HISTORY OF SINDH SERIES VOL-II

SINDH

BEFORE THE MUSLIM CONQUEST

H.T. LAMBRICK

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SINDHI ADABI BOARD
JAMSHORO, Sindh
PAKISTAN

Ist Edition	1973	2000 Copies
IInd Edition	1996	2000 Copies

PRICE IN PAKISTAN : RS. 150/=
EXPORT PRICE : RS. [redacted]/=

Can be had from
Manager, Sindhi Adabi Board's Book Stall,
Tilak Incline, Hyderabad, Sindh, Pakistan.
Telephone No. (0221) 615179

Printed by Syed Sikander Ali Shah, Manager at the Sindhi Adabi Board's Printing Press and published by Senator Hussain Shah Rashdi, Chairman, Sindhi Adabi Board, from Board's Office @ JAMSHORO, SINDH, PAKISTAN.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This book is published in the History of Sind Series planned by the Sindhi Adabi Board, which was established in 1951 by the Sind Provincial Government to foster the language and literature of Sind. The aim was to produce a definitive history of the country from prehistoric times till the birth of Pakistan in 1947. The original plan, for eight volumes, was subsequently amended by dividing the fourth of these into two. Thus the complete history will now be published in nine volumes, in three languages, Sindhi, Urdu and English, in the following order:-

Volume I.

A general introduction, giving a full description of the geographical and climatic features of the country, and tracing their influence on its history throughout the period. The behaviour of the river Indus is examined, with the effects of the changes of its course; and also accounts of the seats of culture, the composition of the population, and the local languages, recorded by observers at different times.

Volume II.

The Indus Civilization. Persian occupations. Alexander the Great's invasion. The Scythians and their successors. The Buddhist period. The Brahman dynasty and its fall.

Volume III.

The Arab period, preceded by a brief account of the advent of Islam.

Volume IV.

The Ghaznavis, Ghoris, and their successors. The Sumras.

Volume V.

The Sammas.

Volume VI.

The Arghuns, Tarkhans and Moghals.

Volume VII.

The Kalhoras and the Daudpotras.

Volume VIII.

The Talpurs.

Volume IX.

The British period, the Separation of Sind, and the birth of Pakistan.

The work of writing these nine volumes was assigned to different scholars; the first two to Dr. H.T. Lambrick. the well-known author of 'Sir Charles Napier and Sind' and 'John Jacob of Jacobabad'. The first volume written by Dr. Lambrick appeared in 1964 and the second now stands published. Of the remaining volumes No. III is under print, while research and the collection of data for volumes IV, V, and VI are in progress. Volume VII written by Maulana Ghulam Rasool Mihr in Urdu was published in the year 1958, its Sindhi translation appeared in 1963. Volumes VIII and IX are yet to be written.

The Publishers acknowledge with thanks the cooperation and help extended by Mr. Aijaz Mohammed Siddiqui, Manager, Sind University Press, Hyderabad Sind, in bringing out this volume.

PREFACE

The period dealt with in this volume amounts to some three thousand years, inclusive of the prehistoric times for which the only material is archaeological. As to the historical portion - over twelve hundred years of it - sources are extremely scanty if not entirely lacking for centuries together.

Inscriptions on stone or on copper plates dating within this period, which have been so productive of historical information in the Panjab and most parts of India, are altogether absent in Sind; and comparatively few early coins have been found in that country.

The light shed by contemporary writers of the western world is limited to brief though brilliant flashes, occurring at long intervals and tending to emphasise the relative obscurity of the periods in between for which generally speaking little material is available from local or other Indian sources.

Thus the writer attempting to produce a continuous history of Sind before the Muslim Conquest finds the thread constantly breaking off in his hand and is compelled to treat the subject rather as a succession of episodes. It is to be hoped that in time fresh material will come to light and enable many gaps, which will be only too apparent in the present essay, to be filled.

I am indebted to Doctor Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, Director, Institute of Education, University of Sind for valuable advice, information, and suggestions for a number of amendments in the text, for which I wish to express my thanks.

H.T.L.

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THE INDUS CIVILIZATION: RISE AND EXPANSION

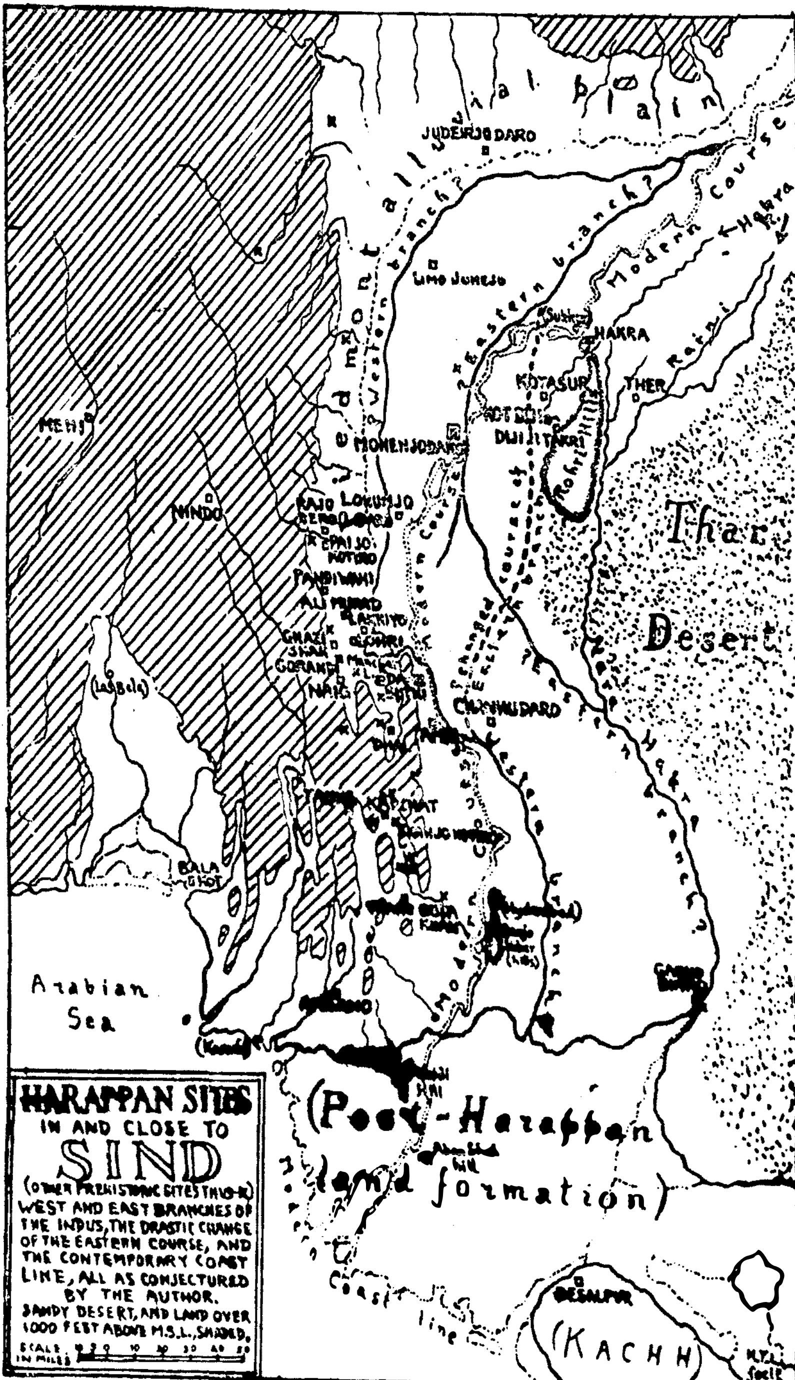
THE emergence of the great Indus civilization about the middle of the third millenium before Christ may fairly be adopted as a starting point for the History of Sind. Though it is only the realm of pre-history that we enter—twenty centuries of it before the earliest definite date at present known in a Sind context—we have more knowledge of these 'Indus' people and of their manner of life than we have about a number of their successors in Sind for centuries together well within historical times.

A highly organised state, based upon a great city[1] built in the riverain plains, seems to spring into being fully grown, exhibiting only the slenderest connections with the preceding stage of human society's development in the vicinity. That stage was first known to us in the differing context of the tracts adjacent to the westward; the slope of the Kachho, or 'piedmont', and the adjoining Kohistan. Here and beyond in Baluchistan were people dwelling in established villages with a way of life which must have been essentially similar to that of the numerous other Bronze Age peasant communities scattered over the highlands of Western Asia. The tract bordering on the Sind flood-plain was occupied mainly by a people known as the Amri folk, the name adopted from the village on the piedmont overlooking the Indus where their culture was first identified. This place Amri was subsequently occupied by the people classified as 'Indus' or, according to the same archaeological convention, Harappa people, and now commonly Harappans.[1A] No evidence has yet been found of settlements of the Amri folk in the flood-plain itself, and it has generally been supposed that this vast expanse was at that period inhabited by primitive hunting tribes or nomad graziers.

The site of Kot Diji presents evidence of another people leading a stable community life on the edge of the flood-plain

for a long time before they too were displaced by the Harappans. This settlement of people of an earlier culture is more significant than that of Amri on account of its situation on the opposite, *i.e.*, eastern limit of that plain; on an outlier of the Rohri range of hills which stands like a large island surrounded by the flat flood-deposited alluvium of the river. If, as may confidently be assumed, these people too came originally from the western hill country,[2] they had by this migration committed themselves almost wholly to the Indus for their future livelihood. Sixty miles of plain traversed by the huge stream or its branches now separated them from their old environment in the security of the uplands which provided here and there sparse pasture and scanty crops raised by means of hill springs and torrents or impounded rain water. These they had exchanged for apparently boundless jungles of tamarisk interspersed with coarse grass and scrub and flat, bald waste, varying portions of which would periodically be drowned by floods moving fast or slow; eroded, silted or left parched according to the infinite caprice of the river. Crops luxuriant and extensive beyond the imagining of their highland forefathers could be grown after a favourable inundation; but if another year's flood forsook the spill-channel by which they expected it to arrive, their only recourse would be to venture further afield, setting up seasonal camps at some spot where spill-water had rendered land fit for cultivation and retiring with the produce to their permanent township. Grazing facilities would normally have been more constant. While the change in habitat would thus have obliged the early settlers at Kot Diji to adjust their way of life to these peculiar circumstances we have as yet no grounds for supposing that this resulted in their advancing any nearer to the state of civilization attained by the successor Harappans than did the peasant communities who remained in the hills. No evidence has as yet emerged from among the remains of any of these peoples of writing in any form, of civic institutions, or of production for trade—three essential manifestations of the Indus civilization.

Apart from these, the decisive step forward in the context of Sind, was the building of a town well out on the flood-plain.



