá or Wahindah, mis-called the "Narra" in the maps and Gazetteers, and that it flowed some seventy-five miles east of this "Helái" and the "Kinjar lake," and continued to do so for centuries after the time referred to. How many scores of times, likewise, has the western branch (described farther on), changed during that period from west to east and back again, and how many lakes formed, dried up, or swept away?

Wood—a keen observer and experienced surveyor—says in his work ("Journey to the Oxus") respecting this, that, "In the neighbourhood of Vikkar is the imbedded hull of a Dutch brig-of-war, pierced for fourteen guns, affording proof, if any were wanting, of *the ever-changing course* of the Indus. It is *in vain* in the delta of such a river to identify existing localities with descriptions handed down to us by the historians of Alexander the Great. The whole country from Kach'h to Karáchi is alluvial, and *none of its spontaneous productions*, the tamarisk tree, for instance, *exhibit the growth of a century*. Higher up the course of the river, where its channels are more permanent, this tree attains a large size, and this never being the case in the delta, our conclusion would appear legitimate, the soil at both places being the same.

"Could the northern apex of the delta be as easily fixed as its triangular sides can be defined, we might then venture to speculate on the probability of Alexander having visited Kach'h or Gujerat. * * * But, as before observed, the absence of tangible localities involves us in a maze of doubt; and hence our deductions are oftener the result of fancy than sound inference.

"The old Dutch-built vessel mentioned above affords negative evidence that the mouths of the Indus in her day were not more accessible than at present. * * * We have tolerable evidence that the Indus has never been more or less navigable than we now find it to be. Tavernier, nearly two centuries ago, said, "At present the commerce of T'hat'hah, which was formerly great, is much diminished, as the mouth of the river is always getting worse, and the sand, by increasing, scarcely gives room for a passage," pp. 2—3.

"In a mud basin undergoing continual change, such as the valley of the Indus south of the mountains, it is almost vain to look, after the lapse of so many centuries, for indications of the Grecian general's march," p. 20.

As to the apex of the delta, there can be very little doubt, that, in very ancient times, it was between Bahman-ábád, and the range of lime stone hills running down from Aror, and where the Mihrán of Sind separated into two branches. See note on the rivers farther on.

To return to the previous subject, however, after this digression. One thing appears conclusive, namely, that as the distance between Bahman-ábád and Nírún was rather more than between Nírún and Debal, its site must be looked for some thirty-five or forty miles south of the modern Ḥaidar-ábád, and about the same distance east of Ṭhaṭhah; and in the Sindí accounts of the founding of Ḥaidar-ábád there is no mention of its being founded on the site of Nírún. Al-Idrísí says Nírún lies about half way between Manṣúriyah and Debal, that it is three days' journey

from the river. It is on the west of the principal branch, which flows from the direction of Kálarí, a town one day's journey from Manṣúriyah,

between the latter place and Nírún, and that people going from thence to Manṣúriyah cross the river at Manjábarí (which lay about mid-way between the two places). Ibn Ḥauḳal, on the other hand states, that *the country* of Nírún is rather nearer to Manṣúriyah than to Debal; and, in another place, that while it is six days' journey from Manṣúriyah to Debal, it is but two days' journey between Nírún and Debal. In the map contained in the Masálik wa Mamálik, and also in Ibn Ḥauḳal's map, Nírún is some distance from the banks of the great river, and Manjábarí intervenes about midway between it and Bahman-ábád. But between the time that Al-Idrísí and Ibn Ḥauḳal wrote, a period of about one hundred and eighty years, great changes appear to have taken place, since the latter says that "the Mihrán passes on towards Nírún, and then flows to the sea." See farther on about the second great transition of the courses of the river, also Elliot Vol. I, page 78.

Cunningham at page 279 of his work has the heading "*Patala or Nirankot*," which, as before noticed, he identifies with Ḥaidar-ábád, and the "Pattala of Arrian," but at page 236 he considers that "another name" appears to have "a confused reference to *Nirunkot*." It is confused enough truly. This name is "the *Piruz* of Istakhri, [the Istaḳharí], the "*Kannazbúr*" of Ibn Haukal, and the "*Fírabúz*" of Edrisi [Al-Iurísí];" and, after quoting what they say from Elliot, he considers that their "unknown city" will accord exactly with that of *Nirankot*. "*Debal*," he says, "I will hereafter identify with an old city near *Lâri-bandar* [at page 279 he says *Lâri-bandar* is its probable position], and *Manhábari* [Manjábarí ?] with *Thatha*." Had Ibn Ḥauḳal's map contained in Elliot's volume given all the names, as in that of the Masálik wa Mamálik, which I have appended to this paper, it would have been perceived that what has been called "Fírabúz," "Kannazbúr," and "Pirúz," lay midway between Darak and Manjábárí, and between Nírún and Debal, but a little nearer to the latter and about north of Debal, while Nírún lay more to the north-east from Debal; and the place in question, "Fírabúz," or whatever it may be, was a town of Mukrán, whereas Nírún was a town of Sind, and they are totally distinct places. The name of this place is written in a variety of ways in the different authors, but in the Masálik wa Mamálik, in Ibn Ḥauḳal, and Al-Idrísí, it is فرمون - فريون - فرمون - فمرون - قلونور - بيروز and بيروز, but by what means it is managed to get Kannazbúr, Kannazpúr," and "Kínarbúr" out of it, is beyond my comprehension and how the 'n' becomes doubled.

It is clearly stated that Nírún lay on the road from Debal to Manṣúriyah, the position of which two places there is no doubt about. Then, that between Debal and Manṣúriyah is six days' journey. Thus we can compute by actual measurement within a few miles, to be about one hundred and twenty miles as the crow flies, or about twenty miles, to the day's journey. The Istaḳharí, the Masálik wa Mamálik, Ibn Ḥauḳal, and Al-Idrísí, all say that Nírún lay between Debal and Manṣúriyah, and that Nírún was three days' journey from each. It is likewise stated, that from Armá'íl (the Hormara of the maps) to Debal is also six days' journey, consequently, the distance is much the same from Debal to Manṣúriyah as from Debal to Armá'íl." This being determined, Ibn Ḥauḳal says, that from Debal to this "*Kannazbúr* is four days' journey ["fourteen days," as in Elliot is an error or a misprint for "four"], consequently, the distance from Debal thereto is one-third less than to

where it separates into two branches, the principal branch flowing towards Manṣúriyah, and the other north-west-wards as far as Sharúsán [Sadúsán or Síw-istán] when it turns westwards and re-unites with

Armá'íl. He then says that from "Kannazbúr" to Manjábári or Manchábarí is *two days' journey*. Al-Idrísí says that Manjábarí or Manchábarí is *three days' journey* from Sharúsán [Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán], and this we know the exact position of, and therefore Manjábarí or Manchábarí was the same distance from Sihwán as Nírún was from Debal and Manṣúriyah. He also says that it is six days' journey from Sharúsán or Síw-istán to "Fírábuz," the "Kannazbúr" of Ibn Ḥauḳal [I give the names as mentioned in Elliot and quoted by Cunningham, because the originals are anything but "Kannazbúr," "Kinnazbúr," "Fírabúz" or "Pírúz," as may be seen above], and that in going from Debal to "Fírabáz" the road passes by Manjábarí. He also says that "Fírabúz" *belongs to the province of Mukrán*, that is, that it was close to the Sind border. Elliot in his version of Ibn Ḥauḳal, vol. I, pp. 33-34, has "Kabryún [Kannazbún]" for this same place, which he also says is "in Mukrán."

Cunningham supposes "Manhábari," as he calls it, to be Ṭhaṭhah, but as he "identifies" Debal as Lâri-bandar, which were two distinct places and a considerable distance apart—twelve *farsangs*, or thirty-six miles or more, according to Bú-Riḥán—we may be permitted to be dubious on the subject; and after *identifying* Nírún with "Haidarábad," he "would suggest," that the first of the three names, i.e. *Kannazbur*, and *Fírabúz* (which Elliot identifies with "*Punjgoor*") all of which refer to *one place*, "might possibly be intended for *Nírún*, and the other two for *Nirunkot*, as the alterations in the original Arabic characters required for these two readings are very slight." I will show how slight they are. Nírún and Nírún Koṭ are written نیرون - نیرون کوت, "*Piruz*"—پیروز; "*Kannazbur*"—قنّزبور; "*Firabuz*" —فیربوز All these are very much like each other certainly. A few lines under he continues: "comparing Biládurí's [the Balázarí's extract in Elliot] *Kizbun* with Ibn Haukal's *Kannazbur* [see also his note to p. 287], and Edrisí's Firabuz, I think it probable they may be intended for *Punjgúr*, as suggested by M. Reinaud."

The position of this many named place with respect to Armá'íl the "Hormara" of the maps, Debal, Manjábarí or Manchábarí on the Mihrán (from which it was two days' journey), the great mouth of that river, and Nírún, would be some eighteen miles north-north-east of Jarak, but "Punjgoor" of Elliot, and "Panjgúr" of Cunningham, in Mukrán, and *only three hundred and seventy miles farther west-north-west*, is totally impossible. With regard to Manjábarí or Manchábarí, there is a place called *Manjhand* in the maps, close to the Railway on the west bank of the Indus, just half-way between Koṭrí and Sihwán, fifty-nine miles from Jarak, and still a place of some importance, but the distance from Debal would be too great. See the old 'Arab map, where Manjábarí or Manchábarí, written without diacritical points, is marked.

To the south of Ḥaidar-ábád, in the plain close to where the Fulailí branch of the Indus used a few years back to unite with the Gúní, the country for miles round is covered with broken bricks and the ruined foundations of large buildings. Tradition says that a large and flourishing city once covered the plain and extended as far as the range of limestone hills on the extreme northern part of which, some eighteen miles farther north, Ḥaidar-ábád stands. Hereabouts the site of Nírún-kot

the main river, and forms after that but one stream.[174] This junction occurs twelve *mil* [miles] below Manṣúriah. The river then passes on to Nírun, and subsequently unites with the ocean.[175] Manṣúriah is accounted among the dependencies of Sind, like Debal, Nírún, Sharúsán, Chandúr, Baniyah, Kálarí, Atrí, Basmíd, Multán,[176] etc.

"Dor[177] lies on the bank of the Mihrán which flows west of that city [or town]. It compares with Multán in size. From it Basmíd is three days' journey, Atrí four days', and Kálarí two. The last-named place is on the west bank of the Mihrán, is a well fortified town, and carries on a brisk trade. Near it the Mihrán separates into two branches, the largest branch [*i. e.* the main branch] flows towards the east as far as the vicinity of Manṣúriyah which is on its west bank, while the other runs north-west, then north, and afterwards towards the west.[178] The branches again unite about twelve *mil* [miles] below Manṣuriyah. Kálarí is some distance out of the main route, but is much frequented for trading purposes. It is distant from Manṣúriyah a long days' journey of forty *mil* [miles], and from Sharúsán [Síw-istán or Sadúsán] three days' journey. Sharúsán is remarkable for its size, its fountains, and canals, abundant productions, and its profitable trade. From thence, distant

might be sought for. Then again there are the ruins near "Shakhr-púr, of the maps, some thirty miles westwards from Ṭhaṭhah, and the extensive ruins near Bádín, about thirty-three miles west of that again. The ruins at this place are similar to those of Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, and the city or whatever it was, was probably destroyed at the same time. The ruins near Bádin *may be* those of Manjábarí, and those near "Shakhr-púr" may be the remains of Nírún Koṭ, but more probably of Damrílah; but there is no district of Sind less likely to show remains of antiquity than that known as Sháh Bandar.

174 See Bú-Riḥán's account above, who also mentions two mouths.

175 It is stated in the Táríkh of Ḥáfiẓ Abrú, which is a comparatively modern work, but held in great estimation, and completed about 829 H. (1425 A. D.), that, "The source of the river Sind is on the skirts of the mountains of Kash-mír [north of], and runs from the western side of those mountains into the territory of Manṣúriyah, its course being from north to south, and near the end of its course bends towards the east, and enters the sea of Hind. The river Jamd [the Jhilam] also rises in the mountains of Kash-mír, but on the south side. It runs from north to south, and enters the land of Hind. * * * In the neighbourhood of Multán it unites with the Sind river, which falls into the ocean. The Biáh is a large river, which rises on the east side of the mountains of Kash-mír, flows through the territory of Luháwar [Láhor], and from thence to Uchchh, and falls into the ocean in the country of Kambáyah." The [illegible]ler, no doubt, meant the tract adjacent to Soraṭh or Saurásḥtra, between it and Sind, the river separating the two tracts of country; and he referred to the Hakrá or Wahindah of which the Biáh was still a tributary.

176 Others consider Multán to be dependent on Hind.

177 The word is دور or Ror - رور, it appears written with د in MSS.

178 See Ibn Ḥauḳal, page 215.

three days' journey, is Manjábarí, a town situated in a depression or hollow, a pleasant place, surrounded with gardens, fountains, and running water. * * * It is two days' journey from Debal.[179] * * * Among the places of Hind, touching upon Sind, are Fámhal, كنبانه,[180] Sindán, Saimúr, etc." He mentions likewise certain maritime isles, referring, no doubt, to the tracts on the coast, and the *Ran*, or great marsh, between the mouths of the Mihrán and Kachchh.

The Ḳazwíní, who quotes from a much earlier writer, does not give us very much information respecting the rivers of these parts, but he says, that "The *Nahr*-i-Mihrán [that is the Áb-i-Sind. See *ante* note 117.] rises in the same mountain region in which the affluents of the Jíḥún take their rise," and, that "the *Nahr*-i-Mihrán flows in a general direction of about south-west. After being joined by another *Nahr* from the eastward, the united rivers flow towards the west [south-westwards], and fall into the sea of Fárs. A branch having separated from the *Nahr*-i-Mihrán, encircles Manṣúriah, and makes it like unto an island." The territory immediately about Manṣúriyah is, of course, meant as shown in the Masálik wo Mamálik map.

In another place, quoting from the Istakhrí, already noticed, he says: "The Istakhrí states, that the *Nahr*-i-Mihrán rises at the back of the mountain [range] out of which the affluents of the Jíḥún issue. It then appears near Multán, on the boundary of Samandúr [سمندور], and, having passed under [below] Manṣúriyah, unites with the sea to the east of Debal."

In another place the Ḳazwíní mentions Nudiyah or Núdiah, which he says, "is an extensive tract of country in Sind, containing numerous people, who are of different tribes. They possess considerable wealth; and most of the cultivation is rice, [showing that water was not scarce]. * * * They also have a fine breed of camels, the like of which is not found elsewhere. They are taken into Khurásán and Fárs to breed from."

Another geographical work, the Murásid-ul-I'tilá, plainly states, that "Debal is a well-known town [or city] on the shore of the sea of Hind, and a place of considerable trade, near which place, likewise, the rivers of Láhor and Multán, empty themselves into the ocean."

We may now gather further information respecting these rivers of Sind from the proceedings of the 'Arab conquerors, but they double up

[179] The name of this place is generally written Díbal by the old geographers and historians, but, as the name is evidently derived from Debal or Dewal—an idol-temple—the mode of spelling given above is the more correct.

[180] I leave it as it is written. This is the word of which Elliot makes "Kambáya."

events, so to say, considerably. Aḥmad, son of Yaḥyá-al-Balázarí, author of the Futúḥ-ul-Baladán, previously quoted, is the earliest historian.[181] He brings down events to the year 227 H. (842 A. D.). He does not appear to have actually visited Sind; for his work is a general history of the conquests of the 'Arabs, but he quotes from persons who had been, and had served, in Sind; and he is repeatedly quoted by Al-Mas'údí and Ibn Ḥauḳal, both of whom afterwards visited it, and by others. He died in 279 H. (892-93 A. D.). It is strange that there is so little mention made in Ṭabarí's chronicle respecting the conquest of Sind. All he says is, that, "during the Khiláfat of Walíd, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, many victories were gained; and, among other parts, a portion of the territory of Hindústán was conquered by Muḥammad-i-Abú-l-Ḳásim," and this is all. Sind he included in Hind or Hindústán.

The Balázarí says, that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, advanced into Sind from Sijis-stán by way of Armá'íl,[182] which was taken, and reached Debal or Dewal, the sea-port of Sind, and the nearest point from thence [Armá'íl] on the sea-coast of Sind. Here there was a *budh*, the name given by the 'Arab writers to a Budhist temple where idols are worshipped, and which the name of the place was derived from. From this *budh* a large red flag waved from a tall staff, which was struck by one of the *balistas* of the 'Arabs, and knocked down. The place was taken by assault, after which Muḥammad moved to Nírún or Nírún Koṭ,[183] which

[181] The Chach Námah, however, may be considered equally early, as it contains the accounts related by actual actors in the events recounted in it, handed down from sire to son. See note 185.

[182] This well known place in the history of Mukrán and Kirmán, Elliot, in his "Indian Historians" invariably miscalls "*Armábel*," just as he miscalls Ḳandá'íl "*Kandábel*," and "*Kandábhel*," in most places, but "*Kandáil*" in a few others. It is, apparently, what Masson calls "*Hormara*."

[183] The Chach Námah says, that, after possessing himself of Debal, he despatched his *balistas* on boats which went up the river which they call the Sind Ságar [that is, the main branch of the Hakṛá or Mihrán of Sind] towards Nírún Koṭ, but went himself with his army towards Sísam, and when he reached it, he received a reply to his announcement of the capture of Debal from Amír Ḥajjáj which was dated Rajab, 93 H. (May, 712 A. D.).

An 'Arab who was present, quoted in the Chach Námah, states that Muḥammad proceeded from Debal to the Ḥiṣár of Nírún, which was twenty-five *farsangs* (seventy-five miles) distant, and that on the seventh day he reached the neighbourhood of Nírún, which was a grassy plain which they [the people] called Balá-hár in the tract or district [*samín*] of Ro'í or Rú'í. At that period, the Áb-i-Síḥún *and* the Mihrán, had not reached it; and the troops became much distressed for water, and began to complain. Muḥammad having offered up prayers to Heaven for rain, it fell, and all the water-courses and reservoirs in that vicinity were filled.

capitulated. Proceeding north-eastwards, he came to a river which flows on this [the west] side of the Mihrán,[184] which he crossed, and then took a place called Sahbán [Sísam of the Chach Námah, and Salím of others], after which he moved to the banks of the Mihrán. His object was to attack Bahman-ábád, the place of greatest importance in that part of Sind; but, before doing so, he had to detach part of his force to recover possession of Síw-istán, which had previously been surrendered to him, but which had now revolted, the exact situation of which, with Bahman-ábád, and Aror, or Alor, there is no possible doubt about. His detaching this force, as he did, clearly shows, that, at that time, the Mihrán of Sind or Great Mihrán, as some of the old writers call it, did not flow even so near to Síw-istán or Sadúsán, as it did when the Masálik wa Mamálik and Ibn Ḥauḳal's work were written, some two hundred years after these events; for, according to the maps in those works, the river appears to have still passed some distance east of it.[185] Had this not

When Rá'e Dáhir heard of the fall of Debal, he made light of it, saying that it was "a place merely inhabited by low people and traders; and he directed his son, Jai Síṇha, to leave a Samaní [Priest] there in charge, and repair himself to old Bahman-ábád." Nírún was surrendered to the 'Arabs by the Samaní in question.

The Chach Námah states, that, "in the night following the fall of Debal, one Jáhín, by name, got his women over the walls, and on arriving outside, found horses and a dromedary waiting them, which had been sent by Rá'e Dáhir, and mounting at once, pushed on until they reached a cutting or small channel of the Mihrán, which they call Gár Mittí [Gár Mittí] on the east side of the Mihrán. From thence Jáhín sent an elephant to convey the news of the fall of Debal to Dáhir, who enquired what village Jáhín had reached; and he was told that "he had reached "Gár Mitti," that is to say "Kul-i-Shor" [village of Misfortune or Calamity"].

[184] This may refer to the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, which, near Kálarí, some forty miles above Bahman-ábád, turned to the north-westwards, and then south again, but more probably refers to one of the old channels from the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, which flowed between Síw-istán and Bahman-ábád, noticed farther on. According to the Chach Námah this river was called the Kunbh.

[185] After halting some days at Nírún and suffering for want of forage, that place was given up, and Muḥammad, leaving a Shaḥnah or Commissioner there, moved towards "the fortress of Síw-istán, situated to the west of the Mihrán on the summit of a hill." He determined that he would reduce this stronghold first, and having set his heart at rest respecting that part of Sind, on his return from thence he would make preparations for crossing that river, and attacking Dáhir. Elliot has "re-cross" but as he had not crossed it, he needed not to *re-cross*.

I may mention here, that the Chach Námah, which is taken from 'Arabic annals, containing the statements of persons who were present along with the Amír, 'Imád-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, and who had related the events to their descendants some years only after they occurred, was translated in the reign of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, nearly four hundred years after the Balázarí wrote his work, just one hundred and thirty-five years after the invasion of Sind. The

been the case, and had no other great obstacles existed, which there did, he might have crossed and taken his whole force to Bahman-ábád from

original was probably written before the Balázarí wrote. It states that Muḥammad proceeded from Nírún stage by stage until he reached a place called Mauj or Moj [موج], which others call Bharaj or Bahraj [بهرج], the same place as is mentioned at page 215, and which also appears in the old 'Arab map, thirty *farsangs* from Nírún, and that there was stationed a Malik on the part of Bajhrá, son of Chandar, Rá'e Dáhir's uncle. Then the account passes at once to Síw-istán, the people of which—those interested in trade and in saving themselves only—were desirous of submitting, but Bajhrá would not listen to it, and the fighting men were ready to defend it. * * * "Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, took up a position before the *Registán* [sandy tract or desert] gate to attack the place, because there was no other ground; for the waters of the rainy season had risen, and, from, or on, the north side, the *já'e* Sind—the Áb-i-Sind—did not, in former times, flow." That is to say, at the time the narrator was referring to. There is not a word about any "selected ground," nor any "Sindhu Ráwal." Elliot mistook در آول for راول. His version of the Chach Námah is very imperfect, or carelessly done; and to understand Muḥammad's movements in Sind, and the events which happened at that time, the Chach Námah requires to be properly and faithfully translated.

These operations against Síw-istán must have been carried on in December, 711, if not in January, 712 A. D, but all the dates are more or less confused.

After some days investment, and the failure of an intended night attack upon the 'Arab camp before the *Registán* Gate, Bajhrá, under cover of the night, fled by the Koh-i-Shamálí [North Hill] Gate, crossed the river [not the Mihrán: that was a long way off], and did not tarry until he had reached the boundary of Búdiyah, east of the river. At that time, the ruler of the Búdiyah territory was Kákah, son of Kotal, whose residence was the fort of Sísam on the bank of the Kunbh."

From this it would seem that there were two places called Sísam, or there is a mistake in one of the two names, which is most probable, because Sísam, the Sahbán and Sílam of others, is the place which the 'Arabs reached from Nírún on their way to Síw-istán.

After the flight of their governor, the people of Síw-istán were allowed to surrender.

Elliot says that "Seisan, a village on Lake Manchur may be the place here called Sísam." There is a place, so called, in some comparatively recent maps, but such is not to be found in the "Indian Atlas" map from the most recent surveys. Sisam, however, as the context shows, was a considerable distance to the eastward of Lake Manchhar.

Mír Má'ṣúm of Bakhar, one of the historians of Sind, makes a statement worthy of record here. He says, that the tract of country west of the Mihrán [as it flowed in his day] dependent on Síw-istán, is called by the Fuḳahá-i-Islám [Doctors of Law and Divinity] by the name of *U'shar*, because the Jinnah people جنّه [*sic.* in *MSS.*, possibly meant for Chinnah] submitted of their own accord to the Musalmáns, on which account, according to the *Shara'*, the legal tribute they were liable to, was one-tenth; whereas, if they had been reduced by force of arms, the legal tribute would have been one-fifth.

Síw-istán, instead of having to return to Nírún for that purpose. He found it impossible, however, to get to Bahman-ábád from thence for various reasons, as related in the Chach Námah; for he had previously despatched his battering rams up the Sind Ságar towards Nírún, on the west side of the estuary of which, at the distance of about six miles, Bahman-ábád was situated, as stated by the Balázarí, who subsequently visited it. When we see the vast changes which a single year brings about in the courses of the rivers of these parts, we can form some idea of the changes which must have occurred in two hundred; although there are some who expect to find on its banks, and actually presume to identify, places mentioned above two thousand two hundred years ago, and suppose the rivers to be running in the same channels, and in much the same positions, as the Greeks found them.

The Balázarí takes us, at once to Sadúsán or Siw-istán, and states that it capitulated, which so far is correct; but another work, the Jámi'-ut-Táwaríkh, says, that, "the fortress of Salím[186] was first captured, and then Sadúsán or Síw-istán surrendered. Its affairs having been disposed of, and an 'Arab officer left in charge of it, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, prepared to cross to the east side of the Mihrán by a bridge of boats which he had caused to be constructed.[187] But the writers do not mention the

[186] The Sahbán of the Balázarí, and Sísam of the Chach Námah.

[187] Some considerable time elapsed before Muḥammad could cross the Mihrán. After the capitulation of Síw-istán, he, leaving a Commissioner there with a small force, moved with his army against Sísam, and reached a place called Nídháhah [نیدهاه—in another *MS.* نیدهان—Nídhán] on the banks of the Kunbh. The chief priests of the *Budh* there, who traced their lineage from Ikránah or Akránah on the Gang, which they call A-dwand Bihár (See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" page 491, and Appendix D, page xxvi) incited the Ránás of the Jats of Búdhiyah, and Kákah, son of Kotal, to make a night attack on the 'Arab camp. They made the attempt, Kákah sending a thousand men with them, but it did not succeed; and, soon after, Kákah submitted, and subsequently, betrayed his countrymen. After this affair Muḥammad appeared before the fort of Sísam and invested it for two days; the infidels were defeated, and the fort captured. Bajhrá, son of Chandar, and uncle's son of Dáhir, with Ráwats and Ṭhákurs, who were his dependents and followers, there fell, along with Bajhrá; while others fled to Upper-most Búdhiyah [بودهیه بالا تر], and some to the fort of Bhaṭlúr [بهطلور], between Sálúj and Ḳandá'íl.

About this time Muḥammad received orders from Amír Ḥajjáj, saying, that it was necessary for him to leave other places alone, and to return to Nírún, and make arrangements for crossing the Mihrán and reducing Dáhir, and when that was effected, the strongholds and provinces would naturally fall into his hands. Muḥammad accordingly returned towards Nírún, and, on his way, happened to halt "near the fortress situated on the hill (*koh*) of Nírún, adjacent to which was a lake," the praises of which he gives in glowing terms. Without doubt, this lake is that called the Sonharí Ḍhanḍ, and the ruins of the fort are on the north side of it. The Jám,

difficulties he had to encounter, the delay in obtaining boats, the want

Tamáchí, one of the Sammah rulers, is said to have subsequently occupied it. See *ante* note 173. Muḥammad gave Amír Ḥajjáj an account of his recent proceedings, and that he "had reached the bank (*lab*) of the Áb-i-Síḥún, which they call Mihrán, at a halting place which lay in the tract of country around Búdhiyah, and opposite to the fortress of Laghrúr or Baghrúr [لغرور or بغرور], which is situated on that river [on the east bank] and belonging to the territory of Dáhir, and the very strong fort of Sísam; but, in accord with his commands, he had returned, and awaited further instructions, which he hoped to get soon," as the place he was then writing from, he says, was "near to the Dár-ul-Khiláfat." He probably meant nearer than Síw-istán was.

With all this before him, Elliot, in his work, confounds Baghrúr with Nírún, while it is certain that the place in question lay *east* of the Mihrán, and Nírún on the *west*, as is plainly stated. See vol. 1, page 163, where he has, "opposite the fort of Baghrúr (Nírún), on the Mihrán. * * * This fort is in the country [district is meant which lay *east*] of Alor. * * * The forts of Síwistán and Sísam have been already taken," etc.

His accounts of Muḥammad's movements preparatory to crossing the Mihrán, in his extract from the Chach Námah, is hopelessly confused. He says (page 166): "Muḥammad Kásim [this is how he writes the father's and son's names together as those of one person] had determined to cross, and was apprehensive lest Rái Dáhir might come to the banks of the Mihrán with his army, and oppose the transit. He ordered Sulaimán bin Tihán Kuraishí *to advance boldly* [here a sad mistake has been made, and the words "towards Baghrúr" have been rendered "to advance *boldly*" mistaking بغرور for غرور—'*pride*,' *haughtiness*,' etc.] with his troops against the fort in order that Fúfí, son of Dáhir, should not be able to join his father [In a note he says: *MS.* A. is faulty, but seems to say "the fort of Aror." He was a long way from Aror]. Sulaimán accordingly went with 600 horsemen. He ordered also the son of 'Atiya Tifli to watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance [this refers to a *place*, not a man. See his work page 362], in order to cover *Gandava* [sic.] and he ordered the Samaní, who was chief of Nírún to keep open the road for the supply of food and fodder to the camp. Mus'ab bin 'Abu-r-rahman was ordered to command the advance guard, and keep the roads clear. [This Mus'ab, son of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, us-Saḳafí, was a kinsman of Muḥammad]. He placed Namána bin Hanzala Kalábí in the centre with a thousand men; and ordered Zakwán bin 'Ulwán al Bikrí with 1,500 men to attend on Moka Bisáya, chief of Bait [*sic*]; and the Bhetí [Bhaṭí?] Thakurs and the *Jats* of *Ghazní*, who had made submission and entered the 'Arab service, were told to remain at Ságara and the island of *Bait*."

We all know where Gandábah is, also that *bet*, not "Bait," means an island, or rather, the delta of a river, surrounded by channels, which this was—the delta of the Mihrán; and what he has mistaken for "*Ghazní*," along with his "*Gandava*," is the word غربي—*western*, applied to the Jats on the western side of the Mihrán, as *sharḳí* Jats is applied subsequently to those on the east side. We also know for certain that Nírún lay between Debal and Manṣúriyah, but nearer to the former, and that Ságarah was two days' journey from Debal on the east. Elliot likewise tells us, as does Cunningham, who follows him, that "Gandaba" *was always called Kandabíl in those days.*" See note 150, page 217.

of food and forage, and the consequent loss of men and horses from

If any one will take the trouble to look at a map, it will be seen at a glance what nonsense this is. Gandábah is no less than four degrees of latitude farther north than where these operations took place, namely, in the lower part of the delta of the Mihrán, in the southern part of the present Ḥaidar-ábád Collectorate of Sind, and between the present town of Jarak and the Puránah *Dhoṛah*, and farther north. The *bet*, or delta, at that period, did not extend farther south than the Pír Paṭho hills and the present Wángah Bázár, if so far south. The object of these movements of Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, is sufficiently manifest. It was to pass the western branch of the Mihrán just above its junction with the main stream again, as indicated in the "Masálik wa Mamálik" map. We must not judge of the lower part of the delta by what it is *now*, but by what it was some twelve centuries since. See note 163, page 221.

The account given in the Chach Námah respecting Muḥammad's movements after his return from Síw-istán by command of Amír Ḥajjáj, contains so many important geographical details, that I must give a short abstract of them here.

At the period in question, one of Rá'e Dáhir's "Maliks," as they are styled in the Chach Námah, held a Ḥiṣár or fort in the *Bet* or delta, on the Mihrán, and apparently just below the junction of that branch of the river, which, about forty miles above Bahman-ábád separated into two, and re-united with the eastern branch again some distance to the south of that city, and towards the sea coast. This *Bet*, it is stated, was situated on the *east side* of the Mihrán on the margin of a stream [a minor channel], an island formed by the Kunbh river. The Malik was called Rásil, son of Sámi. Muḥammad was told that, if he could win him to his side, the difficulty of crossing the Mihrán would be got over.

Amír Ḥajjáj, in his letters to Muḥammad, containing excellent advice for his guidance, impressed upon him to choose a place where a strong bridge of boats might be constructed, and where the crossing place was flat and even. It was after this that Nírún was surrendered to him by its governor, who was continued in charge of it. In the mean time, some of the petty chiefs of the Bhaṭí tribe, and others, began to submit to him; and, at Nírún, an inhabitant of Debal, who was a native of Baṣrah, brought to him a Samaní or Priest, who, he said, could facilitate his crossing the Áb-i-Sind [*sic.* not Mihrán]. In Muḥarram, 93 H. (October, 711 A. D.), Muḥammad moved from his position—the last mentioned was the delightful place on the *koh*-i-Nírún, near the lake before referred to—and arrived near the fortress of Ash-bahár (اشبهار), a place of great strength, with a determined garrison, the town, which lay on the west side, having been brought within the area of the defences by surrounding it with a ditch. It was, however, reduced and a Shaḥnah or Commissioner left there. From thence Muḥammad moved to the west bank of the Áb-i-Mihrán, on the verge of the boundary of Ráwar. This appears to have been one of the most important places in lower Sind, which Chach had founded on the east bank of the great river, and near it was Jai-púr, which is constantly mentioned along with it. In the mean time, a chief named Mokah, the Bishâyah, submitted to the 'Arab leader. He was brother of Rásil, the then chief of the *Bet*, above referred to, and between the two brothers and their father, who sided with Rásil, great hostility existed. For this the *Bet* was conferred upon him (nominally), and he was directed to collect boats for the proposed bridge.

Muḥammad wrote an account of these matters to Ḥajjáj, and, soon after, moved

disease, and the months that elapsed in the mean time. Having effected

to that part of the west bank of the Mihrán which was opposite to Ráwar [and] Jai-púr, and Mokah was sent to select a place for crossing. But Ḥajjáj required "a map on paper, with the measures of the depth and breadth of the river, and the state of the banks for four *farsangs* up and down stream at the place proposed" During this period, Dáhir's people had surprised Síw-istán, which had been left with but a few of his own 'Arab troops, and Muḥammad had to detach 4,000 horse thither, and secure it. This is what the Balázarí refers to in the text above, as though that was the first capture of Síw-istán.

On hearing of Mokah's proceedings, and of his going over to the Musalmáns, Dáhir now sent his son Jai Seṇha to the *Bet*, to prevent the 'Arabs crossing and holding it. Jai Seṇha came [down stream] with his troops, accompanied by boats, by the Kotkah branch, to the banks of the Mihrán, to the fort of the *Bet* opposite to Muḥammad's position.

More than a month passed, want of food for themselves and their horses stared the 'Arabs in the face; the horses fell ill, and such was the scarcity, that those which became affected were killed and eaten. Boats were not forthcoming; and suspicion arose that Mokah was deceiving them. Ḥajjáj became angry at the delay, and commanded that boats should be procured by whatever means attainable, and sent from his own stables 2,000 horses. In the mean time, provisions and forage began to be brought in, but great sickness [scurvy] prevailed, so much so, that Ḥajjáj had to send vinegar, which was done by repeatedly saturating carded cotton with vinegar and drying the cotton each time, and when sufficiently saturated, it was made into bales for facility of transmission. The cotton was to be soaked in water, and the vinegar solution given to the sick. Ḥajjáj further directed that the passage should be made at the *Bet*, wherever the Mihrán was narrowest and the banks easy; and, if there was an island or bank in the channel, it was to be made use of, and the crossing effected by degrees, constructing a bridge of boats for the purpose.

Muḥammad now broke up his camp, and marched into the district [or tract—*zamín*] of Ságarah, belonging to the district of Jhim, and directed the boats to be brought, and planks as many as might be required. In the interim, the Wazír of Rá'i Dáhir endeavoured to rouse him from his carelessness and neglect of his affairs; and Muḥammad, not desiring to be obstructed in the construction of the bridge of boats, and in crossing, detached 600 horse towards the fort of Baghrúr (on the opposite side) to attract the attention of Fúfí, Dáhir's son, there stationed; also 500 horse on the road to Akham ["Aghámanno" of Hughes, and "Augoomanoo" of maps, on the Puránah *Dhorah*, 25 miles S. E. of Ḥaidarábád] to watch the territory of Kandárah [كندارة]. This is Elliot's "Gandava." See also pages 166 and 362 of his work]; while the Samaní in charge of Nírún (who had previously submitted to the 'Arabs) was to take care that food and forage reached the army. Another 1,000 men were pushed forward to guard the road, while another body of 1,500 more, and Mokah, the Bisáyah, Malík of the *Bet*, and the Thákurs of the Bhatís and the western [غرلي] Jats [this is the word read as "*Ghazní*" by Elliot. See pages 167 and 507 of his work], and the chief men of Ságarah, who have submitted, were stationed in the *jazírah* of *Bet*." The author, probably, was not aware that both words are of the same signification, one being Persian and the other Hindí.

As soon as Muḥammad reached the Jhim passage, he went to examine where the ford was narrowest and least obstructed, and the banks suitable; and he came to a

the passage at last, without much opposition on the part of Dáhir, son of

stand opposite to the *jazírah* in question. Having satisfied himself, boats were brought, stones laid out [to moor them], planks laid on, joined, and fastened together. Dáhir being aware of Mokah's doings, had sent his son, Jai Seṇha (as before noticed) to hold the *Bet*, and he was directed not to trust the Bisháyah, Sarband, who might be in communication with Mokah. On this, Rásil, the latter's brother, and his enemy, went to Dáhir, and asked to be permitted to defend the *Bet*, as he and his father had always been hostile to Mokah; and he was sent, and directed to prevent the 'Arab army crossing, and the chief men of the *Bet* were commanded to obey his orders. On this, Jai Seṇha returned to his former post at Ráwar. Rásil, accordingly, effectually prevented the bridge from being finished and secured to the east bank; so Muḥammad had to have as many boats prepared and joined together on the west bank as would span the Mihrán, troops were placed on it, and it was pushed off. It so happened that (swinging round) it touched the opposite bank exactly at the point where the enemy were collected to oppose the passage, and the infantry on the bridge of boats, pouring a volley of arrows among them, leaped on shore, formed up, and dispersed them; while their comrades secured the bridge head with pegs and stakes, and then they pursued the enemy to the very gate of Jhim. One of the fugitives, however, managed to get away, and, by dawn the next morning, reached Dáhir's camp, and told the bad news. [See Elliot, page 167].

Then Muḥammad addressed his army, and told them of the hardships and dangers they were about to encounter, and that if any one wished to return, now was the time, but only three persons did, their reasons being deemed sufficient; and the bridge being now quite finished, body after body of the troops crossed, losing but one man, who fell from the bridge and was drowned. As soon as the passage had been effected, the army was marshalled in battle array, and moved forward until near the fort of the *Bet*, using great caution (as enjoined by Ḥajjáj), and intrenching the camp. From thence Muḥammad advanced towards Ráwar until he reached Jai-púr, and between it and Ráwar was an inlet or creek, and at the passage across, Dáhir, who had reached the east side of the creek with his forces, had sent a party to reconnoitre; and Jai Seṇha was directed to oppose the further advance of the 'Arabs, but he was overthrown with great slaughter.

At this juncture, Rásil, brother of Mokah, who had prevented the 'Arabs from completing their bridge and securing it to the east bank, offered to submit; but, in order "to preserve his honour," he asked the 'Arab leader to send a party of troops and capture him at a certain place, at the *já-e* [canal or water-course] of Barṭarí or Baṭarí, five *farsakhs* from the fort of Kunbh, where he would be, under pretence of going to Dáhir's presence. This was done, and then Mokah, his brother, was installed in the *Bet*.

Muḥammad was advised by both brothers, to move from where he then was to a place called Nárá'í or Nárání (نَارَانِي); for Dáhir was at Ḳájíjáḳ [a strange Sindí word with two 'Arabic ق]; and, on well examining the country around, it was found that a large lake [long, narrow lake or *dhand*], which was impassable (on foot), intervened. Rásil said it must be crossed; and he obtained boats, and the passage was effected, but still another inlet, *dhand*, or side channel, intervened between. Rásil advised that the force should move another march farther up stream, towards Jai-púr on the canal of Dadahah Wáh, which is a village belonging to Ráwar, and

Chach, the ruler of the country, whose capital was Aror, he encountered Rá'e Dáhir in battle, at the head of a considerable army with numerous war elephants, who, towards the close of the day, was completely overthrown, and killed in the engagement. Muḥammad, after this success, moved towards old Bahman-ábád, which was two *farsangs*[188] from where Manṣúriyah was afterwards built, its subsequent site at the time being a *jangal*. The great mound, styled "Thool [Tall] Depur Ghangra" of the large one inch scale map, six miles north-east of Bahman-ábád is doubtless its site. At Bahman-ábád the remains of Rá'e

there halt, as Muḥammad would then be parallel with Dáhir's position, and from it, would be able to act either in front or rear of it, and on Dáhir's baggage. He did so, and came to the canal of Dadahah Wáh, on which Dáhir moved towards Ráwar; and having there deposited his servants and baggage, he came and took up a position where, between him and the 'Arab forces, only a *farsang* distance intervened. Muḥammad, on this, moved nearer towards Dáhir's position until he had reached within half that distance from him. Fighting had gone on for three days, until, on the fourth, Dáhir himself appeared in the field, and a severe conflict took place. Muḥammad had detached 6,000 of his troops in advance, with directions to cross the channel, which on that day separated the two armies; but, finding that they were likely to be hard pressed, through the enemy having got an inkling of the movement, he moved to their support with the remainder of his forces. Dáhir had determined on making a supreme effort, and did so. He had concentrated all his available forces, and the different tribes of Sind, including the *shurkí* Jaṭs—the Jaṭs east of the Mihrán—besides his own troops, were posted in the rear in support. All was of no avail: the infidels were driven back with great loss; and the Musalmáns, that night, remained on the field, in the position they had gained. This was the 9th of Ramazán, 93 H. (19th June, 712 A. D.). On the following day, the 10th, Muḥammad harangued and exhorted his troops [there was no "*khutba*," to read. See Elliot, page 169]; the Arabs made a general attack upon Dáhir and his forces; and he was finally killed near the fort of Ráwar, between the Mihrán river and the canal of Dadahah Wáh, in endeavouring to reach that fortress, and his troops were overthrown with great slaughter, and pursued to the gates of that place. Jai Seṇha, son of Dáhir, and Ráni Bá'i, Dáhir's sister, whom the latter had married, entered the fort of Ráwar, and there shut themselves up; but Jai Seṇha was for sallying forth, and again fighting the enemy while life lasted. He was dissuaded from doing so, and advised by the Wazír of Dáhir, to retire to the *ḥiṣár* of Bahman-ábád, where he would be able to rally the forces of the country, and be able to make a stand against the Musalmáns with more chance of success. He did so; and Ráni Bá'i, with some of Dáhir's Maliks along with her, remained in the fort of Ráwar resolved to defend it. It was invested, and the walls breached, and finally surrendered; but, before this was done, Ráni Bá'i had ascended a funeral pyre, and joined her husband and brother.

From this it will be seen, that a considerable time elapsed after the 'Arabs entered Sind before these events came to pass; and, what is surprising, is, that these operations went on in the height of the hot season, when, at the present time, the rivers are in flood, and the country inundated, and yet no remark is made on the subject.

[188] A little over six miles. See note 105.

Dáhir's forces had rallied; and in the operations which ensued before that place fell, 26,000 men were slain on the part of the defenders.[189]

[189] Mír Ma'ṣúm here is quite at variance with the historians who wrote several centuries before him, and one of whom wrote not much more than a century after the events he records. Mír Ma'ṣúm is brief, doubles up events, and thereby confuses them. He makes Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, after the fall of Síw-istán and Salím, reject the advice given him to attack Bahman-ábád first, and makes him march direct from Síw-istán to Alor or Aror, which he did not do. He says he crossed "the river" to the *mauẓa'* of Tahl-tí—تهلتي—which, in two other copies of his work, is written تهتهي and تكهي—three or four *kuroh* from Síw-istán. The first name, however, is correct. "The river" here cannot refer to "the Mihrán of Sind" (nor even to the branch which flowed towards it from Kalarí), which passed upwards of forty miles farther east at the period in question, in which direction Kalarí lay, but to what is called the Kunbh in the Chach Námah. There is still a *mauẓa'* called Tahl-tí about seven miles north of Síw-istán or modern Sihwán, on the east side of the river which we call the "Western Nára," whose channel, in former times, was, no doubt, a branch of the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind; and at that period, it may have been known as the Kumbh or Kunbh, or river *of the* Kumbh or Kunbh. These words, كمبه or كنبه, signify, 'a water-pot,' or 'vessel,' in Sanskrit; and whether we can connect those meanings with the Lake Manchhar which, in its centre, is somewhat in the form of a pot or water vessel, being very deep, with steep, rocky sides, is rather doubtful, but the idea crossed my mind. The words cannot be intended for the Sanskrit word for a spring etc., for that is كنڈ—*kuṇḍ*. The 'Arab writers do not allude in the slightest degree to this at present great lake, which seems hardly to have existed as a lake in those days. Perhaps at the period in question only the deep portion contained water, and hence its similarity to a gigantic *kunbh*.

With respect to Tahl-tí, I do not presume to say that the present *mauẓa'*—the "*Talti*" and "*Tultee*" of the maps—is the identical place referred to by Mír Ma'ṣúm, for a thousand changes may have occurred since that time. I merely mention the fact of such a place existing under that name in the exact locality mentioned, and where also is a Tahl-tí *ḍhanḍ* or lake. That Muḥammad first reduced Bahman-ábád, and then moved to Aror, there is no doubt whatever. Mír Ma'ṣúm says, that Rá'e Dáhir, finding that Muḥammad had crossed to Tahl-tí, despatched a force to oppose his advance to the *kol-i-áb* or lake of كنجري—Kinjrí—or كنگري—Kingrí—(about twenty miles west of the ruins of Aror), upon which, the 'Arab commander marched on رافيان—Ráfíán—(in other copies of the original رقبان and رقيان. There is a Ráfí Dero ferry south-west of Kingrí), and detached part of his troops to encounter Rá'e Dáhir's forces, and overthrew them. This lake is said, in Mír Ma'ṣúm's work, to have been crossed by the 'Arab army by means of one boat, which took three men at a time, which, of course, is absurd.

After this, according to the same writer, Muḥammad moved with his whole force against Aror; and, in an engagement, which took place on the 10th Ramaẓán, 93 H., near that city, Dáhir was defeated and slain.

From this it will be noticed that he leaves out nearly every thing that occurred at Bahman-ábád during six months, and all the events which took place on the banks of the Mihrán before that, including Dáhir's death, and has transferred them to Aror instead; and, consequently, has shown, that, for the early history of Sind, he is not

Muḥammad, leaving a governor there, moved towards 'Aror and Baghrúr,

to be relied on; while the Chach Námah, contains the relation of events generally from the statements of eye-witnesses of what they relate.

As soon as Jai Seṇha, son of Dáhir, reached Bahman-ábád, he endeavoured to rouse his brother and kinsmen to oppose the invaders with energy, but without result: there was no combined effort made. Accordingly, he despatched letters to his brother Fúfí, at the capital, Aror; to Chach, son of Darsiyah, Dáhir's nephew, who held Bábiyah [the Pábiyah of Elliot before, but, now he makes it Bhátiya although there is no '*h*' in it] on the south side of the river Bíáh [which was subsequently held by Kaksah, son of Chandar, Dáhir's uncle, according to the same authority]; and to Dahol or Dahúl, another son of Chandar, who held Núdiyah and Kai-kánán [the "Ḳíḳán" of the Balázarí—tracts west of the Ab-i-Sind]. Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, on the other hand, after the death of Dáhir, and capture of Ráwar, as before related, moved towards Bahman-ábád, between which two places were two fortified towns Bahrúr and Dháliyah. The first offered obstinate resistance, and was only captured after two months' investment, and the latter nearly as long, but without much opposition. The people, at last, finding they could not hold out, despatched their families from thence by the bridge over the Manhal [branch of the] river; but, on the Musalmáns becoming aware of it next day, they were pursued, and a great number slaughtered. Such as escaped made their way towards Hindústán by the Ramal territory [the tracts inhabited by the Bhaṭí tribe], and the *registán*, or sandy desert [evidently towards Jasal-mír, the feeders of the Hakrá from the direction of Poh-karn, at that period, having ceased to flow], towards the territory of Síro [Sírohí? There is a "Sero," eighty-one miles above Bahman-ábád, east of Sayyidah] of which Díw Rá [or Ráj, as in Elliot] was ruler. He was the uncle's son of Rá'e Dáhir [and, consequently, must have been son of Chandar].

Dháliyah having been given up, Muḥammad located there Núbah, son of Daháran, son of Dháliyah, and charged him with the care and superintendence of boats [it appears to have been on the Puránah Dhorah branch of the Mihrán of Sind] along the banks from that place to Dadahah-Tiyah [possibly Wadahah-Tiyah], which was a *farsang* [three miles] from Bahman-ábád. [See Elliot, page 176.] Another march from Dháliyah brought the 'Arab forces to the banks of the Jalwálí *Nahr* [canal or minor channel] on the *east* side of Bahman-ábád [which Elliot's editor very wisely supposed was the "Falalaí," which is only thirty-three miles *south-west* of Bahman-ábád] and there they took up their position.

Bellasis, in his interesting account of the ruins of Bahman-ábád, which he discovered, appears even to have found what we may well suppose was the site of the 'Arab camp during the investment. He says: "On my last visit to Brahmanábád, I made inquiry of an old cultivator if he had ever seen any of the round solid balls of pottery mentioned in my first paper. 'Ṣáḥib,' rejoined the old man, 'come to the Top Khánah [arsenal], and I will show you plenty.' I followed his guidance, and he led me *outside the city walls, and across the dry bed of the river*, and there, in the plain, sure enough were a number of these pottery balls. I could distinctly see the square heaps in which they had been piled in regular rows like round shot; and, scattered over the plain, numbers of single ones were to be found, slightly embedded in the soil. They were of various sizes, some as large as 12-pounders, others about the size of billiard balls. The old man accounted for there being so many scattered about the plain by saying that in ancient times a great battle had

but the last name cannot be correct, because it is mentioned previously

been fought on that spot. The smaller balls might have been used in a sling, but the larger ones would have required some engine like the balista to propel them."

To return, however, to the subject of Jai Seṇha. Not liking apparently, to be shut up in Bahman-ábád, he had retired to Chaní-sar [Ṭibbah-i-Chaní-sar. See farther on.], but he had previously selected and appointed sixteen of the chiefs of the place to the charge of the gates, to guard them as leaders of the troops. Four gates are mentioned, but the names of five are given; namely, the Jariṭarí, which may be that of the citadel, as the others are numbered, and 1. Bhárand or Bhárind; 2. Sátiyá; 3. Manorah; and 4. Sálah. On Monday, 1st Rajab, 93 H. (April, 711 A. D. [This cannot be correct, as Dáhir was only killed two months and ten days *after* that date.], Muḥammad intrenched his position, and prepared to attack Bahman-ábád, which was said to contain 40,000 fighting men. Fighting went on continually, until six months had passed away [the hot season included], and Muḥammad and his forces were become dispirited and almost hopeless of taking the place. At length on Monday, the end of Zí-Ḥijjah, the last month of the year [17th October, 711 A. D.] news of Jai Seṇha was obtained. He had returned from the country of Ramal, which is called Bháṭíah, and had begun to infest the roads and harass the Musalmáns by causing a scarcity of forage and food. On this Muḥammad had to send to Mokah, the Eishayah, to ask him what had best be done, and he advised the despatch of forces to drive Jai Seṇha away. This was done, and Jai Seṇha, who appears unable to relieve Bahman-ábád, sent his family and effects by way of the *registán*, or sandy desert, [the tributaries of the Hakrá coming from the eastward, from the side of Poh-karn and Jasal-mír, as elsewhere stated, had at this time ceased to be perennial streams and did not reach it, hence that part had become a desert,] to a place called Jangan, and to 'Urá or 'Orah, and Kábá [Khábo ?] in the territory of Chitrúr; and, at last, retired into the territory of Kash-mír.

Jai Seṇha having retired to Chitrúr, no hope remained of being relieved and the investment raised; and the principal merchants and traders,—who always fear for their money bags, and their own interests—under the plea, that without leaders to lead the troops, those who could have done so, having been killed, it was impossible to hold out longer, deputed four of their number to enter into communication with the Musalmán commander. The up-shot was, it was agreed, that a sally should be made from the Jariṭarí gate by partizans of theirs, under pretence of fighting, and that, on the appearance of the 'Arabs they should take to flight, and leave the gate open for them to enter; and thus was it treacherously betrayed to them. As soon as they got inside, and appeared upon the walls, the garrison (or as many as could) endeavoured to escape by the eastern gate, which of the four is not named. About 6,000 fighting men were killed; some say 16,000, but this seems to refer to those who had perished during the investment, and not to those killed when the place was taken. At this place Rání Ládí, one of Dáhir's wives, was made captive, whom Muḥammad afterwards purchased, and then entered into matrimony with her.

After this success, Muḥammad wrote an account of the proceedings to Amír Ḥajjáj, in which he says, that he had written his report at a place on the higher part of the Jalwálí *Já'e* (canal or minor channel). Before leaving Bahman-ábád, and moving northwards, he settled the government of southern Sind. He placed Núbah [already mentioned as having been placed in charge of Dháliyah], son of Daháran,

along with Ráwar, which lay on the west side of Bahman-ábád, and was

son of Dhálíyah, in charge of Ráwar and its dependencies, together with the charge and supervision of vessels and boats, to have them (some) kept in readiness; and he ordered that every vessel or boat which should arrive or depart, from above or below (stream), should be taken to the fort of Ráwar if it contained men or war materials. The boats and vessels above Dháliyah were placed under the supervision of an 'Arab officer, Ibn Ziyád-al-'Abdí. Other Wálís and 'Amils were nominated to the charge of Síwistán, Nírún, Dháliyah, and other places; and the parts inhabited by the Jats were likewise brought under control.

Having disposed of the affairs of Bahman-ábád and the Lohánahs, and all parts to the east and west, and in the environs and neighbourhood thereof, on Thursday, the 3rd of Muḥarram, 94 H. (9th October, 712 A. D.), Muḥammad marched with his forces to a place called Muthal [in one *MS.* Munhal. Muthalo of the Sindís, which appears in one map as "Mothilo" and in another as "Mothito"!] in the neighbourhood of Sáwandí, also called Sáwandí of the Sammahs, where there was an *áb-gír* and a grassy plain, and which was called the Karbhár Dandh (*ḍhanḍ*), and on the shore thereof he pitched his camp. All the dwellers in that part were Samanís (Priests), Nahr-bán (canal diggers?), and merchants and traders, who all came out to receive him, and submit to his authority; and in the parts around were Jat peasantry. From thence Muḥammad marched to Bharúr or Bhirúr [mistaken by Mír Ma'súm and others for Baghrúr, which was in quite a different direction], and despatched officers to administer the affairs of that place and of Kandbar. He then moved into the tract of country peopled by the Sammah tribes, and nominated a chief over them. Having provided for the administration of the affairs of the Lohánahs, he came among the Sihtahs, arranged their affairs, and required them to guide him towards Aror.

I may here notice, that, from the foregoing account contained in the Chach Námah, Ráwar and Dháliyah appear to have been situated on the east side of the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, which separated into two channels forty miles above Bahman-ábád, as shown in the 'Arab map. Also, that there is no actual mention of that branch having been crossed to get to Aror; but it was probably passed at the stage where the Karbhár *Ḍhanḍ* is mentioned.

I must also remark that the dates given in the Chach Námah are either wrong or confused. Debal appears to have been taken in the first month of 93 H., but the letter of Ḥajjáj, acknowledging the account of its capture, is dated in Rajab, the seventh month, and took sometime to come, a couple of weeks at least. After this Muḥammad moved against Síw-istán, and after his return from thence it was some months before he could cross the Mihrán. Several other letters passed between them, and yet between the letter of Rajab and the 10th of Muḥarram when Dáhir was killed, only the months Sha'bán and ten days of Muḥarram intervened. After that, when Ráwar had fallen it took two months to reduce Bahrúr, and the reduction of Dháliyah took nearly as long. This would bring us to the end of the year 93 H.; and yet, it is said, that he appeared on the 1st Rajab, 93 H. before Bahman-ábád, two months and twenty days *before* Dáhir was killed; and after being six months before Bahman-ábád, it was only the end of Zí-Hijjah, the last month of 93 H., that news of Jai Sonha was received which led to its capture. Then it must have taken some little time to settle the affairs of Bahman-ábád, and yet he is said to have marched towards Aror from thence on the 3rd of Muḥarram 94 H. According to

captured after Dáhir's defeat, and was close to the *east* bank of the western branch of the Mihrán. It appears to refer to the Bahrúr of the Chach Námah. First, the people of Táwandarí [the name is somewhat doubtful. See the Samandúr of the Kazwiní, page 211, and Samand of the Istakhrí, page 211] submitted to him, and he reached Basmad [not to be mistaken for Basmíd nearer Multán near which the Mihrán flowed] which also submitted, after which he appeared before the capital, Aror. This place was situated on a hill, and he had to besiege it for several months; it finally capitulated on terms.

Having effected these successes, Muḥammad advanced to السكة,[190] which was situated on this side, that is, on the south side or left bank, of the river Bíáh.[191] This was captured, and was in ruins when the author wrote.[192] After this Muḥammad crossed the Bíáh, and

the time occupied in the different operations as stated in the Chach Námah, he could scarcely have started for Aror before Rajab, 94 H., otherwise there is but four months and twenty-three days from the death of Dáhir for the completion of operations which it is said took upwards of ten months to accomplish, and consequently, there is an error somewhere.

190 This word, being without points, might be mistaken for one word, but it is merely the Sindí proper name Sikah, with the 'Arabic prefix '*al*,' as distinctly shown in the Chach Námah. See note 192.

191 This is incorrect. Sikah was close to the east bank of the Ráwí, but Bábiyah was on the left or south bank of the Bíáh, and Asal Kandah or Askandah was on the north of the Bíáh, as shown in the following note.

192 Certain enthusiastic writers have supposed that the name of the *Oxydracæ* is derived from the name of Uchchh, which they also suppose was in existence two thousand two hundred years ago; while some of those who labour under this supposition call it by the incorrect names of *Uja*, *Uch*, and even *Uk*. The only doubts entertained on the subject, apparently, arise in the minds of more recent European writers because "Arrian and Strabo seem to say," that it [the town of the *Oxydracæ*] stood "on the *west* bank of the Acesines [the Chin-áb].

Uchchh stands on the *east* bank of the Chin-áb and its tributaries now, but, in former days, and down to comparatively modern times, it stood on the *west* bank of the Bíáh, or Rud-i-Sind wo Hind of the old writers, and a little above its junction with the Sindhu or Áb-i-Sind; and, at the period in question, the Chin-áb and other Panj-áb rivers were tributaries of the Bíáh. The Greek accounts, however, show, that the country or town of the Oxydracæ lay north of the Ráwí, and in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, as shown farther on.

Elliot (vol. 1, p. 109), quoting the "Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh," on the division of Sind by the son of Kafand, one of the ancient kings, said to have been contemporary with Alexander the Great, states, that, "One king [governor is meant] he established in '*Askalandusa*. Upon another he bestowed the country of *Zor*, to which *Anj* [Uch?] is attached." In a note, he says, "It is written عسقلندوسة,"—with two purely 'Arabic letters, ع and ق?—"but the name is generally accepted as '*Askaland*, or '*Askalandra*, and the termination *usa* has not been found elsewhere, [that is, in one *MS.* only]. May not the passage be read—He established one king

moved towards Multán and invested it, first defeating the infidels out-

at 'Askaland, *and* Sah? or may not the last word signify—and *three* (dependencies)?" Yes, if "*sah*" meant *three* in Persian, only it does not.

Such are some of the foundations on which are based the *identification* of the *Oxydracæ* with *Uja*, *Uch*, or *Uk*. Very solid foundations, truly!

At page 104 of the same volume, relating as far back as the traditionary period of the fall of the Pándús, where this supposed same place is mentioned as *Askaland*, but where neither *Uja*, nor *Uch* are mentioned, we are referred to Appendix X, which (p. 365) states, that, "The *Askalanda*, *Asal-kanda*, and *Askalandra* of the Chach-náma, is the same as the *Askaland*, and *Askaland-Usa*, [leaving out, of course, all reference to the 'Arab letters in the word] of the *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*, and the *Askandara* and *Askanda* of the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. The close correspondence of the name, especially in the last instance, induces us at once to recognize it as identical with the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus; but a little examination will show the resemblance to be more specious than real. * * * The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided into four Satrapies of which the third (p. 138) comprised the fort of Askalanda and Máibar. Now *Máibar* and *Chachpúr* still exist [the same since the time of the Pándús, probably?] under the modernized names of *Mírbar* and *Cháchar*, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and the Indus. Consequently, *Askalanda* must have been higher up the river, as subsequent passages will show." In a foot-note to the name Máibar the Editor says, "The text has *Fáibá*, but *Páibiya* is the more general spelling," but, in the extract at page 138, he has "*Askalanda and Páibiya*, which are called *Talwára* and *Chachpár*;" and in another foot-note, he says that "the name is written *Páya* and *Báya*, *Bábiya*, and *Páibiya*: the last seems the preferable form".

I may mention that the Cháchar here referred to, some forty years ago, was six miles below the junction of the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb with the Indus. Miṭhan dá Koṭ was then three miles and a half below the junction; and about ten years since, Miṭhan dá Koṭ was eleven miles below the junction, such are the continual alterations. There is no *Mírbar* now, but there is a *Juja* fourteen miles south-east of Cháchar. Why not have pressed that into service? Further I may mention, that it is only within the last century that the junction of the Panch Nad with the Indus has taken place within twenty-four miles north-east of Cháchar and Miṭhan dá Koṭ, and how far off it was before who shall say. Where it was in the last century will be found farther on.

After all this, supposing that the courses of the rivers have remained precisely the same for over two thousand years, although we find so much change in forty, he says: "Its ['Askalanda's] proximity to the Bías, and its name of Askaland-*Usa*"—about which, at page 109, he was doubtful whether it was part of the name or not—"lead us to regard it as Uchh of more modern times." Yet he adds that, "That place bears marks of 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*"—here the father's name is again brought in as that of the son—"introduced to many transactions in its neighbourhood, can only be accounted for that it is *disguised* under some other appellation."

It certainly seems strange that Uchchh should not be mentioned in the Chach Námah, and in the earlier works on Sind, because we know from the Tuḥfat-ul-

side, who fled in disorder to regain the shelter of their walls. After

Kirám that it was an ancient fortress on the frontier of that country. It states that Rá'e Sahasí remitted the taxes of his people on the condition that they should increase the height of six fortresses: namely, Uchchh, Máthilah, Síw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí, Ma'ú or Ma'úh. Aror or Alor, and Síw-istán." See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc. page 567.

Uchchh was several times destroyed and repaired, from the time of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, to the time of the Arghún dynasty of Sind. Ibn Batútah says, in his time, Uchchh was "a large city *on* the Sind," and that "Multán was then the principal city of Sind."

Elliot also speculates on "the other ancient Uchh [sic], now in ruins,"—just as the other has been for a long time—"near the junction of the Hydaspes with the Acesines." Here again he takes it for granted that the present junction has always remained the same; but in 801 H. (1398–99 A. D.) we know that it was twenty-six miles lower down than at present, and that it was continually altering; that, before that again, it was many miles higher up; and in the last century was near Chhautarah. See farther on.

With respect to the name of Uchchh, there are no less than three places so called, still existing, and all of some antiquity.—1. Uchchh which is forty-seven miles north of Shikár-púr, and twenty-seven to the northwards of Khán Garh, now Jacobábád. It is in Kachchh or Kachchhí—a common term for an alluvial tract, not peculiar to this part any more than to Kachchh Bhuj—and is simply known as Uchchh. It is not far from the *Sind Hollow*, in which the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, or a branch of it, once flowed, as shown in the account of that river farther on. 2. Uchchh-i-Gul Imám, a strong fort in the last century, but now in a state of ruin, twenty-one miles north-north-west of Shor Kot, and about eleven miles south-west of the late junction of the Bihat [Hydaspes] and the Chin-áb [Acesines]. I say *late*, because it has probably altered considerably since the Survey map I refer to was made a few years since. This is the "Uch" which Elliot (vol. 1, p. 367) considers "as offering a far more probable identification," and is seventy-two miles to the northward of Multán. 3. Uchchh-i-Jalálí, or Uchchh-i-Sharíf, formerly, that is to say within the last century or thereabouts, consisting of seven small contiguous villages, or rather quarters, enclosed within one wall. Now it consists of three rather large villages on mounds, contiguous to each other, and connected by a wall of brick, which lately was in a dilapidated state. These villages or towns stand on high, artificial mounds, the neighbourhood having been at all times liable to be swept away by the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, as related in another place. The western-most of the villages is small, but contains a celebrated shrine, within a large and handsome old Muhammadan building, sadly out of repair. This is known as Pír ká Uchchh or Uchchh-i-Makhdúm, and the houses have sprung up around it. It is said to have been called Walh-har in ancient times, before the Makhdum in question took up his dwelling there. The eastern-most of the villages is the largest, but there are no walls now standing, the ruins of the gateways, however, can still be seen. Some little trade is carried on with Sind in grain, which is sent down the river in boats. In the neighbourhood are very extensive ruins of the ancient stronghold, embosomed in dense groves of date trees and venerable *pípals*. Many of the buildings are almost entire, and could easily be made habitable. They are constructed in the best style of Muhammadan architecture of kiln-burnt bricks.

sitting down before it for a considerable time, the supplies of the 'Arab

The site is undoubtedly ancient; and yet, strange to say, it is not mentioned in the Chach Námah; nor, under that name at least, by the 'Arab writers, including the Balázarí, in his history; nor by the other Muḥammadan historians of the time of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín and his sons, namely, Al-'Utbá, Bú-Riḥán, the Baihakí, and the Gardaizí. I believe, however, that it is mentioned by these historians under the name of Bháṭiah, (called the country of Ramal in the Chach Námah); and for this reason.

The author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," the next author who follows them that we know of, mentions (page 449), the "deliverance of Muíltán from the hands of the Ḳarámiṭah" heretics, but Uchchh is not referred to; yet, immediately after (page 451) he mentions the Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám, marching towards Nahar-Wálah by way of Multán and Uchchh. In the account of his victories, however (page 491), his "victories over the Ḳarámiṭah of Multán *and* Uchchh" are distinctly stated, but, there is no mention of the Bháṭiah among them, although the capture of the stronghold of the Bhaṭí tribe is distinctly mentioned. The author knew Uchchh, for he was for a time in Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah's service there, being in charge of the Fírúzí College in 624 H. (1227 A. D.), and holding the office of Ḳází to the forces of 'Alá-ud-Dín, Bahrám Sháh, the Sulṭán's son. It is strange that the Bháṭiah are not noticed by him. Yet others relate that the Sulṭán delivered Multán from the Ḳarámiṭah, and annexed the territory, and then invested *the* Bháṭiah, (which is the plural of Bhaṭí), within the walls of Uchchh; and that, after its fall, it was entrusted to 'Alí Karmákh's charge together with Multán. It is evident from ɜ, that those authors whose works have been translated, such as 'Utbá's, did not mean that there was any town or fortress called Bháṭiah, but meant the stronghold of *the* Bháṭiah, that is, of the Bhaṭí tribe, and their stronghold, we know, was Uchchh, which they appear to have obtained possession of sometime before the reign of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, when the power of the 'Abbásí Khalífahs over Sind and Multán was merely nominal. Elliot, therefore, was right in supposing that Uchchh was "disguised under another name"; and I believe that the sentence in the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" at page 449, was, before the text had been interfered with, that "he marched an army towards Multán *and Uchchh* and delivered *them* out of the hands of the Ḳarámiṭah"; and this would account for the "stronghold of the Bháṭiah" not being here mentioned by its author.

With respect to Sulṭán Maḥmúd's capture of the stronghold, the Gardaizí, a contemporary writer, states, that the Sulṭán attacked the fortress of the Bháṭiah in 396 H. (1005–6 A. D.), and that Bajrá (بجرا), the Bháṭiah, so called on account of the number of his men, his success, and his great haughtiness [वज्र –*bajra* or *wajra* signifies 'a thunderbolt' in Sanskrit], put his forces in array to oppose the Sulṭán, and sent them out against him, while he himself kept aside, near the skirts of a *jangal*. Some of the Sulṭán's troops surrounded it, on which the Bháṭiah Rájah drew his dagger and killed himself. Great slaughter was made among his tribe, the Rájah's head was brought in, and a great number of elephants were taken. It was after this that the Sulṭán attacked the Ḳarámiṭah of Multán, for which I have not space here, but it will be related in another place.

Bú-Riḥán mentions this tribe in several places as though it was the name of a place, as بهاتية and بهاتي, in the printed text, but, in the Index, as two different

force fell short, and they had to eat some of their animals for food;

places. The passage is, with three exceptions, much as Elliot translates it (p. 61), namely: "West of Narána [نرانه and نرانة in *MSS.* برانه in text] is Multán distant fifty *farsangs*; thence to [and to?] Bhátí fifteen. South-east from Bhátí is Arúr, distant fifteen *farsangs* Bhátí is situated between two arms or branches of the Sind Rúd." The name Arúr is doubtful: the MSS. have ارو - اودا - اورر: if Aror is referred to, that is nearly south-west. The Sind Rúd is the Biah and its tributaries, not the Indus (See *ante* page 211, also page 221, note 163); but the word rendered "Bhátí" here by Elliot, in his extract, is very different at pp. 37, 39, 40, 77, and 79. According to this statement, the stronghold of the Bháṭiah would lie *exactly midway between Multán and Aror.* If we calculate the thirty *farsakhs* between Multán and Aror at eight *mil* to the *farsakh*, which is certainly not correct, it would make two hundred and forty miles, which, as the crow flies, is just the distance between those two places; but Uchchh, the fortress of the Bhaṭí tribe or Bháṭiah, is but seventy-five miles (equal to twenty-two *farsakhs*) from Multán, while Aror is one hundred and sixty (equal to nearly forty-seven *farsakhs*) from Uchchh; consequently, by Bú-Riḥán's account, if we are to place entire dependence on it, which I am hardly disposed to do for several reasons, his "Bhátí" and "Bháṭiah" cannot represent Uchchh, unless we read his statement to mean that this Bháṭiah lies about midway between Multán and Aror, without taking distances into account. There is still a Bhaṭí Wá-han in this part, an ancient place, once the chief town of a *maḥáll* of the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Multán *ṣúbah*, which is situated just midway between Uchchh and Aror; but, from what other writers state, as will be seen farther on, there can be little doubt, that, under the name of the town or city of the Bháṭiah, Uchchh-i-Sharíf is referred to.

Elliot, in the two first volumes of his "Indian Historians," tries, by many arguments to prove that the Bháṭiah here referred to, is what he calls "Bhera on the Jailam," that is, Bahrah, no less than one hundred and ninety-two miles, *north-north-east* of Multán; while from several translated passages in his own work, its whereabouts is distinctly shown. All these errors arise from the supposition that the courses of the rivers have never changed, and, that the tracts east of the Indus have always been a desert. See Vol. II, page 439. For example: Sulṭán Maḥmúd returning from the expedition against Somnáth in 417 H., set out with the object of returning by Manṣúriyah, the ruler of which was a Mulḥáidah or Ḳarámiṭah. On the news of his approach the heretic fled to the date forests in the vicinity of Manṣúriyah, but the Sulṭán having surrounded the one in which he had taken shelter, came upon him and his followers, the greater number of whom were either killed or drowned in endeavouring to cross the river (the Hakṛá or Wahindah), and very few of them escaped.

From thence the Sulṭán, having crossed the Áb-i-Sind near Multán, moved against the Bháṭiah, and after reducing that refractory people to submission, returned to Multán again, and from thence to Ghaznín, which he reached in Ṣafar, 417 H. (about 11th March, 1026 A. D.). Now how is it possible that "Bhera on the Jailam" can be the place referred to? There is a "Bhera" just five miles east of Aror, if a "Bhera" is required.

After this, in the year following, a naval battle was fought; and it appears to have taken place near the then place of junction of the Áb-i-Sind with the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, on the then Panch Nad consequently. I believe it was fought

but, at this crisis, a man came to Muḥammad and promised, if admitted

between Uchchh and Ghaus-púr, which I suppose to be the position of Basmíd of the 'Arab writers or very near it; and, possibly the action may have been fought a little lower down.

The Gardaizí states, that, as the Sulṭán had sustained great annoyance and much insolence from the Jats of Multán and the Bhátiah, on the side of the Ṣiḥún [a name applied by the early writers to the Panch Nad as then existing] on his way back from Somnáth, he now determined to chastize them thoroughly for it. When the year 418 H. came round he set out from Ghaznín, and on reaching Multán, gave orders for the construction of 1,400 boats, each of which was to be fitted with three strong [and sharp] iron rams, one in the bow, and one on each side, and strong enough to cut and destroy whatever came in contact with them. In each boat twenty men were embarked, armed with bows and arrows and flasks of naphtha. The Jats hearing of these preparations sent away their effects to distant *jazírahs* [or *bets*: tracts encircled by minor channels of the rivers], and prepared to encounter the Sulṭán's vessels with 4,000 of their own, some say with 8,000, in each of which were a number of armed men. They accordingly moved to attack the Sulṭán's fleet; and in the action which ensued, they were nearly all sunk or destroyed by the rams, or the naphtha. As the banks of the Ṣiḥún were occupied by troops, horse and foot, and elephants, those who escaped to land were captured or slain. Continuing to follow the remainder of their vessels along the banks [down stream; for they could not go up under such circumstances], the troops reached the place where the Jats had deposited their property and effects, which were seized by the victors, and great numbers of other captives were likewise made. After this affair the Sulṭán returned to Ghaznín.

In the following reign, when Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín, feudatory of Láhor, rebelled against Sulṭán Mas'úd, being defeated by the troops sent against him under Tílak, the leader of the Hindú troops of the Sulṭán, Aḥmad had to evacuate Láhor, and retired towards Multán with the object of reaching Manṣúriyah of Sind. He was harassed the whole way by the Hindú tribes, Tílak having raised the whole province against him. From Multán he moved towards the Bhátiah (stronghold) whither some of the Hindú (Bhaṭí?) chiefs had retired. The chief of the Bhátiah, however, was unable to stop the progress of Aḥmad-i-Niál-Tigín; for the small force of Turks with him (two hundred men) was still unbroken; and the chief had to furnish him with the boats he required to enable him to cross the Sind Rúd [or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, *i. e.*, the Biáh and its tributaries], between two branches of which Bhátiah was situated, on his way to Manṣúriyah, near which latter place, in attempting to cross the Mihrán, he was subsequently drowned.

How is it possible that this Bhátiah can refer to "Bhera on the Jailam"?

Cunningham ("Ancient India," p. 256) considers "Pábiya" to be "Bhátiya," of others, but as he also considers it "probably the same place as Talhátí where Jám Janar [Jám Júnán, the Sammah] crossed the Indus, or perhaps also the same as Mátila or Máthila," we may easily dismiss that theory, because the Jám crossed the Mihrán where the 'Arab leader is said to have crossed before him or nearly so, at Talh-tí, more than one hundred miles *below* Aror on the south-west; while Máthilah or Máṭhílo is thirty-seven miles *above* Aror to the north-eastwards.

With respect to the seven contiguous *villages* surrounded by a wall which constituted Uchchh a little over a century since, here is a specimen how some writers

to quarter, to point out a *nahr* or river [also a canal] by means of which

will jump at conclusions. Vincent, in his "Navigation of the Ancients," on the subject of the "Oxydracæ Outche," says: "It is somewhat singular that Arrian should mention these people as cantoned into departments, and their magistrates as presiding in each separate canton, while the moderns distinguish them to this day by the appellation of the "Seven Towns of Outche." This, he says, is on the authority of Tieffenthaler, Vol. 1, p. 118, and de la Rochette's map.

Cunningham, also, appears to agree in this. He says: "It has been supposed, indeed, that the name of the Oxydracæ is derived from the old town of Uchh, but their position according to Strabo and Arrian appears rather to have been on the *western* side of the Akesines." See the first paragraph of this note.

From the accounts of the campaign of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, against the Langáh Jat ruler of Multán in 931 H. (1524–25 A. D.), Uchchh was still considered to be a very strong place and enclosed within lofty walls. He first reached Síw-rá'í, one of the six forts mentioned in the Tuḥfat-ul-Kirám, the mounds of which were to be raised, and still one of the strongest in that part, which was taken and destroyed, after which the Balúchís, who held these parts under the Langáhs, retired within the walls of Uchchh. The Mírzá subsequently reached Ma'ú, also written Ma'úh, another of the six forts above referred to, and pitched his camp near a *kol-i-áb* or lake at that place. From thence he reached the shrines of the Shaikhs, of which the Shaikh, Rúḥ-ullah, Ḳureshí, had charge; then to the boundary of the Badar (بدر) people, and from thence to Uchchh. It was captured and destroyed and all the wood put on boats and sent to Bakhar, according to the historian, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar; and he states, that what fortifications were standing when he wrote, were of Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain's erection.

In after years, down to within the early part of the present century, the place suffered greatly in the constant hostilities between the Shaikhs of Uchchh and the Dá'úd-putrahs, hence the fortifications raised by the Mírzá are in ruins. See my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., page 665.

To return, however, to the place of so many names supposed to be Uchchh, I do not consider that either of the places called Uchchh are referred to, but a totally different place. All these three places certainly lay *west* of the Chin-áb (but only as a tributary of the Biáh), even after it changed its course from the *east* to the *west* side of Multán. One still lies near the *west* bank, and another *west* of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus; and Uchchh-i-Sharif also continued *west* of the Chin-áb down to comparatively recent times, but, when the Chin-áb (along with the other rivers forming the Panch Nad), changed its course, as mentioned above, Uchchh-i-Sharíf was placed in the Bist-Jálhandar Do-ábah, and continued there until the Sutlaj deserted the Hakrá to unite with the others and formed a new Panch Nad, when it was shut out of that last-named Do-ábah into the district or tract of country styled Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-Áb, and was placed on the *east* side of the river. But, since the time of Arrian and Strabo, it is probable that this, as well as the other rivers of this part, have altered their courses hundreds of times; and it is very certain, as will be shown farther on, that few parts of the territory now known as "the Panj-áb," have seen greater changes than the tract between Multán and Aror in one direction, and Baháwal-púr and Rújan in the other, the rivers having, at different periods, flowed over every part of it; and consequently, in no place, was any "city founded by Alexander," less likely to have had any long existence.

the people of the place received their supply of water from the river

Let us now see what history says respecting Asal Kandah, etc.

—After Rá'e Chach had attained sovereignty over Sind, he set out from Aror for the northern frontier of his territory, between the Ab-i-Sind and the Hakrá, and reached the *ḥiṣár* of بابیه—Bábiyah, also written بایه—situated on the south bank of the Bíáh [the Yábíbá of Elliot, page 202], which was afterwards known as Chach-púr, and captured it. Finding that the enemy had retired within the fort of اسل کنده—Asal Kandah or Usal Kandah, also written اسکنده—Askandah, anciently called Talwárah, he left a garrison in Bábiyah, crossed the river Bíáh, and appeared before Askandah, or Asal Kandah, which latter word, being without points, might be transliterated in several ways. Having gained possession of that fortified place, Chach moved towards Sikah of Multán. The ruler of Multán, hearing that Chach had reached the Bíáh, issued from that stronghold, and advanced to the banks of the Ráwí, in order to support his nephew, who was in charge of the fortress of Sikah, opposite to Multán on the east side of that river. They then moved to encounter Chach and oppose his crossing that river; and Chach remained encamped near the fo d over the Bíáh [See the strange note by Mr. Dowson to page 142 of Elliot's "Historians," Vol. I, on the "Bíás"] until the water decreased sufficiently, and then he effected the passage. He was then in the fork, so to say, between the Bíáh and the Ráwí, which united a short distance from where he crossed, and consequently, in the Bárí Do-ábah. He then moved towards a place higher up, where there were less obstacles in crossing, and reached the *ḳaṣbah* of Sikah, defeated the enemy outside the walls, and invested the place for some days, after which it was evacuated, and the governor fled to his uncle at Multán. The latter, with his nephew, and all their available forces, then marched out of Multán to encounter Chach on the west bank of the united Chin-áb and Ráwí, in case he should pass over that river. Chach effected the passage, defeated the Multán chief in several encounters, and the latter then retired within the walls of that fortress, in which he was closely invested by Chach. The Chin-áb then united with the Ráwí north-east of Multán.

According to the Chach Námah, which I have said before gives a much more detailed account of events in the time of the 'Arabs, they followed the same route from Alor or Aror as Chach had previously taken in going against Multán. Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, having disposed of the affairs of Aror, and installed a governor there, marched from thence towards Multán until he reached the fort of Bábiyah, situated on the south, or left bank of the Bíáh (the site of "Pabbeer walle," of the maps of the present day? See the notice of the Bíáh farther on), and which place, Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar says, was called Chach-púr in his day. This Bábiyah was an old place in which Kaksah, son of Chandar, Rá'e Dáhir's brother, who had fled from the battle-field near the Mihrán when Dáhir was slain, had taken shelter. He, on the appearance of the 'Arab forces, came out and submitted, and was taken, it is said, into the confidence of the 'Arab leader. In another place, however, it is said that the Hindús evacuated that place.

After this, Muḥammad, leaving a garrison in Bábiyah, *crossed* the Bíáh—I wish to draw attention to this fact—that is to say, *from the southern to the northern bank of that river*, and appeared before the fortified town, the name of which is written اسکند, علة کنده, اسکندره, اسل کنده, اسلدرهه—Askand or Iskand, 'Alah Kandah or 'Ulah Kandah, Asal or Usal Kandah, Askandarah or Iskandarah, and in other ways, in different places, in as many different *MSS.*, for we do not know for certain the

of Basmíd,[193] and which flowed into the city into a *ḥauz* or reservoir,

vowel points—the people of which issued forth to oppose him. Now how is it possible that this place situated on the north or right bank of the Bíáh, as it flowed in its old bed, could be "Uch," as Elliot and others suppose, which lies forty-five miles farther southwards? The author of the Chach Námah, who wrote in the time of Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Kabá-jah, whose capital was Uchchh, was a native of that place; and if it had been anciently known as Askand or Asal Kandah, or whatever it may be, is it likely that he would have neglected to say so when writing of its former history? Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar writes the word, or rather it appears in three different *MSS.* of his work; as اسکند, اسکندرہ, and اسکندرھہ, and he distinctly states that this place, supposed to be "Uch" to support a theory, *was anciently called Talwárah.*

The people fought obstinately, but had, at last, to seek shelter within the walls; and they resisted for seven days all the attacks of the 'Arab forces. The latter had now become distressed for provisions, when the nephew of the Multán chief, who had defended it so bravely, at the end of this time, under cover of the night, abandoned it, and threw himself into the fort of Sikah—سکھ—which was a great fortification on the brink of the southern (left) bank of the Ráwí, the river, at that time flowing east of Multán and uniting with the Bíáh some twenty-eight miles to the southward of that place. See farther on. Finding themselves deserted by their governor, the inhabitants of Askand or Asal Kandah (or whatever may be the true reading), sent to tender their submission to the 'Arab leader. The fighting men to the number of 4,000 were put to death, and their families were made slaves, but all others were spared.

Neither the Mujmal-ut-Tawáríkh, nor the Chach Námah, mention Uchchh, which, probably, was not known by that name at the period in question, but both mention this Askand or Asal Kandah, or Usal Kandah, said to have been even then, an old fortification.