HARAPPAN SITES
IN AND CLOSE TO
SIND
WEST AND EAST BRANCHES OF THE INDUS, THE DRASTIC CHANGE OF THE EASTERN COURSE, AND THE CONTEMPORARY COAST LINE, ALL AS CONJECTURED BY THE AUTHOR.
SANDY DESERT, AND LAND OVER 1000 FEET ABOVE M.S.L., SHADED.
SCALE IN MILES 10 0 10 20 30 40 50
Arabian Sea
Thar Desert
(Post-Harappan land formation)
Coast line
(KACHH)
DESALPUR
JUDEIRJO DARO
LIMO JUNEJO
HAKRA
KOTASUR
THER
KOT DIJI
DIJI JI TAKRI
MOHENJODARO
Rohri Hills
MEHI
NINDO
RAJO LOKUNJO
PANDI WAHI
ALI MURAD
GHAZI SHAH
GORANDI
NAIG
CHANHUDARO
LAKHIYO
BALA KOT
(Las Bela)
(Kaudi)
Western branch
Eastern branch
Modern Course
Hakra
Raini
Modern Course
Eastern Hakra branch
Western branch
Alluvial plain

We may suspect that the Harappans had taken this step with complete success long before they decided to supplant the earlier inhabitants of Amri and Kot Diji who had presumably been content with cultivating the inundated plain but having their dwellings out of reach of flood water, on the piedmont and the slope below the Rohri range. In the light of such considerations, the Harappan site of Judeirjo Daro, some eighteen miles north by west from Jacobabad, may have a significance all its own. This place stands right out in the open plain; but the plain is that of Kachhi, formed of alluvium washed down from the hills that hem it in on three sides, and not the Indus flood-plain. It appears that a settlement was established here to take advantage of water flowing in the northernmost branch or flood channel of the Indus, which ran in a westerly direction not far to the south of this site. It would also have received occasional flood water after rain in the Bugti hills via the Lahri and Chattar streams. Thus the circumstances of Judeirjo Daro correspond exactly with what may fairly be assumed to have been the experimental or transitional stage in the progress of the Harappans towards establishing themselves in the Indus flood-plain. And in view of the situation of this place it should be possible to do what could not be done at Mohenjo Daro or Chanhu Daro—namely, excavate the site down to virgin soil.[3] Pending thorough excavation we cannot tell whether here too the Harappans imposed themselves on a pre-existing settlement of some other folk, as at Amri and Kot Diji, or whether Judeirjo Daro was an original venture of their own. If the latter, we must hope that some evidence may emerge from which we may calculate its date in relation to other 'Indus' sites in the flood-plain.

At Mohenjo Daro, the earliest occupation levels so far traced lie 39 feet below the existing surface of the plain.[4] Now if we apply the generally accepted scale for the progress of natural aggradation of the Indus flood-plain *as a whole*, namely seven inches per century, this would take us back to c. 4700 B.C., the improbability of which is obvious. At the time the calculation was made it was assumed that the thirty-foot-deep occupation at Mohenjo Daro dated from

approximately 3000 B.C., which must now also appear somewhat too early. But the hydraulic engineers who worked upon the various data to determine the growth-rate take occasion to point out that if this figure of theirs, for the average rise over a wide stretch of country, were translated into terms of *riverside* rise, it would be of the order of one foot per 100 years.[5] We have good reason for believing that the river Indus flowed within easy reach of the city for the whole period of its existence; and we know it to have done so again since 1740 A.D. or rather earlier. It seems reasonable therefore to assume that the plain immediately adjacent to Mohenjo Daro would have risen on the average by nine or ten inches per century. This would indicate a date for the earliest occupation between 3200 and 2700 B.C.

It has been suggested that the occupation of Amri and Kot Diji by the Harappans may mark the final stage in the establishment of their control over the whole plain of Sind. Judeirjo Daro may also prove to be Harappan superimposed on some earlier culture. But until we obtain some reliable data by which we could set in probable chronological order the foundation of their sites in the Lower Indus region, it seems reasonable to consider their epoch inaugurated with Mohenjo Daro itself.

The idea that these people were able in any way to direct or constrain the river Indus itself is pure fantasy. We can best appreciate this by looking forward some four thousand years. As late as 1845-6 A.D. an attempt to exclude flooding by spill-water from a particular tract in Upper Sind, planned and executed by British engineers, resulted almost immediately in utter and ignominious failure;[6] and on many subsequent occasions the river has broken through the scientifically designed chain of protective embankments, submerged dozens if not hundreds of villages and swept away their crops, breached and silted up the canals that depend upon itself, menaced large towns with invasion, and given an alarming hint of that latent power which probably no technique even of modern science can be sure of conquering for ever—the power to change course abruptly and irrevocably, and leave the proud barrages and canal-headworks of the twentieth century high and dry on

an abandoned waste.[7] What the Harappans had the skill to do—and, we must add, the luck—was to select a site for their city as near perfect as possible; that is to say, near enough to the Indus or one of its great branches to have the advantage usually in the neighbourhood of copious overspill in the inundation season, without itself being invaded by these floods; not so near as to be in danger of erosion by the river's characteristic meander adjustments; and opposite a reach where it was unlikely to change its course appreciably.[8] The city underwent various vicissitudes from physical causes, the nature of which we may perhaps determine from circumstantial data; but never, in a period approaching five thousand years, has the site been eroded by the Indus itself.

Turning for a moment to the other great city-site of these people—Harappa—we see that its foundation was by no means such an outstanding act of faith and courage as that of Mohenjo Daro. The Ravi was far from being such a dangerous neighbour as the lower Indus, and the Indus people were not the first to occupy that site. We have not the means at present of ascertaining whether the lowest—and permanently "drowned"—habitation levels under Mohenjo Daro belong to the Indus civilization or to an antecedent culture; but it is a fair assumption that it was the Indus people who built the first permanent settlement in such an exposed position. We may visualise it as originally a gentle elevation, whether part of a rudimentary terrace remaining from a former course of the river, or formed by the accumulation of wind-blown silt consolidated and flattened by rainfall, affording a spacious area of ground just high enough above the general level of the plain to remain dry in the average inundation. No doubt the siting of Lohumjo Daro, Chanhu Daro and other Harappan towns on the flood-plain was determined by similar circumstances. All would probably have been close to some well defined and seasonally active flood channel of the Indus.

Assuming, as in default of definite evidence we seem bound to assume, that these people brought the elements of their civilization down to the plains of the Indus from a previous homeland somewhere in the West, we must hope that further exploration in Iran and neighbouring countries may

yet provide a clue to their origins. Far nearer than the Oxus or the Tigris, some experience of a large river and the management of abundant seasonal water for cultivation could have been acquired on the lower Helmand and around its Hamun,[9] and likewise the use of burnt brick for building. That and other features of the Harappans' culture in Sind at its earliest stage, in so far as this has been revealed by excavation of sites on the Indus flood-plain, have all the appearance of maturity, implying concepts and habits of a civilized way of life evolved elsewhere.

Such a way of life, the people dwelling in towns engaged in extensive agriculture dependent on a great river, and keeping accounts in a form of writing, was in existence on the lower plain of Mesopotamia as early as the second half of the fourth millenium B.C.[10] Rumours, travellers' tales of the wonders of prosperity and order achieved at Ur may have spread over the highlands and eventually aroused emulation in a community more gifted and more enterprising than their neighbours; they too would organise and develop such skills and find a land where they would have full scope. It seems to have been little more than the general idea of organised civic life which they borrowed; for in its individual material aspects the culture of the Harappans owed little or nothing to the comparable practice in the land of the twin rivers.

The very high proportion of burnt brick used in their buildings is one feature which differentiates the Indus people from those of the Uruk and subsequent early dynastic periods in Mesopotamia. This is most developed at Mohenjo Daro itself; there are other 'Indus' sites in the plains where a good deal of mud (sun-dried) brick was employed in the construction of houses, with burnt brick reserved mostly for purposes for which it was indispensable, such as the drainage system. Fuel for the brick kilns would have been wood obtained locally, so this contrast probably reflects the relative abundance of jungle timber in the neighbourhood of particular settlements; which again must have depended upon the intensity and regularity of inundation in those tracts. Where a city or town was close to the Indus or one of its great tributaries, or regular flood escape channels, the supply of wood for burning would

be constantly renewed. Near Mohenjo Daro it would seem to have been inexhaustible.

Another aspect of urban life in which the Indus people were more advanced than any contemporary and many successor civilizations was their town planning; thus Mohenjo Daro exhibits a rectangulated pattern of main streets and minor lanes—the prototype of Transatlantic cities—from the earliest occupation level yet revealed. More remarkable still and, so far as is known, unique in the ancient world, was the well designed public drainage system installed not only in the great city but in places hardly big enough to be classed as towns. The object was efficient disposal not primarily of storm-water or household slops emptied into the streets, but of the great volume of water used for bathing; practically every house[1] in Mohenjo Daro had its individual bathroom, connected with the public drain in the street outside. No doubt ritual ablution was thus performed for the most part privately; the great open bath on the citadel mound was probably reserved for a particular ceremony, or for a privileged class. This importance of bathing in a religious context looks straight forward to Hinduism.

Questions of religion among the Indus people appear to be connected in some degree with questions of race. For this latter subject the evidence is derived from anthropometrical data presented by skeletons found in the strata identified with the civilization, and from sculpture. It is to be regretted that up to date no cemetery has been discovered at Mohenjo Daro or other sites in Sind. In that at Harappa a dolichocephalic type predominates, considered to have been equivalent roughly to that classified by anthropologists as 'Proto-Australoid', and another approximating to the 'Mediterranean' groups. The skeletal evidence at Mohenjo Daro discovered at late levels in the city is all from victims of the 'final massacre'. The great majority were Proto-Australoid and Mediterranean types, with just a few examples of the Mongolian and Alpine ethnic strains. The two most striking sculptures unearthed at Mohenjo Daro—the bronze figurine of the dancing girl, and the equally well known bust of a bearded male wearing a trefoil-decorated robe—can probably be taken as representative of

the extremes of a mixed population. The dancing girl is clearly typical of the Proto-Australoids, and these are almost certain to have been the aboriginal people of the Indus flood-plain; the hunters, fishing-folk and nomad pastoral communities, whom we conceive to have become the under-dogs in the succeeding social system.[12] If the robed bust represents a deity, as Dr. MacKay believed, it is a reasonable assumption that the face was modelled to conform generally with the most exalted class of human being known to the artist, for it is very nearly naturalistic. It suggests an Armenoid type, which is regarded by many anthropologists as a stable hybrid between the Alpine stock and the Indo-Iranian branch of the Mediterranean race. The latter are typical of the people who evolved the earliest agricultural settlements all over western Asia, and must be assumed to represent the formative element in the Indus civilization. Other authorities believe this impressive bust, with its air of "cold command",[13] as a portrait of a priest-king of the Indus people. Another stone head presents remarkable similarities, with some contrasts; a similar trimmed beard, a fillet binding the hair which is evidently gathered up in a 'bun' behind, and a shaven upper lip. This fillet however appears no more than a cord compared with the broad band or diadem on the 'priest-king's' head, and the expression is not only humane, but engagingly cheerful. While the due configuration of the ear is not attempted, as on the better-known bust, the modelling of the cheek bones of this head is superior. In fact the element of formalism in the other lends weight to the view that it represents a sanctified being, a king by divine right, if not a deity.

Though no temple has as yet (1968) been definitely identified at Mohenjo Daro,[14] we have abundant evidence of diverse objects of worship among the Indus people, which very probably corresponded to a certain extent with the different elements in the population. A hero or demi-god depicted on seal amulets of Mohenjo Daro as wrestling with two tigers has a close resemblance to the Sumerian Gilgamesh: a semi-human, semi-bovine creature attacking a horned tiger similarly recalls the Sumerian Enkidu. The same deity, possibly, is represented in the moulded pottery mask of a

human head with a chin-beard and horns, the latter unfortunately now broken.[15] These types suggest that a relationship once existed between certain beliefs of the two civilizations, dating probably from a period in which their forebears were associated in some tract of Western Asia, before their migrations respectively to the plains of the twin rivers and the Indus.

Worship of the Mother Goddess was widespread in Western Asia, and the numerous terracotta figurines of an almost nude female recovered from sites of the Indus civilization have been supposed to represent this deity. But there is no reason for assuming the cult to have been an importation from the West into the plains of the Indus, as it is almost universal to this day among the lower classes virtually all over India, and must be presumed indigenous; rather we may suppose that here was an object of worship common to the 'new' people from the upland country and the aboriginal folk of the plain, from long before their first encounter.