In one place (p. 366), Elliot is inclined to suppose that "the Satrapy of Askalanda 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 Dáúdputra country." He is nearer the mark here, but it will be noticed that he seems to take for granted, that the rivers ran then as now. The position of the fortress of Askand or Asal Kandah is distinctly stated to have been *on the north bank of the Bíáh,* as it flowed in ancient times, and must have been within twenty-eight miles or less of Multán.

Cunningham supposes that "the old bed of the Rávi and Sikah Multán"—the original is "Sikah-i-Multán," that is Sikah *of* or *belonging to* Multán—"to be somewhat near Mári Sital, which lies on the old banks of the Rávi, two miles and a half east of Multán." It is no proof, however, as he seems to think, that the Ráwí flowed under the walls of Multán, because Alexander, the Greek, is supposed to have circumnavigated the walls of some city supposed to be Multán. This he could have done, in the last century, if Multán is the place (only it could not have been according to the Greek writers), by the Lolí Wá-han, and which then had to be crossed by a bridge; and it was some cutting, or branch from the Chin-áb like this one, no doubt, which, as mentioned in the following note, Muḥammad cut off or diverted, and caused the surrender of that stronghold.

[193] This cannot be the river of Basmíd referred to by Ibn Ḥankal at page 216, because that was two days' journey or more below or south or south-east of Multán,

which they call a *táláb* [pure Persian word]. This was destroyed, after which, the defenders, overcome with thirst, surrendered the place. The fighting men were put to the sword, but the women and children, and the attendants of the *budh* or temple, to the number of 6,000 persons, were made captives."[194] This was in 95 H. (713-14 A. D.).

unless it refers to it as the river "which, below Multán and above Basmíd, united with the Mihrán," and that was the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, the Bíáh and its tributaries.

[194] The Chach Námah here again differs from the Balázarí, but we must not forget, that, at this period, the Ráwí and Bíáh, at this point, flowed nearly parallel to each other, and united near by. The author of the former says, that after Asal Kandah or 'Alah Kandah, etc., as it is here written, surrendered, Muḥammad crossed the Bíáh, and advanced to Sikah of Multán, which was a strongly fortified place on the south or left bank of the Ráwí. The Balázarí is somewhat confused here, through confounding Sikah with Asal Kandah, and says it—السكه—us-Sikah—is a town "on this side of the Bíáh, and now in ruins." As the author of the Chach Námah was a native of these parts, and the account of Chach's campaign in the very same places is perfectly clear, we may place dependence on his statements. After seventeen days of hard fighting, in which the 'Arabs lost twenty-five distinguished officers, and two hundred and fifteen other warriors, Bajhrá, a relative of the Multán chief, Dáhir's uncle's son, Kaursiyah, son of Chandar, brother of Chach, who held it, passed over and entered Multán. This clearly shows, as indicated in the maps referred to, how the Ráwí then flowed, and the nearest point of which, at present, is thirty-four miles north-north-east of Multán. The 'Arabs followed the Hindús, severe fighting ensued, and continued with great obstinacy for about two months, by which time provisions became so scarce that "the head of an ass cost five hundred *dirams*." The 'Arabs had gained a footing near the walls, but no spot was found suitable for sinking a mine, until a person came out of the place by stealth and sued for quarter, which was given him. He pointed out a spot towards the north of the fort, on the banks of a canal or cutting [آب جوي], the same to which the Balázarí refers. Elliot (page 205) supposes that "*this can hardly mean the main river.*" Hardly: it refers to a cutting or canal, similar to the Lolí Wá-han, which flowed in the same direction up to modern times, and traces of it still remain, or recently did, between the northern face of the fort and the 'Id-gáh, and in the time of the inundations contains water.

"A mine was dug, and in the course of two or three days the wall was brought down and the fort captured. "Six thousand soldiers were taken prisoners and put to death, and their families were taken as slaves. The rest of the inhabitants were spared."

The account of the finding of the treasure, as related in the Chach Námah, has been already related. See note 97, page 192.

After Muḥammad had settled the affairs of Multán, founded a Jámi' Masjid, and appointed Dá'úd, bin Naṣr, bin Walíd, 'Ummání, governor of the place, he sent another, 'Abd-ul-Malik, Tammímí "to the fort of Bramah-yúr or Brahmah-púr, on the side of the Áb-i-Jihlam," which was called Sú-búr or Sú-púr (سوبور—in one copy سوربدر—Súr-badar. Not intended for Shor Kot, certainly, which was on the Chin-áb); another to the territory aronnd Multán, and another to the forts of Ijtahád and Karúr or Karúd. All these names are more or less doubtful. Karúr is

The finding of the gold, from which this temple was afterwards known among the Musalmáns as "the *Farkh* of the *Bait*, or Receptacle or Chamber of Gold," has been related in another place.

"After this success, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, returned to Alor or Aror and Baghrúr, and made presents to his soldiers."

After the removal of Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, and his death, when Ḥabíb, son of Muhallab was Amír of Sind, Jai Siṅha, son of Dáhir, had returned from Kash-mír to Bahman-ábád and established himself there, but Ḥabíb having advanced to the banks of the Mihrán, the people of Alrúr [الرور *sic.* Ar-Rúr? or Ar-Ror?] made their submission. In the mean time the Khalífah, Sulimán, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, died, and 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, succeeded. He sent to the native chiefs of Sind inviting them to become Musalmáns, and several did so, including Jai Siṅha, son of Dáhir, and they received 'Arab names.

possibly meant for Kuhroṛ. Then he is said to have sent a force of 10,000 horse against Ḳinnauj, which is constantly mentioned in connexion with Sind and Multán, and appears to have adjoined the latter territory on the east, and included part of the present Bikánír state. See pages 207, 208, and 223.

On reaching a place called Udah-fúr [اودهپور Odih-púr—the "Odipoor" of the maps, fourteen miles to the southwards of Alwánah on the Hakṛá], one of the 'Arab officers was sent to the ruler of Ḳinnauj, who is styled Rá'e Har-Chandar, Jhital; and at this same place, which Muḥammad had thus reached, in expectation of entering into hostilities with the Ḳinnauj ruler, and extending the Muḥammadan conquests in that quarter, the orders arrived from the Khalífah for him to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the 'Arab capital, which subject I need not enter into here; but, soon afterwards, great disorders appear to have arisen in these parts, and the Musalmáns lost ground considerably, and which they did not recover for sometime afterwards.

The Chach Námah says Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, was preparing to make war on Rá'e Har-Chandar, Jhital, of Ḳinnauj (not the city on the Kálí Nadí), the very day before his recall (on account of the false accusation of the daughters of Ra'e Dáhir), but Tod, in his "Annals of Méwar," whose historic knowledge was of a peculiar kind, actually makes him march to "Cheetore," as he spells Chítor, but only to be overthrown by a Ráj-pút, as we might fully suppose. He says (vol. 1, p. 231): "In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira—A. D. 713, *Mahomed Bin Kasim*, the general of the Caliph Walid, conquered Sinde. * * * If any doubt existed that it was *Kasim* [sic] who advanced to Cheetore, and was defeated by Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore, '*Dahir*,' *the Prince of* "*Debeil*," as he spells Debal, which Dáhir had been killed in battle more than two years before.

All this is not surprising when we consider who this "Bappa" was who defeated "*Kasim*," only it was Ḳásim's *son* who conquered Sind, after his father, Ḳásim, had been dead some years. According to Tod's "Annals," Bappa "*overcame all the kings of the west, Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmire, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cafferist'han*; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called *Nosheyra Pathans*." This is quite sufficient.

Subsequently, Junaid, son of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán-al-Marrí, was made Amír on the frontier territory of Sind, as the deputy of 'Umar, son of Hubairah-al-Fazárí [he, at this time, was Amír of Khurásán and the East], by the Khalífah, Al-Hishám, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, who began to reign in 105 H. (724 A. D.). Junaid proceeded to Debal,[195] and advanced to the Mihrán; but Jai Siṅha, [whose 'Arab name, however, the historian does not give] requested that he would not cross over, as he had become a Musalmán, and his territory had been confirmed to him by the ruling power. After receiving the tribute due, and giving and taking pledges, hostilities arose between them. Some say that Jai Siṅha first took up arms; while others affirm that Junaid acted unjustly towards Jai Siṅha, who assembled his forces, fitted out vessels, and got

[195] It is strange that neither the early 'Arabs, nor the travellers who followed, ever mention Damrílah, which, in after years, is constantly mentioned along with Debal or Dewal.

When Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh, had to retire from the Panj-áb into Lár or Lower Sind, he, having gained possession of Síw-istán, as it is called by some historians, as well as Sharúsán, Sindústán, and Sadúsán, marched towards Debal and Damrílah. A Habash [here the Sumrah chief of Debal is meant], who was ruler of that district or territory, fled, got on ship-board, and escaped. The Sulṭán detached part of his forces towards Nahar Wálah, from which they returned with immense booty. He founded likewise a Jámi' Masjid at Debal on the ruins of an idol temple. See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note, page 294, and a note farther on.

Ibn Baṭúṭah went into Lár or Lower Sind before going to Dihlí. He says: "I then went by the Sind to the city of Láhárí [Lohárání, supposed by some to refer to Debal, but is a totally different place], which is situated on the shore of the sea of Hind, where the Sind unites with it [but the junction of the main channel of the river with the ocean was at some distance to the eastward of Debal]. It has a large harbour, into which vessels from Fárs, Yaman, and other parts come. At the distance of a few *mil* [miles] from this town, are the ruins of another, in which stones in the shape of human beings and beasts, in vast numbers, are to be found. The inhabitants of this place say, that, according to their chroniclers, there was formerly a city in this place, the people of which, for the most part, were so wicked, that the Almighty transformed every thing within it, the people, their beasts, even the seeds of plants, into stone." This was written in 734 H. (1333-34 A. D.)

This would seem to refer to the situation of Damrílah, but, as late as the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad, son of Ṭughluḳ Sháh—744 H. (1343-44 A. D.), it is mentioned as lying in the route from Gondhal in Káṭhiáwár to Ṭhaṭhah, and in connection with the Sumrahs.

Ṭaghí, the rebel, whom Sulṭán Muḥammad pursued from Guzarát into Sind, took refuge in Damrílah; and in reference to the boundaries of India, which Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the second Sulṭán of the Khalj Turk dynasty, who succeeded to the throne of Dihlí in 695 H. (1295-96 A. D.), the different tracts which he was advised to bring under complete jurisdiction, that extending "from Multán to Damrílah" is referred to, but such a place as Ṭhaṭhah is not mentioned because it was not yet founded.

ready for war. Júnaid moved against him in vessels likewise; and they fought a naval action in the estuary of ush-Sharkí [ush-Shágirá—The then Kohrá'í[196] mouth, no doubt, by which that branch of the Mihrán of Sind which flowed past Manṣúriyah, united with the ocean, but which estuary, in that day, existed much farther north], in which Jai Siṇha was defeated, his own vessel captured, and he was taken prisoner and put to death. * * *

This Junaid, son of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, was subsequently made Amír of Khurásán, which included all the eastern territories under the sway of the Musalmáns, and he greatly distinguished himself in Farghánah, between 111 H. and 116 H., (730–734 A. D.) when he died.

In after years, when Ḥakam, son of 'Awánah-al-Kalbí, succeeded Ṭammím, son of Zaid-ul-'Uṭbá, the people of Sind had, for the most part, relapsed into idolatry; and the Musalmáns being without any place of security to which, in case of need, they might retire for safety, he built a town on the other side of the estuary in question, and made it the chief town, to which he gave the name of Maḥfúẓah—the Guarded or Preserved. Subsequently, 'Umaro, son of the unfortunate Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the conqueror of Sind, was made governor of Maḥfúẓah, and was greatly trusted by Ḥakam, and had been employed in many important affairs. He was sent from Maḥfúẓah on an expedition [but whither is not stated], in which he was successful, and was elevated to the rank of Amír. He founded another city on this side [the west] of the estuary, which he named Manṣúriyah, in which the governor now [when the Balázarí wrote] dwells."

Then came the time of the 'Abbáṣís [132 H.—750 A. D.], and Abú-Muslim-al-Marwazí, who was the chief instrument in setting up that dynasty of Khalífahs, despatched 'Abd-ur-Raḥmán, son of Abú-Muslim-al-Mughallisá-al-'Abdí, to proceed into Sind to oust the 'Ummiyah officials therefrom. He came through Ṭukháristán from Marw, but he was encountered by Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr-al-Kalbí [the same after whom the city and district of Manṣúriyah were named according to Ibn Khurdád-bih[197]], his troops put to flight, and himself killed. Abú-Muslim then despatched Músá, son of Ḳa'ab-uṭ-Ṭammímí into Sind, who reached the banks of the Mihrán, which separated him from Manṣúr, who thought himself secure as the river flowed between them; but Músá came upon him [in what manner is not stated], put Manṣúr and his forces to flight, and slew Manẓúr, brother of Manṣúr. The latter, in a sorry plight, fled to the sandy desert tracts, where he perished of thirst. Músá ruled in Sind for some time; and he repaired the city of Manṣúriyah, and enlarged the *masjid* there.

[196] See *ante* note 168, page 223.

[197] See ante page 195, and note 102.

He was succeeded by Hishám,[198] son of 'Umaro-ut-Taghallubí,[199] who was sent into Sind by the Khalífah, Al-Manṣúr. He reduced many places which still held out against the 'Abbásí authority, and among them was Multán, which, up to this period, still remained refractory. Kandá'íl was also reduced. He proceeded to Kandhár [Kandhárah or Kandháro] on vessels, and reduced it likewise.[200] * * * Músá, son of

[198] Hishám means, 'benevolent,' 'liberal,' but "Hashám" is meaningless.

[199] Called 'Umaro-us-Sa'labí by others. He was sent to succeed 'Umar bin Ḥifz, whom the Khalífah, Al-Manṣúr, Abú-Ja'far, 'Abd-ullah, deposed in 141 H. (758-59 A. D.), for giving shelter to 'Abd-ullah, son of Ibráhím, son of the unfortunate Ḥasan, son of the Khalífah, 'Alí. 'Umar, son of Ḥifz, received him with great distinction and espoused his cause, as did also the other Musalmán officers in Sind; and they cast off their black 'Abbásí garments, and adopted white ones, white being the colour of the Shí'ahs. At last, finding 'Abd-ullah was not safe in Sind, 'Umar sent him to a Rájah of Hind, between whom and 'Umar great friendship existed, so that he might not fall into the hands of his persecutor, the Khalífah. In consequence of 'Umar's conduct towards 'Abd-ullah, he was removed from Sind and sent to serve in Afríkah.

The Sayyids of Sind are said, on the authority of the Táríkh-i-Alfí, to be descended from the above mentioned 'Abd-ullah, who was subsequently killed by a party of 'Arabs, who came upon him in a *shikár-gáh* on the borders of Sind, leaving a son who was under the protection of the before-mentioned Rájah—of the neighbouring territory of Saurásḥtrah, probably, and one of the Balabhí dynasty.

[200] It would be a physical impossibility to reach Kandahár in the present Afghán state by boats, unless they were boats attached to baloons, and just as practicable to reach Gandhárá on the upper Indus above Aṭak by the same means from Sind. The part meant here, lay near the banks of the Hakṛá, and has been already referred to at page 207.

Because this word is written "Kandahar" by persons who did not know, apparently, the word in its original characters, and because a tract of country lying on the east bank of the Indus above Aṭak was anciently known as Gandhárá, and, in comparatively modern times, between the inroads of the Chingiz Khán and Amír Timúr, the Gúrgán, the south-easternmost part of Zábul-istán of the ancient Í-rání empire became styled Kandahár, European writers, and English in particular, have managed to confound them (just as they have confounded Gajní and Ghaz-nih or Ghaz-ní), and some try to make them out to be all one. An example of this is to be found in the "Herodotus" of the Rev. Canon Rawlinson, page 175, in which "*Beladhore*," "*Mass'oude*," etc., are quoted, and we have "*Sindhu Gandhára*," the "*Cabool Gandhara*," and the "*modern Candahár*," the appellation alike of the province and of the capital," in one delightful jumble. The "Sindu" Kandhárah is written گَنْدْهارَہ (Sindí—گَنْدْهارُو); that of Káṭhiáwár گَنْدْهارْ—Kandhár—or گَنْدْهَرْ—Kandáhar in the original; the tract on the upper Indus گَنْدْهارا—Gandhárá; and the formerly Persian, and now Afghán province (anciently called Bál-yús or Wál-yús) and its chief town, قَنْدَهارْ and قَنْدْهارْ—Kandahár, and all are totally different. It is from similar theories that *Hindú Lohánahs* or *Lohános* of Sind are turned

Yaḥyá, of the family of Barmak, was Amír of Sind in the time of the Khalífah, Al-Mámún [198–218 H.—813–833 A. D.], but he died in 221 H. (836 A. D.); and the Khalífah, Al-Mu'taṣim B'illah, confan of his son, 'Amrán, in the government of the province. * * * He made war upon the Meds (ميد) and slew 3,000 of them; and there [in their country] constructed a *band* or embankment, which is called Sikr[201]-ul-Med, after which he encamped on the *Nahr* of Aror or Aro." Why this *band* was constructed is not mentioned. This affair happened, of course, near the sea coast of Kachchh, because 'Amrán caused a canal to be dug from the sea to the reservoir or tank of the Meds, and spoiled all their fresh water. This Aro or Ado or Aror refers to the place, the name of which is written ارو, ارور, ارور, اودر, and the like, by Bú-Riḥán, and which I believe to the "Addo" of the maps, the "Addooe" of Dr. J. Burnes, and, correctly, Adhoí,[202] by which, indeed, a *nahr* or small river runs, some sixty miles east of Bhuj. In the 'Arabic character this name would be ادر, and in that character د, ر, and و, in manuscripts especially, if carelessly copied, are very liable to be written and mistaken one for the other. What satisfies me that the coast above referred to is meant is, that Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, is said by the Balázarí, to hah, entered into an accommodation with the people of Surast, with whom the men of تسيه, باسه, مانده, ناده or بدد,[203] were then at war, who are Meds, sea-faring men and pirates. Of course Surast refers to Súraṭh, the Saurásḥṭrah of the Hindús—the Káṭhiáwár peninsular lying nearest to Sind, and تسيه or باده, etc., to the place which Elliot reads as "Báná," "Tána," "Bania," "Basia," and the like, which, as may be seen from the "Masálik wa Mamálik" map lies between Fáhmal and Manṣúriyah.

This is all I find in the Balázarí in which the rivers of these parts are anywhere mentioned.

I must now leave Sind[204] and return to the territory of the Panj-áb again.

into the descendants of the Afghán Núḥ (Noah). There are still other places also called "Kandhár." See ante note 105, page 196, and note 114, page 207.

201 Sikr—سكر—in 'Arabic means an embankment, but not "*sakr*." The embankment may have been erected by the 'Arabs in order the better to approach the stronghold of the Meds.

202 It is in the Morbí district of Káṭhiáwár, which comprises the sub-districts or dependencies of Morbí, Wágar, and Adhoí.

203 See ante page 216, and note 145, and page 221, and note 163.

204 I may mention that the Khalífah conferred the territory of Sind, as well as other parts, upon Ya'ḳúb, son of Lais, the Ṣúffárí, of Sigiz-stán, in 257 H. (870-71 A. D.); and that Sulṭán Maḥmúd, of Ghaznín took Manṣúriyah in 417 H. (1026-27

In the extracts from Abú-Riḥán given by Elliot, I notice events which are not mentioned by him, but by Rashíd-ud-Dín, and are not contained in Bú-Riḥán's text. It is the extract [at page 57] in which the latter is made to quote events which occured in 692 H. (1293 A. D.), about two hundred and sixty years after that author completed his work.[205] From this we might suspect, that even some of the extracts which I have given here from Rashíd-ud-Dín's work, which he appears to attribute to Bú-Riḥán are his own, such for example as the mention of all the rivers of this part, *with the Bíáh north of the Rávi*, uniting with "the Satladar below Multán, at *a place* called Panch-Nad," as already noticed in the extract from Bú-Riḥán; but I shall presently show, that, for upwards of two centuries and more after the date above quoted [692 H.], the Shuttlaj, that is the Sutlaj—if that is what he means by the Nahr-i-Sutlad[206]—did not unite with the other rivers of the Panj-áb at the place indicated.

The son of the Turk Sulṭán of Dihlí, Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban (the same who, under the title of Malik Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, conducted the army under Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, to the relief of Uchchh in 643 H.—1245 A. D.), Muḥammad by name, entitled Muḥammad Sulṭán, and subsequently styled the "Khán-i-Shahíd" or "Martyred Khán," on the death of Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, Balban's kinsman, who is said to have founded Bhaṭnír[207], or more probably

A. D.), which was the year of his expedition to Somnáth, when, on his return from thence he drove out the Ḳarámiṭah ruler thereof. See note 192, page 244.

[205] It is the statement, that "Múltán and Uchchh are subject to Dihlí, and *the son of the Sulṭán of Dihlí is governor.*" There were no Sulṭáns of Dihlí when Bú-Riḥán wrote—428–430 H. (1020–1030 A. D.), and not for nearly two centuries after, the first being Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, the Turk, in 605 H. (1208-9 A. D.); and there was never any Sulṭán's son governor of these parts until the time of Muḥammad Sulṭán, the Khán-i-Shahíd, son of Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ilbarí Turk. Rashíd-ud-Dín completed his work twelve years after the date given in the text above, namely, in 710 H. (1310 A. D.).

[206] See page 220. In the *MSS.* of the A'ín-i-Akbarí, which I have examined, the name is written Shutlaj, but in Blochmann's printed text it is "Shattdur—شتدر." See the extract from Muir's "Sanskrit Texts" in the account of that river farther on.

[207] Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dín, Sher Khán-i-Sunḳar, referred to in note 45, page 171, is said by Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Baraní, to have built a loftly cupola or domed building at Bhaṭnír, and to have erected, among others, the fortresses of Bhaṭnír and Bhaṭindah. He held for a considerable time, off and on, the frontier provinces of the Dihlí empire on the west, or, rather, the provinces which still remained; for the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, had betrayed Multán and Uchchh, and such part of Sind as he had held, by becoming a feudatory of the Mughals.

restored it, was placed by his father in charge of the western frontiers of the Dihlí kingdom, as it then existed; and the fiefs of Samánah, Debál-púr, and as much of the Láhor province as was in the possession of his father, were conferred upon him. Muḥammad Sulṭán used to send his troops to patrol as far west as the Bíáh, and to guard the frontier from the incursions of the Mughals, who held all the parts beyond or west of the Ráwí under subjection. From their domination Multán had only lately been recovered; and they carried their inroads into the parts between that city and Láhor, which was still in ruins, as far as, and even beyond, the banks of the Bíáh, which washed the walls of Debál-púr.

Muḥammad Sulṭán, subsequently, on an invasion of the Panj-áb territory by the Mughal infidels, under the Nú-ín or Nú-yán, both being correct, Timúr,[208] in 684 H. (1285-86 A. D.), moved from Multán to encounter them. He fell in with them between Debál-púr and Láhor, and overthrew them; but he was afterwards killed by a body of the invaders which had rallied during the pursuit, and came upon him unexpectedly when almost alone, at a well, where he had alighted to refresh himself, and to say his prayers, and when he supposed they had all disappeared. On this account he is styled "the Khán-i-Shahíd" or "Martyred Khán." It was in this affair that Amír Khusrau, the Poet, was made captive by the Mughals.[209]

"Malik Sher Khán, was greatly trusted, and held in great respect and reverence; for he was as the Sadd-i-Yájúj Májúj [the Barrier of Gog and Magog] against the Mughals, whom he had repelled on several occasions. He brought under subjection to his authority the Jats, Khokhars [not "*Gickers*" or "*Ghukhurs*"], Bhaṭís, Meníahs [Ma'íns ?], and Mandáhrs, and other marauding tribes, which those who succeeded him were unable to control. Sher Khán died early in the reign of his kinsman, Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ilbarí Turk, and never used to come to Dihlí; and it is said, but, apparently, without good reason, that the Sulṭán caused poison to be administered to him." The author of the "Táríkh-i-Fírúz-Sháh-í says he died at Bhaṭnír, where a fine tomb was erected over him.

For more respecting this great feudatory, see my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 791.

[208] Called by some writers Timúr Aḳá, which is, doubtless, his correct name. Nú-ín or Núyán merely indicates his rank.

[209] Another battle with the Mughal invaders took place in 691 H. (1292 A. D.) in the reign of the Khalj Turk Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Fírúz Sháh, on the confines of Bar-rám (برام), with the river between; but I cannot discover whereabouts this place is, or was, situated. In the printed text of the A'ín-i-Akbarí (in which the names of places are often incorrect) the word is Bagrám; and lest it should be supposed to refer to Pes'ḥáwar, the old name of which was Bagrám, I beg to state that that part is not referred to. This Bar-rám was in Hindústán, the Mughals having entered it; and Bagrám of Pes'ḥáwar is not Hindústán.

Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, the historian of Sind, states, that in 693 H. (1293-4 A. D.), Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk ruler of Dihlí, marched to Láhor, and despatched his middle son, Arkalí Khán, to assume the government of Uchchh and Multán; and Nusrat Khán, another son, was made feudatory of Sind. Subsequently, Nusrat Khán was placed in charge of the Multán, Uchchh, Bakhar, Síw-istán, and Thathah territories, with the town of Multán as the seat of government.

In 697 H. (1297-98 A. D.) Saldáe, the Mughal, invaded Sind, on which occasion Nusrat Khán took his troops to Síw-istán (but not to Síwí) by water—this does not mean that Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán, was close to the banks of the Ab-i-Sind; for it was still a considerable distance from it—overcame the Mughals, and returned to Bakhar. There he found orders awaiting him to lead half his forces from Bakhar by way of Jasal-mír, in order to take part in the campaign against Gujarát, upon which service his brother, the Ulugh Khán, had been sent. From this it appears that there was no scarcity of water between Bakhar and Jasal-mír, and the Hakrá or Wahindah must have been still flowing, but whether in so large a volume as previously, we cannot say, as there is no distinct mention of it.

After these events, in the reign of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, Ghází Malik, afterwards Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Din, Tughluk Sháh, was sent to Debál-púr at the head of 10,000 horse to repel the Mughal inroads into that part of the Panj-áb territory.

In the Táríkh-i-'Alá'í, or Khazáin-ul-Futúh by Amír Khusrau, there is an account of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, who reigned from 695 H. to 710 H. (1296 to 1310 A. D.). In the first-mentioned year, Kadar, the Mughal [who is made a *Tátár* of in Elliot's "Historians"], invaded the tract of country called Járan-Manjúr,[210] having come from the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range west of the Jihlam. The author says he crossed the *Biáh*, Jilam, and *Sutlaj*, and burnt the villages of the Khokhars." The rivers are mentioned by him in the order in which they are here written.

'Abd-ullah-i-Wassáf, in his history, completed in 728 H. (1327 A. D.), in the brief notice of the Sultáns of Dihlí, mentions the *Sutlaj*. He says with reference to the route between Khurásán and Hind: "After crossing the *panj-áb* or five rivers, namely, the Sind, the Jílam [Jihlam], the river of Loháwar, the *Satlút* [in the margin is Sutlaj],

[210] The name of this place is written in various ways—Jáwan Manjúr, Járan-Majúr, Jár-Manjhúr, and the like. In Elliot it is turned into "Jálandhar." See vol. III, p. 162, note 2.

and the Bíáh," thus reversing their situations as is done in the previous extract, while the Chin-áb is not mentioned. He also mentions towns and districts, saying: "There are Baníán of Koh-i-Júd [he is the only author that I know of who distinctly mentions where this tract lay[211]], Súdarah [Súḍharah], Jálandhar, the territory of the Kokars [Khokhars], Multán, Uchchh, Hásí [Hánsí], Sur-Sutí, Kaiṭhal, Sunám, Tabarhindah," etc.

Previous to this, about 707 H. (1307-8 A. D.), Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, when he, as Ghází Malik, held the fiefs of Multán and Debál-púr,[212] then the capital of the northern Panj-áb, and Multán

[211] See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 677, note 5. Súḍharah is situated about four miles east-north-east of Wazír-ábád, and styled "*Sohdurah*" in the maps. In former times the Chin-áb flowed close to it on the north, but is now nearly four miles from it. Súḍharah is an ancient site. In the last century, there used to be a lofty *mandr* of burnt brick standing there, on the bank of the Chin-áb.

[212] From the various operations and encounters between the rivals for the throne, before Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, succeeded to it, who, as Ghází Malik, held the fief of Debál-púr, there appears to have been no want of water between that place and Sarastí. He, on one occasion, came out of Debál-púr to meet his rivals coming from that part. "Ghází Malik, leaving Debál-púr, passed the *ḳaṣbah* of Ḍabhalí (ڈبھلی), and with the river (áb) in his rear, he encountered them." That river is not named, but the place here mentioned lies between Debál-púr and Sarastí or Sirsá, thirty-six miles to the westwards of Uboh-har, and stands on the bank of the oldest channel of the Sutlaj, called in the maps "the eastern "Naiwal" and "Nyewal." See the notice of the river Sutlaj farther on.

In the extracts given by Elliot in his "Indian Historians" vol. III, from a French version of Ibn Baṭúṭah, it is stated, that, in the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, son of Ṭughluḳ Sháh, "Kishlú Khán revolted against him, spread his money, raised troops, and sent emissaries among the Turks, Afgháns, and Khurásánís, who flocked to him in great numbers. His army was equal to the Sulṭán's, and even superior to it in numbers. The Sulṭán marched in person to fight him, and "they met two days' journey from Multán, in the *desert* plain of Abúhar. The "desert plain" here mentioned, refers to the sandy tract referred to in the next paragraph of the text above.

There seems to have been considerable disarrangement in the *MSS.* from which Lee's and other translations of Ibn Baṭúṭah have been made; for, in them he sets out from Multán and goes to Uboh-har, and, after going a journey of four days from thence, reaches Ajúḍḍhan. The traveller's account, therefore, has been *reversed*. He first went to Ajúḍḍhan from Multán, and, from the first-named place, in four days, reached Uboh-har. At Ajúḍḍhan he visited, he says, "the famous Muḥammadan saint, whose tomb after his decease became a place of pilgrimage," and after a lapse of five centuries still continues to be held in great veneration—the Shaikh-ul-Islám, Farid-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, Shakar-Ganj, son of Jalál-ud-Dín, Sulímán; and at whose tomb, Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, and Amír Tímúr, offered up their prayers, as related farther on. It is from this Muḥammadan saint that Ajúḍḍhan is also known as the Pák *Pattan*—The Holy *Town*—but not *Pafan, a Ferry*, as some have assumed.

of the southern parts, used often to make incursions into the tracts held by the Mughals and their tributaries farther west. His son and successor, Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, when about to enter Lár or Lower Sind from Guzarát towards the close of 751 H. (about January, 1351 A. D.), in order to punish the Sumrahs of that part for sheltering rebels from his dominions, gave directions for boats to be collected from all parts, from Síw-istán [but not Síwí nor "Sebi"[213]], from Uchchh, Multán, and other parts, *at* Debál-púr, to enable him to convey his troops across the Sind river. To have directed boats to be collected *at* Debál-púr after the Biáh had deserted its old bed would have been simply ridiculous, since, by that desertion, it left Debál-púr some twenty-three miles farther west. From the above facts it is beyond a doubt, that, at that period also, the Biáh still flowed in its old bed, and no Sutlaj had united with it.

In 734 H. (1332 A. D.), the Moorish traveller, Ibn Baṭúṭah, crossed from Multán to Dihlí, about eighty years after the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals; twenty-eight years before Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh brought his first canal to Manṣúr-púr and Samánah; and sixty-seven years before the invasion of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán. Ibn Baṭúṭah proceeded by way of Ajúḍḍhan and Uboh-har, and would have had to cross the Biáh as Amír Tímúr subsequently did, before reaching the former place, and the Sutlaj after leaving the latter, and soon after the different tributaries of the Hakṛá higher up. He says, after noticing that Ajúḍḍhan was a small place, "The first city we entered belonging to Hindústán[214] [here he is perfectly right, the river was the boundary between the Multán province and Hindústán] was Uboh-har,[215] which is the first place in Hind in this direction. It is small and closely built [it was a walled town with a fort], and *abounds with water and cultivation.* * * * At length I left the town of Uboh-har, and proceeded for one day through a desert enclosed on both sides by hills [low, rocky hills],[216] upon which were infidels and rebellious Hindús. The inhabitants of Hind generally are infidels; some of them live under the protection of

[213] See a note farther on.

[214] The reason why he says this is that the Multán province extended, at the period in question, to the Sutlaj, which then flowed in the Uboh-har channel, and was still a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah.

[215] This name is written "Abohar," and "Abúhar," and the like in *MSS.*, but it was founded by Jaṛá, grandson of Rájah Rasálú, the Bhaṭí, and named after his wife, Uboh, and therefore Uboh-har is the correct name. The termination, '*har*' occurs in the names of many places where the Bhaṭí tribe dwell, or previously dwelt, and refers to standing water, or where water is found.

[216] These are the rocky hills lying immediately south of Tohsham, south of Hánsí, and the former place stands on the northern skirt of part of them.

the Muḥammadans, and reside either in villages or cities: others, however, infest the mountain tracts and rob on the highways. I happened to be one of a party of twenty-two persons, when a number of these Hindús [Bhaṭís probably], consisting of two horsemen and eighty foot, made an attack upon us. We, however, engaged them, and by God's help put them to flight, having killed one of the horsemen and twelve of the others. * * * After four days' journey, I arrived at the town of Sarasti [Sirsá]. It is large, and abounds with rice, which they carry to Dihlí. After this I reached Hánsí, which is a very beautiful and closely built city, with extensive fortifications. I next came to Mas'úd-ábád, after two days' travelling, and remained there three days." He adds, that, "The whole way between Multán and Dihlí, a distance of forty days' journey, there are many contiguous inhabited places." From these remarks, it will be noticed, that, with the exception of "one day's journey through a desert tract "[217] after leaving Uboh-har, there was no scarcity of water whatever.

Some of the events which happened in Sind and the Panj-áb and adjacent parts, during the time of the Khalj Turk or Khaljí dynasty, will tend to throw some light on the courses of the rivers of these parts, more particularly with respect to the Biáh and Sutlaj.

Shams-i-Saráj,[218] the 'Afíf (abstainer from anything forbidden),

[217] This "desert tract" was that between the Uboh-har channel in which the Sutlaj then flowed, and the one farther east which it had last deserted. In all its changes it has invariably left the tract between its old and new channel covered with sand and silt.

[218] There is, of course, a "Gazetteer of the Hisar District, 1883-84. Compiled and published under the authority of the Punjab Government;" and in that "Gazetteer," as in most others, are some choice specimens of history burlesqued. The above writer is quoted therein as "one of Sir H. Elliot's Historians," under the name of Shams-i-*Shiráz*, the compiler apparently, having taken him for a native of Shiráz in Persia. It is a pity the Panj-áb Government has not some one to correct the historical part of its "Gazetteers."

For example: we are told time after time about "*the reign of the Emperor Ala-ud-dín Ghori.*" I beg leave to observe that *no* "Emperor Ala-ud-dín Ghori" ever yet reigned in the Panj-áb or Hind. The Sulṭán, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, the Shansabáni Tájzik Ghúrí (who, in his youthful days, and before he became Sulṭán of Ghaznín and assumed that title, bore that of Shiháb-ud-Dín), who conquered Hindústán, and established the Muḥammadan faith at Dihlí, is not once referred to in the Gazetteer in question!

Here is one more specimen. Referring to the claim of a Jaṭ tribe to Rájpút descent from "Máns, the grandson of Salvahan, Rája of Siálkot," the compiler says: "*As their story involves a war between Salvahan (A. D. 90) and the Muhammadans of Mecca*, it cannot be accepted with confidence."

I trow not, considering that the year 90 A. D., happens to be only *five hundred and thirty-two years before the Muḥammadan era, and actually four hundred and seventy-three years before Muḥammad was born!*

the author of the history of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh's reign, dwelt at Uboh-har, which, he says, is the country of that Sulṭán's Bhaṭí mother; for she was the daughter of Ráná Mal, the Bhaṭí. The great grandfather of Shams-i-Saráj was the *'amal-dár* or revenue collector of the district dependent on Uboh-har—which shows that it could not have been short of water in his day, and as Ibn Baṭúṭah confirms—and Shams-i-Saráj was intimate with Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, before he came to the Dihlí throne, when, as Ghází Malik, he held the fief of Debál-púr, of which, at that time, Uboh-har was a dependency. Shams-i-Saráj states, that, at that period—previous to 720 H. (1320 A. D.)[219]—all the lands from the largest to the smallest estates, and all the *jangal*, or waste lands, or uncultivated tracts, belonging to the Ma'ín and Bhaṭí tribes, were dependent on the town of Uboh-har. He also states that in the language of this part *tal-wanḍí*[220] means a village.

When Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh was about to return to Dihlí, after the death of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, his kinsman,[221] whom he succeeded on his death on the banks of the Sind near Ṭhaṭhah, in Muḥarram, 752 H. (March, 1351 A. D.), he was advised to return through Guzarát. As Aḥmad-i-Ayáz was in rebellion at Dihlí, he determined to do so by marching up the Áb-i-Sind river instead, with his still numerous forces and followers, and going by way of Multán and Debál-púr. This also shows that he did not anticipate any scarcity of water for his forces and the numerous followers and animals. First, he moved up to Síw-istán,[222] the modern Sihwán, and from thence towards Bakhar, where he crossed the river, and then marched to Multán without having to cross any other river. Leaving it, he moved to Ajúḍḍhan, and paid his devotions at the tomb of the Shaikh-ul-Islám, Farid-ul-Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, Shakar-Ganj. From Ajúḍḍhan he moved right across the worst part of what, in modern days, is known as the "Indian Desert," to Sarastí [now Sirsá]. Marching from thence he reached Ikdár and founded Fatḥ-ábád,[223] so named

[219] Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, ascended the throne of Dihlí in 720 H.

[220] Villages in this part are also called *manḍals* by some writers. This word, in Hindí, means 'a circle,' also a 'circular hut or tent.' *Manḍals*, however, are not "fortifications," as Mr. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's "Historians" supposed (Vol. III, page 254). The word is a common one in Hindí.

[221] Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh was the son of Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ's brother, and Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh was the latter's son.

[222] See a note farther on.

[223] This place is now the principle town of one of the five *taḥṣíls* or revenue divisions into which the Hiṣár district under the Panj-áb government is divided.

There is a "Report," published in 1875, of the "Settlement of the *Hissár* Division of the Panjab," the history of which, so called, is taken from the "*Ain-i-Akbar*" [sic], in which its compiler has the assurance to tell us, that, "Under Mu-

after his son, Fatḥ Khán.[224] From thence he continued his march to Hánsí, having been joined by the feudatories of Samánah and Sunám with their respective contingents.

On his return from Lakhaṇawaṭí in 754 H. (1353 A. D.), he founded the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, on the site of which were two villages [*tal-wandís*]; and there were fifty *kharaks* included in the first, and forty *kharaks* in the other. These villages were called Baṛá (Great) Sarás, and Chhoṭá (Little) Sarás, respectively; and in this tract of country there are no villages containing other than these *kharaks* [the Hindí for a cattle shed, but here seems to refer to the dwellings such as the Jaṭs of the Khar'l and Sí-ál tribes construct—a flat roof of thatch or canes raised on poles but without sides or walls]. The Sulṭán was much pleased with the situation of Baṛá Sarás,[225] and he thought it would be advantageous to found a town there; for water was deficient there at that period, and, in the hot season, travellers had to pay as high as four *jítals* for a *kúzah* of water. * * * A fortress of considerable extent and loftiness was commenced; and in course of time [two years and a half] the place was completed, and the Sulṭán named it Ḥiṣár-i-Fírúzah or the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár or Fortress. It was surrounded with a ditch, and within the *ḥiṣár* a large and deep *ḥauz* or reservoir was constructed, which was intended to supply the ditch."[226]

hammadan rule and prior to Firoz Sháh's reign, *nothing worthy of note occurred"!* See note 239, page 274, for the confirmation or otherwise of this statement. Then it states, that, in 1372 he erected the fort, and founded the town of Hissár, and had to cut a canal from the Jamna. * * * Firoz also built the Kasbah of Fattiabád, to which place, from the Ghaggar, he had a small canal cut, which is still in use." In the same "Report" it is stated, that "Hissár" is otherwise called "Habeli"—"Hissár (*alias* Habeli)." This of course is a great error. *Ḥaweli* is not the *alias* of Ḥiṣár, any more than it is of Rewárí *bá ḥaweli*, Budá'ún *bá ḥaweli*, Síw-istán *bá ḥaweli*, and many other places. Ḥiṣár *bá ḥaweli* is as old as the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, wherein it will be found with many others. *Ḥaweli* is merely the 'Arabic for 'habitation,' 'mansion,' etc.—the Government building or public offices, appertaining to the chief town of a *Sarkár*. Ḥiṣár not "*Hissár*," of course means a fortress or fortified place.

[224] At the same time he founded three other small fortified places, which he named after his other sons, namely, Ẓafar-ábád, Riẓá-ábád, and Muḥammad-púr. Villages still bearing these names, and marking the sites, lie, in succession, along the banks of the Ghag-ghar on the south side, north-east of Fatḥ-ábád, but the places he founded have now disappeared.

[225] At each of those places there was, and still is, I believe, a stone column like the *láṭh* of Fíróz Sháh at Dihlí. They were of red sandstone, and were erected by his orders.

[226] The "Report" above referred to states, that, immediately under the building, a spiral staircase leads to a series of rooms, said to be connected under ground, with a similar building at Hánsi. A Jámi' Masjid, erected by Sulṭán Fíróz Sháh,

The Sultán made great endeavours, according to the same writer, to supply the place and lands around with water. He succeeded in doing so by means of two canals—one from the river Jún or Yamúnah, and one from the bed of the Sutlaj, and which was again connected with that river lower down. This is important, as showing that the Sutlaj must, at that period, have been running very much farther to the eastward than in later years, and much nearer to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, and about mid-way (in the Uboh-har channel) between that place and the Biáh, which we are certain still flowed in its old bed. These canals were the Rájírah and Aghamání. They were brought from the northward of Karnál, and flowed a distance of eighty *kuroh* to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár.[237] This is about the first time, if not the very first time, that the Sutlaj is mentioned in the Muḥammadan histories of India by a contemporary writer. After the new town and *ḥiṣár* were finished, and water supplied, this part was separated from the district of Sahrind, formed into a separate one, and named the district of Ḥiṣár-i-Fírúzah, that is, of, or dependent on the Ḥiṣár *of* Fírúz Sháh.

The Táríkh-i-Alfí, written in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, and compiled from the best histories then available in India, says, that "In the year 762 H. (1360-61 A. D.), the Sultán set out for a *nahr* or stream which is called Astímah, which really embraced two considerable streams, and contained never failing water, and between which a high *pushtah*—a spur or hill—intervened. The Sultán set 5,000 *beldárs* or pioneers to work in order to remove this obstruction; so that the waters of the

still stands within the walls. The *láṭh*, also erected by him, is still visible among "the mounds and broken bricks and tiles, which lie scattered profusely on the plain to the south of the modern city, and tombs and temples still remain standing to tell of by-gone splendour. These remains cover a wide area."

[237] Firishtah (the often quoted, because translated)—the original, I mean, not "Dow," nor "Briggs"—says: "In 762 H., Sultán Fíróz Sháh heard, that near Haradwár, there was a hill [*pushtah* or *koh*] out of which water flowed towards the river Sutlaj, and that it was called Sursutí; that, on the other side of the hill was a rivulet [*já'e*] called Salímah; and, that, if this intervening hill were removed, the Sursutí would be able to flow and unite with the Salímah rivulet, and their waters might be made to flow on to Sahrind, and Manṣúr-púr, and from thence to Sunám, and would keep constantly flowing. The Sultán accordingly [after cutting a canal separating the Sahrind district from that of Samánah, and founding Fíróz-ábád, a totally different place from the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár, which is upwards of sixty miles to the east-south-east of Fíróz-ábád], proceeded to carry this into effect."

Firishtah is merely a servile compiler; and, as every one knows who can read the originals from which he copied, copied others almost word for word. This may be judged of from the following note 230. The Táríkh-i-Alfí supplies him with a deal of information, as well as the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, especially regarding the events happening out of Hind; and he copies both almost word for word.

Sursutí might be brought to the *nahr* in question, and, when united, might flow on to Sahrind, Manṣúr-púr, and Samánah."

'Abd-ul-Ḳádir, the Budá'úní, one of the authors of the Tárí<u>kh</u>-i-Alfí above mentioned, says in his history of India, that "the water is that which issues from a mound or hill of a sandy nature, of considerable size, and which water falls into the *nahr* or stream of the Sutlaj, which is also called the Suttladr," and that it—the water falling into the Sutlaj—is called the Sursutí;" that "it was distributed by means of two canals, and *used to flow* by Sahrind, Manṣúr-púr, and Samánah. The whole of the mound or hill was not removed." It was, perhaps, merely cut through sufficiently to permit the water to pass freely.

"While employed in these excavations, the bones of elephants and human beings were discovered in this great mound or hill, among which were their arms [*dast*—the hand, including the arm to the elbow], measuring three *gaz* in length, some of which were petrified, but the rest still remained unchanged.[228] It was represented to the Sulṭán, that, when Sikandar [Alexander the Great] reached that place, the people, having made images of Nú<u>sh</u>ábah,[229] used to keep them in their dwellings and worship them; and that, now [in the time of Sulṭán Fírúz <u>Sh</u>áh], her image had become the deity worshipped by the people of these parts."

Sulṭán Fírúz <u>Sh</u>áh, likewise, when proceeding towards Debál-púr on a hunting excursion in 756 H. (1355 A. D.), "determined," it is said, "on opening a canal from the Suttladr (Sutlaj) to Jhajhar, a distance of forty-eight *kuroh*," or about eighty-four miles. Here there must be some error in the names, because the Sutlaj where it issues from the hills at Rúh-par, its nearest point to Jhajhar, is about one hundred and seventy miles, and the nearest of its old channels to the west—the easternmost "Nyewal N." of the maps, is one hundred and forty miles to the westward of Jhajhar. Consequently, if Jhajhar is correct, the Sutlaj cannot be meant, and if the Sutlaj is meant, then some other place than Jhajhar must be meant, to which it would have been far easier to have brought water from the Yamúnah.

228 "Being therefore unresolved what course to take, he [Alexander] leaped from the tribunal, and shut himself up in his tent, forbidding any to be admitted, except those with him. Thus he sacrificed two days to his passion, and on the third he appeared publicly again, and ordered twelve altars to be erected of square stone, to remain as a monument of his expedition. He also caused the fortifications of his camp to be extended, and *beds to be left of a larger size than the ordinary stature of man required*, designing to impose upon posterity by this excessive outward appearance of things" "Quintus Curtius." More respecting these altars will be mentioned farther on.

229 Nú<u>sh</u>ábah is the name of the ancient queen of Barda', in <u>Sh</u>irwán, on the west bank of the river Kur.

In the following year he had another canal excavated from the Yamúnah or Jún near Sirmúr. He connected it with seven small rivers, and brought their waters to Hánsí [which canal still exists], and from thence to the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár; and a great lake [or *ḍhanḍ*, as it is called in those parts], close to the *kushk* or castle there, was filled therefrom. The same Sulṭán brought yet another canal from the river Ghag-ghar, and conducted the water into the *nahr*-i-Khirah [نهر کهرة], and erected a fortress between, which he named Fírúz-ábád, near which there also used to be a great *kol* [the Persian of *ḍhanḍ*] or lake, several miles long, filled from the Ghag-ghar.[230]

His reasons for making all these canals are obvious. They are doubtless, connected in some way with the drying up, diversion of, or fluctuation in, some of the tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah; but

[230] The Budá'úní says—and the "Haft Iḳlím" agrees with his statement—that the Sulṭán went to Debál-púr in 756 H. (1355 A. D.), and caused a canal to be made from the Sutlaj to Jhajhar, which is forty-eight *kuroh* distant. In 757 H. (1356 A. D.), he opened a canal from the territory of Mandú and Sirmúr, and connected seven other *nahrs* or streams with it, and conducted the waters to Hánsí, and thence to Rásín; and there the Fírúzah *ḥiṣár* or fortress was founded. Beneath the *ḳaṣr* or palace or castle, a *ḥauz* or reservoir was constructed, and filled with water from the canal in question. Another canal was opened from the Kandar *Nahr* [نهر کندر], and brought under the walls of the *ḥiṣár* or fortress of Sarastí, and from thence conducted to Bírí Khárah [Khíṛah?]; and there a city [town] was founded which was named Fírúz-ábád."

In his extract from the Táríkh-i-Mubárak-Sháh-í Elliot says (Vol. IV., p. 8) that, "Firishta closely follows our author," or, more correctly, *copies* from him. He adds "and helps us to understand him," as we shall see. He continues: "There are several inaccuracies in the passage as given in Brigg's translation, so the following is offered as a more correct rendering of the lithographed text. "In the month of Sha'ban, 756 H. (the Sultán) went towards Dibálpúr hunting, and having dug a large canal (jú'e) from the river Sutlej, he conducted it to Jhajhar, forty-eight *kos* distant. In 757 he cut a canal from the river Jamna, in the hills of Mandawí [Mandún or Mandú is well known, the other is an error] and Sirmor, and having turned seven other streams into it, he brought it to Hánsí, and from thence to Abasín [Rásín?], where he built a strong fort which he called Hisár Fírozah. * * * He formed another canal from the river Khagar [it is *Ghag-ghar* in the original], and conducting it by the fort of Sarsutí, he brought it to the river Sar-khatrah (نهر سرکهتره), where he founded the city of Fírozábád. He also brought another canal from the Jumna, and threw it into the tank of that city." Then the Editor, apparently, adds: "The words "river of Sar-khatrah" are clearly wrong. In the translation, which was made from *MSS.*, the name is given as "Pery Khera," which is more like Harbí-khír of our text. The real name is possibly Harí-khíra." All this speculation is about the words mentioned above; and it will be seen how "closely Firishta follows our author." It will be noticed that نهر سر کهتره is an error for نهر یدری کهیره with ي not ت.

nothing whatever is mentioned, or even hinted at, on this subject, under the events of his reign, although we find, as related in detail farther on, that he followed the route from Debál-púr, Ajúḍḍhan, and across to Fatḥ-ábád and Hánsí on more than one occasion, and which same route was followed by Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, some forty-three years after.[231]

Having arranged the affairs of his kingdom, in the year 763 H. (1361-62 A. D.), Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh turned his attention to Sind, the expedition against Ṭhaṭhah having had to be abandoned on the death of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, his predecessor, on the banks of the Sind, in the vicinity of that town, about eleven years before. His forces on this occasion amounted to 90,000 cavalry, and 480 war elephants; and yet, strange to say, although it has been stated before, that water was scarce in the neighbourhood of his new town and fortress of Fírúzah in the hot season, he marched across that very part; because it is plainly stated by the historians of his reign, that he again went across to Ajúḍḍhan, and offered up his prayers at the tomb of Shaikh Farídi-Shakar-Ganj, and that, after that, he reached "the confines of Bakhar and Siw-istán. Boats were collected from Debál-púr, and other places lower down, to the number of 5,000; and part of the troops, the baggage, and heavy equipments were embarked on them; while the Sulṭán, with the rest of his army, accompanied the fleet of boats, marching along near the river's bank. The father of Shams-i-Saráj, the author of the Táríkh-i-Fírúz-Sháh-í, had charge of one division of boats containing troops, on this occasion.

The Sulṭán was unsuccessful in his operations; for a disease broke out among the horses in lower Sind, and three-fourths of them died. The hot season being near at hand, he determined to retire into Guzarát, obtain reinforcements, and return as soon as the season opened, having first beaten off the forces of the Jám of Lower Sind, who had become so emboldened from the Sulṭán's losses, as to venture out and attack him.

[231] The author of another Táríkh-i-Fírúz-Sháh-í, Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Baraní, states, that, on one occasion, when he, the author, "was within the fortress of Bhaṭnír, in the cold season, some little disorder arose, and the people from the *tal-wandís* [villages] round about the neighbourhood came flocking in to the shelter of the fortress; and from the excess of dust raised by the horses and cattle, the broad light of day became so darkened therefrom, that people could not distinguish each others faces. Out of a thousandth part of the people and their animals, it was possible for *one part* to find a place within the walls. I entered the stable of the Ḥajjam, Ikhtiyár-ud-Dín, Madhú, and counted therein thirteen horses of 1,000 and 2,000 *tangahs* each in value; and the rest of the other property who shall calculate." All this does not indicate any scarcity of water; for horses and other animals cannot exist without water any more than human beings.

The guides proved treacherous, and brought the Sulṭán into the Kúnchí *ran* or marsh[232] [the *ran* of Kachchh], and his whole army was on the point of perishing for want of water. The author says it was "such a howling desert that no bird ever flapped its wings over it; not a tree was to be seen; not a blade of grass; not even a miserable, noxious weed."

[232] This word is spelt *ran*, but never *riṇ*, because *riṇ* means 'battle,' while *ran* means 'a marsh' or 'marshy ground.'

The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí states, that this *ran* extended from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Guzarát. Abú-l-Faẓl, in his A'ín-i-Akbarí says, that "between Jhálawáṛah [Jhálawáḍ] of the *Sarkár* of Aḥmad-ábád, and the Pattan or City [*i. e.*, Anhal-wáṛah], and Súraṭh [*i. e.*, Saurásḥṭrah] there is a great depression, in length ninety *kuroh*, and in breadth from eight to thirty *kuroh*. This they call *ran* (with short 'a' to 'r,' and the 'n' quiescent)."

When Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabak-Tigín returned from the expedition to Somnáth, towards Manṣúriyah, he was led by his Hindú guide into this *ran*, and on this occasion, according to the Baihakí, one of the Sulṭán's huntsmen killed an enormous serpent,—a python or boa-constrictor—which was skinned, and found to be thirty ells [*gaz*] in length, and four in breadth. The Baihakí adds, "Whoever doubts the correctness of this statement, let him go to the citadel of Ghaznín, and see for himself the skin in question, which is hung up like a canopy." See note 105, page 196.

It is a wonder that Sulṭán Maḥmúd ever ventured to attack this hot-bed of idol-worship; and that he and his army escaped is more wonderful still, because, in a book published at Bombay and in London in 1882, entitled "Tarikh-i-Soraṭh: A History of the Provinces of Soraṭh and Hálár in Káṭhiáwáḍ, by Ranchodji Amarji, Diván of Junágaḍh, and edited by Jas. Burgess, LL. D, F. R. G. S., etc., etc, etc.," who considers it "a genuine native history," and so it is in a Hindú point of view, we are told (p. 111) that, "The hateful Sulṭán Maḥmúd Ghaznavî marched with an army from Ghaznin to Gujarát with the intention of carrying on a religious war. In Saṁvat 1078 (A. D. 1021, A. H. 414) he demolished the temple of Srî Somnáth and returned. This act so provoked the Mahárája Maṇḍalika, who was a protector of his own religion, that he marched with Bhim Deva, the Rája of Gujarát, in pursuit:

> They ran like fawns and leaped like onagers,
> As lightning now, and now outvying wind!

The Muḥammadans did not make a great stand, but fled; many of them were slain by Hindu scymitars and prostrated by Rájput war-clubs, and when the sun of the Rája's fortune culminated Sháh Maḥmúd took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers, of both sexes [sic], *were captured.* Turkish, Afghán, and Moghal female prisoners were, if they happened to be virgins," etc., etc. So much for the "genuine native history." It is strange the valiant Rájah of the Hindús did not make the Sulṭán "take to his heels" *before* he captured the place, and that he did not bring back the four fragments of their stone deity, instead of allowing the Musalmáns to carry them off to Ghaznín, where a fragment was cast before the entrance of the great masjid and the Sulṭán's palace, respectively, to be trodden under foot (and where they might have been seen a little over a century since), and the others sent to Makkah and Madinah.

The season having come round, he returned from Guzarát with recruited forces, and reached the banks of the Sind; but, although he had boats, the breadth of the river was so great, and the opposition of the Sindís so determined, that it was found to be impracticable to cross it.[233] The author states that the Sulṭán was consequently under the necessity of sending a portion of his army up-stream, to cross at Bakhar, a distance of one hundred and twenty *kuroh*, then march down again on the other side, and attack Ṭhaṭhah.[234] When this force had appeared before Ṭhaṭhah, and fighting commenced, the breadth of the river was so great at this point, that, although the fortifications of Ṭhaṭhah were visible from that [the east] side, the land around could not be distinguished, and it could not be discovered whether his troops had been successful or not.[235] In this state of uncertainty, the Sulṭán sent a messenger across, with directions to the leader of the troops to march up-stream again, re-cross at Bakhar, and re-join his camp, he having determined to occupy his position on the east bank, and await the arrival of additional troops from Dihlí. At this juncture, the Sindís besought the Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán, the Sayyid, Jalál-ud-Dín, Ḥusain, son of Aḥmad, Bukhárí, the saint of Uchchh, who was in the Sulṭán's camp, to make overtures on their behalf; and the upshot was that an accommodation took place, the Jám and his brother came and made submis-

[233] Fearing that those first sent across would be annihilated before others could arrive to support them.

[234] The town or city of Ṭhaṭhah had only recently been founded by one of the early Sammah rulers, as mentioned farther on. The name of Ṭhaṭhah, as a city or fortified town, will not be found in any history written previous to the historian of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh's reign—Ẓiyá-ud-Dín, Baraní.

[235] The Sulṭán could not have had any boats with him then, or perhaps they had been sent with the troops which marched upwards to Bakhar, otherwise, with a considerable part of his army on the Ṭhaṭhah side, he might surely have crossed with his army to their support, unless the Sindís with their vessels commanded the river, which is not improbable; for his troops had to march all the way back again by Bakhar to rejoin him. It will be noticed, that, when the Sulṭán returned after the accommodation with the Sindís, he came up the west bank of the river to Síwistán, the modern Sihwán, and from thence to Bakhar where he passed to the east side.

If we take into consideration the state of the river and delta near Ṭhaṭhah now, and, that although that place could be distinguished from the opposite side of the river, the land around could not, we can calculate how broad it must then have been, in the beginning of the cold season, too, after the inundation subsides. The river now, at the height of the inundations attains a breadth of about 1,600 yards—not quite a mile—and at its lowest is about 480 yards broad. A great part of the delta south of Ṭhaṭhah has been formed since these events happened.

sion, and the Sulṭán marched back to Dihlí by Síw-istán, Bakhar, Multán, and Debál-púr, crossing once more, what has been assumed to have been, at that time, a great, waterless desert, on his way to Dihlí.

If there then was such a scarcity of water, and all the rivers between Ajúḍḍhan and the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár had been dried up, he certainly would not have chosen that route on so many different occasions.[236]

Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh died in the ninth month of 790 H. (1388 A. D.). Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd, his grandson, who succeeded his father, Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh in 796 H. (1393-94 A. D.), despatched one of his Amírs, Sárang Khán, to Debál-púr, to gain possession of that fief and also Multán, and to put down Shaikhá, the Khokhar,[237] who was in rebellion. In the eighth month of that same year (796 H.), Sárang Khán proceeded to Debál-púr. * * * In the eleventh month of the same year (just five years before Amír Tímúr appeared upon the same scene), Sárang Khán, having taken along with him Rá'e Dul-Chín, the Bhaṭí chief, (the same who surrendered Bhaṭnír to Amír Tímúr), and Rá'e Dá'úd, and Kamál-ud-Dín, the Ma'in[238] chief, and the forces of Multán and Debál-púr, crossed the Suttladr (Sutlaj) near the town of Tihárah, and afterwards the Bíáh near Duhalí or Dohalí, and entered the territory of Láhor. Shaikhá, the Khokhar, hearing of these movements, having previously mustered his followers, took advantage of

[236] Shams-i-Saráj (as well as others) states, that, "in the hot season, numbers of *gor khar* or wild asses congregate between Debál-púr and Sarastí," where Akbar Bádsháh hunted them in after years, as he also did in the neighbourhood of Ajúḍḍhan.

[237] See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 367 respecting these Khokhars, who are invariably made "*Gickers*," "*Gukkurs*," "*Ghakkars*," "*Gakkhurs*," and the like, by different English writers, unaware of the existence of the great tribe of Khokhar who are Jaṭs, and of the Gakhars, a comparatively small tribe, being a totally distinct race. The Khokhars extend from the northern Panj-áb, where their chief places are Bharah and Khúsh-áb, down into Lár or Lower Sind, Kachchh, and even Káṭhiáwár. They cannot number at present less than 50,000 families, and are probably nearly double that number. Cunningham, who falls into the same error as others respecting them, says, "*Gakar*"—turning them into Gakhars—is most probably *only a simple* [!] *variation of the ethnic title of Sabar or Abári*," but the Khokhars are never even named by him! The Gakhars at this period were of no account whatever, being then a small and weak tribe, dwelling much farther west. They afterwards became somewhat stronger, and finally extended as far east as Gujarát (in the Panj-áb), the farthest point east ever reached by them. This was but for a short period, however, while they never extended farther south than the parallel of the Salt Range, about 32°-20′ N. Lat., while the Khokhars overran nearly the whole of the remainder of what, in after times, was called the Panj-áb, east and south, and even contemplated the seizure of Dihlí and its territory. See also Amír Tímúr's encounter with them on the Bíáh near Multán at page 281.

[238] Also written Mahín.

them, and moved into the neighbourhood of Debál-púr, and invested Ajúḍḍhan; but, on gaining intelligence that Sárang Khán had passed Hindú-paṭ, and had sat down before Láhor, he gave up the investment of Ajúḍḍhan in the night, and made a forced march towards Láhor. Next day, the hostile forces having drawn near each other, came in contact at Sámú-talab, twelve *kuroh* from Láhor, in which Shaikhá was overthrown, and fled towards Jammú.

There is a very important passage contained in the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í, of Yaḥyá, son of Aḥmad, the Sahrindí, whose work embraces events up to the year 852 H. (1448 A. D.). After the departure of Amír Tímúr from Hindústán, little was left to Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh. He says: "In 803 H. (1400-1 A. D.), Tághí Khán, the Turkchí Sulṭání [that is, the Turkish *mamlúk* or slave of a former Sulṭán], who was the son-in-law of Ghálib Khán, the Amír of Samánah, assembled a large force, and moved towards Debál-púr against Khiẓr Khán [afterwards ruler of Dihlí, who had been left by Amír Tímúr in possession of the whole of the Multán province, and the territory dependent on Debál-púr, both of which tracts of country extended eastwards as far as the banks of the Hakṛá or Wahindah].[239] Khiẓr Khán,

[239] This fact, not generally known, or not well understood, has led some to assume that all this central tract, constituting the eastern parts of the Multán *ṣúbah*, the western parts of the Dihlí *ṣúbah*, i. e., the *sarkár* of Hiṣár Fírúzah, and the northern and western parts of the Ajmír *ṣúbah*, was left out altogether by Abú-l-Faẓl. Elliot in his "Memoirs on the Races of the N.-W. Provinces (Vol. II, p. 17)," says: "It will be observed, by referring to the map of Dastúrs, that the Western boundary of Sirkár Hisár Feroza has been extended only to the bed of the War river, which runs not far to the westward of the Ghaggar, the new Parganah of Wattu and Bhaṭṭiáná, being altogether excluded: for this tract, full of sandy plains and Thals, seems to have been little known in the time of Akbar, nor with the exception of Malaud, which was in Múltán, does it appear to be included in any Sirkár of the adjoining *Súbahs*. It is to be observed, that Abu'l Fazl, in mentioning the breadth and length of the several Súbahs, measures from Hisár in the Dehli Súbah, from Ferozpúr in the Múltán Súbah, from the Satlaj in the Lahore Súbah, and from Bíkanir in the Ajmír Súbah. He appears, therefore, with the above exception, *to leave the tract between all these places as neutral ground.*"

All this is entirely erroneous: Abú-l-Faẓl plainly says, and as the printed text will show, that the Dihlí *ṣúbah* extends from Palwal to Lúdhiánah on the banks of the Sutlaj, and from Hiṣár to Khiẓr-ábád; and among the *maḥálls* or districts of the Hiṣár *sarkár* are the districts of Bhaṭnír, Ṭihwánah, Hiṣár Fírúzah, Sirsá, Fatḥ-ábád, Anbálah, Bhaṭindah, Sahrind, Sunám, Samánah, etc., in all twenty-seven districts.

Bhaṭnír and Bhaṭindah extended to the former channel of the Sutlaj, which flowed past Uboh-har, and the Debál-púr *sarkár* of which Uboh-har on the bank of that channel was the frontier town, adjoined the Bhaṭindah district on the other bank. The Debál-púr *sarkár* included the *maḥálls* or districts of Fírúz-púr, and Muḥammad-oṭ (vul. "Mumdot"), which joined the *maḥálls* of the *sarkár* of Sahrind

who was at Debál-púr at the time, advanced into the *khittah* or district of Ajúḍḍhan to meet him; and a battle was fought between them on the 9th of Rajab of that year, near the banks of the Bahindah [بهندة] or Wahindah [وهندة 'b,' and 'w' being interchangable. In this word the و, in *MSS.* is liable to be mistaken for د and ر, and *vice versa*], in which Tághí Khán was overthrown and fled to Uboh-har." Here we have one of the names of the Hakṛá, but, most unfortunately, the writer did not think it necessary to say whether it contained water or not, but, from the manner in which he relates these events, it would appear that it did contain water, or he would have mentioned such an important matter. It is very certain that large bodies of troops could not have moved about in those parts so continually unless there had been sufficient water for them. It is also proved beyond a doubt, that, at this time, the Sutlaj[240] flowed between Uboh-har and Ajúḍḍhan, about sixteen miles from the former, and nearly double that distance from the latter place; while we know, from subsequent events, that the Bíáh still flowed in its old bed.

Nearly five years after the events above related, in Muḥarram, 808 H. (July, 1405 A. D.), Iḳbál Khán, brother of Sárang Khán, chief rival of Khiẓr Khán, in the struggle for power among the feudatories of the Ṭughluḳ dynasty, marched against Samánah, and afterwards moved towards Multán, and arrived at Tal-wandí. From thence he reached the banks of the Wahindah or Bahindah, in the direction of the *khittah* of Ajúḍḍhan (*i. e.*, the district depending on it), and was encountered

in that direction. Indeed, Abú l-Faẓl says that the Láhor *ṣúbah* extended on the south to the frontier of Bikánír.

On the other hand, he describes the *ṣúbah* of Ajmír as extending to the *sarkárs* of Multán and Debál-púr of the Multán *ṣúbah*; and one of the *sarkárs* of Ajmír was that of Bikánír, consisting of eleven *maḥálls* or districts, of which Jasal-mír, Bikam-púr, Birsil-púr, Púgal, Bikánír, and others, adjoined the Debál-púr and Multán *sarkárs* in the other direction; consequently, *every portion is filled up*, and the so-called "*neutral ground*" is as unsubstantial and illusive as the *mirage* which prevails on the borders of these *ṣúbahs*. The error appears to have occurred through not knowing that both *sarkárs* of Debál-púr and Multán extended eastwards to the ancient bed of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and, farther north-east-wards, to the banks if the Sutlaj as it flowed in its old channel. As to its being so little known in the time of Akbar Bádsháh see *ante* note 236, page 273.

[240] This, its last deserted, independent channel, is now known as "the great *ḍanḍah*." The author of the Survey I have been quoting in this paper, says, that, "The people of this part apply the term *ḍanḍah* or *ḍanḍá* to the *south* or left bank of the Sutlaj. See the notice of that river farther on, but, I may observe that ḍanḍah —ڈنڈہ—is differently written from Wahindah—وهندة—or Bahindah—بهندة—referred to in the text above, and must not be confused the one for the other.

by Khizr Khán at the head of a considerable force, defeated, and put to flight; and, in the pursuit, Iḳbál Khán was slain.

This was in the height of the hot season, it must be remembered, and that these two armies were operating against each other in the midst of what could not then have been a sandy, waterless desert, although much must have been uncultivated waste.

In the time of Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, son of the Ráyat-i-'Alá, Khizr Khán,[241] who succeeded his father in 824 H. (1421 A. D.), Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, Shaikhá's son,[242] rebelled. Among some

[241] This was the title assumed by the Sayyid-zádah, Khizr Khán, who never took that of Sulṭán, as he acknowledged the supremacy of the Amír Timúr, and after him, that of his son and successor, Sulṭán Sháh Rukh, Bahádur Khán.

[242] In every translation of these events, Shaikhá, *the father*, has been mistaken for Jasraṭh, *his son* (just as we have in Elliot, for example, Vol. IV, page 54—"rebellion of Jasrath Shaikhá Khokhar"), precisely in the same way that Ḳásim, the father of the conqueror of Sind, has been mistaken for his son, Muḥámmad, merely because the translators did not understand the proper use of the Persian *iẓáfat*, and that an *iẓáfat*, expressed or understood, was required between the names of Jasraṭh and Shaikhá, and between Muḥammad and Ḳásim, thus—Jasraṭh-i-Shaikhá, and Muḥammad-i-Ḳásim—after the idiom of the Persian, instead of writing Muḥammad *bin* Ḳásim, or Muḥammad *ibn* Ḳásim, according to the 'Arabic usage.

Scores of errors on this account occur in translations of the kind referred to, through want of knowledge of the use of the *iẓáfat* of the Persian grammar; for, considering the two names thus following each other like the Christian name and surname of Europeans, such, for example, as James Thomas, or Thomas James, and the like, the translators generally manage to drop the first and retain the second, as in the case of Muḥammad, whose father, Ḳásim, was in his grave long before his son set out for the conquest of Sind; and in the events above related, we have Shaikhá, who had been dead for some years, doing what his son, Jasraṭh performed.

In the same manner, we have Muḥammad-i-Saḅuk-Tigín, written exactly in the same way in Persian *MSS.*, but, as most writers appear to have been aware that Sabuk-Tigín was the father of Maḥmúd, the translators have seldom failed to add "son of," after Maḥmúd's name *when it did not occur* (except in the form of an *iẓáfat*, expressed or understood), *in the original*.

Such errors cannot be too much guarded against, when we find such scholars as Elliot, who must have known all this, falling into the same error, even after writing the names Muḥammad *bin* Ḳásim in his extracts from 'Arab authors; yet, when he comes to Persian and other non-'Arab writers, forgetting what he had written before, he constantly writes the two names as that of *one person*, and sometimes leaves out the first, the actual performer of the action, altogether, and makes the defunct father perform what his son had effected. It may not be amiss to give an example here. Elliot, Vol. I, page 432, has: "Muhammad Kásim, as he is universally styled by the Persians, but by Biláduri [the Balázarí was an 'Arab author], "Muḥammad bin Kásim," and by Abú-l Fidá [another 'Arab or of 'Arab descent who wrote in 'Arabic], "Muhammad bin Al-Kásim;" but, at page 397, he actually writes the word "Md. Kásim," as one would write "Rd. Smith" for Richard

of his acts was the plundering of some of the *parganahs* around Láhor (the Budá'úní, and Firishtah—who copies the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í and other writers almost word for word—say, that he destroyed Láhor, which Sulṭán Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, is said to have rebuilt, after its destruction by the Mughals in the preceding reign), after which he crossed the Biáh, and from it passed the Sutlaz,[243] and plundered the *tal-wandí* of Rá'e Kamál (Kamál-ud-Dín, previously mentioned), the Ma'ín, or Mahín, as it is also written. After this he moved towards Lúdhiánah, and, after that, re-passed the Sutlaz and invested Jálandhar. Sulṭán Maḥmúd Sháh had to move against the Khokhars in person; and in that same year he reached Lúdhiánah, although it was the height of the rainy season. The Sutlaz was, however, so much swollen, and all the boats in Jasraṭh's hands, that the Sulṭán was unable to cross; and Jasraṭh, with his forces, was posted on the opposite bank. Matters went on in this wise for about forty days; and when the waters began to

Smith! At page 488 he quotes Elphinstone thus, showing Elphinstone's terrible mistake at the same time. He says: "Elphinstone observes that, '*Kásim's conquests* were made over to his successor,'" etc., etc., and here again we have the *dead father* making conquests in Sind!

Lieut.-Colonel H. S. Jarrett, in his translation of "*A's Suyúṭís History of the Caliphs*," page 229, note **, after writing, that "*Muḥammad-b-ul-Ḳasim* commanded the army in Sind," immediately under refers to Elphinstone's India, "where will be found a sketch of *Ḳásim's* conquests"—the dead father for the son again.

I could mention scores of other instances in Elliot's "Historians," and in the writings of many others. The famous blunder of turning Tájzíks, Turk slaves, Jats, Sayyids, and others, into "Pathán Dynasties," and their money into "Pathán Coins," arose entirely through reading the names of the ancestors of the Shansabání Tájzík Sulṭáns who ruled in Ghúr, namely, Muḥammad-i-Súrí, or Muḥammad *bin* Súrí—for the names appear in both ways on the same page—as that of *one man*, thus: "*Muhammad Súrí.*" On this, those who knew no better, at once jumped to the conclusion (since there was a Paṭán or Afghán Sulṭán of Dihlí *some centuries after*, styled Sher Sháh, *Sor* or *Soraey*, who belonged to the *Sorí* subdivision of the Lodí tribe, but whose progenitor Sor or Soraey was *not born* at the period that Muḥammad, the Shansabání Tájzík, and his father, Súrí, flourished), that this "Muhammad Súrí" must be one and the same person, and at once turned all the Tájzík rulers of Ghúr into Afgháns likewise. See "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," Appendix B, page VII, and a note farther on.

The Chach Námah contains scores of instances to prove the *iẓáfat*. All the headings have Rá'e Dáhir, *bin* Chach, but when we come to the text we find Dáhir-i-Chach; and Dharsiyah *bin* Chach in the headings, and Dharsiyah-i-Chach in the text. This occurs not only with respect to Chach and his sons, but the names of others are written in a similar manner, just as Muḥammad *bin* Ḳásim and Muḥammad-i-Ḳásim.

[243] This is the way in which the name of the river is written in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, and in other works of that period.

subside, the Sulṭán moved from Lúdhiánah to Kábul-púr, along the river's bank, followed by Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, on the opposite side. On the 11th of Shawwál, the tenth month, the Sulṭán managed to pass the Sutlaz, on which Jasraṭh retired to Jálandhar, and was finally pursued to the Chin-áb. The citadel and town of Láhor was then in ruins, but the Sulṭán had them repaired. This was in 825 H. (1422 A. D.).

At the time of these operations the usual ferry over the river Bíáh was at the *mauẓa'* of Loh-Wál (لوہ وال) or Lohí-wál (لوہي وال) a dependency of Haibat-púr Paṭí or Paṭí Haibat-púr,[244] but the Sutlaj flowed a considerable distance—some eight miles or more—farther south-east.

In this same reign, the fort of Multán, which had become greatly dilapidated through the attacks of the Mughals, was rebuilt from its foundations by Malik Maḥmúd, the feudatory of the district, son of the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Malik Rajab.

We notice from the foregoing, that Debál-púr was a place of great importance for some centuries. Up to the time of Malik, afterwards Sulṭán, Bahlúl, the Lodí, *the first* Afghán or Paṭán who sat on the throne of Dihlí, we hear of his holding the fiefs of Debál-púr, Sunám, and the Fírúzah Ḥiṣár. The first named place would have been useless to him without water; and there is no doubt whatever that the Bíáh, in his time, washed the walls of Debál-púr. It is certain, likewise, that it still did so up to the latter part of Akbar Bádsháh's reign (and down to recent times, as I shall presently show), and, in which reign, Debál-púr still continued to be the chief place of that *sarkár* or division of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and Uboh-har was its frontier town on the east.

[244] This place is a little less than fifteen miles nearly due north from Dharam-Koṭ; fifteen miles and a half west of Nikúdar (the "Nukodur" of the maps, but named after the Mughal *múng* or *hazárah* which once held it, called the Nikúdarí *hazárah*), and six miles south of Haibat-púr of which Loh or Lohí Wál was a dependency. It is also just fifteen miles east of the Paṭan, Ghát, or Ferry of Harí ke, as the river ran in 1860. There happens to be a place about two miles west of Harí ke Paṭan of the present day, called بوہ—Búh, or بوہ پور—Bú-púr, which appears in the maps as "Booh." During the operations against Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, there was a ferry at this place, which lies close to the old right or west bank of the Bíáh, but it was a ferry of the Bíáh only; for the Sutlaj and Bíáh had not then united even temporarily. This Búh or Bú-púr lies about fourteen miles west of the place where the junction of the two rivers took place in the last century, when they lost their respective names altogether, and the united streams became the Haríárí, Mackhúwáh, or Nílí, and, farther south, was known as the Ghallú Ghárah, or Ghárah.

As the first letter of بوہ, when written rather long, may, without a point, be mistaken for ل, as in لوہ and لوہي, some have supposed that لوہ referred to بوہ, and that the junction took place at this last named point, but such was not the case. See farther on.

When Pír Muḥammad-i-Jahán-gír, that is, Pír Muḥammad, son of Mírzá Jahán-gír, son of Amír Tímúr, attacked the reinforcements from Multán sent to the relief of Uchchh which he was investing, he fell upon them at Tamtamah (تمتمه) or Tantanah (تنتنه) on the banks of the Bíáh. Many perished by the sword, and many threw themselves into the Bíáh, and were drowned, and but a remnant of the force sent from Multán under Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, succeeded in reaching that place again.

I have compared three or four good copies of the Ẓafar Námah respecting Amír Tímúr's march from Bannú across the Indus to Multán and Dihlí, which lay through some of the very parts in which these vast changes in the courses of the rivers occurred, and the following is the result, omitting the operations by the way.

Leaving the banks of the Sind, so called in the Ẓafar Námah, and having crossed it at the same place where the Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, plunged in, Amír Tímúr marched to the river which, in that history, is called the Jamad—the Bihat or Jhilam, which flowed towards Uchchh. Proceeding downwards along its banks, he reached the banks of the Chin-áb, Chandrá Bhágá, or Chin-áo, as it is also called, at, or near a fort, opposite to which the Jamad and Chin-áo met,[245] and was astonished at beholding the waves, eddies, and whirlpools caused by the meeting of these two great rivers, or, as they are called in the history, seas. A bridge of boats had to be constructed; and, having passed over,[246] he marched downwards, and encamped on the river [the

[245] See a note farther on.

[246] The Malfúẓát says, that he halted that day and the next to enable the troops, materials, and baggage to cross.

In following Amír Tímúr's movements, the *former channels* of the rivers should be remembered; not traced according to their present courses. See the general map.

From whence these boats were obtained is not said, but, as Shihán-ud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, the Tammímí, Ḥákim of the "*jazírah*," or *do-abah* or *bet*, or territory between two rivers—for the meaning of *jazírah* is not an island only—after his night attack upon the Mughals, who had appeared before Bhárah, his capital (also written Bharah, the "Bherah" of the maps) and his defeat, endeavoured to escape from thence by dropping down the Jamad, Bihat, or Jihlam towards Uchchh, with a fleet of two hundred boats or vessels, which he had collected, and most of which were captured before he had gone very far, it is probable that these captured boats, or a portion of them, furnished the means for constructing this bridge. By the time Shihán-ud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, with the remainder, reached the vicinity of Multán, the Mughals were ready to receive him on both banks to prevent his passing down. He first threw his wife and children overboard, and then took to the water himself, most of his followers who could do so following his example, and escaped to the *jangals* along the banks. Every boat was captured or sunk, the fugitives were pursued into the *jangals*, and many were killed.

Ráwí] opposite Tulamí [*i. e.*, Tulanbah], facing that town. He passed over with his forces, no bridge being mentioned, and pitched his camp in the plain near the fort of Tulamí."

From Amír Tímúr's own *Tuzúk* it also appears, that he crossed the united Bihat or Jihlam, which he calls the Jamad, and the Chin-áo or Chin-áb. He says: "There was a fort there, which was erected near the bank of these rivers [the point where the confluence then took place], and there I encamped, and amused myself in watching the force of the current, and the dashing and surging of the waters, where these two great rivers meet." Having crossed the river, he moved downwards towards Tulanbah, crossed the Ráwí, and moved nearer to that place, which, it is stated, "is thirty-five *kuroh* from Multán." It must be remembered, that, at this time, his grandson, the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, was in possession of Multán. The Amír then crossed what he calls "the Tulambí river," by which he refers, of course, to the Ráwí, and which, as I have before stated, then flowed more to the north of Tulanbah than at present. He subsequently moved towards the Bíáh as stated below.

The historian says, that no Bádsháh had ever before bridged the united rivers Jamad and Chin-áo; for, that, although Ṭaramshírín Khán had crossed the Chin-áo, he did not succeed in throwing a bridge across it. This is the 'Alá-ud-Dín, Ṭaramshírín Khán mention by Ibn Baṭúṭah, who was then ruler of Bukhárá. He was the son of Dowá Khán, and brother of Ḳutlúgh Khwájah, of the family of the Chingiz or Great Khán, who then ruled over Máwará-un-Nahr. Ṭaramshírín Khán invaded India in 729 H. (1328-29 A. D.), having entered it through the territory dependant on Multán; carried his arms to within sight of Dihlí, the ruler thereof, at that time being absent in the Dakhan; passed through Guzerát and Sind; and finally re-crossed the Indus near Multán. What these parts suffered from this raid may be imagined.

The Malfúzát-i-Tímúrí says, that he, Ṭaramshírín Khán, used his utmost endeavours to construct a bridge of boats, but without success, and had to cross his army by means of boats. This was what the people of that part told Amír Tímúr.

The often-quoted "Ferishta" says (*in the original*) that Amír Tímúr "keeping along the banks of the river reached a place where the river of *Jalandar* [sic. he did not copy his authorities correctly here] and the Bíáh join, and there *there were two strong fortresses called Talmaní* (تلمني). He passed the river by a bridge of boats, and encamped in the Talmaní plain [*ṣaḥrá*]. After having destroyed Talmaní, he arrived at the *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáz on the bank of the Bíáh." Here it will be seen what a precious jumble he has made of matters. Again, in the extract from the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í, by the Editor of Elliot's "Historians" after he had written "Tulamba" and "Talamí," a score of times, we have the following: "Intelligence came that Amír Tímúr, King of Khurásán, had attacked Talína, and was staying at Multán." To this "Talína" is a note, saying, "This name is also given in the Tabakát-i Akbarí, and in Badáúní." It never strikes him that "Tulanba" is the place, or that he had previously referred to it.

Amír Tímúr having gained possession of Tulanbah, together with its *ḥiṣár* or fortress,[247] moved from thence, and the next day encamped near a great *chál*, *kol-i-áb*, or lake, near the banks of the Bíáh, and near the *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáz, on or close to which *chál*, the Khokhar chief, Nuṣrat [brother of Shaikhá, previously mentioned] had fortified himself.