In addition to the above there is a great variety of symbols *prima, facie* connected with religion. Sir Mortimer Wheeler reminds us that such symbols in general cannot convey the true content and affinity of a religion; and that in Mòhenjo Daro as in India today, many of them would possess both an esoteric and an exoteric significance:- "the symbols of the higher thought are the awesome physical realities of the peasantry." The seal amulets, which are such an important feature of the Indus culture, show scenes apparently of tree-worship, including the pipal tree; of presumably sacred animals, and of composite animals, sometimes with human faces, which may, in the words of the same authority, "indicate the coalescence of initially separate animal cults and on the other hand their progress towards anthropomorphism."[16] Three seals, however, depict a deity clearly identifiable as Shiva, in his aspect of Pasupati, Lord of Beasts; in two instances the figure has three faces.[17] Here is a direct link with later Hinduism; and the prevalence of the humped bull, sculptured in the round, or incised on the seals, reminds us of Shiva's association with that animal, and his personification of the reproductive powers of Nature. Another such link is found

in the widespread veneration, among the people of Mohenjo Daro, of phallic symbols, identical with the common *linga*, virtually ubiquitous in India. The importance of bathing, which is sure to have been ritual purification, in the day to day life of the Indus people, has already been mentioned. On the whole then religion among the Indus people so far as it can be deduced from the archaeological remains is predominantly 'Indian', in the non-Aryan sense. The cow was not sacred; no representation of one has been found, while the bull occurs everywhere. It seems likely that a number of the cruder cults—tree, animal and phallic worship—belonged to the aboriginal inhabitants of the Indus 'valley', and proved too deeply rooted to be superseded by the beliefs and observances brought into the country by the race we distinguish as the 'Indus' or 'Harappan' people. In their new environment the latter would feel the strength of the indigenous beliefs, and it is but a short step thence to borrowing them. The priesthood which we believe to have exercised a predominating influence during the greater part of the 'Indus' era, however much out of sympathy with some of these cults, would probably end by adopting them in their more philosophical aspects, and as far as possible reconciling them with beliefs of their own higher culture. There seems to be something in the air of Sind which blurs the frontiers of ordinarily opposed creeds. In modern times, Sufi mysticism was a bond between many Sindhi Muslims and Hindus; stranger still, while the Daryapanthi adored the river Indus personified as Uderolal, the genius of the stream was revered by Muslims under the name Khwaja Khizr; other shrines were likewise frequented in common and claimed, in friendly rivalry, for a particular deity or a particular Pir.[18]

Mention has been made of the seal amulets—the most individual artefact of the Harappans—on which the figures of deities, monsters and animals are engraved. Most of these seals bear also short inscriptions in pictographic characters. This script has not been deciphered; it is apparently made up of syllabic signs, with ideograms and perhaps determinatives. It has something of the formality and stiffness of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and would appear to have attained a mature

form prior to the period of the oldest examples yet recovered. This is to be inferred from the fact that no alteration in the characters is discernible between the earliest and latest seals, and the number of definitely distinct symbols—about 250—is far fewer than those employed in the Sumerian script of the Early Dynastic period.[19] The lack of development of any kind in the writing over eight centuries or more agrees with the markedly conservative or static character of the Indus culture in other aspects. There is no tendency towards a cursive version of the symbols when they occur as *graffiti* scratched on pottery; and those found incised on copper tools are as formal as on the seals. We need not yet despair of discovering a bilingual inscription, perhaps on a clay tablet in Sumer, with a rendering of the Harappan characters in cuneiform; but since the longest 'Indus' inscription yet known contains less than twenty symbols our knowledge of these people may not be substantially increased by such a piece of good fortune. It might well decide whether the prevailing assumption, that their language was probably akin to the Munda group in Central India, is correct or not; we might learn the names of some of their deities and of individual Harappans; but we could not expect to know much more about the people and their history by such means. They may have kept temple accounts, king-lists and chronicles; commercial letters were doubtless written to agents in Sumer; but if so, such records and communications would seem to have been written on some perishable substance. We are already certain that the pictograph on a given seal-amulet does not refer to the animal carved on it. It is more likely to denote the name of an individual member of a trade-corporation which adopted a particular animal as its mark. Again, the animal may represent the tutelary genius of the person whose name is inscribed thereon. These square seals all embody on the reverse a flattish perforated boss to take a cord, and in view of the large numbers of them found it must be inferred that they were carried by the majority of the Harappan people.[20] The practice of the modern Sindhi peasant of wearing a phylactery bound round the upper arm—a flat square metal case of much the same size as a Harappan seal, generally containing a sacred

text written by the man's *murshid*—may be reckoned broadly equivalent to this custom among the people of Mohenjo Daro.

The number of unfortified settlements of the Harappans in the area implies that the aboriginal inhabitants were thoroughly amenable to their rule. Whether this grew from hard experience of the new people's force in arms, or from spontaneous humble conviction of their own inferiority to such masters of all the arts and skills conducive to an orderly and opulent life, we cannot determine. Inferior barracks or coolie-lines to house a servile class employed on grain-pounding were a feature of Harappa, and are paralleled at Mohenjo Daro.[21] The burned uppermost stratum of the pre-Harappan settlement at Kot Diji, over which the Harappans built, may indicate the ruthless supplanting of one race by another. But it could be interpreted otherwise, and certainly no general assumptions should be founded on it. It is at least probable that the indigenous people were at a considerable disadvantage in regard to weapons of war. The Harappans had short swords, axes, daggers of bronze; the heads of their arrows and lances were of the same material. The mace was probably their favourite weapon; the heads were made in varying shapes and of several kinds of stone as well as of copper. It is noteworthy that the vast majority of the blades of the edged implements and weapons hitherto found are neither 'shouldered' nor socketed, but flat; they must have been bound in a split wooden haft, like stone-age implements. Knives and spear heads are so thin that one visualises the wood of the haft prolonged well up the middle of the blade towards the point, to give support; for the same reason the hafts of the axes must have been given considerable depth where they clasped the blade. A double-edged short sword of bronze is thickened down the middle, but is exceptional. Although the metal-workers of Mohenjo Daro must have used the complicated *cire perdue* method of casting to produce the famous bronze statuette of the dancing girl, they did not employ this or other closed-mould casting to make socketed tools. That they were acquainted with this type of implement is certain, for a clay model of a shaft-hole axe was found at a low level at Mohenjo Daro; but the smiths continued to

make axe and adze heads of the simple flat type already mentioned, characteristic of the earliest stage of the manufacture of metal tools in Iran and elsewhere.[22] The only example of a shaft-hole implement found in the city—a fine axe-adze—belongs to a late period and was in all probability an importation, in the course of exchanges of goods with Sumer. The clay model already referred to may have been made to the instructions of an early visitor from, or a Harappan returning from, Mesopotamia with a view to its introduction into Sind: it would seem that the inherent conservatism or complacency of the Mohenjo Daro metal workers prevented its adoption.

It may reasonably be inferred that the Indus people were never involved in a war with a formidable enemy until, perhaps, the very end of the many centuries of their rule. But at a period in the life of Mohenjo Daro when the city was well established a development took place which may have a bearing on this very question. The western portion of the inhabited area seems to have been taken over for conversion into a citadel. The requisite elevation was achieved by constructing over it a huge platform of mud and mud-brick, twenty feet in height. This artificial mound was apparently enclosed within a wall of burnt brick, and at two corners fortified towers of the same material were built. Those on the south east side (looking towards the main city) were crowned with well-built ramparts and here stores of baked clay missiles, no doubt for hurling by slings, were discovered.[23] It is fair to assume that other such towers were originally distributed elsewhere round the perimeter. Sir Mortimer Wheeler draws attention to a curious feature in the earliest of these towers; the incorporation in the brickwork of horizontal timbers which in course of time decayed and occasioned partial collapse of the masonry, which was then repaired with brick work. This mistake was not repeated in later towers, and the excavator conjectures that it had been made by artificers accustomed to re-inforcing mud or mud-brick walls in this manner, not appreciating that it was unnecessary with burnt brick construction. The great granary, a building on the citadel which with its high external wall practically formed

part of the *enceinte* of the citadel, originally incorporated timber similarly in its construction: "it would almost appear that the mound and its buildings are the work of a new immigrant regime accustomed to the traditions of mud brick rather than of baked brick architecture."[24]

The buildings hitherto excavated within the perimeter of the citadel were all of a public character: the great bath with the complex of cells with private baths alongside it; the palace or College of priests; the great granary; and the Assembly Hall.

Did such establishments exist in the town as it stood before the citadel was founded? Certain large buildings excavated in the 'Lower City' may possibly have been temples, but there does not appear to have been any government group analogous to the complex on the citadel. Perhaps there was formerly something of the kind in that very quarter over which the artificial mound was raised: public buildings of the early days recognised as inadequate to the needs of the constantly growing city or of a new regime, and so obliterated and replaced, at a more dignified level, by those that we know. All evidence available up to date goes to show that the building of the citadel was not accompanied or followed by any appreciable change in the material way of life of the inhabitants in general. It may rather mark the advent of a new dynasty, or some change in emphasis in the relations between Mohenjo Daro and other 'Indus' towns.

It has not yet been possible to collect sufficient data to determine the chronological sequence of the foundation of the principal settlements of this people, though some can be recognised as relatively late. At one time it was thought that Harappa ante-dated Mohenjo Daro, but since the full depth of occupation strata at the latter place has been ascertained, though exploration of the lower levels remains impracticable, opinion is tending to reckon Mohenjo Daro as perhaps the earlier. It seems probable however that the characteristic organisation of acropolis commanding lower town originated at Harappa,[25] was imported to Mohenjo Daro, and became a pattern for the lay out of some, only, of the smaller places. One may conjecture that these latter were District Headquarters, and that the system in general reflected the policy

of the (?new) governing class, or hierarchy, giving material emphasis to their prestige. It recurs at Kalibangan, and again at Lothal,[26] in the great southern 'province' of the Indus people which has taken shape from discoveries in the last ten years. Identification of that province, and of the extension of the Indus culture into the basin of the Jumna, as at Ukhlina, has not in my opinion invalidated the long-held view that the Indus 'State' was ruled in all probability during the greater part of its existence from two capital cities, Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, situated about four hundred miles apart.[27] There was direct communication by water between the two capitals, and we know that the Indus people used boats not unlike those to be seen on the river today. The *raison d'etre* of twin capitals for an apparently homogeneous state is less in the great longitudinal extent of the Indus basin colonised by this people, than in its natural division into the Panjab plain and the Sind plain, and the unsuitability of the intermediate area for a central capital. That tract is not only constricted, but much exposed to devastating floods and violent changes of course by the river.

We may fairly consider the northern group of sites in the Bahawalpur and Bikanir territories, with Rupar and Ukhlina, as dependent on Harappa; while the settlements in Sind, with Judeirjo Daro and others in Baluchistan, looked to Mohenjo Daro as their capital. We are unlikely ever to know what were the actual relations between the two great cities during the period of their joint existence. In so far as we are here concerned with Sind it is legitimate to regard Mohenjo Daro and its dependencies as autonomous.

The economy of this State, if it may be so termed, must have been primarily agricultural, in all probability already advanced beyond the stage of subsistence farming to production for barter against materials available in neighbouring territories but absent from the Indus plain, which had become necessary elements in the state of culture attained by the Indus people in their former homeland. The mineral resources of the western hill country as a whole, the location (for example) of supplies of copper and lead in Las Bela, the particular communities who would readily trade alabaster and steatite,

were doubtless well known to them, and it is easy to imagine the traffic in imports and exports steadily increasing in quantity and range. For the plains had much to offer. There was a variety of timber. There were gums and spices, oils and dyes, over and above condiments and various food grains. There was salt. Animal productions included ivory, shell and horn. Vegetable fibres of several kinds were plentiful, and among them was cotton.