This *chál* or lake, so styled, appears to have been what is called in the Panj-áb and Sind, a *ḍhanḍ*. There is one still thereabouts, close to the old bed of the Bíáh, about thirty miles south-east of Multán, but, at the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, it appears to have extended much farther towards the north-east than at present, and was of great extent and considerable depth.[248] Amír Tímúr was in these parts just at the beginning of the year 801 H. (The year began 12th September, 1398 A. D.); for he crossed the Chin-áb on the 2nd of October of that year (1398 A. D.). All the rivers of this part are at their full in August in the present day; and the above shows what changes have taken place. One would scarcely attempt to bridge the united Jihlam and Chin-áb

[247] The town and *fortress* was surrendered on the 1st of Ṣafar, 801 H., without any opposition whatever. There was, in fact, no one able to oppose him.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (p. 224), that Tulamba must have had a remarkably strong fortress, "as Timur left it untouched, because its siege would have delayed his progress," and Briggs's 'Ferishta' is quoted. On the next page he says, "The *old* town was plundered and burnt by Timur, and its inhabitants massacred, but the fortress escaped his fury, partly owing to its own strength and partly to the invader's impatience," etc., etc.

The Malfúẓát-i-Tímúrí says, that the chief people of Tulanbah presented themselves in the Amír's camp before he reached that town, and that the sum of two *lakhs* of *rúpís* had been fixed as an indemnity for sparing the place; and Sayyids and 'Ulamá were exempted from payment. There was no opposition whatever. Provisions being exceedingly scarce, Amír Tímúr wished the people to pay the ransom in corn instead of money, but they refused to do so; and a large body of fresh troops having arrived in the mean time, but, unaware that terms had been concluded, and being distressed for want of food, entered the place and began to help themselves. As soon as intimation was brought to Timúr of these doings, he says: "I gave orders to the *Tawáchís* and *Sazáwals* to expel those troops from the town, and commanded that whatever corn they had plundered or property seized, should be taken as an equivalent for so much of the ransom." I think most troops would have acted in just the same manner. No people were massacred, nor was the place burnt, but some of the refractory inhabitants of the parts around, who, after first submitting of their own accord to his grandson, Pír Muḥammad the previous year, on his march to Multán, and had acted in a rebellious manner after, and massacred some of his men, were punished. A detachment was sent against them, and they were harried, the men killed, and their families and cattle were brought in, and were distributed among the soldiery. Most European generals and their troops would have acted in much the same fashion and punished the "rebels," I expect, in the fourteenth century, as well as in the nineteenth.

[248] See note 192, page 244.

near the point of junction in September even now, or attempt to cross the Ráwí with a large army at such a season by fording in that month. The rainy season, too (and now there is no rainy season hereabouts: the monsoon does not extend its influence so far west; and what may have been the climatic changes since Alexander's time?), just preceding Tímúr's arrival, had been very severe; and it was through its severity that the forces of his grandson, Pír Muḥammad, then in possession of Multán, had lost so many horses, that, when he presented himself in his grandfather's camp at Jinjan on the banks of the Bíáh, his men were mostly mounted on bullocks, and the rest on foot.

Round about this *chál*, *ḍhanḍ*, or lake were bogs and swamps; and these rendered the stronghold of the Khokhar chief very difficult to approach. The *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáz is described, at that period, as a very large village, but I fail to find any traces of it now,[249] but the *chál*, *ḍhanḍ*, or lake, as previously observed, still exists or what remains of it, in the old bed of the Bíáh, six miles and a half north-north-east of Ṭibbah, in Lat. 30° 3′ N. and Long. 71° 45′ E. Up to this point it will be observed, Amír Tímúr kept along or near the right or north bank of the Bíáh.[250] Some of his nobles and their men had crossed the Bíáh in

[249] It was still known, apparently, in the last century, when the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, who proceeded from Hindústán to Kábul on two or three occasions, with despatches from Governor Hastings, to Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul, reached that part. The Sayyid crossed over on one occasion from Uboh-har to Baháwal-púr, and thence to Multán. Setting out from that city to proceed to the Derah of 'Ismá'íl Khán, he says: "My first stage from Multán was five *kuroh* in the direction of N. W. to Khan *Chál*; the second stage was ten *kuroh* in the same direction to the *Dih-i-Sháh Nawáz*, on the banks of the Bíáh; the third stage was ten *kuroh* N. to Sháh-púr; and the fourth another ten *kuroh* N. W. to Tulanbah." This journey was undertaken in H. 1201, which commenced on the 13th of November, 1796, only a few months previous to the time the Sutlaj is said to have "suddenly changed its course." Neither Khan Chál, the Dih of Sháh Nawáz, nor Sháh-púr are now to be found. When the Sutlaj changed its course, the Bíáh also deserted its old bed, and both rivers uniting, lost their respective names, and became the Haríárí and Nílí, upwards, and Gháraḥ lower down, as previously mentioned.

[250] During the revolt of the Mírzá's in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, in the year 980 H. (1572-73 A. D.), news was received at Láhor, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá, accompanied by his youngest brother, Mas'úd Mírzá, having been defeated at Nág-awr (*vul.* Nagore) by the Bádsháh, was making his way across to the Panj-áb territory; that he had crossed the Sutlaj, and was advancing towards Debál-púr, and plundering the country. The Khán-i-Jahán, Ḥusain Ḳulí Beg, the Turk-mán, the feudatory of the *Ṣúbah* of Láhor, with the forces of his province, at once moved against him, and came suddenly upon his camp—he had only about 400 followers along with him—in sight of Tulanbah, just as Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá was returning from hunting (Blochmann, in his printed text of the Akbar Námah, in which names, of places are often incorrect, has "*Paltah*" (پلتة) instead of Tulanbah (تلنبة). A fight ensued, in

pursuit of the Khokhar chief; and the Amír followed, with the rest of the army, to the river's banks, opposite to a place called جنجن—Jinján [or خنجان—Khanján and خنجن—Khanjan, in two other copies of the MS. forty *kuroh*[251] distant from Multán, where the whole of the forces had congregated. He directed that they should commence crossing the same day. This was the 13th of the month Ṣafar. On the 15th (26th October, 1398), Amír Tímúr crossed the Biáh, and his camp was pitched

which his followers were overcome and dispersed, and his brother, Mas'úd Mírzá, was captured. Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá now sought to re-pass the river Biáh, as he feared an attack from Multán, Ḥusain Ḳulí Beg having intimated to Sa'íd Khán, the feudatory of Multán, that the Mírzá had entered his province. As the Mírzá had only a few followers with him, and night had set in, and no boat was procurable, he rested on the river's bank until day should appear. A party of fishermen, styled *jhíls*, and some Balúchís dwelling in that part of the Multán province, fell upon the fugitives in the night, and dangerously wounded the Mírzá in the throat with an arrow, a volley of which they had discharged among the party. He was captured, and taken away to Multán to Sa'íd Khán.

The Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí states, that he halted for the night "in order to cross the Gharah, which is the name of the river *formed by the junction of the Sutlaj with the Biáh*.

Another writer relates this affair somewhat differently, and states, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá halted *on the banks of the Biáh and the Sutlaj* (that is, where the rivers then met again, in the Multán district, after having separated, as subsequently described); that he was set upon and wounded by a low class of Multán peasants styled *jhíls*, and that he took refuge in the dwelling of a *darvesh*, Shaikh Zakaríyá by name, who sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'íd Khán at Multán. This agrees with Abú-l-Faẓl.

Faiẓí, the Sahrindí, says, that the Mírzá wanted to cross *where the Biáh and Sutlaj unite and are known as Ab-i-Gharah*; while the Akbar Námah states, that Ibráhím Ḥusain Mírzá was crossing *the Sutlaj at Gharah* (see farther on. Ghállú-Gharah was then a *maḥáll* of the Multán *sarkár*), *where the Biáh unites with the Sutlaj*, when he was taken prisoner by the fishermen and peasantry.

All this clearly shows that the Biáh still flowed in its old bed, but that the Sutlaj had re-united with the Biáh some miles to the south-west of the *chál*, or *dhanḍ*, or lake near Sháh Nawáz, mentioned in the account of Amír Tímúr's movements, one hundred and eighty years before.

[251] Not "*four kos*"—eight miles—as in Elliot, but *forty*, as above. The "Ẓafar Námah," referring to this *chál-i-áb*, on the banks of which the Khokhar chief had fortified himself, says, that, "this sheet of water was of great expanse, like unto the mind of the pure in spirit, deep, and as the area of the inclination of the most beneficent, broad." The Editor of "Elliot's Historians," in his version of the Ẓafar Námah, contained in that work, turns this part into "*rúd-khána-i'azím*, and, translates it "*a strong river fortress!*" The original is: و آن آبیست عظیم and there is not a word about any "*rúd-khána*," or "*river fortress*."

P. de la Croix, in his "History of Timur-Bec," *surrounds this vast lake with a wall*, behind which "Nusret Coukeri retired with 2000 men," and others copy this nonsense.

near the *karyah* of Jinjan, where he halted for four days and nights.[252] "In the mean time," he says, "in the course of two or three days, the whole army, some by means of boats, and some by swimming [their horses], effected the passage of that rolling river without a single accident."

There is no remark made, either by Amír Tímúr himself or by the historian, as to any difficulty in crossing the Ráwí, but here there was some difficulty experienced. Further, we find the Bíáh still flowing in its old bed, and that it was a "rolling river," and "*was not fordable.*" This fact is conclusive; and I shall presently show, that no Gharah, Gharà, or Haríárí[253] (miscalled Sutlaj, so low down, by English writers) flowed in this neighbourhood at this time, and that such names were unknown in these immediate parts, at the period here referred to.

Leaving Jinján, Amír Tímúr marched one stage to the *karyah* of سهوال—Sihwál, or Sihwal—سهول; and on the 21st from thence made another stage to اصوان—Aṣwán or Aṣúán, where he remained one day. Next day, leaving it, he made another stage to جهوال—Jhawál or جهول—Jhawal.[254] The people of Debál-púr, when the Mírzá, Pír Muḥammad, arrived in those parts, had submitted to him, and had been well treated; but, when they found that, through the mortality among his horses, he had been obliged to leave his camp outside, and retire within the walls of Multán, they, like others in the neighbourhood of that place, rose, and in combination with the Ghuláms of Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, Musáfir,

[252] Timúr's "Malfúẓát" says, respecting his camp at Janjan: "I directed that the whole army, with the war materials and baggage, should cross the river (Bíáh) to Janjan, and that my pavilion should be erected on a small *pushtah* (eminence) just outside the place, at the foot of which there was a pleasant garden. When this had been done, I crossed the river, after which I ascended the little eminence, and from it a verdant plain lay stretched out before me."

[253] Also written Harihárí.

[254] The names of these places vary a little in different *MSS.*, and in different works. Some have Khinján instead of Jinján, 'kh' and 'j' being often changed through the displacement of a point over or under, others Ṣaḥán, and even Saḥák. The second name does not vary so much, and is written Sihwal or Sihwál. The third, likewise, does not vary much, being Aṣwán in most *MSS.*, and Aṣwál in one or two. The last is written Jhawál, Jhawal, and Jawál. The first reading given in the text above is the most trustworthy; but I fail to trace any of these four places.

Rennell, in his "Memoir on the map of Hindoostan," has Jenjian, Schoual, Asouan, and Jehaul respectively (from P. de la Croix's "History of Timur-Bec)," but, since his map was constructed, vast changes have taken place through the alterations in the courses of rivers, especially those of the Ráwí and Bíáh; and these places happened to lie in the very tracks of these vast changes, which altered the whole face of the country, and places which before were in one *do-ábah* were transferred to another. See note 272, page 293.

the Kábulí, who had been sent to Debál-púr as Dároghah, with 1,000 troops, were all massacred by them. On the approach of Amír Tímúr to the aid of his grandson, they abandoned the place with all their belongings, and went off to the *ḥiṣár* of Bhaṭnír.

When Amír Tímúr reached Jhawál or Jhawal he gave orders for the main body of his forces to move by way of Debál-púr, in order that, in the vicinity of Dihlí, at the *mauẓa'* of Samánah, he would re-join it. Then, taking a body of 10,000 cavalry along with him, he turned off towards Ajúḍḍhan; and making a forced march, and going on all night, on the morning of the 24th, at sunrise, reached that place. Many of the principal people of this town had also gone off to Bhaṭnír, and none remained but a few Sayyids and 'Ulamá, who came forth to receive him. They were well treated, and a Dároghah was left with them that they might not be molested by any other troops passing that way. On the morning of the 25th, after offering up prayers and paying his devotions within the domed building where is the tomb and shrine of the Shaikh, Faríd-i-Shakar-Ganj, he set out towards Bhaṭnír. Passing رودنه [Rúdúnah or Rawdúnah],[254] and proceeding ten *kuroh*, he reached Khális

[254] In the Malfúẓát-i-Tímúrí, in "Elliot's Historians," it is said [p. 421], that, "*passing by Rúdanah*, I halted at Khális Kotalí;" but, in the extract from the Tímúr Námah in the same work, the same word or rather letters رودنه, are translated: "From thence he started for Bhatnír, and *crossing the river*, he arrived at Khális-kotalí." This is improved upon in a note to the word 'river,' which is exceedingly amusing to read by one who knows the parts in question. See Vol. III, p. 488 of the above work. If water is here referred to, which I do not think it is, رودنه would be the *plural* of رود—river.

Referring to the confluence of the "Biás and Satlej," in his "Ancient Geography of India," Cunningham, quoting "Abul Fazl," says:—"For the distance of 12 *kos* near Firuzpur the rivers Biáh and Satlej unite, and these again, as they pass on, divide into four streams, the *Húr*, *Harí*, *Dand*, and Núrni," but this turns out to be "Gladwin's translation of the Ayin Akbari." *The* A'ín-i-Akbarí contains nothing of this sort. It says (see also Blochmann's text, page 549): "For about twelve *kuroh* above Fírúz-púr, the Biáh and Sutlaj unite, and after that receive [that is the two united] the names—Harihárí, Dand, and Núrní, and near Multán unite with the other four [rivers of the Panj-áb, before mentioned];" but, in a footnote, Blochmann, who had no local knowledge, divides the word Harihárí, which is so well known, into Har *and* Hárí, as though two words, which it is not. This Gladwin also seems to have done, but there is *not a word* of "these again, as they pass on divide into four streams:" this is all Gladwin's own *if*, in his translation. It is a great pity that translators when they do not understand a passage, should *add words of their own*, because it misleads: better to merely give a literal translation, and say they do not clearly understand it. An example of this pernicious system is given in note 255, below.

Abú-l-Fazl, as it happens, says, that, "between the Biáh and the Sutlaj is a distance of fifty *kuroh*." See also page 296.

Koṭlah where he halted. This place is fifty *kuroh* [one copy says fifty-three] from Bhaṭnír; and three *kuroh* is a standard *farsakh*. At the fort of Khális Koṭlah Amír Tímúr remained until the time of afternoon prayer, then pushed on for the remainder of that day and the whole night, and halted not until he had crossed the *chúl* or desert tract in one stage. When morning approached, his advanced guard surprised the patrol from the side of Bhaṭnír; and, at breakfast time, Amír Tímúr appeared before it.

The historian says, "the fortress of Bhaṭnír is a very strong place, and one of the most notable of Hindústán, much out of the high road, and lying away on the right hand. Round about it is *chúl* (waste)[255];

The word as it appears in the different *MSS.* of the Ẓafar-Námáh available—and I have used five copies—are as in the text above, with the exception of one copy which has رودونه, with a ر inserted over, showing, that, in copying the *MSS.*, a letter had been left out. If we suppose that these letters form two words, and that they might form رود - i - ونه, or even that the latter might be دنه, with '*d*' instead of '*w*'; still, that water or a river is *not* referred to, is evident from the fact, that, throughout the Ẓafar-Námah, when the crossing of a river or water is referred to, the verb used is عبور کردن, 'to cross from one side to another,' while here we have گذشتن, 'to pass by,' etc. Moreover, when rivers are referred to, they are called *áb*, as 'Áb-i-Ċhin-áo,' 'Áb-i-Tulanbah,' etc., and the Bíáh is styled '*áb*' and '*daryá*.' Further, if the plural form of رود—*rúd*—'river' was meant, we should have رودها—*rúdahah*, not رودونه—*rúdúnah*. From this it is quite clear to me, that the word in question refers to a place, not to rivers or river beds, although, *at the present time*, some small river channels do intervene between Ajúḍḍhan, on the *north side*. There is the dry bed of a small river which is known as the Ḍandí (the diminutive form of Ḍanḍah, probably); but, what is here referred to—رودونه—is *south-east* of Ajúḍḍhan, and between it and Khális Kotlah. This so called Ḍandí may possibly refer to what is left of the channel of the minor of the three branches into which the Haríárí, or Nílí separated, after the Bíáh and Sutlaj, farther north, had united, again to separate, but this junction took place *after* the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion; and, moreover, he had passed *south-east* of Ajúḍḍhan towards Khális Koṭlah before رودونه was *passed*, not *crossed*. It is quite certain that the great Ḍanḍah, or high bank of the last independent channel of the Sutlaj, is not meant in the text above; for, instead of being situated between Ajúḍḍhan and Khális Koṭlah, and *west* of the latter place, the great Ḍanḍah is fourteen miles *east* of it, and further more, at the period in question, the Sutlaj, in its inclination westwards, had not yet made that new channel for itself, and still flowed in that by Uboh-har.

[255] In the extract given by the Editor from his own translation from the Ẓafar Námah in "Elliot's Historians," we have the following:—"It is situated far out of the road on the right hand, and is surrounded by *the desert of Chol*." Here he has mistaken the Persian word *chúl*—a wilderness, uncultivated waste, and unpopulated tract, or containing very few inhabitants, but not necessarily *a desert*—for a proper name! The Editor continues: "For fifty or a hundred *kos* there is no water." This sentence is misleading and incorrect, and will not be found in any copy of the

and the inhabitants of the place obtain water from a *kol-i-áb* or lake, which is filled in the rainy season. It was said that no foreign army had ever reached it; and, on this account, the rebels who had fled from Debál-púr and Ajúḍḍhan, and other places, had assembled there. Such a number had reached it, that there was not room for them within; consequently, there were many people, and a vast number of animals and loads of property, left outside. This place, and the territory around, was held by Ráo Dúl-chín,[256] who collected revenue from those parts, and from all who passed that way, either merchants or travellers; and *karwáns* of traders were not safe from his exactions." Suffice it to say, that the place was nearly carried when the defenders called for quarter, and next day Ráo Dúl-chín came out. After this, however, the people again rose, closed the gates, were again attacked; and when Tímúr's troops had gained the walls, they again sued for quarter, which was once more granted. The fugitives from Debál-púr and Ajúḍḍhan, and other places, having however gained an entrance, in conjunction with the Bhaṭís, again broke out, and closed the gates. This, as might be expected, raised the ire of Tímúr; and the place was stormed and captured. Many of the defenders burnt themselves, along with their women, and other belongings. Of the Debál-púr fugitives who had been concerned in the massacre of Musáfir, the Kábulí, and his force of 1,000 men, 500 were put to death, and their families made slaves, and the remainder spared, but the defences of the fort and town of Bhaṭnír were levelled with the dust.[257]

Ẓafar Námah, nor is such a word as *kos* to be found throughout the whole work. Compare also pp. 421 and 422 of Elliot's work.

[256] The name is written Dúl-chín, and those who copy from the Ẓafar Námah alter it into Khúl-chín, but, in Elliot, it is made "Khal-chín" of.

[257] All these matters are set down against Tímúr by history compilers to make him out a monster, but they leave out what caused him to act with stern severity. Here persistent treachery, after being twice forgiven, is shown. I wonder whether in the present enlightened days Skobeloff and Komaroff, and other "divine figures from the north" or west would have acted differently? or even if, during the late Afghán campaign the Afghán "rebels" would not have been served much after the same fashion, if they had acted in the same manner after once surrendering? It would have been very strange if they had not. And yet one writer sets down what he supposes to be "Abu'l Fazls *little knowledge* of Bhaṭṭiána," which knowledge is, however, very great, as the A'ín-i-Akbarí shows, to "the depopulation caused by 'the firebrand of the universe,' Tímúr." The Chingiz Khán put more people to death *after surrendering*, at Bukhárá and Samr-kand alone, than fell in all the wars in which Tímúr engaged during his whole lifetime; and yet some, unacquainted with these historical facts, sing the praises of the "*great* Jangez," without knowing even how to spell his name correctly, and exclaim against "the *ruthless tyrant* and barbarian, Taimur." Such writers would do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly

Having disposed of this affair, on the 3rd of the month Rabí'-ul Awwal, Amír Tímúr with his force marched fourteen *kuroh* to a place styled the Ḥauẓ-i-Áb—The Reservoir of Water—and on the following day reached and passed the fort of Fírúzah [in one copy Fírúzkoh—the "Ferozabad" of the maps, not the Ḥiṣár Fírúzah] and reached the town of Sarastí[258] now Sirsá ["Sirsuh" of the maps], on the Ghag-ghar. It was deserted by its inhabitants on his approach. Halting a day there, his next stage of eighteen *kuroh* took him to near the fort of Fatḥ-ábád [the "Futtehabad" of the maps]. On the 7th, having passed by the fort of Rajab-púr [رجب پور][259] he reached the fort of Ahroní, which, showing hostility, was sacked and destroyed, and nothing left to mark it but some heaps of ruins. He moved again on the 8th, and brought up in the open plain near the *karyah* of Ṭihwánah [turned into "Tohanuh" in our maps]. There he came into contact with "a large and powerful tribe called Ját́n [Jaṭs] who, for a long period of time, had acquired sway over that part, plundered on the high roads, and way laid *karwáns* and massacred their people, especially if Musalmáns.[260] Some of these had taken shelter among the hills [low, rocky hills] and *jangals*, the last consisting chiefly of sugar-canes.[261] A party sent against them

digest the account of the "Invasion of Islám by the Mughals" in the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," and then they would know more about these matters. Those who would write history should be strictly just and impartial, and also know something of it from the originals, and not from translations only. See Elliot's "Races of the North-West Provinces of India," Vol. II, pp. 17–19.

258 Sarastí is the old name of Sirsá: Sursutí, not Sarsutí, is the name of a river, the ancient Saraswatí, described farther on.

259 This place is called "Rajabpúr," in the extract from the "Malfúẓát," in Elliot's work; and a few pages farther on, in his extract from the "Ẓafar Námah," it is "Rajabnúr." There is very little doubt that the place called "Ryepoor" in the maps, eleven miles and a half to the north-east of Fatḥ-ábád, is the place referred to, and which lies on the route from Fatḥ-ábád to Ahroní, the "Arnaunee" of the maps.

260 See Ibn Baṭúṭah, page 263.

261 This tract appears to have been notable for the cultivation of sugarcane from early times. Sulṭán Mas'úd, son of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, having entered Hind for the purpose of crushing the rebellion of his governor of the province east of the Indus, Aḥmad-i-Níál-Tigín, in 426 H. (1034–35 A. D.), marched against the fortress of Sarastí [now Sirsá], said to have been, at that time, one of the most celebrated strongholds of Hind. It had been invested by his father, Sulṭán Maḥmúd, but he did not succeed in taking it. After having been before it some days, the ruler of that part and stronghold, finding he could not cope with the Musalmán forces, despatched an agent to Sulṭán Mas'úd, offering to pay down a very large sum, and to afterwards pay a certain yearly amount as tribute. These offers were accepted, and hostilities were suspended. This Rájah, however, in order to raise the sum to be paid at once, seized on a number of Musalmán merchants and traders, who happened

slew about 200, and returned with a number of captives, and many head of cattle. On the 9th of the month, Amír Tímúr started from Ṭihwánah, and the families and followers, heavy materials, and booty, were sent off towards Samánah under the Amír, Sulímán Sháh; and he, having that same day, passed the Ḳala' of Múng [Múng Álá—turned into "Mooruk" in our maps] halted. Amír Tímúr, in the mean time, made a forced march in order to beat up the quarters of those Jaṭs who had concealed themselves in the *jangals* in the neighbourhood of Ṭihwánah. Some 2,000 of them were put to the sword the same day, and many captives, and much cattle, were taken. In the part entered there was a village

to be in the place when the investment commenced, and were unable to get away, and sought to extort this money from them. The merchants managed to acquaint Sulṭán Mas'úd with their helpless state and the Rájah's tyranny; and also informed him of the weakness of the Hindús and their inability to oppose him, and stating, that, if he remained before the place for five or six days more, the enemy would have to come out and surrender at discretion. The Sulṭán was not inclined to wait; and when he became acquainted with the Rájah's tyranny, he resolved to attack the fortress at once. The country round was remarkable for the extensive growth of sugar-cane; so "*he directed that they should fill the ditch with sugar-cane,*" and assault the place. This was done, and the stronghold of Sarastí was stormed and captured.

The drowning of Aḥmad-i-Níál-Tigín—not "Binál-Tagín," as some have written the name—near Manṣúriyah on the Mihrán of Sind, has been already recorded. See note 105, on Bahman-no, page 196.

In the following year Sulṭán Mas'úd captured Hánsí, after which he moved against the fort of Soní-pat, belonging to Deobál or Debál of Haríánah, as he is called. Several other strongholds are said to have fallen into the hands of the Sulṭán during this expedition, which had never been assailed by the Musalmáns before. His father had despatched an army against one of these, the name of which is written Narsí—نرسي in three *MSS.* and ترسي—Tarsí in one—but was stopped on hearing of that Sulṭán's decease. Sulṭán Mas'úd attacked and captured it. He subsequently, just before his return towards Ghaznín, compelled the ruler of another part, whose name was Rám, to submit to his supremacy.

Ibn Aṣír, the Shámí, has a wonderful account of the capture of this place—Narsí—which, he says, is related by "the most trustworthy chroniclers." Among other wonders, "the city was," he asserts, "a day's" journey in length"; that it took the whole army of 100,000 horse," a night and a day to sack the *bázár* of the 'aṭṭárs and jewellers; that no other part of the city was molested"; and that, "in that *bázár* alone, such a vast amount of gold, silver, and jewels fell into the hands of the captors, that it was found impossible to compute it, and therefore the shares among the soldiery had to be dealt out by measure"!

It is strange, with his "trustworthy chroniclers" not named, that the only two chroniclers who were contemporary with Sulṭán Mas'úd, and were in the government employ, Abú-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaḳí, who was his biographer, so to say, and the Gardaizí, should not mention anything of this wondrous place and its booty; while Ibn Aṣír should have it at his fingers ends, who wrote more than a century and a half after—about thirty years before the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí" was finished—and who was never in Hind or near it in his life.

inhabited by Sayyids, who were well treated, and a Dároghah was left to protect them from molestation. On the 10th, Amír Sulímán Sháh who with the families, etc., was in the neighbourhood of Múng, moved again nearer towards the city of Samánah, and remained there that night. On the 11th he again moved and reached the banks of the Ghag-ghar; and Amír Tímúr, who had set out from Ṭihwánah to punish the Jaṭs, joined Amír Sulímán Sháh on the banks of that river near to Samánah.[262] Having halted there some days to rest the forces and arrange matters, Amír Tímúr again moved on the 15th, and reached the vicinity of the bridge of Kopilah [or Gopilah—گوپلاه] over the Ghag-ghar as it then flowed. There, the Amírs who had been despatched from the grassy plain—the *Jal-gáh*—of Dúrín[263] at Kábul on particular services [which, unfortunately, are not mentioned], who had reduced all the places met with on their way, this day effected a junction with the rest of the army. The march was resumed on the 16th; the bridge crossed; and, in a verdant plain beyond it, a great camp was pitched. The troops despatched from the banks of the Bíáh by way of Debál-púr, here likewise rejoined. On the 17th the whole army moved from the camp near the bridge of Kopilah, and marching a distance of five *kuroh*, reached the bridge of Bakrán or Bagrán [بکران] over the river Sursutí. On the 19th of the month the army marched from thence and reached the *karyah* of Kaithal, which is distant from Samánah seventeen *kuroh*, which is equal to five standard *farsakhs* and two *mil*." Here the army of Amír Tímúr was marshalled in order of battle preparatory to advancing upon Dihlí; and here I shall leave him, after merely giving what the historian of his campaign afterwards says, and in his own exact words, respecting the different rivers of the territory now known (correctly) as "the territory of the Panj-áb."

He says: "The river flowing through the city of Nagar [Srí-Nagar, which he writes with gh—نغر], they call Áb-i-Dandánah, and Áb-i-Jamad. Above Multán it unites with the Chin-áo, and both having passed Multán, unite with the Ráwah, which passes on *the other side* of that place,[264] and approach each other. After that, the Áb-i-Bíáh reaches them, and all these, near to Uchchh, unite with the Áb-i-Sind, and the whole are then known as Áb-i-Sind, which, on the skirt of the territory of Tatah [Ṭhaṭhah], unites with the *'ummán* or ocean."

According to the tradition current among the people of this part, at the time of my Survey record, Amír Tímúr is said to have crossed

262 That river ran under its walls up to the close of the last century.

263 See my "Notes on Afghánistán," page 689, and compare Elliot here. In the latter's work the Ghag-ghar is always turned into "*Khagar*."

264 I shall refer to the fact noticed here, farther on.

the Chín-áb, that is the Bihat or Jihlam[265] and the Chin-áb united, two *kuroh* south of the *Ḳaṣbah* of Neko-kárí, now shortened to Ko-kárí,[266] near where the hamlet known as Jaso ke stood, but which has now disappeared. The ferry over it, which appears now to have been abandoned, was known as the Jaso ke Fatan; and there was another at Neko-kárí above, likewise, called the Neko-kárí or Ko-kárí Paṭan, the routes from which ferries led by Shor Koṭ to Tulanbah. The crossing place was, certainly, not far off, but it was nearer four *kuroh* than two south of Neko-kárí.

Thus we find from the foregoing, that, at the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion of Hind, the Jihlam and Chin-áb united not far from Shor, or Shor-Ḳot, which is an ancient site, and was inhabited by Langáh Jaṭs. It was, in the time of Akbar Bádsháh, a considerable town, the chief place of the *maḥáll* of that name, and where the Dároghah was located. It had been in ancient times a large and important walled-town, but it has been in a state of desolation for a long period of time. When I last saw it in 1850, the mound on which the old place stood, was covered with extensive ruins, and surrounded with the remains of a wall of burnt bricks; and it was of sufficient elevation to be prominently seen for several miles round about. I believe it to be the site of the very fortress near, or in the fork between the confluence of the two rivers, more particularly since there is no trace of any other old fortress in the neighbourhood near where the confluence of the two rivers anciently took place. Shor, I may mention, means 'noise,' 'tumult,' 'agitation' or 'commotion of water,' etc., but that is a Persian or Tájzík word, and we might expect to find it called by a Hindí name.[267] I merely mention the coincidence.

[265] Both the historian, it must be remembered, and Amír Tímur, himself, always call the Wihat or Bihat or Jihlam river, the *Jamad*.

[266] This *Ḳaṣbah*, which appears in our maps as "*Nee Kokaruh*," and "*Neeko-karah*," no two maps being alike, at the time of the Survey referred to above, was peopled by Sayyids; and in a grove of trees, a little to the south-east thereof, is the grave of the Sayyid, 'Abd-ullah-i-Jahánián, of the Uchchh family of Bukhárá Sayyids, apparently; and he is held in such veneration that they would not even use the dead wood of the trees for fire-wood. The defunct was a man of such great *neko-kárí*—that is, benevolence and goodness—that the place was named, after him, the *ḳaṣbah* of the Neko-kárí, but which, through constant use became shortened to Ko-kárí.

[267] Unless, as is not improbable, the fact of these parts having been under Muḥammadan rulers, who used the Tájzík language, certainly for four centuries before the appearance of Amír Tímúr in this neighbourhood, if not from the occupation of Multán by the 'Arabs, seven centuries before his time, was the cause of the Hindí name (if it ever had one: the additional "Koṭ" is comparatively modern) being discontinued. One of the descendants of the 'Arab tribe of Ṭammím was still

The old bed of the Chin-áb, or rather the most prominent, and probably most recent, of its former channels, can still be distinctly traced within three miles of Shor-Koṭ on the east and south to this day. At the period in question, and for sometime after, Shor-Koṭ was in the Chin-hath Do-ábah,[263] as shown from the movements of the Mughal raiders, who yearly entered these parts up to the year 834 H. (1430-31 A. D.); but, subsequently, on the Chin-áb inclining farther towards the west, like the other three rivers east of it continued to do, it was shut out of that *do-ábah* and transferred to the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, in which it still continues, and lies some six miles east of the left or east bank of the united Chin-áb and Bihat or Jihlam. These two rivers, at the time of Amír Tímúr's invasion, had, for some time, separated from the Ráwí and Biáh,[264] and flowed on the west side of Multán, while the two latter still passed on the east as heretofore. More respecting them, and the great flood which devastated the whole northern Panj-áb territory, between the Chin-áb and the Sutlaj, anterior to the arrival of Tímúr in these parts, and the probable changes caused thereby, will be found in the account of the rivers farther on.

Then as to the rivers farther east, let us take into consideration that Amír Tímúr's forces, including followers, could not have been less than 80,000 or 100,000 persons, and as many horses; and, that while he crossed from Ajúḍḍhan to Bhaṭnír with 10,000, the more numerous portion, with the followers, baggage, and heavy materials of the army, crossed direct from Debál-púr to Múng Álá, and all re-assembled on the banks of the Ghag-ghar near Samánah. In doing this they must have crossed the beds of all the rivers but one tributary to the Hakrá or Wahindah, including the old channels of the Sutlaj, whether they contained water or were dry; and it is strange, that, although Amír Tímúr must also have crossed the channel of the Sutlaj, whether it

in possession of territory on the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb when Amír Tímúr crossed the Indus. See note 246, page 279, and a note farther on.

There is an old saying, that, "Shor is notorious for tumults, as Chandaní-oṭ is for the quarrelsome proclivities of its inhabitants."

Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," "identifies" Shor Koṭ as "one of the towns of the Malli." and with "the town of *Po-lo-fa* visited by Hwen Thsang;" and supposes the tradition current in the neighbourhood of its destruction by "some king from the westward about 1300 years ago," to be the "White Huns." We need not go quite so far back, and may leave the "White Huns" and "Hwen Thsang" for what they are worth.

[263] Like the names of towns and villages, this *do-abah* appears in our maps under the incorrect names of "*Jech Doab*" and "*Jech Dooab*," and, certainly without the meaning of the word being understood, or how written in the original. See note 277, page 296.

[264] See page 291 and note 265.

contained water or not, between Ajúḍḍhan and Kháliṣ Koṭlah, the Ghag-ghar is the only river mentioned by name between the Bíáh and Samánah. At the same time, although a *chúl* or waste tract is mentioned between Kháliṣ Koṭlah and Bhaṭnír, there is no mention of other *chúls*, neither is there the least allusion to any scarcity of water, and of which such large bodies of troops and animals must have required a considerable quantity. I have estimated the number of Amír Tímúr's forces at a low figure, and have reason to suppose that they were much more numerous; for it cannot be supposed that he would have invaded Hindústán, intent on reaching Dihlí, at the head of a smaller number. In recent times, say in the last century, it would have been a dangerous experiment, if not an impossible matter, to take such a numerous army in two bodies by these routes.[271] While there is no mention on the part of the historian that the beds of these rivers were passed, or that any rivers had dried up, or were running, at the time—a matter much to be regretted—but as no scarcity is mentioned, and the halting places were merely the ordinary ones, and not specially chosen, we must conclude that there was water in the beds of some of these rivers (including the Hakṛá), but not sufficiently deep as to require remark in crossing them.

Let us now see what the A'ín-i-Akbarí says respecting the Áb-i-Sind and other rivers, and the Do-ábahs and *Ṣúbahs* of the Panj-áb territory and parts adjoining it on the east, after which I will give some extracts from the Survey made of these parts about a century since, to which I have before alluded.

"The *Ṣúbah* of Láhor," he says, "extends from the Sutlaj [not the Ghárah or Harihárí, but higher up: above the present junction of the Bíáh and Sutlaj] to the Áb-i-Sind, a distance of one hundred and eighty *kuroh* in length, and from Bhimbar to Chaukhandí,[272] a dependency of Sat Gaṛh,

[271] The Sayyid, 'Abd-ullah Sháh, who, with only a small following, when he was despatched to Kábul in 1780-81 by Governor Hastings, found the route from Bikánír by Phúgal and Moj Gaṛh to U'chchh, sufficiently difficult. He lost a son, and a number of his people, between Bikánír and U'chch. The Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone also passed by the same halting places on his way to Kábul, but he went to Baháwal-púr from Moj Gaṛh.

I hope shortly to give the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad's account of his father' mission and his own to Kábul in his own words. See note 249, page 282.

[272] Chaukhandí was a *maḥáll* of the Rachin-áb Do-ábah of the Multán *sarkár* of the Multán *ṣúbah*, and belonged to the Khar'l Jaṭs. It is now an insignificant place, and at this time is in the Bárí Do-ábah, showing how places have been changed from one *do-ábah* to another, fourteen miles E. N. E. of the town of Huṛappah, and about a mile from the south or left bank of one of the old channels of the Ráwí, three miles and a half from the high bank farther south-east. It appears in the maps as "Chowkundee." Sath Gaṛh, under the name of "Sutgurrah," and "Shutgurrah,"

eighty-six *kuroh* in breadth. Six rivers run through it, all coming from the Koh-i-Shamálí. 1. *Sutlaj*, the old name of which is Shutlaj [but شتدر in the printed text. See note 205, page 259], the spring-head being at Káhlúr. Lúdhiánah, Rú-par, and Máchhí Wárah are on its banks. At the *Guzar* or ferry of Loh [لوه][275] it unites with the Biáh. 2. *Bídh*, the old name of which is Bipásha [بپاشا], rises at Biáh Kund, near the Koh-i-Galú [گلو]. Sultán-púr is near this great river. [It now lies eight miles west of it, and three miles north of Loh or Loh-Wál]. 3. *Rávi*, the old name of which is Irávatí [ايراوتي]. It issues from the Koh i-Bhadrál [بدرال, or بهدرا], and the Dár-ul-Mulk of Láhor is on its banks. 4. *Chin-áb*, the old name is Chandar-Bhágá [چندر بهگا]. Two rivers rise on the slopes of the Koh-i-Khatwár [in some, Khishtwár], one the Chandar, the other the Bhágá, and having united near Khatwár, the names become changed to Chandar-Bhágá. It [the united rivers] passes by Bahlúl-púr, Súdharah, and Hazárah.[274] 5. *Bihat* [بهت], the old name of which is Bidastá [بدستا]. Its source is a *ḥauz* or small lake in the *parganah* of Wir in Kash-mír. It flows through Srí-Nagar, and Bhirah[275] is situated on its bank. 6. *Sind*. This river is said to rise between Kash-mír and Káshghar, some say in Khitá. It passes by the confines of Suwad [or Suwat], Aṭak Banáras, and Chau-párah to the Balúchistán.[276]

is about thirty miles north-east of Chaukhandí, and between two and three miles from the south of left bank of the Rávi, near which Chaukhandí lies, and thirteen miles to the eastward of Fatḥ-púr Ghugherah, "Fattehpoor Googaira," of the maps. Hereabouts, the valley of the Rávi is some thirty-four miles broad, cut up with several channels, showing the great changes the river has made at different periods. Khat-púr, the chief place of a *maḥáll*, mentioned in the Mughal raids, and the place, where, at one period, the Rávi used to be forded, was the northernmost part of the Multán *súbah*, and is repeatedly mentioned in history, but that seems to have dis appeared.

Sath Garh is the place to which Mr. M. L. Dames's (See the "*Journal*" for 1881) "mighty Chákar Rind," a petty Balúch chief, retired, when he had to leave the Balúch country. He did not "*found*" any "*kingdom with its capital Sevi (Sibi)*," and did not "*wage war with Human Chughutta*," as Humáyún Bádsháh has been styled by him. More respecting Chákar, the Rind, will be found farther on. See also my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc. page 347.

[275] See ante page 278 and note 244.

[274] Or Takht-i-Hazárah on the west bank of the Chin-áo, 8½ miles N. N. W. of Jalál-púr, and 34 miles below Rám-Nagar, in the Chin-hath *do-ábah* of Láhor *súbah*, with a fort of burnt brick, belonging then to the Khokhars.

[275] Also written Bhírah (بهيره) in some copies of the A'ín. This is the fortress of the Tammímí, Shihábud-Dín, Mubárak Sháh, which Amír Timúr captured, but he calls it Báhrah, as does his descendant, Bábar, who took possession of it before he succeeded in his designs upon Hindústán. See note 246, page 279.

[276] The present age may be called the "Age of Gazetteers," but, unfortunately,

"The Bádsháh named the part between the Sutlaj and the Bíáh, Bist-Jálandhar; that between the Bíáh and the Ráwí, the Bárí [*not* between the Harihárí, Núrní, or *Ghárá*, and the Ráwí, it will be observed. This is important, because, even now it is considered to extend from the dried up Bíáh to the Ráwí]; that between the Ráwí and Chin-áb, Rachin-áo or Rachin-áb; that between the Chin-áb and Bihat, Chin-

many of them contain much arrant nonsense, old statements re-dished up, and the stories of Dow and Briggs renovated. There is a compilation issued from the "Intelligence Branch of the Quarter-Master General's Department" in India, called the "Pe'shín Gazetteer," which is called Part III of a "confidential" Gazetteer of Afghanistan, "*intended for Political and Military reference.*"

"*Péshín*" means '*anterior*,' '*antique*,' and also '*the afternoon*,' but the tract of country which the compilation in question is intended to give information upon chiefly, is that part of the southern Afghánistán called Púshang (which 'Arab writers called Fúshanj, according to their system of writing old Tájzik words), through which part we are carrying a Railway (a good part of which, from a recent "Report" has been found useless), and call it in public documents "*Baluchistan*," because it is in the Afghánistán.

I will give a specimen of the historical information contained in this "Antique" or "Afternoon" Gazetteer, suggested by the above statement of Abú-i-Fazl. It says:—"*The Baluch tribes to the west* [the Balúchistán is referred to], *being the inhabitants best known to Nádir Sháh, that monarch bestowed their name on the country, which properly should be styled Bráhúístán, if supremacy and numbers are of any weight.*" I venture to say that there is no authority for stating that Nádir Sháh gave name to the Balúchistán, which was known by that name centuries before his time.

It will be seen from what Abú-l-Fazl states, that it was the well known name of their country, ages before Nádir Sháh's time, and also before the Bráhúís were known to history. Of course, it is not to be supposed that the above was intended to mislead, but it is misleading nevertheless. It is the outcome of persons writing on subjects respecting which they have no special knowledge, and copying the incorrect statements of others, upon which they have to depend.

The compiler of the "*Péshín*" Gazetteer, however, is not the only one: there is a "pamphlet"—written for some political purpose apparently, entitled "Our Western Frontier," London, 1887—containing much after the same fashion, by Mr. C E. Biddulph, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service. At page 8 he assures us that "*the terms Afghanistan and Beloochistan, are arbitrary and fictitious;*" that "*they are terms we have adopted from motives of convenience;*" that "*the region called by us Baloochistan* (p. 13)," is a "*term invented by us* (p. 15);" and that, "*the term Afghanistan is one of European invention* (p. 16)."

It is very evident that the writer is unacquainted with Abú-l-Fazl, much less with older writers by five or six centuries. When a person sets himself up as a teacher of others respecting the geography, history, and ethnography of a country, he ought, at least, to know something of its past history. The author of the pamphlet in question will find considerable information on this head from the Muhammadan writers in the Fifth Section of my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN AND PART OF BALÚCHISTÁN."

hath ;[277] and that between the Bihat and the Sind, Sind-Ságar.[278] The distance from the Sutlaj to the Bíáh is fifty *kuroh;* from the Bíáh to the Ráwí, seventeen; from the Ráwí to the Chin-áb, thirty; from the Chin-áb to the Bihat, twenty; and from the Bihat to the Sind, sixty-eight *kuroh.*"

"The Multán *Ṣúbah,*" he says, "before the territory of Ṭhaṭhah [that is middle and lower Sind—Síw-istán or Wicholo, and Ṭhaṭhah or Lár, making five *Sarkárs*] was included, extended from Fírúz-púr to Síw-istán [that is, their boundaries: not to those particular places], a distance of four hundred and three *kuroh,* and adjoins the *Sarkár* of Sahrind on the east; Shor on the north; the *Ṣúbah* of Ajmír on the south ;[279] and Kích and Mukrán on the west.[280]

"The Bihat unites with the Chin-áb near the *parganah* of Shor,[281] then running for a distance of twenty-seven *kuroh,* near Ẓafar-púr,[282] they unite with the Ráwí, and all three become one river. Sixty *kuroh* lower down, near Uchchh, they enter the Sind. For about twelve *kuroh* above, to near Fírúz-púr, the Bíáh and Sutlaj unite, and after that lose their names, and are styled Harihárí [هرهاري],[283] Ḍand [ڈنڈ],[284] and Núrní [نورني]. Near Multán, having united with the other four [rivers], they flow together.[285] Every river that enters the Sind [river] acquires the name Sind."

[277] Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," page 154, says: "The names of the Doâbs [Do-ábahs?] were invented by Akbar, by combining the names of the including rivers. Thus, *Chaj* is an abbreviation of Chenâb and Jhelam; *Richna* of Râvi and Chenâb; and *Bâri* of Biâs [there is no river so called except by Europeans] and Ravi." What Akbar Bádsháh called them may be seen from Abú-l-Faẓl's statement above. There is no such *do-ábah* as "*Chaj.*" This is a mere mistake for Chin-hath. This name is obtained, as mentioned in the Survey I have before alluded to, from 'ch' and 'n,' the first two consonants in Chin-áb, and 'h,' and 't,' the two last consonants of Wihat or Bihat (also called the Jhilam)—Chin-hat, to which compound word a final 'h' is sometimes added, making it Chin-hath, as above described. The name Bist-Jhálandar is obtained in the same manner from 'b' and 'í' of Bíáh, and 's' and 't' of Sutlaj. In Blochmann's printed text of the A'ín-i-Akbarí, the 's' has been left out.

[278] Abú-l-Faẓl gives his master rather more credit here than he is entitled to. Sind-Ságar is as old as the time of Ibn Khurdád-bih and the Mas'údí. See page 210.

[279] See note 239, page 274.

[280] After Ṭhaṭhah and its dependencies were included therein. See A'ín.

[281] Shor, at present, is some twenty-five miles below the place of junction. See page 291, and note 267, and also a note on this subject farther on.

[282] This place is not now known. The junction must have been a few miles lower down than the present place of meeting.

[283] Also written Haríárí [هرياري].

[284] Or Ḍandah as it is sometimes written. See also note 240, page 275.

[285] I have given his words literally here. See note 239, page 274, and note 254, page 285.

It will be noticed that Abú-l-Faẓl mentions, that, after this junction of the Biáh and Sutlaj, the newly united river is known by these three different names above-mentioned, and that they unite for twelve *kuroh* only. He says not one word such as can be construed, by the greatest stretch of the imagination, into *three* rivers, much less *four*. It will also be observed here that he mentions in rotation where the other four rivers, unite, but that he leaves out the name of the place of junction of the Harihárí, Ḍanḍ, or Núrní (he never uses the name Ghárah here, it will be remarked) with the others, merely mentioning the fact of its uniting with them.[236] It seems strange that he should have omitted to name the place of junction in this case, because Multán is a little over seventy-one miles, as the crow flies, above Uchchh.

"At Ṭhaṭhah," he continues, "the Sind is called Mihrán,[237] and all six rivers, in one stream [sic in text] pass under [the walls of] Bakhar, one portion north, and the other south of the fort. The Sind river every few years goes from south to north, and causes great ruin, consequently, the dwellings are constructed of sticks and rushes."[238]

In the record of the Survey, completed about a century since, the following account is given of the different rivers noticed by Abú-l-Faẓl above. It matters little, in regard to the present subject, what course this and the other rivers took within the hills, as there changes in their courses seldom take place; therefore, I shall confine myself chiefly to an account of them after their entry into the more level tracts.

The Sindhu, Nahr-i-Sind, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus.

I need not mention in the present paper what the author of the Survey says respecting the upper course of the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, and its source, and shall only notice it here from its junction with the river of Kábul just above Aṭak Banáras.[239]

"One *kuroh* above that place," he says, "the Sind unites with the River of Kábul, called Landaey Sind, or Little Sind or River, by the

[236] See note 250, page 282.

[237] It is so called, by his own account, much higher up than Ṭhaṭhah; and at the period in question, *seven*, not six rivers, flowed past Bakhar.

[238] See page 217, note 151.

[239] It may not be amiss to mention here what the old European travellers say respecting the Indus and the changes in its channel, as well as of the rivers constituting the Panj Áb, or Panch Nad. What they mention about the places on their banks will be found farther on.

Sir T. Herbert, writing in 1626, says: "The River Indus, called by Pliny Sandus, and Arrian Sinthus, is now called Sinde. After a course of 3,000 miles from

Afgháns. The Sind contains a whitish deposit, and looks milky in consequence; while the other, from its great clearness and purity, is very blue, and therefore the Tájzík people of these parts call it the Níl Áb, or Blue River, or Blue Water. At different points it is called the Aṭak and Níl Áb indiscriminately. * * * Near Uchchh[390] it unites with the Panj Áb, or Panch Nad, or Five Rivers; and towards the *bandar* (port) of Láhrí it unites with the ocean."

The Sindhu, or Áb-i-Sind, which we call Indus, has, in the lapse of ages, changed its course very considerably, though not so much

the Caspárrian [Kash-mírián] Mountains, part of Caucasus, it empties itself into the Ocean at two great Ostiums. * * * The Rivers Bohat [Bihat], Ravore [Rawí] Damiadoe [See the old map, p. 297], Obchan, Woihy or Hydaspes, Ascines, Cophis Adris, etc., all fall into it." See pages 207, and 229, and note 175.

Mandelsloe, who was in India in 1639, says: "The Persians and Indosthans themselves, having given the name of *Pangah* [Panj-Áb], *i. e.*, Five Waters, to the River Indus, because it is joyn'd with so many Rivers before it exonerates itself into the Sea. The first is the River Bugal, or Begal [in other places he has Nibal—the Níl-áb], whose source is near Kabul; the second is call Chanab, which rises in the Province Quesmir, or Cossimer, fifteen days' journey to the North, above Lahor, The third is that of Ravy, or Ravee, which rises not far from Lahor, and runs by it The two others, *viz.*, the Rivers Via [Bíáh] and Osuid [Hakrá?] have their sources at a vast distance, *their confluence being near Bakar* [this is an important statement], which lies at an equal distance between Lahor and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this river with that of *Diul* [*Debal*], and placed it 24 degrees on this side the Line. * * * The Province of Tatta is a congeries of many Islands made by the same River. * * * The Province of Attack is seated upon the River Nibal (which falls into the Indus) and is by it divided from the Province of Haca Chan, or Hanji Chan [the Dera'h-ját of the present day]. * * * The city of Lahor is seated on the River Ravy, one of those that with four more joins its Waters with the Indus." The Jihlam he does not mention.

Thevenot, who was in India in 1636, says: "The Moguls have given that Province [Lahor] the name of Pangeab, which signifies the five Rivers, because five run in the territory of it These Rivers have received so many particular names from the Moderns that have spoken of them, that at present it is hard to distinguish them one from another; nay, and most part of these names are confounded, though Pliny distingnished them by the names of Acelines, Cophis, Hydarphes, Zaradras, and Hispalis. Some Moderns call them Behat, Canab [Chin-áb], Find [Sind], Ravy, Van [Bíáh]; and others give them other Appellations, which are not the names of [*i. e.*, in use in] the Country, or at least, which are not given them, but in some places of it they run through. However, all these Rivers have their Sources in the Mountains of the North, and make up the Indus, that for a long way, goes by the name of Sinde, into which they fall; and that's the reason why this River is some times called Indy, and sometimes Sindy."

[390] See page 296. Abú-l-Fazl also says "near Uchchh." He likewise says that the rivers of the Panj-áb are *six*, and include the Áb-i-Sind, which is not correct.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

Extra No.—1892.

The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study.—*By* MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY, *Bombay Army (Retired.)*.

(With six Plates.)

Continued from Page 297 *of No. IV*, 1892.

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[290] See page 296. Abú-l-Faẓl also says "near Uchchh." He likewise says that the rivers of the Panj-áb are *six*, and include the Áb-i-Sind, which is not correct.

The Sindhu, or Áb-i-Sind, which we call Indus, has, in the lapse of ages, changed its course very considerably, though not so much perhaps, considering its size, as some of the other rivers presently to be noticed.

Traces of ancient channels are met with every here and there, especially to the immediate westward of Multán, between that place and the present channel of the river, and south of it again, between it and Uchchh, the intervening tracts of country being literally seamed with old channels. The whole of the southern part of the present Muẓaffar Gaṛh district of the Panj-áb, as at present constituted, below that part of the *Thal* or elevated alluvial waste,[291] running down through the southern part of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah from north to south, and which terminates a little to the north-west of the town of Muẓaffar Gaṛh, in about 30° 10′ N. Lat., is low and depressed, and consists entirely of stretches of alluvial soil running parallel to the banks of the two rivers, Sind and Chin-áb. This extensive tract is seamed with channels, showing, beyond a doubt, that nearly the whole of what now constitutes this district was a river bed.

Respecting this *Thal*, it is necessary to state that, like the district, it is somewhat in the shape of a triangle, the base on the north being about thirty-five miles in breadth, and the sides about fifty; that it is highest on the west, and that it slopes downwards from the banks of the Indus towards the Chin-áb, from west to east. The western part of it consists of sandy soil, with sand-hills here and there, which latter increase in number and in elevation as you move eastwards, and run north and south in detached ridges or waves, between which, narrow flats of stiff clayey soil occur, which the people bring under cultivation, and which yield good crops, and finally terminate in the hollow, or valley, in which the Chin-áb flows.

It must not be supposed, however, that because these ridges of sand-hills increase in height from west to east, that the bed of the Chin-áb lies highest, for the contrary is the fact. There is a regular slope from the Indus towards the Chin-áb; while the southern part of the district, from a little above Shahr-i-Sulṭán,[292] is so depressed that the waters of the Chin-áb and Indus find their way during the inundations into the very middle of the delta. This difference in the beds

[291] Also known, in history, as the Chúl-i-Jalálí. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 338.

[292] In the hot season of 1754, the Shahr-i-Sulṭán was swept away by the river, together with the shrine of one of the Bukhárí Sayyids of the Uchchh family, named Pír-i-'Álam. They were subsequently re-built about two miles from the previous site.

of these rivers was noticed by Wood, in his "Report on the Indus."[293] He says: "The depth of the bed of the Chin-áb is lower than the Indus; for they cut canals from the Indus in July, when both are in flood, and the surplus water flows down into the Chin-áb, proving that although their beds, for a distance of sixty miles, are not more than ten miles asunder [they are fourteen *now*, at the narrowest part], yet, in their relative level, there is a considerable difference."

Since the Survey, the record of which I have been quoting from, was made, towards the end of the last century, the main stream of the Indus has been pushing westwards considerably, notwithstanding the fact of the land sloping eastwards. At present there is a strip of *kachchhí* land, some ten miles in breadth, between the *Thal* and that river, which fifty years since did not exist.

Four miles south of the ancient town of 'Alí-púr,[294] as far as the

[293] "*Journal*:" Vol. for 1841, page 557. About the parallel of Koṭ Addhú, in the extreme north-west part of this district, the bed of the Indus is about forty feet or more higher than that of the Chin-áb.

If we draw a line from Multán by Basírah west to the Derah of Ghází Khán, and then southwards to Ghaus-púr—close to which the Áb-i-Sind flowed when it was a tributary to the Hakṛá, and went to form the Mihrán of Sind—a distance of 107 miles from the former and 86 from the latter, we shall find what a vast depression exists hereabouts, which accounts for alterations in the junctions of the different rivers so often and so easily. By this depression from Ghaus-púr water still reaches the old channels of the Hakṛá. Thus, Multán is 402 feet above the sea, Basírah, 410, and the Derah of Ghází Khán, 440. Then again, Baháwal-púr is 375, 'Alí-púr, 337, Islám-púr, 368. Ghaus-púr is but 209, and is the lowest point in the neighbourhood; while about ten miles east and west, the height increases to 301 and 295 feet respectively, and about the same distance south, to 296 and 288. The height of the country generally is greatest along the west bank of the Indus as it now flows, down as far as a little north of Kin or Kin Koṭ, where the height above the sea on both sides is 305 and 304 feet. Below this point, at Kin, it falls to 270 feet, and then declines again 245 at Kashmúr, between which places the country slopes away lower towards the depression, locally called the "Sind Hollow," referred to farther on; while the country on the east bank is a little higher than that on the opposite side down to near Aror, near which, to the south-eastwards, is the low tract of land in which the waters from near Ghaus-púr find their way into the old Hakṛá channels, and which waters form the so-called "Eastern Narra."

[294] To judge from the height of this place above the surrounding country, it must be an ancient site, and at one time stood near the confluence of the Chin-áb and its tributaries with the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus. The present town is supposed to have been founded by one of the chiefs of the Nághar tribe, mis-called Náhars, named 'Alí Khán. Much information respecting this tribe is contained in my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc. 'Alí-púr lies twenty-five miles north of Uchchh, thirteen south-westwards of Jalál-púr in the Multán district, and a little over seven miles west of the present point of junction of the Gharah with the Chin-áb and its tributaries forming the present Panch Nad, or Panj Áb.

present junction of the two rivers thirty miles farther south, the whole space between is subject to inundation, that from the Indus extending farthest. When the two rivers rise, they begin to draw near each other, but, at last, the Indus water manages to force its way across towards Jaṭú-í,[295] and reaches its old channel of the last century, passing by 'Alí-púr, and meeting the Chin-áb near the village of Pakkah Ná'ichh, four miles and a quarter farther southwards. This state of things continues from June to September, during which period, all the district to the southwards of those places and beyond, is under water, and the only means of communication is by boats. During this time the inhabitants, washed out of their dwellings, live on small platforms raised on poles, with one or more of which each homestead is provided, called *machán* in Hindí, and also *manchán*, both words being from Sanskrit मंच, and are often not able to leave them for weeks together.

At this time, however, the modern town of Khair-púr, a little over five miles west of Pakkah Ná'ichh, just midway between the two cold season channels of the rivers, and which is protected all round by a long *band* or embankment, becomes an island and a port; for cargoes of grain and other commodities are sent off from thence in large boats down to Sind. Should this *band* give way at any time the place would probably be washed away.[296]

There is no doubt but that the Indus, in former times, flowed through the middle of the present Muẓaffar Gaṛh district, in a direction almost due north and south, but inclining a little eastwards towards Multán and Uchchh; and history confirms the tradition respecting it, as I shall presently show. The tradition extant among the people is, that the river once flowed through the middle of this *Thal*, but rather nearer towards the Multán side,[297] after which it began to alter its

[295] This was the chief place of the *maḥáll* of Jaṭú-í, one of the twelve constituting the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah*, and was so called after a Balúch tribe of that name, once very powerful. In the time of Akbar Bádsháh they paid revenue to the amount of 2,346,873 *dáms*; held free grants to the amount of 156,841 *dáms*; and had to furnish 500 horsemen and 800 foot as militia when called upon. In computing the amount of revenue, forty *dáms* were equivalent to a *rúpí*.

[296] The sand hills of the *Thal*, and several *bands* or embankments, alone prevent the surplus waters from the Indus sweeping over the whole district, and hence there is a constant danger of such happening, should any of the *bands* give way.

[297] Elliot ("Historians," Vol. II, page 28), in his extracts from the Táríkh-i-Yamíní, where Sulṭán Maḥmúd is said to cross the Indus [Siḥún in the original, but often applied to a great river] "in the neighbourhood of Múltán, and march towards the city of Bhátia," he adds in a foot-note—"Literally, 'behind' or 'beyond'—[and Ibn Asír uses the same expression], but the position of Múltán is such as to render the author's meaning very doubtful." Here the meaning is made quite clear: the river did not flow then as now, as Elliot supposed. See note 349, page 347.

course more to the west; and that the sand hills were produced by the action of wind, blowing the deposits left by the river in its deserted bed into heaps, and into their present shapes. The proof of the correctness of this tradition, which is corroborated by the old 'Arab writers, lies partly in the fact, that, in the middle part of this *Thal*, and farther towards the east, are villages, still existing, with the addition of the words '*kachchh*,' '*belah*,' and '*bet*' to their names, and that it is literally seamed with the old channels in which the Áb-i-Sind or Indus once flowed. As an example of this, I may mention a village called Basírah, west of the town of Muẓaffar Garh, and now in the middle of this *Thal*, just midway between the Indus and Chin-áb as they now flow, and about thirteen miles from each. That village stood on the banks of the Indus in the last century;[298] for, in a deed of sale of this particular village at that period, it is designated *Bet* Basírah. The Revenue Settlement Records, no doubt, would furnish many more proofs. At Sháh Garh, likewise, which lies but six miles and a half farther south of it, and about the southern and terminating point of the *Thal*, a long *kol-i-áb*, *ḍhanḍ*, or lake, still exists, part of the channel in which the river then flowed.

In former times, as elsewhere mentioned, it united with the rivers of the Panj-áb territory opposite Uchchh, which now is forty miles above the confluence near Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ; and what now constitutes the 'Alí-púr sub-division of the Muẓaffar Garh district, then lay on the *west*, instead of the *east* bank of the Indus; and Jaṭú-í, Síṭ-púr,[299] and Ghauṣ-púr

[298] For other information respecting these parts on either side of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, as it flowed in the last century, see my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., pages 656–660, and 673–676.

[299] The present town is situated on an eminence, the remains of older buildings. Here also stands a fine tomb of one of the Nághar chiefs, called Náhars by the Sindís. The dome is covered with the usual glazed blue tiles of this part.

The country round about towards the junction of the rivers is covered with low tamarisk *jangal*, and tall, coarse reeds.

One of the "Punjab Gazetteers," in an account of these parts, presents us with some wonderful history—Gazetteer history it may be styled. Therein it is mentioned, that it was in the time of the Langah dynasty that *the independent kingdom* [*sic.*—much like the kingdom of "the mighty Cháker Rind"] *of the Náhars was established* in what is now the 'Alípúr Tahsil [they must have been content with a small "kingdom"]. It was during *this dynasty* that the Biloches first emerged from the Suliman Mountains [in which they were not located, and from which they did not come at that period, but from Kich and Mukrán], and occupied the country on the left bank of the Indus." It also states, that, "of the twenty-six generations of *the Náhar princes*, the last is Bakhshan Khán, Jamadár of the 'Alípúr Tahsil." Here he would probably get pay at the rate of twelve or fifteen rúpís per month—*Sic transit gloria* Náharán! See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., pages 4 and 648.

in the Baháwul-púr territory, were all three places on the *west* bank of the river. The Chin-áb and its tributaries, the Jihlam and Ráwí, flowed some miles farther east, the junction being then a few miles east of Shahr-i-Sultán.[300] Just at the close of the last century, the Indus suddenly forsook its channel about twenty miles above Uchchh, and took a direction more to the south-south-west towards Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ, thus placing 'Alí-púr, Jaṭú-í, and Síṭ-púr in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in which Uchchh was once situated.[301] The Janúṇ Canal (the "Jamoo Canal" of the maps) now runs in this deserted channel, and unites with the Panj Áb or Panch Nad below Makhan Belah.

Another *puránah*, *buḍḍh*, or old channel, of which there are several others in different parts of the district, called the *ḍhanḍ* of Sháh Garh, can be traced a short distance from the present Ḳureshí *Paṭan* or Ferry. It takes a tortuous course among the sand ridges of the *Thal*, and

The same "authority" states, that "Sitpur was first called Kanjan Mal, then Khúdi Bhír—the hunting seat of Rája Khúdi," only *ber* - بير - signifies an enclosure —the hunting seat, so called—not *bhír*. There is no mention whatever of Rattá-Mattá, which famous place is situated only four miles and a half from Jaṭú-í. See a subsequent page and note on this subject farther on.

[300] See note 292, page 299.

[301] The cause of this change, according to native statements, and which are probably correct in the main, is, that from near Kinjhír, the point where the Indus formerly turned eastwards to unite with the Chin-áb, one of the modern Náhar chiefs of Síṭ-púr, excavated a canal to irrigate some land farther west in the direction of the present course of the river. All at once (at the commencement of the inundation it may be presumed), it suddenly left its old channel and took to the canal, and very soon made a new channel for itself; and in it, with occasional minor changes, it has since flowed, thus showing how easily great changes can be brought about in such a sandy, alluvial tract, and that the feat of Saif-ul-Mulúk near Aror, according to the tradition elsewhere related, and which is said to have caused such mighty changes in Sind, was not so difficult to effect after all.

It will be noticed, that it was at this same period, when the Áb-i-Sind or Indus thus suddenly changed its course, and taking to the abovementioned canal speedily cut a new channel for itself, that the Biáh and Sutlaj likewise changed their courses, and united into one river, and that the Chin-áb and Ráwí, instead of uniting as before, a short distance west of Siḍhú kí Sará'e, turned some ten miles farther towards the south-west. All this shows that the same causes produced the same effects—all the rivers were more or less affected. This is said to have happened about the year 1202 H. (1787-88, A. D.).

The place where the Áb-i-Sind or Indus changed its course farther to the west, as noticed above, was near Kinjhír (the "Keenjur" of the maps) on the west, which place lies about twelve miles west of Khán Garh in the Muzaffar Garh district.

After the Áb-i-Sind or Indus made this sudden change, the Nawwáb of Baháwal-púr, who considered that river his boundary on the west, wherever it might be, annexed the whole of the intervening tract between the old channel and the new to his territory, and managed to hold it up to about the year 1820.

terminates near the old *garh* or fort of Sháh Garh, north-west of Muẓaffar Garh. Another is the Panjihár *dhand*, which can be traced from a little west of Kinjhír to near the village of Rohilán-Wálí, and from thence for about twelve miles farther to the southwards of Khán Garh. Hereabouts the land lies so low that water finds its way into the middle of this part of the delta, where quite a network of *dhands* exist, which for the most part tail on to this one.

Without being aware, apparently, of these facts, it is in the tract I have been thus describing, that the "archæological experts" venture to *identify* places as "the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines [Chin-áb] with the Indus," after the lapse of some twenty-three centuries, when such mighty changes occur in less than one![302]

In the same manner as in the tracts north and west of Uchchh, just described, and between it and Miṭ-hí dá Koṭ, called by us Miṭhan Koṭ, below those places again, other ancient channels exist, but not of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus only; and it is beyond a doubt, that it and other tributaries of the Mihrán of Sind, have, at different times, flowed over great part of the alluvial plain of Sind between Uchchh and Aror, and farther south, but much nearer towards the hills westwards than has generally been imagined.[303]

It appears to me that what the old 'Arab writers say respecting the "tributaries, which go to make the Mihrán of Sind," has been overlooked, or not understood. Al-Mas'údí, for example, says (page 206), that, "it comes from the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Sind," and adds, that, "with its tributaries, which rise in those countries [lying

[302] See farther on where these changes are described.

[303] Vast changes have taken place, and have continued to occur down to the present time, in the course of the Sindhu, or Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, above Aṭak (see my "Notes on Afghánistán," page 32), as well as below Kálá Bágh where it issues from the mountain tracts, particularly between the town of the 'Ísá Khel Niází Afgháns and Mián Wálah. (See "Notes" page 322, and 343, note ¶). There is, as already mentioned in note 116, page 207, of this paper, a tradition, that in ancient times, the country round Laka'í of the Marwat Afgháns was a vast lake, as the ancient name Dand or Dhand indicates, and was so called long before these Afgháns gained a footing therein. See also a note farther on.

Between the town of the 'Ísá Khel Niázís and the modern Derah of Ismá'íl Khán, the course of the Áb-i-Sind appears likewise to have changed considerably; and the Gumul and its tributary, the river of the Jziobah Darah and its affluents and other streams from the range of Mihtar Sulimán, Koh-i-Siyáh, Tor Ghar, Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, between the Gamílah or Gambílah and the Súrí River near Kashmúr, mentioned in note 116, above referred to (which now are for the most part dry, or their waters drawn off for irrigation purposes, and which only find their way to the Áb-i-Sind in time of flood, if they reach it at all), once contributed greatly to the volume of the great river, as I shall presently show.

towards the *kohistán*, bounding it on the west and north he means], it flows on towards Multán." Now from this it is quite clear that none of the five rivers constituting the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb can be meant or referred to here, because the "Mihrán Rúd," or Áb-i-Sind,[304] which he is describing, only united with the other great river into which the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb fell, three days' journey, or seventy-one miles as the crow flies, to the *southward* of Multán [that was, near Uchchh, but, it must be remembered, that Uchchh is never mentioned by these old writers by that name], consequently these tributaries were quite distinct from the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb, and united with the "Mihrán Rúd" or Áb-i-Sind, to the *northwards, and rather above Multán.*[305]

This is further confirmed by the statement of Al-Mas'údí (page 207), that, "the fourth river of the five which go to form the Mihrán Rúd[306] comes from the boundary or frontier of Sind towards, or in the direction of, Bust, Ghaznín, دزعون, بعتبرا [?], Ar-Rukháj, and the territory of Dáwar; and another of these five rivers [the tributaries] comes from Kash-mír." This, superficially regarded, might seem to refer to the Bihat or Jihlam, which does come out of Kash-mír, but then again, the Mas'údí refers to a river which had entered and become part of the "Mihrán Rúd," or Áb-i-Sind, *before it united with the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb*, of which the Bihat was one.[307]

[304] See note 117, for what is meant by "Mihrán Rúd," and the difference between that name and the "Mihrán of Sind."

Strabo says, in his Fifteenth Book, that it is stated that there are, altogether, fifteen considerable rivers which flow into the Indus. Arrian says the same, who takes the number from Megasthenes: Pliny says there are nineteen. Of course, the united rivers refer to the "Great Mihrán," or "Mihrán of Sind."

[305] In the same way that the five rivers constituting the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb, which these Hindí and Persian names signify, the junction of the whole into one stream is known to this day, in the Muzaffar Garh district and vicinity, as the "Sáth Nad," or Seven Rivers; while after the junction of the Ráwí with the Chináb and Bihat, farther up, the united waters are known locally as the Trim Áb," or Three Rivers.

[306] Because in the Turkish language *már-án* means a river, Tod, in his "Rajas'than" (Vol. I, page 19), supposed that *Mihrán* is one and the same word. He says: "the 'sweet river,' the Meeta Muran [Hindí and Turkish together!], a Sythic or Tartar name for river, and by which alone the Indus is known from the *Panj Nud* to the ocean."

To "Panj Nud," he adds a note, that they "are the confluent arms or *source* of the Indus"!

[307] From all this it is clear, that the "tributaries" which go to form the "Mihrán Rúd," Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, refer to rivers uniting with it on either side *above* the parallel of Multán. There are several of these, but some may have been scarcely worthy of the name of rivers in those remote days, or, since that

Al-Istakharí also says (page 211): "*The river of Sind, which is called the Mihrán of Sind*, is said to issue from a mountain range in which

time, may have changed considerably; while others may have been more important then than they are at present. I will mention these rivers in rotation. First: the Harú from the mountain tract of Malách, bounding Kash-mír on the east, with a course of some sixty miles, which unites with the Indus on the east near the ancient town of Níl-Áb below Aṭak. Second: the Kághzí, or river of Kohát, on the west, with a course of about ninety-five miles. Third: the Sú-hán, rising in the *kohistán* of Gharál, with a course of about one hundred and twenty-four miles, broad and rapid; and though not more than knee-deep in the cold season, is, in the time of inundation, quite impassable. It enters the Indus on the east side, between Makhhad and Kálá Bágh. Fourth: the Kurma'h (*vul.* "Kurram") from the west, with several important affluents. It has a course of over ninety miles, but its feeders which go to form it, rise still farther to the west. The Kurma'h rises in the mountain range so called, the particulars respecting which will be found in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," page 78. Near its junction with the Indus it is joined by two considerable tributaries. This is still an important river, and from proofs remaining, and from what tradition asserts, it was, in former times, a great river. This, I conceive to be, without doubt, one of the five tributaries referred to. Fifth: the Gumul, which rises on the east slopes of the great western range of the Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, separating the Afghánistán from Zábul-istán—the Ghaznín territory under the Turkish sovereigns, including Ḳandahár. A few miles west of the great eastern range of the same Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, it receives from the south-west the river of the Jẓíob or Jẓíobah Darah (*vul.* "Zhob"), and farther west again, the Kwandar river, flowing through the Darah of that name. All these under the name of Gumul now scarcely reach the Indus except in time of flood, but tradition relates that it was, as it must have been, in by-gone times, a river of considerable magnitude. It has a course of about one hundred and eighty miles; while the river of the Jẓíob and Kwandar Darahs have, respectively, courses of about one hundred and twenty-five, and sixty-five miles. The Gumul must at one time have sent a great volume of water into the Indus, and is, undoubtedly, one of the "tributaries" referred to by the old 'Arab writers. These are the principal rivers above the parallel of Multán; but there are others, and important ones, lower down, which must be noticed here. Sixth: the Káhá river, or rather, the river of the Káhá Darah, which takes its rise in the slopes of the south face of the great range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyáh, which, after a course of between eighty-five and ninety miles, enters the Derah-ját near Harand, where the waters are drawn off for purposes of irrigation. This river, with its feeders, which come from still farther west, is the most considerable of south-east Afghánistán, and appears in ancient times to have been a perennial stream, and to have contributed a considerable body of water to the Indus. Seventh: the river of the Súrí Darah, which rises in the same range, and has a course of some eighty miles. It drains the Shúm plain, but its waters now seldom reach the Indus. It would have entered it between Kin Ko and Rújan near where the Indus bent west and flowed in the "Sind Hollow." Eighth: the Nárí, which rises among the southern slopes of the same great mountain range north of Síwí of the Parní Afgháns, which it passes on the west. Lower down, it receives the waters of the Bolán river, once much more considerable than at present, and the Lahrí river from the east, passes Bhág, also called Bhág-i-Nárí on

the Jíḥún rises." These old geographers can scarcely be expected to have known much respecting those tributaries of the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, north

the east side, and runs southwards in two main branches towards Shadád-púr; and after a course of about one hundred and seventy miles, much of its waters having been drawn off higher up for irrigation purposes, it is lost in the dense *jangal* in the thirsty soil of the great *Ran*, or "Sind Hollow," about twelve miles south of Tanbbú ("Tumboo," "Tambú," and "Tamba" of as many different maps), but, in time of flood, even now, its waters reach the Manchhar lake, one hundred and thirty-four miles farther south, for it then contains a vast body of water. Ninth: the Ghár or Ghái which rises in the Balúchistán near Kalát-i-Nichárah (*vul.* "Khelat"), which, flowing through the Múlah Darah, and making, so to say, the Múlah Pass, after receiving some minor tributaries by the way from the direction of Gand-ábah, issues from the hills; and, after a course altogether of between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and sixty miles, is, like the Nárí river, some forty miles farther to the south-east, lost in the great *Ran*—the "Sind Hollow"—about twelve miles north-west of Shadád-púr, but it is generally flooded twice every year. At such times, the waters of these two rivers, Ghár and Nárí, meeting the overflow from the Indus by the old channel I have referred to, causes vast damage, and lays a great tract of country under water, as related in the text farther on.

This great *Ran* of Upper Sind, or "Sind Hollow," may be said to form the natural boundary of the territory of Sind on the north and north-west, from Kashmúr to Kháiro Garhí, and the Kahtar range on the west.

That the fourth river of the five referred to by Al-Mas'údí, as coming from the side of Bust, Ghaznín, Ar-Rukhái, Dáwar, etc., can refer to the Ghár and its tributaries, is out of the question, because it is impossible for any other river to be referred to as coming from the side of Bust, unless the Kojzakh range has been thrown up since Al-Ma'súdí wrote, a thing not impossible, and diverted the *Lorah*, that is, "*the River*," which now flows through Pushang (incorrectly written *Péshín* in official documents) to the west side of that great range, into Shorá-wak and the sandy desert farther south. There are certainly traditions current among the Afgháns and Tájziks of these parts, that that river did find its way eastwards in bygone times, and that its old bed lay in the part now constituting the Bolán Pass and defile, and that a great convulsion of nature changed the face of the country, turned up hills, and diverted rivers. Whether the geological appearances are sufficient to warrant our placing faith on these traditions I am unaware, but I believe that all traditions have some foundation of truth.

This may also account for the fact, that such a route as the Bolán is never once mentioned in any history whatever up to quite recent times; and the route from Sind, and sometimes from Multán also, to Kwatah and Kandahár, was always by Síwí and Sangán, about twenty-five miles east of the present Bolán route.

The Gumul river, and its tributaries also, certainly rise in the range, which, in Al-Mas'údí's time, and in all time, formed the eastern boundary of Zábul-istán.

Farther south again than the Ghár, in the "*kohistán*" of Sind, is another important river bed, the Baran of the maps, which drains a large extent of country, and, after a course of about ninety miles or more, unites with the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, a few miles above Kotrí. Though now chiefly dependent on rain, it appears not to have been always so; and it is, together with some lesser river beds or mountain torrents, as they now are, its tributaries, the rivers referred to by the

of the junction of the river of Kábul and its tributaries with it, seeing that, until comparatively modern times, the tracts through which they flow have been scarcely known to ourselves. The Istakhárí immediately after also mentions the "other great river, the Sind Rúd," distinct from the "Mihrán Rúd," or Áb-i-Sind, which former, he says, "is three days' journey or stages [that is, lower down stream] from Multán," and adds, that "the waters of the Sind Rúd [the Rúd-i-Hind wo Sind" of the Masálik wa Mamálik] are sweet and pleasant, even *before* its junction with the Mihrán."

Ibn Ḥauḳal also mentions (page 216), the junction of the "Mihrán Rúd" with the Sind Rúd *and* the Jand or Chand Rúd. He subsequently refers (page 218), separately to the Sind Rúd uniting with the "Mihrán Rúd" three days' journey from Multán, that is below or to the southwards of Multán.

Bearing these important facts in mind respecting the tributaries received by the "Mihrán Rúd" or Áb-i-Sind before it reached down as far southwards as Multán, we find, that up to or about the time that Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, ruled over the territories of Multán and Sind, from about the parallel of Kin or Kin Koṭ, and between it and Kashmúr where there is a depression westwards,[303] the "Mihrán Rúd" or Áb-i-Sind, made a more sudden bend towards the west than in more recent times. At the present day, one of its old channels, which is broad and winds considerably, can be traced westwards from near Kashmúr. It passes Yárú, Kumbrí, Kand Koṭ of the Parní Afgháns, and Ghaus-púr (of Sind: a different place from that mentioned at

Istakhárí, who says, "Mukrán is mostly desert waste, and contains but few rivers. Their waters run into the Mihrán [of Sind] on either side of Manṣúríyah [the territory dependent on]," and through which that river flowed.

We may consequently assume that "the five rivers which went to form" the Mihrán Rúd or Áb-i-Sind (not the "Mihrán of Sind." See note 117, page 208), according to the Mas'údí, were:—1. The River of Kábul, the Landaey Sín of the Afgháns; 2. The Harú; 3. The Sú-hán; 4. The river of Kurma'h (*vul.* 'Kurram"); and 5. The Gumul with its tributaries. We may rest assured that the Nárí could not possibly have formed one of the five, because it could not have united with the Mihrán Rúd, or Áb-i-Sind, *before* it reached Multán, which all are said to have done.

As recently, however, as Akbar Bádsháh's reign, we know that the course of the Nárí river was changed by an earthquake, and to such like convulsions of nature all the tracts around are constantly liable, and were often subject.

That the River of Kábul is included among the five rivers of Al-Mas'údí there can be little doubt, and particularly since, at this day, after the junction of all the rivers now forming the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, the united stream is locally called the Sáth Nad, or Seven Rivers. See note 305, page 305.

[303] See note 293, page 300.

page 302), then, changing from the direction of south-south-west more westwards, it passes north of Jágan, between Shikár-púr and Jacob-ábád, and finally reaches the Sind Hollow of Europeans, presently to be noticed, near Kháiro Garhí—the "Khairagari," "Khairo Garhi," and "Khyrah Gurhee," of as many different maps. This ancient channel was, in comparatively recent times, utilized for what became known as the Begárí Wá-hah, or Canal, the largest in Siro or Upper Sind. In still more recent times another channel appears to have branched off from near Ghauṣ-púr, above mentioned, more to the southward and westward, which passed near Laṛ-kánah, or Laṛ-káno as the Sindís call it, and from thence made a bend more directly south, passing near Khanḍiáro, and a few miles east of Noh-Shahrah or Noh-Sharo (the "Nowshera" of the maps), which leaving Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán, some sixteen miles or thereabouts on the west, united with the old channel of the river called the Kunbh, which intervened between Síw-istán and the Mihrán of Sind when Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, marched from Nírún to attack Bahman-ábád, as related at page 232. This old channel can be traced from the existing mounds and hollows as far down as about eight miles east of Lakhhí, near which the rise of the country towards the hills on the west turned it aside, on which it took a more south-easterly course towards Hálah (the "Halla" of the maps), passing between it and Shadád-púr towards its former place of junction with the Mihrán of Sind, Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, some distance south of Manṣúriyah and Bahman-ábád. I may add that the whole of Siro, or Upper Sind, and Wicholo or Middle Sind, is so cut up with *ḍhands* or beds of lakes, and *puránahs, buḍḍhs, ḍhoros*, or deserted channels, many of which have now been utilized as canals, as to show, as previously noticed, that there is scarcely any part of this vast alluvial tract, over which in the course of ages, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus has not flowed at some time or other, and the Mihrán of Sind, Hakṛá, or Wahindah also, but to a much less degree.

After some further changes in Siro or Upper Sind, another channel appears to have branched off from the main stream, which ran in a more southerly direction from the first, towards Laṛ-kánah, constituting what is called in our maps "the Western Nára," and "Narra," and which channel is still open.

I now come to the most important of the channels, and the oldest of which we have any record, which branched off between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr in a westerly direction, passing between six and seven miles north of Kumbrí, before mentioned, then within two miles south of "Sanrí" and "Sundree" of the maps, then more towards the north towards the fort of Dil-Murád, to within seven miles of Uchchh (this

is the third place of that name previously noticed, and which lies immediately at the skirts of the outer waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, (described in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 5, and 658), after which it bends southwards at about eleven miles west of Khán Garh, now called Jacob-ábád, towards Kháiro Garhí and Shadád-púr. This ancient channel, which is likewise the largest, marks the boundary of our territory in Upper Sind, and separates it from Kachchhí. It has since been utilized, I believe, for the new "Frontier Canal," or at least, such was proposed.

From what the historian of Sind, Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, says in his work, we know that as late as his day, the "Mihrán Rúd," or Ab-i-Sind, made a sharp bend westwards below Rújan (the "Rohjan" and "Rojhan," etc., of the maps), a few miles above Kin Kot, and that the distance from the river to Síwí, (one of the *mahálls* of the *Sarkár* of Bakhar of the Multán *Súbah*, in the southern part of the Afghán state lately annexed), in one direction, that is from the river bank near Rújan in the direction of Síwí westwards, was then one hundred *kuroh*, equal to one hundred and seventy-five miles. It is now only one hundred and fifty-two miles; while, in the opposite direction, that is towards the south, in about the direction of Bakhar, the river was, in Mír Ma'súm's time, but sixty *kuroh* distant from Síwí, equal to one hundred and five miles, but now its nearest point is distant one hundred and thirty-two miles, just in the position where the other old channel I have referred to at page 308, which runs from near Kashmúr by Kand Kot, lies. This ancient channel or great depression which I now refer to, is what is called, locally, the *Ran* or Marsh, the *Pat* or Desert, and "*Dasht-i-Bedárí*," by the people, and the "Sind Hollow" by Europeans. The land slopes down from the banks of the present channel of the Indus towards the west as far as this depression. For example:—Kashmúr on the river bank is some eighty feet *higher* than Khán Garh or Jacob-ábád, and the latter place is lower by some ninety feet than the bed of the Indus at Mithrí, between Kin Kot and Kashmúr, twenty-one miles farther north. There is nothing really to keep back the river until the country north and west of this great depression begins to rise in the direction of the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh on the north, and the Kahtar range[309] (turned into "Kheerthur," in the maps) on the west; for the country along the right or west bank of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus continues higher than the level of this great depression down beyond Mihar on the west, as far down as which the overflow from the river between Kin Kot and Kashmúr finds its way; and on some occasions as far down as the Manchhar lake, as I shall presently show.

[309] See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 558, and note ††.

High mounds, the sites of former towns, and the substantial ruins of others, such as Fatḥ-púr,[310] Uchchh, and Sháh-púr; the fact that the tract of country north of Shikár-púr, which is now known as the "Frontier District," is cut up, so to say, with *ḍhoṛahs* or old channels, and *ḍhanḍs* or hollows, in which water accumulates; and that it is still flooded from the Áb-i-Sind or Indus for twenty miles north of Ghaus-púr; all tend to confirm the statements of former historians, that the northern parts of Sind, as anciently constituted, lying north of Shikár-púr, and between Rúján and Gand-ábah, contained a number of flourishing towns and villages, and was in a high state of cultivation, and, that the lands lying along the banks of the Ghár or Ghájr river used to be some of the most productive in all Sind.

Only fifteen years ago an incident occurred illustrating what I have here stated. The waters of the Indus rose in the month of July some eight or nine feet higher than usual between Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr, which, flowing in two branches in the direction of about west-south-west, entered the ancient channel in the great depression, the so-called "Sind Hollow," and reached the district of Laṛ-kánah. The two branches having united at Kháiro Gaṛhí, forty miles west of Shikár-púr, were joined by the overflow of rain-water from the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Pahár, and the Koh-i-Siyáh or Kálá Pahár ranges, bounding the Kachchhí plain on the north, and the water from the Ghár river from the Múlah Pass. The united waters then continued their course towards the south, passing near the town of Shadád-púr,[311] and finally entered

[310] This place was, in the time of Akbar Bádsháh, the chief town of the *Maḥáll* or sub-district, one of twelve into which the Bakhar *Sarkár* of the Multán *Ṣúbah* was divided. The inhabitants then were Samíjahs, and Ẓhárijahs; they had 8050 *bígahs* of land under cultivation; were assessed thereon in 477, 858 *dáms* (equal to just 11,446 *rúpís* and a-half); and had to furnish 200 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

[311] Dr. R. H. Kennedy, Chief of the Medical Staff of the Bombay Column of the Army of the Indus, crossed part of this great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," marching from Laṛ-kánah upwards towards Shadád-púr, in March, 1839. He says ("Campaign of the Army of the Indus," Vol. I, page 189): "The third march brought us to Shadadpore: the country for the last twenty miles was more like the dry bed of a salt lagoon in an interval between spring tides, than an inland district." On leaving Shadád-púr, he says: "In less than half an hour we reached the desert; not an expanse of loose heavy sand like the sea beach when dry, as I had expected, but a boundless level plain of indurated clay of a dull dry earthy colour, and showing signs of *being sometimes under water*. At first a few bushes were apparent here and there, growing gradually more and more distant, until at last not a sign of vegetable life was to be recognized." In another place (Vol. II, page 165) he says: "Betwixt Mehar and Baug [Bhág], we crossed a singular ridge of earthy hills, evidently the effect of an earthquake-convulsion; the strata of soil distinctly show-

the Nárah branch of the river and the Manchhar lake. A vast area of country was flooded in the Shikár-púr, Lar-kánah, and Mihar districts; and upwards of five hundred villages, great and small, were flooded, and many substantial buildings swept away.

It therefore may be assumed that it is not beyond the range of possibility, that, some day, the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, may leave its present channel and choose a new one, notwithstanding that it has not altered very materially for nearly a century, but a slight obstacle might bring about a great change.[312]

ing that they must originally have been watery deposits on a level surface bursting upwards and elevated by volcanic action. See note 307, page 305. Two parallel ranges of hills appear here, as at Lukky [Lakhhí]; but these do not exceed four hundred feet in height, and seem entirely composed of *the silt of the Indus*, or whatever *inland sea* once flowed over these vast levels: with the exception of these ridges, the whole plain from Dandur [Dhádar] to Sukkur [Sakhar] is one uniform flat of the same character.

Masson, who travelled in Sind some years previous to the annexation of the country, mentions (Vol. II, page 130), that latterly, the inundations of the Indus had increased westerly, and that, near "Dérá Ghaibí," which is nearly forty miles to the southwards of Kháiro Garhí, mentioned above, "is a branch of the Indus," (page 132.).

[312] We may judge of the vast changes which must have taken place in the lapse of many centuries in the tracts lying in and under the south-eastern parts of the range of Mihtar Sulimán, or Koh-i-Siyáh, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, and the outer and lower range of Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, the tracts in which the Marí and Bughti, and other Balúchis now dwell, in which the Dáwí and Nághar Afgháns previously dwelt, and likewise in the parts still farther west. Al-Idrísí refers to marshy places west of the Áb-i-Sind between Kashmúr and Sharú-sán or Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán; and the Árá'ish-i-Mah-fil, a more modern work, states, that between Bakhar and Síwí, nearly one hundred and fifty miles to the north-north-west, the towns and villages are often laid waste through the Áb-i-Sind flowing from the south towards the north [sic. in *Mss.*] at intervals of some years. For half this distance towards the north and north-west, between Bakhar and Síwí, the half nearest the latter has now few villages to be laid waste; for the country has been for more than two centuries, a howling desert, over which, for four months together, the deadly *simúm* blows, and in the other half, nearest Bakhar, the villages and towns are not numerous; but, in both portions, the ruins of several ancient towns and villages are even still to be traced. These statements contained in the Árá'ish-i-Mah-fil, are confirmed by the statements of Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, one of the historians of Sind, already referred to, who describes the state of that part in his day.

We read in the native historians—the originals I mean—of these parts being in ancient times well cultivated and flourishing, and of numerous gardens, particularly around Síwí of the Parní Afgháns, now, or very lately, a complete waste. Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, would scarcely have *selected* Síwí as his future place of residence, when under the necessity of evacuating Kandahár, and previous to his conquest of Sind, in preference to Kwatah (*vul.* "Quetta") and Kalát-i-Ni-

The Ghár river, previously referred to, appears to have sent another branch into the Áb-i-Sind in recent times, and in a more easterly direction. This old channel, which is broad and deep, can be traced from about fourteen miles to the southward of Kháiro Garhí. It runs in the direction of about east-south-east, passing Lar-kánah and the ruins of Mahortah on the north, and after passing them about three miles, it turns sharply to the northward, and unites with the Áb-i-Sind a little over sixteen miles west of Bakhar, and about eight miles higher up than the point where the Western Nárah, as it is called by Europeans, branches off from the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus. Some have mistaken this

chárah (*vul.* "Khelat"), if it had been, and the tracts surrounding it, anything like what they subsequently became, and lately were. After his time, and within two generations, a great change took place. Síwí became so very sickly, that Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, the feudatory of Bakhar and its dependencies under the Arghúns, of which Síwí was a dependent district, had to replace its garrison yearly; for most of the men perished through the badness of the climate and water. Of the badness of the water on the way from the Derah of Ghází Khán to the Shrine of Sakhhí Sarwar, I can, myself, testify. This continued until the time of Akbar Bádsháh, after the death of the above mentioned Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, when Bakhar and its dependencies became annexed as a *Sarkár* to the Multán *Ṣúbah*. Shortly after, a great flood came, accompanied by some volcanic action (See what Dr. R. H. Kennedy states in the preceding note, 311), and the spring-head, the source of this river, which supplied the place, became changed, and the river's course likewise, and the deleterious nature of the water at the same time. Previous to this change, the river used to flow a distance of fifty *kuroh*, and its waters collecting in the Sar-Wáh district—about the position of the great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," already referred to, and once the channel of the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus—used to be drawn off for irrigation purposes, and what remained reached the Manchhar lake, about one hundred and twenty miles farther to the south, in Wícholo or Middle Sind.

Alexander's march, according to the map given by Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography of India," page 248, is represented as leading straight down from "Uch," which he calls "*Alexandria*" [see the observations on this subject in note 192, page 244] to "Ubaro" along the Indus, and then by "Aror" to "Mahorta" across the Indus as it at present flows, and from thence down the west bank to "Sehwán," and subsequently, by "Brahmanabad," "Hala," "Kotrí," and "Thatha" to "Kurachí." In another direction Alexander is taken from "Kotri" to "Lonibari ost," just according to the present course of the river, as though it had never changed from his time to this day. Of course, all this is pure imagination, while we know what mighty changes have taken place, even since the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, and that the river has been constantly changing.

The same writer makes "Krateras" cross the Indus at "Fázilpur," and then takes him by "Kusmur" and "Khangar" to "Dadar" and "Bagh," and so through the "Bolan defile;" and quotes Curtius as his authority for all this, but I fail to find any confirmation of it in the latter's history after careful search, but I know quite well that none of the places mentioned were then in existence, and that the Indus did not run then as supposed.

old branch of the Ghár for the Nárah; but the latter is a natural branch or offset from the Áb-i-Sind, and not a canal, as some have imagined, but it may have been artificially improved in recent times.

Mahortah, near Laṛ-kánah, on the Ghár channel, is the site of an ancient fortified town, on a great mound, and, in former times, must have been a place of some importance.

The Nárah, which is navigable, runs in a very tortuous channel, hence its name of Nárah or Snake, like the so-called Eastern Nárah, elsewhere described, but the channel of the one under description winds very much more than its eastern namesake. It pursues a course almost parallel with the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, and on the northern side falls into, and forms, the Manchhar lake. Its continuation, known as the Áral, issues from the eastern side of the lake, and unites with the main channel of the Áb-i-Sind below the town of Sihwán, the ancient Síwistán, which gave name to the province of which it was the capital.

This Nárah channel is probably the continuation of that in which the diverted branch of the Hakṛá, or Mihrán, first flowed, when diverted from the east of Aror.

Farther south again, and within the limits of the old *Sarkár* of Síw-istán, or Wícholo, or Middle Sind (which has been mistaken for Síwí and its district, more than two hundred and ten miles, as the crow flies, farther north),[313] the Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, was kept within bounds,

[313] This is the name, which strange to relate, nearly every English writer manages to mistake for Síwí of the Parní Afgháns, because some stupid or careless map-maker or engraver, in former years, before correct surveys were made, happened to write the name of this well-known province of Wícholo or middle Sind, and its chief town, a little too far north.

Professor Lassen, too, in his "Indische Alterthumskunde," taking his information, apparently, from English writers, makes the usual error of mistaking Síwistán, the modern Sihwán, for the hilly tract of country forming the southern boundary of the Afghán state, where the Koh-i-Siyáh, or Sulimán range, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, becomes mixed up with the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, or Sor Ghar, or Rátá Roh, or Rátá Pahár (as they are called in various languages used in this neighbourhood where so many different peoples adjoin each other), around Síwí of the Parní Afgháns, while, at the same time, he calls it correctly, "Sindomana—Sihwan." This ought to have opened his eyes to the fact, that Síw-istán or Sindomána, or Sihwán, is not Síwí, and never was Síwí.

Cunningham, on the other hand, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (page 264): "I agree with all previous writers in identifying Sindomána with Sehwán; partly from its similarity of name [I fear "similarity," after this fashion goes too great a way in these "identifications"]. * * * At page 266 he says: "Its present name is said to be a contraction of Sewistán. * * * It seems strange that a notable place like Sehwán should not be noticed by Ptolemy under any recognizable name. * * * I, therefore, reject the reading of Sewistán [the

and prevented from encroaching farther westwards, through the rise of the country in that direction towards the Kahṭar range, and also by the rocky nature of the country, the lower skirts of the Lakhhí mountains. This rocky barrier intervened from Síw-istán Ḥawelí, the Sindú-stán, Sharúsán, and Síw-istán of the old geographers and the A'ín-i-Akbarí—the modern Sihwán—down to within a few miles of Ṭhaṭhah, north and west of which it once flowed.[314] Even this rocky

name is not written "Sewistán," but Síw-istán] as a modern innovation of the Hindus, to connect the place with the name of the god Siva, etc., etc.

It would have been passing strange if Ptolemy had mentioned it under the name of "Sehwán," since it was not known by the name of Sihwán for ages after Ptolemy. I, however, beg to say, that the name Síw-istán, *is perfectly correct.* It was so called when the 'Arabs conquered Sind,, and the Chach Námah shows that it was so called before that time; while the statements of early Muḥammadan geographers show, that it continued to be so called, and likewise Sharú-sán and Sindú-stán, for the first three centuries of the Muḥammadan era. That such was the fact, every native writer, (including the historians of Sind), from the earliest time that Sind is mentioned in history, shows, as all may see who can read the originals for themselves. The author of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," who wrote in 1260 A. D., was not a Hindú, yet he calls it Síw-istán and Sindú-stán* (pages 532 and 539); and Ibn Baṭúṭah, who likewise, was not a Hindú, calls it Síw-istán. It was still best known by that name in Abú-l-Faẓl's time, and the province also. It is not surprising, therefore, that "Hwen Thsang does not notice Sehwán," it would have been surprising if he had, because it was not known as Sihwán in his day any more than in Ptolemy's.

Another modern writer—Tod—in his "Rajas'than" (Vol. II, page 230), on the other hand, mistakes Síw-istán for "*Seistan*, region of cold—'sci'—cold," but in what language he does not say, and he places it "on both sides of the Indus." Sístán is *hot* enough, but it does not lie on both sides of the Indus; but then Tod's geographical, like his historical statements, are often of the wildest.

The most serious error made respecting Síw-istán is by a Government official. Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, formerly assistant to the Governor-General's Agent in Balúchistán, in a very lengthy "Report" to Government on *Síwí* (which he calls "*Sewí*"), and other Afghán districts, *some three degrees farther north than Síw-istán or Sihwán*, (taken, apparently, from some incorrect extract from the A'ín-i-Akbarí) bases all his theories, and even calculates the revenue settlements on this, the chief town of Wícholo or middle Sind, also giving name to a large province, being Síwí in southern Afghánistán which, of course, it is not. See my "Notes on Afghánistán," page 553, and Erratum.

[314] There is no doubt whatever that, in comparatively modern times, the main channel of the Ab-i-Sind, leaving the great *ran* or "Sind Hollow," took a more directly southern course than at present, from a point a little west of Darbelo. In the account of the campaign against Mírzá Jání Beg, the Tar-khán, the last independent ruler of the territory dependent on Ṭhaṭhah, Mír Ma'súm of Bakhar, who was present in that expedition, says, that "the Ab-i-Sind is six *kuroh* [about eleven miles] from Síw-istán, or Sihwán, and that Jání Beg arrived in the river from Lár, or lower Sind, with a fleet of *Ghurábs*," thus showing that there must have been plenty of water in that branch, even at that comparatively modern period, namely, 994 H. (1585 A D.) See pages 112 and 229.

barrier has felt the force of the great river; for the roadway over the Lakhhí range, which existed when the troops going to Ḳandahár in 1839 passed over it, was soon after washed away, and Sihwán, which was close to the river some years ago, is now three miles or more inland; and three remarkable detached rocks lower down, between Bahman jo Púro and Ṭhaṭhah, which forty years ago were eight miles inland, are (or very lately were, for the changes are unceasing) now in the bed of the river.

Thus the Sindhu, Nahr-i-Sind, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, from the time that we possess any authentic records respecting it, was a tributary, along with the other rivers now forming the Panch Nad, or Panj Áb, of the Hakṛá, or Wahindah, which having all united into one great river at the *Dosh-i-Áb*, as related by the old 'Arab and Sindí writers, formed the Mihrán of Sind, or Sind-Ságar. Lower down than this point of junction it sent off a branch to the westwards which passed Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, on the east, which again united with the main channel above Manṣúriyah, and entered the ocean sometimes by one, and sometimes by two principal mouths. The Aror branch having been subsequently diverted, and other changes having taken place, the Áb-i-Sind began to incline more towards the west from near Ghauṛ-púr, in the great depression referred to at page 304, and by which its surplus waters still find their way towards Aror, and deserted the other tributaries of the Hakṛá. It then passed between where Kin Koṭ and Kashmúr stand, took a direct westerly course, and cut a new channel for itself in what is now known to us as the Sind Hollow, and found its way south as before described. Then other changes succeeded—for they were constantly taking place more or less—through the Bíáh and its tributaries, which formed the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, inclining to the westwards, when it joined the Áb-i-Sind, and formed a new Panch Nad, or Panj Áb, and deserted the Hakṛá altogether. This appears to have caused the Áb-i-Sind to alter its course, and, instead of turning so suddenly westwards as before, it inclined more to the south-westwards, leaving the Sind Hollow and cutting a new channel for itself by Kanḍ Koṭ, as before described, passing the present Laṛ-kánah on the west, and then inclining southwards in the direction of Siw-istán. Other changes succeeding, when near the parallel of Aror, it found its way into the channel into which the western branch of the Hakṛá or Mihrán of Sind had been diverted, and began to cut its way through the limestone hills where Rúṛhí and Bakhar now stand. From thence it passed Darbelah

Mír Ma'ṣúm also says, that, at that time, there was "a small fort on the river bank at Lahorí above Naṣr-púr." The last named place is now sixteen miles east of the river.

or Darbelo, flowed to the southwards, and got into the old channel of the Kunbh, which flowed between Síw-istán and Bahman-ábád when Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, marched to attack them, and through the Noh-Shahrah district of Sind, passing the range of low hills on which the modern Ḥaidar-ábád stands on the east, and about sixteen miles or more east of the Mukhahli hills, entered the ocean, at one period to the east of Debal and at another on the west, a little to the south of Mughal-bín, which, in comparatively modern times, was near the sea-coast.

The ancient sea-port of Sind, Debal, or Dewal, was well known to the English traders down to within the last two hundred years; and this part of the channel was navigable for small sailing ships up to within a short distance of Ṭhaṭhah. A vast deal of the delta is of comparatively recent formation; for the small district dependent on Bádín was the most southerly part of Sind in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and now it is over seventy miles from the southernmost part of the delta. The river, no doubt, formed several smaller channels therein, and, in later times, inclined farther west a little below Ṭhaṭhah, and formed a new channel, the Bhágar, which still passed near Debal and was still navigable as far up as Ṭhaṭhah. Hence, in all probability, the error and confusion arose, because Debal was known as "the Port *of* Ṭhaṭhah," that it must be Ṭhaṭhah itself, which had not been founded until after Debal had gone to comparative decay. It was the first place in the territory of Sind attacked by the 'Arab leader, Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, the Ṣaḳifí, early in 93 H. (711 A. D.)[315]

[315] See page 206. Mr. A. W. Hughes, in his "Sind Gazetteer," on the conquest of Sind, says (p. 24): "Muhammad Kásim [here we have the usual error. See note 242, page 276] left Shiráz on this expedition in H. 92 (A. D. 711), with a fine army [the 'fine army' amounted to about 10,000] and *would seem* (sic.) to have reached [There is not the shadow of a doubt about it] the seaport of Debal (*supposed* by some to have been Manora, near Karáchi, but by others Tatta) early in the following year, which he soon captured." At page 123 of the same "Gazetteer," under the heading of "Bambura," he states: "It is stated [by whom not said] that *there are reasons for supposing* that this ancient place was known during the eighth century under the names of Debal, Dewal, or Dawul [!]; and that it was the first town that was stormed by the Muslim invader, Muhammad Kásim Sákifi." At page 323, again, we have:—"*It is supposed* that Bambura may very possibly have been the Dewal (or Debal) * * * Others, again [who?], have *presumed* that Tatta was the ancient Debal, or that even Manora was the place stormed * * * At page 414, the compiler tells us, under the head of Karáchi, that, "By some writers *it is supposed* to occupy the same position, or to be at least in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient seaport of Dewal (or Debal)," etc.

Here it will be seen that we have three different "suppositions," or "it is saids," and the like, respecting this one place, and all incorrect, as I shall now show. See also a deal on this subject in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India,"

The Wihat, Bihat, or ancient Bedastá.

The Wihat, Bihat, or Bedastá, constituted one of the seven rivers

pp. 297 to 302. The opinion of Mr. Crow, who was for many years stationed at Ṭhaṭhah (not "Tatta") is the only one nearly correct.

Abú-l-Faẓl was the first to make a blunder on this subject in stating that Ṭhaṭhah was Debal, and, after the same fashion, telling us that Bakhar was "Manṣúrah," which it was not: its site is one hundred and twenty-one miles south of Bakhar. These errors are the more unaccountable seeing that he described the ruins of Bahman-ábád correctly (see note 105), page 196 and must have known that Ṭhaṭhah was not founded for some centuries after the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs. Bambhúrah cannot possibly be Debal of the 'Arabs for the reasons given at page 224, and as also shown in the map from the "Masálik wo Mamálik" at page 213.

Cunningham has also gone astray with regard to the position of Debal or Dewal. In his "Ancient India," p. 279, after "identifying *Haidarabad* as *Nirunkot*," he says, "Abulfeda [Abú-l-Fidá ?] makes it 25 farsangs from *Debal*. * * * *Lári bandar* I will presently show to have been the most probable position of the ancient *Debal*."

I may mention, however, *en passant*, that Bú Riḥán says Lári Bandar—Lohárání—was twelve *farsakhs* from Debal. See also Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 65–66.

At page 297 of his work Cunningham says: "The position of the celebrated port of *Debal*, the emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, is still unsettled. By Abul Fazl and the later Muhammadan writers, *Debal* has been confounded with *Thatha*; but as *Debal* was no longer in existence [indeed!] when they wrote, I conclude that they were misled by the name of *Debal Thatha*, which is frequently applied to Thatha itself. Similarly, *Brâhmana*, or *Brâhmanâbâd*, was called Debal Kángra [?], and the famous seaport of Debal was named *Debal Sindi*. But *Diwal* [sic.] or *Debal*, means simply a temple, and therefore *Debal Sindi* means the temple at or near the town of *Sindhi*. Burton says that the shawls of *Thatha* are still called Shâl-i-Debali, but this only proves that Debal was the place where the merchants procured the Thatha shawls."

I may mention, however, that silken cloth or fabric of various colours, brocade, is called *debá* in the Persian language, and that *debá-í* is its adjective, but the noun is certainly not derived from Debal or Dewal, because *debá* is a purely Persian word, and the place was so called on account of its great *budh* or temple. See page 231.

Cunningham then quotes Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," I. 130, who is understood to say, that "the river Sindhi" is only a small branch of the Indus, which appellation is now lost in the country [?] which it so plentifully waters and is called *Divelles*, or Seven mouths," and he adds: "This statement shows [?] that the branch of the Indus leading up to Lâri bandar was called *Debali* or the river of Debal, etc. * * * That this was the Piti branch of the Indus I infer from its other name of Sindhi, which I take to be the same as *Sinthos* Ostium of Ptolemy, or the second mouth of the river from the west." From this we are supposed to understand that the "Piti" mouth of the Indus existed much the same in Plotemy's time as now, and that *Sindhí* means second!

After saying at page 279, that he is going to "identify" it (Debal) as "Lâri bandar," in another place he tells us, that, "if *Debal* cannot be identified with either Karâchi or Lâri bandar, it must be looked for somewhere between them."

mentioned in the "Vedic Hymns," as the "Saptah Sindhún, or Sindha-

He should have added something more that Hamilton says, namely, that "The river of *Sindy* would be hard to be found, were it not for the tomb of a *Mahometan* Saint, who has a high Tower built over him, called *Sindy* Tower. It is always kept white to serve as a land mark. This writer, according to his map, places "Dnill" (Debal) in Mackraun (Mukrán).

There is plenty of *proof*, however, that neither of the above statements are correct as to its situation, nor the assertion that it was no longer in existence when Abú-l-Fazl wrote.

As late as the time when the Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh was written, the author of which was an official of the Dihlí empire in the time of Aurang-zeb-i-'Alam-gir Bádsháh, and a native of Patiálah, Debal is said, by him, to be the chief port of Sind; and Karáchí was unknown. I may add that the place on which Karáchí stands is considered really to be part of Mukrán rather than of Sind.

The author above quoted says: "Debal is a great place for pearls and other valuable commodities; and it has salt and iron mines, *which pay a considerable revenue to the Government*. Near it, at six *kuroh* distant, is a mine or quarry of yellow stone of great value for building purposes. About 4,000 vessels and boats belong to the port of Debal."

Salt in vast quantities still exists in the Sháh Bandar *ta'allukah* of the Karáchí District or Collectorate.

Wood, too, with all his acumen, fell into the same error, that Thathah and Dewal, and even Bahman-ábád, were all one.

The earliest notice, probably, that we have respecting the seaports of Sind and the river Indus, from the writings of an Englishman, is contained in a "Tractate written by Nicholas Whithington, who was left in the Mogolls country by Captain Best, a factor, in 1612." He says: "Concerning Sinda, no city is by general report of greater trade in the Indies than *Tatta*, the chief port, *Lowri bandar*, three days journey from it; a fair road without the river's mouth, clear of worms, which, about Surat, and other places of the *Indies*, after three or four months' riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder return. In two months from hence by water they go to *Lahor*, and return in one down. The ports and roads of *Sinda* are free. * * * Goods may be conveyed from *Agra* on camels to *Buckor* in twenty days, which is on *Sinda* river, thence in fifteen or sixteen days aboard the ships. One may go as soon from *Agra* to *Sinda* as *Surat*, but there is more thieving which the *Mogoll* seeks to prevent."

The distance, in a direct line, is rather greater to Bakhar than to Súrat, but now, for half the way, the route lies through Jasal-mír and the waterless desert, and would certainly not be preferred to the other to Súrat. It is evident from this, that, at the period in question, that part was not so waterless as it has become in recent times.

Whithington continues: "The inhabitants of *Sinda* are mostly *Razbootches*, *Banians*, and *Boloches*: in Cities and Towns the Governors are *Mogolls*. * * * The *Boloches* are of *Mahmets* religion. They deal much in camels; most of them robbers by land, and on the river, murthering such as they rob. When I was in *Sinda*, they took a boat with seven *Italians*, one *Portugal* Friar, the rest slain in fight. The last named was ripped open by them for gold."

Next we come to Walter Paynton, who accompanied Captain Christopher

wah," here to be noticed from west to east; and, according to the same

Newport in 1612, on the twelfth voyage to India, and who kept a journal. He gives a long account of Balúch treachery on the coast. They sent a boat on shore in which was Sir Thomas Powell, accompanied by two Persian servants of the Persian Ambassador, Sir Robert Shirley, on his way to Iṣfahán. He says: "It was for the purpose of discovering the countrey, and to seeke some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little village, called *Tesseque* [Jask ?], they spake with camell men, and others of the countrey people, by whom they understood, that that countrey was called *Getche Macguerona* [Kích-Mukrán], and the inhabitants *Boloches*: all living under the government of one King, named *Melicke Meirza*, whose chiefe residence was some five or six days' iourney from hence, at a port called *Guader*."

They discovered the intended treachery in time, however, and by a stratagem, managed to reach the ship again. This was on the 19th September, 1612. "The ship," he continues, "was steered for *Sind*, and came to an anchor at the mouth of the *Indus* in 24 degrees 38 minutes, in the Mogolls dominions. Variation 16 degrees 45 minutes, in five fathoms, less one foot of water, and in good ground. * * * Boats were sent from DIUL [Dewal] for conveying the Ambassadors goods and people, 29th September, and the Ambassador left the ship under a salute of 11 guns. * * * *Tata*, a great citie one dayes iourney from DIUL, *both cities* standing in the Great *Mogolls Dominions*."

Láhrí Bandar is mentioned separately, and was a totally distinct place from *Diul* or Debal. Bú-Riḥán says they were twelve *farsakhs*, or leagues apart.

Walter Paynton, and Joseph Salbancke [the same who proceeded from Ajmír to Iṣfahán by Ḳandahár. See the account of his journey in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," page 547], who were merchants on board, were sent on shore to proceed to *Diul* in one of the country boats; and the former, in his narrative states, that, "at the time, the ship was riding about four or five miles from the River's mouth *from whence they had fifteen miles to the city or town of Diul*, where the Ambassador had gone. He stayed in a house in *Diul* itself, and there they lodged while the party remained there. They went "through the city to the castle, and were received by the Governour, Arah Manewardus [*sic* in text]." Compare Cunningham's "Ancient India," pages 297—302."

"The *Portuguese* incited the Governour of *Diul* against the party, and endeavoured to cut them off. Sir Robert Shirley wished to be allowed to proceed to *Tatta*, but the Governour would not give permission, so he left, with one *Persian* servant, without leave, and had by the way to pass a river where he could get no one to take them across, the Governour having prohibited it under pain of death. They made rafts of boards and timbers, and the Ambassador "shipped himself" with his servant to help him in navigating it, and had no sooner put off, than 20 or 30 horsemen came in great haste, despatched by the Governour [the Hindú "Dás"] to seize them. They were brought back, men swimming to the raft, which *Nazr Beg*, the servant, was not able to guide against the tide, and they narrowly escaped drowning. The Ambassador's followers "disdaining this rude dealing, one Master John Ward, shot off his pistol in their faces, and was instantly slain by another shot, and the rest carried away prisoners to *Diulsinde* [i.e., Dewal on the Sind, by which name others also mention it], being pillaged by the way by the souldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Governour permitted their departure to *Tatta*, where

legends, the tracts originally occupied by the "Vedic people," were the

they were friendly entertained of the Governour [he] being a *Persian*. Sir Thomas Powell and Master Francis Bub were then dead before in *Diulsinde*. He (Sir Thomas Shirley) remained at *Tatta* till fit opportunity for *Agra*, the way being long and in danger of thieves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a strong convoy, for whom he waited also two months.

The Lady Powell in this place was delivered of a son, but she and it, together with Master Michael Powell, brother to Sir Thomas, lost their lives in this tedious expectation, in Boats, for that great man aforesaid. At his (Sir Thomas Shirley's) coming to *Agra*, the *Mogoll* [Jahán-gír Bádsháh] gave him favourable entertainment, and upon his complaint, sent for the *Banian* Governour of *Diulsinde*, to answer at the Court, promising him his own revenge, if he would stay. But he hasting to *Persia*, after many presents from the *Mogoll*, with a Convoy and necessaries for his journey, departed for *Persia*, not having one Englishman with him. Master Richard Barber, his Apothecary, returned to *Surat*, and John Heriot dyed at *Agra*. There remained with him of his old Followers only his Lady, and her Woman, two *Persians*, the old *Armenian*, and the *Chircassian* [Circassian]: His Dutch Jeweller came from *Agra* to *Surat*, with Master Edwards." See the map from *Purchas*, opposite, also the old map at page 297, which will show where Debal was, and the changes in the mouths of the Indus.

The above will, I think, conclusively show that Dewal was not Thathah, nor Láhrí Bandar, and that all three were totally different places, as is distinctly stated by the native authors of Sind.

Subsequent to this unfortunate affair, and ill-treatment of our people by this mild Hindú, W. Paynton, then Captain Paynton, mentions "*Diul*, near the mouth of the River *Indus*," as well as "*Diu* in *Guzurat* where the *Portuguese*, among other places, have a very strong castle."

Sir Thomas Herbert left England in 1626, and was also landed at *Diul*. Paynton says: "*Tutta* is one of the most celebrated Marts of *India*, so encompassed with the River *Indus*, that it makes a Peninsula. *Loor Bander* [Láhrí Bandar] is the Port of it, but Ships that lie there are subject to the Worm [this is contrary to the statement of Whithington], as at *Swally*, *Goa*," etc.

In the account of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy in 1615, Terry, his Chaplain, writes: "*Tatta*, a very fruitful and pleasant country, made so partly by the branchings of the *Indus*, that spreads itself into various Circlets, and forms many little Islands up and down. * * * The main Current of this River meets with the Sea at *Sindee* [*i. e.*, Dewal, as shown in the previous notices], a place noted for many curious handicrafts."

Thevenot, who reached Súrat about fifty years after, namely, in 1665–66, says, respecting the "Province of *Sindy*, which some call *Tatta*," that "The chief Town of this Province is *Tatta*, and the most Southern Town *Diul*. It is still called *Diul-Sind*, and was heretofore called *Dobil* [Debal he means]. It lies in the 24th or 25th degree of Latitude. There are some *Orientals* that call the Country of *Sinde* by the name of the Kingdom of *Diul* [he is quite correct: it is called the territory of Debal or Lár]. It is a country of great Traffick, and especially the Town of *Tatta*, where the Indian Merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the Inhabitants, who are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts [and still are]. The *Indus* makes a great many little Islands towards *Tatta*, and these Islands being fruitful and

seven *do-ábahs*, or deltas, extending from the east bank of the Sindhu, or

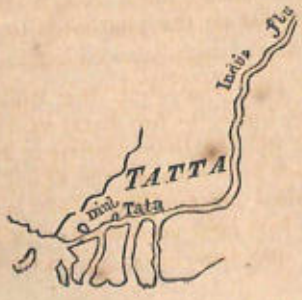
pleasant, make it one of the most commodious Towns of the *Indies*, though it be exceedingly hot there.

"There is also a great trade at *Lourebender* [Láhrí Bandar], which is three days' journey from *Tatta*, upon the sea ['Diul' or Debal, according to Paynton, was fifteen miles from 'Tatta'], where there is a better Road for ships, than in any other place in the Indies."

Tavernier, who was in India in the same year as Thevenot, says: "*Tata*, is one of the greatest Cities of *India*, a little above the mouth of the River *Indus*. * * * The Trade of *Tata*, which was formerly very great, begins now to decay, because the mouth of the River grows more dangerous, and full of shallows every day more than another, the sand hills having almost choaked it up."

It will thus be noted, that a great change was then taking place in the course of the Indus hereabouts; that Ṭhaṭhah, Debal, and Láhrí Bandar were totally distinct places—"Bambura," as the site of Debal is wholly out of the question—and that such places as "Manora," or "Karáchí" were then unknown to fame, although some pretend to identify them, even in the time of the campaign of Alexander of Macedon in these parts. Is it to be supposed that the commanders of English trading vessels, who at the periods I have been quoting, frequented the ports of Sind, and the merchants who were passing up and down between Multán, Bakhar, Ṭhaṭhah, and Debal, would have been ignorant of Karáchí and its port if it had been of any importance, or as good as it was when we first occupied it? About the period in question, what was subsequently called Karáchí, was known as Rám Bágh; and Karáchí, as before remarked, was considered rather to belong to Mukrán than to Sind.

Debal or Dewal is said above to have been in 1666, the southernmost town of Sind, and its position is plainly stated in the account of Captain Newport's landing of Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Thomas Powell there, and the melancholy events which befell his party therein. The distance given as fifteen miles from Ṭhaṭhah by the river, would bring us very near to the Shrine of Pír Patho, at the foot of the Makkahlí hills, and near the Bhágar branch of the Indus, about the period in question, a very great stream; and it will be noticed that Sir Robert Shirley tried to cross "a River" from "Diul" to get to "Tatta" on a raft. I therefore imagine that Debal lay in the vicinity of that Shrine, but a little farther south-westward perhaps. The Bhágar branch was navigable for vessels of 200 tons as far as Láhrí Bandar two centuries since, which latter place was then some twenty miles distant from its mouth.



In De Witts' Atlas, published at Amsterdam in 1688, in map No. 74, of which a tracing is here inserted, both Debal and Ṭhaṭhah are situated on the right bank of the Indus, showing, that, after Sir Thomas Shirley's time, another change had taken place, which had placed Debal on the same side as Ṭhaṭhah. It is in Lat. 24° 50′ in that map.

It is said, that when our embassy was sent to Sind in 1809, the Shrine of Pír Patho was visited by a party

Áb-i-Sind—for that was not included among the seven rivers, or "Saptah Sindhún"[316]—to the west bank of the Saraswatí.

who sailed thither from Ṭhaṭhah down the Bhágar branch of the river. When Pottinger was in Sind along with that Embassy, the Bhágar branch is said to have been "the chief outlet of the water of the Panjaub and Attock, and was upwards of twenty miles wide at its mouth."

In the year 578 H. (1182–83 A. D.), Debal—or Díbal, as its name is written in the Musalmán histories—was taken possession of, together with its territory lying along the sea-coast, by Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, son of Sám, the Shansabání Tájzík Sulṭán of Ghaznín, the same who established the Muḥammadan rule over Dihlí, the "Shabudin," and "Shahab-ood-Deen" of Dow and Briggs, and their copyists. Near Debal was Damrílah, both of which places were taken possession of by Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mangbarní, the Khwárazm Sháh, when he came into Lower Sind in 621 H. (1224 A. D.). Having gained possession of Síw-istán, the modern Sihwán, he marched from thence to Debal; and its ruler, named Chanísar, whose Musalmán title was Sinán-ud-Dín, of the Sumrah tribe, and who was ruler of Lár, or the Debal territory (and subject to Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah of Multán and Uchchh, which included all Sind), who is called a Ḥabash in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí (page 294, which see, also note), fled by sea and escaped. The Sulṭán from thence detached a force against Nahar-Wálah, which returned with immense booty. He then founded a Jámi' Masjid at Debal on the ruins of an idol temple, the same, in all probability, which was demolished when the 'Arabs captured the place, and from which it took its name.

At the period in question Ṭhaṭhah was not in existence, neither was it when Ibn Baṭúṭah was at Láhrí Bandar in 734 H. (1333–34 A. D.). The ruins noticed by him I believe to be those of Damrílah. See note 173, page 224, and note 195, page 255.

There is a deal in Elliot, Vol. I, p. 374, respecting Debal which he "identified" as Karáchí, and Manorah as the site of its idol temple, but, as he also "identified" Manṣúriyah *and* Bahman-ábád as Ḥaidar-ábád, we may be permitted to ignore its correctness. No allowance whatever is made by writers of the present day for the changes which are hourly taking place in the course of the Indus and its tributaries, and in the formation of its deltas, some of which changes, in rather less than three centuries, I have shown from the extracts previously given.

The author of the well known and valuable history, the Jahán-Árá, Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, the Ḳazwíní, died at Debal in 975 H. (1567 A. D.), on his way to Hindústán from Írán.

In the reign of Báḳí Muḥammad Khán of Balkh, about 1006 H., an Uzbak noble of high rank, Manṣúr, the Dád-Khwá, set out on the pilgrimage to Makkah

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316 Dr. Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" says, that Prof. Max Müller states ("Chaps." 1–63), that the seven rivers are "the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjáb, and the Sarasváti." This is a mistake; and the Indus appears to have been adopted because he left out the *Ghag-ghar*, which flows between the Sutlaj and the Saraswátí, but which river, although its ancient name of Dṛishádwátí is given by both the writers named, they do not appear to have been acquainted with its more modern name. It is never once mentioned by that name in Dr. Muir's work.

The following description of the Wihat, or Bihat, is from the Survey record previously quoted.

by the Dasht-i-Ḳibchák, Ming-Ḳishlák, the Caspian, the Shirwánát, Gurjistán, and Kurdistán, to Istámbúl. From thence he proceeded through Rúm, Shám and Miṣr, and from thence to Makkah. Having performed the *ḥajj*, he returned by sea to the port of *Debal*, passed through Sind and Multán to Lahor, and from there returned to Balkh.

Having clearly shown that Debal or Dewal was not Ṭhaṭhah, nor "Bambura," nor Láhrí Bandar, nor Karáchí, and stated that the latter was not founded for centuries after the 'Arab conquest, I will now show, as near as possible, when it was.

For about one hundred and thirty years after the time Muḥammad, son of Ḳásim, subdued Sind in 93 H. (711–12 A. D.), it was held by the Ṭammímí 'Arabs, who acknowledged the 'Abbásí Khalífahs as their sovereigns. In 186 H. (803 A.D.), when Hárún-ar-Rashíd assigned the eastern half of the Khiláfat to his son, Muḥammad-al-Mámún, among the territories named is "the territory on the Áb-i-Sind" or Indus, "including a part of Hind," referring, of course, to Sind and its dependencies, and Multán.

In 205 H. (820–21 A. D.), the same in which Ṭáhir-i-Ẓú-l-Yamanain received the investiture of Khurásán and its dependent territories from the Khalífah, Al-Mámún, and to which Sind and Multán also appertained, the Wálí of Sind, Dá'úd, son of Yazíd, having died, it was conferred upon Bashar, son of the deceased Dá'úd (Thomas says the coins of the rulers of Manṣúryah bear the words "*Bano Dá'úd*," which he supposed, but erroneously, might refer to the modern Dá'úd-putrahs, but this family was referred to. It will be noticed that Dá'úd is a favourite name among the Ḳarámiṭah of Multán), under the stipulation that he should yearly pay 100,000 *dirams* to the Dár-ul-Khiláfat. Subsequently, the Khalífahs, losing power, were obliged to commit distant provinces into the hands of feudatories more powerful than themselves; and in 257 H. (871 A. D.), Ya'ḳúb, son of Lais, the Ṣuffárí, among other parts, held Sind, the local Wálís being subordinate to him. In 258 H. (872 A. D.), the Wálí of the territory of Sind, Muḥammad, son of Sabḥún died; and in 261 H. (874–75 A. D.), the then Khalífah, Al-Mu'tamid B'illah, gave his brother, Abí Aḥmad, the title of Muwaffiḳ B'illah, and assigned him the government of the whole east, including Sind. In 265 H. (878–79 A. D.), however, the Khalífah, in order to divert 'Umaro, son of Lais, who succeeded his brother, Ya'ḳúb, in that year, from invading 'Iráḳ, conferred upon him Khurásán, Fárs, Kirmán, Mukrán, and Sind, as well as Sigiz-stán, which he previously held. It was about this time that the Sumṛahs broke out, and acquired some power in Lár or Lower Sind, and, no doubt, acknowledged the supremacy of the 'Abbásí Khalífahs and their feudatories. They succeeded in holding power in that part for about one hundred and seventy-eight years, which would bring us to 443 H. (1051–52 A. D.).

Sind, and also Multán, had continued, nominally at least, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Baní 'Abbás and their feudatories for the time being, until the time of Sulṭán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, who ousted the officials of the 'Abbásís, and annexed it; and the Sumṛahs of Lár had to succumb. At this period, the Sumṛahs, who appear to have embraced Muḥammadanism, outwardly at least, had become Ḳarámiṭah, as were the rulers of Multán, and many of their people. This heresy seems to have obtained firm root in these parts, which may partly be accounted for from their communications by sea with Egypt, 'Arabia, and Persia, where it flourish-

"This large river issues from the *kohistán* east and south of Kashmír, flows through its capital, and after passing under Muzaffar-ábád is

ed, and from refugees from those parts finding it convenient to come by sea into Sind for shelter. Schism had been early sown in Sind, as may be seen from note 199, page 257. Amír Náṣir-ud-Dín-i-Sabuk-Tigín tried to put it down in Khurásán, and his son and successor, Sulṭán Maḥmúd, sought to root it out in Multán and Sind, as well as in Zábul-istán. He first moved against the Bháṭiah of Uchchh in 396 H. (1005–6 A. D.), as related in note 192, page 244. In the year following, 397 H. (1006–7 A. D.), he determined to attack Multán, because the Wálí thereof, Abú-l-Fatḥ-i-Dá'úd, son of Naṣr, who hitherto had been subject to the 'Abbásís, began to assume independence, and read the *Khuṭbah* for himself, besides being guilty of other misdeeds, and making his stronghold the hotbed of heresy in that quarter. The 'Abbásí Khalífah had assigned all his claims on Sind and Multán—the Musalmán dominions east of, and on the Áb-i-Sind or Indus—to Sulṭán Maḥmúd, and he determined to enforce them.

This was the period that Anand-Pál, son of Jai-Pál, refused the Sulṭán a passage through his territory on his way to Multán, and was well punished for his hostility. Abú-l-Fatḥ-i-Dá'úd, becoming aware of Anand-Pál's overthrow, speedily collected his treasures and other movables, loaded them on elephants (some say camels), and sent them off to Saran-Díp [Kachchh Bhuj], and abandoned Multán. The Sulṭán on reaching that part, becoming aware of the misdeeds of Dá'úd, devastated his territory, but those of his supporters who remained, having agreed to pay the yearly sum of 20,000 *dirams* as a capitation tax, treating them as infidels, he accepted it, because the Ilak Khán was threatening his northern frontier on the Oxus, and his presence there was urgently required.

When he retired, Dá'úd again appeared, and the *jaziah* tax remained unpaid. In 401 H. (1010–11 A. D.), having disposed of his other affairs, the Sulṭán determined to finish the affair of Multán and the Ḳarámiṭah—or Mulḥáidah, as they are also styled, the word applied to the heretics in general—and annex the territory. Multán was captured, the greater number of the Ḳarámiṭah taken, of whom some were put to death, some deprived of a hand, and the rest sent to fortresses to be there imprisoned for lifetime, thus making an exemplary example of the heretics. As Multán and its territory was never "ruled by a Sumra dynasty," as asserted in Gazetteer history, no "idol of the Sun was again set up, under the Sumra dynasty."

I may add, that the Mulḥáidah of these parts and provinces adjacent, had rendered pilgrimages to Makkah impossible for some time past, infesting the routes, and completely closing them. Repeated complaints were made to the Sulṭán, and the matter became so serious, that, in 412 H. (1021–22 A. D.), Sulṭán Maḥmúd had to take efficient steps to remedy it.

The Ḳarámiṭah ruler of Multán, above referred to as overthrown by Sulṭán Maḥmúd, is the same who has been mistaken by Firishtah, and other modern compilers of his class, for an Afghán of the Lodí tribe (in order to make up the "*Pathán Dynasties*" perhaps), under the name of "Abu-l-Fath Dáúd, grandson of Shaikh Hamíd *Lodi*." There were no Lodís, nor Lodí rulers, there at the time, nor for centuries after. The rulers of Multán were Ḳuresh of the Baní 'Uṣmán, descendants of Sám, son of *Lawí*—لوي—mistaken for *Lodí*—لودي), and were still ruling there when the Sulṭán marched against it. See pages 189-190. An exhortation was addressed by

joined by the "Nad," or "River," coming from Little, or the Lesser, Tiblat. Subsequently it is joined by the Kishan-Gangá, and after leaving

the Muktanah, Bahá-ud-Dín, the chief *da'í*, or apostle, of Ḥamzah, one of the leading personages of the sect, at the commencement of the reign of the Sulṭán's successor, Sulṭán Mas'úd, in 423 H. (1032 A. D.), to the Ḳarámiṭah of Multán and Sind and Hind, and particularly to a Sumṛah, the chief of the tribe probably, whom he addresses as "The Shaikh, the son of Súmar [Súmṛah, as the word is also written] Rájah Pál," calling upon him, as though he, too, had been a *da'í*, to accomplish the mission wherewith he was charged, of bringing back backsliders to the Ḳarámiṭah heresy, and particularly, Dá'úd, son of Abú-l-Fatḥ-i-Dá'úd, the heretic ruler of Multán, who had fled from thence, and whose son, Dá'úd, here referred to, had been thrown into prison by Sulṭán Maḥmúd, and had been set at liberty by Sulṭán Mas'úd, on his recanting his heresy apparently.

The Sumṛahs paid obedience to the sovereigns of Ghaznín, nominally at least, until the reign of the amiable, but weak, Sulṭán 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, the affairs of whose kingdom were in great disorder; and, in 443 H. (1051-52 A. D.), taking advantage of the state of affairs, the Sumṛahs assembled in the *Thar* or *Thal*, the sandy tract between Sind and Kachchh, and set up a Sumṛah to rule over them independently. His name is not given by the Sindí writers, and it is probable that he was no other than this same Rájah (or rather, Ráná; for that, and also Rá'í, were the Hindú titles by which the local chiefs were known) Pál. But whoever he may have been, he is said to have ruled several years, and to have left a son, Bhúngar by name, who, after reigning for a period of fifteen years, died in 461 H. (1068-69 A. D.), in the tenth year of Sulṭán Ibráhím of Ghaznín. Eighteen others of this race are said to have followed in succession.

After the fall of the Turk dynasty of Ghaznín, the Shansabání Tájzík Ghúrís held Sind and Multán, the former territory nominally perhaps to some degree, from 578 H. (1182-83 A. D.), when Sulṭán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muḥammad-i-Sám marched against Debal, and possessed himself of all the territory on the sea-coast. See paragraph 15 of this note 315. After his assassination in 602 H. (1205-6 A. D.) by the disciples of the Muláḥidah, a name applied, as well as Báṭaníáh, to the Ḳarámiṭah, and who may have been, as stated, of the Khokhar tribe of Jaṭs nevertheless, since the Sumṛahs were Ḳarámiṭah (See Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 485, and note 3), his feudatory of Multán, and Uchchh, the then capital of all Sind, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, one of the Sulṭán's four favourite *Mamlúks*, and a Turk, following the example of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-duz, and Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, the other Turk feudatories of Ghaznín and Dihlí (Bahá-ud-Dín, Tughril, the fourth of the favourite *Mamlúks*, had been dead some time), declared himself independent, and assumed the title of Sulṭán. At this period there were seven petty Ránás in Sind subject to his suzerainty, one of whom was Ráná Sanír, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of Karíjah *Sammah* Lohános, who dwelt at Túng in the Rúpah territory, and another, Sinán-ud-Dín, Chanísar, of Debal, who was the fourteenth of the *Sumṛah* dynasty, and the same who fled, and escaped by sea, from Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mangbarní, when he attacked Debal and Damrílah, as mentioned in the paragraph above referred to.

In after years it is said, during the reign of 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, Sulṭán of Dihlí, the people of Lár or Lower Sind, complained to him of the tyranny and oppression of their chief, Rá'í Dúdah, and that the Sulṭán, to whom they must have been,

the more hilly tracts, and reaching more open country, another considerable river from the direction of Púnch joins it. After this junction, and

from this, subject, despatched a body of troops against him, on which the Sumrahs fled from Sind into Kachchh, and sought the assistance of the Sammahs, who, through the same Dúdah's tyranny, had fled from Sind and found refuge and a home there, and had prospered greatly. They took up the cause of the Sumrahs, but the confederates were overthrown by the Sultán's troops; and the Sumrahs were so completely broken, that not one of their tribe was left powerful enough to rule in Lár or Lower Sind, the territory subsequently known as Ṭhaṭhah from its capital of that name. From this period Lár or Lower Sind, again became tributary to the Dihlí sovereigns.

The facts, however, which have been somewhat obscured and confused, are, that the Sumrah chief and ruler, Amar, turned into 'Umar by the Musalmán writers, and the same who gave name to Amar-Koṭ, son of Rá'í Dúdah above mentioned, was a great tyrant and oppressor. Among other bad acts, he carried off the wife of an 'Arab chief, 'Umar, the Ṭammímí, the same tribe which, in former times, had been all-powerful in Sind. 'Umar proceeded to the presence of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, Sulṭán of Dihlí, who summoned Amar, Sumrah, to appear before him. He, fearing the consequences if he did not go, went, and was cast into prison, where he languished for a considerable time; and he only regained his liberty through the intercession of powerful friends, and the payment of a heavy fine. This happened about 705 H. (1305-6 A. D.).

In the meantime, the Sammahs remaining in Sind had been prospering, and gaining influence and some power, and had got possession of most of the territory of Lár; but, when the feudatory of Multán and Uchchh, Ghází Malik, afterwards Sulṭán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, in the year 720 H. (1320 A. D.), marched to Dihlí to oust the Parwárí usurper from the throne, Amar, Sumrah, seized the opportunity and repossessed himself of the territory of Lár, and died after a reign so called, including the time of his imprisonment, of thirty-five years. On this, another Sumrah, named Bhúngar, succeeded, who held possession for another ten years, when another, named Hamír (called Armíl and Abrá by some) succeeded him. Whether these were sons or brothers of Amar is not stated, but the final overthrow of the Sumrahs was close at hand.

During the captivity of Amar, Sumrah, a number of the Sammahs had returned from Kachchh and joined the others in Lár; and the tyranny and oppression of Hamír, Sumrah, becoming unbearable, the Sammahs set up a man, among those who had come back from Kachchh, named Unar, distinguished for his intelligence and exemplary conduct, who seized Hamír, the Sumrah, and put him to death. He received the title of Jám from his tribe, "which is a title of respectability among these people." This was in 738 H. (began 29th July, 1337 A. D.).

During the time the Sammahs had been subject to the Sumrahs, they had founded a town and a fort on the skirts of the Makkahlí hills, the first being named Sámú'í, also called Sá'í by some few writers, and the other Ṭhákúr-ábád—the Chief's abode or place of residence, the foundations of which had been laid by their then Ṭhákúr—for by this Hindú title, as well as Rá'í and Ráná, although converts to Islám, they appear at different times to have been styled—but it had been left unfinished, probably because the Sumrahs would not permit them to finish it. This they now completed, and also founded a number of other towns and villages. This

flowing between three and four *kuroh* farther southwards, it separates into two branches, which again unite lower down under the fort of

fort was subsequently called, or the name changed into, Ṭughluḳ-ábád, a Turkish, not a Sindí name; and the author of the Tuḥfat-ul-Kirám states, that some of the "present defences and erections in the fort of Ṭughluḳ-ábád, better known as Kalyáṇ Koṭ," were the work of the Nawwáb, Murád Khán [a Turk, or Mughal], who was the feudatory of the Ṭhaṭhah province in 1099 H. (1688 A. D.), the thirty-second year of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh. This place, miscalled "Kalán Kot" (or "Great Fort," '*kalan*' being the Persian for great) by Mr. A. W. Hughes, the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," founded by the Ṭhákúr above referred to, he "supposes to have been built about 1421 A. D., during the Samma dynasty," in which supposition he is mistaken, "and is supposed to stand on the site of a still more ancient stronghold." *Kalyáṇ*, is a Sanskrit word, and Kalyáṇ Koṭ signifies the Fort of Prosperity, Happiness, or Well-being. The place is *now* situated on the right bank of the Bhágar channel of the Indus, about three miles south of Ṭhaṭhah, where the ruins may still be seen.

Although the Sammahs rose against the Sumrahs in 734 H. (1333-34 A. D.), and they finally fell four years after, still the Sammahs are not accounted among independent rulers of Lower Sind until 743 H. (1342–43 A. D.); and the question naturally arises why it was so. We have merely to turn to the events of the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, for a reply. His empire was, for the greater part of his reign, in a state of chronic rebellion and disorder; and as quickly as he moved in one direction to put down an outbreak, another broke out in a contrary direction. This was the half-mad Sulṭán who endeavoured to depopulate Dihlí, and to transfer the seat of government to Díw-gír (*vul.* "Deogir") or Daulat-ábád in the Dakhan; who proposed to conquer China, when he could not take care of, and hold his own territory; who would confer distant countries and kingdoms, which he did not possess, on his favourites; and who endeavoured to substitute a paper currency instead of gold and silver. It was at this period, when the Dilhí empire was in such a state of hopeless disorder, that the Sammahs became independent like other petty feudatories in the empire; but the traitor, Malik Ṭaghí, the *mamlúk* of one of his principal Amírs, being harboured by the Sammahs, brought Sulṭán Muḥammad, Ṭughluḳ Sháh, against them, to die, in the first month of 752 H. (1351 A. D.), in the neighbourhood of Ṭhaṭhah recently founded, and, subsequently, caused his successor, Sulṭán Fíráz Sháh, to march against it, and to carry off their Jám and his son captives to Dihlí.

The first of the independent Jáms of Lár or Lower Sind, Unaṛ, son of Dísar, descended from Jám Júnáṇ, son of Lákhah, son of Káhah, who died after ruling for a period of three years and a half, was succeeded by his brother, Júnáṇ, who ruled thirteen years, but some say fourteen. This brings us, for no dates are given, to the year 750 H. (1349–50 A. D.). He was succeeded by his nephew, the son of Jám Unaṛ, with respect to whose name the greatest confusion and discrepancy exists among the native writers generally, but I think I am able to clear up the matter.

I may mention, however, before doing so, that the Moorish traveller, Muḥammad, son of Baṭúṭah, came into Sind early in 734 H., and that he visited Síw-istán, subsequently called Sihwáṇ, Láhri Bandar, Bakhar, and Uchchh, but he never refers to the Jáms of Lár or Lower Sind, for a good reason, that this was the very year in which the Sammahs rose against the Sumrahs. This also may be the reason

Jihlam. As at this place is the Sháh Guzr, or Royal Ferry, the river is, at times, called the river *of* Jihlam, but it does not mean that Jihlam

why he did not visit Debal, which he does not even mention. Ṭhaṭhah we could not expect him to refer to, as it was only founded some years after. He left India again in 743 H., just before the Sammahs became independent, or about that period.

It was this Jám who, soon after the Sammahs gained the upper hand in Lár, not far from Sámá'í, founded a new town as the capital of his territory, which was named Ṭhaṭhah; and therefore, the name he became familiarly known by was, the Jám, the Báni-i-Ṭhaṭhah—the Founder of Ṭhaṭhah—as is clearly written, and beyond a doubt, in several different historians, not of Sind only. These words in the Persian, in which all the histories of Sind are written, are بانی تهته, sometimes, but rarely, by ignorant scribes, as one word—بانیتهته; and, in others, it is written in various ways, but all tending to show what is meant when the key of solution is applied, thus:—بانی سهه - بانی - بابینه - بابینه - بابینه - بانیه - باپنه - بنیه - نبیه - and بابینه and in other ways. This place, which some modern writers have "identified" as "Debal," as "Láhori Bandar," "Kalánkot," and other places, and to have been in existence in the time of the Macedonian Alexander's campaign on the Indus (as it now flows) another writer says, was only "founded in 900 H. (1495 A. D.), by the Jám Niẓám-ud-Dín, Nandah," which date is just twenty-seven years before the total overthrow of the Sammah dynasty and conquest of all Upper Sind by Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal!

It may not be amiss to point out here some of the errors made by different historians of Sind, according to their own showing, which have caused such confusion respecting the fall of the Sumṛahs, and the rise of the Sammahs to power in Lár or Lower Sind.

Mír Ma'ṣúm of Bakhar is one of the chief offenders in this respect. He says, that Jám Júnah (but whose name is not written جونه but جونان, the final 'n' being nasal—Júnáṇ) son of بانیه and باهنیه and باپنه—for it is written in as many different ways in different *MS.* copies of his work—died after thirteen years' reign, in the time of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk ruler of Dihlí, who reigned from 695 to 717 H. (1295-96 to 1317-18 A. D.), and Tamachí, his brother—for he makes him, Júnáṇ, and Unaṛ, sons of this doubtful بانیه, etc.—his successor. He also makes Tamachí to be taken captive by the troops of Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, actually *before* the time of the Sammahs acquiring superiority over the Sumṛahs, and taken together with his family to Dihlí, where, after some considerable time not mentioned, Tamachí dies; and his son, Khair-ud-Dín, who, in his infancy, had been taken to Dihlí with his father, was sent back to rule over Lower Sind. He then makes Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, who reigned from 725 H. (1325 A. D.) to 752 H. (1351 A. D.), come into Sind against this *same* Khair-ud-Dín, who would not attend his summons to appear in his camp; and shortly after the Sulṭán dies in the vicinity of Ṭhaṭhah in 752 H. Thus, between the death of 'Alá-ud-Dín and of Muḥammad Sháh is a period of twenty-seven years. Mír Ma'ṣúm merely adds, that, some years after, he (Khair-ud-Dín) died. Then a son of his, styled Jám بابیه (and in other ways, as before mentioned) succeeds, against whom Sulṭán Fíruz Sháh, in 773 H. (A. D. 1371–72), no less than twenty-one years after, comes to avenge his predecessor. This Jám also is carried off to Dihlí, according to the same writer, where he is kept a prisoner for a considerable time, after which he is released, and

is its proper name. In the Kash-mírí language the river is known as Bedastá (بِدستا); and as in the Panj-áb territory 'w' (و) is used for

is reinstated in the government of Ṭhaṭhah and its territory, where he reigns in peace for fifteen years more. The writer gives not a single date until he comes to the thirteenth of the Jáms in 858 H. (1454 A. D.)

Now if we turn to his account of the reigns of the Dihlí sovereigns, which he gives in much greater detail in another part of his work, we shall not find a word respecting the Jáms in 'Alá-ud-Dín's reign, but there is in the account of Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh's, and in Sulṭán Fírúz's, in the notice of which latter reign he states, that it was against Jám Khair-ud-Dín that that Sulṭán came, and that he and his family were carried off to Dihlí where he died, and that the Sulṭán sent his *son* Chúnah (Júnáṇ?) back to rule in Ṭhaṭhah, but no such name as that of the *son* is to be found in his account of the Jáms. There, he says, that Jam بانيه was released by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, who sent him back to Sind, and that his *brother*, Jám Tamachí, succeeded him.

Thus it will be seen, that Mír Ma'ṣúm makes one and the same Khair-ud-Dín and his father, Tamachí, to be carried into captivity both by Sulṭán 'Alá-ud-Dín, and by Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh, between the *death* of the first of which, and the latter's reduction of Ṭhaṭhah, is a period of fifty-six years! In another part of his work he also says, that Jám بانيه, son of Khair-ud-Dín, was carried off by Fírúz Sháh, and that his brother, Tamachí, was sent back. He has made one Jám Tamachí into two persons, and "made confusion worse confounded."

One of the greatest errors, probably, in the history of Sind, and respecting the foundation of Ṭhaṭhah, although no date for the latter is given, is contained in the extract from the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí contained in Elliot, Vol. 1, pp. 273–75. It is, that Jám *Nanda* founded Ṭhaṭhah; and immediately after says he was living in 912 H. (1506–7 A. D.), and that he reigned *seventy-three* years. On the other hand, Mír Ma'ṣúm says, that he came to the *Masnad* in 866 H. (1461–62 A. D.) in one *MS.*, and in another, in 896 H. (1490–91 A. D.), and reigned *forty-eight* years. If we take the first date as correct, it brings us to 914 H. (1508–9 A. D.). Thus, according to the Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí, as in the extract noticed, Ṭhaṭhah was only founded a few years before Sháh Beg Khán's first invasion of Sind, and fifteen before the final downfall of the Jáms; but we know it was invested in 752 H., and surrendered to Sulṭán Fírúz Sháh in 773 H. The Táríkh-i-Ṭáhirí has confounded Júnáṇ, probably, with Nandah, between whom is a period of nearly two centuries intervening, the first mentioned being the second of the Jáms, and Nandah the fifteenth.

Mírzá 'Ísá, the Tar-khán Mughal (for the origin of which term see my "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 942), who succeeded Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal, in Sind, became involved in hostilities with Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán, the feudatory of the Bakhar province, in 962 H. (1554–55 A. D.). In the fourth month of 963 H. (March, 1556 A. D.), Mírzá 'Ísá appeared before Bakhar; and, during his absence from Ṭhaṭhah, a body of Farangís (Portuguese), whom he had sent for from Gowah (*vul.* "Goa") to assist him, reached it. On a Friday, when the people of Ṭhaṭhah were all assembled in the Jámi' Masjid, the Farangís entered the city, surrounded the Masjid, and set fire to the city on all sides. They then sacked it, slaying a great number of the inhabitants, and making many captive, besides which, a great number were burnt to death. Before they retired, having poured a *dárú* (com-

and interchangeable with 'b' (ب), the people of that part call it Wihat and Bihat.

"From under the fort of Jihlam the Bihat passes below Jalál-púr-i-Garchák, and by Bahrah (then close to its bank) and Khúsh-áb, and within a short distance of the *karyah* of Chhautarah (چھوترہ) unites with the Chin-áb, and loses its own name."

In the lower part of the Chin-hath *Do-ábah*, or delta, between the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb, there is an extensive tract of table land, or plateau, sloping gradually upwards on either side, at a distance of about three or four miles, or more in some places, from the rivers' banks, and beginning with a low, abrupt ridge, which separates the good lands lying along the banks from the waste in question. It extends from near Nún-Miání on the north, in the Sháh-púr district, down towards the junction of the Bihat and Chin-áb. In about the centre of this plateau there is a range of rugged hills, running in parallel ridges across the *Do-ábah*. They extend from east to west about twenty-one miles, and from north to south about ten or twelve. Some of their offshoots extend across the Chin-áb, which cuts its way through them, east of the town of Chandaní-oṭ, or Chandan-oṭ (*vul.* "Chuneeot"), part of which stands on them; and some of their minor offshoots, or waves, extend for some twenty miles or more into the Rachin-áb *Do-ábah*, as far as the Sángalá *Tall*, or *Tallah*. They are known as the Kiránah range, and this elevated tract or plateau is named the Kiránah *Bár* or waste after them.

All along the west bank of the Bihat, which river contains a much lesser volume of water than the Chin-áb, there is a belt or strip of alluvium, as its Hindí name of *kachchhí* implies, the same word as noticed in note 349, at page 348, and applied in the same way. It extends westwards from the river bank from half a mile to four and five, and, in some few places, as much as ten miles, but the average

bustible—napthah or petroleum probably) upon the waters, they set it on fire, dropped down the channel, and departed.

As to the origin of the name Ṭhaṭhah—ٹھٹھہ—Cunningham states, at page 288 of his "Ancient Geography of India," that *thaṭṭha* means a 'shore,' a 'bank,' so that Nagar Thatha would mean the city on the bank."

Ṭhaṭ—ٹھٹ—Sanskrit तट, signifies 'a bank,' 'a shore,' and ٹھٹھہ, which is written like the name of the place, and the other mode of writing it—ٹھٹھا in Hindí, signifies 'sport,' 'fun,' etc. The probability is that the name of the place does not refer to either of the significations mentioned above. There are scores of villages in the Panj-áb with the prefix *thaṭhí* to their names, and the city in question, was not at all times on either 'a bank' or 'shore.' Ṭhaṭh—ٹھٹھ—in Hindí, signifying 'a crowd,' 'throng,' 'assemblage,' is the more likely origin of the name of this place

breadth, roughly speaking, is from three to five, as far as the abrupt edge or steep bank of the *Thal*, another elevated desert tract, referred to with respect to the course of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, in the Muzaffar Garh district, and its junction with the Chin-áb and tributaries. The Bihat, here and there, approaches close to this *Thal*, in part of the Sháhpúr district, and also in the upper part of the district of Jhang-i-Siálán, where it may be said to be wearing the bank of the *Thal* away; but, more towards the south, the *kachchhí* widens considerably, and, consequently, there is a greater distance between the river and the *Thal*.

Very little change, comparatively, appears to have taken place in the course of the Bihat, except towards its place of junction with the Chin-áb, which has changed often, and considerably. In former times it ran farther east, and passed nearer to Jhang-i-Siálán than at present. Abú-l-Faẓl says, "the Bihat or Wihat unites with the Chin-áb near the *pargana'h* of Shor," that is to say, the *pargana'h* of which Shor or Shor Koṭ is the chief place. At the present time the junction takes place twenty-six miles north of Shor Koṭ, and eight miles above the place of junction at the time of the Survey I am quoting. Abú-l-Faẓl refers to the time when the Chin-áb flowed some three miles and a half *east* of that town, where the old channel is still very distinct, and the Bihat flowed past it about the same distance on the west. At that time the junction took place about three miles, or thereabouts, south-south-west of Shor Koṭ, but the Chin-áb having subsequently changed its course very considerably, ran into the bed of the Bihat, thirty-one miles farther north.

The Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáríkh, written in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, by an official of the Mughal empire, before alluded to, states, that the Chin-áb, at that period, united with the Jihlam, or Bihat, at, that is to say near to, Jhang-i-Siálán, which now is some thirteen miles above the junction, and the Bihat does not now approach within twenty-six or twenty-seven miles of it on the west.

At the time of the Survey from which I have been quoting, the route from Jhang-i-Siálán towards the Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán will show some of the changes which have taken place in the course of both the Wihat and the Chin-áb within rather less than a century. It states, that "In going from Jhang-i-Siálán[317] you have to proceed nearly three *kuroh* west, and cross the Chin-áb by boat. This ferry is called the Paṭan of Jhang-i-Siálán; and from thence you go two *kuroh* more to Massan, a large *karyah* of the Siál tribe, on the bank of the river. From thence going six *kuroh* more in the direction of south-south-west you

[317] That is to say, Jhang of the Siáls, or of the Siál tribe, but now, from carelessness or constant use, generally called, in conversation, Jhang-i-Siál.

reach the banks of the Wihát, and cross into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah by boat. This ferry is known as the Chhautarah Paṭan, and the large *karyah* of Chhautarah is close by the banks on the west side. From this last named place you proceed, through a very sandy tract, six *kuroh* south-west to Uchchh-i-Gul Imám, a strong fort," etc., etc.

At the present time, Massan, turned into "Mussun" in our maps, is nearly four miles from the Chin-áb, and nearly five east of the Wihat. There is still a very small village known as Chhautarah, but apparently not that referred to here,[318] which has probably disappeared, close to the west bank, and two miles and a half above the junction of the two rivers, just below which is the ferry now known as Trimúṇ Paṭan. Among the *belahs* or islands in the bed of the Wihat, north of the present Chhautarah, there is one a mile and a quarter in length and nearly as broad, called the Belah of Chhautarah, showing where the large *karyah* so called once flourished.

In the route leading westwards towards the Dera'h of Ghází Khán still greater changes are to be found. The Survey account says: "In going from Jhang-i Siálán thither by way of the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí [319] [which is about mid-way between Jhang and Shor Koṭ] you leave the aforementioned *Ḥawelí*, and having proceeded one *kuroh* west, reach a large *nálah* [*vul.* "nulla"]—a small river, a branch of, or coming from, the Chin-áb, which, flowing between two and three *kuroh* towards the left hand (south), again unites with it. Except in the rainy season it is fordable knee-deep. From it you go half a *kuroh* west, and reach the Chin-áb and Wihat, which flow in one channel, and here it is near upon two *kuroh* in breadth. You have to cross by boat. The place of junction of the two rivers, which is called by the name of Trimúṇ, is about three *kuroh* higher up on the right hand (north).[320]

"On the other side of the aforementioned river [the two united] there is also another *nálah* or channel of great size, which comes from the right hand from the river Wihat, and at the *paṭan* or ferry unites with the Chin-áb. This *guzr* or ferry, on the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah side, is called the Paṭan of 'Alí Kahanná (علي كهنا), and, on the Rachin-áo Do-ábah side, the Paṭan of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí. 'Alí Kahanná is the name of a branch of the Siál tribe, who number between three and four thousand families.

[318] It has probably taken the name of the former village of that name. See the large scale Revenue Survey map.

[319] See note 325, page 335.

[320] The point of junction a short time since was eight miles above 'Alí Kahanná, or two miles higher up than at the period in question, and nearly nine miles below Massan. See also page 335.

"After having crossed the united Chin-áb and Wihat, half a *kuroh* farther west is another large *nálah*, as large as a quarter or more of the channel of the Wihat. It comes from the river from the right-hand (north), runs towards the left (south), and abreast of Koṭ Mapál unites with the Chin-áb. Between this great *nálah* and the Chin-áb is a large extent of land some three *kuroh* in breadth; and its inhabitants are Baluchís of the Almání branch, who pay allegiance to Kabír Khán, Síál, the ruler of Jhang-i-Siálán, one of the two chiefs of that great tribe. The chief village of these Almánis is called Almání after them. As the large *nálah* above referred to is very tortuous, it is known by the name of Uṛputh (اُڑپتھ).[321]

"Having passed this *nálah*, and proceeding half a *kuroh* more to the westward, you reach 'Alí Kahanná, the name by which several small *karyahs* of the Siáls of the branch known by that name are called. From thence you go one *kuroh* south to Mírán de Bohar, the name of a very large and ancient *bohar* tree,[322] beneath which are the graves of several people of the Musalmán faith. From thence the route leads one *kuroh* south-west to Murád dá Koṭ, a village belonging to the Salbání branch of the Síál tribe. East and south of this *karyah* or village, and of the aforesaid *bohar*, there is a channel of great depth, which, running to the left hand (south-south-westwards), unites with the Chin-áb. It is stated that this is an ancient channel of the Wihat; and save in the rainy season,[323] it is fordable in some places, but at other times, you have to cross it over bridges. One *kuroh*

[321] The *bar*—*Ficus Indica*.

See note 360, page 362, where we are told in the account of the movements of Alexander the Great, that it is said, that "a great *banyan* tree existed near the confluence of the Hydraotes [Ráwí] with the Acesines [Chin-áb]," and that it "would be worth while to ascertain whether there be one [after two thousand two hundred years and more!], of great size and apparent antiquity." Here is one; but there used to be another near the ferry of Fáẓil Sháh, at the place where the two rivers united about half a century or more since, but which is now nearly four miles from the junction, and stood between the two rivers at the *takiyah* of a Faḳir. It was famous for its great age, but not quite twenty-two centuries perhaps, and possessed very large trunks from one root, and hence it was known to the people of that part, by the name of "Aṭh Múndí," or the "Eight Pillars."

[322] The "Nulla *Phant*" of the latest maps, probably, or what at present remains of it.

[323] The writer does not mean to say that there is a rainy season here, unless the seasons have changed since, but merely refers to the period of the rains farther eastwards within the influence of the monsoon. In the Panj-áb, the hot season is the time when the rivers are in flood or inundated, at which period in the parts farther east, the rainy season prevails.

south from Murád dá Koṭ is Rustam dá Koṭ; and passing it, and going another *kuroh* in the same direction you reach Islám-púr. Another two *kurōh* from thence to the south is Kokárí, a large *karyah* of Sayyids and there is the Mázár (Tomb and Shrine), of Ḥaẓrat, 'Abd-ullah-i-Jahánián, who is known by the name of Munnawir-i-Jhang [824] and the Upuṭh *nálah*, before mentioned, lies near by on the left hand (south)."

Now let us see how matters stand at present. No great *nálah* now exists one *kuroh* west of the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí, and the Chin-áb is but two miles and three quarters, equal to about a *kuroh* and a half, from that place on the west; but, in the bed of the river are several large *belahs* or islands, the river bed is about a mile and a half in breadth, and the river flows in two branches. The place of junction of the Wihat and Chin-áb, at present—that is according to the latest survey, but it may have altered, or may have been altering, very considerably this present hot season—which was known as Trimún, is now nine miles to the north, or more than five *kuroh* instead of three *kuroh*, as it was when the Survey above quoted was made, and a little to the north of what is still known by the old name of Trimún Paṭan. The ferry which, on one side, was called the 'Alí Kahanná Paṭan, and, on the other, the Paṭan of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí, does not now exist at the point indicated, but there is another, about three miles and a quarter north-west of the Ḥaweli of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí (called "Haweli Bahádur Sháh Ferry," and "Haweli Ferry" in the maps [825]) and more than three miles and a half north of 'Alí Kahanná, the name of which still remains in the name of a small village a little over four miles due west of the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí, and little more than half a mile from the west bank of the Chin-áb.[826] There is also another still smaller village, on the west side of a considerable *belah* or island nearly three miles in length and half that in breadth, and a mile and three quarters south-east of the other 'Alí Kahanná. According to the

[824] Munnawir, the act. part. of the 'Arabic verb II. of نور 'that which illumines or enlightens'—'the illuminer' or 'enlightener,' 'luminary,' etc.

[825] This place appears in the Indian Atlas and other maps under the strange name of "Huwali," and the ferry the "Haweli Ferry," such is the careless manner in which names are entered.

[826] It was so when the Indian Atlas map of this part was made, but since then further changes have taken place; and according to the large scale map of the Panj-áb Revenue Survey, this place, when the survey for the map was made, instead of being about half a mile distant *west* from the right or west bank, is now on the *east* side of a great *belah* or island in the middle of the river, and on the western-most of the two branches into which this *belah* separates it. We may assume, therefore, that these rivers are no more subject to changes now than they were twenty-three centuries since.

incorrect mode of writing names of places adopted in our best maps, through the surveyors, generally, being only acquainted with the vernacular colloquially, and inserting the names from ear, this name appears as "*Uleekhunanuh*"; and while in the Revenue Survey map of the *Jhung* (instead of Jhang) District, the *Ḥawelí* of Bahádur Sháh, Ḳureshí, appears as "*Huwalí*" only; in the map of the Multán Division it actually appears as "*Huwah*;" while on the opposite side of the Chin-áb, we find the same word written "*Huvelee*"! The word, of course, is the 'Arabic حويلي in common use, and signifying, 'a house,' 'a dwelling,' 'mansion,' 'the court-house of a district, public offices,'[827] and the like, but, in these instances, referring to the dwelling-place or shrine of a Muḥammadan saint.

There is no large *nálah* now from the Bihat on the west bank of the river uniting with the Chin-áb abreast of Koṭ Mahpál; and the former river is, at present, nine miles farther north than the point indicated. Murád de Bohar, the very large and ancient tree, with the old graves beneath it, have now disappeared, unless "*Huvelee Mohu*" of one map, and "*Huvelee Mohungir*"—both referring to the same place—be meant for it; and of the ancient channel of the Bihat near this venerable tree, and the village of Murád dá Koṭ, no trace at present remains, because the Chin-áb since that time has taken to it.[828]

This river, the Bihat or Wihat, is called the Jamd and Dandánah in the histories of Amír Tímúr's campaign.

The Chin-áb or Chandar-Bhágá.

The tract of country lying between the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, constituting the Rachin-áo or Rachin-áb *Do-ábah*, especially that portion of it extending from the southern part of the Gujarán-Wálah district, and below that again to the south and south-west, belonging to the two districts of Jhang-i-Siálán and Ghugherah, now called Montgomery, and forming the lower or south-western part of the Rachin-áo Do-ábah, is quite different from the other Do-ábahs except part of the Chin-hath already described, and the Bárí Do-ábah yet to be noticed. This part is so cut up with old channels of the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, that it requires special notice before attempting to describe the Chin-áb and its course. It contains three great tracts of waste land, consisting of three elevated plateaux, namely, the Sándal *Bár*, the Gondal *Bár*, and the Ganjí *Bár* (in part), besides a fourth, differing considerably from the others, called the *Bár*-i-Chin-áb or Chin-áo *Bár*, lying on either side of that river, as it flows at present.

[827] See note 223. page 265, and preceding note 325.

[828] See Abú-l-Faẓl's notice of the rivers at page 294.

"The Sándal *Bár*, or central alluvial flat or plateau or elevated waste, lying between the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, which stretches from north-east-to south-west, is some forty *kuroh* in length, and about half that in breadth, embracing all the *jangal* waste from the cultivated belt along the east or left bank of the Chin-áb, to the cultivated belt along the west or right bank of the Ráwí included in the sub-district dependent on Farid-ábád on that river." Thus this *Bár* lies in the lower part of the Gujarán-Wálah district of the Panj-áb, as at present constituted, and the upper part of the Jhang-i-Siálán, and the upper western part of the Ghugherah or Montgomery districts. "On the east it adjoins the Ganjí *Bár*, and on the west, farther down, the Gondal *Bár*. The country rises gradually upwards from the banks of the Chin-áb towards the edge or ridge of the Sándal *Bár*, which having reached, the edge or ridge, in the upper part, in the Jhang district, rises somewhat abruptly for some feet, and continues to rise until the central or highest part is reached, which attains a height of between thirty and forty feet or more above the level of the plain below. At first the river runs nearly parallel to it in some places, but, farther south and west, the river flows farther away from it, and at last this *Bar* dies away towards the Gondal *Bár*. Water in the Sándal *Bár* is exceedingly scarce, and the inhabitants, who are of the Bhatí tribe, very scanty. In the upper part of this *Bár*, and within the Jhang district, are the ruins of three ancient cities, Sángalá or Sángalá *Tall*, *Tallah*, or *Tibbah*, Rasúl, and Asraur;[329] and offshoots from the Kiránah range of hills in the Chin-hath Do-ábah, on part of which the ancient town of Chandaní-oṭ,[330] also written Chándan-oṭ,

[329] It is strange that these ancient sites, Asraur and Rasúl, have not been "identified."

[330] The correct name of this ancient town, about three quarters of a mile from the Chin-áb in the last century, is Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ, and is derived, according to tradition, from Chandan, the name of the daughter of a petty chief of these parts, and to which is affixed the word oṭ (as in Muḥammad-oṭ on the Haríárí, turned into "Mumdot" in the maps) from the Sanskrit, which word signifies, 'covering,' 'surrounding,' 'shelter,' 'cover,' etc.

The famous Wazír of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír Bádsháh, Sa'd-ullah Khán, was a native of Chandan-oṭ, as was also another *mansab-dár* of that reign, Wazír Khán.

Khatrís of this part who turn Muḥammadans are, in the idiom of the Panj-áb, styled Paránchahs and Kahochahs.

From constant use, apparently, the name Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ, has been shortened into Chaní-oṭ.

The learned Editor of Elliot's "Historians" (vol. iv, page 232), in the extract from the "Túzak-i-Bábari," where Bábar Bádsháh says: "As I always had the conquest of Hindustán at heart, and as the conquest of Bahrah, Khusháb, Chináb, and Chaniút, among which I now was, had long been in the possession of the Turks," etc., the Editor has a foot-note to "Chaniút," and after telling us that Bahrah at

stands, and through openings in which the Chin-áb at present cuts its way, extends as far as Sángalá, or at least, rocky waves of the same formation, rising to a height of some two hundred feet and more, on the part on which the remains of this old stronghold stands.

"The Rind Balúchís once held part of the Sandal *Bár*, and bred numerous herds of camels and other cattle, but they were subsequently driven out by the Bharwánah Siáls.

"The Gondal *Bár*, so called after a tribe of Jats of that name, but some account them Bhatís, extends from the termination of the Sándal *Bár* on the south-west, and runs in much the same direction between the Chin-áb on the one side, and to the Ráwí, close to Kot Kamáliah, on the other.[331] It extends downwards towards Shor Kot and the lower part of the Do-ábah. It is about thirty *kuroh* in length from north-east to south-west, and about twenty in breadth." When the Survey I have been quoting from was made, this *Bár* was a dense *jangal*, in which water was difficult to obtain, and the inhabitants few; but the remains of old wells, and the ruins of ancient buildings, show clearly that, in by-gone times, it must have been in a flourishing condition and well peopled.

"The Ganjí *Bár* is another elevated tract or plateau of waste-land, part of which lies between the old banks of the Ráwí and the Bíáh. Consequently, it is in both the Rachin-áb and Bárí Do-ábahs, and is about twenty *kuroh* in length from east to west, and nearly fifteen in breadth from north to south. It extends in one direction towards Búchián Malhián, to Yúní kí in another; and in another direction approaches near to Asraur, also called Saraur, and to Sháh-Zádah,[332] and in this tract Háfiz-ábád, Shaikho-púrah, and other towns are situated. It is called Ganjí on account of the denseness of the *jangal*, and close proximity of the trees to each other. The inhabitants belong to the Bhatí tribe. This *Bár* from its elevated position is the most sterile and arid of the whole of the Ghugherah district lying in the Rachin-áo Do-ábah.

present (sic) lies near Pind Dádan Khán, says: "No Chaniút can be found; perhaps it is Battiut, south-east of Attok, by a slight mistake in writing." Wonderful geographical information this! See note 361, page 366, for one of the reasons mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.

[331] In going from Kot Kamáliah across to Jhang-i-Siálán, the Gondal *Bár* and the Sándal *Bár* have to be crossed.