The role that cotton played in the economy of the 'Indus' Empire has not as yet been fully determined. Of its extensive domestic use we may feel assured. The large number of spindle-whorls discovered at Mohenjo Daro are of a type which Dr. MacKay shows could only have been used for spinning cotton thread; and by a happy chance a fragment of the woven material survived there, enwrapping a hoard of jewellery. Moreover the appearance of the sculptured robes on busts and figurines suggests a thin, light fabric. There is no evidence of 'Indus' textiles made of wool or flax, the staple materials in contemporary Sumer. And contrariwise we have no knowledge of this use of cotton, or indeed of the occurrence of the plant, outside the 'Indus' country for many centuries to come. The fact of its cultivation by the Harappans has some important implications.[28]

In the first volume it was explained why cultivation in the lower Indus plain of *kharif* crops, of which cotton is one, must have been far more precarious, and have involved far more labour, than the raising of *rabi* crops (which supplied the great bulk of the people's food). There is as yet no evidence that the digging-hoe used by the Indus people was other than a wooden tool which could only have been plied effectively in earth already moistened. Modern experience in Sind suggests that other agricultural processes such as ploughing (if use of the plough was known)[29] and harrowing would also have been undertaken generally in moist ground. This alone would have made *kharif* cultivation a highly selective undertaking in the Indus flood-plain of Harappan days. Only in patches of ground particularly favourably situated in relation to the water ways and spillpaths would it be worth

attempting to raise such crops; with their poor tools the 'bunding' of the fields, for protection against excessive flooding and for control of irrigation, was likely to be effective only where the whole scale was small. And among *kharif* crops, cotton takes the longest time to mature. This accounts for the fact that prior to 1900 A.D. in Sind, with irrigation from inundation canals supplemented by Persian wheels, cotton was only cultivated to a small extent, and not with real success. It was only with the opening of the perennial Jamrao canal that the crop became important in twentieth-century Sind. Perennial irrigation permits sowing as early as March, so that the last picking can be completed before the winter frosts. But where cultivation has to proceed in accordance with the seasonal rise of the river, sowing cannot generally begin till June, or May at the earliest; and the crop is liable to suffer before it is ready for gathering.[30] While exceptionally low lands such as the river 'kachhas' are first to receive water during the opening stage of the annual inundation, they are the most difficult to defend against injurious flooding thereafter. If, then, we are to assume that the Indus people succeeded in growing a great deal of cotton in Sind, we are practically obliged to postulate a climate more favourable to the growth of the plant than that of our own time. In the first volume attention was drawn to the evidence (in the Thar desert) that the south west monsoon formerly blew stronger over Sind than it does now, and it was pointed out that if these conditions may be assumed to have prevailed in the Harappan period, we may fairly claim also that rainfall during the *kharif* season would have been more copious and regular than in modern times, over part at least of the area.[31] If this was so, the factors mentioned above as limiting the raising of cotton crops in the Indus plains would have had far less influence, even though the tools employed were inefficient.

Another possibility, however, deserves to be considered, not involving any assumption of different climatic conditions. This is that the Harappans grew the great bulk of their cotton on the black soil lands of their southern province, the existing Gujerat, where in modern times—at least the past century—

it has been raised successfully and extensively on the monsoon rains alone. If the export of cotton yarn and cotton cloth was an important feature of the 'Indus' people's economy, one might even assume that this distant southern tract was brought under their rule mainly with the object of obtaining a monopoly of production of the fibre. But up to date we have no firm evidence of the export of cotton in any form by the Harappans, or even of its use in the countries with which they had trade connections. In Sumer, as it happens, we know that under the Third Dynasty of Ur, c. 2100 to 2000 B.C., while woollen textiles were predominant, other cloth was being woven from at least two vegetable fibres grown by farmers in that country. One of these appears to have been flax, from which the finest linen was made. The other and commoner fibre (not apparently hemp) produced thread for fishing lines or nets, and yarn which was utilised for the weft of particular varieties of cloth, while the ordinary sorts were made from it entirely. That era in Ur coincides, apparently, with the earlier period of Harappan rule over Gujerat. It is tempting to suggest that this 'utility' yarn of Sumer, known under the name *gu*, was cotton naturalised in Mesopotamia after a stage during which it had been imported from the 'Indus' country. But in fact cotton was given a different name in Assyria when it was introduced apparently for the first time by Sennacharib about thirteen hundred years later. Again, we know from those Ur texts of the Third Dynasty what in fact they did import from the Indus and adjoining countries (assuming these to have been correctly identified under their Sumerian names); and cotton is not among the commodities mentioned.[32]

Consideration in detail of the direct trade between Sumer and the Indus Empire during the heyday of the latter will be taken up in the next chapter, but we may here examine such data relating to the earlier epoch as have come to light in the two countries. Professor Gordon Childe shows how widespread was Sumerian commerce in the Early Dynastic period, which is reckoned to have lasted five centuries between c. 2850 B.C. and 2380 B.C. Excavations have proved, for

example, their great consumption of lapis lazuli, which must have been obtained from the Oxus region. Now this substance was simultaneously in use both in the Indus cities and in Egypt; "So", says Gordon Childe, "by 2500 B.C. we have concrete evidence of a network of trade linking up the whole area from the Tigris to the Indus and the Oxus, and its extension west of the Euphrates as far as the Nile."[33] Similarly successive excavators at Mohenjo Daro have been at pains to identify the probable places of origin of metals, other non-indigenous substances, and semi-precious stones discovered there; and the pattern of trade connections which emerged is remarkable for its sheer range. Looking outward from Mohenjo Daro to the principal points of the compass: to the north, men would have to travel as far as Badakshan for lapis lazuli and perhaps into Turkistan for jadeite; Kashmir would supply deodar wood and some other substances; eastward, lead could be obtained near Ajmer, and from Rajasthan in general copper and a variety of semi-precious stones. To the south, chank shells, onyx and agates were available in Kathiawar, but it would be necessary to proceed to the Deccan for amethysts, and for the rare amazonite as far as the Nilgiri hills, unless that stone was also to be found in Kashmir. Finally, westward for copper, bitumen, steatite and alabaster, all in Baluchistan; to Persia for gold, silver, tin and turquoise; and to the islands of the Persian Gulf for haematite.[34] What was exported from Sind in exchange for these highly prized substances? It may be that there was a ready market for its cotton yarn and cloth in the countries to the east and south, even if not in Sumer, from which there was export to Anatolia of fine textiles—presumably of Sumerian production—in the period following the Third Dynasty; a trade in exchange for metals, which may have begun much earlier.[35]

One thing appears certain: that the empire of the 'Indus' people was by far the most extensive in the contemporary ancient world. The tract in which their sites were first identified, the Indus basin and the plains adjoining it to the north east, measures at least seven hundred miles in length by one hundred or one hundred and fifty in breadth. We do not of

course know how long it took the Harappans to spread their settlements over it. But this is an area nearly as great as Sumer and Akkad combined with the later Assyria; greater than the united Upper and Lower Egypt of Menes. It can hardly have been pressure of population on the available means of subsistence that induced them to take up so much elbow-room. We may reasonably assume that they encountered no rivals capable of long disputing their right to rule; a state of affairs very different from Mesopotamia with its warring city-states and formidable barbarian neighbours. Were the Harappans insatiable imperialists? Were there competing dynasties among them, who separated to find individual fulfilment far apart, yet retaining all the original attributes of their common culture unchanged? The great southward expansion of the empire into Kathiawad and Gujerat seems to have taken place while Mohenjo Daro and the other establishments in the Sind and Panjab plains were still flourishing. If the Harappans are to be reckoned strangely thin on the ground in the basin of the Indus, if not in the Ghaggar-Hakra area, what are we to think of this irruption into countries hundreds of miles to the southward, with further proliferation of settlements? At present the cause can only be conjectured, but an explanation as plausible as any would be their desire to control the sources of a greater variety of natural materials than the Indus plains afforded, together with the centres of trade in the same quarter—which may have been a pre-existing and lucrative trade by sea.

The earliest evidence in concrete form of trade connections between the Harappans and the people of Ur in southern Mesopotamia consists in the recovery at Ur in the royal cemetery of the early kings of the city-state who ruled before 2700 B.C. of a bead of characteristic 'Indus' provenance.[36] This need not be taken to prove direct contact, but rather that the Harappans (perhaps not yet established on the Indus?) and the Sumerians were then both trading with a third people. Professor Piggott holds the view that the trade of the Indus people with Sumer developed out of their relations with the people of Kulli in South

Baluchistan, who had their own contacts with Sumer in Early Dynastic times. One characteristic product of the Kulli culture was a vessel of local stone carved to represent basket work. Such vases or similar boxes have been found at Susa, Ur and elsewhere in Mesopotamia, and also both at low and high levels at Mohenjo Daro, implying long continuance of trade in this particular article.[37] It is note-worthy that the majority of the objects of 'Indus' manufacture identified in Mesopotamia—engraved seals, characteristic inlays, representations of the humped bull before his ceremonial manger—were recovered from sites along the Diyala valley, a tributary of the Tigris in the kingdom of Akkad, north of Sumer.[38] This suggests that a good deal of the 'Indus' trade followed an overland route embracing, perhaps, Hissar and Sialk in North West Persia at which places artefacts in Harappan styles have also been found. Bronze pins of a peculiar type, a characteristic production of these 'barbaric' communities of Persia, recovered at Mohenjo Daro and Chanhu Daro, are among the few manufactured objects known to have been imported by the Indus people.[39] At Anau in Turkestan a clay model cart was found exactly resembling those of Harappa and Chanhu Daro—an indication of close relations; it may be significant that analysis of copper articles at Anau and some at Mohenjo Daro revealed exactly the same percentage of arsenic in the metal.[40]

Whatever the commodities handled, several of the outlying sites of the Harappans would appear to have been selected as convenient centres for the exchange of goods. Ali Murad was probably a fortified caravanserai on the principal route to the west over the Khirthar range. Kotla Nihang Khan (Rupar), Dabarkot in Loralai, Mehi in Jhalawan, and Sutkagen Dor in Makran are all apparently at nodal points on the routes by which trade moved. There is little doubt that Sutkagen Dor was accessible by sea in 'Indus' times.[41] It may have come into existence as a port for the commerce between Sumer and Kulli; but its elaborate fortifications are Harappan, and this adaptation perhaps marks the epoch when the place was taken over in the process of change from an overland to a sea trade-route between Mohenjo Daro and Ur.

NOTES

1. Mohenjo Daro. The Indus 'empire' seems to have had two capitals, the other being Harappa; but this book is primarily concerned with the province on the Lower Indus ruled from Mohenjo Daro.

1-A. For Amri, ref. J.M. Casal, *Fouilles d' Amri*, Paris, 1964.

2. *Vide* Vol. I of this series (*Sind—a General Introduction*), pp. 97-8, note 72A.

3. Dr. E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations*, Luzac & Co., 2nd edn. (1948), pp. 122, 149, 155.

4. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond*, Thames and Hudson (1966), p. 70.

5. Sir Claude Inglis, *The Behaviour and Control of Rivers and Canals* (Poona, 1949), p. 172.

6. H.T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sind*, Oxford University Press (1952), pp. 316-8.

7. Of late years the idea that the harnessing of the Indus is permanently assured, and that for the future constant attention is required only for the subsidiary problems involved in the distribution of its waters, seems to have become a basic assumption, even among technical men employed in Sind. Yet this must be deemed a dangerously optimistic view, in the light of the categorical warning recorded by the highest authority on the Indus, Sir Claude Inglis. (Vide *The Behaviour and Control of Rivers and Canals*, pp. 204-7).