[332] As another specimen of the incorrect manner in which names of places are inserted in our best maps, and become the "official form" of the names, and not the true one, this place appears in the India Atlas map as "*Sujaduh*." Sháh-Zádah is an old place, and was in former times the principal town of the district. As it was the head-quarters of the tribe of Hinjaráún, it is also known as Sháh-Zádah-i-Hinjaráún, or Sháh-Zádah of the Hinjaráúns.

"The *Bár*-i-Chin-áb or Chin-áb *Bár* differs altogether from the others, and consists of that strip of sterile waste locally called *uṯhár* (اُتّھار) *i. e.*, 'highland' or 'upland,' which separates the belt of land along the river's bank subject to inundation, locally known as *heṯhár* (ہیٹّھار) *i. e.*, 'lowland' or 'at the foot of,'[333] and which Chin-áb *Bár* or *uṯhár* separates the *khádar* or *bet* or *sail-ábí* lands along the river from the high flats or plateaux of the other *Bárs*. This Chin-áb *Bár* extends from the territory of Tárar upwards, down to the junction of the Chin-áb with the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, a distance of over two hundred *kuroh*, with a breadth of from four to seven *kuroh* more or less, lying along both banks of the Chin-áb.

"In going from Sháh-Zádah to Jalál-púr-i-Chaddharán on the Chin-áb, two *kuroh* south from the banks of the river, and three *kuroh* after passing Bangar, the Sándal *Bár* terminates in that direction, and the Ganjí *Bár* begins."

These *bárs* differ from the tract on the Sind-Ságar side, locally known as the *Thal*, and the Chúl-i-Jálalí by historians,[334] in this respect, that it is covered with sand-hills, some of considerable elevation, and the *bárs* are not.

The boundaries of these elevated tracts or *bárs* are generally the banks of old channels of the rivers. Thus the Sándal *Bár* on two sides

Any one would imagine that in these days of "Imperial Gazetteers," when every petty place almost has one all to itself, an effort would have been made to write the names correctly as they are written by the inhabitants, or, at least, have produced one uniform mode, but "red tape" appears to have prevented it. The upshot is, that in one Gazetteer the names are written one way, in another, in a different manner, and as to the maps, each map has a mode of its own, and different from the Gazetteers!

[333] Hindí اُتّھ *uṯh*—'high,' 'raised,' 'over-topping,' etc., from which comes اُتّھار—*uṯhár*—'upland,' and the like, and ہیٹّھ—*heṯh*—'low,' down,' 'nether,' etc., from which is derived ہیٹّھار—*heṯhár*—'lowland,' etc.

First comes the tract nearest the river banks, the 'lowland' or *heṯhár*, under the influence of the yearly inundations, after which there is a strip or belt irrigated by means of wells, beyond which again comes the upland or *uṯhár*, the Chin-áb *Bár* of the Survey record above quoted, the *bánjar* of other localities, and beyond which floods never rise, in which are depressions here and there, then sandy tracts with occasional sand hills, until the rise or ridge of the *bár* is reached. There being no rain except on rare occasions, and water for irrigation purposes distant, and no wells at all farther than the verge of the *bár*, the few villages hereabouts are badly off for that necessary element. At times, when rain does fall, the water pours down from the sides of the Sándal *Bár*, and this the people endeavour to utilize by conducting it into their lands.

[334] See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 338.

lies between the left bank of the Chin-áb and the right bank of the Ráwí in the upper part of the Jhang district, as does the Gondal *Bár*, which adjoins it lower down in the direction of Shor Kot, and terminates in that part of the Rachin-áo Do-ábah, in the neighbourhood and in the sub-district of that name, and which is locally known as the Wíchánah. After the same manner, the Ganjí *Bár* is bounded by the old right bank of the Ráwí. The whole of the Jhang and Ghugherah districts, and part of the adjoining districts farther up stream, may be called a great alluvial plateau, the remains of which consist of the *Thal* in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and the Sándal, Kiránah, Gondal, and Ganjí *Bárs* on the opposite side, which are more or less elevated, and slope downwards to the alluvial tracts through which the rivers Wihat or Jihlam, Chin-áb, and Ráwí, and some minor tributaries dependent on rain, have cut their way in by-gone times, and, by their fluctuations, have separated it into *báṛs*, as already described. From the ruins of old buildings and ancient wells, every here and there, there can be no doubt, but that, in former times, this great tract supported a numerous population, and was in a flourishing condition. I believe that the convulsion of the elements which brought about the great flood in these very parts, mentioned at page 392, completed the desolation which the Mughals, by their constant inroads commenced, from the time of the first invasion of these parts by those infidels, up to the time of the flood in question.

The Survey record which I have previously quoted says, respecting the Chin-áb and its course, that, "the Chin-áb, or sometimes Chín-áb, is so called because, in former times, most people considered that it came out of Chín [China].[335] This rapid and impetuous river is also called the Chandar and Chandar-Bhágá, and comes from the eastward. It is said to issue from the *kohistán* of Pádal, which is the frontier of the territory of Chín in that direction. Having passed the mountains of Wachhan, a dependency of Kash-mír, it flows three *kuroh* north of the town of Kisht-wár, and just thirteen *kuroh* east of that place unites with the Bhágá, which comes from the Lesser Tibbat, from the *kohistán* of Márún, between fifty and sixty *kuroh* north of Kisht-wár. After the junction, the united streams receive the name of Chandar-Bhágá.[336] In the winter season it is crossed by wooden bridges, but at the time of the melting of the snows, when it becomes flooded, these become destroyed, and the river is passed by means of several rope bridges at different places. On issuing from the hills

[335] It certainly comes from parts which were dependent on China.

[336] I have not considered it necessary to mention all the affluents this river receives during its course into the more level country.

near the *kaṣbah* of Akh-núr (اکھنور),[337] it separates into several branches; and, after reaching near to Bahlúl-púr, which is twelve *kuroh* south-west, these again unite. Then, passing by the ancient town of Súdhará,[338] Wazír-ábád, Ḳádir-ábád,[339] and Chandaní-oṭ, it unites with the Wihat or Bihat at the place previously mentioned in the account of that river, and within twelve *kuroh*[340] of Jhang-i-Siálán. Between this place and Chandaní-oṭ its banks on either side are but thinly inhabited;[341] and they call that part, the *Bár*-i-Chin-áo or Chin-áb *Bár*. The water of this river is excellent, but, it is so deep, that it is nowhere fordable.

"North of Kisht-wár the course of this river is from east to west; but there it makes a sudden bend almost due south, and after flowing in that direction for some distance, as suddenly turns to the westwards, and subsequently south again to Akh-núr. From thence its course is about south-south-west, and this course it pursues for a considerable distance, and then inclines more towards the south-west. It so continues to run until its junction with the Wihat, when it resumes a south-south-westerly course again, and continues to flow in that direction until it unites with the Ráwí. After this it inclines a little more towards the south-west again, until abreast of Multán, when it resumes the previous direction,[342] which it follows until its junction with the Áb-i-Sind near Uchchh-i-Sharíf."

"Although there are several *bárání* rivers [that is, dependent on rain], and some perennial streams in the eastern part of this, the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, the principal one is the Deg. This river comes from the vicinity of Sánbah, and issues from a *kol-i-áb* or lake. It only obtains the name of Deg some three or four *kuroh* from its source, previous to which it is called the Basanthar [the "Basantha" of the maps]. The breadth of its bed is about half a *kuroh* on the average, but, save in time of rains, it is dry in most places. This is in a great measure caused by the cultivators throwing dams across it for irrigation

337 The "Aknur" of the maps.

338 Súdhará is now three miles distant from the river, but the old channel passes close to it.

339 "Quadirabad" of the maps.

340 The place of junction now is about twelve miles, equal to rather less than seven *kuroh*, and two or three *kuroh* from the *kaṣbah* of Chhantarah. See pages 331 and 335.

341 It is in a more flourishing condition now.

342 The directions here mentioned are general, of course. Boilean, in his "Personal Narrative," quoted farther on, says, that the three rivers, Jihlam or Wihat, Chin-áb, and Ráwí, after their junction, are known as the "*Trimah*" until they unite with the Gharah near Uchchh.

purposes. It runs about parallel to the course of the Ráwí on the west side, at from four to seven and eight *kóh* distant from it, and in the neighbourhood of Farid-ábád [in the Ghugherah, now the Montgomery, district] unites with that river. The intermediate space, which is known as Deg Ráwí, is exceedingly fruitful."[343]

Above the junction with the Wihat the banks of the Chin-áb are well defined, and during the annual inundations, except on extraordinary occasions, it does not overflow its banks; but, after the junction of the two rivers, the bed spreads out considerably, so much so, that, a little lower down, it forms several *belahs* or islands in the sub-district of Shor Koṭ, which extend as far down as the junction with the Ráwí and beyond.

From the junction of the Wihat and Chin áb, locally called the *Do-mel*,[344] the *Thal*, which formed the boundary of the *kachchhí* or *heṭhár* on the Sind-Sagár side, recedes for many miles to the westward; and immediately south of Shor Koṭ the country appears to sink, or, in other words, to become much depressed. Sand-hills begin to cover it every here and there on either side, but especially on the side of Shor Koṭ; and there being no high land to impede or keep back the waters in the time of periodical inundations—for the Gondal *Bír* terminates farther north, and the *Bár*-i-Chin-áo, is not here to be distinguished at the present day—and the soil being very sandy, the waters find their way far inland. Indeed, the whole of the lower part of the triangle con-

[343] In the time of Akbar Bádsháh there were two *maḥálls* or districts named Deg Ráwí in the *Ṣúbah* of Multán, and both in the Multán *Sarkár*, one on either side of the Deg: one accounted in the Bárí *Do-ábah*, and the other in the Rachin-áo. The first was styled the "Mauwázi' (plural of Mauza')-i-Deg Ráwí," which *maḥáll* was assessed at the very low rate of 50,147 *dáms* in money, but there were only 867 *bígahs* and 14 *biswahs* of land under cultivation; while the other, along with Ú-ruj-púr, formed two *maḥálls* under the name of "Ú-ruj-púr and Deg Ráwí." These were assessed in the sum of 23,77,300 *dáms* in money, but then there were 37,230 *bígahs* of land under cultivation. The inhabitants were Khar'ls, who were entered as liable to furnish 200 horsemen, and 2,000 foot as militia.

In the present day, when the Deg overflows its banks, which are below the level of the surrounding country, it inundates the tracts around; but its floods, like the inundations of the Ráwí, have decreased from what they used in former times to be, and the channel, from all accounts, appears to have decreased in breadth and increased in depth. The supposition that the Deg ever ran as far as Koṭ Kamálíah is quite impossible, with the high bank of the Ráwí intervening, but its waters in time of floods may have reached as far down as that part. The decrease of water may be attributed to the increase of cultivation farther north, and the consequent demand for more water.

[344] *Mel*, in Sanskrit, means 'union,' 'association,' 'combination,' etc. *Do*, of course, means 'two.' See also note 337, page 378.

stituting, at present, the lower extremity of the Rachin-áb Do-ábah is, without doubt, of comparatively recent formation. More respecting this tract will be mentioned in the notice of the river Ráwí.

There are several canals from the Chin-áb, in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah in the present Jhang district, some of which are certainly very old, from the fact that their levels are much higher than the present level of its channel; and it is clear that, at a former period, the river must have flowed at a much higher level to have enabled water to reach them. There is one about a mile distant from Shor Koṭ, on the west, which, even at the period of the greatest inundations, water can scarcely enter. It is styled the Rání Wá-hah or Rání's Canal.

Traces of another ancient canal remain in the middle of the Sándal *Bár*, near the site of an ancient city, said to have been, in by-gone times, the chief place and seat of government of these parts, called Asraur or Saraur (the "Khangah Asroor" of the maps, meant, probably, for the Khánkah or Monastery near Asraur). It runs in the direction of south-west for upwards of forty miles, passing about four miles to the southward of the *Tall* of Sángalá. It is known as the Nannan Wá-hah (the "Nunnunwah *Canal*" of the maps), because *Wá-hah* (*vul.* "Wah" and "Vah") means a canal.

The Chin-áb has changed its course very considerably, and its valley, or rather, the tract over which it has flowed at different periods, is thirty miles broad. In by-gone days, at about the point where the Shaikhán *Paṭan* now is, some fourteen miles north-east of Chandaní-oṭ or Chandan-oṭ, instead of turning more to the westwards as at present, it kept a course more towards the south-south-west, and passed five miles *east* of Chandan-oṭ; while now it passes it two miles and a half on the *west*. Its old bed is very distinct, and runs within a mile of Rajú-á. The whole space between this ancient channel and the present one below Chandan-oṭ is seamed with other old channels running in the direction of Jhang-i-Siálán, one of which lies within four miles of it on the east. These channels, lower down towards Shor Koṭ, again unite with the ancient bed.[345] At one place, a point

[345] Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," like all others, traces the movements of Alexander and his Greeks, according to the present courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb, to judge from the maps at pages 104 and 248; but, in some places, his descriptions do not appear to agree with his maps. When we see what great changes have taken place in the courses of these rivers within the short space of one hundred years, what may have occurred in the space of two thousand two hundred? He also traces the travels of Hwen Thsang in the same way, from Shor Koṭ, according to the present course of the Chin-áb, and along what is known as the Panch Nad, that is, five rivers, or Panj-Áb, united into one giving name to the territory. This Panch Nad *now* extends from the junction of the Ghárah

east of Shor Koṭ, there is but seven miles between this ancient channel (in which the river flowed when Amír Timúr crossed, I believe) and one of the old channels of the Ráwí. This old channel of the Chin-áb pursued a course to the east of Shor Koṭ,[346] within three or four miles; for the nearest channel is five, and the most distant, nine miles from that place east. Running in a direction about south-west, this old bed of the Chin-áb, about seven miles south-south-west of Shor Koṭ, and about four miles east of Bastí-i-Islám, united with another old bed of the Ráwí some twelve or thirteen miles farther east, and seven or eight miles farther north than at present. After the junction the Ráwí lost its name; and, at the period in question, the united streams took a much more southerly course than at present, passing near

(not Sutlaj: that lost its name on uniting with the Bíáh, as did the Bíáh likewise below the junction) and the Chin-áb, thirteen miles above Uchchh, down to the junction of the Sindhu, Áb-i-Sind, or Indus, with this Panch Nad, a distance, as the crow flies, of about forty-two miles; whereas, in the last century, this Panch Nad united with the Indus *close to* Uchchh on the west, and did not then exist as it does at present, but was situated much higher up than Uchchh, as noticed at page 219. Uchchh now is, or recently was, nearly eight miles from this Panch Nad, and over twelve miles *below its commencement*.

With all this he very properly points out (p. 220), that, "In describing the geography of Multán it is necessary to bear in mind the great changes that have taken place in the courses of all the large rivers that flow through the province," and yet, in another place (p. 218) says, that "the site of Alexander's altars must be looked for along the line of the present course of the Satlej, at a few miles below Hari-ki-patan. * * * To this point, therefore, the territory of the Sudraæ or Surâkas, must have extended in the time of Alexander"

He places it, therefore, at a point immediately east of the *present* Sutlaj, that is east of, and before its junction with the Bíáh, for then it ceased to be the Sutlaj; and at that period, probably, and up to modern times, certainly, as shown in the account of that river farther on, it flowed from thirty to sixty-five miles farther east (the distance of the oldest channel we know of eastwards) than the present course of the Hariárí—the united Bíáh and Sutlaj in the upper part of its course, and Ghárah in the lower. See page 372.

346 There is a great depression or hollow east of the town of Shor Koṭ which, in the rainy season, becomes filled, and forms a large lake. Some of the local authorities supposed that "the materials for the great Bhira or Mound," on which the place stands, "were taken from it." It is much more likely to be the remains of the ancient channel of the Chin-áb when it united with the Bihat south of the town and fort.

The strip of country peculiar to the southern half of the present sub-district of Shor Koṭ, is clearly of recent formation. The soil is light and sandy, and water lies very near the surface. Such parts of it as are not brought under cultivation is covered with a dense growth of a grass known as *sur* (Saccharum sura: *Roxb.*) The tract below Shor Koṭ is likewise cut up by numerous channels, which conduct the inundation waters far inland.

Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the west, and between nine and ten miles to the east of Multán, and united with the Bíáh about twenty-eight miles south of that place. See note 349, page 347.

Another old channel of the Chin-áb lies a few miles west of the one just noticed, which passed near Bukhárí on the west, ran in the direction of south-west, passed Khíwá or Khíwah[347] on the east, within a few miles of Jhang, and within three miles of Mughiánah also on the east, and lower down united with the old channel just described.

There is yet another old channel of the Chin-áb a few miles west of the present one, and traceable downwards from about Lat. 32°12′, which runs almost parallel to the present channel with an interval of from eight to ten miles between at the broadest part, passes within ten miles north-west of Chandan-oṭ, and runs towards Koṭ-i-'Ísá Sháh and Ḳádir-púr on the Bihat or Jihlam. There can be no doubt that, at some previous period, the Chin-áb, or a considerable branch from it, ran therein, and united with the Bihat a little to the south of Ḳádir-púr above mentioned.[348]

[347] The Mughiáni Siáls claim that this place was founded by one of their chiefs who was twelfth in descent from Siál, their progenitor, and that when he founded it, the Chin-áb flowed to the *east* of it. In the last century Chandan-oṭ was dependent on Láhor, and Khíwah on Multán.

[348] As a specimen of the manner in which names are inserted in our maps, I may mention that a part of the first old channel here noticed, appears in one of our maps as the "*Boodh N.*," and in others as "ancient bed of the Chenab;" the second as the "*Boodi N.*;" and the third as the "*N. Boodhee.*" Of course all these three different forms refer to one word, namely, *buḍḍhi*—بڈّھی—signifying in Hindí, 'old,' 'ancient,' etc.—or "old or ancient channel"

A right understanding as to the ancient courses of the rivers of these parts will throw considerable light upon the movements of the Greeks in the Panj-áb territory and Sind.

Curtius says, that, having turned back from the west or right bank of the Hyphasis [Bíáh] in consequence of his troops refusing to proceed farther eastwards, as related farther on, Alexander reached and encamped along the Acesines [Chin-áb]. After this he sailed down that river towards the ocean with a thousand vessels, proceeding about four hundred stadia [about forty-eight miles] daily [that is, he probably brought up before dark, as those who even now go by the river routes in these parts generally do], in order to be able to land his forces at convenient places. Then he came to the tract of country where the Hydaspes [Bihat] falls into the Acesines [Chin-áb], from which he fell down the confluence of these rivers into the territory of the Sobii." He then landed his forces, marched two-hundred and fifty stadia [about thirty miles] into the country [to the *east*, I presume, but the author does not say which. This would be in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah wherever the confluence may have been], took the capital, after defeating a great army [the undisciplined people of the country or mere rabble] of another nation [tribe?] drawn up on the banks to oppose his landing. He then took a town by

Subsequently, some great convulsion of nature in the parts farther north appears to have caused vast changes in the courses of

storm to which they had fled on being defeated; and then another town, which the people set fire to, and perished in the flames, along with their women and children. The castle was not damaged; and Alexander left a garrison in it, after which he went round it by water for *it was encompassed by three of the largest rivers of all India* except the Ganges, which seemed to lend their streams for its fortification. "The Indus washes it on the north side, and on the south, the Acesines [Chin-áb] unites itself with the Hydaspes [Bihat]. The violent meeting of these rivers makes their waters as turbulent and rough as those of the sea; and, as they carry a great deal of silt, which, by their rapid concourse is very much disturbed, they leave but a narrow channel for boats to pass in," etc. Here the fleet got into great disorder, and sustained much damage, two of the largest vessels were lost; and such was the danger to the fleet, that many prepared to swim for their lives. Here three altars were erected, one for each river.

According to Arrian, and the other authorities quoted in the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," by the Revd. J. Williams, a useful abstract, chiefly drawn from Arrian and Strabo, and also to a less degree from Curtius, Athenæus, and Plutarch, the fleet consisted of 80 *tria-conters*, and more than 2,000 river craft of every description; and in eight days [from where he embarked] the fleet arrived near the confluence of the *two rivers* [the Hydaspes and Acesines: there is no Indus mentioned here]; and their united streams contracted immediately below the point of junction. "The current is sharp and rapid, and strong eddies are formed by the struggling waters that swell in waves and encounter each other, so that the roar of the conflict is audible from a great distance."

See Amír Tímúr's account of the junction of the Jamd or Bihat with the Chin-áb at page 279.

Here the vessels ran foul of each other, and losses were sustained, so that the fleet was partly disabled, and two vessels sank. A small promontary on the right bank [west] offered shelter and protection to the partly disabled fleet.

All this took place near and at the junction of the Hydaspes [the Bihat] and the Acesines [the Chin-áb]. What part of the territory of the Panj-áb will agree with these descriptions, according to the present aspect of the country, leaving alone the rivers? Not with Multán, I trow, and with no place south of Chandaní-oṭ or Shor Koṭ; yet Cunningham "identifies" this place of meeting at the time of Alexander, with Multán, as if the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Chin-áb] had ever yet united south of the walls of that place. If Curtius is right as to the Indus also uniting near this castle, the matter is still more complex.

It may be well also to mention here, that it is said, previously, that Alexander built Nicœa on the left [east] bank of the Hydaspes [Bihat]; and in another place, that, "on some part of the river, between Nicœa and the standing camp at the confluence of the Acesines [the Chin-áb and Bihat below their junction] and the Hydraotes [the Ráwí], Alexander had visited a prince by name Sopeithes; and Strabo says, that, in his territory is a mountain [range] composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India. Here, of course, the Namak Sár, Koh-i-Júd, or Salt Range is referred to. Rivers were constantly changing, and the recognition of places lying near them at the period in question depends on where and how they then ran, but mountains do not change so easily.

most of the Panj-áb rivers—the same convulsion, in all probability, which caused, or happened at the same time as, the great flood recorded in the Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh, and related farther on—and the other rivers adjoining that tract of territory on the east, tributaries of the Hakṛá or Wahindah. At this period the Chin-áb turned more to the eastward above Chandan-oṭ; passed it on the *west* side instead of on the *east* as it had previously done; ran for some miles more to the south-west, passing Jhang-i-Siálán also on the west, which it had passed previously on the east; and some thirteen miles farther south-west, entered the channel of the Bihat or Wihat, and flowed past Shor Koṭ six or seven miles to the west. It also passed west of Multán, as it does at present; but it then joined the already united Biáh and Ráwí about forty-six miles below Multán,[349] instead of twenty-eight miles below that city on the east, as it had previously done. Then came still further changes, which caused the Ráwí, presently to be noticed, to alter its course, when it deserted the Biáh altogether, took a more direct westerly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but some nineteen or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of passing it a few miles on the east side, as it had previously done.

From how far up the Hydaspes the fleet started we may judge from its having taken eight days to reach the confluence of that river with the Acesines; for if we take the daily distance at, say, one half of that mentioned, the starting point would have been considerably above Jihlam of the present day. See note 390.

Alexander's subsequent movements from this place of junction will be noticed farther on.

[349] Abú-l-Faẓl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí Do-ábah, that is, between the Ráwí and the Biáh, but this I believe to be an error in the arrangement of the columns of his work, because *as long as the Ráwí continued to flow east of it*, which it still continued to do up to the close of the last century, *it was in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah*. Consequently, if Abú-l-Faẓl is right, the Ráwí must *then* have flowed north of Multán to unite with the Chin-áb, which it could not have done, unless, since his time, it again deserted it, turned southwards, and again left the Chin-áb to unite with the Biáh; because, as said above, at the close of the last century the Ráwí flowed *east* of it. Another reason why I think Abú-l-Faẓl in error here is, that Chankhandí and Multán were in the same Do-ábah then, and he places the former in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but *now*, it is like Multán, in the Bárí Do-ábah. I have mentioned previously, that, before being in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, at the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mugha Nú-ín, Mangútah, both Multán and Uchchh were in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah.

The Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah extends *now* no farther south than Harí ke Paṭan, which is some two hundred miles above Multán. In the same way, Debál-púr the Pák Pattan or Ajúḍḍhan, and other places around, were *then* in the Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah, but *now* are some eighty miles beyond it, and are in the Bárí Do-ábah; and Chankhandí, *then* in the Rachin-áo Do-ábah, is *now* in the Bárí Do-ábah likewise.

Only about a century since, when the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, before referred to, returned from Kábul by Khush-áb, the Dá'irah of

In Abú-l-Faẓl's time, the *Maḥálls* or sub-districts of Adam Wá-han, Fatḥ-púr, Jalál-ábád, Sher Garh, Dunyá-púr, Ráj-púr, Kuhror, Khá'e Búlidhí, and Ghallú-Ghárah (گهلو گهارة) of the Multán *Sarkár* of the Multán *Súbah*, were in the Bíst-Jhálandar Do-ábah, that is, between the Sutlaj, as it formerly flowed in a separate channel, and the Bíáh before they united into one stream and became the Hariárí, Núrní, Nílí, or Ghárah, but they are not so now. Multán is still in the Bárí Do-ábah, which extends *from* the Ráwí *to the right bank of the dried up Bíáh—not*, it will be observed, to the banks of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah—while the tract between the Bárí Do-ábah and the new river just mentioned, namely, from the left bank of the dry Bíáh to the right bank of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, has become known to modern native writers as the Shamálí Kachchhí Do ábah, or north Kachchhí delta, locally known as the Nílí *Bár*, names not known to Abú-l-Faẓl, because the Bíáh, in his day, still flowed in its own bed; and the *Maḥálls* above referred to are in this newly formed Do-ábah. The meaning of *Kachchhí* is alluvial land of recent formation, subject to the annual inundations, and called *hefhár* in the Jhang district; and the tracts of this description lying along either bank of the Hariárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, within the influence of the annual inundations of that river, are known as Chhoṭí Kachchhí to this day. See also pages 331 and 384.

Let us see what the old European travellers say, from actual observations, respecting the rivers in the vicinity of Multán, or running near it; and see also page 301.

The earliest who notice Multán are two Englishmen of Captain Nicholas Downton's Company, who made a journey from India to Persia in 1614. Their remarks on Láhor are given farther on. "From thence [Láhor] they pass'd on to Multan, a great and ancient city, seated pretty near the river Indus. *** When the Potane [*i.e.*, Paṭán or Afghán] Kings maintained their Ground in India, this place was in a very flourishing estate whilst Agra and Láhor lay both in the greatest obscurity: But now she has little to pretend to, those upstart Rivals have robb'd her of her Trade and Glory, and left her nothing great to lay claim to, but the advantage of her Venerable Antiquity. The place is so poor, that Caravans are obliged to stay hereabouts eight or ten days whether they have business or no, that they may do it a kindness, by spending some of their Money; neither will the Governour let them pass on, till they have rested themselves here for as much time as that comes to."

Next in rotation comes Mandelsloe (see also note 289, page 297), who previously had accompanied the Ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein to the Sháh of Persia, and who was in India in 1639, the same year in which the traitor, 'Alí Mardán Khán, the Zík Kurd, betrayed Kandahár to Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTAN," page 605. Mandelsloe says: "The Province of *Multan*, with its chief city of the same name extends along the River *Indus* to the East, as the Province of Haca Chan or Hangi Chan [he refers to the Derahját] has the same River to the West." Here he, or his printer, has reversed matters; for *west* we must read *east*.

Thevenot, who comes about twenty-seven years after, in 1666, says: *Multan*, which comprehends *Bucor* [Bakhar was a *Sarkár* of Multán], has to the south the

Sháh Muḳím, and Baháwal-púr, avoiding Multán, he says he "left the Dá'irah and proceeded fifteen *kuroh* from thence to Koṯ-i-Shujá' Khán. Leaving it, and going another twelve *kuroh*, he reached the village of Múchakí, a small place inhabited by Musalmáns, below which, the Chin-áb and its tributaries, the Jihlam or Wihat and Ráwí, unite with the Bíáh (not the Ghárah it will be noticed: the Sutlaj and Bíáh had not yet finally united); and the ferry across is called the Múchakí Paṭan or Ferry. Having crossed, he halted at Koṭhah near by, a small fort of burnt brick construction, twenty *kuroh* distant from Baháwal-púr, and then in Baháwal Khán's possession."

This Koṭhah is the "*Kottee*" of the maps, now on the Multán side, six miles and a half north of Jalál-púr; and within about three

Province of *Sinde*, and to the north the Province of *Caboul*; as it hath *Persia* to the West, and the Province of *Lahors* to the east. It is watered from many Rivers that make it fertile. The Capital Town which is also called *Multan*, was heretofore a place of very great trade, because it is not far from the River *Indus*; but seeing at present, vessels cannot go up so far, because the channel of that River is spoilt in some places, and the mouth of it full of shelves, the Traffick is much lessened, by reason that the charge of Land-carriage is too great. However the Province yields plenty of *Sugar*, *Opium*, *Brimstone*, *Galls*, and store of *Camels*, which are transported into *Persia*, by *Gazna*, and *Candahar*, or into the *Indies* themselves by *Lahors*; but whereas the commodities went heretofore down the *Indus* at small charges, to *Tatta*, where the merchants of several countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by land as far as *Surrat*, if they expect a considerable price for them.

"The Town of *Multan* is by some Geographers attributed to *Sinde*, though it make a Province by itself. *** To conclude, the Town of *Multan* is but of small extent for a Capital, but is pretty well Fortifi'd; and it is very considerable to the *Mojul* when the *Persians* are Masters of *Candahar*, as they are at present." This was written in the tenth year of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír's reign.

Tavernier, who, at the same period, was travelling in India, says: "*Multan* is a City where there is made a vast quantity of Linnen Calicuts, which was always transported to *Tuta*, before the sands had stopp'd up the mouth of the River; but since that, it is carry'd all to *Agra*, and from *Agra* to *Surat*, as is the greater part of the Merchandize which is made at *Lahor*. But in regard carriage is so dear, very few merchants traffick either to *Multan* or at *Lahor*; and many of the workmen have also deserted those places, so that the King's Revenues are very much diminished in those Provinces. *** *Multan* is the place where all the *Banians* come, that trade with *Persia*."

Here we have clear evidence of some vast changes in the course of the Indus, and the other rivers, its tributaries, to cause merchandize to be sent from Multán and Láhor to Ágrá in order to reach Súrat, instead of sending by vessels on the Ráwí and the Chin-áb from those two provincial capitals. Here is another proof, were any required, that the Bíáh still flowed in its own bed, and had not changed its course. See the map of these parts, constructed a few years previous to the period in question, taken from Purchas at page 321.

miles south-west of it, the junction of the Bíáh and Chin-áb then took place, and there the old channel of the Bíáh is still to be seen. Now, there is no Bíáh running there, and the Gharah—the Sutlaj and Bíáh united—joins the Chin-áb and its tributaries sixteen miles lower down in the direction of south-south-west.

The Koṭ-i-Shujá' Khán, on the west side of the Chin-áb above the junction, here referred to, must not be mistaken for what is, at present, called Shujá'-ábád. The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, says: "There are two Koṭs known as Koṭ-i-Shujá' Khán; one on the west side of the river, and one on the east [the Shujá'-ábád of the present time], and are distant twenty *kuroh* from each other."[350]

Abú-l-Faẓl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, gives but a very brief notice of the Chin-áb; and what he says respecting it, has been previously recorded at page 294.

The Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh the author of which was a Hindú, mentions, that the Chin-áb, in the books of the Hindús is called Chandar-Bhágá, and attributes its name to the Chandar issuing out of Chín [China]. It soon enters Kíwár [کیوار], celebrated for its saffron. It then receives some tributaries, and gets the name of Chandar-Bhágá. It falls over high rocks at a place near Jammúṇ [*vul.* "Jumoo" and "Jamoo"], forming a magnificent sight, and after that breaks into eighteen branches which again unite, after flowing a distance of twelve *kuroh*, at the *ḳaṣbah* of Bahlúl-púr. It then flows through the Siál Koṭ district, and below the *ḳaṣbah* of Súdharah passes onwards towards Wazír-ábád. The wood called *sák* (ساک) and *diyár* (دیار), which is well known, is brought down by merchants from the mountain tracts of Chanbah to Wazír-ábád; and floated as far down as Bakhar and Ṭhaṭhah. The Sháh Guzr or Royal Ferry is at Wazír-ábád. *** The river then reaches Chandaní-oṭ,[351] an ancient place, where is the tomb of the Sayyid, Sháh Burhán. From thence it flows on into Jhang-i-Siálán, which was the dwelling place of Hírah, who is celebrated throughout these parts for her love of Ránjah,[352] and, after passing it, the Chin-áb unites with the Wihat or Jihlam, as already recorded."

[350] Shahámat 'Alí, in his work on Baháwal-púr, says (page xxvii): "From the low and marshy nature of the country south of Multán, there are few towns or villages in that direction of any distinction, excepting *Shujahabad* and *Kot-i-Shuja* [Khán], which are more military posts than towns."

[351] The ancient channel of the Chin-áb which passes Chandan-oṭ less than two miles on the east, is twenty-five miles from the present channel near Jhang, and as before mentioned, the whole tract between is more or less seamed with old channels.

[352] There is a poem in the Panj-ábí dialect, very popular throughout these parts, on the loves of Hírah and Ránjah.

There is an old and minor branch of the Chin-áb, which must not be passed over, since it has been mistaken for the ancient channel of the Ráwí,[353] whereas the former river passed this minor branch of the Chin-áb four or five miles farther east. I refer to the Lolí Wá-han (لولي واهن), "which *nahr* is supposed by some," according to my Survey record, "to have been originally cut from the Chin-áb, about ten or twelve *kuroh* above Multán. In more recent times, after that river altered its former course east of that place to the west side, it has been neglected, and has gone to ruin. It becomes full during the periodical inundations of that river, and passes north of the fortress, close under the walls, on the side on which stands the tomb of the Rukn-i-'Álam, then runs towards the south to Koṭ-i-Shujá' Khán, and is used for irrigation purposes, or lost in the thirsty soil. Except in the time of the inundations it is nearly dry." A few years since, it was a mere marsh near the north wall of the fortress of Multán, and, probably is so still.

[353] At page 205, Vol. I., of Elliot's "Historians," it is stated, that "Muhammad Kásim's forces, [Muḥammad, the conqueror of Sind, was Ḳásim's *son*] found no suitable place for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort [of Multán], and sued for mercy. *** He pointed out a place towards the north, on the banks of a river." In a foot note, the learned Editor has, "آب جوي—This can hardly mean the main river." Hardly; for the Lolí Wá-han is referred to or a similar small channel.

Cunningham ("Ancient India," page 142) says: "The Ravi formerly surrounded the fortress of Multán, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rains the waters flow to Multán. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress [supposing that Multán is referred to, perhaps?]." See note 348, page 345.

The river "bed" the writer refers to is the Lolí Wá-han, *so changed in the course of ninety-five years* as to be scarcely recognizable, but it was not the Ráwí. He appears to have forgotten that there is a canal from the Chin-áb, passing close to Multán on the west, navigable, and actually called the Sikandar-ábád canal, and, of course, must have been cut by order of Alexander, for have we not his name here?

He also "identifies Atári," about twenty miles W-S-W. of Tulanbah on the high road to Multán, which is really called Atárí-Wálah, of recent origin, founded by a Sikh of that family name, *near which* are the ruins he refers to, as "the city of the Brahmans which made such a stout defence against Alexander. *** Curtius says Alexander went completely round the citadel (of Multán) in a boat, which is probable enough [if the river flowed by it instead of a score miles farther north or south] as its ditch was no doubt capable of being filled at pleasure from the river." Why not have fixed upon Shahr-chah, near which is the tomb of "Shaikh Abdool Hakeem," of the maps, seven miles and a half west of Tulanbah? It *is* the site of an ancient city of great size.

In another place the Survey record states, that the Lolí Wá-han[354] passed a short distance north of Jaháu-gír-abád; and, that, "in going from thence to Multán, you proceed three *kuroh* south, and by the way cross this *rúd-khánah* [river bed] twice; once about half-way, and the second time near the Láhor Gate of Multán by means of a wooden bridge."

THE RÁWÍ, RÁWAH, OR ANCIENT IRÁWATÍ.[355]

"The Ráwí, called by the old historians the Ráwah of Láhor or Loháwar, and Irávatí by the Hindús, issues from the mountain range of Chaubah, the source of which river is sacred to Mahá-díw. *** It

[354] Fortunately, a record exists respecting this branch or cutting from the Chin-áb, mistaken for the old bed of the Ráwí, the bed of which lies much farther east. In mentioning the six gates of the city, the Survey record says: "The Láhorí Darwázah is on the north-west side on the Lolí Wá-han; and outside it, over that *rúd* is a brick bridge [before it was said to be of wood: perhaps there was one of wood as well]. Beyond the gate is a suburb, inhabited by about a thousand Afghán families, and it is styled the Koṭ of Túlí Khán." This seems to be what is now incorrectly called the "*Kiri* of the Afgháns," instead of *Gira'í*, a Pus'hto word signifying a halting place of nomad Afgháns. Respecting the Bohar Darwázah, it says, "this is on the west side of the city walls, and there also is a suburb; and the Lolí Wá-han passes about a quarter of a *kuroh* to the west of it. The Daulat Darwázah is on the north-east side of the walls, and the Lolí Wá-han passes by near to it. Beyond, on the outside, the mansions of Sulṭáns and Princes of by-gone times were situated, and the camp for their troops, but they are now in a state of total ruin." Respecting the four gates of the fortress, the writer says: "The northern one is called the Khizrí Darwázah, and opens on the Lolí Wá-han [that is, opposite to, and near it], and is always kept closed. *** Within the Díw Darwázah, on the Lolí Wá-han side, is the Tomb and Shrine of the Rukn-i-'Álam (Pillar of the Universe), the Shaikh, Rukn-ud-Dín, son of the Shaikh, Ṣadr-ud-Dín-i-'Árif, who died in 709 H. (1309-10 A.D.), son of the Shaikh, Bahá-ul Ḥaḳḳ wa ud-Dín, Zakaríyá. In the rainy season when the Lolí Wá-han, which runs outside the fort walls on the north, becomes full and overflows, the area round the Tomb and Shrine becomes a gathering place for sight-seers. The Lolí Wá-han also passes not far from the walls on the side where is the Tomb and Shrine of Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳḳ; and the Tomb and Shrine of Shams-i-Tabríz is on the other side of the same Lolí Wá-han, farther on towards the south." This was at the period that the Nawwáb, Muẓaffar Khán, Sadozí, held the fief of the Multán province from Tímúr Shah Bádsháh, ruler of the Afghán state, for the annual sum of two and a half *lakhs* of *rúpís*, paid to the Durráni treasury.

For the meaning of Wá-han see a note farther on.

Masson (Vol. I, p. 396) says, "the inundations of the Rávi river extended to the city, but it is *three miles* distant, and has what is called *a bandar*, or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station." This refers to an old channel close to Sítal ki Máṛi, noticed by Cunningham. See page 365.

[355] The people of these parts still call it by the ancient names.

passes below Chanbah where is a wooden bridge, and flows to Bisohlí (بسوهلي), where is a boat ferry. Below Sháh-púr it leaves the hills, and here there is a cutting of about a quarter of the volume of water, which is carried on to Láhor and Paṭhán or Paṭán Koṭ,[356] and to the *parganahs* of Baṭálah and Paṭí. The channel of this *nahr* or cutting is now ruined [through neglect], and the stream having turned away from Bahrám-púr, re-unites with the main river near the city of Láhor. The Ráwí afterwards flows by Farid-ábád, Sayyid-Wálah, and within a *kuroh* of Tulanbah; and just half-way between the village of Dandí-Wálah and Sargání, unites with the Chin-áb and loses its name. The place of junction is called Trimúṇ."

A channel from this *nahr* from the Ráwí can be distinctly traced from Sháh-púr, by Gurdás-púr, Baṭálah ("Bulata" of the maps), and from fourteen to fifteen miles south of Amrit-Sar (*vul.* "Umritsur"), and appears in the maps as "Dry N."; while the *nahr* itself, which is said (in the Survey record), to turn aside from Bahrám-púr (the "Buhrampoor" of the maps) appears as the "Kirn N.," which now unites with the parent stream seventeen miles *above*, instead of *close to* Láhor.

What changes are here shown to have taken place during the lapse of even less than a century! Such is a brief notice of the Ráwí from the Survey record I have already quoted.

[356] According to Cunningham (page 144), "the name of this place is not derived from the well known Muhammadan Paṭhâns, or Afghâns, but from *the Paṭhân Tribe of Hindu Rajpúts.*" This is something quite new, and may account for the "Paṭhân Coins," and the "Paṭhân Dynasties" of the "Archæological Department," in which have been included Tájzíks, Turks, Sayyids, Jats, Habashís, and others, who have ruled in Hind, and formed into one delightful jumble, being styled "Paṭhâns," without there having been a single Paṭán among them; and now we must add, it seems, "Hindu Rajpût Paṭhâns" although, I suppose, there are no *Musalman* "Rajpût Paṭhâns."

This comes from Tod probably, as, at page 233, Vol. II., of his "Rajast'han," referring to the Langáh *Jats* who once ruled over the territory of Multán (See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 569) he says that, "The use of the word *Pat'hán* by no means precludes their being Hindus." What then does Pat'hán mean?

The "Pasto, Pakhhto," and "Pukhhsto" scholars have to their own satisfaction proved, that the Πάκτυες of Herodotus" are the "Paṭhâns or Afghâns," whose progenitor was only born about the year 576 A. D., but here they are all "identified" as "Hindu Rajpúts."

This, however, is nothing to the discovery of another philosopher, only lately come to light, namely, that "the name Afghán [only the people call themselves Pus'htánnah] is connected with the *Açvaca of the Mahábárata!*" This is well worthy of insertion in a Gazetteer or a Cyclopedia, or such like "popular" reading. See note 27, page 164.

Abú-l-Faẓl merely mentions the ancient name of the Ráwí, and that it issues from the mountain range of Bhadrál or Bhadrá, and that the Dár-ul-Mulk, Láhor, is situated on its banks.[857]

[857] Láhor was visited in 1603 by John Mildenhall, a merchant of London, who set out in 1599 from Iṣfahán by Yazd, Kirmán, Sijis-tán, and Ḳandahár. He reached "*Lahora*," as he styles it, from "*Candahar*," but, unfortunately, no particulars respecting this part of his journey are in existence that I am aware of.

Two Englishmen of Captain Downton's company, however, reached it in 1614. In the extract from the account of their travels it is stated: "But none made more of the trade of this famous city than the Portugals did (as long as they had the Wit to keep friends with the *Great Mogul*). For all the Merchandize they dealt for with the Foreigners, or *Indians*, at *Lahore*, was here embarked upon the spot, and so down the Ravee (into the Indus) away for *Persia*, *Ormus*, and those parts," etc., etc. * * * In the time of the *Potane* [Paṭán or Afghán] kings it (Lahore) was but a trifling village.

This matter of Portugnese trade is entered into more fully by Messrs. Richard Steele and John Crowther, two Merchants in the service of the East Indian Society, who went from Ajmír to Iṣfahán in the years 1614–1615. They reached Multán on the 22nd May, 1614. They say: "*Lahor* stands on the Rieur *Indus* or *Sinde* [See page 301, and note 349, page 347], and from this place came the Treasure of the *Portugals* Trade when they had peace, as being the center of all *Indian* Traffique. And here they embarqued the same down the Rieur for *Tatta*, whence they were transferred for *Ormus* and *Persia*. The Merchants also passing that way betwixt *Persia* and *India*, pay'd them fraight. They did likewise drive a great Trade vp this Rieur for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of *India* therewith. At this present the Merchants of *India* assemble at *Lahor*, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and ioyne themselves in Caravans to passe the Mountains of *Candahar* into *Persia*, by which way is generally reported to passe twelve or fourteen thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarcely pass'd three thousand, the rest going by way of *Ormus*. These Merchants are put to greate charges betwixt *Lahor* and *Spahan* (besides greate cold in Winter and heate in Summer, and the badness of the way, spending six or seven months betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon every Camel's lading to stand them in one hundred and twentie or one hundred and thirtie Rupiás. *Persia* is that way furnished with Pepper and Spices from *Masulipatan* over land."

This merchandize went from Multán by the Sanghar Pass, and by Tal, Tsoṭíalí and Pushang to Ḳandahár by the route described *for the first time*, other than by those two merchants, *by me* in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 547. See also my account therein of the POWANDAH Afghán Tribes, page 483.

Thevenot says: "*Lahor* is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon one of the five Rivers that descend from the mountains of the North to swell the River *Indus*: and give the name of *Peniab* to all the Region which they water. This River at this time flows not within a league of the Town [now it is just one mile], being subject to change in its Channel, and many times does very great mischief to the adjoining Fields, through the rapid deluges which it makes. The City is large, and extends itself above a league in length. But the greatest part of the Houses, which are higher than those of *Agra* and *Deli*, fall to ruine, by reason of the excessive rains that have overflowed a great number of them."

The Khulásat-ut-Tawáríkh states, that, at the period that work was written in 1107 H. (1695 A. D.), the Ráwí united with the Chin-áb close to Sará'e-i-Siḍhú or Siḍhú kí Sará'e (the "Serraice Siddhoo" of the maps), twenty *kuroh* from Multán. At the present time the Sará'e in question is less than a mile from the south bank of the Ráwí, and from it the river turns northwards and westwards, then south-west, winding considerably, and unites with the Chin-áb eleven miles west of that place.[358]

The climate of these parts seems to have changed considerably since Thevenot wrote. He was there in 1665-66.

Tavernier, who was in these parts about the same years, says of the "Province of *Lahors*," that, "The chief Town is not now upon the *Rary* as it was for a long time, because that River having a very flat Channel, has fallen off from it above a quarter of a league. * * * This hath been a very pretty Town when the Kings kept their Courts in it. * * * I have already said, that the great walk of Trees (which begins at *Agra*) reaches as far as *Lahors*, though the two Towns be distant from one another one hundred and fifty Leagues, the lovely Alley is very pleasant."

This "lovely alley" was the work of Sultán Sher Sháh, Sor, the Afghán or Paṭán Sultán of the Dihlí empire, who is said to have had a daily postal service between Níl-áb and Ágrá, and that trees were planted on both sides of the way all along this route.

[358] When the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, eldest son of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, was preparing at Láhor for his expedition against Ḳandahár in 1653, two battering guns of great calibre for those days, were specially cast at Láhor, one of which carried a ball of 90 lbs., and the other a shot of 64 lbs. These, together with a third great gun, brought from Sháh-Jahán-ábád, after twenty days' labour occupied in removing them from the citadel of Láhor to the banks of the Ráwí and shipping them on board vessels, were sent down that river to Multán.

The Prince's army amounted to 104,000 men, including 70,000 cavalry, and 5,000 artillery men, accompanied by 36 guns and mortars, and 60 great war elephants. The heavy guns, ten in all, including the three above mentioned, were sent down the Áb-i-Sind, and by Ḍádhar, and Shál (Kwaṭah, *vul.* "Quetta") to Ḳandahár, and, in consequence, only arrived there towards the termination of the investment, and failure of the expedition.

I gave a brief summary of this affair, and the march by the Sangar Pass, a route wholly unknown to modern writers, by Chatsah, Tal, Ṭ*e*otiálí, and by the Síádzga'í or Tabak-sar (both words being of one and the same meaning, the first being Pus'hto and the latter Ṭájzík) into Pushang (*vul.* "Péshín"), in my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., page 21, in September, 1878. This was the first time that this route was described by any European author, and the first time the route of this great army was made known; and only one native writer knew correctly the composition of the force, or the route taken by it both in going and returning, and he accompanied it. A recent reviewer, in the '*Athenæum*,' for July 26th, 1890, referring to my "Notes," says: "It was Major Raverty who several years ago brought to the notice of the Indian Government the existence of the direct route by which Prince Muhammad Dara-Shukoh led his formidable army of over 100,000 men from Multan to Candahar, an identification which quite

When the Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, referred to at page 348, was returning to Kábul from India in 1787, he had to give up the idea of going from Multán by way of Layyá, because a large force of Sikhs had invaded that part. He, therefore, had to proceed by Mankerah. His route throws light on the state of the parts near the confluence of the Chin-áb, Bihat, and Ráwí. He set out from Multán for Khán Chál, distant five *kos* (this is what is called the *kachchhah kos*, just a mile and a half) north-eastwards; then to the Deh-i-Sháh Nawáz, on the banks of the Bíáh (not the *dry* Bíáh) ten *kos* in the same general direction; then ten *kos* north to Sháh-púr; and thence to Tulanbah, between north and east, another ten *kos*. From Tulanbah he went fifteen *kos* north-west, and reached Sárwán. He distinctly states that this stage brought him into the tract between the Chin-áb and the *Bihat*, on the edge or margin of the great desert waste—the *Thal*—and that another stage, in the same general direction took him to Maháran (*possibly*, what is now styled "Gurh Maharaja" in our maps), through the sandy desert. Another two stages brought him to Mankerah.

About the time of the 'Arab conquest by Muḥammad, the son of Ḳásim, the Ráwí united with the Bíáh east of Multán. It has always been remarkable for its erratic course, especially below Láhor, and from thence to its junction with the Chin-áb, notwithstanding that it runs in a deep bed. Tavernier however, quoted in the preceding note 357, says its channel is very flat. It is so irregular and uncertain, that it is impossible to tell one year where its channel may be the next. On one side, its left high bank can be traced from some twelve miles above Láhor, running in a south-westerly direction and winding considerably, by the Sará'e-i-Noh-Shahrah, and close to it, and between Wándarí, which lies twelve miles east of Sayyid-Wálah, and Hinjaráún, so called after

revolutionized the theories of Anglo-Indian strategists." I find, however, that there are actually some who would like to take the credit of the discovery to themselves, and, probably, if I live long enough, I shall find some one claiming to have made the discovery, just as the Síáh-posh Káfirs of the Káfiristán have been "discovered" over and over again, since I gave an account of them in the "*Journal*" for 1859.

Since I wrote about this route, it has been surveyed, and part of the Ḳandahár force returning to India followed it—the detachment under the command of Sir M. Biddulph, K. C. B. I shall probably give the account of the expedition in full shortly, but more respecting the route will be found in a subsequent Section of my "Notes," page 546, which see, further researches having thrown additional light upon it. In that same Section of my "Notes," I also pointed out a direct road to Ḳandahár from the Derah-ját farther north, by which a line of Railway might easily be carried, and that road is *now* I find, being surveyed. Better *late* than *never*.

a tribe of Hindú Jaṭs, down to within a couple of miles of Sath Garh[359] on the south. Continuing to run from thence with a very tortuous

[359] This place in Blochmann's printed text is صد کهرو—Ṣad-Kharah, but, correctly, as above, was the chief place of a *maḥáll* of that name in the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *súbah*, which *sarkár* contained four Do-ábahs, and the Berún-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Áb. At the time Abú-l-Faẓl wrote his A'ín-i-Akbarí, there were 59,448 *bígahs* of land under cultivation, the revenue amounted to 3,551,230 *dáms*, and free grants existed to the amount of 20,972 *dáms*. The inhabitants of the *maḥáll* were Balúchís and Khar'l Jaṭs, who were assessed as able to furnish 300 horsemen, and 4000 foot for militia purposes.

At the time of the Survey I have been quoting from in this paper, Sath Garh is mentioned as lying just midway between Fatḥ-púr, Ghugherah, and Sher Garh, near the dry channel of the Ráwí, and as being, in former times, the chief place of a sub-district, but now, for the most part, in ruins, and in the possession of a Sikh named Wazír Singh, who also held Hurappah.

Though of little consequence in other ways, it is somewhat so in an historical point of view.

Colonel Macgregor in his "Gazetteer," and Mr. A. W. Hughes of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service, the compiler of "a Gazetteer of Sind," and another of "Baluchistan," quote a wonderful history of the Balúchís from a "Report" by Mr. R. Bruce, C. S., respecting a petty chief of a section of the Rind clan of that people, named Chákar. According to this "history," after the Balúchís had settled in Kalát and Kachchhí, a feud arose between Chákar, and Raḥmán, a Lisháří chief of the same race. "They collected their armies," says the "Report," a battle ensued and the Rinds were defeated with the loss of 700 killed. On this, "Mír Chákar "*sent for assistance to Súltan Sháh Húsén, King of Persia, who sent an army under* "*the command of Zamí to his aid.*"

Unfortunately, such a Sháh of Persia never existed, and such a leader as "Zamí" is unknown to fame. They have managed to mix up here the name of the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán, Sháh Ḥusain.

Then comes a still more wonderful piece of history, that, "After Mír Chákar had "committed the country to the care of his lieutenants, it appears that he, with a "number of his followers, *joined the standard of Hamáyún Sháh in his attempts to* "*recover the kingdom of Hindústan, and went with him to Dehlí. Other reports say* "*that he took Dehlí from Hamáyún Sháh, and afterwards tendered his submission.*"

Subsequent to Humáyún Bádsháh's return from Persia, after obtaining aid from Sháh Thamásib, his defeating his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, and his final advance from beyond the Indus into Hindústán for the recovery of his empire, the "Report" informs us, that "he had a large army," and that "*it is very probable that* "*he may have returned through the Bolán Pass, and been joined by the Rinds under Mír Chákar.*"

I do not think there is any "History of India," however poor, that does not clearly show that the Bádsháh did not return by the Bolán Pass; and, certainly, he was not joined on the way by "the Rind army," nor Chákar's "lieutenants."

Added to this "history," we have some Balúch Ballads translated by Mr. L. M. Dames, C.S., which appeared in the "*Journal*" for 1880; and from these more "history" of the same kind is adduced. There Chákar "*is said to have founded a kingdom* [like "the kingdom of the Náhars," the "Sitpur kingdom"] *with its capital*

course, in the same general direction as before, its bank in some places much more defined than in others, it runs close to Hurappah on the

Sevi (Cbi), and to have waged war with Humáú Chughattá," for Chákar was "a godlike man," and chief of the "lofty Ghulám Bolak Rinds."

Mr. Dames adds that "it is difficult to say how far any part of Chákar's adventures are historical;" and he quotes "Brigg's Ferishta," and "Erskine's Babar" to show that "the irruption of the Baloches into the Panjáb, about 1520 A. D., was probably caused by the pressure on them of the Turks or [*sic.*] Mughals who were then under the Arghúns invading Kachhí and Sindh."

More "history" of this kind is given in "Griffin's Panjaub Chiefs." The Panjáb Government "invited" all the chiefs of tribes to send in an account of their ancestors, and descent of their tribes; and the result is contained in that work. It can be imagined how the chiefs drew the long bow, what glowing accounts they gave, and what noble or royal descent they gave themselves and their tribes.

Fortunately for historical truth, I can show "how far Chákar's adventures are historical," and also the nature of the "history" adduced respecting that "god-like man."

Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, the Arghún Mughal, son of Sháh Beg Khán, the conqueror of Sind, determined, at the instigation, it is said, of Bábar Bádsháh, to make war on the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán, but before doing so, he determined to coerce the refractory Balúchís in the northern and western part of his territory, around Síwí and parts adjacent. With a body of 1,000 cavalry, he made a forced march from Bakhar by way of Chatar and Lahrí, and came upon the Rinds and Bughṭís, overthrew them, made many captives, reduced them to submission, and brought back their head men along with him to Bakhar. This was in 930 H. (1523-24 A. D.).

He then set out on his expedition against Multán in 931 H. (1524-25 A. D.); and a force composed of Langáh Jaṭs, Rinds, Dúdá'ís, and other Balúchís, Chándiyahs, Nághars, and others, to the number of about 80,000 men, awaited him on the banks of the Ghárah to dispute his crossing. Sulṭán Maḥmúd, Langáh, had only made one march from Multán to join this army, when he suddenly died, said to have been poisoned by his son-in-law, the Shaikh, Shujá'-ud-Dín, Bukhárí, while some say he was poisoned by a house-hold slave, named Lashkar Khán, and this great army melted away.

The Langáh Jaṭs, whom such "history" writers will persist in turning into Afgháns, now set up the young son of Sulṭán Maḥmúd; and came to an accommodation with Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain, "by ceding to him all the Multán territory south of the Ghárah, which river was to be the new boundary."

Soon after this, in 933 H. (1526-27 A. D.), the affairs of Multán became utterly disordered: the chiefs of the late Sulṭán refused to submit to the young ruler, he being a mere puppet in the hands of the Shaikh, and they invited Mírzá Sháh Ḥusain to take possession of Multán. He set out in the same year; and on the 15th of Rabí'-us-Sání, 933 H. (January, 1527 A.D.), captured Multán, in which the supporters of the Shaikh and the young Sulṭán had shut themselves up. The place was completely sacked, numbers of those found within were put to the sword, and the remainder enslaved. The Wazír Shaikh and the Sulṭán were cast into prison, and there they died, the latter after a nominal reign of one year and eight months; and the Langáh Jaṭ dynasty, which arose out of a fraud, terminated at the end of twenty-seven years.

south; and between this its left high bank and the right high bank of the Biáh, but six miles of elevated plateau or *ḍhaiyá* (subsequently to

For some time previously they had lost all their territory north of the Ráwí. Jám Báyazíd, the Sammah, a member of the ruling family of Sind ousted by the Arghúns, who had taken shelter in the Langáh territory, and had become its Wazír, rebelled and retired to Shor Koṭ, and appropriated that part (equivalent to the present Jhang district or nearly so), and tendered fealty to Daulat Khán, Lodí, governor of the Láhor province on the part of the Afghán Sultán, Sikandar, Lodí, of Dihlí.

From the period of the usurpation of the Langáh Jats over Multán, numbers of Balúchís had come thither from the farthest parts of the Balúchistán, from Kích and Mukrán, and took service with them, receiving large grants of land in lieu of pay, and among these was Malik Suhráb, the Dúdá'í Hút. About the period that Jám Báyazíd rebelled, a feud having arisen between one division of the Rinds of which Chákar was the head, and other Balúchís, in which the Rinds came worst off, Chákar, finding the neighbourhood of Síwí too hot for him—not the fortified town of that name, but lands dependent on it—left it, and came with his two sons, Allah-Dád and Sháh-Dád (the latter is said to have first introduced the Shí'ah doctrine into Multán), to seek service with the Langáhs, but finding no chance of employment there, he went to Shor Koṭ, to Jám Báyazíd, who took him into his service, and out of his fief, assigned him a *já-gír* in lieu of pay. This *já-gír* was at Sath Garh on the Ráwí, and there he took up his residence with his people. See note 361, page 366.

After Humáyún Bádsháh had to abandon his kingdom, and retired to Láhor in 947 H. (1540-41 A. D.), followed by Sher Khán, of the Sor sub-division of the Afghán tribe of Lodí, who had assumed the sovereignty and title of Sher Sháh, the Bádsháh retired into Sind. Sher Sháh while in the Panj-áb selected the site for the fortress of Ruhtás, which was "To be a spike in the breast of the Gakhar tribe"; and shortly after, in 949-950 H. (1542-43 A.D.), he left the Karlární Niází Afghán, Haibat Khán, as governor of the whole Panj-áb, and directed him to free the territory from the rebel Balúch, Fatḥ Khán, Hút, who had possessed himself of Koṭ Kabúlah during the distracted state of the country after the downfall of the Langáhs, raided the Lakhhí Jangal district, and devastated all the country round, and as far east as Páni-pat; to free Multán territory altogether from the Balúchís, who had seized upon it, and re-people the desolated city of Multán, whose inhabitants had now entirely deserted it.

Immediately on receipt of these orders, Haibat Khán, Niází, sent for the Wakíl of Chákar, the Rind; for now he held his *já-gír* from the Afghán governor of the Panj-áb, to which government he owed military service, and said to him: "Go thou to Malik Chákar, the Rind, and intimate to him that I shall be coming into his district immediately, and let him see that the men of his *já-gír* are ready for my inspection." The author from whom I take this extract (confirmed by other writers), 'Abbás, Sarwární, in his "Táríkh-i-Sher Sháh-í," says: "I heard from the lips of Fatḥ Khán, Kambú, that, when the Wakíl presented himself to Chákar he was dumb-foundered; for as yet, no preparation had been made for the purpose, or the reception of the Khán. On the second day after, news came that Haibat Khán had arrived within twelve *kuroh* of Sath Garh. Chákar now became alarmed, and said: 'I have not mustered my followers, nor made preparations for it. What shall I do!' and he was in a great way. Next morning a scout of Chákar's came in, and

be noticed in the account of the last-named river), intervenes. From Hurappah it passes close to Chichawatní on the south, thirteen miles

intimated that the Khán had arrived; and all Chákar could do was to ride forth to receive him, in a very disturbed state of mind. As soon as Haibat Khán perceived him, he said: 'I will not inspect your followers now, but will do so at Debál-púr,' his object being, lest Fatḥ Khán, the Hút Balúch, should, in case he delayed at Sath Garh, take himself off; and so Chákar, to his great relief, was dismissed." Haibat Khán continued his march to the Pák Pattan of the Ḳuṭb-i-'Álam, the Shaikh, Farid-i-Ganj-i-Shakar; but Fatḥ Khán, alarmed, had fled [Chákar, doubtless, informed him in time], but Haibat Khán pursued him, and came up with him near Fatḥ-púr of Kuhror [about twenty miles east of Kuhror]. He had no chance of escape from Haibat Khán, as he had his family, and those of his followers, with him. He therefore threw himself into the mud built fort there, and sought shelter therein. It was immediately surrounded; and after he had held out for a day or two, Fatḥ Khán got the Shaikh Ibráhím, the descendant of Shaikh Farid, to intercede for him; and he came out and presented himself before Haibat Khán. The latter told the Shaikh, that he was himself only a servant of the Sháh, and that whatever his commands might be he must carry them out, so Fatḥ Khán was allowed to return to the fort pending the orders of Sher Sháh. He shortly after managed to escape, however; for one night, chiefly through the efforts of a faithful follower, Mando by name, Fatḥ Khán, at the head of 300 men, made a sudden rush upon the guards, overpowered them, and got off. The Afgháns on entering the place, found that they had butchered nearly all the women and children before they left. Bakhshú, the Langáh, afterwards captured Mando, and brought him bound to Haibat Khán, and shortly after, Fatḥ Khán was taken. Haibat Khán proceeded to Multán, having collected the remaining inhabitants, who had long before dispersed to various places, and set about re-peopling and repairing the place. Fatḥ Khán, Hút, and Mando, by command of Sher Sháh, were hanged.

For these distinguished services Sher Sháh conferred upon Haibat Khán the title of *Masnad-i-'Álá, 'Azam Humáyún*—that is "The Occupant of the Exalted Seat [of Dignity], the most August," a title which had been conferred twice before by the Afghán sovereigns on their nobles. He was also assigned a scarlet tent, which only the family of the sovereigns had hitherto been permitted to use." This was in 950 H. (1543-44 A.D.)

Sher Sháh directed *the 'Azam Humáyún* not to make any alterations in the assessments, but to observe the rules and usages of the Langáhs, and to take the revenue in kind. The latter, leaving Fatḥ Jang Khán, Kanbú (or Kambú: it is correct both ways, the person referred to above) in charge of the Multán province, returned to Láhor. Fatḥ Khán, Kanbú, brought it into a flourishing condition once more, and founded therein a town which he named Sher Garh."

This place is still in existence, situated close to the right high bank of the Biáh, some twenty miles to the south-eastwards of Sath Garh. These people under the "official name" of *Kamboh*, still hold a good deal of land in that locality.

That "god-like man," the "mighty Chakar Rind," the founder of "the kingdom of the lofty Gulám Bolak Rinds," disappears from the scene; but he continued to hold his *já-gír* at Sath Garh, and there died, and was buried. The Rinds, latterly, were much bullied by the Siáls. See page 338. There are more than "*traces* of Biloches" throughout the whole Panj-áb, particularly in the southern half of it.

and a half beyond which it makes a sudden bend to the northwards, then back again to a south-westerly direction, and runs towards Tulanbah, which it passes five miles to the south. From thence it runs in the direction of Multán as far as the point near which it used to unite with the Chin-áb, when that river passed on the east side of that city to join the Bíáh, and which is about fifteen miles nearly due south of Sidhú kí Sará'e. In the space between this left high bank and the present channel, between Chíchawatní and Tulanbah, are the remains of two or three other old channels in which it has flowed at different times, but now partly obliterated.

On the opposite side, in the present Rachin-áb Do-ábah, its extreme high bank can be distinctly traced beginning from about twenty-nine miles to the westwards of Láhor, running in the direction of about south-south-west along the skirt of the Sándal *Bár*, farther west of which again is a part of the same *Bár*, extending from five to fourteen miles in breadth from west to east, and some eighteen miles from north-east to south-west, covered every here and there with mounds and hillocks, the sites of former towns and villages, and, in some places, with depressions. Patches of the same hard substance that composes the Chitr-áng Zamín, described farther on, also crop up here and there. These patches are described as "beds of kankar," but the formation is, apparently, just the same as that of the Chitr-áng Zamín alluded to above.

Passing onwards from this in a direct line towards Ghugherah and

It will thus be seen, that out of Haibat Khán, *the 'A'zam Humáyún* (which last word, in this, as well as in the Bádsháh's title, means august, fortunate, etc.) the writers have produced "*Humáú Chowghutta*," and "*Hamáyún Sháh*" meaning of course Násir-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Humáyún Bádsháh [he was a Barlás Mughal by descent, one of the *uláús* of *Chaghatáe* Khán], with whom "the mighty Chákar made war," and even "took Delhi, from him," but kindly restored it! How he "made war" upon the *'A'zam Humáyún*, Haibat Khán, I have already shown above. As to "Hamáyún Sháh having very probably returned" to Hindústán "from Persia through the Bolan pass, and been joined by Chákar Rind, and other Biloches," any History of India, even "Ferishta," or "Briggs" would show, was totally incorrect. Humáyún Bádsháh left Sind in August, 1543; in January, 1546, he returned from Persia, and recovered Kandahár; and it was not until *eleven years and a half after that*, that he set out from Kábul for Já'e Sháh-í, then by a raft on the river of Kábul to Pes'háwar, crossed the Indus at Nil-Áb, and marched straight on Láhor, and from thence through the Jalhandar Do-Ábah, and Samánah, to Dihlí.

As to Chákar, the Rind, building the fort of "Seví (Sibí) and making it his capital," is on a par with his capture of Dihlí. "A little history," like "a little learning," is "a dangerous thing." See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 589, note ¶, and page 591, note *

Fath-púr, it runs a little over eight miles to the westwards of Farídábád, and nearly five west of Sayyid-Wálah; and about seven miles or thereabouts north-west of the first-named place, the Deg river runs in its channel. Hereabouts the bank is not so well defined, but, about four miles and a half west of Ghugherah, it becomes well defined again, and approaches within a mile and a half of Koṭ Kamáliah[360] on the

[360] Cunningham (Ancient India, page 226) "identifies" this place, as "the first city captured by Alexander on his march from the junction of the Hydaspes (Jhilam) and the Akesines (Chenab)," but he does not tell us where the junction then was; and he also suggests a connection between the name Kamália and the Malli. He also provides a place for "Harapa" [Hurappah] as "most probably, the city against which Perdikkas was detached because of the mention of marshes," but there are, or were, plenty of marshes round about, and near Multán, and also near Shor Koṭ, and scores of other places. In the time of Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh of Ghaznín, Muḥammad Bahlím, the governor of these parts—the Panj-áb—having rebelled, the Sulṭán marched against him in 512 H. (1118-19 A.D.) and defeated him on the confines of Multán, "the Almighty having rewarded Muḥammad Bahlím for his base ingratitude, and he, and his ten (some say two) sons, together with their horses and arms, on the day of the battle, sank in a morass, so that no trace of him and them remained." It does not follow, however, that Hurappah was the place.

With regard to Kamáliah, or Koṭ Kamáliah, I may mention that *kamál* is not Greek, but an 'Arabic word, and that the name of this place is derived from the Musalmán name of its founder, Kamál-ud-Dín, a Khar'l chief. He may have founded it on an older site, and a town may possibly have been in existence there in the time of Alexander's campaign, but there is a vast difference between probability and "identification." How many times has the Ráwí changed its course since that time?

The direction taken by Alexander against the Malli, and the situation of their territory, as described by the historians of his compaigns, depends entirely upon where the Hydraotes [Ráwí] united with the Acesines [Chin-áb] at that period. Where the junction took place shortly before the appearance of the 'Arabs in Sind and Multán has been already related. See also note 192, page 244.

The Malli are said to have occupied the country between the lower part of the courses of the Hydraotes and Acesines, and also the district beyond the Hydraotes. What plainer description can be desired to show that the lower part of what in comparatively modern days was called the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, in part of the Sándal *Bár*, the Gondal *Bár*, and part of the Ganji *Bár* adjoining it in the Bárí Do-ábah is meant, even according to the most ancient courses of the rivers that we know of. That the greater part of the tract in question was above the place of junction of the two rivers is clear, because it is stated, that the troops were landed below the confluence of the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Chin-áb] on the right [west] bank of the latter, that is, in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and were directed to march down stream, on that side, at certain intervals of time, in divisions, *to the point of junction of the Acesines* [Chin-áb] *with the Hydraotes* [Ráwí]; and the fleet was ordered to be conducted thither also. In the time of the 'Arabs, this junction took place about twenty miles *north-east of Multán*, but in Alexander's day it probably took place, to judge from the most ancient channels, much higher up, and between Siḍhá kí Sará'e and Shor Koṭ, but nearer to the latter place.

north, and then makes a sudden bend to the north-west as far as 30°52′ N. L. to within sixteen miles of Shor Kot, and within fourteen miles of

Alexander, himself, however, before they set out, advanced laterally from the left [east] bank of the Acesines [Chin-áb], that is, into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, and encamped near a small stream which skirted the western edge of the desert [*bár ?*] that intervened between the upper settlements of the Malli upon the Hydraotes [Ráwí], and came to a halt for a short time. This stream, no doubt, refers to one of those *nahrs*, or old canals, as they are supposed to be, still to be traced in the present Jhang district. After marching the remainder of that day and all night, at dawn, he arrived before the Malli strong hold, the march across the desert [*bár ?*] having *exceeded twenty-five miles.* He was still in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but it is not said in what direction his march lay, but, it may have been in a south-easterly direction, or even more towards the east from the context, and the time it subsequently took to convey him to the confluence of the two rivers, after he was wounded, and that depends on where that confluence was. The distance mentioned, if he marched south-east from the ancient bed of the Chin-áb, would have brought him to the northwards of where Kot Kamáliah now stands, if not to within four or five miles west of Samandar, on the road from Mughiánah to Ghugherah. Wherever it was, the people were taken by surprise, and their city and fortress stormed

Curtius differs here from the other writers. He says the people had determined to make a vigorous defence, and had chosen a commander out of the Oxydracæ; that he was an expert soldier, and had pitched his camp *at the foot of a mountain*, causing fires to be lighted to a great distance, that his army [the undisciplined inhabitants] might appear more numerous, and kept up cries and uncouth howlings, etc; and that as soon as it was light, Alexander moved to attack them in battle array, but, the barbarians for some reason *fled to the mountains*, pursued by Alexander, but to no purpose, except capturing their baggage.

Where is there a mountain to be found within ninety miles of either of these places, or even a hill nearer than the Kiránah Hills and their off-shoots, at Chandaní-ot, and near Sángalá *Tall ?*

According to Arrian and the other accounts, the most important places were evacuated, and the inhabitants fled for refuge to the dense *jangals* beyond the Hydraotes [in the Ganji *Bár*, in the Bárí Do-ábah, dense *jangals* still exist]. After a short repose the Greeks continued their advance and reached the Hydraotes, while the Malli were still crossing [into the Bárí Do-ábah]. Their rear guard was cut up, but the main body of the Malli took refuge in a strong fortified city, which was stormed by a part of the forces sent against it. Then Alexander crossed to the left bank [east, and thus entered the Bárí Do-ábah once more. The first occasion was when his troops mutinied], and reached a Bráhman town, which was also captured.

Curtius says, that the city was the city of the Oxydracæ, and Strabo says, it was the city of the Sydracæ. The Malli evacuated all the chief cities [what a number of *cities!*] lying on the left [east] bank of the river Hydraotes; and Alexander re-crossed to the right [west] bank [back into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah again] they, the Malli, having concentrated all their forces there. Autumn was far advanced, so the river was low, and having re-crossed it, he attacked them. They were overthrown, and fled for shelter to a neighbouring fortress. It being late in

one of the ancient channels of the Chín-áb. It then turns abruptly from north towards the south for seven miles, and then turns west

the day, the attack upon it was deferred till the following day. This was the place where Alexander was so badly wounded in storming it. Where this fortress might have been I cannot say, but it was in the Rachín-áb Do-ábah, not far from the then banks of the Hydraotes [Ráwí], and somewhere to the northward of Koṭ Kamáliah, or between that place and Samandar, or even farther north near the old channel of the river shown in the general map. No 1.

Masson considers "Túlúmba" to have been "the capital of the Malli, which could not be Multán"; and respecting this last remark there cannot be the shadow of a doubt: Multán was too far south, as the other subsequent operations show. Masson also, contrary to others, considers "Kamália" was the site of the fortress where Alexander nearly lost his life; and he dwells upon the marsh near it as a proof. This, however, is neither proof nor clue; for there are marshes in several other places in these parts: the distance given of the length of the march is the best. Masson also identified "Haripah" [Hurappah] as Sángalá, in which, of course, he was totally wrong; for Sángalá *Tall* lies eighty-four miles to the northwards of Hurappah, but, as regards Koṭ Kamáliah, he is certainly in the right neighbourhood, although too far south perhaps.

Vincent ("Voyage of Nearchus") says, that "the fortress where Alexander was wounded, was not the Malli capital [not "Moultan," as he writes it]; for it is certainly on the *north* of the Hydraotes as Moultan is on the *south*." But, in another place, he spoils his, by chance, correct statement, by adding, that "the Caspiri on the Rhnadis *ought* to be Moultan on the Ravee," etc.

After stating all I have noticed above, the Author of the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," like others who have written since, supposes, that "the Malli are represented by the modern inhabitants of Moultan, and Outch of the Oxydracæ;" as he says the former [*i. e.*, "Moultan"] is on the left bank of the Acesines [Chín-áb], with the cognate city of Mulban [sic] between the Hydraotes [Ráwí] and Hyphasis [Biáh], and Outch lower down, not far from the confluence of the Hyphasis and Acesines. Here he has been guided, it will be seen, *by the courses of the rivers as they now flow*, and as those places are *now* situated, but it was not so *then*; and he has mistaken the Ghárah for the Hyphasis, which referred to the Biáh alone. The descriptions given by the Greek writers clearly show, that all these operations took place in the Rachín-áb Do-ábah, between the Chín-áb and the Ráwí, in whatever direction they may have flowed at that period, and chiefly on the banks of the latter, eighty miles north-east of Multán, and nearly double that distance north-north-east of Uchchh.

We next come to the descent of the Hydraotes [Ráwí]. As soon as Alexander could be removed, he was taken down the Hydraotes to the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chín-áb] where was the standing camp, and where the vessels of his fleet were directed to assemble. At the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, and perhaps for a considerable time previously, the confluence was about twenty miles to the north-east of Multán.

It occupied four days to convey Alexander down the river Hydraotes to its confluence with the Acesines; and there the grand army and fleet had already arrived. While his wounds were healing, new vessels were being built. Near the confluence was a large *banyan* tree, below which according to Aristobulus, fifty

again, its bank well defined, with a slope of some forty degrees, the ground here and there covered with hillocks, to within fifteen miles north of Tulambah, and runs in the same westerly direction, the bank becoming less distinct, towards the former bed of the Chin-áb near Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the north, where they used to unite. Subsequently, when the Ráwí deserted the Bíáh to unite with the Chin-áb, the united streams then passed on the west side of Multán instead of on the east; but, even now, the Ráwí shows a liking for this old channel—the most

horsemen could at the same time be shaded from the sun; and Onesicritus, as quoted by Strabo, mentions trees at the confluence in question, with their boughs bent downwards, of a size that four hundred horsemen might take shelter at midday beneath the shade of a single tree. The author of the "Life" above noticed, says: "It might be worth while ascertaining, as connected with the age of this species of tree, whether there be one of great size and apparent antiquity in this vicinity." I have before noticed the great *Bohar* or *Banyan* tree near one of the old confluences of the Hydaspes and Acesines, but not of the latter with the Hydraotes, at page 334. After this, Alexander sailed down the three united rivers to their junction with the Indus, where he was joined by some vessels built at other places on the latter river. This mention here of the confluence with the Indus shows, that Curtius' statement of the Indus being the third river uniting at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines near the fortress there, to be an error. "Here (at the confluence of the Indus and the three united rivers, the Hyphasis, Acesines, and Hydraotes) Alexander ordered a city to be built, and naval docks to be constructed, as it was a spot, in his estimation, well calculated to become the site of a powerful city," but, as the upshot shows, he could not have chosen one worse. See page 299. After this we are told that he came down to the country of the Soghdi, which name, the author of the "Life" supposes, "they derived like their northern namesakes, from the great vale occupied by them," but he does not tell us why the Tájzík word سغد—*sughd*—should be used in a Hindú country in preference to a Sanskrit word, such, for example, as सुखद—*sukhd* or *sukhad*, meaning 'salubrious,' 'pleasant,' etc. The former word means 'a depression where rain water collects,' and 'the name of a city in a great depression near Samr-kand.' Tod says (Rajast'han: Vol. I, p. 93), that, "the Soghdi country is Dhat in the desert," and that, "the Sodas are the Soghdi." Cunningham, on the other hand, says (p. 254), "The Soghdi or Sodræ, I would identify with the people of Seorai," the actual position of which he says, "is unknown." "Siw-rá'í or Síw-ráhí is well known: a *maháll* of the Multán *sarkár*, and lies about five miles above Sabzal Kot N-N-E. "The elephants had been repeatedly ferried across as the nature of the country favoured their movements. [The Indus must have been a smaller river then in comparison with what it afterwards became to have enabled this to be done] "They were now transferred," it is said, "to the right [west] bank of that river for the last time; and Craterus, with them, advanced through the country of the Arachosii and Drangæ," of whom Arrian makes the Indus the eastern limit.

Here, it will be noticed, that the Hypanis [Bíáh] and the Hakrá or Wahindah which latter great river as certainly existed at that period as the others, have been passed over without the least notice whatever.

ancient that we know of, except that in which it flowed when Chach attacked Multán, and afterward Muhammad, the 'Arab commander—and in flood-time some of its water still finds its way into it, or did, at least, a few years since.

The change last mentioned appears to have taken place at the time of, or to have been brought about through the effects of, the great flood which devastated the northern part of the Panj-áb territory, which will be again noticed; and this appears to have been the course of the river when Amír Tímúr crossed the Chin-áb below its confluence with the Bihat near Shor Kot,[361] and the Ráwí opposite Tulanbah on the north, and encamped before it. From thence he passed on to the

[361] Some additional light is thrown on the courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb in the accounts of the raids of Mír 'Alí Beg, the Mughal, from the direction of Kábul.

During the disturbed state of the Dihlí kingdom subsequent to the death of Khizr Khán when his son, Sultán Mubárak Sháh, succeeded, Shor or Shor Kot played a conspicuous part from its situation.

Sultán Mubárak Sháh, succeeded his father in the fifth month of 824 H. (June, 1421 A.D.), and withdrew allegiance from Sultán Sháh Rukh Mírzá, Bahádur Khán, son of Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, which his father had faithfully observed from the time Amir Tímúr conferred upon him the territory of Multán and Debál-púr, and had never assumed the title of Sultán, which his son now took.

This act soon began to bear fruit. In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.), the Mír, 'Alí Beg, son of Dánish-Manchah, a descendant of Chaghatáe Khán, son of the Chingiz Khán, who was the Ná'ib or Deputy of the Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish, son of Sultán Sháh Rukh, who had been made the feudatory of Kábul, Zábul, and the territories bordering on both sides of the Áb-i-Sind or Indus with Sultán Sháh Rukh's sanction, threatened an invasion of Siw-istán and Bakhar of Sind, but it did not come about. This Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish is the personage respecting whom, Mr. J. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's "Indian Historians," has made such a sad error. He styles him (Vol. IV., p. 59) "Shaikh 'Ali, lieutenant of the prince the son of *Sar-'atmash*." Another writer calls him "*Suyurgutmish*."

Sultán Mubárak Sháh, on this, directed Malik Mahmúd, son of the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, the then feudatory of Láhor, to put the defences of Multán, which had become greatly dilapidated, consequent on the repeated Mughal inroads during many years, in order; and he rebuilt the fortifications anew from the foundations.

In 833 H. (1429-30 A.D.), during the time that Jasrath, son of Shaikhá, the Khokhar, which latter had died some short time before, was in rebellion, and keeping the whole of the eastern Panj-áb and adjacent parts in disorder, the Sayyid, Salim, feudatory of Tabarhindah [in Elliot, IV, 68, the editor inserts "*Sirhind*," to let us know, perhaps, that they are both one and the same place, which they are not], and an old and trusted servant of Khizr Khán for thirty years, who had amsseda great wealth, died. On this, Folád, a Turk slave of the Sayyid, seized all his property—instigated by one of the late Sayyid's sons, who were at the Dihlí court, it is said—and also upon Tabarhindah for himself. A force was sent against him; and, after some time, being reduced to straits, Folád sought aid from Mír 'Alí Beg, the

banks of the Bíáh, and crossed it by means of boats, and some of his troops by swimming, as already related in the account of his expedition.

Mughal Deputy at Kábul (who now was acting for Mas'úd Mírzá, son of Mírzá Saiyúrgh-timish, who had died at Ghaznín in 830 H. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 364, and 578), promising him a large subsidy for his help. Nothing loth, he, with Sulṭán Sháh Rukh's permission, set out from Kábul in the fifth month of 834 H. (Feby. 1432 A.D.) towards Tabarhindah, plundering and devastating all the country he passed through until he arrived within ten *kuroh* of that stronghold. On this, Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh's general, Islám Khán, who, with his forces, had been investing Folád therein, had to raise the investment; and Folád paid Mír 'Alí Beg two *lákhs* of *tangahs* for his aid. Taking his family and effects along with him (including Sayyid Salím's wealth, probably), Folád proceeded along with Mír 'Alí Beg on his return to Kábul.

The latter moved by way of Jalhandar, and from thence towards Láhor, in the month of Rajab (the seventh month), and by Kaṣúr and Debál-púr, devastating and plundering the country passed through; and the people of Khaṭ-púr [the chief place of the northernmost of the *maḥálls* of the Multán *súbah* or province at that period, situated on the Ráwí and then in the Bárí Do-ábah] he carried away captive. The 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Malik Rajab, Nádirí, (by some called Muḥammad Ḥasan), the feudatory of Multán and Debál-púr, moved out of Multán to intercept him, and marched to Tulanbah.

On this, Mír 'Alí Beg fell back on Khaṭ-púr; and just at this time the 'Imád-ul-Mulk was directed to return to Multán. On the 24th of the eighth month of the above year he retired towards that place, on which Mír 'Alí Beg passed the Ráwí near Khaṭ-púr, and then, keeping along the line of the Jihlam (which the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-í says "is well known as the Chin-áb," meaning the united Jihlam and Chin-áb, but to which, in the extract from that work in Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 70, Mr. Dowson puts a foot-note, that "such is the extraordinary statement of the text, and Firishta copies it," only there is nothing extraordinary in it), he plundered the country as he proceeded, and afterwards turned round and marched towards Multán. This he could not have done had the rivers flowed then as now.

On his approaching within ten *kuroh* of that place, the 'Imád-ul-Mulk despatched Malik Sulṭán Sháh, the Lodí Afghán [uncle of Malik Bahlúl, who afterwards became Sulṭán of Dihlí, and was the first of the Paṭán or Afghán race who exercised sovereignty anywhere], at the head of his available troops, and followed himself, towards Jún-púr, a place I cannot now find. There an obstinate battle took place, in which Mír 'Alí Beg was victorious, and Malik Sulṭán Sháh was defeated and slain, and his troops routed. Mír 'Alí Beg then pushed on towards Multán, and appeared before Khair-ábád, near that place on the Tulanbah side, on the 3rd of Ramazán (the ninth month) 834 H. (June, 1431 A.D.), and the next day attacked one of the gateways of the fort. Fighting went on daily in and around the suburbs until the 26th of the following month, when the place was relieved by a force from Dihlí, which attacked Mír 'Alí Beg and defeated him. He then withdrew to a fortified position, which he had enclosed with a mud wall for his troops and baggage; but, unable to hold that, he was obliged to retire across the Jihlam [the Chin-áb and Jihlam united], and in so doing, he lost a great number of his officers and men drowned, killed, or taken prisoners; and with his brother's son, Mír

Since that again the Rávi once more altered its course; and there can be no doubt whatever, that the old channel parallel to the present

Muzaffar and a mere remnant of his forces, he succeeded in reaching Shor. The history (Táríkh-i-Alfí) adds, that, "such a disaster had never before befallen any army under any reign."

These movements tend to prove what I have noticed before (see page 279) that; at the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, and at the period here referred to, the junction of the Wihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb took place near to Shor or Shor Koṭ. See also page 331.

Mír Muzaffar was left to hold Shor, while Mír 'Alí Beg returned to Kábul, and the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who had followed in pursuit, invested Mír Muzaffar therein on the 4th of Zí-Ka'dah (the eleventh month), 834 H. (August, 1431 A.D.); but he was just after removed from the government of the Multán province, and Khair-ud-Dín Khán, Kháfí, succeeded him there. Great disorders arose in this part in consequence, and Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, again broke out. The result was, that Mír 'Alí Beg, in the following year, 835 H (1431-32 A.D.), again appeared upon the scene, and advanced by way of Shor, then in his nephew's hands, and invaded the provinces of Multán and Láhor. All the country west of the Jihlam, and great part of that west of the Chin-áb, at this period, was outside the Dihlí territory, and was more or less subject to the Mughals, as all west of the Bíáh was when the "Ṭabáḳat-i-Náṣirí" was written, and as shown by the number of Turkish names still existing in those parts. Mír 'Alí Beg carried his raids as far east as Sahrind [which is not Tabarhindah. "Sirhind," also, is not the correct name of the former place]. Facing about, he again retired westwards, making the people of Khaṭ-púr captive, and those of the villages along the banks of the Jihlam; and on the 17th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal (the third month), 835 H. (Dec. 1431 A.D.), again reached Tulanbah. There, by oaths and promises, he gained over the people, and then broke his agreement, and destroyed the fortress there, which was a very strong place (See note 246, page 279, and following note 247), and massacred many of its people.

Folád, the Turk, previously referred to, who when Mír 'Alí Beg retired defeated to Kábul had returned to Tabarhindah, now issued therefrom, invaded the territory of Rá'e Firúz, the Ma'hín, one of the great Zamín-dárs of those parts, and slew him.

At this period Boh, also called Bohí, was a ferry over the Bíáh, the Sutlaj not having yet united with it, even temporarily.

Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh, consequently, had now to deal with Jasraṭh, the Khokhar, Mír 'Alí Beg, and Folád, the Turk. In Jamádí-ul-Awwal (the fifth month) of 835 H. (Feby., 1432 A.D.), he moved towards the Panj-áb to suppress these outbreaks. On his reaching Samánah, Mír 'Alí Beg beat a retreat, and retired to the Koh-i-Júd—the Salt Range—but the rebellion of Jasraṭh became still more formidable than before. This induced Mír 'Alí Beg to return in 836 H (1432-33 A.D.), which he did by way of Shor once more. On this occasion he plundered and devastated the whole country along the line of the Bíáh (accounting for the numerous ruined places thereabout), sacked Láhor, and left 12,000 cavalry there to keep possession. He then plundered Sáe-Wal, and took Debál-púr. Again Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh advanced by forced marches and entered the Pánj-áb to encounter him, and reached Debál-púr. From thence he moved to the Rávi, upon

left bank on the south, which extends from a little south of Sayyid-Wálah down to within six miles west of Hurappáh, where it approaches close to the present channel, is, as its name clearly indicates, namely Súkh Ráwah,[362] the "Dry" or "Dried up Ráwah or Ráwí," for it is known by both names. That old channel adjoining Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the west, and which, under the same name, runs down to within about three miles east of Multán, is not part of the old channel referred to above, but a more recent one: that in which it flowed when the Chin-áb united with it near Siḍhú kí Sará'e in 1695, and which it appears to have flowed in before it finally abandoned the Bíáh to unite with the Chin-áb.[363]

After that again, having met with some considerable obstruction above Tulanbah,[364] as its singularly winding course, and its sharp turns—south, west, and north again—indicate, or some other cause, it betook itself to that remarkable part of its present channel, known locally as

which Mír 'Alí Beg speedily retired towards Shor, followed closely by the Sultán, who crossed the main branch [sic] of the river Ráwí, and appeared before it. Mír 'Alí Beg again retired towards Kábul, still leaving Mír Muzaffar, his nephew, to hold it. He held out for a month, when, finding he could not do so much longer, terms were agreed upon, that Mír Muzaffar should send his daughter as a bride for the Sultán's son, together with many valuable presents, and that the troops left by Mír 'Alí Beg at Láhor should evacuate that place. This effected, the Sultán set out to visit the tombs and shrines at Multán, and then returned to Dihlí. Shor, and the tracts to the north and west, still remained in the hands of the Mughals, until the time of the Langáh Jat rulers of Multán, the second of whom, Sultán Ḥusain, after much fighting, wrested the fortress of Shor out of the hands of Ghází Khán son of Saiydú Khán, and also the town of Chandaní-ot, held by Málik Máchhí, the Khokhar, for the same Mughal Khán. The territory of Shor was then conferred on Jám Báyazíd, of the family of the Sammah rulers of Sind, as before related. Sultán Ḥusain's wife was Báyazíd's mother by a former husband. See pages 279—281, and 291.

[362] This, and the other old channel mentioned after, appear in our maps as "Sookhrawa N," from which one would scarcely recognize the meaning.

[363] See page 355.

[364] Cunningham says, in his work ("Ancient India," p. 223), that "the old town of Tulanba, is said to have been deserted as late as one hundred and fifty years ago, through changes in the course of the Ravi." At page 225, however, he says it was deserted "three hundred years ago," having told us on the previous page, that "the old town was plundered and burnt by Timur, and its inhabitants massacred." The preceding note 361 will show who destroyed the fortress and massacred the inhabitants. The place appears to have been in a flourishing condition when Mír 'Alí Beg attacked it.

Shahámat 'Alí states, that "the present old fort of Tulanbah is of comparatively modern construction, and was built to restrain the wild tribes of the Ganji Bár."

the Siḍhú or Siḍh Ná'e,[365] which runs in almost a straight line for some twelve miles, and without a turn, to near Siḍhú ki Sará'e, where it united with the Chin-áb. After that again, when the Chin-áb inclined more to the west, passed Chaudaní-oṭ and Shor Koṭ on the west instead of the east side, the Ráwí, to rejoin it, made a fresh effort, and by a very tortuous course reached the depressed sandy tract near which the present junction takes place.

The land through which this Siḍh Ná'e runs declines a little on the north or right bank the whole way, and is bounded within a short distance of the bank by a date forest;[366] while a belt of higher land fringes it on the south or left bank, but it soon melts into the lower tract adjoining it.

This is a mere general outline of the principal and greatest changes which have taken place since the time of the Árabs. I will not go back to "Alexander" and "Hweng Thsang"—for there is no doubt that the Ráwí, even more than some of the other rivers constituting the Panch Nad or Panj Áb, has changed more or less from one side

[365] The Ráwí in its last change before forsaking the Bíáh altogether, appears to have met with some considerable obstruction in its course westwards near Bakrá and Lál Káthiyah, as its winding struggles and turnings show, but more particularly north of Tulanbah, upon which, and in order to reach the depressed tracts towards the Chin-áb, it betook itself, naturally, to the first depressed outlet in its way. This happened to be a canal which a former administrator, or farmer of the revenue, had cut to facilitate the irrigation of a part not within the influence of the annual inundations. This was carried towards the Sará'e of Siḍhú, to near a point called Rám Chontarah, where the Hindús have a place of devotion, about two miles and a half east of Siḍhú's Sará'e, and a little west of which it reached the Chin-áb again, which ran south-westwards towards the Bíáh, but a little nearer to Multán on the east side than it had previously done.

No traces of excavation having remained in after years to show that it had once been a canal, deepened and widened by the action of the river—for it would have been strange, if any signs had remained after a few inundations—and the fact of its being so straight, and running through some of the more elevated land in that locality, the Hindús (who greatly predominated over the Musalmán population in former times), at once attributed it to one of their deities, while the Musalmáns, more correctly attributed it to some Muḥammadan ruler of bygone times. It does not seem to have struck any one that the same Siḍhú, who founded a Sará'e, round which a little town sprung up, could also have had a canal excavated to bring water to it, and without the aid of demons, but such is the fact.

The Áb-i-Sind or Indus changed its course through a canal being in its way. See note 301, page 303.

[366] Date trees flourish along the Siḍh Ná'e, and near and around the villages on the Chin-áb and the Gharáb, in the Multán district, but, strange to say, are not found on the Ráwí and villages thereabouts. The natives ascribe the introduction of the date palm to the 'Arabs, and beyond the parts they reached it is not supposed to be found.

to the other and back again time after time; and thus to attempt to "identify" places along its present banks with others supposed to have existed more than twenty-two centuries ago, is so absurd as to require no further comment. Towards the lower part of its course, from the proofs still existing, it has flowed, at different times, over a tract of country from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth.

After passing Siḍhú kí Sará'e the Ráwí turns to the northwards, and soon after towards the west, and finds its way by a very tortuous course into the depressed tract of country mentioned in the account of the Chin-áb, and in which the junction of the two rivers now takes place. At the present time there is a dense forest of *jand* trees (a species of Acacia) in this depression, which forest extends for a considerable distance southwards into the Bárí Do-ábah in the Multán district; but only for a short distance, comparatively, in the opposite one, into the Rachin-áb Do-ábah of the district of Jhang. In the whole of this depression, which is seamed with old channels of the rivers, more or less distinct, water collects from the *uṯhár* or uplands on the Jhang *vide*; and the waters of the Chin-áb, at the period of inundation, spread out for some miles below Shor Koṭ; while the lands within the influence of the inundation on the right bank of the Ráwí, are separated by a bank of considerable height from their *uṯhár* or uplands for some distance, and which is cut up by the twisting and twining of the river in its very irregular course. Below this high bank again is an extensive stretch of *heṯhár* or lowland, or *bet* as it is also called hereabouts, and of rough surface, being intersected by some of the old, deserted channels of the Ráwí, as the term *buḍḍh* 'old,' 'ancient,' applied to them, indicate.[867]

When the river overflows its banks, from as far up as Chíchawaṭní, some fifty miles up stream, a vast tract is flooded; and the waters find their way as far as Jalál-púr in one direction, and as far down as Aḥmad-púr of the Síáls in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah on the other, and finally into the Kandí-Wál *ḍhanḍ* or lake, fourteen miles lower down under the high bank of the *Thal*, and seven miles from the right or west bank of the Chin-áb.[868]

[867] Along the course of the Ráwí, as in the case of other rivers of this part, are numerous creeks or inlets, in some few of which, at times, a branch of the stream flows. They are rather numerous in this river; but, for the most part, are on a higher level than the cold season level of the stream, consequently, they are only filled by the rising of the waters. Afterwards, when the inundations subside, these retain some water, thus forming lakes or *ḍhanḍs*, here known as *buḍḍhs*. See note 345, page 348.

[868] At times, in the cold season, now-a-days, the river becomes dry, or nearly so near Chíchawaṭní. This appears to be caused through drawing off a great deal, of water for irrigation purposes, by means of the Bárí Do-ábah Canal.

The Bíáh—the ancient Bipáśhá or Wipáśhah.[369]

Abú-l-Faẓl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, says very little about this river, but mentions that its old name was Bipáśhá (بپاشا). The Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáríkh says, "It passes Hindaun; and, after flowing beyond the villages dependent on Núr-púr, enters into the plain country of the Panj-áb. It then passes by Káno Wá-han (کانو واهن),[370] where is the royal ferry, flows by Rahílah; and below the town of Gobind-Wál and the bounds of Dih-Wál, near the *mauẓa'* of Loh (لوه) unites with the Sutlaj, after which it runs past Fíráz-púr and Muḥammad-oṭ.[371] Between this and Debál-púr, the united streams again separate into three branches, one of which is but a minor one. One of the two main branches turns towards the south, and is again known as the Sutlaj; while the other, which continues its course towards Debál-púr, retains the name of Bíáh. The intermediate or minor branch, known as the Ḍanḍah, passes by Ḳabúlah[372] [a little to the north of it], Khá'e Búlidhí, and north of Fatḥ-púr, Kuhroṛ, and Lodhrán, towards Jalál-púr, when it again unites with the other two, and near which, after having flowed apart for near one hundred *kuroh*, the two main branches again unite into one stream, and receive the name of Ghallá-

[369] It was probably out of this word that the Greeks made their name of "Hyphasis."

The traditions current in the northern Panj-áb mention, what history confirms, that, until within comparatively recent times, the rivers Bíáh and Sutlaj ran separately as far down as the extremity of the Multán province. Another tradition mentions that near the extremity of the Siwálikh hills, in the sub-district of Do-súhah ("Doosooyuh" of the maps) of the Hoshyár-púr district, where a high, rocky ridge juts out into the plain, which ridge is known as *mandoṭ*, the river Bíáh, in ancient times, flowed immediately under.

[370] When Bábar Bádsháh crossed the Bíáh in 932 H. (November, 1525 A.D.) on his advance towards Mal-oṭ, also called Bhojpúr Mal-oṭ, it flowed close to Káno Wá-han, where its high bank is well defined still, but the Bíáh now flows nearly five miles farther east. Káno Wá-han is some thirteen miles to the north-westwards of the ancient town of Do-súhah. It appears in our maps as "Kanhwan"!

For the meaning of Wá-han see a note on the subject farther on.

[371] This place appears in the maps and Gazetteers as "Mumdot" and "Mamdot." The termination is the same as that in the name of Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ on the Chin-áb The Hindí اوٹ—*oṭ*—signifying 'protection,' 'shelter,' 'covering and the like, was, in this instance, affixed to a Musalmán's name. In Abú-l-Faẓl's time, Muḥammad-oṭ belonged to the Khokhars (always mistaken for "Gickers, "Gukkurs," and so on) and Bhaṭís, hence the compound word; and it was the chief place giving name to one of the *maḥálls* of the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Debál-púr *sarkár* of the Multán *súbah*, as were, likewise, 'Álam-púr, Jalál-ábád Fíráz-púr, Lakhhí Ḳabúlah, etc.

[372] See page 296.

Ghárah[373] (گهاره گهارة), which, in the tracts peopled by the Balúchís, joins the river containing the united Ráwí, Chin-áb, and Wihat, Bihat, or Jihlam, when the whole are known by the name of Sind—the Áb-i-Sind or River of Sind."

This is a very important statement, referring, as it does, to the state of these rivers written by a native Hindú revenue official of the Panj-áb under the Mughal Government, just a century anterior to the Survey from which I have been quoting, and to which I shall presently return. This statement respecting the minor branch accounts for the existence of that considerable channel which may be traced from some twelve miles south of Debál-púr, and, a little to the north of Ḥawelí,[374] downwards by Ḳabúlah, and Mailsí of the Multán district, and which passes west of Fatḥ-púr,[375] north of Kuhroṛ, and by Lohdráṇ. This statement also throws light on the rather obscurely expressed passage in Abú-l-Faẓl respecting the three names which he says the Bíáh and Sutlaj were known by when they united, and so continued to flow for twelve *kuroh* to near Fírúz-púr.[376] No other writer than the author of the Khuláṣat-ut-Tawáríkh gives such information respecting this intermediate branch, which is Abú-l-Faẓl's Ḍand;[377] indeed, no others notice it.

My Survey record, just referred to, states, that "The river Bíáh rises in the *kohistán* of Bhúṭanṭ (بهوٹنٹ), and issues from a lake called Bíáh Kund. After flowing through a difficult mountain tract, and winding considerably, it comes from the eastward, and passes under Nadaun, the chief town and seat of government of that part. Then running in a general direction of about north-west, winding among the hills of the northern Panj-áb, and passing beyond the villages depen-

[373] According to Mackeson, in his account of the voyage down the Sutlaj with Captain C. M. Wade in 1832-33, Ghallú is the name of a tribe of Jaṭs, who dwell along the course of the Ghárah between Baháwal-púr and Miṭhan Koṭ in the present day.

[374] The "*Huvelee*" of the maps. This is the identical word noticed at page 335, note 325, where it is written "*Huwali*" in the maps. See also note 223, page 265 where it appears as "*Habeli*."

[375] This place was the chief town of a *maḥáll* of the *sarkár* of the Multán *súbah*, and like Kuhroṛ, the people were Joyahs, but are miscalled Júnahs in Blochmann's printed text of Abú-l-Faẓl. Those of the first named *maḥáll* were rated at 500 horsemen and 5,000 foot, and the latter at 100 horsemen and 2,000 foot, for militia purposes. The Sayyid-zádah Khiżr Khán, afterwards ruler of Dihlí, held Fatḥ-púr at the outset of his career.

[376] Consequent on this, the Fírúz-púr *maḥáll* was in the Berún-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Áb division of the Debál-púr *sarkár*.

[377] See note 254, page 285.

dent on Núr-púr, it separates into several channels, issues from the hill tracts into the open country, and turns towards the south-west. It soon after bends more towards the south, then towards the south-west again, passes under Káno-Wá-han, near the hunting-grounds of the ancient rulers of Hind, and by Rabílah, Jalál-ábád, Bairo-Wál, and Fatḥ-ábád, and near the *ḳaryah* of Loh or Loh-Wál, unites with the Sutlaj, when the united waters obtain the name of Machhú-Wáh (ماچھو واہ) and Haríárí. It is stated, that, in olden times, opposite the above-named *ḳaryah*, at a period when the Sutlaj flowed much farther eastwards in its old bed, the Bíáh separated into two branches, one of which having flowed past Ḳaṣúr, Ḳabúlah, Khá'e, and the Ḥujrah of Sháh Muḳím,[378] passed at a distance of one *kuroh* north and west of the fort of Debál-púr, and much lower down again united with the Haríárí. This branch still retained the name of Bíáh. The other branch, flowing towards the south, united with the Sutlaj,[379] which

[378] At the time of my Survey record being made, the last deserted channel of the Bíáh passed close on the north side of the Ḥujrah of Sháh Muḳím, which it says, "flowed on to Debál-púr, and was the source of the prosperity, and once flourishing state of this tract of country, but which became ruined and depopulated when it deserted this channel and united with the Sutlaj."

In the last century, the town surrounding the above-mentioned Ḥujrah was of considerable size, with a *bázár*. In the midst is the *ḥujrah*, closet, or cell, of the venerated Sayyid, Sháh Muḳím, giving name to the place. It is surrounded by an enclosure built of kiln-burnt bricks with a high dome over the cell. This place appears in the maps as "Hoojra," and in the Gazetteers as "Hujrá," which, of course, are meaningless as well as incorrect.

Farther south, adjoining the *ḳaṣbah*, is the shrine and tomb of another Musalmán saint, Lál Bahlúl, with a brick-built dome over.

[379] The Táríkh-i-Yamíní, in the account of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's expedition against Ḳinnauj, mentions all the rivers correctly, and the Bíáh and Sutladar separately.

In the map appended to Professor Lassen's "Indische Alterthumskunde," the Bíáh and Sutlaj are made to run in ancient times precisely as they now flow. The Ghag-ghar is certainly made to run into, or rather its course is marked to, the "Sindhu" close to Miṭhan Koṭ, while the Hakṛá, under the name of "ancient course of the Sindhu," which it never was, is made to leave the present channel just opposite Shikár-púr, to flow east of Alor and also of "Brahmanabad," but the names Mihrán of Sind, Hakṛá, Wahindah, or Chitang, are never mentioned, nor does Debal or Dewal appear in his map, and yet all modern sites almost are "recognized," or "identified" by him for ancient ones. The whole tract of country extending from Bhaṭnír to "Amarakota" is styled "Marusthála (Maraubhûmi)," and U'chchh appears as "*Uk*."

The errors, however, are the rule, not the exception. The Sutlaj has always been considered to represent the "Hypanis," or "*Zaradrus*" or "Zadadrus" of the Greeks, and the Bíáh (*vul.* "Bias") to be the "Hyphasis" of the same people; nevertheless, Dr. Phillip Smith, in his "Ancient History," Vol. II, page 75, tells us,

then flowed in its last independent channel. At the present time the Bíáh, or main branch, is closed, and dried up entirely, and, in consequence, the tracts of country around and dependent on Debál-púr[380] are reduced to a state of desolation."

that Alexander crossed "the Hydaspas (Jelonm)—meant for the Jihlam perhaps—the Acesines (*Chenab*), the Hydraotes (*Ravee*), and "the Hypasis (*Sutlej*), the last of the five rivers." So, it will be noticed, that he has but *four* after all, having left out the Bíáh altogether, one of the principle of the Panj Áb or Five Rivers, and that he turns the Hyphasis, which others consider to be the Bíáh—and correctly so, no doubt—into the Sutlaj. This error seems to have been brought about through following the courses of the rivers as shown in the maps of the present day, and finding no *running* river called "Bias" in the direction required. because the map-makers *will style* the Haríárí or Ghárah by the name of "Sutlej," whereas it is the combined Bíáh and Sutlaj that formed the Haríárí or Ghárah, he at once adopted the "Sutlej." He subsequently traces all Alexander's movements to the mouth of the Indus according to the present courses of the rivers, as represented in modern maps.

He further tells us, that, "*Doab* signifies the space between each two rivers *of the Punjab*." However, I need scarcely tell those who have been in the East, that *doábah* in the Persian language, for it is a Persian word, means the delta between two rivers wherever they may be. He also supposes, that "Lahore" represents "*Sangala*" of the Greeks, in which he is also wrong. See note 390, page 380.

380 Debál-púr, not "Dípalpur," in ancient times, was a place of considerable size, and the seat of government of the northern Panj-áb territory, after Láhor had been sacked by the Mughals as related in the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1133, and it did not again become the capital for a considerable time. The author of the Survey record, who visited it towards the close of the last century, states, that, "from the time the Bíáh deserted it, it has gone to total decay and ruin. It has a fortress or citadel of considerable size and strength, built of kilu-burnt bricks, which is lofty and imposing viewed from a distance. It can be seen for some three *kuroh*. It is now in the possession of Jalál-ud-Dín Khán, an Afghán inhabitant of Ḳaṣúr [of the Daulatzí branch of the 'Umarzí Khweshkí Afgháns]. He holds the first with a small following amounting to one hundred horse and foot. The space between the four walls constitutes his territory; and, with the exception of a few *bígahs* of land at the foot of the walls, and tolls received from merchants and traders, he has no other revenue or means of support. Although Bhagwant Singh, and Wazír Singh, and other Sikhs, have each, at the head of numerous followers, at different times, invested him therein, they have had to retire without gaining their object.

"The dry bed of the Bíáh lies one *kuroh* distant on the right hand (north-west), and the Haríárí flows away on the left (south-east) distant about nine *kuroh* or little more. On the way from the Ḥujrah of Sháh Muḳím a great *jangal* of *pílú* trees has to be traversed."

He relates the legend of the transmigration of Lalú-jas Rá'e, the *Agwáni* or Precursor of the Hing-láj Bhawáni, and that he has a temple there. I need not enter into its details, but I hope this "*Agwáni*" will not be mistaken for an Afghán.

The old bed which the Bíáh last flowed in as an independent river is sufficiently apparent; while others still more ancient, have, during the course of ages, as might be expected, become less defined, and some worn out or changed, consequent on the opening of canals or utilizing parts of the old beds for them. The breadth of country over which it has at different times flowed, now in one part, now in another, extends in most places from eight to ten miles, and, in some, to twelve.[381]

The physical features of the tract of country lying between the rivers Ráwí, and the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, which names the Bíáh and Sutlaj took, after their final junction, and about midway between which the old bed of the Bíáh runs, is so peculiar that, before I proceed further in my account, I had better attempt to describe it.

I have before mentioned, that a plateau of some elevation—an elevated waste—separates the valley of the Ráwí from that of the

Cunningham considers, from the old coins found hereabouts, that this town was in existence "in the time of the Indo-Scythians," and is "inclined to identify it with the Diadala of Ptolemy [it certainly has the letter *d* in it, enough perhaps for identification], which was on the Satluj to the south of Labokla and Amakatis," etc.; but, as he had previously "suggested the identity of Dìadala with "*Dehlí*," we may easily dismiss it, more especially since Debál-púr never yet lay on the banks of the Sutlaj, which never approached nearer to it than at present. He probably meant the Bíáh, and so it still remains.

In the time of Akbar Bádsháh, Debál-púr was the chief town of one of the three *sarkárs* of the Multán *súbah*, and the places dependent on it lay in three *do-ábahs*—"the Bíst Jálandhar, Bárí, and Rachin-áb Do-ábahs," and another division styled, Berún-i-Panch Nad, or outside the Panj Áb or Five Rivers, or Extra Panj Áb—and consisted altogether of twenty-nine *maháls* (*parganahs* or sub-districts). The town and *maháll* are styled in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, "Debál-púr Lakhhí, with a fortress of burnt brick." The lands dependent on the *maháll* extended to 242, 344 *bígahs* and 11 *biswahs* under cultivation, assessed at 13,514,059 *dáms*, equal to 3 *lakhs*, and 37,851 *rúpís*, and 19 *dáms*; while the whole *sarkár* yielded 129, 334, 153 *dáms*, equal to 32 *lakhs*, and 33,353 *rúpís*, and 32 *dáms*. Out of the revenue of the Debál-púr *maháll*, 499,535 *dáms*, equal to 12,488 *rúpís* and a fraction, were free grants. The people were Jats, Khokhars (not Gakhars), Kisús, and Bhatís; and they were liable to furnish, according to their tenures, 500 horsemen, and 7,000 foot for militia duties.

Great quantities of rice used to be produced here up to the time that the Bíáh deserted its channel to unite with the Sutlaj at the close of the last century, and date palms flourished exceedingly. After the river deserted it, all went to ruin and decay.

[381] I had occasion, early in October, 1855, to cross from Tulanbah by Mían ki Pankí to Lúdhan, and, of course, had to cross the old bed or rather beds of the Bíáh. When I passed close to the high bank on the south, one of the beds was very broad, level as a bowling-green, covered with rich sward, and studded with fine, and handsome trees. I never saw anything in India that put me so much in mind of an English park scene as this did.

Bíáh (if such extensive tracts, here and there depressed, in which these rivers have flowed from time to time, can be called valleys), and this elevated tract extends from about twenty-one miles in breadth between Ḳaṣúr and Láhor, but decreases in one place, lower down, to about eight miles, but it soon increases again to about seventeen miles in breadth.[382]

This elevated plateau, which consists of a stiff, clayey surface, was capable of irrigation, and therefore of cultivation, by means of wells and water-cuts, of which there are numerous remains still to be seen, on the northern or Ráwí side in particular. This was before the Ráwí and Bíáh deserted these well-defined high banks; but who shall presume to say where they were, or whether they existed at all twenty-two centuries since, and what mighty geological changes have taken place in the interim?[383] On the south or Bíáh side, where the plateau rises abruptly from the surrounding country to the height of some twenty feet or more, it is about forty feet above the level of the country below, but it slopes gradually away towards the north or Ráwí side, the slope there being about half of what it is on the other, and in some places, where it rises abruptly from the plain, the height is about ten feet, and in some places only five.[384] The many and various signs of prosperity, in the shape of mounds covered with fragments of bricks and pottery, the sites of towns, villages, and fortified places,[385] clearly show that this, now totally waste, tract of country, was once in a flourishing state, and supported a considerable population. This tract forms part

[382] This elevated tract effectually prevented the Bíáh from following the other rivers in their inclination westwards, and hence it took a totally opposite course, and inclined eastwards and met the Sutlaj half way. See the heights of different places around given in note 387, next page.

[383] Volcanic action, and physical alterations have, in many places farther west, changed the courses of rivers in past ages, and certainly this part was not exempt from similar changes. I have mentioned the great flood in the northern parts of the Panj-áb territory; and this very part here noticed, from its geological formation, bears evidence of some such change in by-gone days. See note 307, page 305.

[384] This tract is locally known as the *ḍhaiyá*, signifying in Hindí, 'declivity,' 'slope,' 'fall,' etc. Combined with *ṭekar*, 'rising ground,' the compound word—*ḍhaiyá-ṭekar*—is used as an adjective to signify 'desolation,' 'ruin,' waste,' etc.

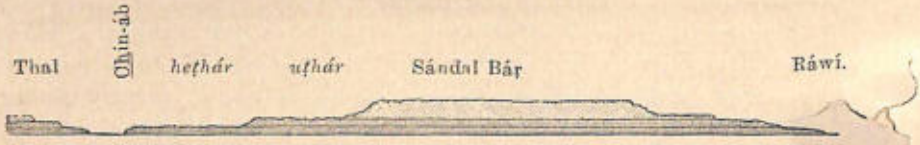
The crest of this *ḍhaiyá* forms great part of the Ganjí *Bár* previously noticed. In other districts it is also known as *ḍhak* and *náká*.

[385] Hence the absurdity of attempting to "fix" upon modern places as ancient sites, and "identifying" them with places mentioned by the Greeks.

Numerous ancient wells remain scattered over the Ganjí *Bár*, as well as in other now completely waste tracts in the Bárí Do-ábah, in the Ghugherah or Montgomery, and the Multán districts, but the water, at present, lies a considerable distance below the interior brickwork.

of what is locally called the Ganjí *Bár*,[886] which latter word, in Hindí, signifies 'edge,' 'margin,' 'verge,' etc., but the people of these parts apply that term to uncultivated wastes generally, beyond the reach of water.

As in the elevated plateau called the Sándal *Bár* in the Rachhin-áb Do-ábah, already described, this stiff, clayey surface overlies a substratum, in the shape of a high, and rather barren strip of land beyond the influence of the yearly inundations, but capable of cultivation if irrigated artificially.[886] This is called *bánghar* in this part of the Bárí Do-ábah, *rohí* on the Sutlaj, and *uṭhár* or upland in the Rachhin-áb Do-ábah. After this again comes another belt, the last, known as *heṭhár* or "lowland" in the Rachhin-áb Do-ábah, and "*bet*," "*khádar*," and "*sail-ábí*" in other parts, as in the following diagram[887] of the Rachhin-áb Do-ábah.



[886] The *heṭhár* or 'lowland' of the Chhin-áb, is called *bet* on the Ráwí, and *khádar* on the banks of the Sutlaj. Another name in the Persian language applicable to all, and generally used in official documents, is *sail-ábí*, that is, subject to the annual inundations. Then again, the *uṭhár* or 'upland' tract or belt on the Chhin-áb is known as *bánghar* on the Ráwí and Sutlaj. The inundations never pass beyond its bank inland. These belts are again subdivided or distingnished locally by other names referring to the capabilities of these higher tracts for cultivation purposes. In some places, as near Shor Koṭ in the Jhang district, where several old channels of the Chhin-áb and Ráwí exist, the *uṭhár* belt is wanting altogether, or lies at a considerable distance farther inland, but really, there is no high land hereabouts to stay the flood waters.

[887] These diagrams, of course, are not drawn to scale: they are merely intended to give some idea of the features of the tracts between the rivers, and make my explanations clearer.

A comparison of the heights of some of the places in these remarkable tracts between the Chhin-áb and Ráwí, and between the Ráwí and the high bank of the Bíáh, and the Haríárí, Níli, or Gharah, constituting nearly the lower halves of the Rachhin-áb Do-ábah, the Bárí Do-ábah, and Chhoṭí Kachchhí, will illustrate these diagrams.

For example, if we run a line from, say, Chhandan-oṭ or Chhandaní-oṭ eastwards towards the Haríárí in the direction of Fírúz-púr, we find that, while Chhandan-oṭ is 831 feet above the sea level, the banks of the Haríárí, near the point indicated, are just 200 feet lower. Going southwards, Jhang, which is just 570 feet above the sea, is 261 feet lower than Chhandan-oṭ, but 80 feet higher than Ghugherah, which is but 490; while Debál-púr, near the ancient channel of the Bíáh, is 20 feet higher than Ghugherah, but 60 feet lower than Jhang, 321 feet lower than Chhandan-oṭ, and 120 feet lower than the banks of the Haríárí parallel to Fírúz-púr. Going

In some places, the slope of this high, central plateau or *bár*, marking the old high banks of the Ráwí and Bíáh, and constituting the greater part of what was, and still is, known as the Bárí Do-ábah,[583] namely, the tract of country between the two rivers referred to, is gradual from the high bank of the Bíáh towards the present course of the Ráwí; and below, towards the place of junction of that river with the Chin-áb, it melts imperceptibly into the lowland or *heṭhár* below the junction in the western part of the Multán district, as in the diagram beneath.



farther south again, Shor Koṭ is 10 feet lower than Jhang, 70 feet higher than Ghugherah, 60 feet higher than Montgomery, about 55 feet higher than Hurappah, and 50 feet higher than Debál-púr.

Then again, if we draw another line across from Shor Koṭ to Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan, we find that that place, which at present is seven miles west of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, is 56 feet higher than Shor Koṭ, and 106 feet higher than Debál-púr farther north, 126 feet higher than Ghugherah, and 116 feet higher than Montgomery; while Ghugherah, Montgomery, and Debál-púr are respectively, 70, 60, and 50 feet lower than Shor Koṭ.

Still farther south, Siḍhú kí Sará'e is 170 feet lower than Shor Koṭ, 100 feet lower than Ghugherah, 80 feet lower than Debál-púr, 226 feet lower than the Pák Pattan, and 440 feet lower than Chandan-oṭ; while Multán is 88 feet *above* Siḍhú kí Sará'e, which latter is 98 feet lower than Ghugherah, and 214 feet lower than the Pák Pattan.

Going towards the southern extremity of the Bárí Do-ábah, Mailsí, near the Ghárah, is just 2 feet lower than Multán, but it is 10 feet lower than Siḍhú kí Sará'e on the Ráwí; while Shujá'-ábád and Lohdráṇ, distant about six or seven miles respectively from the Chin-áb and Ghárah, are both on the same level, being 380 feet above the sea, but 20 feet lower than Mailsí, and 22 feet lower than Multán. Shujá'-ábád and Lohdráṇ, consequently, are the lowest of all the places mentioned; and the difference between them and Chandan-oṭ, the highest of all, is 451 feet. It will also be noticed that the country round Ghugherah near the Ráwí is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues along the valley of the Ráwí to its present junction with the Chin-áb. The general slope of the tract of country herein embraced is southwards and south-westwards from Chandan-oṭ, and the greatest fall is from thence to Shujá'-ábád on one side, and from the Pák Pattan to Lohdráṇ on the other.

[583] This refers only to the tract of country between the banks of the Bíáh and the Ráwí, which is also called Mánjhah higher up. The lands on either side of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, extending about five or six miles along either bank, is known as Chhoṭí Kachchhí, which, in the last century, extended down as far as Uchchh.

The high bank of the Bíáh is well-defined all the way down, especially from Jalá'l-ábád and Fatḥ-ábád, above the present point of junction of the Bíáh and Sutlaj near Harí ke Paṭan; but, on the southern, right, or Hariári, Nílí, or Ghárah side, after their junction, and thus forming that river, the plateau, from the high bank of the dry Bíáh, is much more abrupt, especially on the north-east side, some eighteen miles east of Sayyid-Wálah[389] in the direction of Láhor. From thence it is well defined all the way downwards as far as the supposed position of the *mauẓa'* of Sháh Nawáz, referred to in the account of Amír Tímúr's campaign, about seven miles north-east of Dín Muḥammad ká Ṭibbah (*vul.* "Tibba" and "Tibbee")—The mound or knoll of Dín Muḥammad—which name was still known towards the close of the last century, before the Bíáh and Sutlaj each deserted their own beds to unite midway and form this new river, the Hariári or Nílí, as it is called in the upper part of its course, and Ghallú-Ghárah and Ghárah in the lower part, in the Multán district and the Baháwal-púr territory.

The breadth of this high central plateau or *bár*, from the two high banks, varies from about twenty-seven miles north of Ḳaṣúr, where it commences, towards Láhor, to seventeen miles between Noh-sharah Sará'e and Chúnhián lower down; while below that again, near Sath Garh, in some few places, it is not more than eight, but the average is about ten miles. It soon, however, begins to increase in breadth again; and immediately south of Huṛappah,[390] which it is close to on the south,

[389] At present, Sayyid-Wálah is only a little over a mile from the right or north bank of the Ráwí.

[390] When my Survey record was written, the Ráwí passed much nearer to Sayyid-Wálah than at present. Great changes also have occurred between Hinjaráún and Chúnhián ("Choonian" of the maps), some large villages that then existed having now disappeared. Huṛappah was then described as still a large town; and the Ráwí ran much closer to Koṭ Kamálíah than at the present day. That river flowed then between seven or eight miles east and south from Bhachchukí (the "Bhoochoke" of the maps), while now it is only between two and three miles from it. At the same period it flowed within two miles of Khá'e (the "Khaye" of the maps), but now it is a little nearer.

Cunningham, full of Alexander and Hwen Thsang, identifies "*Harapa*" (writing the name from ear) as, "another city of the Malli, into which a great body of Indians had fled for safety," and the chief reason for it seems because of "the mention of marshes," which "shows it must have been near the Ravi," but there are plenty of marshes elsewhere. Another reason given is "because the city of the Malli must have been beyond Kot Kamália [not mentioned by the Greeks: it is a Musalmán name] that is to the east or south of it. It is situated on the opposite high bank of the Ravi."

Alexander Burnes on his route to Láhor went "to visit a ruined city," four miles inland from the Ráwí, and to "inspect the ruins of an ancient city, called

it is twelve miles broad, and still lower down, south of Tulanbah, it is above seventeen; and this continues about the average breadth until it

Harapa." He does not "identify" it as existing in the time of the Greek invasion, but states that the prevalent tradition among the people generally is, that it was destroyed thirteen hundred years ago, at the same time as Shor Kot. From 1835, less 1300 years, would bring us to about 535 A. D., about the time that the Turks, including the Táttárs, and Mughals, the Indo-Scythians and Getæ of Europeans, began to make inroads into different parts of southern Asia. See my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note 2, page 869.

Masson ("Travels," I–453), on the other hand, "identifies" "*Harípa*," as he writes Hurappah, as "Sangala," "for," he says, "every condition of Arrian's Sangala are here fulfilled—the brick fortress, with a lake, or rather swamp [see note 393, page 385, for a great lake in the Bárí Do-ábah], at the north-eastern angle; the mound protected by a triple row of chariots, and defended by the Kathi's," etc., etc.

As an instance of a great mistake, "Arrian's conditions" notwithstanding, and which shows likewise how "doctors disagree," I may mention that the *Tall* of Sángalá happens to lie just eighty miles farther north than Hurappah, and, that it is also in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, while Hurappah is in the Bárí Do-ábah. Dr. Phillip Smith ("Ancient History") "identified" Láhor as "Sangala," see note 379, page 374. Masson adds, that, "the identification of Sangala gives a point from which we may safely [truly! as I have shewn] calculate upon the site of the celebrated altars of Alexander, which in all probability were in the neighbourhood of Pák Pattan, on the Satlej, two marches from Harípah, Alexander having there gained the high road into India, which was afterwards followed by Taimúr."

Now that we know the exact position of Sángalá, it is amusing to read of these "identifications;" and were we to be guided by him according to the distance of "the altars," from "Harípah" by a similar distance from Sángalá, we should have to look for them along the *present* banks of the Ráwí, or at the farthest, at the nearest points of the banks of the Bíáh instead of the "Satlaj," which, less than five hundred years ago, flowed upwards of sixty miles farther east than the Bíá. The only wonder is that these altars have not yet been "identified"

Cunningham, on the other hand, tells us ("Ancient India," p. 217) that, "the famous spot on the eastern bank of the *Hyphasis* [which refers to the Bíáh only]," where "Alexander halted and wept," must have been somewhere in the low ground between the Satlej and the Bias [sic], at a short distance above the old junction opposite Kasúr and Bazidpúr [six miles south-east of Fírúz-púr]. For 20 miles above this point the courses of the two rivers ran almost parallel, and within a few miles of each other, from the earliest times [!] down to 1796, when the Satlej suddenly changed its course," etc., etc. I may mention, however, that from the bed of the Bíáh to the *last* old bed of the Sutlaj is about thirty-six miles on the average. In another place, he says this change in the Sutlaj took place in 1790; and, in another place, that "the altars must be looked for along the line of the present course [!] of the Satlej, at a few miles below Hari-ki-patan." Harí ke Paṭan is twenty-five miles north-east of Bázíd-púr, and thirty-three miles east of Ḳaṣúr.

Why these "altars" must be looked for on the banks of the *Sutlaj*, seeing that Alexander never crossed the *Bíáh*, the writer does not tell us?

Between the "Pák Pattan" near where "the altars" may be looked for

melts into the plain towards the Chin-áb, in the south-west extremity of the Multán district.

"safely," according to one authority, and "Hari-ki-pattan, below which along the line of the *present* course of the Satlej the altars must have been," according to the other authority, is only ninety-four miles as the crow flies!

Now respecting these altars, Curtius states that Alexander having constructed his fleet on the Hydaspes [Bihat] he, in eight days, sailed down and reached the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chin-áb], after stating in another place, that, for the convenience of his troops, he went about 400 *stadia* daily. This would be rather less than 50 miles, consequently, in eight days he would have gone some 400 miles. But let us see how great a distance he must have been from the lowest possible point that we know of for the junction of the Bihat with the Chin-áb. According to that computation he must have set out from the alpine Panj-áb, some 50 miles above the present town of Jihlam, and certainly, a part where timber could easily and conveniently have been obtained.

Having reached the confluence of the two rivers—about which more in its proper place—Alexander is said to have crossed the Hydaspes [really, as the context shows, the united rivers, close to the confluence], and to have passed through tracts of desert [waste, not necessarily desert], and came to the river Hydraotes [the Ráwí], which he likewise crossed, and reached the river Hyphasis [the right bank of the Bíáh]. This, too, he proposed to cross, "which undertaking," Curtius says, "was difficult, not only by reason of its great breadth, but also on account of the *many rocks that lay scattered up and down it.*"

Is there a single rock to be found in the whole bed of the Bíáh, or anywhere in the vicinity of that river for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more "above the Pák Pattan," or for an hundred miles above "Kasûr and Bazidpur?" Except the Kiránah hills, there is neither a rock nor a stone from one end to the other, save near the hills to the north.

On the west bank of the Hyphasis (in the Bárí Do-ábah) Alexander's troops mutinied and refused to cross or to proceed farther. He directed that twelve altars of square stone should be erected, to remain as monuments of his expedition; and in order to deceive and impose on people hereafter, ordered beds to be left there of much larger size than the ordinary stature of men, and the fortifications to be increased accordingly.

Where was stone to be found for this purpose between the Pák Pattan and Ḳaṣúr? He might, however, have obtained stone from the hills, but he could not put rocks in the river bed.

Then Curtius says, that, this having been done, he marched back by the same way as he came, and encamped along the river Acesines.

In the "Life of Alexander the Great," previously quoted, it is stated, that "The Acesines (the modern Chun-ab) was then crossed, but the channel, as described by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, was nearly a mile broad. * * * Alexander then led his army across the Hydraotes (the modern Iravati or Ravee), and heard that a warlike nation, called Cathaians had roused two other independent tribes to arms, and were preparing to receive him under the walls of a strong city called *Sangala*." Sángalá, however, lies in the middle of the Rachin-áb Do-abáh at present, that is, a considerable distance *before* reaching the Hydraotes. The Macedonians arrived before Sángalá on the evening of the third day after crossing the

On the south or Bíáh side, the rise of this central plateau, as already noticed, is about forty feet, while on the north or Ráwí side it

Hydraotes [Acesines ?]. They captured it, and Alexander was informed, "that India beyond the Hyphasis—the modern Bezah, or perhaps the united streams of the Bezah and Sutlege—[here the writer supposes they had united 2216 years ago instead of less than 100], was very fertile, etc. * * * "He prepared to cross the Hyphasis," but as above stated his troops refused to do so. "On the banks of the Hyphasis he erected twelve towers in the shape of gigantic altars. * * * Alexander then returned from the Hyphasis [which was not crossed], recrossed the Hydraotes [Ráwí] and Acesines [Chin-áb], and arrived on the banks of the Hydaspes [Bihat] again. See note 379, page 374.

Strabo agrees with the others that the Hypanis, the Hyphasis of the others [Bíáh], was not crossed, and adds, that Alexander kept much nearer the hills during his march from the Hydaspes, consequently, there would be no need to seek for these altars, if they existed now, "between the Satlej and Bias opposite Kasûr and Bazidpur," nor "in the neighbourhood of Pâk Pattan, two marches from Harípah.' From what Strabo says they would have been situated some fifty miles or more above Ḳaṣúr; and to crown the whole, the Hyphasis [Bíáh] as late as the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, was separated by a tract of country some ninety-two miles in breadth from the Zaradrus, Hesudrus, or Satadru [Sutlaj], and even in the last century, the distance between them was an average of thirty-eight miles. See page 388.

Dr. (now, Sir) William Smith, LL.D., in his "Classical Dictionary," after telling us that "Alexander penetrated as far as the *Hyphasis*, which was the furthest point he reached," assures us that this river is the "*Garra*." The Ghárah, Haríárí, or Níí, did not then exist; and a century has not yet elapsed since the Bíáh and Sutlaj permanently uniting, formed what is known as the Ghárah in the lower half of its course, and Haríárí and Níí in the upper half. These two rivers had certainly united, temporarily, within the last four hundred years; but, after flowing together for a short distance, again separated, and again united after flowing apart for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more. The "*Hyphasis*" which Alexander reached, and beyond which he did not pass, nor any of his troops, was the *Bíáh* alone. Having fallen into one error, the writer, naturally, falls into others. Under the heading of "*Zaradrus*," he informs us, that it is the "*Sutlej*," *which falls into the Hyphasis (Gharra)*," here written with 'gh' under the previous heading it was 'g.' Thus he makes the Ghárah and Sutlaj *two distinct rivers*; but, if we turn to the heading "Hyphasis," we are told that the Hyphâsis or Hypâsis or Hypânis," is "*the Beeas, and Gharra, a river of India*"—one river! The *Sutlaj*, which eleven centuries after Alexander's time was flowing eighty miles or more to the *east* of the Bíáh, is the "*Zaradrus*," "*Zadarus*," or "*Hesudrus*," and this the Greeks did not reach.

The Survey record which I have been quoting from elsewhere, records a curious fact. On the route from Láhor to Núr-púr, thirty-three miles and a half from the former, and two miles north of Ujnálá, and less than a mile from the north or right bank of the Ḳirn Nálah, and four miles and a half from the left bank of the Ráwí, there stood in the last century a *tallah* or mound, which is described as "about one hundred cubits in height, and which can be seen from a distance of two and three *kuroh*. On the summit thereof is a large tomb or something of the

is only about twenty, and the Ráwí, at present, flows about sixteen miles from it farther north; but, from Chíchawaṭní as far as about twelve miles lower down, the Ráwí flows close under the high bank.

On the opposite or Bíáh side, the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah (always miscalled Sutlaj), has not yet approached this plateau nearer than twenty-three miles, and that only at one point, some twelve miles west of Lúḍhan in the Multán district, and about four miles south of Karam-púr, where it makes a sudden bend from west towards the south.

On the south side of the plateau, and between it and the southernmost of the old channels of the Bíáh, and between that again and the banks of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, and the tract of country which is locally called the Nílí *Bár*, is quite different from that on the other side through which the Ráwí has at different times flowed, known as the Ráwí *Bár*. This tract is but slightly elevated above the banks of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah; and, in the south-western part of the Multán district, the ridge of the Chit Ḍhú'áṇ, subsequently noticed, appears to have prevented the above mentioned river from approaching nearer to the bed of the Bíáh in that direction; for, near Karam-púr, as before stated, it seems to have made an effort in that direction, but, finding an obstacle, it turned suddenly from west to the south-south-east, and then to the south-west, and west again.

This tract, the Nílí *Bár*, bears evidence of comparatively recent formation, and the action of water; for, a few feet below the surface, deep beds of sand are found, and consequently, wells are with difficulty sunk, and when sunk are very liable to fall in; yet, it seems strange to those unacquainted with the past history of these parts, that this very tract of now dreary waste, without signs of vegetation, should contain so many remains of towns, forts, and villages,[391] water-courses, and canals. They are most numerous perhaps along the old bed of the Bíáh and the parts around Koṭ Kamálíah in the Ghugherah or Montgomery district. As already mentioned, there is no land fit for cultivation, or very little, except a belt or fringe of *khádar* or *sail-ábí* land along the banks of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Ghárah, which, as the term indicates, is under the influence of the periodical inundations, and which is also known locally as *kachchhí*, presently to be explained, or

kind, about twelve cubits in length, and three or four in breadth; and the tradition handed down respecting it is, that this is the resting-place in the sleep of death of one of the companions of "Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Ḳarnain" [as Oriental writers call Alexander the Macedonian]." The Ráwí at the time of the Survey flowed at much the same distance from it as now.

391 These remains are locally known under the name or term of *khoṭa*—کھوٹا—signifying, in Hindí, 'defective,' 'faulty,' 'ruinous,' etc.

what can be artificially irrigated by means of canals or cuts from that river. This belt or fringe in many places does not exceed three miles in breadth from the banks, but in some places it is four or five. In the parts around Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan much less land is fit for tillage, it is the most elevated part of the tract around,[392] and is covered with dense *jangal*; but, in the south-west corner of the Do-ábah, in the Multán district, along the banks of the Chin-áb, this strip of cultivation may extend to six or seven miles on the average from the river's bank.

Thus an extensive tract of waste land, extending some twenty miles or more in breadth in the Ghugherah district, intervenes between the high ridge of the elevated plateau marking the northern-most point the Biáh ever reached, and the belt or fringe of cultivation before alluded to. On the northern half of this waste, nearest the high plateau, traversed by old channels of the Biáh, water collects every here and there in its hollows in rainy seasons,[393] and these collections of water are called *ḍhoṛas*. The other or southern half is also intersected in several places with numerous old channels of minor branches or offshoots from the Biáh, but all inclining towards the old bed of the river in the lowest part of this waste, towards the south-west extremity of the Multán district, in the direction of the point where, at one time, the united Biáh and Ráwí were joined by the united Chin-áb and Bihat.

[392] Since the Pák Pattan stands just 616 feet above the sea, and 106 feet above the level of Debál-púr, and the banks of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Gháraḥ, twelve miles above and below the Pák Pattan, are respectively, 548 and 520 feet only above the sea, that is, an average of 82 feet *lower* than the Pák Pattan, how is it possible that Debál-púr could have stood on the bank of the Sutlaj, as Cunningham asserts, or for the Pák Pattan "to have been for ages the ferry over the Sutlej," which has never approached it nearer than at the present day?

[393] From the heights given in the preceding note 392, it will be observed, that around Ghugherah the country is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues to increase down as far as the junction of the Ráwí with the Chin-áb.

Towards the close of the last century, in going from Sher Gaṛh to Hinjaráún across the high plateau between the Biáh and the Ráwí which slopes towards the latter, just mid way, and near the present line of Railway between Multán and Láhor, there was a great *ḍhoṛah* or lake, called the Paltí, which extended five *kuroh* in length from east to west, with a breadth of one *kuroh*. It was generally dry except in and after rainy seasons. This great lake, therefore, lay just in the middle of the plateau. There were no inhabitants between Sher Gaṛh and Hinjaráún, but there was a dense *jangal*, and scarcity of water. It was much the same farther north-west to Wándirí and Ṣalábat Pind, now a mile from the left bank of the Ráwí, and seven miles east of Sayyid-Wálah.

The "Bárání Rúds," now so called, that is, dependent upon rain for water, namely the Párhah and its branch, called the Daharà, and the Sohág—the still minor ones are not of much importance to the present subject—are merely offshoots from the Bíáh, which separated from its left bank and flowed south and south-westwards. As long as the Bíáh continued to flow in the channel which passed close by Debál-púr, these *bárání rúds* continued to flow also, and their waters were the source of prosperity to the country through which they passed. Now, except after rainy seasons, they contain no water until the period of the inundations, when the overflow from the Haríárí or Nílí reaches them, and they become filled. At the period of the Survey quoted here, the channel of the Sohág passed within three miles and a half of Ajúḍḍhan, but now it is over five miles north of it.

What is known as the Súkh Ná'e (the "Sookhnye N." of the maps) is, to all appearances, the old channel of the intermediate branch of the three, into which, after uniting and forming the Haríárí or Nílí, the Bíáh and Sutlaj again separated "to unite one hundred *kuroh* further down and form the Gháraḥ," as already noticed. It is called by Abú-l-Faẓl, and the author of the Khuláṣatu-t-Tawáríkh, as well as in the Survey record, the Ḍandah, and which, lower down, in the Multán district, is represented by the "N. Bhuttyaree Nullah" of the maps, and is there separated from the old bed of the Bíáh by the plateau of waste known as Chit Ḍhú'áṇ (چٹ ڈھواں)[394]—the "Flat or Supine Bank" or "Rising Ground." It will be noticed that these "*rúds*" are now more numerous on the south or left side of the old bed of the Bíáh, and between its extreme high bank on the right or north, and the present channel of the Haríárí, Nílí, or Gháraḥ, as the country, which gives evidence of its comparatively recent formation, slopes down towards the last named river, which has no high bank whatever like the others to the westwards.[395] Indeed, the whole extent of country between the high banks of the Ráwí as well as the Bíáh, lying on either side of the central ridge or plateau of the Ganjí *Bár* of the Bárí Do-ábah and the present channel of the Ráwí, and the dry channel of the Bíáh, is cut up for miles by old channels more or less defined or much obliterated; and the ruins of brick-built buildings, and sites of ruined and abandoned villages, scattered over the whole of the present desolate tracts, show that they must have been once in a flourishing condition, and supported a considerable number of people.

[394] From Hindí *chit* 'flat,' 'supine,' 'prostrate,' and *ḍhú'áṇ* or *ḍhú'á* 'a bank,' 'mound,' 'rising ground,' 'declivity,' and the like. This plateau or bank appear n one of the best survey maps as "the wilderness of 'Chit Duen.'"

[395] See preceding page, note 392.

The "Old Bias Nalla," so called, is without doubt, the remains of the channel of that second branch into which the Bíáh in bygone times separated into two branches near the *ḳaryah* of Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál, as already noticed, long before it had any connection with the Sutlaj; and not long ago water found its way into it.[396]

With respect to the two perennial hill streams in the present Jalhandar Do-ábah, which are "supposed to be all one with the upper and lower Sohág, and the Khán-Wáh canal," I may mention, that, of the streams in that Do-ábah in the last century, when the Survey was made, there were two principal ones, the one named Kálí Wa'ín or Ba'ín (بئين or وئين), and the other Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín.[397] The latter issuing from the hills of the Siwálikh, and running southwards, passed Sará'e-i-Dakhaní on the south, and, opposite Jalál-ábád in the present Fírúz-púr district, three miles south of Dharam Koṭ, united with the Sutlaj, which since that time has changed its course.

The other is called the Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín, which issues from a *kol-i-áb* or lake west of the ancient town of Do-súhah,[398] and which lake is some six or seven *kuroh* in circumference, and very deep. It passes Yaḥyá Nagar on the north, where there is a masonry bridge of burnt

[396] See following note 399.

[397] In the maps, the lower part of the Kálí Wa'ín or Ba'ín is styled the "*Kalnah* River," but, a little higher up it appears as the "*Veyn* Nuddee"; and the Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín, is called "*Beyn* Nuddee." It was thought, probably, that one river was called the "Veyn" and the other the "Beyn." In the Gazetteers, on the contrary, they are styled the "Kali *Ben*," and the "Sufed *Ben*," *safed* being merely the Persian of the Hindí name.

Dhaulá is from the Sanskrit धवल—'white'—and Ba'ín or Wa'ín is *probably* from वेणु—'channel,' 'gully,' 'pipe,' etc., in the same language.

The Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín appears to have passed rather nearer to Jalhandar in former times than at present. When Jasraṭh, son of Shaikhá, the Khokhar, rebelled in 824 H. (1421 A.D.), among other doings was to invest Jalhandar; and Zírak Khán, the feudatory, was obliged to shut himself up therein. Jasraṭh took up his position on the banks of the Sarastí, as the Dhaulí Wa'ín or Ba'ín was then called; and Zírak Khán had to make terms with the rebel, and evacuate the place. After this, Sulṭán Mubárak Sháh had to move against him, as already related. Láhor, at this time, was a heap of ruins; and the Sulṭán on this occasion repaired its citadel, and the walls of the town.

[398] Spelt in the original دوسوهة, but Abú-l-Faẓl, in the *Á'ín-i-Akbarí*, spells it دیسوة—Deso-ah. It appears in our maps as "Dusooyuh," and "Dussohuh" and in other ways, no two maps being alike, and all wrong!

According to tradition, this place was founded *only* five thousand years ago, and was the capital of Rájah Bharata of the Mahá-bhárata, in whose service the five Páṇḍavas continued during their thirteen years of banishment while the Kurus were all powerful.

bricks; then to the north of Sultán-púr, under which place it is also spanned by a brick bridge, and about eleven *kuroh* farther to the south-west unites with the Bíáh." At this period the Sutlaj passed close to Pinḍourí, two miles and a half north of Dharam Koṭ, and which former place is *now* five miles south of the Sutlaj.

That these two streams had any connection with the "two Sohágs" or the "Khánwah canal," is very improbable. The Kálí Ba'ín or Wa'ín may possibly have had some connection with the Katorah canal, or that canal, rather, with the Kálí Wa'ín.[399]

At a period long anterior to the two accounts of the Bíáh as it flowed just one hundred and two hundred years ago respectively, as mentioned at pages 372 and 373, it was separated from the Sutlaj by a tract of country some sixty-five miles or more in breadth, and the latter river was still a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah. The Bíáh also still flowed through the *Sarkár* of Debál-púr, in the direction of about south-west, to within some twenty-eight miles south-east of the city of Multán;[400] and three or four miles or thereabouts north-west of Dín Muḥammad ká Ṭibbah, and between that village and the Ċhak of the Makhdúm-i-Rashíd (the "Mukhdoom Rusheed" of the maps), was joined by the united Wihat, Ċhin-ab, and Ráwí.[401] It then continued its course more towards the south, passing between Lohdráṇ and Jalál-púr, in the south-west corner of the Multán district, but nearer to the former place. From thence it ran to Bábiyah (or Pábiyah—the Pubberwalla" of some of the maps, but it has dis-

[399] According to my Survey record, "in going from Debál-púr towards Ḳaṣúr, after passing Shám Koṭ, half a *kuroh* north of that place you come to the channel called the Khán-Wá-hah, in which, in former times, a stream of water from the Daryá-e Bíáh ran, which passed by Debál-púr on the south towards the south-west. It was also known as the Bíáh, and now its channel is deserted, and dried up." It was never yet called "Ghára," except in Gazetteers.

At the present time, instead of being half a *kuroh* north of Shám Koṭ, the channel is nearly a *kuroh*, or about a mile and a half, south of Shám Koṭ; and in the several routes across the Do-ábah from Debál-púr in different directions, there is not one word about any "Kutora Canal," thus showing that it must have been opened since. It may have been some minor channel utilized as a canal.

[400] The nearest point of the most recent channel in which the Bíáh flowed, is just eighteen miles south of Multán; and to this point a new canal has been brought from the northwards from the Ċhin-áb, which passes close to Sítalkí Márí. See note 354, page 352.

[401] The country hereabouts for many miles northwards of the *ċhak* (farm or estate) of Makhdúm-i-Rashíd and Dín Muḥammad ká Ṭibbah, as far as the termination of the high left bank of the Ráwí, and the right high bank of the dry Bíáh, bears undoubted signs of the violent action of water, and shows whereabouts these rivers once united. See Sikah or Us-Sikah of Multan, page 244 and note 192.

appeared from more recent ones), about twenty-nine miles to the eastward of Uchchh, and was situated on its left or south bank, and which place, known as the fort of Bábiyah, is mentioned in the Chách Námah, and by the old historians of Sind.[402] After reaching this point, the Bíáh, and the other rivers which had united with it, forming the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind of the old Muḥammadan writers, made a bend a little more to the westward, and united with the Hakṛá or Wahindah lower down, about ninety-eight miles farther to the south-south-west, at a place between Baghlah and Ṣáḥib Garh in the present Baháwal-púr State, which place of junction was known in the early times of the writers just referred to, as the Dosh-i-Áb, signifying the "Meeting Place of Waters," as already recorded.

The Sutlaj flowing in an independent channel, one of those presently to be described, was still a tributary of the Hakṛá or Wahindah, and united with it some twenty-five miles above the Dosh-i-Áb, where the other more western rivers joined it.

After this period again, and probably a considerable time after Uchchh was invested by the Mughal Nú-ín, Mangútah, and about the time of the great flood in the northern parts of the Panj-áb territory, other great changes took place.[403] The Chin-áb, which previously

[402] Boileau mentions this place in his "Personal Narrative." He says: "*Pabarwálí* is among the chief towns of the Daoodputrahs." In another place he says, that, in "going from Khanpur to Bahawulpur, Dilawar is 24 *kos*, then Mithra 12 *kos*, after which is Puburwalee 12 *kos*, and Bahawulpur 12 *kos*."

These two names (written differently) both refer to one and the same place, which is, I believe, identical with the site of the fort of Pabíáh referred to above, or very near it.

Boileau subsequently mentions a "Powarwala." He says: "Left Bahawulpur 8 *kos* E. S. E. over a bad road to the little village of Powarwala, and from thence to Mojgur [Moj Garh] 16 *kos*." This can hardly refer to the former place, which he says, was then a considerable town.

Crofton, in his "Plan for the Sirhind Canal," has *Babberwala*, 13½ miles about S. W. of Baháwul-púr, and near the high bank of the "Sutlaj." He rightly refers to the old channel of the Sutlaj as it now remains, not to the channel of the Gháran, which has no high bank. The whole tract of country for many miles hereabout is of recent formation. See page 386. In former times, likewise, the Bíáh took a more direct southerly course after the junction with it of the Chin-áb and Ráwí east of Multán.

The place referred to by Crofton is the same as that referred to by Boileau under the name of "Powarwala," and seems much too far south to be the site of Pabíah above referred to. See note 192, page 244.

[403] What brought about this flood noticed at page 392, is not stated, but it is highly probable that some volcanic action was at work, and this may account for the formation of these *Bárs* and the *Thal*, the raised plateaux which I have been describing, and the geological formation of which indicates something of the kind.

flowed in the old channel by Bhaṭián dí Ḏindí, and some miles east of Chandan-oṭ or Chandaní-oṭ (vul. "Chuneeot"), Khewah, Jhang-i-Siálán, and Shor Koṭ, as mentioned in the account of that river, changed its course much farther towards the west, passed those places (or the positions where they now stand) on the *west* instead of the *east*, and continuing its course in nearly the same direction, flowed into the low-lying ground, a short distance on the west side of Multán. The Ráwí on being deserted by the Chin-áb, became also affected thereby, and although it still continued to unite with the Biáh, it altered its course likewise, but not considerably, to a more westerly direction, nearer Multán, where its old bed, under the name of Súkh Ráwah or Ráwí or "Dried up Ráwah" channel, still exists, as mentioned in the notice of that river. The Biáh, on the other hand, also affected from the same causes as had affected the others, and on account of the Ráwí passing nearer to Multán than before—within about three or four miles, and hence that side of the city is still known as *ṭaraf* Ráwí, or 'Ráwí Side' to this day—instead of running towards the south to unite with the Hakṛá or Wahindah, it took a direction more to the westward—about south-west—and was joined by the Chin-áb and its tributary the Wihat or Jhilam ten miles north-west of Jalál-púr, and three miles and a half west of Koṭlí, in the south-west corner of the Bárí Do-ábah in the Multán district; and the united waters soon after fell into the Áb-i-Sind or Indus, a short distance west of Uchchh.[404] From thence, the Áb i-Sind kept a more southerly course on its way to the place of junction at the Dosh-i-Áb, already noticed, and respecting which further particulars will be found in the notice of the Hakṛá or Wahindah.

These changes were not confined to these two Do-ábahs, we may be certain, and, doubtless, the Áb-i-Sind or Indus and its tributaries farther west were affected likewise, and, probably, the Hakṛá also in the opposite direction. See note 307, page 305.

[404] Abú-l-Faẓl, likewise, states in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, that, in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, the Áb-i-Sind united with the rivers of the Panj-áb, near Uchchh, on the west.

It was just the same in the time of Sulṭán Náṣir-ud-Dín, Ḳabá-jah, ruler of Multán, Uchchh, and Sind, and also at the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, already noticed. The following tradition respecting it, contained in the Life of the famous Afghán saint, the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, the Bakhtyár Sherání Afghán. "It is related that the Shaikh, Yaḥyá-i-Kabír, came to Uchchh from the Afghánistán at the time that the celebrated saint of that place, the Makhdúm-i-Jahánián, was at the height of his fame and veneration for sanctity. On this occasion, it is said, that, when the "rainy season" came round, the Daryá-e Sind, had put forth great violence, in such wise that it reached close up to the city of Uchchh, and swept away several houses. As the people were filled with fear and dismay in consequence, they assembled together, and came to the

The Sutlaj, or Sutláj, or Shuttlaj.[405]

Before I give any account of the Sutlaj, the ancient Satadru, it is necessary that I should relate what is stated in the Khuláṣat-ut-

presence of the saint, the Makhdúm-i-Jáhánián, and besought him, saying: "Ah Makhdúm! the Áb-i-Sind has risen so high as to threaten to overwhelm us. Let it not happen, that, with such a sanctified person as yourself among us, we should be swallowed up." The Makhdúm replied: "Whatever may be the will of Almighty God, that we must bow to: and whatever He may be pleased to do, that He will perform, and we have no reason to say "why" or "wherefore."

"This happened on the night of a Friday (our Thursday night: the night is reckoned first in eastern countries, and the day last); and the Makhdúm advised them, saying: "Return to your homes and pray devoutedly to God, and supplicate Him, that He would vouchsafe to direct you in your sleep what you should do." When the morning came round, they came to him again, and began to relate what their dreams had been. The Makhdúm said: "I have seen the blessed Prophet in my sleep, and he thus directed me, saying: 'Ah Makhdúm-i-Jahánián! in a certain place there is a large brick which Mihtar Khwájah Khizr baked for a certain Záhid (Recluse) in the time of Mihtar Músá—on whom be peace!—who used to perform his ablutions on the bank of the Áb-i-Sind, in order that by standing thereon the Záhid's feet might not be soiled by the dirt, and his mind thereby become distracted every time he performed his ablutions. That brick lies buried in a certain place: let it be brought from thence and given to the Khwájah, Yahyá-i-Kabír, and let him, with his own hands, place it on the bank of the Áb-i-Sind, and Almighty God will cause the river to recede, and no injury will be sustained from it by Uchchh to the end of time.'"

"The Makhdúm having taken the people along with him to the place indicated, set them to excavate; and the brick was found and placed before him. He then requested the Khwájah, Yahyá-i-Kabír, to take it, saying: "With thine own hands place this brick on the bank of the Áb-i-Sind." He replied: "Oh Makhdúm! let it not be that some other and more worthy Yahyá was intended; for it does not appear that the blessed Muhammad indicated me, his servant, who is not worthy to carry out his command." The Makhdúm answered, saying: "The Blessed Prophet indicated thee to me, saying: 'He is a Rohelah, who has come from the Koh-i-Sulimán, and speaks the Pus'hto tongue.'" On this, the Khwájah, Yahyá-i-Kabír, ejaculated "*Bismil'láh!*" took up the brick, and placed it on the spot indicated by the blessed Prophet, and Almighty God caused the Áb-i-Sind to recede; and, Please God! the river will not pass beyond that brick, and no injury will be sustained therefrom by Uchchh to the end of the world."

[405] Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" (vol. 1, p. 417) relating the Vedic traditions or legends, says, that this river, which is called the "dreadful Satadru (Satlej), which was full of alligators, etc., derived its name from *rushing* away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhman, the Sage, Váśishṭha, who on hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvámitra, in the early contests between the Bráhmans and Kshattriyas, threw himself into it."

In another place (vol. 2, p. 417) it is called "The dreadful Satadru (Sutlej) which was full of alligators," etc., and "derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhman brilliant as fire."

Tawárikh, and in that chronicle only, respecting the great flood in the Panj-áb territory. The author was a native of the part adjacent to the tract of country affected by it, and possessed the necessary local knowledge to describe it. The exact year in which this flood took place is not fixed, but it was a long time before the invasion of Hindústán by Amír Timúr. In all probability it happened a short time before Sultán Fírúz Sháh commenced opening canals; and the vast changes which this flood appears to have caused, may have been the reason of his bringing canals to his newly founded Fírúzah Ḥiṣár and parts adjacent.

Some great physical disturbance in the mountains bounding the Panj-áb territory on the north "caused the whole of the country of the northern part of that tract to be flooded, in such wise, that the whole extent of country between the rivers Sutlaj and Chin-áb, was overwhelmed and completely swept by this flood, and the whole face of the country changed." The remains of the ancient channels of these rivers, and of the Ráwí and Biáh, which flowed between them, tend to prove this; and the flood appears to have swept along in a south-westerly direction. "When it subsided, the country affected by it, *for a long time lay waste and uninhabited*, but, subsequently, by degrees, it began to be repeopled. As the Mughals from the direction of Balkh and Kábul made incursions into the Panj-áb territory nearly every year, the country did not soon recover: it continued in a state of ruin, and so remained, paying little or no revenue, until the time of Sultán Bahlúl, the Lodí Afghán, and first Paṭán who ruled in Hindústán, who made Tattár Khán feudatory of the Láhor province, at which time Rá'e Rám-Díw, the Bhaṭi, farmed the whole Panj-áb [the Láhor province is most likely meant, but such are the author's words] for nine *lakhs* of *tangahs*.[406] This Rám-Díw subsequently became a Mussulmán, and this greatly conduced to his rise. In the year 887 H., and 1522 of Bikramájít [1488 A. D.], he, with Tattár Khán's sanction, founded Paṭiálah, the site of which, at that period, was a *jangal* waste. The first place selected was a *pushtah* or mound; but the omens regarding this site not being deemed propitious, it was abandoned, and another *pushtah* chosen, the same on which Paṭiálah now stands. The word *paṭiálah* means *dunbálah* [signifying 'after,' 'behind,' etc.], referring to the subsequent selection of its site."

Others say its name is "Satadru, of the hundred channels," and others again, "Satadru, of the hundred bellies."

These terms may have been applied to it on account of its repeatedly forming new channels.

[406] Of silver, equal to about four *lákhs* and a half of *rúpís*. See Thomas's "Pathan Coins," p. 369.

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Set Mahet.—*By* W. HOEY.

INTRODUCTION.

The following notes originally formed a report on the excavations and explorations conducted by me at Set Mahet during the cold weather of 1884-85, under the orders of the Local Government, at whose disposal the Maharáni of Balrampur had placed Rs. 5,000 for the purpose. Work did not commence until the 15th December 1884. Operations of excavation continued up to about the middle of May 1885. Unfortunately more than one-third of the money at my disposal had to be expended upon cutting the dense jungle which covered the site.

Once the jungle had been cut I fixed on certain prominent features and laid out lines which the labourers, who were distributed into gangs, were required to follow under the supervision of gangmen. The result was that I have been able in the case of Mahet to lay out some of the general outlines of the city, the gates and the main street of the eastern part, and I think I have determined what the chief mounds in that quarter represent. I have also found some buildings, both Jain and Hindu, in the western quarter, and have opened up the mound of Somnáth. Outside the city, I have shown what Baghela Bári and

Kandh Bári are. I have also explored the smaller mound near Ora Jhár, called Panahiya Jhár, and have shown what it was. The large mound of Ora Jhár I have left practically untouched. I have examined the buildings outside the Imliya Darwáza, the western gate, and found a large number of seals and other remains there, but the uses of the buildings are still problematical, and we can only surmise that they formed an apron to the fortified gate.

As to Set, erroneously spelt by previous writers Sahet, I explored it more fully, and I would refer to the full details and plans which I give. Here I need only say that my explorations at the octagonal well show beyond doubt that the lowest present level of the surface of the Jetavana site is at least thirteen feet above the original garden-surface. This fact will of itself show how vast an undertaking the exploration of this venerated ruin is. I regret now that I did not confine myself to this alone.

The maps and plans which I have prepared are numbered and are as follows :—

1. General map of Set Mahet.
2. Map showing location of Ora Jhár and Panahiya Jhár with reference to the city.
3. Map showing outline of both Ora Jhár and Panahiya Jhár irrespective of relative location.
4. Plan of the old Buddhist building in the mound near Kandh Bári with the later Hindu shrine crowning it.
5. Plan of Set, showing all buildings opened up and trenches cut by me.
6. Plan of building No. 1 in Set.
7. Plan of Gandha Kuti.
8. Plan of Kosambha Kuti.
9. Plan of buildings Nos. 17, 18, 19 in Set.
10. Plan of buildings Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24 in Set.
11. Plan showing the so-called octagonal well, and the pillar and stupas near it.
12. Sáriputta's stupa.
13. Plan of Mahet South, showing Broad Street and part of the line of shops.
14. Plan of Mahet East, showing Saiyad Miran's Dargáh, the Pakka Kuti, the Kachcha Kuti, and Angulimála Stupa.
15. Plan of Pakka Kuti.
16. Plan of Kachcha Kuti.
17. Plan of Mahet West.
18. Plan of Somnáth.

19. Plans of two Jain temples.
20. Plan of the Hindu temple.

The text falls naturally under five heads :

1. An historical sketch, a compilation of whatever data we have to go upon, whether history or legend. It will be found to contain something readable, if not very valuable, in the passages referring to Saiyad Sálár's invasion and the translation of the popular ballad relating to the episode at Bahraich, containing references to Set-Mahet.

2. A general review of places outside Set and Mahet and an explanation of the General Map.

3. An account of the explorations at Set.

4. An account of those at Mahet.

5. A stone inscription from Set.

Part I.

General Historical Note.

The ruins of Set Mahet stand on the west bank of the Rapti, where that river crosses the boundary between the modern districts of Bahraich and Gonda in the province of Oudh. Local tradition connects with it Suhel Deo, one of the opponents of Saiyad Sálár, and this would bring it into touch with one of the earliest episodes of Moslem invasion and aggression during the period of Muhammadan supremacy, but the place has, as far as we know, played no part in later history. Yet it had associations, political and religious, for Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist more than a thousand years before the founder of the Muhammadan faith was born. Over the history of this long period of religious, social, and political revolutions a vail is spread, lifted at but a few and long intervals, when we see the city the centre of political life and religious movement. At other times we seem to penetrate the vail, but not until we have a broader and more intimate knowledge of Sanscrit and Pali literature, and of the peoples lying north of Oudh, shall we be able to fill in the outlines of its history.

Before stating anything as to the result of recent explorations, I have thought it both advisable and regular, to bring together in a connected form all that I have been able to gather of historical fact, and perhaps of legend, as a basis of operation. This will show both the data we have to guide and the matter we have to illustrate.

The name Set Mahet has been, as it seems to me, erroneously, supposed to be a rhyming word formed according to common usage, on the analogy of 'ulta-pulta' and similar words. The Set alone is then taken to be a corruption of Sawatthi. Some people finding the word

'set-met' meaning 'topsy turvy,' and seeing its resemblance to Set Mahet, have supposed that the place as a great ruin has been so called in allusion to its upheaval, which tradition says occurred on Suhel Deo's fall. The people on the spot tell the story and the curious fact exists that they call the Jetavana mound Set. The settlement map first prepared after the annexation calls it Set, and the patwáris of the neighbourhood preserve the name. This is of vast importance, for the name Set Mahet, which is the correct spelling as I have ascertained, is wholly different from the word 'sent-ment' which is suggested as its derivation, and the name would obviously have been not Set Mahet, or Sahet Mahet, but Set Met if this derivation were correct. The name Sahet Mahet hitherto applied by those who follow General Cunningham must be discarded. It seems to me that Set is a corruption of Sawatthi and that it probably came to be applied eventually by visitors to the Jetavana, as it was the chief attraction after the decline of the city, which, though larger, was but a decayed ruin, and was less attractive to the pilgrim. The city was then probably known as Sawatthi Mahati, the larger Srawasti, and this, having been curtailed locally to Mahati, became corrupted to Mahet.

The name which the city bears in Sanscrit, Srávasti, is said to have been given to the city by its legendary founder, Saravasta, who is represented to have been a king of the Solar dynasty: but this may be set aside for the more obvious derivation, the 'pleasant city' or 'city sacred to Sri' [Sraya Vasti], implied in its fame as 'the city of the seven precious things' and thus sacred to the goddess of wealth and plenty. A remarkable passage occurs in the 'Romantic History of Buddha' [Beal, p. 11], where Buddha is consulted prior to his conception as to the place where he would elect to be born. Savatthi is proposed, the capital of the kings of Kosala. Buddha declines the suggestion, saying: 'The kings of Kosala have descended from Matañgas [probably we should read Malangas] "both on the mother's and father's "side, of impure birth: and in former days they were of small repute, "without any personal courage or nobleness of heart: the country com- "paratively poor: although there are *the seven precious things* there, yet "they are in no abundance. Therefore I cannot be born there."

It is, I think, equally fallacious to attempt to establish a connection between the name of the city and the name of the river. The Pali name of the Rapti is Aciravati, which still survives in the softened form of Ahiravati, which the river bears in its course through the hills, a name which reappears as Irrawaddy in Burmah. The Sanscrit form of the name is Airavati. Thus the Sanscrit words Sravasti and Airavati stand corresponding to the Pali Savatthi and Aciravati, and it is not easy

to see how in either case the name of the city could have been derived from that of the river. The connection of any of these with Savitar the sun-god is equally unobvious. I have only to add that Fa Hian calls the city Shewei while Hwen Thsang calls it Shylofasiti.

It has been supposed that the city mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of Sapolis is Sravasti. The suggestion has arisen probably by taking the Pali Sa and joining it to the Greek—polis (city) as a substitute for—vasti—vastu—vatthi. However neat this conception may be, I think we must discard it. Ptolemy mentions four cities: Boraita (*v. l.* Boraila), Sapolis, Eorta and Rappha, lying west of the river Sarabos. We know that Sarabos is the Sarayu or Ghágrá which appears in Pali as Sarabhu. It seems that Ptolemy received the Pali form and wrote Sarabos as the Greek equivalent, but the position of the four cities with reference to the river forbids our taking Sapolis as a rendering of Savatthi. The four cities must, I think, be looked for in the Ganges—Ghágrá Duáb.

The earliest data which we have connected by tradition with Sravasti are derived, according to some, from the poetical accounts of the Aswamedha of Yudishthir given in the Mahabharata and the Jaimini Bharata or Jaimini Aswamedha. Unfortunately I have not a copy of the former at hand, but I have consulted what purports to be a Hindi rendering of the latter. To it therefore I confine myself, and I must correct a mistake into which General Cunningham and Mr. Benett have fallen when they accepted a lame tradition and gave a line of Gauda or Gonda rajas:

A. D. 900. 1. Mayura-dhwaja or Mora-dhwaja.
925. 2. Hansa-dhwaja.
950. 3. Makara-dhwaja.
975. 4. Sudhanwa-dhwaja.
1000. 5. Suhil-dal-dhwaja (contemporary of Mahmud).

The Jaimini Bharata mentions several kings and their kingdoms into which the famous steed Shyamkaran found his way. Among others he came to the country of Raja Hansa-dhwaj whose capital was, as given in the Jaimini Bharata, Champakapuri. Local tradition has transformed the name to Chandrikapuri. Arjun was commanding the force which followed the horse. Hansa-dhwaj was for submitting to a peace, but he was overruled by his queen, who said Krishna would come and a view of the divine being be vouchsafed in the battle. The king had two sons, Surath and Sudhanya, who both perished in the fight, but the latter left his wife pregnant and she bore a son, Bibek, who continued the royal line. The contest was in truth unequal from the first, as might be expected when Arjun was aided by Krishna. The king's army

fled and he ordered his ministers, Sankhand Lakhit, to prepare cauldrons of boiling oil and to throw into them all who turned from battle. Sudhanya had gone to take leave of his mother and wife, and the latter detained him in love. He was late in joining his father, who ordered him to be thrown into a cauldron of oil, but he came out of the seething fluid unscathed, entered the fray and perished. I think we cannot accept the identification of Champakapuri with Set Mahet, as the capital of Kosala in the days of Yudishthir and the Mahabharata. The capital of Hansadhwaj was probably Bhágalpur in Bengal.

Srávasti emerges into full light in Buddha's lifetime about 500 B. C. We then find Prasenajit, son of Aranemi Brahmadatta, ruling here as king of Kosala. He was probably of about the same age as Buddha. He was twice married. His first wife was Varshika, a Kshatriya princess, by whom he had a son named Jeta. His second marriage was probably a *mésalliance*. The woman whom he married Mallika, was not a Kshatriya. By her the king had a son Virudhaka who succeeded him. She was also probably mother of Seger Sandalitu, a son of Prasenajit, who is said to have been elected ruler of Tibet and to have been the first king of that country.

The marriage of Prasenajit and Mallika was an event of much importance and, being the origin of one of the most important events in Buddha's life, must be noticed here. The Sakya Mahánámán of Kapilavastu was Buddha's paternal uncle and of course a Kshatriya. He brought Chandra, the orphan daughter of a Brahman steward, to live in his house and help his aged wife. She is said to have been in the habit of weaving pretty garlands of flowers and so Mahánámán called her Mallika, the 'wreath-girl.' I think it not unlikely that the name betrays a connection with the Mallas, and that the story about the garlands is merely a *fabula e nomine*. Anyhow, one day Prasenajit came to Kapilavastu during a hunting excursion, saw her in Mahánámán's garden, fell in love with her and eventually married her. The fruit of this union was Virudhaka. At the same time Prasenajit's *purohita* was presented with a son, Ambharisha, who became a close friend of the young prince. On one occasion, when the two youths were on a hunting expedition together, they came to Kapilavastu, and entered the Sákyas' park. The offended Sákyas spoke of Virudhaka as the son of a slave, alluding to his mother's origin, a Brahman attendant in a Kshatriya household, and Virudhaka was so incensed that he vowed to exterminate the Sákyas after his father's death. When Virudhaka ascended the throne, he organized an expedition against the Sákyas of Kapilavastu, but Buddha went out of Srávasti and stopped his advance, as will be explained hereafter. The threat was, however, executed

subsequently with too terrible cruelty. I shall return to this narrative again.