8. In the light of our accumulated knowledge of the behaviour of the Indus, we should be justified in inferring that the river *had only recently established this reach of its course* when the city was founded near by.

9. This tract is well described by Sir T.H. Holdich in *The Indian Borderland*, Methuen (1901), pp. 107-9; G.P. Tate, *The Frontiers of Baluchistan*, Witherby, London, 1909, pp. 118-122;
H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, Trübner, London, 1874, pp. 241, 245-7.

10. V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 4th edn. (1958), chap. 7

'The Urban Revolution in Mesopotamia', esp. pp. 128-9.

11. E. Mackay, op. cit., p. 31.
12. Perhaps the young woman whose skull was found at Chanhu Daro was of the same ethnic type. Mackay, op. cit., pp. 153-4.
13. P.B. Shelley's sonnet *Ozymandias*.
14. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 25.
15. Mackay, op. cit., p. 67; plate XVI figs. 4a, 4b, plate XVII fig. 5; S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, Penguin Books (1950), p. 183; fig. 22 no. 6.
16. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge (1953), pp. 83-4.
17. Mackay, plate XVII fig. 9.
18. R. Burton, *Scinde and the races that inhabit the Lower Valley of the Indus*, W.H. Allen (1851), pp. 172-3, 198 seq.
19. Mackay, p. 11; Piggott, p. 179.
20. Mackay, p. 125.
21. S. Piggott, op. cit., pp. 169-70 and fig. 19, p. 160.
22. The contemporary rulers of Sumer and Akkad equipped their fighting men with helmets, and their offensive weapons were more efficient than those of the Indus people. Sir L. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur*, Ernest Benn, 2nd edn. (1963), pp. 88-9; plate 7 opp. p. 64; plate 13 opp. p. 96.
23. Sir M. Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond* (1966), pp. 15-6 and plates 5, 6.
24. M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization* (1953), p. 28.
25. Sir M. Wheeler, *Civilizations of the Indus Valley and Beyond*, p. 57. The traces of a pre-'Indus' culture were found *beneath the Citadel defences*.
26. Ibid., pp. 30-3.
27. It seems not unlikely that there was a third capital for this southern province, in Kathiawad and Gujerat; if so Lothal, not yet identified as such, seems the most worthy of that status.
28. Mackay, op. cit., pp. 82, 105. The fact that a wild cotton—*Gossypium Stocksii*—is found in Sind is not now considered to have any bearing upon the question of the earliest use of cotton fibre for textiles; botanical

opinion being clear that no cultivated variety derives from that species. *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 1907, p. 33; cf. Sir George Watt, *The Wild and cultivated cotton plants of the world* (Longmans', 1907), pp. 59–60, 63, 73–7.

29. No good evidence of such an implement has yet been found on Indus sites. The objects which Mackay supposed might be plough shares are far too clumsy and heavy to have been digging hoes. (Mackay, op. cit., p. 132; cf. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, 1953, p. 57). Compare the beautifully worked flint hoes in use at al 'Ubaid (Woolley, op. cit., p. 25, fig. 2).
30. *Gazetteer of Sind*, pp. 226–7, 232–3.
31. *Sind—A General Introduction*, pp. 8, 79–80.
32. For fabrics in Sumer, ref. *Ur Excavation Texts III* (Business Documents of the Third Dynasty at Ur) ed. Léon Legrain, texts 23, 1503, 1504, etc. to 1780. Cf. R. Campbell Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, 1949, p. 113. For Sennacherib's announcement, ref. King, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* etc., xxvi, vii 56, and in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1909, p. 341. For Sumerian imports from (probably) Sind, ref. U.E.T. III, texts 430, 818, 1368, 1498, etc.
33. Gordon Childe, op. cit., p. 170.
34. S. Piggott, op. cit., pp. 174–5. Cf. Gordon Childe, op. cit., p. 177. Gold may also have been obtained from southern India.
35. Gordon Childe, op. cit., p. 169.
36. Woolley, op. cit., p. 112; Mackay, op. cit., p. 146.
37. Piggott, op. cit., pp. 116–7, 207–8, and fig. 10 (p. 111).
38. Gordon Childe, op. cit., pp. 169–70.
39. Piggott, p. 210.
40. Piggott, op. cit., p. 209; Gordon Childe, op. cit., p. 177.
41. Piggott, op. cit., p. 118; G.F. Dales, Harappan Outposts on the Makran Coast, in *Antiquity*, xxxvi (1962), p. 86 seq.

2

THE INDUS CIVILIZATION: ZENITH & DECLINE

Trade connections between the Harappans and the peoples of Mesopotamia appear to have become close and regular by the time of the great king Sargon, who was ruler of Sumer as well as of Akkad about the year 2380 B.C.; and continued so during the reigns of his successors for at least a century. The great majority of the artefacts referable to the Indus civilization hitherto discovered in the land of the twin rivers occurred in levels of that period at Ur, Kish, and Tel Asmar. They included engraved seals depicting the characteristic 'Indus' animals, some bearing also legends in the Harappan script. At the place last mentioned, in Sumer, etched beads, peculiar bone inlays, and 'knobbed' pottery, all of typical Harappan provenance, were also found in Sargonid deposits. Among the most interesting of such finds was a clay sealing which showed on the back the imprint of coarse cloth. Significant also is the fact that some seals bearing Harappan symbols are in cylinder form—a type definitely belonging to Mesopotamia, while another of 'Indus' shape bears an inscription in cuneiform.[1] We may be confident that these were made by Sumerian craftsmen to the order of Harappan merchants stationed in that country as agents and managers of a regular import-export business.

The evidence that this commerce was now sea-borne and direct depends in large measure on the identification, as one of the maritime provinces of the 'Indus Empire', of a country frequently mentioned in Sumerian Texts under the name Meluhha. We have an inscription in which King Sargon proudly proclaims that ships from, or destined for, Meluhha, Makkan and Dilmun were moored in the harbour situated outside his capital, Agade. *Prima facie*, the only valid inference to be drawn from this statement would be that those were distant countries. The data from which they may with some confidence be identified occur in a large number of texts belonging to the post-Sargonid periods, so the whole question

may be most conveniently approached chronologically on the hypothesis that Meluhha corresponds with the Lower Indus country, i.e. Sind.[2]

It is not clear from the Sargonid text cited above whether the ships mentioned belonged to Mesopotamia or to Meluhha and the other countries. The probability is that this traffic by sea originated from Sumer. Men of that country appear to have been the earliest seafarers of the ancient world. A model sailing boat found at Eridu, which is thought to be the oldest of Sumerian cities, in a grave dating from the late 'Ubaid period, possibly 4000 B.C., is of a well-developed seaworthy type. Moreover the later Ur Texts abound with references to mariners and ships; sailcloth is mentioned and we even know the composition of the crews.[3] Some years after the Sargonid Kingdom fell under the onslaught of the Guti barbarians one of their governors of Lagash, by name Gudea, despatched ships to distant countries for precious materials with which to rebuild the ruined temple of Eninnu. We may be thankful that Gudea cherished a most lively self-esteem and was determined that posterity should have no excuse for ignorance of his achievements. He left several statues of himself bearing inscriptions, in addition to long texts recounting his proceedings in great detail. In one of the cylinder texts the God Eninnu is represented as declaring that the name of his (restored) temple will fill "the countries from the ends of the heavens" and will cause worshippers to come even from Magan and Meluhha.[4] Thus again we must infer that these were, for an inhabitant of Lagash, among the most distant known countries. Three others are mentioned, Kimash, Gubin and Dilmun. Kimash, which was a source of copper, and apparently of gold and silver also, does not concern us as it was situated in Kurdestan north west of Assyria. It is noteworthy that the greatest variety of products came from Meluhha; porphyry or cornelian, gold dust, "all kinds of woods" including one named as "ushu wood", and lapis lazuli. The land Magan also supplied timber, and diorite stone (from which Gudea's statue was carved); while from Gubin came another species of wood suitable for carving.

Gudea informs us that the timber obtained from Meluhha and other countries was loaded on ships and so brought to Lagash.[5] The mention of Dilmun in connection with this shipping of timber may mean no more than that the ships thus loaded, from Meluhha, Magan and Gubin, returned to Mesopotamia via Dilmun, which is generally considered to be Bahrein, itself unlikely to have been a source of timber. In a Sumerian hymn quoted by Kramer the commodities for which Meluhha was renowned are specified as "precious carnelian, meshagan wood, fine sea-wood, sailors" while Magan (Makkan) exported "mighty copper ... diorite, u-stone and shumanstone"; and Sea-land "ebony, ... the ornament of the king". Other texts mention, as obtained from Meluhha, gold, ivory, and objects made of or inlaid with ivory—a carved "Meluhha bird", combs, pectorals, boxes and rods. We hear of a monkey made of carnelian, a bowl of some precious wood, a turret carved out of mesu wood. It is practically certain that mesu wood is identical with the Sissoo, which we happen to know was still being shipped from India up the Persian Gulf in the first century of the Christian era.[6] The Sissoo tree is indigenous in parts of Kerman, Makran and Jhalawan, as well as further north; and though its modern occurrence in Upper Sind is generally supposed to be due to planting in the last two or three centuries, it may well have been among the natural flora, as it certainly was in the Western Panjab.

Doctor Mallowan would locate the land Makkan or Magan in Fars and Kerman, and Meluhha immediately to the east of these provinces, in Makran. He holds that the copper for which Makkan, the country of mines, was famous was extracted from the Zagros mountains. But Leemans has pointed out that the copper used for artefacts of the post-Sargonid epoch in Southern Mesopotamia exhibits a structure corresponding with that of the copper found in the old mines of 'Oman; and he favours the view of Professor Eilers that the country known to the Sumerians as Makkan straddled the narrows of the Persian Gulf, thus including the Arabian as well as the Persian side; and that its name lives on in the existing Makran. This identification seems to me more probable than Mallowan's suggestion; once again the 'Periplus' provides

supporting evidence, for the emporium known to the author of that work as 'Oman was on the Persian side of the straits.[7] Moreover a vestige of this arrangement presisted until 1960, the town of Gwadar in Makran having been prior to that year a dependency of the State of Muscat in Arabia. Assuming then that the land Magan or Makkan included Makran, it surely follows that Meluhha was Sind and perhaps included Las Bela. This is not to assert that all the commodities obtained by the Sumerians from Meluhha were natural productions of Sind. The Sissoo and some other woods may have been floated down the Indus from the sub-Himalayan tracts; the gold, perhaps the ivory, re-exported from elsewhere. Another substance supplied by Meluhha, according to one text, was "sea-wood". I do not think there can be serious doubt that the mangrove is here indicated. The varieties known in Sind as *Timar* and *Chauri*[8] afford hard timber which is much used in boat-building for the 'knees' and ribs. Mangroves are ubiquitous among the tidal creeks of the Indus delta, in Karachi harbour, and quite as profuse on the coast of Las Bela in Miani Hor and Kalmat Hor.

If Magan is represented by Makran and Meluhha by Las Bela and Sind. what of "Sea-land", from which the Sumerians obtained ebony? I believe it to correspond with the southern province of the 'Indus Empire', namely Gujarat. Ebony was among the typical products shipped from Barygaza (Broach, which is close to the 'Indus' site of Mehgam) up the Persian Gulf in the first century A.D. The indigenous variety growing in this and adjoining provinces of India is *Diospyros Melanoxylon* which produces the ornamental wood known as Coromandel Ebony.[9] This takes a high polish and is deserving of the title given in the Sumerian hymn, "ornament of the king". The remaining remote land which Gudea traded, namely Gubin, may have been the modern Kachch, or Saurashtra.