It cannot be inferred from the fact of a raid being made by a king Srávasti on the Sákyas of Kapilavastu, Buddha's native place, that latter were independent of the king of Kosala. The Sákyas were, like the royal house of Srávasti, Kshatriyas, and their position was somewhat that of a clan living in federated subordination to the greater power of the Kosala sovereigns. Suddhodana, Buddha's father, though spoken of as a king, was probably not more than a powerful taluqdar of modern days, who happens to be not only a large landholder but also the head of a much-ramified brotherhood.

It is highly improbable that Buddha visited Srávasti before he attained enlightenment. We may safely say that he did not. During Buddha's early residence as a teacher at Rájagriha, Sudatta, a wealthy merchant of Srávasti, came on a visit to a householder of Rája-griha who gave a feast in Buddha's honour. During his stay, Sudatta, who was already a man of exemplary humanity and charity, known as 'the feeder of the orphan and the widow' (anáthapindada), visited Buddha, and under his teaching became a lay follower. Sudatta then invited Buddha to came to Srávasti, but Buddha demurred as there was not a vihára at Srávasti. Sudatta offered to provide one and Buddha promised to come when it had been provided.

Sudatta returned to Srávasti and procured a site for the construction of a vihára. King Prasenajit's eldest son, Jeta, had a garden or park, which Sudatta fixed upon and proposed to purchase, but the prince declined to sell it unless enough gold coins were paid to cover the ground required. Sudatta complied and had covered nearly all the ground when Jeta, stirred by the sacrifice which was being made, declared himself satisfied and asked to be allowed to retain the part which was left. On it he built a vestibule, which he presented to the Order, when Sudatta presented the vihára which he had built on the rest. When the ground had been procured, Sudatta, went again to Buddha and asked him to send one of his disciples to superintend the erection of the vihára. Buddha deputed Sáriputta who came to Srávasti and encountered much opposition from the members of other Orders, but he eventually converted them and they joined the Buddhist Sangha.

Buddha came to Srávasti when the building was complete and spent the *was* of the third year of his ministry here. He named the place by two names and gratified both donors: *Jetavana* after the prince and *Anáthapindadáráma* after Sudatta. King Prasenajit visited Buddha and heard a sermon which led to his conversion. His fifth *was* was passed by the Blessed One at the Jetávana, and out of the remaining forty-six

years of his life, the lenten seasons (*vas*) of about one half were spent at Srávasti, either here or in the Purvárama.

Visákha, one of the sons of Prasenajit's prime minister (Mrigadhara), was married to Visákhá, the daughter of the banished minister of the preceding king, Aranemi Brahmadatta. This lady was highly celebrated for the good qualities of both her heart and mind. Her father-in-law called her 'mother' out of respect; and she is known in Pali as Visákhá Migaramáta. Beal calls her 'Visákha-mátawi'. The king Prasenajit was nursed by her through a severe illness, and he called her his sister. She built a vihára for Buddha near Srávasti (in it, if the words of the Pali texts be taken literally) and presented it to the Sangha. She stands out as a pious matron whose thoughtfulness extended to all followers of the Great Master, but who had a special care for the well-being and good name of the female disciples.

It is not possible to accept as fact or as based on fact every tradition or record of events said to be connected with Buddha and located at Srávasti. Those which are decidedly historical or semi-historical, as shown by the evidence in local names and the like, may be usefully put together here, and it will be well to endeavour to maintain something of historical sequence.

Foremost we must place the remarkable conversion of Angulimála. This was a robber of great notoriety, originally named Ahimsaka, who used to murder his victims and carry their fingers strung together by way of a garland round his neck. Hence he was popularly known as Finger-garland (Angulimála). This malignant scourge was subdued by the benign teaching of Buddha and became an Arhat. He is held up as an illustration of the inevitable suffering which even a good man must endure in this life as the result of accumulated evil actions. Anguli-mála lived in the monastery outside the city (probably the Jetavana) and when he went into the city to beg he was greeted with derision and made the butt of missiles. He returned on one occasion to Buddha covered with blood, his garments torn and his alms-bowl shattered. Buddha then delivered the discourse on the inevitable causality and consequences of evil doing.

We have seen how Sáriputta met with opposition from the rival schools at Srávasti, and it was not likely that the Great Teacher would pass unchallenged here. When he first appeared in the city, king Prasenajit asked him how he could arrogate enlightenment when other great doctors such as Púrna Kasyapa did not. Later on, in Buddha's sixteenth year of ministry, Prasenajit, who had embraced the Dharmma, arranged for a public controversy between Buddha and the rival doctors. The arena was laid out on a plot of ground between the Jetavana

and the city. Buddha here met Púrna Kasyapa and probably also Gosála Mankhaliputta, Sanjaya, son of Vairati, Ajita Kesa-kambala, Karuda Katyáyana and even Nirgrantha Jnátaputta (Mahavíra of the Jains). It is said that Buddha's opponents fled in dismay on beholding some magical exhibitions of his power. They left him victor. Purna's end was melancholy. He was beating his retreat in shame and he met a eunuch. It was his habit to go naked, and the eunuch chaffed him, asking him why he went about 'naked,' shameless like an ass, ignorant of the 'truth.' Púrna said he was in search of a pool to wash himself, and the eunuch pointed one out. Púrna tied a jar full of sand round his neck, leaped into the water, and was drowned.

A greater interest attaches to two other names, those of Gosála Mankhaliputta and Nirgrantha Jnátaputta, because the latter was the founder of the Jain sect, and the Jain religion survived and prospered in Srávasti long after Buddhism disappeared. Gosála had been a disciple of Mahavíra, but subsequently posed as an independent teacher and rival of his early master. The only point to be noted here is that Gosála lived in the pottery bazar of the potter's wife Háláhálá in Srávasti. He was thus established at this city as a centre for the propagation of his doctrines, and it is not to be doubted that Mahavíra also made Srávasti one of his centres. Indeed, as I am inclined to think, Srávasti was not only the capital of a powerful kingdom when Buddha appeared, but it was also the home of philosophical speculation, and Buddha found a number of schools of thought and systems of philosophy already established at Srávasti, when he proposed to visit it. It may have been from motives of worldly wisdom that he sought the erection of a vihára prior to his visit. It obviously gave distinction and importance to his arrival and crusade against other teachers to have a splendid monastery ready for his reception. It is likely that the fact of the vihára being erected outside the city and the unwillingness of Jeta to part with the site, were owing to the opposition of the older schools, and Sáriputta's deputation to superintend the erection of the vihára was his commission as a pioneer to prepare the way for the entry of the new teacher with due circumstance.

It is probable it was when Buddha met his opponents for the public controversy planned by Prasenajit, that the accusation was preferred against him by the woman Chinschamana, whose story is told so graphically by Fa Hian (*vide infra*). This was not the only attempt made to discredit Buddha by imputations of incontinence. He was also accused of murdering a woman of evil character, but the charge was proved to be false (*vide infra*).

It was not only with the opposition of rival schools and the devices

of calumny that Buddha had to contend. He had also the machinations of a false follower to counteract. Devadatta, his own cousin, was among his professed followers and desired to secure the succession to the headship of the Sangha for himself, but Buddha had determined on another representative. Devadatta therefore tried to create a schism in the fraternity; he obtained a temporary mastery of Ajátaśatru, the son of Bimbisára, king of Magadha, and sought to secure eminence through his aid. He failed. Then he aspired to be king of the Sákyas, who entertained the notion of placing Yasodhara (Buddha's wife) on the throne. He went to her one day on the terrace of the palace at Kapilavastu, and seizing her hand, entreated her to become his wife. She resented his proposal and flung him to the ground. He then determined to destroy Buddha, who was at Srávasti. He placed poison under his finger nails, approached Buddha, feigning to pay him homage, fell at his feet and tried to scratch his legs. The attempt failed. Devadatta then entreated his cousin to forgive him. The Great Teacher promised to do so, if he once more unreservedly professed his faith in him. This he did, reciting the usual formula 'I take my refuge, etc.,' but there was a lie on his lip and he fell living into hell The death of Devadatta occurred at Srávasti a few years before Buddha died.

Sáriputta, the great apostle and the architect of the Jetavana monastery, died soon after Devadatta's decease. He died at Nalanda, where he was cremated, and the disciples brought his ashes, alms-bowl, and cloak to Rajagriha, and laid them before Buddha, who took them on to Srávasti. Sudatta then procured the ashes from the Master and built a stupa over them. It was not long after this that Virudhaka deposed his father and usurped the throne of Kosala. He had long cherished schemes for this end, but had been deterred by the prime minister. One day, however, when that official was driving out in a chariot with Prasenajit, the latter suddenly conceived a desire to visit Buddha, who was staying in a Sákya town called Metsurudi. Thither they drove. The king handed his insignia to the minister and went in to Buddha. The minister, who had been left outside, drove off in the chariot to Srávasti and crowned Virudhaka. Mallika and Varshika now left Srávasti and went in search of their royal husband, whom they met on his return from Buddha, and they told him what had occurred. Prasenajit sent Mallika back to Srávasti to her son, bidding her reign with him, while he and Varshika went to Rajagriha. Here the deposed king died, and Ajátaśatru paid royal honours to his remains.

Virudhaka had not been long on the throne when his companion Ambharisha reminded him of the vow he had made regarding the Sákyas of Kapilavastu. The king prepared his army for a raid, but

Buddha, who was at Srávasti, went out of the city and sat down under a leafless tree by the roadside. When Virudhaka saw Buddha here, he asked him why he was sitting under a tree which gave no shade. Buddha replied that his kinsmen made it shady. Virudhaka felt rebuked and turned back, but he was induced by Ambharisha to march again, and on this occasion he advanced to Kapilavastu and invested the city. The Sákyas sallied out and repulsed their besiegers. They then returned into the city and shut their gates. The Kosala army rallied and encamped round the walls. Virudhaka by false professions induced the Sákyas to open their gates. When he had entered, he treacherously ordered the slaughter of the Sákyas. He killed, it is said, 77,000, and carried off 500 youths and 500 maidens. He killed the youths and tried to force the maidens into his harem, but they would not go, and so they too were killed. Buddha now foretold that within seven days, the Kosala house would be destroyed and that Virudhaka and Ambharisha would be burned up.

Virudhaka returned to Srávasti, and noticed Jeta walking on the palace terrace. He sent for Jeta and told him he had been killing his enemies. The prince asked who these enemies were and Virudhaka replied: 'The Sakyas.' 'Then who are your friends'? asked Jeta. At this retort this king was so incensed that he ordered the death of Jeta.

When Buddha's prophecy of destruction to the Kosala house was told to Virudhaka, he built a pleasure house in the water and went there with his harem and Ambharisha for seven days. On the seventh day, as they were preparing to return, the sky, which had been clouded, suddenly cleared up. The sun shone out and his rays fell on a burning-glass which was laid on a cushion. The cushion caught fire and the building was burned down. The women escaped, but Virudhaka and Ambharisha perished in the conflagration. Thus closed, as far as we know, the independent dynasty of Srávasti, which had been favourable to Buddhism, and Buddha does not appear to have again visited the city. He died soon after.

It will perhaps be best to discuss here the legend narrated by Mr. Benett in his article on 'Sahet-Mahet' in the Gazetteer of Oudh, and quoted also by General Cunningham, regarding a convulsion which is said to have buried one of the later kings of Suhil Deo's line in ruin. I have heard several versions of the tale and it comes in full to this.

The king, whoever he was, went out hunting one day and returned home very late. The sun was about to set and, according to the customs of his house, he could not eat after sunset. He went to perform his evening devotions, saying he would not eat. His younger brother's wife said it was still day and went up to the housetop and addressed

the sun, who paused to gaze upon her beauty. The king, finding it still day, ate his dinner and washed his hands. The young lady came down, and it suddenly grew dark. The king expressed his wonder, and his queen told him how the beauty of his younger brother's wife had detained the passing sun. Fired with passion, he said: "I must see her." The queen said: "You cannot see your younger brother's wife." The young princess, who was true to her husband, and as modest and chaste as she was beautiful, said that the city would be ruined if he dared to violate her. She went again to the eminence where she had first held the sun spell-bound, and the king determined to pursue her. She implored the sun for aid, and he darted a ray upon the king which burned him and turned the city upside down.

This curious legend is locally attached to some unknown member of the dynasty of Suhil Deo, sovereign of Kosala at the time of Saiyad Salar's expedition, and some ignorant persons narrate it as an explanation of the desolation of Set Mahet, and, converting the name into Set met (in the sense of 'topsy-turvy'), add to the legend how the city was turned upside down. Mr. Benett attaches special value to the legend as showing that the king alluded to was a Jain, 'the inability to eat after sunset, which is the point on which the whole turns, being derived, from the Jain reluctance to sacrifice insect life.' Mr. Benett also places this occurrence at about forty years after the invasion of this kingdom by Sálár Mas'úd, and thinks it points to 'the conquest of the country by 'the first of the great Rathor kings of Kanauj, Sri Chandradeva, in the 'last half of the eleventh century, when he made a pilgrimage to 'Ajodhia, Kosala, etc.'

I think that the germ of this legend lies in the history of Virudhaka. The point on which Mr. Benett lays stress, the regard for insect life, is characteristic of the Buddhists equally with the Jains. Thus, the eating by lamplight, being a forbidden custom, is not conclusive for a Jain connection of the legend. The supposition of an invasion by the Rathor king of Kananj is only a guess and, as far as I know, a gratuitous guess: and the Jain faith was certainly flourishing at Srávasti half a century after Suhil Deo's death, for the finest statues of Mahavíra, which have been discovered by me at Somnáth, bear inscriptions of the donor dated 1133 Samvat. How could they have escaped in a siege and sack? Besides it is more than probable that his dynasty ended with Suhil Deo, who fell in conflict with Salár Mas'úd's force: and the tomb at Mahet on the site of the king's palace is that of the Kotwál left at Mahet by the invading Moslems.

It will be remembered that Virudhaka conceived the notion of exterminating the Sákyas because of an insult put upon him when he

penetrated to their park on a hunting expedition. The insult referred to his maternity, his mother being a Brahman, who had been a servant in a Sákya household, while his father was a Kshatriya. His first attempt was foiled by the entreaty of Buddha, himself a Sákya, who met him outside the city and induced him to return. His second expedition was unopposed by Buddha, and he not only slaughtered the Sákyas but he endeavoured to force some Sákya maidens into his harem. With this, we may compare also Devadattá's attempt to coerce Yasodhara on the palace terrace at Kapilavastu, and his death at Srávasti. In both cases the would-be ravishers were resisted and perished. Virudhaka's death was foretold by Buddha, and there is a marvellous resemblance between the record of the events attending it and the modern legend. Again, if we bear in mind that the Sákyas were of the Solar race of Kshatriyas, when we consider the lady's appeal (the lady being Mallika, Virudhaka's mother, or some other person interested in the Sákyas) made to the sun, and the destruction of the wicked king by the sun, we can readily see in this story the probable appeal of the Sákyas, whose daughters had been murdered, made through some one to a neighbouring potentate of Solar stock, who marched to Srávasti and avenged their cause. Buddha's prophecy of the death of Virudhaka was probably a forewarning of the advent of the ally summoned by his kinsmen to their aid, of which Buddha cannot but have known. Who the avenger was we do not know, but he was probably Ajátaśatru, the monarch of Magadha. On the whole, I think, we may fairly claim this legend, still lingering with the ignorant dwellers about Mahet, as a confused memory of the fall of Virudhaka, which is detailed with some degree of historical accuracy in the Tibetan records. However this may be, with Virudhaka's death the curtain falls on Srávasti, and does not rise again for close on nine hundred years.

What do we know and what can we surmise as to the interval between 477 B. C and 410 A. D. ?

To this we must answer that we *know* nothing as to Srávasti itself, but there are certain historical data from which we can infer probabilities.

First of all, Srávasti no longer appears as the capital of an independent kingdom. In the next place, the kingdom of Magadha continued to maintain its independence and individuality and to advance in prosperity until the zenith of its greatness under Asoka, who reigned ten generations after Ajátaśatru. Again, the Tibetan record that a son of Prasenajit became the first king of Tibet, possibly covers a migration northward of the family of the Srávasti kings after Virudhaka's death.

Further, there is some reason to suppose that the kings of Kosala and Magadha had been rivals, for it seems that Prasenajit had once in Buddha's lifetime inflicted a defeat on Bimbisára. When Prasenajit was deposed by his son, he retired to Rájagriha, the capital of Magadha, and when he died, Ajátaśatru paid royal honours to his remains. What was more natural than that the Sákyas should appeal to Ajátaśatru to avenge their cause? We do not actually find authority for supposing that Ajátaśatru did come to their aid. Add to all this that Ajátaśatru had become the firm friend and patron of Buddha, that Buddha is represented to have foretold the coming glory of Pátaliputra, that Ajátaśatru moved his capital to this point, thus bringing it to a place more central, if Kosala be added to Magadha, than Rájagriha was, and on the whole I am inclined to believe that, from the overthrow of Virudhaka, Kosala was merged in Magadha and that the latter probably included all the country which had fallen under the influence of Buddhism.

Researches hitherto made have not unearthed any monuments at Srávasti distinctly referable to the age of Asoka, but Hwen Thsang's narrative would lead us to refer the stone pillars at the east of the Jetavana (not yet found by the way) to this king. It is highly probable that he did erect *some* monuments, if not these pillars at Srávasti, for it can scarcely be conceived that he should leave a place so intimately connected with the Great Teacher's career without some mark of his zealous attachment to the Dharmma.

The dominance of the Magadha kings would seem to have continued down to the period of the Brahmanist revival, which happened under some Vikramáditya, possibly him who laid out the city of Ajodhya, but it would be foolish for me to hazard any date for this event. With General Cuuningham this Vikramáditya of Ujjain is Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya whom he places as founder of the Gupta era in 166 A. D. But, I think, I may well give some value to the traditions which ascribe the restoration, the foundation, of the present 'Ajudhiya' to that Vikramádtiya, whose era is current in Upper India, 57 B. C. Hwen Thsang mentions a Vikramáditya who was king of Srávasti about half way between his time and the death of Buddha. Taking Hwen Thsang's visit at 635 A D. and Buddha's death at 477 B. C., this would give us 79 A. D. But taking the known date of Hwen Thsang's birth 603 A. D. and Buddha's age at 80 years, we get 20 A. D. Now, allowing for the Chinese antedating Buddha's birth and death, we should get well back to the Vikramáditya whose era is current in the North West and Oudh. I am inclined to believe that it was to him that Hwen Thsang referred as the sovereign of Srávasti.

There are two kings, an uncle, named Khiradhar, and his nephew, mentioned as kings of Srávasti between 275 and 319 A. D. in the Singhalese records, but they cannot have been possessed of any influence for they have left no monuments and they are wholly unknown to local tradition.

I now pass over the visits of the Chinese pilgrims to Srávasti: Fa Hian in 410 A. D., and Hwen Thsang in some year between 629 and 645 A. D., for the records of their pilgrimages are in the hands of all. I need only notice that, when Hwen Thsang visited Kanauj, the king of that place was Harsha Varddhana and his dominions probably included Uttara Kosala.

In the Dasa Kumára Charitam, a Sanskrit work reasonably assigned to the 6th century A. D., we find Srávasti mentioned, and it is said to have been the residence of a king named Dharma Varddhana. The work is a romance, but it probably contains accurate accounts of places known to the author. It is not improbable that Dharma Varddhana was a viceroy of the Kannauj sovereign at stationed Srávasti, and that the kings of Kanauj had extended their supremacy thus far east at this period.

Professor Weber gives a summary of the contents of the Dasa Kumára Charitam in Indische Streifen, Vol. I, pp. 308-351, and I shall here give the portion referring to Srávasti, as I wish to omit no reference to the city which I can anywhere find. The book is a narrative of the travels of the son of the king of Magadha and nine friends of his, who travel separately and afterwards meet and narrate their adventures. It is Pramati who visited Srávasti.

After his separation from his companions, Pramati had come to the Vindhya forest, lain down under a tree, committed himself in a pious prayer to the care of the goddess of the tree, and fallen asleep. In a dream he felt himself lifted up and, opening his eyes, saw himself in a magic hall, resting beside a sleeping maiden of marvellous beauty, on whom the moon was shedding her rays. Through fear of awaking her he does not venture to touch her, and noticing her move he feigns to lie asleep. She actually wakes up, gazes in astonishment on the companion of her couch, but soon sinks back again into sleep. He too falls asleep. In the morning when he wakes he finds himself shivering with cold under the tree in the forest. While he is still thinking over what he had seen, a female in celestial guise appears, who embraces him warmly and solves the riddle for him. It is his own mother, Tárávali, the daughter of the Yaksha king Manibhadra, who had left his father, Kámapála, in a hasty passion on some slight provocation, and become possessed by an evil spirit for a year by way of punishment. The time was now up and she was on the point of returning to her husband. But she had

resolved before doing so to attend the festival of Tryambaka in Srávasti. On the previous evening she had, when passing along, heard Pramati's prayer, and, to protect him from the inclemency of the night, until she returned from the festival, she had taken him away in sleep to the slumbering Navamáliká, daughter of Dharma Varddhana, king of Srávasti. On returning from the festal ceremonies, where her spirit was wholly purified from the curse, she had recognized him as her own son and had seen how he, as well as the maiden, had been abashed when they found themselves lying side by side. She had again caused him to sink into real sleep and brought him back to this spot, and was compelled, while hastening to his father, to leave him for the present to his own devices and to fate. She vanishes after an affectionate farewell. But Pramati, who is overcome with love, wends his way towards Srávasti. On his way he wins, as a spectator at a cock-fight, the friendship of an old Brahman, who lodges him for the night. On the next morning Pramati arrives at Srávasti, and, being tired with walking, he lays himself down to rest in the shade of the pleasure-garden outside the city. Here a waiting woman comes up to him with a picture in her hand, which she compares with him. Navamáliká has painted the picture of the youth whom she had seen in her dream and sent out her waiting-woman to find the original. Pramati proves himself to be the person wanted by drawing the picture of the princess and narrating the occurrence of the night. He sends the woman back with the message that he would soon come to the princess, and he now turns to the old Brahman with the plan he had laid to effect this. The Brahman brings him dressed up as his daughter to the king, and asks him to keep her, saying he was going to fetch his son-in-law, and he knew no other way to keep the maiden safe as she was full grown, especially as her mother was dead. The king accepts the charge and makes the maiden over to his daughter as a playmate. After a month, when the ladies of the seraglio make a bathing excursion, Pramati dives and passes to an appointed spot on the other side of the river, where the old man is waiting for him with male attire. The female guise is now discarded and the old Brahman goes to the king with Pramati as his intended son-in-law to demand his daughter. The harem meanwhile is in great commotion on account of her being drowned. The princess is beside herself and the king is in a most unhappy fix before the old man, who is about to burn himself in front of the king's palace, when the king succeeds in overcoming his resolution by giving him his own daughter in lieu of the lost maiden in marriage to the intended son-in-law, and he also hands over the kingdom to the young adventurer. Thus Pramati gains all his desires.

The only points to be noted in this passage with reference to exploration at Set Mahet are that there was at the time of this composition a pleasure-garden outside the city, and that the harem of the local governor went out, after the fashion of Hindu women in the present day, to bathe on festivals. Whatever the position of the palace may have been in Mahet, the river seems to me to have run at one time close up to the east wall, and in the ruins of that wall I can trace chambers not yet explored, and probably this wall was laid out as a bathing ghát along the river bank. This would be the place where the ladies went to bathe and from which Pramati took his dive to the other bank of the Rapti. With these remarks I dismiss the story for the present. A less detailed abstract of the Dasakumára Charitam will be found in Vol. III of Wilson's Essays.

There is a blank of about four hundred years from Hwen Thsang's visit until we reach the period where reliable history begins in India, the early Muhammadan invasions, and we must discuss the fatal advance of Sálár Mas'úd into the country north of the Ghágra. The generally current account of this event is that given in an Urdu book called 'Mirá't-i- Mas'údi,' but this is only a debased translation or rather amplified paraphrase in Urdu of the Persian work Saulat-i-Mas'udi, and is very inaccurate. I possess a copy of the Persian work, written in an age when careful transcription was the means of preserving historical records, and I have translated a large portion of the book, and intend to complete and annotate it for publication, when I shall have sufficient leisure. There is also a popular ballad-record of all events of the invasion of Sálár Mas'úd which I have only heard from the lips of daffális who sing this 'Jangnáma', as they call it. I have been unable to complete the ballad by bringing together all the cantos, but I have obtained by dictation the version given of the events connected with the fatal trans-Ghágra episode. The whole may yet be recovered. It seems to have been composed by a Lalla named Nathmal of Delhi; and there was a complete copy in manuscript until recently with a daffáli near Set Mahet, but it was unfortunatly burned,

The 'Saulat-i-Mas'údi, states that Sálár Mas'úd was at Misrikh with his father Sálár Sáhu when Saif-uddin, who had an advanced post at Bahraich, sent in word that the Hindu chiefs were rising, and he asked for reinforcements. Sálár Mas'úd was at his own request permitted by his father to proceed to Bahraich (17 Shábán 423 A. H.). Two months later Sálár Sáhu died at Misrikh, and for two or three months more Sálár Mas'úd remained in mourning and inactive. He then called a council of war in the opening of the new year, Muharram 424 A. H., and about the same time he saw in a dream his father and his mother,

Satr Ma'allá, encamped on a river bank, and he seemed to go to join them, and his mother held out a chaplet and said she had his wedding feast laid. This was a presage of his coming end. Next day he received an ultimatum from the Hindu chieftains demanding that he should quit their land. The chiefs who are enumerated in this connection are Rae Ráét, Rae Sáét, Arjun, Bhíkan, Kanak, Kalyán, Nagaru, Sagaru, Karan, Bírbal, Ajaipál, Sripál, Harpál, Harakhu, Narakhu, Rajudhári, Deonarayan, and Barsingh. Sálár Mas'úd of course ignored this demand. The chieftains formed a combined camp on the banks of the Kuthila. He moved up and defeated them and, after a halt of a week on the field, he returned to Bahraich. It was now that he gave instructions for the laying out of a garden at the Surajkund and fixed on it as his burial-place. He expected death in battle.

A messenger from Rai Jogi Dás of Jumla and one from Rai Gobind Dás came now and tendered submission for their masters. They were received with courtesy and others followed suit. The defeated chiefs, who wished to prolong the campaign, summoned all the aid they could and now Rai Suhar Deo from Sanjauli and Rai Bahar Deo from Sambalauta appear prominent as the organizers and leaders in the struggle which followed. The chieftains of both plain and hills came together again on the Kuthila. They once more advised Sálár Mas'úd to withdraw. He rejected the advice and determined to attack them again. At this juncture he received news that the enemy had driven off all the cattle of his camp, and he at once sounded an advance. The Hindus suffered a defeat, but one-third of the Moslem force perished. Sálár Mas'úd returned again to Bahraich and was lost in religious meditation, much to the alarm of his officers. Meanwhile the Hindus mustered their forces and advanced against Bahraich. Their first engagement was with an advanced post about four miles from Bahraich, but the dire fight was at the Surajkund. The engagement lasted for three days. By the third day, the 14th Rajjab 424 A. H., the ranks of both Hindu and Moslem had been thinned to decimation, and now Sálár Mas'úd with a handful of the faithful faced Rai Suhar Deo and Rai Bahar Deo, who had like him held themselves in reserve. Mas'úd was killed and not a Moslem remained alive but was wounded. Next day Mir Saiyad Ibrahím, who had been left at Bahraich, came out with his reserve, buried Saiyad Mas'úd and others, and then fell upon Suhar Deo. The leaders fell dead at each other's hands. The inscription on Mas'úd's tomb at Bahraich may be rendered:

The Chief Sálár Mas'úd to God was dear:
In 405 he saw the light of day:

He lived four days into his twentieth year
And in 424 he passed away.

He was born on 9th Rajjab 405 A. H. and died on 13th Rajjab 424 A. H.

So much for the history: now for the ballad. I give it in English ballad metre, and I have carefully retained the vulgar corruption of the Persian names. I have only to premise that in the ballad allusion is made to the popular belief that Sálár Mas'úd's mother had arranged for his marriage with a maiden at Rudauli, in the Faizabad District, when the news of the cattle raid came and Sálár Mas'úd started to avenge the insult and perished on his expedition. No other comment is needed, but I give footnotes where necessary.

I.

1.

Crowds were moving through the city,
Wedding guests in garments gay:
Bibi Mámúl* sent for *mehndi:*
And 'twas brought upon a tray.
Gájan's† hands she coloured with it,
On his neck a garland bound,
While to all the guests assembled
Betel leaf was handed round.

2.

And she sprinkled *atar* on the
Saiyads of the Prophet's race,
And she summoned Khwája Nádir,
Set him in the middle place.
How the squibs and rockets crackled,
Scent of aloe-wood arose,
How the blue stars burst and faded,
Nathmal Lall‡ the story knows.

3.

Saiyad Rána§ came with *mehndi*
And the garden‖ went before.
How bright it bloomed!—An elephant
On his back a haudah bore.

* This is Satr Ma'alla, Sálár Mas'úd's mother.

† This is Gházi Mián, Saiyad Sálár Mas'úd.

‡ The poet here introduces his own name.

§ The Saiyad of Rudauli to whose daughter it is supposed Salár Mas'úd was to have been married.

‖ This means the artificial flowers made up and carried in the marriage procession. They are scrambled for when the procession reaches the bride's door.

Came the maiden in a litter,
Borne along in bridal state;
Saiyad Rána's train pressed onward
And the *mehndi* reached the gate.

4.

Bibi Mámúl's love waxed stronger
When she heard they thronged the way,
And her maidens all uprising
Broke into this nuptial lay:
'Spread ye now the sandal *chauki*,
'On it now the bridegroom seat:
'Dye ye well his hands with *menhdi*:
'Give him gilded *pán* to eat.'

5.

Mámúl scattered gold and silver,
And she seated Gájan bold:
On his wrist he wore a bracelet,
Pearls inlaid in purest gold.
In his hand he held a dagger
While she spread the *mehndi's* hue:
Then with rice she decked the pitcher,
Finishing maternal due.

II.

The Gwallas danced to mark the day
In forest wild with mirth;
The townsfolk came their joy to share,
And Indra stooped to earth.
A Sunday for those rites was fixed,
Which never were to be,
A day for war, not nuptials, marked
By Allah's firm decree.

III.

1.

On guile the raja Rudal Mal*
Was bent and now he rose,
And swore a lie. No king hath fear
No bond in oath who knows.

* One of Suhil Deo's brothers. There were five brothers. Suhil Deo (*alias* Suhar Dal), Rudal Mal (*aliter* Rudr Mal), Bág Mal, Bahar Mal, and Sahar Mal.

'Pírbála's* marriage feast to-day
'They keep with banquet high:
'So I shall seize on Gaura Got
'And on my gods rely.'

2.

Then uprose Rája Suhil Dal;
'My brother king,' quoth he,
'To arms we'll call our armies all
'And I shall go with thee,
'The Gwallas kill and Sálár's kine
'Our booty be to-day.'
A wanton king was Suhil Dal
And would not brook delay.

IV.

1.

The Gwalla clan at Gaura Got,
They were seven hundred strong:
Nand Mahar† was their sturdy chief:
His retinue was long.
To him the raja Suhil Dal
For tribute sent request;
Of curds and milk on Mahar Nand
He laid a strong behest.

2.

When thus the raja Suhil Dal
Demanded milk and curds,
Nand Mahar heard but heeded not
The raja's haughty words:
'Gájan my master is,' said he,
'Whom fealty I owe:
'And to his wedding feast to-day
'My milk and curds shall go.'

3.

The raja heard but gave no thought
To what Nand Mahar said:
He drew his army out in line
And Bág Mal went ahead.

* Sálár Mas'úd.

† His name still lives as eponym of a place 12 miles north of Set Mahet.

He went and fell on Gaura Got*
Where dwelt the bold Ahir,
And thus that wanton raja seized
The cattle of the *Pír*.

4.

Nand Mahar rose in mighty wrath,
His retinue was long:
He called the Gwalla clan to rise;
They were seven hundred strong:
'Hear me my Gwáls,' said he, 'be brave
'And to your salt be true.
Be up and bear in mind to-day
'The Mián's claims on you.'

5.

The Gwallas rushed to battle all
With axes and with bows:
Where'er they saw the stoutest foe
They dealt their boldest blows.
The sturdy Gwallas fought like men
While Mahar cheered the fray,
And he for one remembered well
The Mián's claims that day.

6.

Among them all was Harbans Lall,
The bravest of their band:
A double sword was in his belt,
A rocket in his hand.
Like thunderbolt he forward leaped
Into the thickest fight:
He drew his sword and brandished it
Around him left and right.

7.

Then trembled warriors of the field
And back they stood appalled:
Matchless he was and fought alone;
On Gájan's name he called.

* There are many places known as Gauria this and that, but there is a Gauradih in the south of Gonda District.

The wounded fell upon the ground
And corpses headless rolled:
He slaughtered chiefs and warriors,
And bravest cheeks grew cold.

8.

Then quailed the raja Suhil Dal;
He left the cows and fled:
But many of that Gwalla clan
That erst were few, were dead.
Then Rája Bahar Mal reviled
His brother Suhar:* 'Shame!
'To turn thy back on Nand and bring
'A stain upon our name'!

V.

1.

The Gwallas to Nand Mahar cried:
'Come, now the wine cup drain.'
'This is no time for wine,' said he,
But 'gainst them strove in vain.
By clamour led, seven hundred cups
Their chief before them laid:
They drank full deep and sank in sleep
In the cool forest shade.

2.

And now the raja Suhil Dal
A priestly pandit sought:
And horses five and garments five,
And weapons five were brought,
'Pandit,' the Rája said, 'these gifts
'To Mahar Nand present:'
The Brahman hied to Gaura Got
Upon this message bent.

3.

He went among the Gwallas all
And straight the gifts he showed:
'Ho! Mahar Nand!' a Gwalla said,
'What do these presents bode?'

* This form occurs here for the commoner Suhel, Suhil or Suhal. The real name seems to have been Suhirda (Sans: Su-hṛida=Goodheart.)

'They are,' Nand answered, 'merely gifts
'From Suhil Dal to me,
'These horses five, and garments five
'And weapons five I see.'

4.

'But are these gifts,' the Gwalla asked,
'For thee or for the clan?'
To all his tribe Nand Mahar spoke:
'Go, let him mount who can.'
Five drunken herdsmen reeling rose
And killed those noble nags,
Those weapons five they broke in twain,
And rent the robes in rags.

5.

The pandit saw this woeful spite
And out Nand Mahar spake:
'Go Maharáj! to Suhil Dal,
'And back this message take:
'"The Kunwr Kandhaiya is my son,
'"Thy child Singhásan fair:
'"The *tilak* send full soon or I
'"Nor thee nor thine, will spare."'

6.

'All will I tell,' the priest replied:
His face he homeward set:
No haste made he; he halted at
Each staging post he met.
Arrived—the raja asked him how
At Gaura Got he fared:
He bent his head and omens sought
And auspices compared.

7.

Then Raja Bág Mal bade him speak:
'Say is the omen fair:'
The pandit spread his tables out
The tokens to declare.
'Hear, Suhil Dal,' he quick replied,
'The auspices are bright:
'The Gwallas all are lying drunk.
'Rise, Suhil Dal, and fight.'

8.

A ruthless king was he and called
His forces to the fray:
He Raja Bág Mal sent ahead,
And there was no delay.
He summoned all his men to arms
And rájas great of note:
He placed his guns in front and led
His hosts to Gaura Got.

9.

He fell a thunderbolt upon
The herds in drunken drowse;
A futile fight they fought and fell:
He swept off all the cows.
Their bodies on the field exposed
A feast for vultures lie:
Like garnered sheaves their corpses fall,
And floods of blood run high.

10.

The king thus slew the sleeping Gwáls,
And captive Mahar made,
And with him on his elephant
His captive ride he bade:
Thus with the Gwalla Chief he rode
And there was no delay.
But Mahar Nand uprose and said:
'Hear, Raja, what I say:

11.

'Whoe'er shall see me ride with thee,
'Without a shade of doubt
'Will say this day that I am king
'And thou art my *mahaut*.'
The Rája roused, a dagger plunged
Into the chieftain's breast:
Then onward with the cows alone
Towards his fort he pressed.

VI.

1.

'Jáso, bring curds,' Mámúla said,
'For lucky is my star':
Nand Mahar's wife she was, replied
'Long live our lord Sálár'!
The women of her clan she called:
Each head a milk pail bore,
And round her form from waist to head
One sheet each milkmaid wore.

2.

When Jáso drew near Gaura Got
And kites and vultures saw,
And felt the stillness in the air,
Her soul was filled with awe.
Corpse upon corpse she saw the dead;
With grief she cried aloud:
The robe she wore in twain she tore
And made a mourner's shroud.

3.

She searched in vain among the slain;
Her Nand not here she found,
But on she strayed and saw him laid
Alone upon the ground:
'O Mahar Nand, my sun and moon!'
She cried, 'O husband mine!
'Who thus hath killed our Gwallas all
'And driven away our kine?'

4.

She gently raised Nand Mahar's head
And laid it on her knee,
While of his Jáso's tenderness
Thus heedless answered he:
'O unclean! what art thou? vulture,
'Tiger, jackal, art thou?
'Wilt not wait my parting spirit
'But gnawest at me now.'

5.

'Tiger, jackal none,' said Jáso,
'Vulture or kite is nigh:
'She for whom thy flowers were looted,*
'Thy boyhood's wife am I:
'Swámi, I am come to tend thee'—
'O Wife,' he answered low,
'Be thou my wife of early life,
'Prithee for water go.'

6.

'My lord, I will,' quoth she, 'but say
'Who killed and why our band:
'Did our cows eat the rája's crops
'Or trespass on his land?'
'Our cows,' said he, 'nor ate his crop
'Nor trespassed on his land:
'This ruthless raid and massacre
'He worked with want on hand.'

7.

A tank she sought and raised her hands:
'*Pir khwájah*! hear me pray;
'If in my cloth the water stay
'My husband's debt I'll pay.'
While thus she prayed the water stayed
Within her apron pent:
She had the Sálár Gházi's *pír*
Addressed and back she went.

8.

The draught she brought to Mahar's lips
And sped his parting breath:
Then to her maids: 'Your vestments steep
'In this red flood of death:
'Your pails seven hundred fill with blood
'And backward with me turn'
The while she speaks her heart and cheeks
With hot resentment burn.

* Part of the marriage ceremony.

9.

And to the Mián Jáso came,
Her crimson plaint she spread :
'To thee I look : our cows are gone,
'A hundred thousand head.'
The words she said like arrows sped
And kindled Gájan's pride :
He washed the *menhdi* from his hands,
His bracelets flung aside.

10.

His sword he grasped and kissed the blade
And straight his mother sought :
'O hear me, mother mine,' he said,
'Great wrong the king hath wrought,
'He hath our kine as plunder seized
'And all our Gwallas killed :
'Jáso hath come to me : the air
'With cries for blood is filled.

11.

'O hearken, Saifu'd-din ;* the tale
'To me hath Jáso told ;
'Who kills my Gwáls and steals my kine,
'A traitor king I hold.'
'O son, !' ('tis now his mother speaks)
'Thy wedding feast is laid :
'Gájan, thou treasure of my heart,
'What new resolve is made ?'

12.

'There reigns but one desire supreme
'Within thy mother's heart,
'That see she may thy wedding day
'And in it bear a part :
'I would thy nuptials celebrate
'And welcome home thy bride :
'Might I but gratify this wish,
'I have no wish beside.'

* The officer mentioned is Saulat i Mas'udi as deputed to command at Bahraich

13.

'Nay, mother mine, but bid me go,'
Bold Gájan quick replied,
'And I shall fight the traitor king;
'The Prophet's on our side:
'Say *Bakhshá-dudh** and I shall go
'The Moslem faith to spread,
'Bring back the kine, and with my sword
'Cut off the rája's head.

14.

'Or I shall fight and victor be
'And come to wed this maid,
'Or I shall fall and on my grave
'My wedding wreath be laid.
'For what should all my kinsmen say
'If I disgraced our name:
Nay, with this king I swords will cross,
'And turn his pride to shame.'

15.

Then Chishti† rose to interpose,
But Gájan's way was won:
His mother said: 'God go with thee;
'*Dudh-bakhshá*; go my son.'
So now for Ajab‡ Gájan sent
And asked for ink and pen:
He cleared accounts up to the day
And paid up all his men.

16.

He bid them gird them for the fight:
His armoury they sought,
And arms of every kind they took
And rockets out they brought.
His mother heard the order given
And ran with naked feet,
And clasped her arms around his neck
His filial love to entreat:

* An idiom, a form of speech equivalent to: 'prove yourself worthy of your mother whose milk nourished you.'

† Also Chifti.

‡ Mian Ajab Hatila, who is buried near Wazirgunj.

17.

'O son, on this thy wedding day,
'Haste not to leave my side:
'A maid with locks as dark as night
'I bring thee for thy bride:
'The noble Saiyads all are here,
'Thy wedding guests are they,
'And maidens singing bridal songs,
'They sing for thee to day.'

18.

'Nay, mother, nay' he said, 'there waits
'A martyr's death for me:
'A mausoleum and a mosque
'My monument shall be.
'I shall be laid in Hind to rest
'But still my fame shall grow,
'And all the four worlds hither come
Their tribute to bestow.

19.

'Saddle and mail on Lilla* bind
'My charger mount will I:
'My double quiver strap in front:
'Two wardrums on her tie.'
He said and went his blood to prove,
True crescentader he,
With force so great that earth did quake
His moving hosts to see.

20.

All this the rája Suhil hears
And he is sore afraid:
The Mián's army ready is
And no delay is made.
On flags and banners waving went
And crossed the Ghágra's tide:
The Mián to the Ka'bah prayed
For blessings on his side.

* The name of Salar Mas'ud's charger.

21.

All green the garments were he wore
From Kábul or Qandhár:
One lakh and thousands thirty-six
Of Saiyads went to war.
Their tents went first, their cannons next,
And elephants in rear:
Full many days they marched; at last
They drew to Hind Mulk near.

22.

The Gabar* king the tidings hears
How Gájan's tents are near,
How flags and banners court the breeze
And lines of shops appear:
A sight is his Urdu bázár:†
The people come and go,
And sweets are piled and bakers squat
And at their ovens blow.

23.

Vendors of grain and spices here
And money changers sit,
And on the sutler's hostel hearth‡
The cheery fire is lit:
Greengrocers vegetables bring
Upon the ground to spread:
The goldsmiths' deftly work with gold
And pearls for earrings thread.

24.

And *guriyas*§ from river beds
Have gourds and melons brought,
And *dhímars*§ offer fish for sale
In running rivers caught:
And who's kotwál to hear complaints?
'Tis Nirmal Parihár.
Thus well arranged and busy is
Gájans Urdu bázár.

* Applied to Suhil deo as a non-Mussulman.
† *I. e.*, camp market.
‡ Bhatiári. § Two classes of kaháars.

VII.

1.

When this the Gabar king had heard,
His queen Nauráni said :
'O Sire ! against thy fort his hosts
'Hath Mián Gájan led.
'The army of the 'Dín' has come
'To lay thy fortress low :
'O king, they will thy soldiers kill
'And streams of blood will flow.'

2.

'Mad art thou, woman,' said the king,
And mighty wroth grew he,
'For him good grace is second place :
'Why name the Turk* to me ?
'For I can boast an equal host,
'Be still and wait the strife.'
'Twas thus the king with anger rude
Strove to put down his wife.

3.

Again Nauráni spoke : 'O Sire !
'To fight this Saiyad dread
'Who takes the field, a stoutest shield
'Must hold above his head :
'Through bone he cleaveth clean, and what
'Avails thy sword of thread ?
'A foe we face who shows no grace
'And dyes the earth in red.'

4.

But Bahar Mal had been forewarned
And hurried to prepare
The ancient fort of Teliyagarh†
And put it in repair.
The king now staked his spear, and viewed
The fort with heart elate :
He bade them tie his elephant
Beside his palace gate.

* Used merely as term of contempt.

† This is probably Teliyakot near Kauria, a station on B. N. W. Railway. The

5.

And next he summoned his mahaut
And usages explained:
The driver went at once to where
The elephant was chained;
Saluted first the royal beast,
Rubbed ochre on his head,
Then a red housing bound with fringe
Upon his back he spread.

6.

To Bhairon then and Hanuman
And Narsingh he appealed,*
And then of stout rhinoceros hide
He took a studded shield
With burnished boss, which fast across
His giant head he tied.
Then roared that elephant and shook
The walls on every side.

7.

Now, Lalla, with due caution speak:
Such elephant 'twould need
With driver bloated and obese,
Twelve villages to feed.
A sword he gave that elephant
Within his trunk to hold:
At which he grew intoxicate
With warlike fury bold.

8.

When sleep o'ercame the elephant—
Now hear the tale I tell—
Sháh Mardán bore him in a dream
Down to the gate of hell.
While here he stood, a scorching blast
Of flame upon him blew,
And upward to the golden gate
Of Paradise he flew.

poet has with very strained poetic license confounded or brought together widely distant places and probably he and the author of the Saulat-i-Mas'údi have compressed a campaign into one fight.

* This points to Suhil Deo's being a Hindu, but see v. ii.

9.

Sarwar Rasul* came to the gate:
'My son, in heaven,' said he,
'Till thou with Gájan cast thy lot,
Thy portion cannot be.'
The dream was o'er that broke his rest,
The elephant awoke:
Nor longer tarried Night, for now
The dawn of morning broke.

10.

The Raja Suhil Dal aroused
For news despatched a scout,
And Raja Rudal Mal advised
Him lead his army out.
The Raja rode his elephant,
His army on he led:
The war-drums beat to war in front
And firm was every tread.

11.

Then Hindus clashed with Moslems, while
Their king on Somnáth calls:
The Moslems opened with grenades,
Hindus with musket balls.
And thus that battle fierce began
While loud the war-drums beat:
Those hosts were numberless and earth
Vibrated 'neath their feet.

12.

The high born Rajputs fought, nor once
Their faces turned away:
Tora in turban, clad in red,
Conspicuous were they.
'God keep my name,' the raja cried:
The Rajputs heard him call;
The fight he led, his foes he slew,
The foremost he of all.

* Muhammad.

13.

Loud Gájan's war-drums beat; he placed
In front each bravest man;
The 'fátiha' recited he
And Ajab led the van.
Hari Singh Náth the standard high
Amid the fight displayed:
He drew his sword, it flashed like fire,
Nine maunds his armour weighed.

14.

It was the doughty Hari Singh
Who struck with surest stroke:
He mowed the forces of the king
And Káfirs' noses broke.*
How Rája Suhil Dal was grieved
This carnage sore to see:
His hands he raised to heaven
And wept—'oh! woe is me!'

15.

The Pír† fought on; great tuskers fell;
No fear was on his brow:
He hailed the haudah-mounted king:
'Cowstealer! whither now?'
Barahna raised his spear and charged
Like raging tempest blast;
Hindu and Moslem made him way;
The monarch breathed his last.

16.

To Ajab Mián Gájan called:
'Set spurs to thy brown mare;
'On Bahar Mal with sword advance
'And hold him in the rear.'
Mián himself his Lilla spurred,
To Allah he appealed,
His sword he drew and Bahar Mal
Rolled dead upon the field.

* It is curious to find two Hindus fighting for Sálár Mas'úd.
† Sálár Mas'aúd.

17.

Mián hailed Nirmal Parihár;
Then from his quiver full
He took a shaft, and drew his bow,
And picked off Sahár Mal.
By God's decree thus Gájan killed
Those kings who wisdom lacked:
He took possession of their fort,
Their palace razed and sacked.

18.

'Now by God's grace the day is thine,'
To Gájan Chishti said,
'And Somnáth* it behoveth us
Beneath our feet to tread.'
He said and straight upon that fort
The Moslem flag was shown:
He tore that house of idols down
And smashed the gods of stone.

19.

Whate'er my fame as poet, 'tis
Through Lalla Ustád† won:
The story true he told, I tell,
And now my tale is done.
The Saiyad Mián Gájan now
For Saiyad Miran‡ called,
And in the middle of the fort
As governor installed.

20.

The Moslem force to Gaura Got
Marched from the field of strife:
God gave the word and Gájan brought
The Gwallas back to life.
Like sunlit waves the spear-heads gleamed
And drums were loud in mirth:
Ajab Hatíla's spear had rest
Like sleeping snake in earth.

* The great image of the third Jain patriarch, whose shrine stands in the west of Mahet near the Imliya Darwáza or Tamarind Gate.

† Nathmal Lall here introduces his teacher's name and attributes the knowledge of these facts (?) to him.

‡ This hero is buried in Mahet and his tomb is kept in repair by a family of Sains who have a Sanad from Shujá'-ud-Daulah.

Part II.

General Map.

I now propose to exclude Set and Mahet from observation for the present, and to travel over the rest of the ground which occupied my attention in the cold weather, December 1884 to March 1885. I shall assume that the reader has read all part No. I of this note carefully and has taken in the main points of the notes left us by Fáh Hian Hwen Thsang. I shall also assume that the reader has consulted General Cunningham's notes on Set Mahet contained in Vols. I and XI of the reports of the Archæological Survey Department. I shall have occasion to refer to Rockhill's Life of Buddha, which is the most recent work on the subject of Buddhá's career. It contains many important notices of Srávasti and when I shall have need to make use of the book I shall quote it, noting that I do so, as I cannot expect the book to be in every one's hand.

In the ramparts and walls which surround Mahet I have found four well defined gates, W. X. Y. Z. That at W is the west of the gate fortified city, and is known locally as the Imliya Darwáza because of the tamarind tree which covers the mound on the right as we enter the gate. The walls rise abruptly as they approach the gate on each side, and form mounds on the summits of which are still seen the outline walls of brick watch towers. The gate was guarded by an external work, an apron-wall probably, inside which appear to have been quarters for soldiers. The central space was occupied by a building, which may have been a guard-room, or a monk's residence, or an octroi post; in fact it may have served all these purposes at various periods. Inside it I found more than 500 clay seals, almost all unbaked clay, bearing inscriptions. I sent some of them to the Secretary of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for inspection by a German scholar, who was at Lucknow in February 1885, but I have heard nothing of them yet. In the same place I found large round stones seemingly of uniform weight, probably 'paseris' of ancient date. I also found a fragment of a curious vessel of very hard pottery and covered with a green metallic glaze, which has gone to the Lucknow Museum. It is, to sketch from memory, something of the shape and size represented in drawing A at the end of this note. This I believe to have been part of a vessel used for the transport of some precious stuff, possibly mercury. The smallness of the orifice is remarkable and points to some such use. This external building, whatever it may have been, will be seen outlined (as far as it was fully explored) in the sheet marked 'Mahet West.'

The next gate X is in the south wall, and, on entering it, there was

a road which for a short distance followed a devious course to the west and then went up to the western Chauk and Jain quarters. The gate Y was also in the south, and seems to have consisted of two arches in the wall. The traces of the centre pillar and of the side walls are still clearly marked. I have proved by excavation that there was a broad street which ran from the sacred Buddhist and royal quarters in the city down through this gate towards Ora Jhár. I have called it 'Broad Street' in the maps. The gate Z was a large opening and seems to have been the main entrance to the east of the city. It probably opened on a road leading towards the spot now marked by the village Dewaria. The name is from the Sanscrit *dvár* a gate, and here probably passed the road leading to this gate of the city. I shall now take up seriatim the various places which the records of the Chinese pilgrims and other authorities would induce us to look for outside Set (the Jetavana) and Mahet (the city).

Lying far east from the Jetavana we have to find the stupa and vihára which mark the spot where Tathagata (Buddha) defeated the heretics and acceded to Visákha's request. I believe this to be the ruins named Baghaha Bári. I opened the mound and found the lines of cells on the south, and in the middle there was a building such as would be occupied by a superior, or which might be a small lecture-hall or a chamber for objects of veneration. I was unable to continue my exploration to the whole mound for two reasons. There is a village pathway crosses the mound, and south-east of it there was a crop growing, which I could not disturb. The name is, I believe, a corruption of Bhagava vihára, the vihára of Bhagava, a name applied to Buddha as a title of respect. The word '*bári*' a 'garden' or, as it is often pronounced in these parts *bhári*, is obviously the same as the Sanscrit and Pali *vihára*, a pleasure-ground, a garden, a place of perambulation round a monastic building. Baghaha Bári is probably Visákha's Purvaráma, as it lies east of the Jetavana. The pilgrim notes it was in strict dependence on the Sangharáma (of the Jetavana). This points to its being a nunnery, for all establishments of professed female followers of Buddha were in strict subordination to the nearest monastery.

To the south of this place is a large area very much raised, in which are brick ruins visible on the outskirts of the fields and in the earth inside them. I could not explore here as I should have had to remove the crops of some poor cultivators: but I satisfied myself that there are at least three large buildings buried here. The position of this area marks it out as the site of (1) the stupas which were raised where Buddha sat and checked Virudhaka, when leaving the city to go

against the Sákyas, and (2) the stupa erected over the remains of the Sákya maidens. These two places are certain to have lain south of the stupa alluded to in the last para., and close to them was the great lake in which Virudhaka is said to have perished. It is clear that Virudhaka, according to the Buddhist fable or history, whichever we call it, perished in a lake, an ornamental water, by a conflagration which burned up a boat or pavilion in which he was. That this tank was the Awendha Tál, I have no doubt. It still shows in places on its banks the traces of masonry probably of a ghát or embankments. The word may be a compound of Sanscrit *ava* and *indha* (burn), and thus afford internal demonstration of the propriety of this identification.

I may add that there is reason to suppose from the general tenor of Hwen Thsang's narrative that there was a palace near this tank, for we read of Virudhaka's sending the women of his palace down to the banks of the lake and his disporting himself with them there. One local tradition localizes the spot to which the maiden ascended, who invoked the Sun, as narrated at p. 21, and says she went to the top of Ora Jhár. This fits in with the belief that Ora Jhár was a kingly residence. Another tradition says that Ora Jhár was an armoury. It is not unlikely that when Prasenajit married Mallika, she being his junior queen, he may have placed her in a palace for her own special use, and this may have been that palace. Any how, the place cannot be what a popular derivation, based on the present form of the name, would imply; a spot where sweepings gathered in baskets were thrown out. The name Ora Jhár or Orha Jhár* is applied to a high mound near Colonelganj in Gonda District, and to the Maniparbat at Ajudhia and to other places. It seems to me that it is probably a corruption of the Sanscrit *urddhwa* (high) *ádhára* (eminence), and it devotes merely a high place or lofty eminence, as either affording a commanding view or a site for a building. Altogether, I believe, that Ora Jhár will be found to have been a terraced palace, such as that on the terrace of which Virudhaka saw Jeta walking, when he ordered his death and probably it was here that Virudhaka's ladies of the seraglio were, when they went down to the ornamental water on the fatal day. There is no place that I know of to suit the story in Mahet.

Near Ora Jhár is a mound in which I found only 3 concentric rings of brick wall, two of which I explored. It is called Panahiya Jhár.† What this place can have been I was long puzzled to know, but it seemed to me to have been a ring intended for some amusement, with a gradu-

* I have heard both the aspirated and unaspirated forms used.

† Explained from 'panhi' shoe to be the place where travelpers shook dust off their feet before entering city!!

ally rising auditorium or gallery. This was curiously confirmed by my reading in Weber's article already quoted, how Pramati made the Brahman's acquaintance at a cockfight outside Srávasti. I now believe that this was a cockpit, and certainly it is well suited to such a sport. The location is probable, being near an ornamental water and garden and a royal residence. The name Panaliiya is probably derived from the Sanscrit *Paṇa* a wager or gaming. The *Jhár* is the same as in Ora Jhár.

It is curious that the only case in which superstition interfered with my excavation was at Ora Jhár. When I had cleared the summit and was beginning to expose a series of chambers on the south side of the crest, the appearance of which was that of chambers on a terrace, it was a cold day after rain and a bitter wind was blowing. The gangman, who was a Bráhman, was seized with a shivering fit and he fell over crying that the gods had attacked him, and in his raving said that there were seven spirits inside the mound opposing him. He was so horrified and weak, that it became necessary to carry him to the grove where the labourers usually spent the night. and he lay all night long reasoning with his gods and imaginary demons. I could not prevail on his gang to resume work then at Ora Jhár, and when I wished to return to the place later on, funds were too low to admit of it.

The pilgrims noted three deep tanks or ditches, where people fell living into hell. These are connected with Devadatta, Sundari, and Chanscha. They differ as to their relative positions. General Cunningham has announced the identification of these ditches or tanks, but he has misplaced them in his maps, and has said nothing as to the reasons of his identifications. The furthest south is Lambhuiha. This is probably derived from the Sanscrit root *lamb* (to sink or fall in), *bhumi* (earth), the place where 'earth sank.' North-by-east of this, at the exact distance noted by Hiwen Thsang, is Bhulinahwan Tál. This is the second. The derivation is probably from the Sanscrit *bhú* (earth), + *lína* (disappeared or vanished). The third is the gulf which swallowed Devadatta.

The tank marked as this last by General Cunningham lies inside the enclosing walls of the monastic establishment round the large *stupa* east of and within the limits of Set. It cannot, therefore, be one of the three named by the pilgrims for they all lay outside the Jetavana. I am inclined to think it must be Kundaliwa or Parsahwa, for near each is a mound containing brick ruins, probably those of buildings commemorative of some such story. It is immaterial which we assume it to be. The building near Parsahwa I opened, but it seemed to be a fane of some kind raised over an older building. Kundaliwa might be a corruption of *kund*, a tank, but it is worth noting that *kunda* is also a

pot, and the female who falsely charged Buddha with incontinence made up the semblance of pregnancy by tying a pot round her waist. It is also possible that Baitára may be one of the tanks in question, because the very name may obviously be a corruption of *baitál*, a demon, the connection of which with the story of Devadatta is easily seen.

Of other places worth note I must mention Púraina Tál. We may easily take this to be a corruption in Hindi of the Sanscrit Púrṇa, and, if we do, it can be fairly inferred that this tank is the spot associated with the suicide of Púrṇa Káśyapa mentioned at pages 8 and 9. On its south bank is a long mound which seems to contain brick-work, probably the remains of a memorial building.

To the north of this is Ambaha Tál, a large and deep tank, with a mound on three sides, and a thick clump of trees on the south. Near this I found in 1876 a portion of a stone pillar, cut in a hemi-hexagonal form, probably one of those stones referred to by Hiwen Thsang as marking particular places where various holy persons had been engaged in meditation. This then is the place where was the *wood of the recovered eyes*, and the very story still survives enshrined in the word *ambaha*. This is the Sanscrit *amba*, an eye, which is seen in the word *tryambaka*, triocular. I conclude that General Cunningham was wrong in looking to Gulariha as the site of this grove.

The mound of Barmdeo is not to be overlooked. Tradition says, it is the oldest spot round Sahet and Mahet. It will be worth opening, as we know that Brahmadatta was Prasenajit's father, and the people round about say that this mound was a shine of Brahma.

Nor must I omit to notice Husen Jot with reference to which General Cunningham has made the following observations.*

"To the north-west of the monastery Hiuen Tsiang places a well "and a small stupa, which marked the spot where Maudgala-putra "tried in vain to unloose the girdle of Sáriputra. As the distance is "not mentioned, it may be inferred that the stupa was close by, and "therefore, I would identify the site with that of the shrine of Pir-"Barána in the small village of Husen Jot, which is within 700 feet of "the north-west corner of the monastery. Near the same place there "was also a stupa of Aśoka and a stone pillar, which the king had "raised to note the spot where Buddha and his right-hand disciple "Sáriputra had taken exercise and explained the Law. I could find no "trace of any of these monuments, and I conclude that the stupas, as "usual, must have furnished materials for the erection of Pir-Barána's "shrine."

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. I, p.* 343.

To this paragraph objection must be taken. There is no shrine of Pir-Baraná at Set Mahet and there was no person named Baraná. There was a Pír Barahna. He was Sikandra Diwána, a faqir, a follower of Sultán Ibráhím Adhám, and it was with the disciples of this Mussalman Saint a rule to abjure covering for the head and feet. A full account of them is given in the Saulat-i-Mas'údí. He accompanied Saiyad Sálár to Oudh, and the Saiyad expired in his arms. He was himself killed by a shower of arrows while supporting the Sálár's head in his lap. He was buried beside the young hero in Bahraich. There is no trace of any shrine at Husen Jot, and I have seen nothing to lead me to suspect a stupa in or near this hamlet. I am quite at a loss to see how the venerable archæologist can have come to pen so erroneous a paragraph as this. Further north there is a grove, a mound, and a well. On the mound is a shrine of Mahádev, called here Bannú Náth. The lingam is a red sandstone pillar over which, in the place where it was found standing, the shrine was, I am told, built. This may or may not be so, but this place seems to be that which the pilgrims refer to in the narrative which was before General Cunningham, when he took Husen Jot to be the place where stood the stupa, marking the spot where Maudgalaputra tried to unloose Sáriputra's girdle. As regards Husen Jot a note should be made. The Saiyad Míran, who was left by Sálár Mas'úd as kotwal of Set Mahet, and who is buried in Mahet inside the brick building called Míran ka dargáh and also 'Míran Asthán,' was Saiyad Mir Husen who came with Saiyad Sálár to Oudh. Husenjot is a hamlet where the descendants of the original Khádim of this Dargáh still live. They hold a m'áfi conferred by the Oudh Subahdars, but greatly reduced in area by the Balrámpur Taluqdar, and they still maintain the Dargáh, and observe the annual 'feast of oblation ('urs) in Mír Husen's memory.

I must now return to the extreme east to the village of Kándh Bári. This is but a small hamlet, in which are seen at the surface of the ground the remains of massive brick walls. There are many wells in the hamlet, which is on an elevation, and close by are some five or more magnificent old trees, mangos and others. These are north-east of the village and south-east of the gate. When I first visited this place, I was amused by a reference made to one Gandhwa in connection with the name of this hamlet, and it was carried back to the time of Arjun and Hańsadhvaj. I took no note of it; but I have since read the paragraph* in General Cunningham's second report on Srávasti, in which he attempts to connect the story of the Gardener Gandamba (*sic*) who

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. XI, p. 95.*

presented to Buddha a mango, the stone of which was planted and became a great tree, with Chakkar Bhandár. The word is not Gandamba, but is properly written Gandhamba, and is clearly a compound of Gandha + amra (or amba), the fragrant mango. The name of the village is thus a debased form of Gandhamba + vihára: the garden of 'Gandhamba' or the fragrant mango garden. Its location near two gates of the city mark it out as the probable spot to which the story should be attached. Buddha was going towards a gate of the city when the mango was presented. I shall deal with the name of Chakkar Bhandár later on.

There are two other mounds near Kándh Bári one N. W., the other N. E. of it. The latter I did not open. That on the N. W. I opened, and found the building of which an outline plan will be seen on Plate IV, and its location in Plate XIII. Here I found a late Hindu building, a shrine of Mahádeo, superimposed on earlier ruins which I had not time to fully explore. In the *argha* in the central building I found a shaft of a red sandstone pillar about 18 in. in diameter and some 4 feet in length, the upper half only being dressed and polished as a round pillar. It had clearly been originally the lower part of a massive pillar. The broken top was dressed off to a hemispherical shape. The *argha* was very brittle and of common grey-green sandstone. The walls seem to have been built round the pillar. I do not see how it could have been brought in after the completion of the building. The lower part of the shaft was cut in a polygon of which I do not remember the number of sides, and was not dressed or polished. It seems this pillar must have been the lower part of a memorial column found here, or near here, the broken top of which was subsequently dressed to hemispherical shape and used as a lingam. There were small modern lingams in two chambers on the west. I am inclined to look on this as the position of one of Aśoka's memorial pillars. Another I have already mentioned, the Banni Náth Mahádeo.

Part III.

I have now to invite attention to the separate map of Set or Sahet. I have opened so many more mounds and buildings than General Cunningham, that I have been compelled to number anew. To prevent any confusion and to make clear my observations which will often conflict with General Cunningham's convictions, I shall in the following notes give, as far as I can, the numbers which he has allotted to buildings as well as the numbers allotted by me.

The building marked 1 by me is the same as that bearing that number in General Cunningham's map.* Cunningham gives the dimensions

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. XI, Plate XXIV.*

of the platform of the mound with tolerable accuracy, 350 ft. sq., and the exact measurement of the enclosing wall of the building now exposed, nearest the surface of the mound, can be ascertained by scale appended to my map. But into this I need not go. I shall satisfy myself with pointing out that there has been a misconception as to the age and character of the building which crowns the mound.

Cunningham states that there were three platforms and "on the uppermost terrace, which was about 80 ft. square stood the temple with its doorway facing the east. The building consisted of two parts: a large hall, or assembly room, for reading the Buddhist Scriptures, and a smaller room, or cell, with a pedestal for the enshrined image."* He then goes on to describe the cell and the assembly hall, as he calls them.

The first point I have to note is, that the cell, as it is termed, is quite a new building, in fact a modern addition to a modern building. This is apparent at a glance by observing that there are floral bricks thrust in here and there at random in the walls, having been clearly taken from the remains of an older building. In the next place the four pillars, as Cunningham calls them, small brick pedestals in the large room, are placed as *bedis* or Hindu altars, and raise the suspicion that this was a later Hindu building. I opened the floor and I found the pilasters of a larger building and four other *bedis* below. They extended to a depth of about 4 feet below and rose out of a concrete floor. On opening this concrete to dig deeper, I came upon the mouth of a well which had been closed up. I opened it and found it to be only an additional piece of masonry continuing the shaft of the original well, the platform of which was clearly marked by a line of upright bricks a few feet lower down. I cleared this well to water level, and found it had been choked with bricks, bones, and weapons. I found human skulls and bones, and the skull of a camel. One human skull still held an arrow head by which it had been pierced. Thus we have marked periods: (1) original well, (2) well repaired and added to and choked up with bones etc., after a fight, (3) the first building of which I found *bedis* and pilasters, (4) the building of which the remains were seen by General Cunningham. The surface of the floor of this latest building is 20 ft. 6 in. above water level.

To the west of this mound I opened trenches in a large level space adjoining, and I here found very old buildings deep buried under earth, ten to twelve feet below the surface and made of bricks of very large dimensions. I could discern chambers which seem to have surrounded a

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. I, p.* 83.

square enclosure, which were probably among the oldest, if not part of the original, buildings. In these long buried ruins I found crystal markers for playing *pachísi*, also some of clay, and a curious glass plate about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick perforated with five holes in the form of a quincunx. These old remains have not been mapped in yet, but are among the most interesting remains laid bare. One of the most curious relics found in them was a heap of charred rice, the form of each grain being preserved fresh as if of yesterday.

Buildings 2, 3, 4, 5, of my numbering, are not of any importance.

Building 6 was discovered by me deep under the earth and is unquestionably of great antiquity. I have exposed the enclosing walls. The bricks and the style of building point to antiquity, the former being large and massive and and the mode of construction being by 'off-set' walls, that is, the bricks being set in a graduated form so as to widen out the wall like a staircase at the base. This was necessary to resist the action of the water in the low level of this ill-drained site. Most buildings found concealed at a great depth in Set are built thus. In the east wall of this building I found a fragment of a Buddhist railing. In the west side I found lying, apparently where it had fallen by accident, an ancient seal.

The building No. 7 is that which General Cunningham terms the Gandha Kuti. The name may be allowed to adhere, though in the present stage of our exploration we are not in a position to impose the name with a certainty of accuracy on any particular building. I must, however, here point again to the error into which General Cunningham falls in supposing that a large room with four low pillar shafts is necessarily 'a hall with the remnants of pillars to support a roof.' In this case I am almost sure the large chamber of what he calls the Gandha Kuti is a late Hindu addition. I have removed all the earth round the building as it now stands, and I have found that the square block or cell on the west is quite a separate building from the rest. Its base is built of off-set walls, as I have already described in the case of building No. 6, while the character of the architecture of the large middle chamber is wholly different and its style modern. In the small eastern part, which seems to have been a vestibule in later times, there are traces which indicate that it contained portions of an older construction.

I cleared all round the mound and I exposed several bases of pillars of two dimensions. They were of brick, the bricks being well curved and calculated to a nicety to suit the pillars for which they were intended. But all these pillars seemed to be of late date. On the south I noticed one base of a pillar of much larger dimensions on which a later

wall has been built. I then opened the small remnants of buildings, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and, on going to a great depth, I found that there were older walls running below, 8 to 13 feet under the surface, which clearly belonged to a wholly different and much older building. I now determined to open the Gandha Kuti and I cleared away the surface of the concrete external courtyard on the south, and I soon came on a very ancient wall running down in the form of a lower off-set brick slope, and forming a masonry terrace round the mound, on which stood the old chambers I have already described. It is of the same age and style. Further outside this I found the original enclosing wall, entire in its whole circuit. Under the modern vestibule I made a tunnel and I found the same class of old building below. I found only two objects of interest. They were not in the lower or more ancient building. One was a fragment of a pottery relief of Buddha standing and preaching. This was buried in the general ruin near the top of the mound. The other was an image in red sandstone, probably representing the scene in Buddha's life when a householder of Srávastí sent his son to Buddha for reception into the brotherhood. At its base was inscribed the usual Buddhist formula 'Ye dharmma,' etc., in characters of about the 5th century A. D. This stone seems to me to be the fragment of a pillar on which this figure may have been carved originally, or after the fracture of the pillar. Any how, the stone slopes like a pillar, and the edges are dressed, and bear fragments of an old inscription in well executed Sanscrit characters of early date. These fragments of writing are, as the pillar stands, meaningless.

The numbers 12, 13, mark what General Cunningham has identified as the Kosamba Kuti. My attention was in this drawn to the four *bedis* in the part marked 13, and I thought, from what I had seen in Nos. 1 and 7, that it was not unlikely that this was a recent addition to 12. I opened the ground carefully all round to a depth of about 10 ft. and I found No. 12 resting on its original foundation and built in the same style as the older buildings elsewhere opened, with off-set bricks at the base. I opened a small passage and found clearly where this formation of wall terminated, 1 ft. 9 in. inside and below the corner of 13. I also found on the east side that 13 is not deep below the upper surface. Thus clearly the part 13 is not of great antiquity, and it is possible that, while the large statue found in 12 by General Cunningham may have been there from a very ancient date, the part 13 was added on by either Buddhists or Hindus, who found the statue thus surviving the desolation of the seventh century. It is not unusual to find Hindus worshipping any image they find, without inquiring whether it is Hindu or not. On the north side of this building and close to it, in

part adjoining it, I found two small circular blocks of masonry and one square one. The former may have been memorial marks, small pagodas such as Buddhists build close to large stupas and other sacred buildings. The square block was probably a monk's platform. On the east of 13 I found, several feet below the earth, remains of another offset-brick base, which is of undoubted antiquity, but I had not the funds to continue the excavation here.

Nos. 14, 15, 16, call for no note. No. 17 is a curious construction. It seems to have been a stupa but may have been a cell. I cleared the mound in which it was hid and opened it, but did not go below the surface of the earth around it.

The building by me marked 18, is that which General Cunningham describes as a stupa and marks 5. I found nothing in it, though I went several feet deeper than Cunningham had gone. I opened the building all round outside by a trench about 9 ft. deep, and I ran a trench 9 ft. deep from the middle of the building to the east and west taking the line of the octagonal well. The trench on the east is not marked in the map as it gave no result. That on the west, *ffhh*, and others near it *ffgg*, and *jjll*, yielded some results which I shall refer to presently. At the north-west corner of the enclosing wall, I found some very curious vessels, pottery, well-baked and massive. These were large hemispherical bowls. They were lying bottom up and some were 5 feet in diameter. There were some smaller. There were also ring-like pieces of pottery of similar dimensions. The only explanation I can give of these is, that they were used in making umbrella-like cupolas on the top of stupas, or by piling the hemispheres on the cylinders they may have been used in making small memorial pagodas. Earth would in the latter case have been filled in as the successive pieces were piled on one another.

Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23 stand on the southern elevation, where General Cunningham has marked 11 and 12. His No. 12 corresponds to my No. 20, and I did not do more than clear the upper surface of a part of it. The building 21 turned out to be so large and promising that I confined myself to it. The western wall of No. 21 runs on to meet No. 24, and a wall runs east from 24 which I did not fully expose. Hence it is not shown. Nos. 22 and 23 are adjuncts to 21 and have probably served some accessory purpose to the main building. No. 21 is 128 ft. by 118 ft. and the whole block is unquestionably one piece. I cleared the building all round, going down about 13 ft. on the south, the west, and the north. I did not go quite so deep at the east. The door was on the east. I found that this building had one characteristic offset brick base at the lowest part and was there constructed of very large bricks. There were

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the clearest indications that this building had been twice rebuilt with extreme care exactly on the old foundation, before it was finally rebuilt at the latest date prior to falling into the decay in which I found it, the successive strata being clearly defined. I cleared the whole of the mound above and found the well shown in the map of Sahet or Set, and in one chamber I found a fragment of a red sandstone slab or pillar. I also found two fragments of well executed stone images—Vaishnavite—with small marginal figures of Buddha cut on them. These are referrable obviously to a period when Buddha had been incorporated among the incarnations of Vishnu, the period of re-absorption of Buddhism into Hinduism. When I went to the floor of the next previous stage of building, which lay about 8 feet below the floor of the upper one, I found the large slab already referred to at page 3 bearing the long Sanscrit inscription. It had lain there un-disturbed, for many years, for the root of a gigantic gular tree had extended a distance of about 17 feet from the parent stem and grown out under the stone and several feet beyond it. This root was quite flat and bent at a right angle, showing it had grown under the slab.

There can be no doubt that 21 is one of the oldest and longest preserved buildings in Set, and should be wholly cleared and exposed.

The buildings 25, 26, 27, 28 call for no remark. They are not fully exposed. No. 29 is a small platform and will be referred to again.

No. 32 is a small building which I exposed. It was hidden in a mound and seems to have been a cell in which a monk may have dwelt, or possibly it was an image-shrine. The door faced the west. I think it was more likely a cell. There are in it what seem to me to be two raised masonry beds for monks, who may have lived here, but of this no one can be certain.

The most interesting building which I opened, was the stupa (No. 33) which I propose to identify as that of Sáriputta. I have completely exposed the outer walls of the stupa itself and those of the enclosing square. The hollow on the east in which water still lies, was, I found as I continued my exploration, originally a masonry tank. To the north-east of it, and possibly outside the enclosing lines of 33, was a very curious building No. 34 in which I found many clay heads, specimens of well-moulded and well-burnt pottery. What this place was I cannot say, owing to its very peculiar construction. Lying against the wall of one of the cells, cut by the trench *aabb*, I found a well executed brass cast of an elephant's head, ears, shoulders, and forelegs.* It is possible

* See Plate XXV, c.

this was the figure which surmounted one of the pillars east of the Jetavana in the days of the Chinese pilgrims, one of whom says it was an elephant's head, while the other calls it an ox head. The pillars were, it would seem, 70 ft. high. The great elevation of the figure would amount for its being mistaken by one pilgrim for an ox head. It seems to have been built into the shaft of the pillar. The groove at the back points to its having been intended to be fastened into a wall or stone, so that one line of the groove should be hidden while the other should seem to be the base from which it rose.

The lines *aabb*, *eedd*, *zz'*, *xy*, *xw*, *uv*, *ut* are all trenches which I dug to a great depth exposing walls and cells. There seems to have been a continuous line of building from *u* to *t*, and, when I stopped the trench at *t*, I found two curious square remnants of what may have been pillar bases and portions of chambers (35).

I now return to the stupa (33). It seems to have been built here for a special reason close to the Jetavana, and I think I can point to the reason and identify it. On opening the cylindrical shaft in the middle of the stupa, I went to a depth of about 13 feet before I got anything. I then found a begging pot and alms bowl, black glazed pottery, built inside the shaft, and covered by a larger bowl inverted over them. I went several feet deeper, altogether about 25 feet down, and I found at the original base a large inverted bowl like that first found. I managed to lift it and what it covered without breaking the latter. The covering bowl had been cracked right across, probably in building it in. I opened the contents with care, and found a large soap-stone casket. Inside this casket was a dark green porcelain bowl containing the charred ashes and some charred bone-joints of a deceased monk.

We know that when Sudatta promised to build Buddha a vihára, he asked him to nominate a disciple to design the building, and that Buddha sent Sáriputta with Sudatta to S'rávastí. Many years afterwards Sáriputta died at Nálanda. The disciples cremated him, but brought his ashes, alms bowl, and cloak to Buddha, who was at Rajagriha. Buddha brought the relics to S'rávastí. Sudatta induced the Master to give them to him, and he built a stupa over them. Buddha himself gave instructions for the building of this relic-tower, and directed that it should contain a vase.

The relics found in the stupa 33 correspond, being a porcelain bowl, or vase, holding the ashes, inside a relic casket, and an alms bowl and begging pot. The most natural place to locate the stupa was in close proximity to the entrance of the building which Sáriputta had designed, near the spot where he had been victorious in disputes with

rival sects, nay more, on a part of the very site which Sudatta had originally purchased.

Round the base of the stupa were several small pagodas or memorial pillars, some square and some circular. On the west of it was a well. This probably was to supply with water the mendicants who lived in the cells around the stupa.

No. 36 represents certain walls discovered just as operations were drawing to a close, which seem more like the outline of one side of a gateway than anything else I can think of; but it would be wrong to do more than hazard this guess, as the counterpart has not yet been found, nor indeed looked for.

The line *rs* represents a long trench in which I found, still in excellent preservation, the greater part of a drain, or waterduct, made of tiles, probably used for conveying water for irrigating the garden of the monastery. The lines *lm*, *no*, and *pq*, are the trenches which revealed a very old building 37.

The lines *gh*, and *jk*, are very deep trenches which enabled me to touch the walls which further excavations laid bare, now marked in the triangle *ghk*, but it is only shown in this—as in other instances—that there is great need for a full exploration.

The lines of trenches *jjll*, *ffgg*, and *ffhh*, yielded more interesting discoveries: and here I believe I found the key to the whole excavation. As I stood one day looking at the octagonal well A, which stands in the middle of the present interior level of the whole ruins at Sahet, I reflected on General Cunningham's specious remarks in his second report on Srávasti,* where he takes the part of the upper portion of the well being octagonal, with a slight inward inclination of the sides at the top, to be a mark of ingenuity on the part of the builders of the well. I saw that the inward inclination seemed to be in some of the sides only, and not to bear the marks of design, but of accident, owing to age or pressure, and I further questioned the probability of a well-builder varying the shaft of his well, building circular below and octagonal above. It would be a source of weakness. I then noticed that where the circular shaft ended there were horizontal bricks and slabs, and I felt sure that the original well must have ceased here. I then laid out the trenches *lljj*, *ffhh*, *ffgg*, and, when I had gone to a depth near the well, I came across the base of the pillar at T. This is the remains of a magnificent pillar 13 ft. square at the base. When I had exposed it, I made a small hole horizontally at the level of its foundation into the earth near the well, and I found in a few minutes that I touch-

* *Archæological Survey of India, vol. XI, p.* 93.

ed the masonry platform of the original mouth of the well, and that it had originally been only at the top of the circular part of the masonry. Clearly the octagonal part was an addition. Going on with my trenches I found U, V, to be circular bases in offset walls of buildings which had stood on the original level. W was a pillar similar to T, but of smaller dimensions. Here then I had touched the original level of the Jetavana, and here, in all probability, I had come across two of the memorial pillars, and possibly two of the smaller stupas referred to by the Chinese pilgrims. If this be so, the lowest level seen by General Cunningham was about 15 feet above the original ground of the Jetavana. This shows what has to be done before we shall be entitled to speculate on the identification of Gandha Kuti or Kosambha Kuti.

I have only now to refer to the trenches *ab*, *cd*, *de*. They have been cut to a depth in some parts of 20 feet and have revealed very old walls, but the result was little more than to give me an idea of the direction of the buildings. The long trench *cd*, showed at 31 the general outline of a wall which seemed to be the side of a long passage or hall, possibly the vestibule of a large building. No. 30 is a series of cells, but they rest on older cells, and in one place I found the remains of a staircase, as it seemed to me, leading to a lower chamber. In the earth which had closed up this staircase, I found a terra-cotta figure of a naked infant and two seals. I also found in one of the lower cells a large store of rice, which had been preserved from decomposition by close compression in the ruins. No. 29 is a masonry platform, seemingly a seat for monks at the back of the large building, of which 30 and 31 are parts. It is, however, part of a later building raised on the ruins of the older.

I have little left to say of the tangible memories of Set except to call attention to the very obvious reminiscence contained in the name of Chakkar Bhandár, the adjoining hamlet. It is clearly named from the chamber and the pillar surmounted by the wheel (*chakra*), which flanked one side of the east entrance of the Jetavana. The Chakkar is the wheel, and the Bhandár is the Sanscrit *bhándágara*, or storeroom, the chamber in which the commonwealth of the fraternity was stored. Chakkar Bhandár stands on ruins, lines of brick wall being clearly traceable in parts, and the hamlet should be explored with care and at the same time with due regard for the villagers' prejudices and home feelings. It is true that if Chakkar Bhandár be the actual site of the wheel-crowned pillar and adjoining storehouse, it will carry us further east for the main door than General Cunningham fancies it lay, but we must remember that the pillar was probably raised by Asoka, and that even in his lifetime the Jetavana must have grown far beyond the limit

of the small vihára built originally for the Master. A description of the Jetavana as it was in its prime is to be found in the Thibetan authorities which state that it contained sixty large halls and sixty small ones. Buddha himself—say these authorities, attributing everything to Buddha, as they always do,—gave instructions for the decoration. "On the outside door you must have figured a yaksha holding a club in his hand: in the vestibule you must have represented a great miracle, the five divisions (of beings) of the circle of transmigration: in the courtyard, the series of births (Játakas): on the door of Buddha's special apartment (lit. hall of perfumes, Gandhakuti), a yaksha holding a wreath in his hand; in the house of the attendants (or of honour), bhikshus and sthaviras arranging the dharmma; on the kitchen must be represented a yaksha holding food in his hand; on the door of the store-house, a yaksha with an iron hook in his hands; on the water-house (well-house?), nágas with variously ornamented vases in their hands; on the wash-house (or the steaming house), foul sprites, or the different hells; on the medicine house, the Tathágata attending the sick; on the privy, all that is dreadful in a cemetery; on the door of the lodging house (? text effaced), a skeleton, bones, and a skull.'* What is mentioned as the wash-house may be the Baitára Tál, a washing tank, and the Baitára be the evil-sprite.

IV.—*Mahet.*

The general map shows Mahet as a large walled enclosure with the gates W, X, Y, Z, but it would be impossible to indicate on it more than the eastern outline of the city. I have therefore prepared three sheets on a larger scale marked Mahet South, Mahet East, and Mahet West. These show the position of the parts of the city in which I made excavations. I refer to them in illustration of what follows.

Mahet South and East.