Mention has already been made of the country Dilmun in connection with Sumer's trade down the Persian Gulf. We have an unambiguous reference to ships of this place in an inscription thought to date from about 2450 B.C. Ur-Nanshe, the patesi or Governor of the Sumerian city-state of

Lagash which was predominant shortly before the advent of Sargon recorded on a stone stele that Dilmun vessels brought him timber from foreign lands—this he asserted was tribute. About three centuries later ships of Magan are alluded to in a Royal inscription set up by Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur.[10] The exact meaning of this recorded "restoration" by the King of these ships to Magan is not certain; but we do know, from a very large number of contemporary Sumerian texts, that the century during which the Third Dynasty ruled at Ur was a period of vigorous trade with Magan and Meluhha. In the hymn which invokes blessings on Dilmun, to which reference has already been made, it is noteworthy that the land Meluhha is exhorted to bring *sailors* thither, in addition to its prized *mesu* wood and other productions; and sailors are similarly called for from "the shrine Ur", along with grain, sesame-oil, and noble garments.[11]

The first concrete piece of evidence of the use of sea-going vessels in the Indus civilization to come to light in territory subject to that rule occurred at Lothal now a little inland from the gulf of Cambay, which is in the country that I have suggested was known to the Sumerians as "Sea-land". Here was a large dock or basin lined with kiln-burnt bricks, measuring 710 feet by 120. Ships could enter it only at high tide, through an inlet twenty-three feet in width on the eastern side, where the retaining wall is lowered down to a sill which would maintain a suitable level of water in the dock at all states of the tide. The level could be further lowered by means of a sluice-gate and spill-channel. Ships were evidently loaded from, or unloaded on to, a great platform or quay adjoining the dock on the west; here post holes indicate 'godowns' or roofing under which goods could be stored. Supporting evidence of maritime activity was found at Lothal in paintings of sea-animals and boats on potsherds, kedge anchors, and a terra-cotta model of a masted ship. It appears that the dock yard was built in the second phase of the town's existence and continued in use into the fourth phase.[12] This whole period may be estimated as extending from approximately 2100 B.C. to 1800 B.C., that is to say in terms of Sumer, throughout the Third Dynasty and the Larsa period. As already mentioned,

the century during which the Third Dynasty of Ur ruled southern Mesopotamia saw probably the climax of trading activity between that country and the Indus Empire. The products of Meluhha are mentioned repeatedly in the Business Texts of that peroid—and not only the materials, but also the objects made from them. 'Meluhha birds' carved in ivory were evidently popular and it seems likely that these were peacocks. We are told of an ivory ibex and of human figurines, male and female; and of a monkey made of some other substance. There are references not only to the indispensable mesu wood, but to Meluhha copper and Meluhha ebony, which suggest that this country also engaged in entrepôt trade.[13]

By contrast, in not one of the eight hundred business texts of the Isin-Larsa period, c. 2000-1800 B.C., recovered hitherto is there any direct allusion to Meluhha or its products. A single tablet dating from the reign of Sumu-ilu, third king of the Larsa dynasty, records a list of precious things which may have originated there; these were brought back from a voyage to Dilmun and presented as votive offerings at the temple of Ningal.[14] It has been inferred from this and similar evidence, to a great extent negative in character, that whereas in the time of Sargon merchant ships made the whole voyage between Sumer and the coasts of the Indus Empire, the most distant land regularly visited by Sumerian Traders of the Third Dynasty was Magan; while in the Isin-Larsa period they went no further than Dilmun. That place seems to have developed into an emporium to which the Harappan merchants, those of Magan, and the Sumerian traders known as the Alik Dilmun, resorted for the exchange of products of all these countries. It seems to have been in connection with these long-range transactions that use was made of a special kind of seal, circular in form; these have become known as Persian Gulf seals. A Sumerian tablet inscribed with a contract by a Larsa merchant to export wheat, sesame and wool to some destination by sea bears the impression of one of these seals, which is of essentially the same type as an example recovered from Lothal. But by far the greatest number of these circular seals were found in Bahrein and

the island of Failaka — the latter at the head of the Gulf.[15] Pride in the prosperity of Dilmun and its wide-spread commerce is voiced in the hymn already mentioned; Sumer too appears to have benefited from this new pattern of trade. Indeed Woolley declares that the Ur of Rim-Sin's time, though no longer the seat of the ruling dynasty in Sumer, "was actually larger and probably more prosperous than it had been in the time of Ur-Nammu", whose capital city it was over three centuries earlier.[16] But about the year 1783 B.C. Rim-Sin's long reign was violently terminated by Hammurabi king of Babylon, who defeated and captured him, subjugated all Sumer and devastated Ur. From this time for several centuries no mention of trade down the Persian Gulf occurs in Mesopotamian texts. Babylon's own commerce was otherwise orientated and she would regard as dangerous any revival of prosperity among the once powerful city-states of Sumer.

And what of Ur's former trading connections beyond the Gulf? The evidence at Lothal, suggesting that use of the great dock ended soon after 1800 B.C. fits in with the concept of such disruption of the Gulf trade. Dilmun without Ur must have been unprofitable. However Lothal was something more than a sea-port; it had its industries, notably bead-making—the factory there recalls another such workshop at Chanhu Daro in Sind—and was almost certainly a Provincial or District Headquarters, for the lay-out of the town includes a 'citadel'. This was not a place conquered by the Harappans, but founded by them; and here, distant from Mohenjo Daro perhaps five hundred miles by the most practicable route for travellers, that is avoiding the worst of the intervening deserts, we find the typical features of the Sind city and the culture of its inhabitants exactly reproduced. There is the rectangulated lay-out, with straight streets; buildings of bricks of standard dimensions; a public drainage system; tools and weapons of stereotyped pattern; seal amulets engraved with the familiar 'Indus' animals and script; pottery of characteristic shape and ornamentation; and, in the 'upper town', what appears to have been a granary. There is little that does not agree exactly with a Sind or Panjab prototype.[17]

This cultural and technical uniformity has long been recognized as the distinguishing feature *par-excellence* of the Indus civilization, yet it cannot fail to impress anew with every fresh example found further and further from the 'metropolitan' region of the Indus basin. The regular repetition of the shapes and decoration of the ceramic wares recovered from sites scattered over so huge an area puts one in mind of the wide distribution in Western Europe of Samian ware; but it cannot be inferred that Harappan pottery was ever mass-produced even for the purpose of distribution within Harappan territories. Mackay remarks that judged by its quality "the people of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro must have been singularly lacking in imagination".[18] Perhaps imagination was not so much lacking as discouraged or repressed; that is to say, something like a central guild may have regulated the practice of the craft in every place under Harappan dominion — distributing not pottery, but trained potters. So also with the tools of copper and bronze; a standard range appears to have been in use at every site where they have been found. Many other examples of this curious conformity in manufacture could be cited — moreover, the technical and artistic achievement in all the artefacts in common use (other than the seal amulets) hardly ever rises above what Professor Piggott aptly terms "competent dullness". Such stereotyping is most readily accounted for by the assumption that every craft was regulated by its guild.

Conservatism in design and technical method has very generally been considered also as characteristic of 'Indus' craftsmanship in terms of time as in terms of space — in that throughout the period of this civilization's existence thus far revealed by excavation no noteworthy development in techniques occurred. Of late this view has been challenged in some respects, but it holds good for the majority of those features which are most essentially Harappan. Thus among the metal tools, and in the Indus script, no difference can be discerned between the earliest and the latest examples. Sir John Marshall remarked that his stratification at Mohenjo Daro related to the structural remains and not to the character of the 'antiquities' found at various levels, because "as a rule, the

minor antiquities... exhibit so little variation in type that it is hardly possible to discriminate those of one stratum from those of another". He observed "uniformity such as this would not have been possible had the period of Mohenjo Daro's occupation been a long one"—he reckoned what he had himself excavated to represent five hundred years at most—but "at the moment when this civilization reveals itself to us it is already fully fledged, and we are bound therefore to postulate for it a long period of antecedent evolution".[19] It seems doubtful, in particular circumstances, whether there is anything inherently unnatural in the absence of change in techniques and arts over a long period. Sir Leonard Woolley drew attention to the remarkable uniformity of the pottery at Tel Atchana Alalakh over a period of more than one thousand years.[20] Whether or not we believe that progress in arts and crafts is a natural concomitant of continuing human existence it behoves us to take note of Sir Mortimer Wheeler's declaration that the "so-called uniformity of the Harappan culture in depth has been exaggerated, and is due as much to archaic methods of research as to any inherent conservatism in the ancient craftsmen". Yet it was "a lowering of technical standards in the later phases" that he found in particular clearly recognizable in the Indus ceramic. Mackay himself had pointed out that decorated pottery was much commoner in the earlier periods than the later.[21] As to the seals, Vats drew attention to the occurrence in the lowest levels at Harappa of a miniature type of seal exclusively; while Mackay thought the copper tablets recovered at Mohenjo Daro were specially characteristic of the late period. On the whole it may be argued that such changes as are perceptible are at least as often for the worse as for the better. As to Mesopotamian parallels, Woolley has pointed out the "sad decadence" in the technique of the metal workers of Sumer, from the excellence of the Early Dynastic cast bronze tools to the clumsily hammered products of the Akkadian coppersmiths; among other Sumerian artefacts too he notes "a steady decline both in imagination and in craftsmanship. The conventions already fixed ... gradually crushed all originality".[22]

This leads us back to the concept of the principal Harappan manufactures being under the control of a guild-system, for that accords well with our general impression that life in the Indus cities was for centuries regulated by rulers who derived an unvarying authority from well-recognized religious sanctions; in the words of Professor Piggott "its remarkable conservatism and scrupulous preservation of even the details of everyday life intact for centuries ... surely implies a social system wherein the unchanging traditions of the temple were of more account than the ambitions of an individual ruler".[23] Thus the meticulous preservation of the original street limits in the face of constant rebuilding of houses; the absence of variant, i.e. fraudulent, weights among the great number recovered (from which it has been possible to deduce the unit and the binary-cum-decimal system in vogue); the standardised provision for clearing the elaborate drainage system—these features bespeak a vigilant and efficient municipal authority. The granaries and (at Harappa) their ancillary grain-pounding platforms, with the "coolie-lines" for the labourers, similarly suggest State management of agriculture. And surely that State's character is reflected in the character of the buildings in the citadel at Mohenjo Daro, and confirmed by the processional terraces in the *enceinte* of the similar citadel at Harappa. Were not these the 'high places' of the tutelary deity personified in a ruling priest-king or represented by a priestly hierarchy; their executive instrument a bureaucracy steeped in tradition which "knew best" what was good for all men in Indus-land and its dependencies?

How long this inflexible system lasted in its fully developed form is by no means clear. Since we are unable on account of the subsoil water in the lower strata at Mohenjo Daro and Chanhu Daro to penetrate to the inaugural phase of these metropolitan settlements, and await evidence from such places as Judeirjo Daro and Garho Bhiro near Nohto, data from "outstations" may be considered for what it is worth. The Harappan occupation of Lothal probably lasted about three centuries, after which their control appears to have ended, or at least to have become increasingly diluted by the influence of people of another culture, presumably indigenous in the re-

gion, who adopted certain elements from that of the first rulers of the place. Radio-carbon testing applied to material in this post-Harappan stratum yields a date not long after that of the fall of Ur. Datings elicited by the same process from Kalibangan in Rajasthan indicate that the Harappans abandoned that place, which is unlikely to have been affected by a regression of maritime trade, at much the same time; here too their rule appears to have lasted about three hundred years.[24] Thus the apogee of the "Indus Empire" may be assumed to have been reached about 2150 B.C. and to have passed before 1750 B.C.

When we turn to the metropolis itself, Mohenjo Daro, it appears that the Sind city had begun to decline while Ur was still flourishing; not only the uppermost occupation stratum, but that immediately below it, the two together representing a span of time probably well over a century, exhibit abundant evidence of deterioration. It happens that at Mohenjo Daro the radio-carbon process was first applied to organic material—charred wheat—exposed at a late level, and it yielded a 'bracket' of dates round about that of the fall of Rim Sin.[25] Though it is unsafe to depend on the result of a single experiment there seems good reason for believing that Mohenjo Daro outlasted Sumerian Ur. But the Indus city was by that time only lingering out a decadent existence. Before proceeding to examine that phase, we may look back to consider how the city's life is likely to have been affected previously by physical processes; in particular by the behaviour of the river Indus.

During the preceding centuries—six, or perhaps more?—that Mohenjo Daro may be assumed to have existed, the city had been rising by degrees higher and higher above the surrounding plain. The pioneer excavators dug down through more than forty vertical feet of occupation layers; and it must seem remarkable that Doctor Mackay's first estimate of the period represented by these forty-odd feet was only three centuries, and that he did not invoke primarily flood damage to account for such rapid upward growth. He insisted that it is a mistake to attribute longevity to burnt brick masonry in such climatic conditions as obtain in Upper Sind—"Those who have seen the rapid crumbling of burnt brick under the action of salt even after quite a small shower of rain will readily realise

what great damage water and damp can do". Apart from this, "owing to the throwing out of rubbish from houses, to mud being washed down from the walls and roofs...and the deposit of alluvium by wind, a steady rise in the general level of the city took place throughout its occupation, and this necessitated the raising of the walls, floors, and roofs whenever the difference between the floor level of the house and of the street outside became inconvenient". Sir Leonard Woolley shows very clearly how building levels in the city of Ur rose constantly for the same reasons, uninfluenced by any flood factor.[26]

The level of the flood-plain round about Mohenjo Daro must have risen steadily also owing to the characteristic alluvial action of the Indus, though this aggradation would have been far slower than that of the city. We cannot know what course the river took through Sind in this epoch, nor whether it found its way to the sea by one channel or by two from a bifurcation upstream of Mohenjo Daro. Moreover it is possible that in Harappan times the river Sutlej terminated in the Hakra-Nara, and not in the Indus. As to the latter, the evidence of its courses through Sind in the last two thousand years suggests that the double pattern prevailed for nearly two thirds of that period, followed by seven centuries of a single trunk stream terminating in a comparatively small delta.[27] It is possible that some such alternation between the double and the single pattern of the Lower Indus has been cyclic over a vastly longer period. It would have been a far less risky venture for the Harappans to found their city on the flood plain within easy reach of one of two main branches than within the limit of inundation from a single channel carrying the entire volume of the river's flow through Sind. And it would be in years when the Indus was flowing past Mohenjo Daro in a single channel, or concentrating the whole or a greatly increased proportion of its discharge down the branch near which the city stood, that we should expect heavy flooding to occur, and consequently a high rate of silt deposit.

Sir Claude Inglis, the highest authority on the river Indus, calculates the average rise by alluvial action over a wide stretch

of this flood plain as seven inches per century; but that of ground close to the (single trunk) terminal stream would have been "of the order of one foot per 100 years". He doubtless takes into account here the contribution of the Sutlej. We may also bear in mind Sir John Marshall's observation "the rate at which the alluvial deposit was formed may have been substantially more rapid" (than at present) "when the Indus was a slower moving river, and silt consequently was accumulating more quickly in its bed".[28] Certainly if occupation debris was brought up by Dr. Dales' borings at Mohenjo Daro in 1964-65 from so low a depth as thirty nine feet beneath the present surface of the adjoining plain, one must infer either a high average rate of alluvial deposit, or that the site was inhabited at a period far earlier than that generally thought to have witnessed the emergence of the Indus Civilization. It is proper to record here another opinion expressed by Sir John Marshall—"... taken as a whole, it is manifest that the Indus Civilization must have been evolved on the banks of the river for long ages before it comes within our ken. How long, one can only surmise, but it is safe to say that a thousand years would have been all too few for such a result".[29]

Prior to Dr. Dales' investigation the lowest points beneath the surface of the plain reached by open digging were twenty four feet in 1932 and twenty six feet in 1950. In each case subsoil water prevented deeper excavation. Here were levels of occupation lying far down in the thick undivided stratum designated as 'Early Period' by Marshall and Mackay; in view of the distance beneath the lowest point from which identifiable artefacts, including sun-dried bricks, have been recovered, these levels could hardly be dated later than 2500-2400 B.C. We cannot of course assume that they accord with the general level at that period of the adjoining flood plain. If that were so, the rise of the surface by twenty six feet in forty four centuries would have been at a rate of about seven inches per one hundred years. It was probably somewhat faster. The uppermost stratum of Harappan occupation in the Lower City — the 'DK' mound where these investigations were made — stands about forty six feet above the lowest point reached by digging in 1932. At two separate levels in his

excavations hereabouts Mackay came upon widespread subsidences of buildings and walls which he interpreted as the effects of exceptional floods on two occasions in the life of the mature city. This damage — Mackay does *not* record the presence of flood-silt in the two strata—occurred at levels almost exactly ten vertical feet apart. The interval comprises broadly speaking the three phases of the period designated 'Intermediate', the epoch of Mohenjo Daro's "greatest development and prosperity".[30] It is a fair deduction from the Mesopotamian evidence already set forth that it came between the beginning of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the end of the Larsa period; we may not be far out in assuming a duration of about two centuries, c. 2050 to c. 1850 B.C., the building levels rising some five feet per one hundred years.

Mackay attempted to correlate the flood data revealed by his excavations within the city with other data observed by him in trenches dug outside it in the adjoining plain at several widely separated places. In two of these places, one very close to the northern edge of the DK mound and the other to the southern edge of the stupa mound, he came upon a layer of sandy clay between two strata of disintegrated brick, and under the lower of these brick strata a much deeper layer of stiff clay. He proceeds to argue that the upper and shallower layer of clay was deposited by the same flood as caused the subsidences after the optimum phase of the city, and that the lower and deeper clay stratum derived from the earlier flood which had caused similar damage before that phase began.[31] Now it is clear from the relationship of the two strata of subsidences to Mackay's datum-level that the upper one lies some ten feet above the existing surface of the plain and the lower one just level with it. Again the upper levels of the two strata of clay in the plain itself vary respectively between one and three feet, and between six and seven feet, below that same surface. Applying the conservative calculation that the plain has risen on the average by about seven inches per century it will appear that the inundations which would have contributed to form those distinct strata of sandy clay in Mackay's trenches must have occurred well within the Christian era, several hundred years apart. In his attempted correlation of rising occupation

levels with natural aggradation of the plain Mackay fails to appreciate how great the discrepancy must have been in the mature, and still more in the late phases of Mohenjo Daro's existence. He admits, indeed, "as the ground outside the city must always have been considerably lower than the street levels, these floods would hardly have penetrated into the streets themselves unless of course the water was very high. But their serious effect on the buildings is proved by the subsidences revealed by our excavations. The walls of the Intermediate III Phase in some cases suffered badly from subsidence, and that this period was brought to an end by the saturation of the mound by percolation is proved by even such comparatively light structures as pavements having collapsed also".

Not a word, be it noted, of "three thick layers of river silt at various levels" — "encountered by the excavator in the central area of the Dk mound".[32] The only instance that I can find in which Mackay encountered anything of the kind while excavating *within the inhabited area* was in a much earlier stratum, thirty five feet below his 'datum level' and so fourteen below the modern level of the flood plain. From this point downwards, he says, "a layer of stiff clay with occasional pockets of grey sand is clear evidence of the occurrence of a flood".[33] Interpretation of this deposit is something of a problem. Correlation with building levels shows it to have been laid down early in the city's history, but its own considerable depth—over ten feet—suggests that this spot, which is not far from the edge of the inhabited area, must have been regularly penetrated by recurring floods over a very long period However, if Mackay is correct in his interpretation of the excavation data within the DK area we should infer that three exceptional floods took place at intervals of about two or three centuries during the middle period of Mohenjo Daro's history. Floods such as these would be due to special factors, such as the sudden release of immense accumulations of water within the Himalaya by the collapse of great land-slips or ice-dams which had ponded back the flow of the Upper Indus or its Tributaries.[34] Even the catastrophic inundations that such events let loose would not in all probability have risen high enough to penetrate the streets of Mohenjo Daro.

But flood water some five feet deep swirling against the walls of houses round the outskirts of the city for several weeks continuously would not only demolish these, but would percolate inwards causing widespread subsidences and collapses and so affecting higher levels. Damage of this kind on a smaller scale would result from what might be termed excessive seasonal overspill from the Indus due to less dramatic events such as delayed but rapid snow-melt within the Himalaya coinciding with heavy rain below the mountains. Particularly copious inundations so produced must have occurred at relatively frequent intervals during the city's life.

It has already been mentioned that the citadel at Mohenjo Daro was artificially raised some twenty feet on an immense platform of mud brick and clay laid down over the western quarter in the city. Sir John Marshall assumed that the object was primarily to secure the public buildings on it from any damage from floods. And the same purpose appeared to be served by a large number of solid plinths or platforms of similar material, but much smaller in area and less lofty, on which houses were built in most areas and occupation levels in the city. Mackay describes one such, well down in the Early period, which had been added to later; it had become "a consolidated mass of mud brick".[35] Of another early example he observes "there appears no doubt that this filling was resorted to when the level of this building was purposely raised to prevent it being flooded". Marshall even asserts that "in all except the smallest dwellings ... a certain portion of the ground floor invariably took the form of a terrace or plinth sufficiently high and strong to resist the floods which annually menaced the city". Mackay was more cautious. Describing the later period he writes "For some reason which seems connected with abnormal floods, many of the later houses were built upon platforms formed by filling up the rooms of earlier houses beneath with unbaked brick, clay, or sometimes with refuse from brick kilns ... I am inclined to think that owing to flooding many of the houses at Mohenjo Daro fell because of the subsidence of the soil...many...are not built on platforms and they show marked evidence of subsidence".[36] He notes elsewhere "it should be observed that burnt brick masonry

and brick debris act as a very effective sponge, in which moisture will creep up a long way above water level ..." Referring generally to the platforms found in various places in the DK area and in other parts of the site he writes, "in the majority of cases damp has so welded these sun dried bricks together that the whole mass has become homogeneous ... most of these platforms were built in the intermediate II Phase after the first great flood of which we have evidence, and some at the beginning of the Late II Phase after the second flood. Even if the lower parts of such a platform remained immersed in water for some length of time, there was no risk of its affecting the houses on the platform by capillary action, as would certainly have been the case if the latter had been built of burnt brick".[37]

The early excavators were thus in two minds whether the platforms were intended to lift buildings above the highest anticipated flood water level, or above the range of upward percolation. In view of the great and increasing disparity between flood-plain level and occupation level, it is now evident that percolation causing subsidence was the real danger.

The erection of buildings on such platforms in parts of the city remote from the perimeter (and thus probably secure from the effects of seepage, even when the surrounding plain was under three or four feet of water for a few weeks) may occasionally have been undertaken for other reasons. The citadel mound has already been instanced—public buildings would be raised aloft for the sake of dignity and security from marauders or enemies; the palace of the Priest-King, if such there was, would naturally be designed to dominate the city. Among the wealthy inhabitants, at least, other motives for raising building levels might be to obtain better air in the stifling nights of the hot weather in this congested city; and likewise to avoid being overlooked by neighbours of inferior status. In such a climate flat roofs may be presumed to have been the rule, as they are to-day.