The sheets of Mahet South and Mahet East show the thoroughfare from the gate Y, which I have named "Broad Street." It leads up to the Kachcha Kuti, Pakka Kuti, and other buildings which I have wholly or partially exposed. While walking up this street we reach

* This quotation is directly taken from a note in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha* (p. 49), to which I am much indebted. I have merely to remark that the mention of 'arranging the dharma,' as it probably refers to conferring over the sacred writings, and there were none until long after Buddha's death, seems to indicate that the description of the monastery has been furnished by a visitor or resident who saw it in its complete state in later days. It is therefore all the more valuable as a guide in archæological exploration.

the walls of shops or houses on either side, which I have exposed, and which are marked by the lines *a*, *a*, *a*, and *b*, *b*, *b*, on either side of the street. The transverse lines *m*, *m*, and *n*, *n*, are the trenches which I dug when searching for these walls. In these shops or houses I found some old earthen pots and one copper Indo-Bactrian coin of no value. The settlement boundary pillar S stands to the north of the middle of a large open space, which was probably a market place. This would be easily determined by following out the lines of the walls of shops or residences which I have begun to expose, pushing them north and then following the turnings east and west.

The two largest mounds which attracted the notice of the explorer, as rising above the surrounding jungle, were those known in the neighbourhood as the Pakka Kuti and the Kachcha Kuti. I shall describe them first.

The Pakka Kuti is the place fixed on by General Cunningham as the Angulimálya stupa, but he seems to have had no ground for making this identification beyond the size and prominence of the mound. I have opened the mound, cleared the four sides and laid bare the main walls. I have also removed the earth from the main chamber (marked C in the drawing of the Pakka Kuti) and I cannot but conclude that this is not the Angulimálya stupa. In the first place there is no architectural arrangement, such as is clearly perceptible in the undoubted stupa elsewhere found, and in the next place I found in the bottom of the chamber in C, a portion of an older and more substantial wall (marked W), the fragment of an older building. I am inclined to think that this is the site of the Hall of the Law built by Prasenajit, and I think it is satisfactory in respect of situation with reference to the royal palace, which I believe stood round the place where Saiyad Miran's Dargáh now stands and extended a long way to the west of it. The tomb of this Moslem who was placed in charge of Mahet by the early Mussalman conquerors is likely to have been in the quarter occupied by the governor and his suite, and it is unlikely that they were located anywhere but in the buildings which the ruler whom they displaced had occupied. There are clear traces of regularly built and well laid out enclosed buildings in this part of the city, and I believe their exploration would reveal the accuracy of this location which I give to the palace. Not only does this location of the palace fit in with the situation in which the main Buddhist buildings in Mahet are found, but it suits the narrative of Pramati where it describes the ladies of the king's household going from the palace to the river side to bathe. Had the palace lain to the west of the city, they would have had to cross the whole city to make their ablutions and this is not a supposition favourable to the dignity of those ladies.

The Pakka Kuti, as I found it, seems to me to be a later building, or the repaired remnants of a later building, raised on the site of the old Hall of the Law, to mark it, and would thus be one of the memorial buildings mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. Its true uses cannot be ascertained until all the chambers have been opened. I opened but one, that in the heart of the mound. The plan shows a bird's eye view, and the dotted lines mark a tunnel which I carried through the whole mound to drain it, and thus preserve it. I built strong masonry arches where each wall was cut. The labour of clearing the whole building would be great, as its external dimensions, 143 ft. long by 90 ft. wide, will show. The most curious feature of the building, as far as I explored it, is that in no place did I discover any door or window, and I could discern no staircase.

The Kachcha Kuti is a much more interesting mound. Of its character I have no doubt. The plan which I submit gives no idea, however, of the main impression which it creates. The outermost wall, of which only a portion was exposed, is an ornamental one, with a plastered cornice and coping and served to enclose a large building. The thick main wall of this building, shown on three sides in the plan, is a wall of similar design, which seems to have been carried out to a considerable height, and it undoubtedly was built up to support an older building, which had fallen into decay. I ascertained the existence of buried chambers by sinking a shaft at *p* to a depth of perhaps 20 ft. I then found that a chamber existed below and it seems to have communicated with others. I closed up this opening at *p* with a masonry cap to prevent the ingress of rain. In the passage *fg* I found tiles with a metallic glazing, some green and some blue, which seemed to be part of a floor over which a protective wall had been raised. These tiles were made of a fine preparation of some white substances, but the glazing chipped off readily. The herring-bone lines represent a curious slope made of tiles placed on their edges, which may have been either a graduated approach to a building or a roof covering a passage into one. The long spaces *a* and *b* on either side were clearly enclosed at a later date. The walls *mm* and *nn* were built as an ornamental front, and corresponded in style to similar walls *mn* and *ny* at the sides. They were clearly separate from the other walls *mw* and *wx* and *ny* *nz* which were built up later. In the enclosure *b* I found a clay figure of a monkey (Plate XXV,*d*), and a head of an image near it. From the character of the internal building, as far as I explored it, being that of a private dwelling, as well as from the fact of this being, as I think, the dwelling of a person of wealth, as its ornamentation shows, and its being built in all round to preserve it, I am inclined to surmise that it

may be Sudatta's house, which the pilgrims tell us was so built up, as a memorial of him after his death.

B, C, D, are minor buildings calling for no particular notice. Although carefully examined they yielded no results.

The mound which I have marked stupa A showed itself, where I had cut down the jungle near it, to be only less prominent than the two Kutis. I opened it with care and I soon found it to be what I consider a characteristic stupa. I found a circular tower in the centre, and round it the walls of an enclosing building. I opened it down to water-level but discovered nothing. This is, I believe, the Angulimálya Stupa. It stands on the north-east of a depression, marking what seems to be a street or road, that ran between it and the Kachcha Kuti to the market place round the boundary pillars, already mentioned. Thus the site fits in with the story of the Buddhist records, that the stupa was raised to mark the spot where Buddha stopped the robber chief as he was approaching him along a public street to take his life. It is not that raised at the place of his cremation. Had it been, it should have contained his relics.

The figure at E represents the outline of the central portion of a building crowning another mound yet unopened. It seems to be a stupa.

The place marked as Saiyad Míran's Dargáh is the small rectangular brick-wall enclosure in which are two tombs. Here was buried Saiyad Míran, a Moslem chief who was stationed at Set Mahet, according to the tradition, when the first permanent Muhammadan impression on Oudh was made. Outside the enclosure are to be seen other tombs. None are inscribed.

Mahet West.

The Jain quarters lay in the west of the city near the Imliya Darwaza, as the west gate is now called. The chief building of interest here is the Muhammadan-looking plastered construction which shows on the ruins of the temple of Somnáth, or Sobhnath, which is still venerated though now seldom visited by Jains. The antiquity of this spot cannot be doubted. Tradition assigns Srávasti as the birth-place of the teacher now venerated by the Jains as their third patriarch. His life falls within the period of unhistorical tradition, and was probably posterior to the Buddhist age. This is so, as the founder of Jainism was a contemporary of Buddha, and we have not met with any personage in the history of Buddha or his successors who corresponds to Somnath. It is only an anachronism which makes Mahavíra the last Jain patriarch. Tradition, while fixing on the site of the shrine of Somnath at Mahet as the birth-place, or, possibly, the residental cell and teaching centre, of the

eponymous patriarch,' states that the shrine contained a statue of each patriarch when it was in its complete state. I have therefore opened the mound of Somnath with great care. I have been so fortunate as to recover on this occasion images of seven several patriarchs here. I had previously recovered some images in 1875-76, and had also pieced together the image there lying in the shrine of Somnath. It was one of Sumati, the fifth patriarch. I brought them all into Gondah where I left them to be placed in the Anjuman; but they are now lying in fragments among the rockeries of a chick house in the public garden. I propose to remove the pieces which make up the image of Sumati and send them to the Lucknow Museum.

The plastered building, which now crowns the mound of Somnath, is Pathan in style: and I have a suspicion that it is a tomb of some Mussalman who fell here in some assault. I have not opened it. I have almost wholly cleared the mound round it, and but little more labour would have been needed to open it to its full depth, but this would have probably led to the fall of the domed structure on the top. The most remarkable point about Somnáth is that there are traces of an ancient enclosing wall on the south which shows there was at one time a courtyard fronting a large building. When this building fell there was another built above it, and it was similarly succeeded by another, and so on, until we have traces of at least four buildings distinct in style and age, before the final Mussalman erection. A reference to the large plan of Somnáth shows a bird's eye view of the walls exposed, but I regret I had no means of procuring a drawing or photograph of the floral pilaster of the building of the second age on the south, or of the cornice of a somewhat later building in the middle. These were of exceptionally neat and elegant design. The floral bricks seem to have been chiselled to remove inequalities after they had been moulded and baked. I have in figures 11 to 31 on plate XXVI shown some of the floral bricks worked into this building.

The images I have recovered at, or near, Somnath are shown in the accompanying plates. One of them bears a Sanscrit inscription recording that it was dedicated in Samvat 1133 by Sutan Pandit This is possibly the period of a revival of Jainism, and restoration of shrines, after the first wave of Muhummadan invasion had swept by.

There were two other Jain temples near Somnath, the ruins of which I fully opened. They are marked J 1 and J 2. There were three small separate cells, or shrines, in J 2. The images were all found in the northern and middle shrines. The cell to the south was empty. One these images too, bore the Sanskrit inscription mentioned above, which I consider points to the restoration of these shrines at the same time.

The building marked C was also exposed. It seems to have been a private house.

The building H is decidedly Hindu. I have almost completely opened the mound and I have found that the three cells or shrines correspond remarkably with those in J. 2, and they seem to have been built on the outline of older ones of the same shape, which I found when I opened the mound. I consider the temple which stood here to be the reconstruction, or restoration, of the original Hindu shrine and to be one of the oldest buildings in Mahet. If the portion of the Chinese pilgrim's narrative which speaks of the rival temples of Hindu and Buddhist's priests can be held to refer to any buildings within the city, it may be that this is the temple of the heretics, of which it is said that it was overshadowed by a Buddhist fane. There are mounds near, in one of which a rival Buddhist fane may yet be discovered.

S. is the settlement boundary-pillar and lies in the centre of a space where several roads seem to have met. One passed up close by H to Somnath.

V. Buddhist Stone-inscription.

The inscription consists of 18 lines (inclusive of the date), and these lines comprise 17 ślokas in various metres.

I sent two rubbings of the inscription to Mr. Fleet, who submitted them to Professor Kielhorn, whose reading and translation have been published in the *Indian Antiquary*. I regret that, at the time when I forwarded these rubbings, I was under the impression that I had established the spelling of the words to be Set Mahet, and this led me to accept an erroneous derivation which Professor Kielhorn published. I have since satisfied myself that there is no sufficient reason to suppose that *t* should be written instead of *t* in the name, although the accuracy of Set instead of Sahet cannot be doubtful.

I had considerable misgiving as to the rendering of some expressions by Professor Kielhorn, and I have therefore obtained a reading and translation with notes from two competent Sanscrit scholars, Kunwar Jawála Prasád of the Statutory Civil Service, and Pandit Murlidhar of Maudha. The result is a very materially improved and more lucid interpretation, which I readily accept, as it harmonizes with the Buddhist character of the record.

The gist of the inscription is that a Solar King, named Mándhátá, built a fortified city called Jávrisha, in which dwelt many Srívástav Káyasths. A head of one of these families, named Vilvaśiva, had a so-called Janaka, who became prime minister to Gopála, the sovereign of Kannauj, and married Jijjá. The issue of this marriage was six sons.

The eldest was Pippaṭa and the fifth Vidhyádhara. The latter was a man of high mental and moral endowments and was also distinguished for his skill in the management of elephants. The monarch, Madana, endeavoured, chiefly on the ground of this accomplishment, to make Vidhyádhara content and happy in his service, but he forsook the Saivic cult, and embraced Buddhism, and devoted his wealth to the foundation and endowment of a monastery, a vihára, which probably took the form of a restoration of the Jetavana at Set.

BUDDHIST STONE-INSCRIPTION FROM SET, OF SAMVAT 1176.

L. 1. Om namo vítarágáya ‖ máránashṭa niyamya dikshvadhipatí-náyojya satvodaye durllaṅghyáṇyavamanya saṅvararipo rájṇáksharáṇyá-dritaḥ ‖ uddhartum yatate sma yaḥ karuṇayá śrí—

L. 2. Śákyasiñho jagadbodhiñ prápya cha buddhatámabhigataḥ sa tváñ paritráyatáñ ‖ saṅsáráñbhodhitáraya tárámuttáralochanáñ ǀ vande gírvváṇaváṇináñ bháratímadhidevatám ‖

L. 3. Máñdhátákhyaḥ śatrujichchhkra-tulyo vañse bhánor bhánu-tejotisáyí ǀ nityánandí sádhu bhoktá trilokíñ rájṇámádyaśchakravartí babhúva ‖ svechchhan bhrámyan kadáchit sara—

L. 4. Siruharajoráji-chitríkritámbhḥ samyag drishṭvá sarontar-mada-kala-sakuni-vráta-rábábhiramyñ ǀ kartuñ kírte-r-vitánañ sucharita-mudito mridbhirápúrya yatnát karkkoṭádhínara—

L. 5. kshañ svapuramidamatho nirmame jávrishákhyañ ‖ tasminna-bhúvan dhaninotidhanyáḥ śrípúrvvavástavyakulapradípáḥ ǀ adyápi yadvañsabhaváir yaśobhirjjaganti subhrair dhavalí.

L. 6. kriyante ‖ teshámabhúdabhijane jaladhávivendu riñdudyutiḥ prathita-vilva-sivábhidhánaḥ ǀ yasya smaráricharaṇámbujavatsalasya la-kshmir dvijáti-sujanárthijanopabho

L. 7. gyá ‖ saujanyáñbunidhe rudáracharitapratyasyamánainasaḥ sádhúnámudayaikadháma-jananí-sthána-sriyaḥ satvabhúḥ ǀ tasyásíjjanako janíva hridayaḥ putraḥ satáma—

L. 8. graṇír mányo gádhipurádhipasya sachivo gopála-námnaḥ sudhíḥ ‖ tenochchkairabhijanámbunidheḥ prasútá lakshmíriváchyuta-vi-bhúshṇakántamúrtiḥ ǀ ánandakandaja—

L. 9. naní jananí-kulánáñ jijjeti saṅbhritakulasthitinopayeme ‖ tábhyámabhúbañ stanayáḥ shaḍeva shaḍbhirmukhai rekatanur ya ekaḥ ǀ jyáyán sutaḥ pippaṭa námadhe—

L. 10. yo dhímánivágniprabhavaḥ śivábhyáñ ‖ tatpañchamaḥ pañchasaránukárí tayo-stanújo tanukírtikandaḥ ǀ vidyávabodhádanukir-tyate yo vidyádharo náma yathártha—

L. 11. námá ‖ rasádhikamabhivyápi girísacharaṇáśritañ ǀ hañsíva

mánsañ yasya jaháti sma na bháratí ॥ mádhuryañ madhuno sudhá himarucheránanda medhávitá mi—

L. 12. thyaivámbunidhergabhírima guṇastuñgatva madreralañ । yasyaikaikaguṇádhirohaṇagireḥ sanjanyasáñdrolasatpíyúshaikanidher guṇena guṇinaḥ sarvvepyadhśchakrire ॥ yasmái

L. 13. gajágamarahasyavide gajánámánandaniñ kalayale dhuramuddhuráya । bhúpalamáulitilako madanaḥ pradánamánádibhiḥ kshitipatiḥ sprihayáñ babhúva ॥ devá

L. 14. layáiḥ prathayatá nijakírtimuchchaiḥ pushyadvija-vrajamude tumulambabhúva । yenárjjitañ draviṇamárta-janopakári jívánusambhritamudámudarambhariṇáñ ॥ satvasárthapa

L. 15. ritráṇakritakáyaparigrahaḥ । abhúdabhútapurvvoyañ bodhisatva iváparaḥ ॥ átmajñánakritodayena vigaladrágádidoshásrayaprodgachchhanmanasá vichárya bahuso

L. 16. Madhyasthatáñ sangate tenárádhitasatpathena yaminámánandamúlálayo nirmmayyotsasrije viháravidhiná kírterivaikáśrayaḥ ॥ sadbodhavañdyachari—

L. 17. tasya nayaikadhámna śchañdrávadátahridayaḥ sumatiḥ kaláván । asya priyeshu niratah subhagañ bhavishṇuḥ sambandha bandhurudayí vidadhe prasastim ॥

5. Samvat 1176.

ओं नमो वीतरागाय ॥ मारानष्ट नियम्य दिक्षधिपतीनाथोच्च सत्वोदये दुर्ज्ञेयाण्यवमन्य संवररिपोराज्ञाचराण्याहतः । उद्धर्त्तुं यतते स्म यः करुणया श्री

साक्यसिंहो जगद्धोधिं प्राप्य च बुद्धतामभिगतः स त्वां परित्रायतां ॥ संसारांभोधितारायतारामुत्तारलोचनां । वन्दे गौर्व्वाणवाणीनां भारतीमधिदेवताम् ॥

मांधाताख्यः शत्रुजिच्छक्रतुल्यो वंसे भानो र्भानुतेजोतिसायी । नित्यानन्दी साधु भोक्ता त्रिलोकीं राज्ञामाद्यश्चक्रवर्त्ती बभूव ॥ खेच्छन् धाम्यन् कदाचित् सर-

सिरुहरजोराजिचिवीक्षताभ्रः सम्यग् दृष्ट्वा सरोन्तर्मदकलसकुलिव्रातरावाभिरम्यं । कर्त्तुं कीर्त्तें र्वितानं सुचरितमुदितो रुद्धिरापूर्य्य यत्नात् कर्क्कोटाधीनर ।

चं खपुरमिदमथो निर्ममे जाट्यपाख्यं ॥ तस्मिन्नभूवन् धनिनोऽतिधन्याः श्रीपूर्व्ववास्तव्यकुल-प्रदीपाः । अद्यापि यद्वंसभवै र्यशोभिर्ज्जगन्ति सुस्मै धवलो

क्रियन्ते ॥ तेषामभूदभिजने जलधाविवेन्दुरिंदुद्युतिः प्रथितविक्षशिवाभिधानः । यस्य स्मरारिचरणाम्बुजवत्सलस्य लक्ष्मी र्द्विजातिसुजनार्थिजनोपभो-

ग्या ॥ सौजन्यांबुनिधे रुदारचरितप्रत्यस्यमानेनसः साधूनामुदयैकधाम-जननीस्थानश्रियः सत्वभृः । तस्यासीज्जनको जनीव हृदयः पुंचः सतां ।

ग्रणी मान्यो गाधिपुरेऽधिपस्य सचिवो गोपालनाम्नः सुधीः ॥ तेनोच्चकैरभिजनाम्बुनिधेः प्रसूता लक्ष्मीरिवाच्युतविभूषणकान्तमूर्त्तिः । आनन्दकन्दज-

ननी जननीकुलानां जिज्येति संस्तुतकुलस्थितिनोपयेमे ॥ ताभ्यामभूवं सनयाः षडेव षड्भिर्मुखैरेकतनुर्य एकः । ज्यायान् सुतः पिण्डैटनामधे-

यो धीमानिवाग्निप्रभवः शिवाभ्यां ॥ तत्पंचमः पंचसरानुकारी तयोस्तनूजो तनुकीर्त्ति-कन्दः । विद्याववोधादनुकीर्त्त्यते यो विद्याधरो नाम यथार्थ-

नामा ॥ रसाधिकमभिव्यापि गिरीशचरणाश्रितं । हंसीव मानसं यस्य जहाति स्म न भारती ॥ माधुर्यं मधुनो सुधा हिमरुचेरानन्दमेधाविता मि ।

थ्यैवाम्बुनिधे र्गभीरिमगुण सुंगत्वमद्रेरलं । यस्मिंकैकगुणाधिरोहणगिरेः सौजन्यसांद्रोल्लसत्यौ यूर्णैकनिधे र्गुणेन गुणिनः सर्व्वेप्यधश्चक्रिरे ॥ यस्मि

न्नागमरहस्यविदे गजानामानन्दनीं कलयते धुरमुद्धुराय । भूपालमौलितिलको मदनः प्रदानमानादिभिः क्षितिपतिः स्पृहयांबभूव ॥ देवा-

लयैः प्रथयता निजकीर्त्तिमुच्चैः पुण्यद्विजव्रजमुदेतुमलम्बभूव । येनार्ज्जितं द्रविणमार्त्तजनपो षकारि जीवानुसम्भृतमुदामुदरम्भरीणां ॥ सत्सार्थप-

रिवाणक्षतकायपरिग्रहः । अभूदभूतपूर्व्वोयं बोधिसत्व इवापरः ॥ आत्मज्ञानक्षतोदयेन विगलद्रागादिदोषाश्रयप्रोद्गच्छन्मनसा विचार्य वडसो

मध्यस्थतां सौगते नेनाराधितसत्पथेन यमिनामानन्दसूत्रालयो निर्म्मय्योत्सृजे विहार-विधिना कीर्त्तेरिवैकाश्रयः ॥ सद्बोधवंशचरि । तस्य नप्तैकधास्तवंद्रावदातहृदयः सुमतिः सत्तावान् । अस्य प्रियेषु निरतः सुभगं भविष्णुः सम्बन्धबन्धुरुदयी विदधे प्रसस्तिम् ॥

५ संवत् ११७६ ॥

OM! SALUTATION TO HIM WHO HAS DONE WITH PASSIONS.

May the revered and illustrious Sákya Siñha who, having curbed the Máras[1] by the eight-fold Path[2] for controlling the passions; who, having directed the thoughts of the rulers of various quarters to the spread of righteousness; who, having ignored the imperial behests, difficult of avoidance, of Káma (lit. the enemy of Sañvara[3]), in his pity

[1] This seems to be 'pluralis majesticus,' or plural to cover the personification or phases of Mára: Káma, Krodha, etc.

[2] Ashta niyamya: ashta does not go with Márán but with niyamya, for it alludes, this being a Buddhist inscription, to the 'eight-fold path' (see Oldenberg's translation by Hoey, p. 128).

[3] Sañvara ripu: the enemy of Sañvara, *i. e.*, Káma, the destroyer of the

strove to set free this world; and who, having attained enlightenment,[4] reached the Buddhahood, protect thee!

I invoke the guiding Bhárati,[5] the deity tutelary of the diction of the gods, whose eyes are superbly brilliant[6] as the stars, to put me o'er the ocean of transmigratory life.

Mándhátá, the conqueror of his foes, peer of Indra, in the dynasty of the Sun, more resplendent than that luminary, happy evermore, holding in virtuous enjoyment the three worlds, was a king of kings, a universal sovereign.

While he was roving about once upon a time at his pleasure, having carefully observed a lake with its waters painted with the tints of the pollen of the lotus, and joysome with the song of flocks of happy singing birds, he, who delighted in good deeds, with a view to extend his fame, by great exertions filled in earth, and then built this town of his, Jávrisha,[7] depending on the Karkkoṭa for its safety.[8]

In it there were affluent and highly fortunate lights of families of the Vástavya, which has Srí as its prefix,[9] a stock by whose radiant fame worlds are yet made lustrous.

deity Saṅvara. The legend of the killing of this deity is narrated in the Bhágavat Purán. *Cf.* Saṅvarári and Saṅvarasúdana.

[4] This might also be rendered: 'having reached the Bodhi Tree.'

[5] Bháratí is the goddess Sarasvatí. The word rendered 'guiding' is tárá, 'one who puts across,' and may be considered as a play on tárá, and mean 'radiant.' There is a further play on the word as it is the name of a later Buddhist goddess.

[6] Uttáralochana: ut + tára + lochana, excessively + brilliant (or star) + eye. This may be also 'eye toward stars,' which would mean 'with eyes turned up to the stars.' If tárá be taken as 'pupil of the eye,' the meaning would be 'with protruding pupils,' but, as thiswould hardly be complimentary to a mortal, it would be less complimentary to a deity. A play on words may also be detected in the name lochana, applied to a Buddhistic goddess, but it is too far-fetched to have been contemplated by the author.

[7] This may also be read Ajávrisha. Can this be Jais in Oudh?

[8] Karkkoṭa is also spelt karkoṭa. The duplication of the *k* being a common occurrence in the case of letters over which *r* is written. The following text from the Viśva Kośa explains the word: 'Karkoṭo vrikshabhede cha vapre śaile tathaiva cha,' *i. e.*, karkoṭa signifies a kind of tree, a rampart, and also a hill. The kind of tree is the vilva or bel tree, I believe. Forts were not unusually fenced in ancient days, and in fact up to a late date in some parts of India, with a thicket of bamboos, prickly pear or other thorny plant, to impede the advance of an enemy. Karkkoṭa is also one of the principal Nágas mentioned in the Mahábhárata, in the 25 section of the Ádi Parvva.

[9] 'Purvva' denotes 'beginning with,' and this passage clearly means the sub-clan of families which goes by the name of Sri-vástavya. This is most interesting because the word designates a class of Kayasthas, who are now corruptly termed

As the moon from the ocean, so there was born in their family one radiant like the moon, who was known by the name of Vilvaśiva.[10] The wealth of him, who was devoted to the lotus-feet of the enemy of Smara (*i.e.*, Śiva), was a means of enjoyment to the twice-born, to the good, and to the needy.

To him, the ocean of generous deeds, who was hurling back sin with lofty actions, was born a son, Janaka, a peerless shelter for the encouragement of the virtuous, an ornament to his birth-place, a mine of goodness, with a tender heart, a pioneer of the pious, (who became) the wise and trusted minister of Gopála,[11] the ruler of Gádhipura.[12]

With him who duly maintained the dignity of his house, was mated a maiden of noble lineage, called Jijjá, who was a source of joy to her kinsfolk on the mother's side, and who having her fair form decked with well-fitting[13] jewellery resembled the ocean-born Lakshmí, whose fair form is an ornament to the unfailing one (Vishṇu).

From these two there were born exactly six sons. The eldest, called Pippaṭa, the wise, though he was but one, was like the six-faced and one-bodied fire-born son of Śiva and his consort.[14]

'Sribástam,' and among some of them there is a tradition which connects their origin with the city of Srávastí, where this inscription was found.

This method of expressing names is not un-common. *Cf.* Syámánta námapatiná ghanapurvakeṇa, which yields the name Ghanaśyáma.

[10] The association of the word vilva with Śiva in this name is a pretty conceit. The leaves of the vilva (or bel, as it is now called) are sacred to Śiva and presented as an offering to him: and the further context shows that he, who bore the name, was a follower of Śiva.

[11] Some years ago I found at Asai on the Jumna in Etawah district, some inscribed stones, chiefly Jain images, which mentioned Pála rulers, said to have reigned at Kanauj. One ran: 'Samvat 1227, Phálgun Sudi 9, Somdíma, rá,ut Srí Rudrapála.'

[12] Gádhipura is Kányakubja, the modern Kanauj. Some say it is the modern Gházipur.

[13] The word here used is achyuta, which literally means 'not falling," and the same word is used of Vishṇu at the end of this paragraph. In the latter case it is a name often used of Vishṇu. In the former case it has been imported for the sake of the pun.

[14] The eldest of the six sons is compared to Kárttikeya (son of Śiva and his consort Párvatí, n. b., Śivábhyám, dual), who is said to have been six-faced and one-bodied. "He was born of Śiva without the intervention of his wife, his generative "energy being cast into the fire and then received by the Ganges, whence he is "sometimes described as son of Agni and Gangá; when born he was fostered by six "Krittikás or Pleiades, who offering their six breasts, the child became six headed" (vid. Monier Williams; Sanc. Dict. s. v. Kárttikeya). This legend explains the names Shaḍánana and Shánmátura (Colebrooke's Amarakosha, p. 7, ed 1825).

The fifth[15] of these six sons of theirs who resembles "the five-arrowed" (Káma), and who is the cause of no small fame, who is celebrated for his learning and intellectual power, is named Vidyádhara (wisdom-possessor), an apposite name.

His mind, of mighty grasp and perfect taste, devoted to the feet of Giríśa, Bhárati forsaketh not, even as the swan forsaketh not the broad Mánas lake, reposing with its vast store of water at the feet of the Lord of Mountains (Himálaya).[16]

Illusive are the sweetness of honey, the nectar of the cool-beamed moon with its mirth-producing property (lit. efficiency), the deepness of ocean's store, and the height of mountain-peaks. A truce to such! Each and every quality-endowed hath been dwarfed by the qualities of him [Vidyádhara] who is the hill for each meritorious quality to ascend, and the one fountain of the full-bodied, sparkling nectar of a goodly life.

Him, versed in the mysteries of elephant lore, and dauntless driver of the pleasant yoke of elephants, the monarch Madana, the forehead-gem of kings, by gifts, honours, and the like sought to win.

The wealth amassed by him (Vidyádhara), who raised his fame on high by building shrines for the gods, a wealth that relieved the poor and filled the bellies of those gratified by the nourishment of life, was more than enough for the crowd of twice-born whom he maintained.

He, who had assumed a human form for the deliverance of the whole range of sentient beings, was, so to speak, a second Bodhisatva, such as never before had been.

By him, who, illuminated by the light of the knowledge of Átman, reflecting often in his mind, which had risen free from the *áśryas*[17] of

[15] Here a play on words comes in, the fifth son being compared to the five-arrowed god, Káma.

[16] This śloka is remarkable for its conceits which lie in the double significance of the words: rasa, abhivyápi, giríśa, and mánasa, in comparing Bhárati's love for Vidhyádhara's mind with the swan's love of the Mánasa lake. There is also one additional point given by the mention of the swan, as it is Sarasvati's (*i. e.* Bhárati's) váhana. The śloka is of immense importance as it gives the date of the inscription.

Rasa is a symbol for six, giri for seven (cf. naga) and iśa for eleven. Rasádhikam giríśacharanáśritam (sc. Samvatsaram); 'the Samvat year resting on the base giri-'íśa with ras added.' This gives 117 with 6 added afterwards, *i. e.*, 1176. The order of the symbolic words used here fulfils the conditions of the rule ankánám vámato gatih, *i. e.*, 'numerical symbols are counted backwards.' The first symbol rasa (six) is read last, íśa (eleven) first, and giri (seven) between them.

[17] The áśryas are organs of sense as the entrance of evil according to Buddhists and the evils are the various passions aroused by the perceptions of sense.

the evils of emotion and the other passions which were evanescent, on the *madhyasthatá*[18] of Saugata, had entered the True Path, was built and given to ascetics in the form usual in the case of monasteries,[19] a delight-giving dwelling to be, as it were, the one monument of his fame.

One who cherishes whatever is dear to (Vidyádhara) that matchless mine of polity, whose acts are highly esteemed by the followers of True Knowledge, a kinsman of his named Udayí, moon-like in the pureness of his heart, well meaning and skilful, being highly favored, has composed this panegyric.

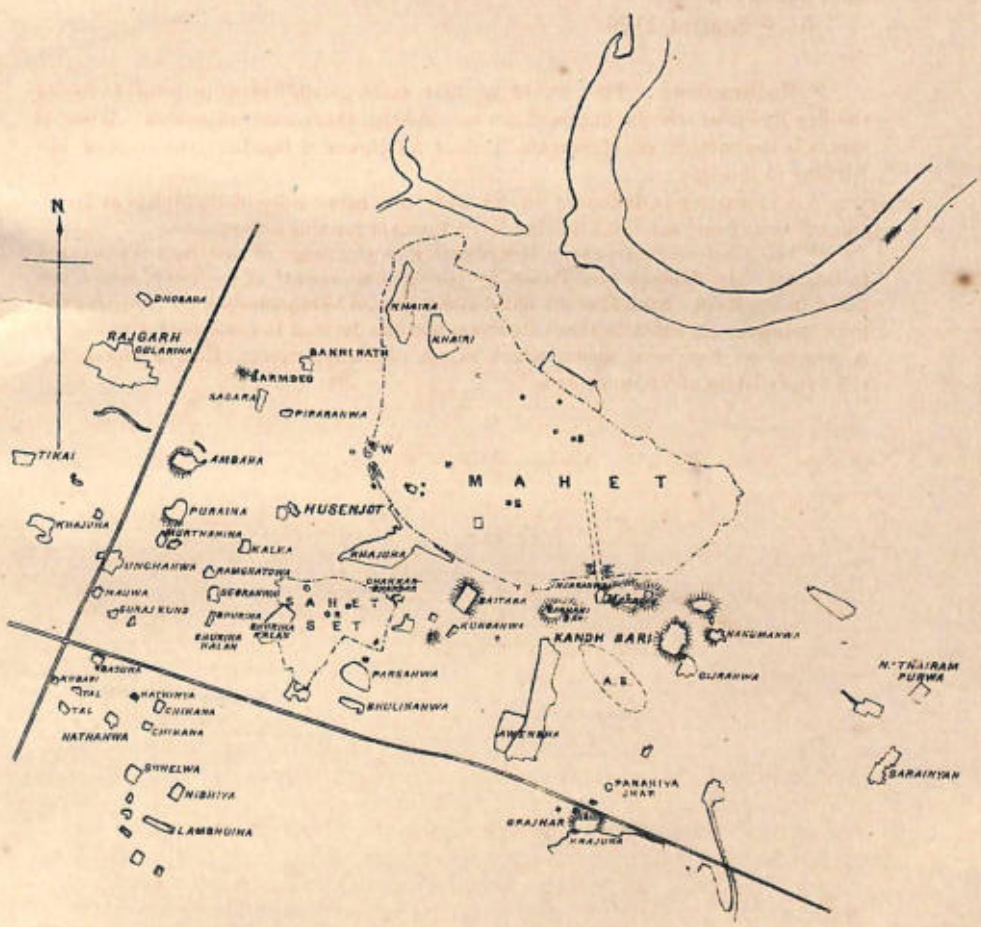
5 [20] Samvat 1176.

[18] Madhyasthatá. This would at first sight possibly seem to refer to one of the five Buddhist schools, but on closer examination this seems untenable. What is meant is the equilibrium of Saugata (i. e., of a follower of Buddha), the state of the Nirvána in this life.

[19] A monastery is dedicated to the Saṅgha or community of Buddhists at large, and not to any one ascetic. Buddha left a formula for this conveyance.

[20] The 5 before Samvat is in accordance with the usage of astrological almanacs to this day. It denotes the Panchang, or 'five members' of each day, which are noted in the śloka: tithivárancha nakshatram yogam karaṇamevach eti panchángam. Five columns are ruled in these almanacs and one devoted to each *ang* for each day. A suggestion has been made, which is not probably correct, that 5 stands for the five syllables of Vikramáditya.

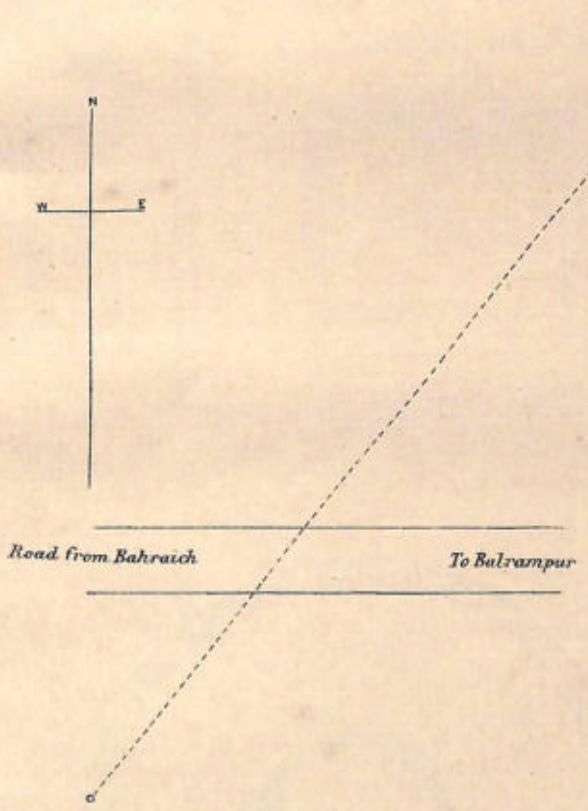
GENERAL MAP

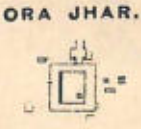


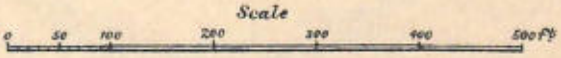
Reg. No. 2353 A., A. S., B—Feb. 93.—650.

Litho., S. I. O., Calcutta.

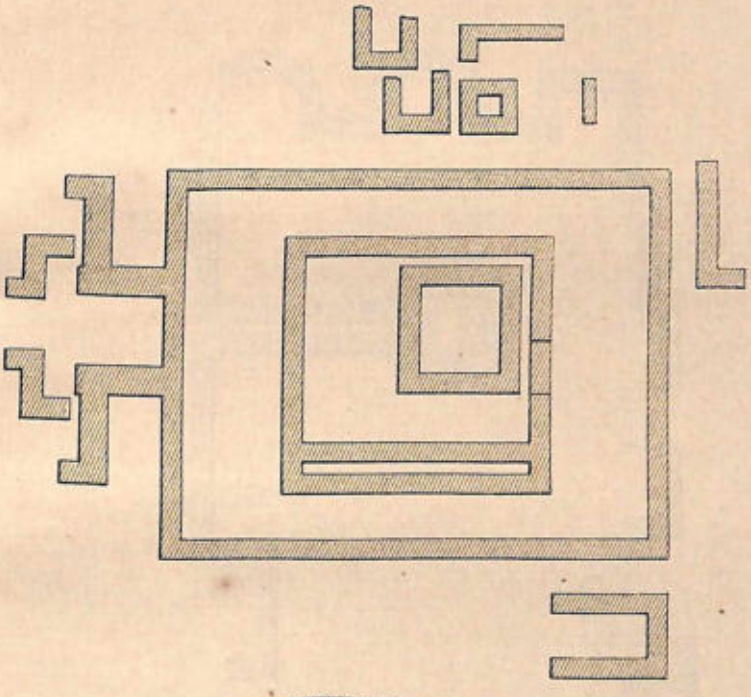
ORA JHAR
PANAHIYA JHAR.

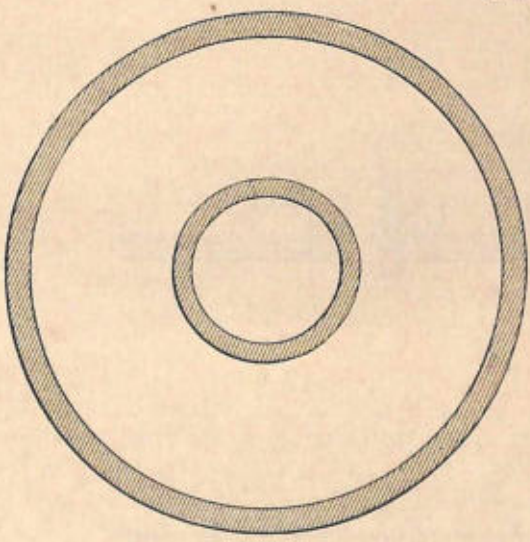






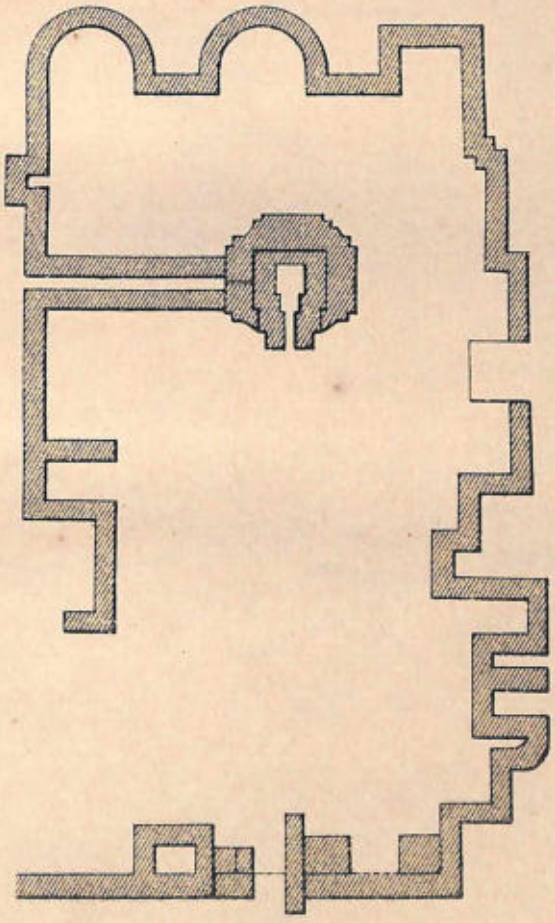
ORA JHAR
and
PANAHIYA JHAR.





MAHADEO

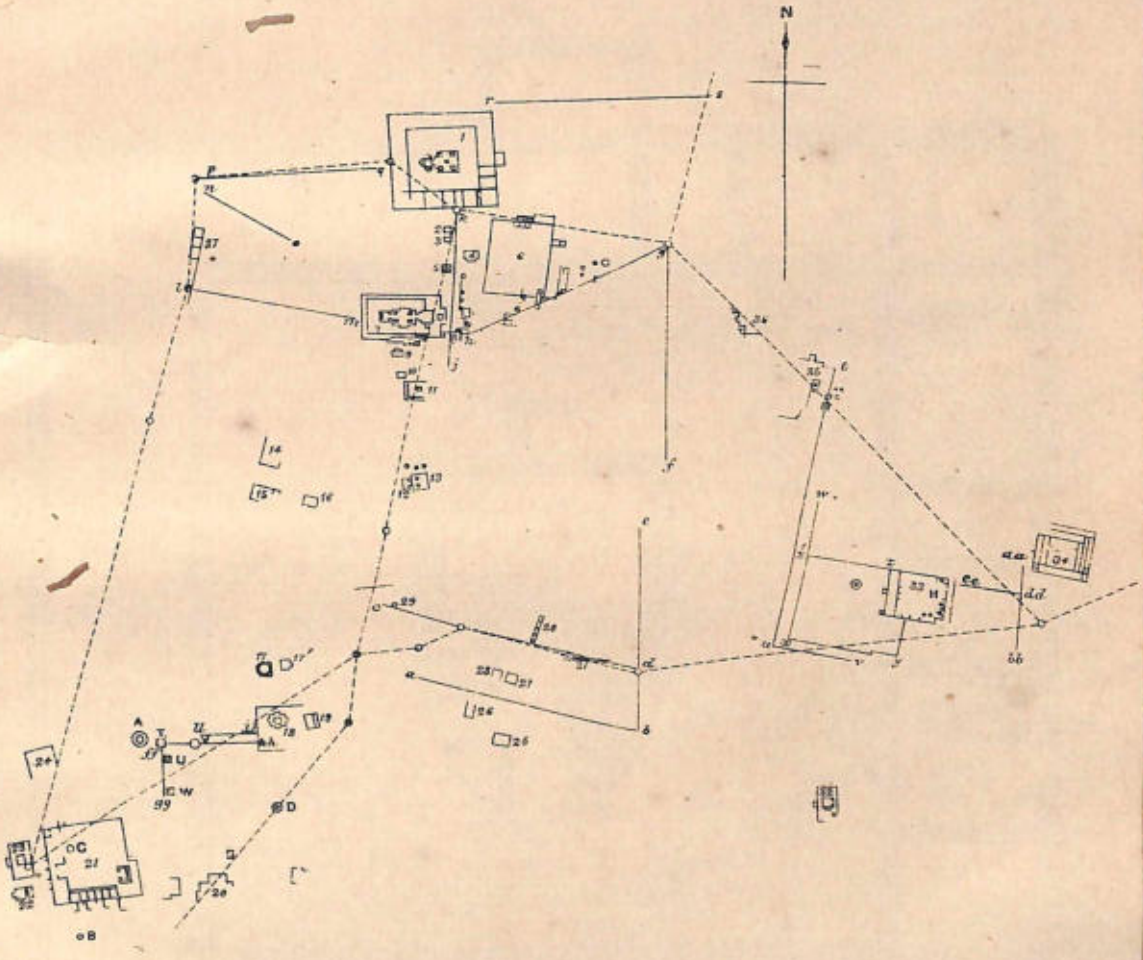
Near Kandh Bari



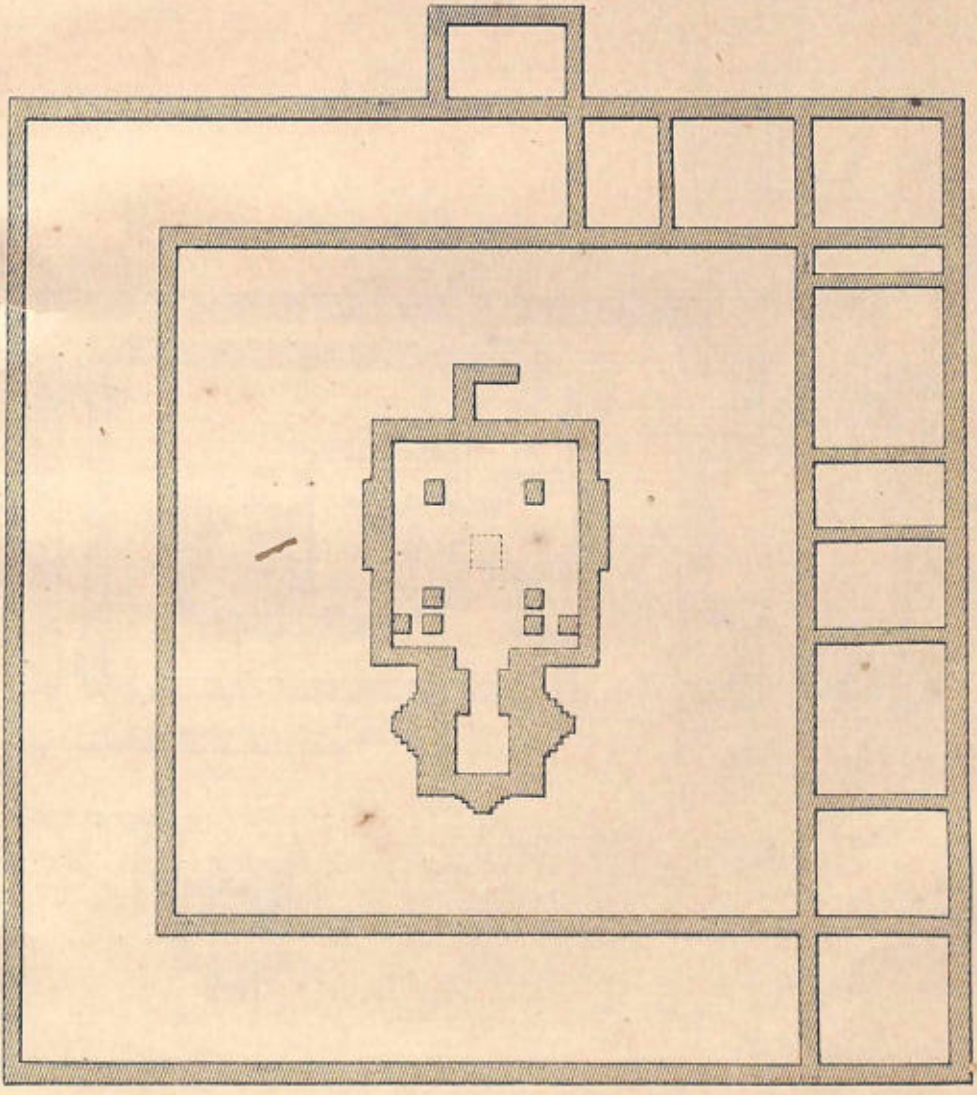
Scale

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 ft

SAHET OR SET



Building No. 1 in Sahet.



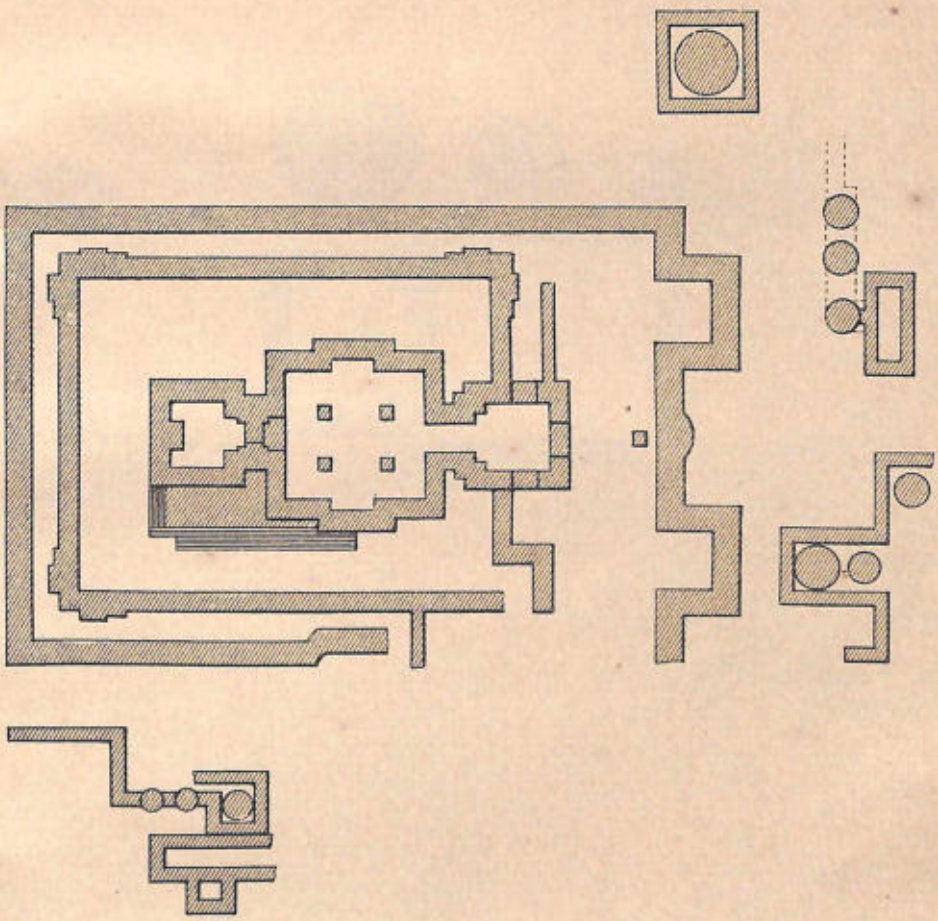
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Journ., As. Soc., Bengal, Vol. LXI., Pt. I., Extra No., 1892.

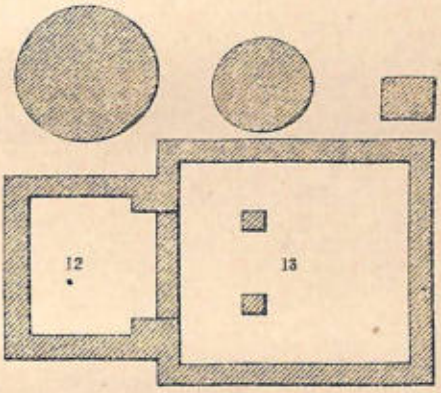
GANDHA KUTI.

Building No. 7 in Sahet.



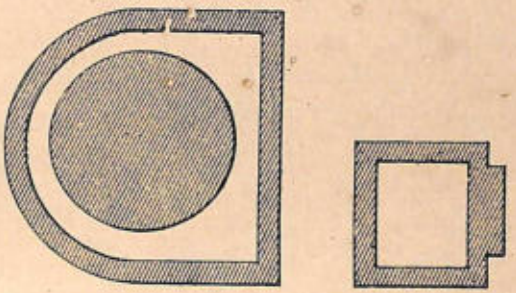
KOSAMBHA KUTI

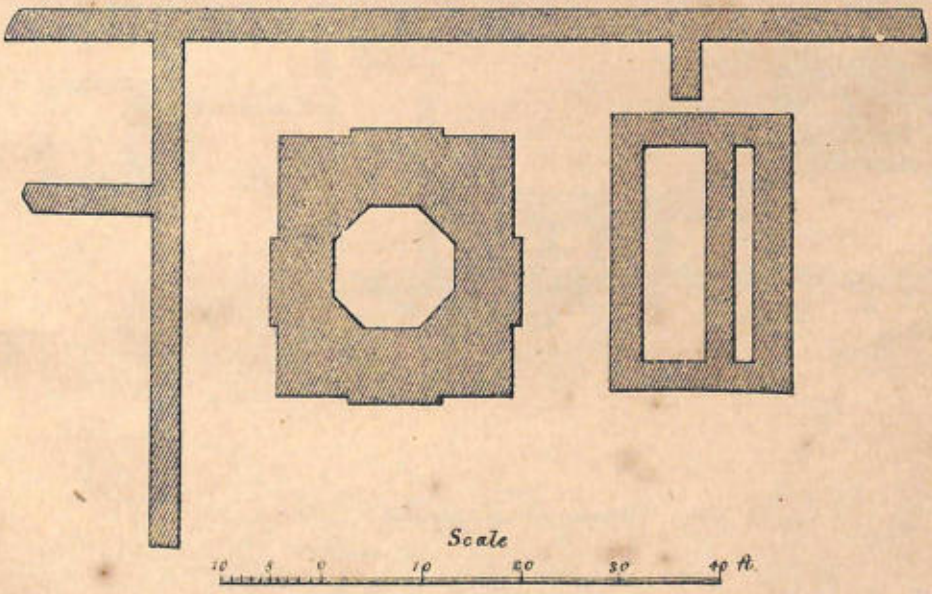
Building No. 12 and 13 in Sahet



Scale
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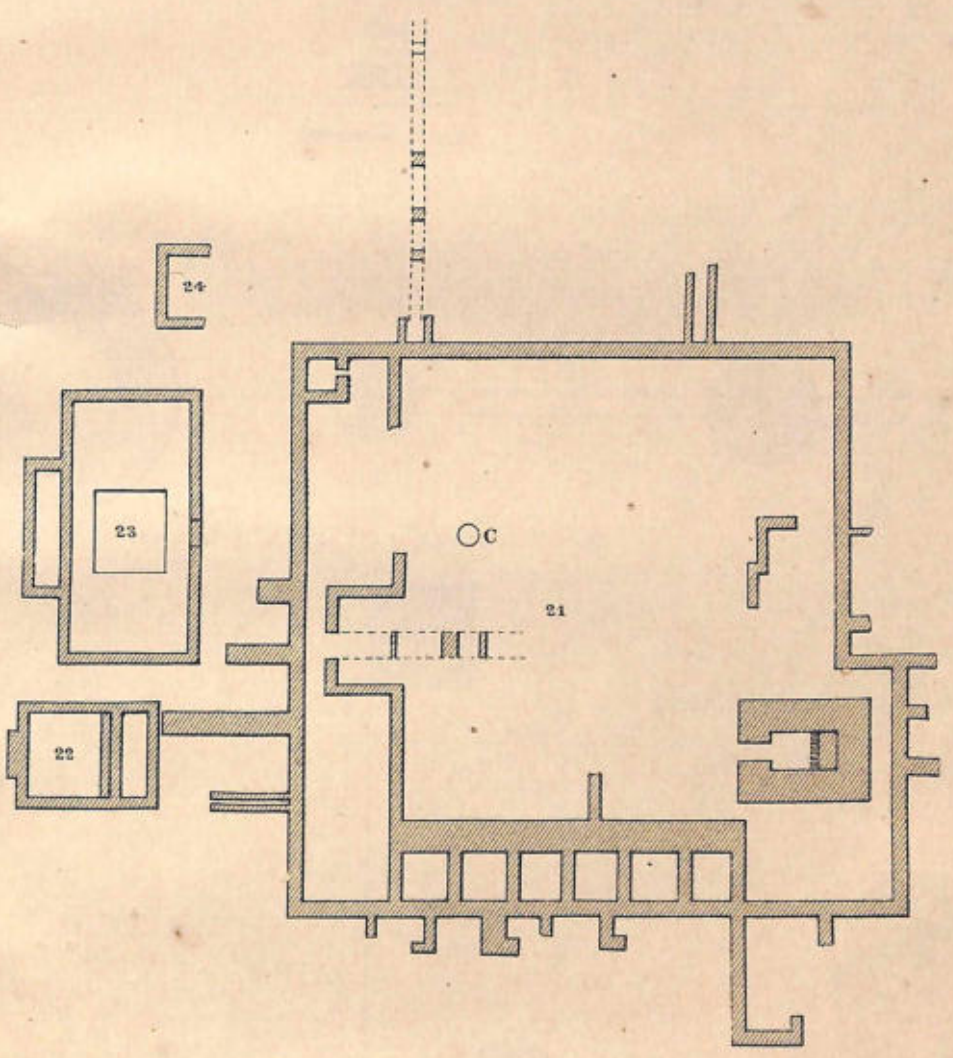
Buildings Nos. 17, 17, 18, and 19 in Sahet





Journ., As. Soc., Bengal, Vol. LXI., Pt. I., Extra No., 1892.

Buildings Nos. 21, 22, 23, and 24 in Sahet.

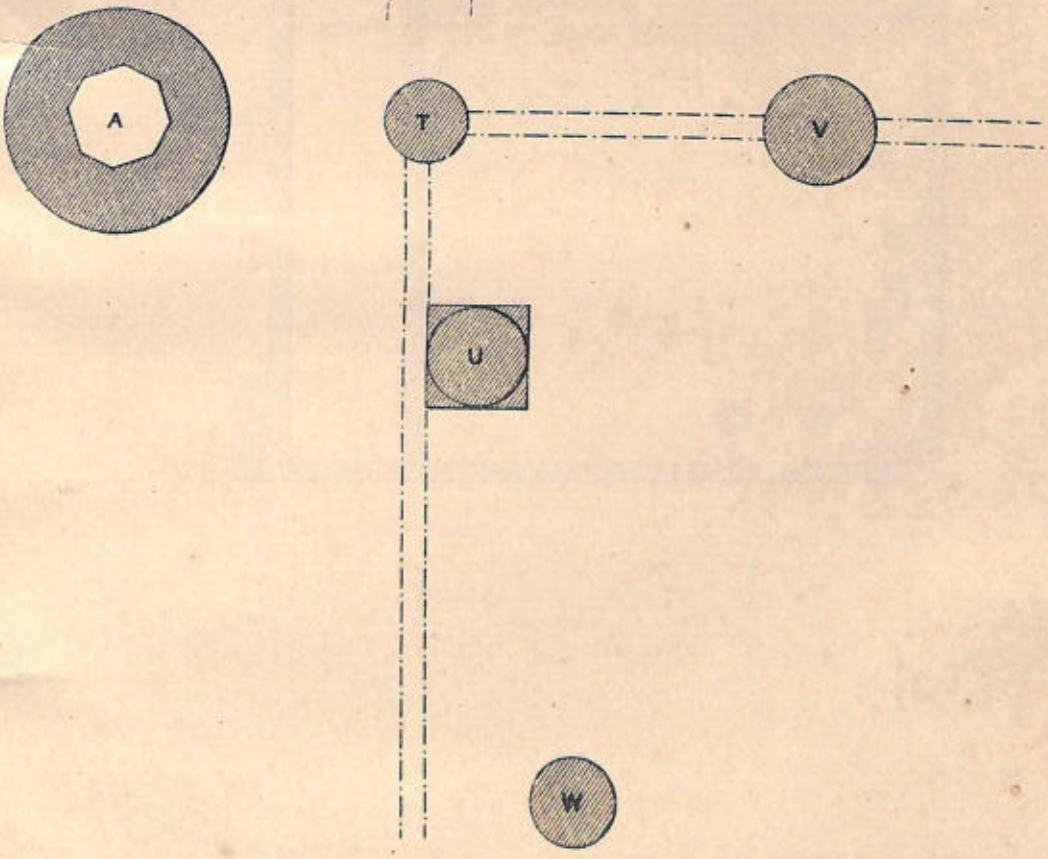


OCTAGONAL WELL IN SAHET

With adjacent remains



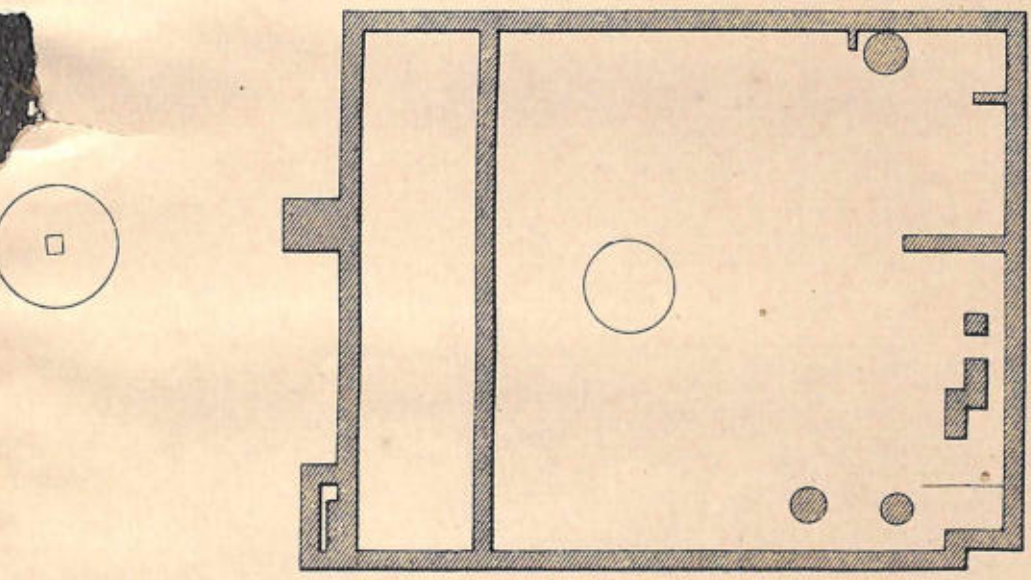
Elevation of Pillar T.



Scale

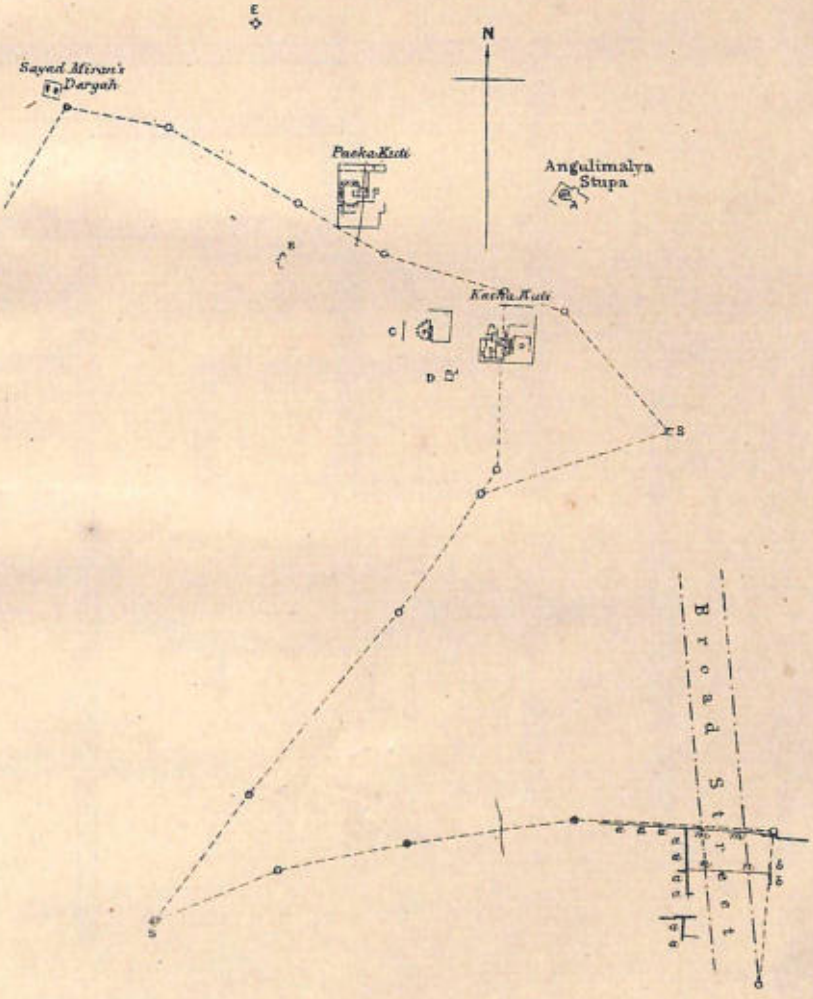
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 ft.

SARIPUTTA'S STUPA.



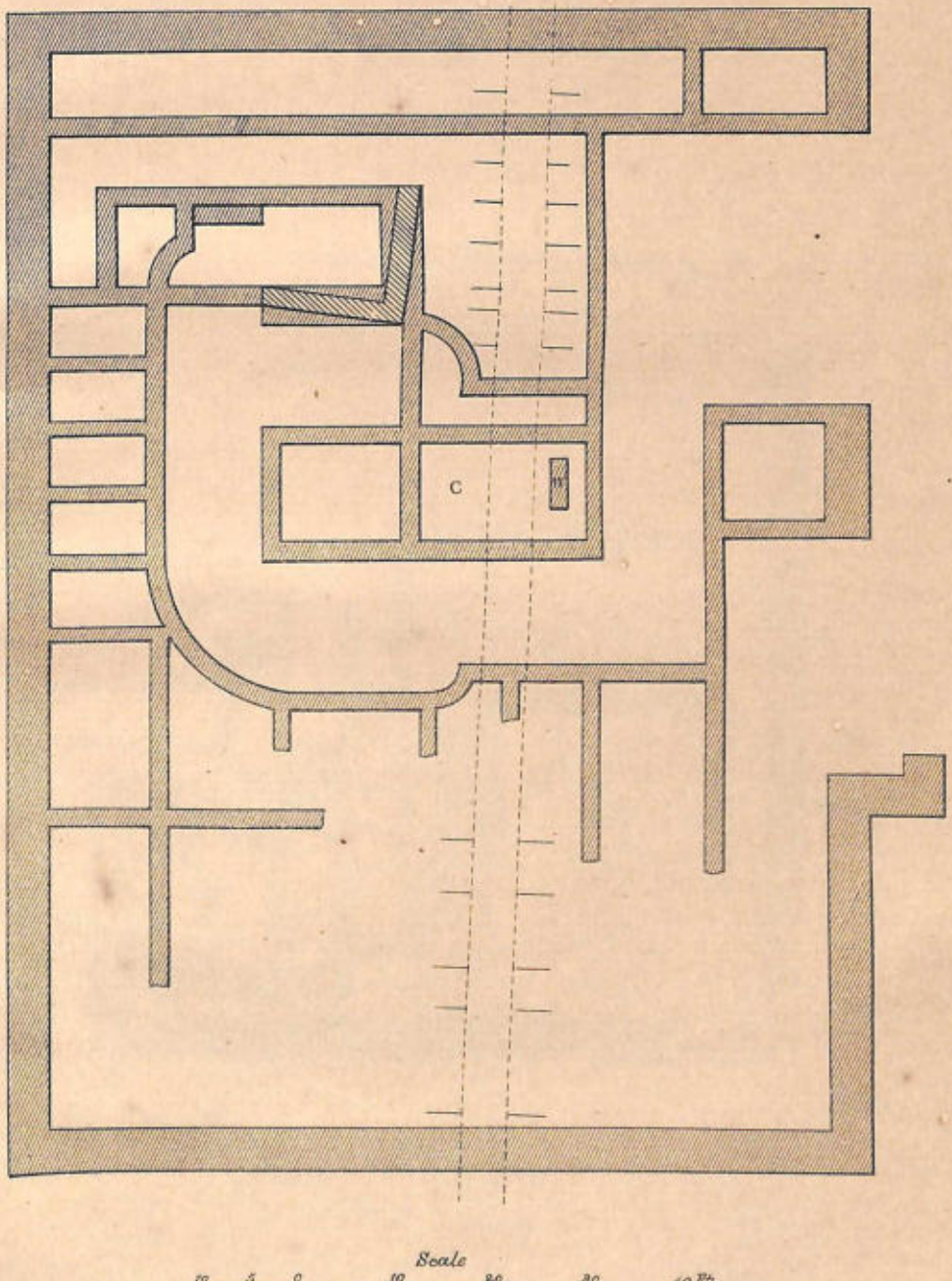


MAHET EAST



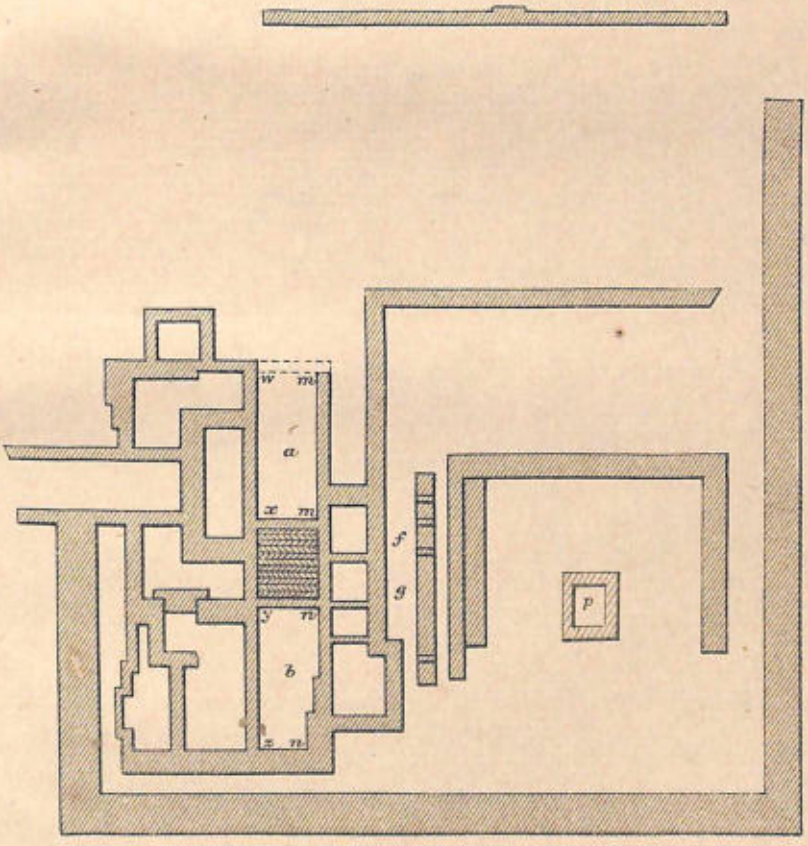
Scale
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PACKA KUTI.

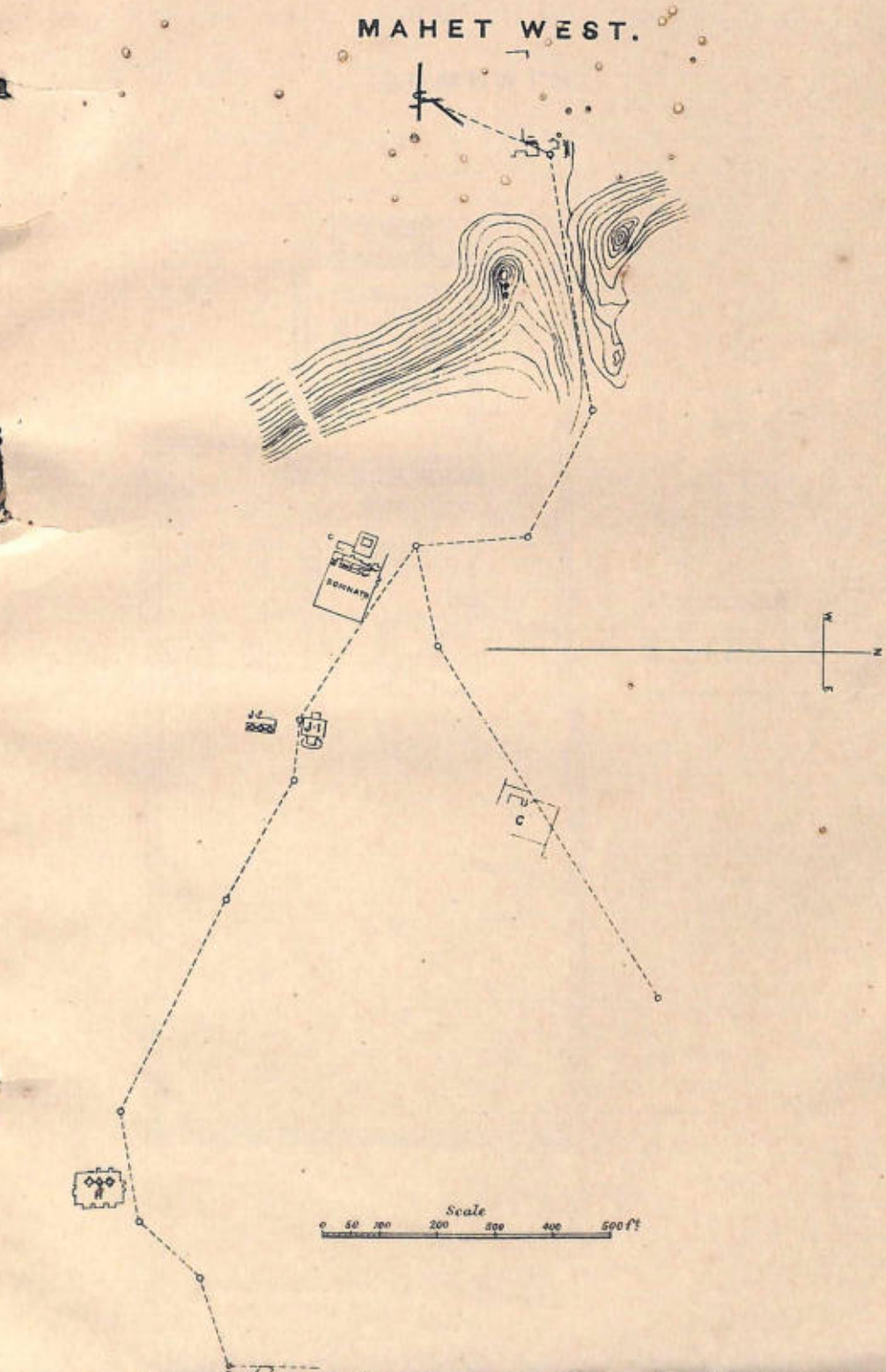


Journ., As. Soc , Bengal, Vol. LXI., Pt. I., Extra No., 1892.

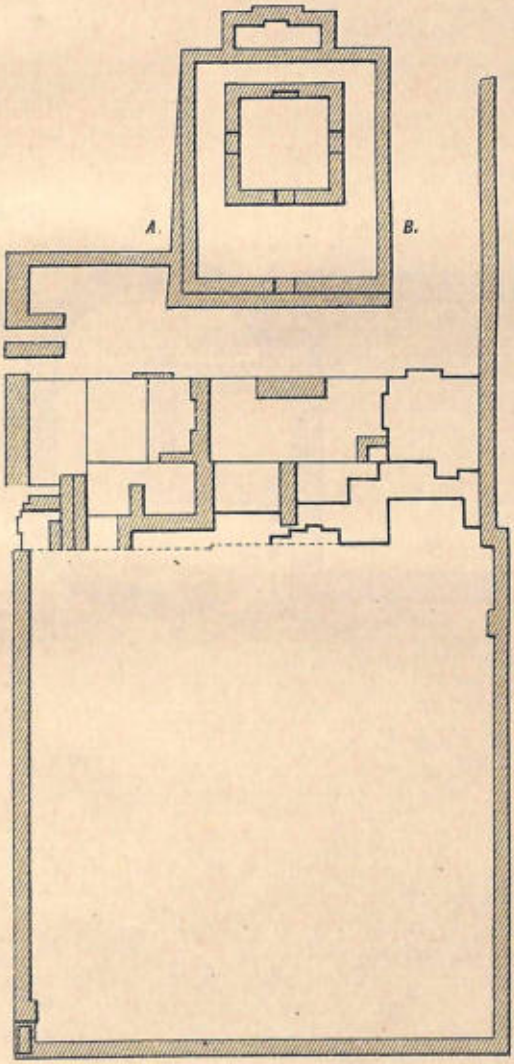
KACHA KUTI.



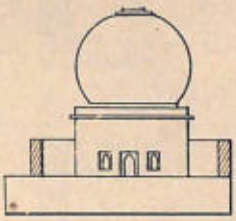
Scale
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MAHET WEST.
SOMNATH
C
Scale
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 ft

SOMNATH.

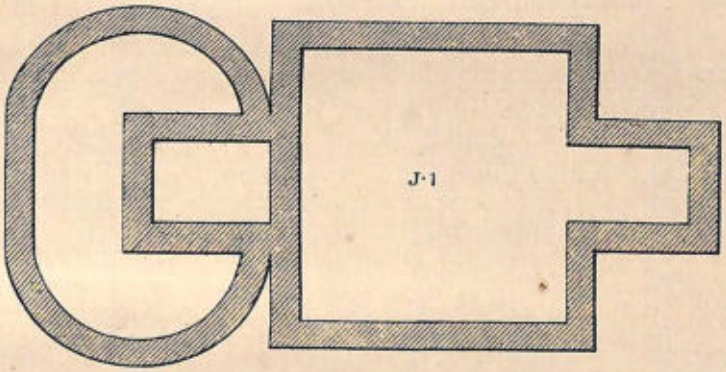


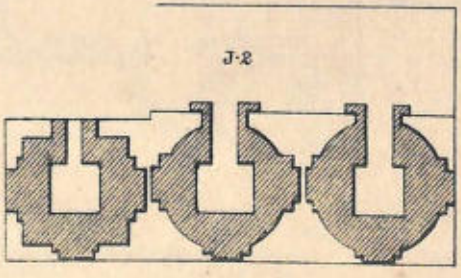
Section on A. B.



Scale
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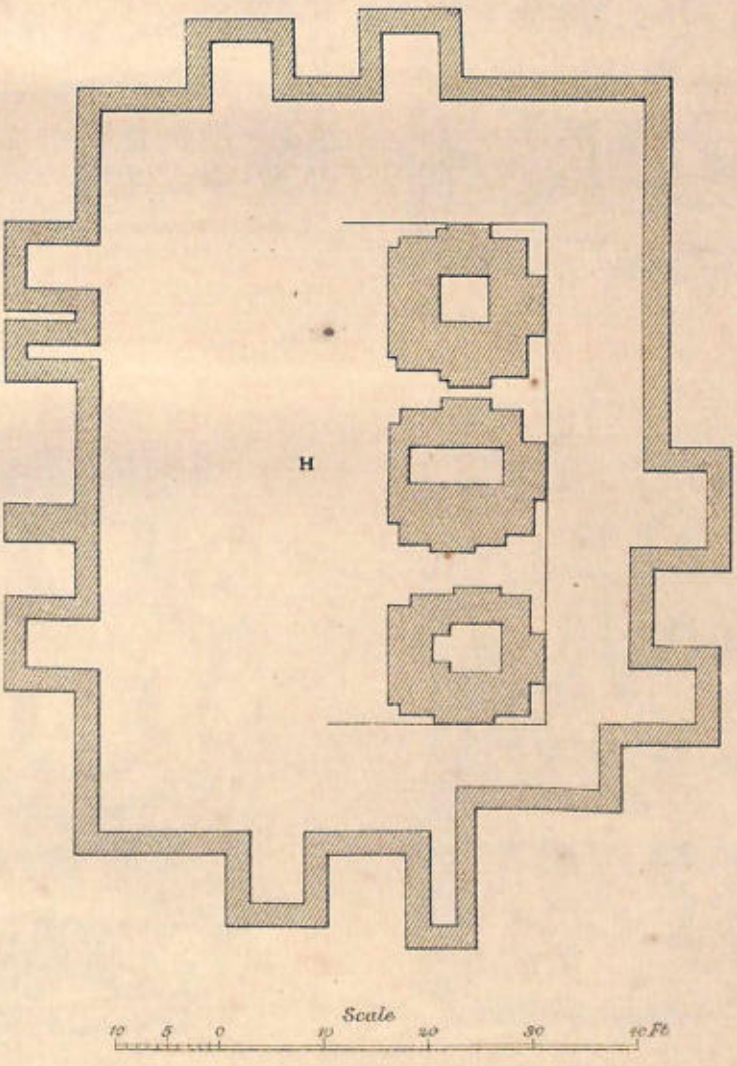
TWO JAIN TEMPLES.





HINDU TEMPLE.

Marked H in map of Mahet west.





a.



b.



c.



d.



a.



b.



c.



d.



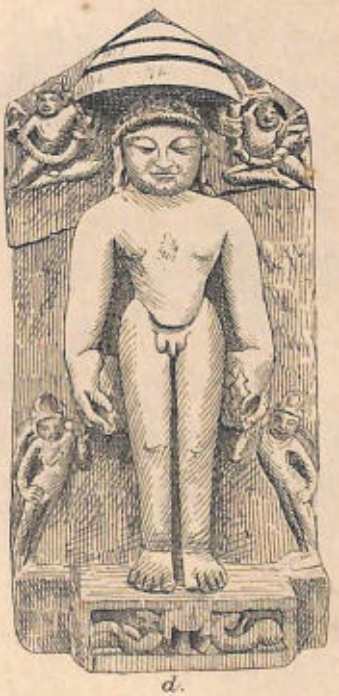
a.



b.



c.



d.



a.



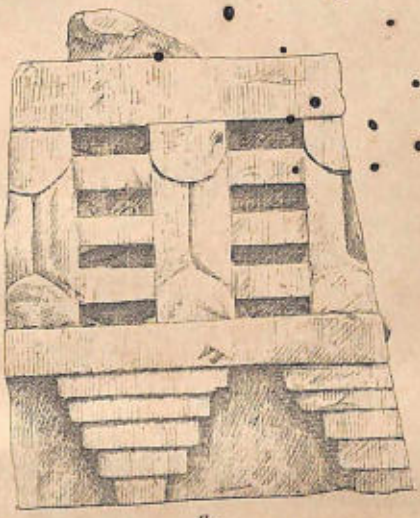
b.



c.



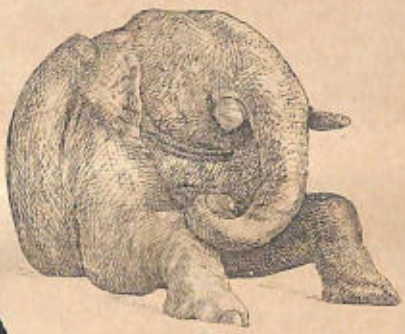
d



a.



b.



c.



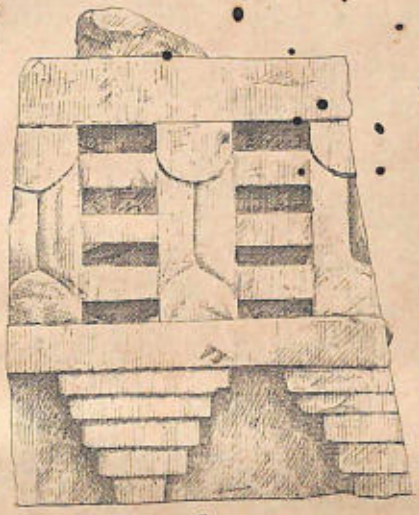
d.



e.



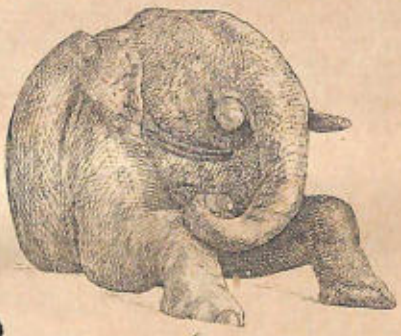
f.



a.



b.



c.



d.



e.



f.