Similarly experience in recent times of what happens when the Indus in high flood bursts through its restraining man-made embankments—the occasions, now rare, when the river reproduces the 'natural conditions' of past eras — helps us to

gauge the likely effects of floods on life in Mohenjo Daro. The water spreads over the country to a depth of three or four feet, taking a broad path or paths along the lowest levels, insulating the patches of higher ground on which, naturally, most of the old established villages are built. This water continues on the move, except for what stands in hollows from which there is no outlet, until it is evaporated, absorbed, or drains back into the Indus when the river's level falls early in the autumn. The towns and villages in the path of such inundation remain generally speaking above flood level but the water seeps into the mounds on which the majority of them now stand. These mounds are formed very largely of the debris of buildings that have collapsed under the impact of floods in former years, over a long period, and have thus gradually risen. We now witness resumption of that process—the water laps round the mound and percolates it, houses on the periphery begin to fall down, and there will be some subsidences of walls further towards the centre of the inhabited area. When the water finally disappears there has to be a good deal of rebuilding. The inhabitants may or may not evacuate their village when it is insulated by flood water. If their grain stores are secure and if there is unflooded ground with some grazing or fodder stores for their animals within fairly easy reach (even though they have to wade thither or go by boat over a stretch of intervening water) they may stand fast. Or if the damage is severe and they are short of food they will temporarily abandon the site, camping out on some dry spot till they can return and re-colonise the village. The exile need only be for a few weeks. And provided they have an adequate stock of seed corn for the ensuing *rabi* season they can hope to raise bumper crops on the land from which the flood has retreated.

Flood water is not the only natural agent which causes inhabited places in the plains of Sind to rise gradually higher and higher. In the parched conditions that prevail over so much of the country for so large a proportion of the year, it is the wind that modifies the face of the plain, lifting dust, silt and sand from one place and depositing it in another. Every movement whether on the hoof or on wheels—those of the

bullock-cart particularly—stirs up clouds of the notorious Sind dust, while heavier material is carried by the sand storms which are liable to usher in the hot weather. These substances come to rest where some object interrupts the passage of the wind, causing a pocket of still air which allows them to fall and accumulate undisturbed. A village abandoned by its inhabitants for only a few months will be found on their return with the silting-up process well under way. Mackay more than once alludes to the accumulation of wind-borne dust as an important agent in raising the habitation levels at Mohenjo Daro.[38]

Those who have witnessed these vicissitudes in the life of the Upper Sind villager will readily grant that in like manner, during the centuries of Mohenjo Daro's existence the city must frequently have been beset by floods, and that it may well have been occasionally deserted as a whole or in part not only because of floods, but on account of precisely the opposite vagary of the Indus; its failure to provide serviceable inundation spill, on which the agriculture of the people depended, within reasonable reach of the city. No doubt the great granary was established as a safeguard against such occasional shortages. So on the one hand, subsidence and collapse of buildings undermined by flood seepage, and on the other the partial overwhelming of the temporarily abandoned city by wind-blown silt and sand—either or both processes would oblige the people periodically to undertake considerable reconstruction.

We are now in a position to consider the significance of the marked change which distinguishes the last phase of Mohenjo Daro from all that had gone before. The first excavators of the city, Sir John Marshall and Doctor Mackay, were both of opinion that this twilight period of its existence began as a recolonisation after it had been wholly or partially deserted for an appreciable time. Mohenjo Daro had been evacuated, according to Mackay, on account of the second of the two catastrophic floods already mentioned; one feature in the devastated area being the exceptionally high proportion of salt in the soil, which lends support to the view that it remained for some time desolate and exposed to the elements.[39]

The place was re-inhabited, and by the 'Indus' people; but the new city was markedly inferior to the old. Standards in building have become shoddy, the houses being constructed mainly with bricks plundered from earlier levels; and the pits out of which they were quarried gape like bomb-craters all over the site.[40] This in turn restricts the ground available for new buildings, and there is much over-crowding. The substantial mansions of the prosperous era are arbitrarily sub-divided into small tenements, and there are encroachments over streets the prescribed limits of which had been scrupulously maintained for centuries before. Roughly built stalls now line the main thoroughfares and, still more significant of the decline in standards, a number of potters' kilns which in former days would never have been tolerated within the boundaries of the city are established here and there—one of them in the middle of a street.[41]

Clearly the rigorous municipal control which was such a characteristic feature of the long period of prosperity has vanished together with it. This Mohenjo Daro is no longer the metropolis of a great people, the capital of a trading empire; probably no longer the seat of a priest-king. Here rather is a congeries of artisans and subsistence farmers and labourers, crowded together on the site; manufacture is now not for export but for internal consumption, probably on a simple system of barter. No doubt the decline had begun towards the end of the previous era, with the drying up of maritime trade followed by some relaxation of control, probably due to general unrest and local disorder among the subject-peoples, over the trade-routes and marketing centres within the "empire". There must have been much heart-searching and calculation among the powerful merchant community so long identified with the greatness and wealth of Mohenjo Daro, when the question had to be decided whether or not to settle once again in the city which had undergone such devastation; whether there was any prospect of a revival of trade there, or whether it would be prudent to cut their losses and migrate to some other quarter — perhaps Harappa and the northern province?—which continued to flourish. Perhaps the prospect of further damaging visitations by the river made up

their minds; it is not improbable that this was one of those occasions when the Indus sent down a high flood several years in succession. As Mackay points out "even two feet or so of water round the city *annually* (my italics) for weeks at a time would soon have led to its evacuation by the wealthier classes; for...the transport of goods would have been impossible without the aid of boats".[42] On this occasion, evidently, the sorely-tried commercial community could bear no more. Having moved out they did not return. What became of them we do not know.

The "common people" who re-populated the city may well have included a number from other Harappan towns and villages in Sind; perhaps inhabitants of Lohumjo Daro and Jhukar, perhaps flood refugees from Chanhu Daro. There can be little doubt that the 'Indus' people were driven out of the latter place by a succession of inundations which appear to have demolished part of the inhabited area and rendered the whole untenable; we cannot however be certain that these coincided with the flood which is held to have caused the temporary evacuation of Mohenjo Daro.[43] Apart from all question of physical catastrophe, increasing instability in the districts would be the natural consequence of failing authority in the metropolis. There is no reason to suppose that the severe flooding which had resulted in the temporary abandonment of the city had any adverse effect on the agricultural capacity of that neighbourhood. It has already been pointed out that the secondary effects of high inundations in Sind are generally beneficial; the areas fit for *sailabi* cultivation are extended. The population during the final phases of the city seems to have been at least as great as, if not greater than, that of its heyday; the decline was only in quality. For the city to appear attractive to refugees, it must have afforded abundant means of livelihood as well as shelter and comparative security. Professor Piggott has drawn attention to the evidence of contacts between the people of Kulli and of Mohenjo Daro becoming closer about this time, while he cites from elsewhere in Baluchistan instances of the burning of old established villages of other cultures, and the violent displacement of peoples. However, further evidence seems to be required to determine more

closely the period or periods when this destruction occurred.[44] Meanwhile the 'Indian summer' in the Sind city was lingering on, perhaps through three generations or more.

In the first volume I suggested that the end of Mohenjo Daro probably came in consequence of a natural calamity which deprived the inhabitants of their means of subsistence; a drastic change of course by the Indus. The longer the river maintained that course from which the vicinity of the city had been fertilized by overspill with fair regularity, occasionally to excess—and we have to allow some seven to eight centuries of such stable conditions—the greater the build-up of its bed, and the more probable a major shift to adopt a lower level. There was thus by this time a strong physical probability that an avulsion would soon occur. The history of the Indus in Sind through the last two thousand years has been a history of such changes, with consequent alternations in particular tracts between prosperity and semi-desert conditions.[45] I believe that this was one such occasion; that the avulsion took place upstream of the city and that the river swung away to flow some thirty miles eastward of Mohenjo Daro, leaving the lands which it had formerly fertilized to rapid desiccation, unrelieved except by rainfall. The transformation perhaps took several seasons to complete and the inhabitants may not have recognized immediately the hopelessness of their situation. But it was very probably at this time, if not a little earlier, that the weakness of Mohenjo Daro tempted 'barbarians' from the West to raid the city. Their first essays may have been hit-and-run affairs. Piggott points to one burial of the late period as likely to have been that of one of the raiders. Also excavated from late levels were short swords and a fine shaft-hole axe-adze, all of which were exotic types in Harappan country, but characteristic of North Persia and even further westward.[46] It must soon have become evident to the inhabitants that the enemy would return in greater force; and it is significant that people now began to bury their valuables. The first excavators of the city disinterred several hoards of jewellery from the latest occupation levels. With demoralisation spreading it must have been recognized that the well-armed barbarians could not be resisted for long.

Groups of skeletons, some of them exhibiting cuts or other marks of violence, have been found huddled together in various parts of Mohenjo Daro, the majority within the levels of the latest occupation. These must have been victims of attacks on the city during its very last phase and probably include those who perished in the "final massacre". If, as I hold, the Indus had changed its course and cultivation anywhere near the city was becoming almost impracticable, the bulk of the population must already have migrated in order to obtain a livelihood. It would have been only a handful who clung to their homes in the hope of some recovery, who in the event fell to the sword.

The victors do not appear to have made any settlement of their own at Mohenjo Daro, though they did so at Jhukar, Lohumjo Daro and the deserted site of Chanhu Daro. The omission may indicate that they found scant prospect of cultivation near the former metropolis, though these newcomers may be assumed to have been primarily a pastoral people, perhaps semi-nomadic in their way of life, and engaging in agriculture only to supplement the produce of their herds. The artefacts of these people, who are known to us as the Jhukar folk, have been found in greatest variety at Chanhu Daro, and present parallels with objects recovered from a number of widely separated sites in Baluchistan, including the intrusive cemetery at Shahi-tump, and in northern Persia; some of the stamp-seals recall types from Asia Minor.[47]

It has never been suggested, so far as I know, that these 'barbarians' were identical with the Aryans of the Rigveda; but mention must be made of the theory that it was the latter who gave the death blow to the Indus civilization. It was long ago suggested that the walled cities of the *Dasyus* repeatedly mentioned in the Vedic hymns as destroyed by Indra or Agni must have been Harappan towns; while identification of the cattle-owning mercantile Panis of the Rigveda with the Indus people was proposed as early as 1926.[48] Professor Burrow in an article of 1963 quoted passages from two hymns of the Rigveda, the first of which, read in conjunction with a verse from one of the later Brahmanas, certainly bears out the theory that the Aryan invaders did destroy real cities or

towns, which can hardly have been other than Harappan. The second passage, alluding to a *ruined* city by name, and to the conquest and slaughter of its inhabitants, tends to confirm that view.[49] I would never the less deprecate the citing of Mohenjo Daro and the discovery of the corpses in the latest levels there, in that context. However plausible the theory may be so far as Harappa and the northern towns are concerned,[50] there are serious objections in respect of those in the lower Indus region.

The great bulk of the Rigveda hymns would appear from internal evidence to have been composed in the 'holy land' of Kurukshetra, about the Sarasvati river between the Sutlej and the Yamuna. The Panjab has been conquered, its rivers are well known, not only have there been widespread conflicts with the aborigines but also an inter-tribal war among the Aryans themselves. These and a number of other features in the hymns suggest that they must have been composed many years—perhaps a century or two – after the first arrival of the Aryans on Indian soil. There is no evidence in them that the invaders had yet reached the sea; the word *samudra* apparently refers to the Indus and its inundations immediately below the junction of the Panjnad rivers.[51] It is noteworthy that the tiger, which was well known on the Lower Indus, is not mentioned in the Rigveda; and fishing, which is so important in Sind, is all but ignored.[52] It seems most improbable, then, that Sind was in the possession of the Aryans, or that they had even penetrated to that country, at the time when the Rigveda was complete, which must have been a century or two at least after their arrival in the Panjab. Long before the hymns were composed the 'Western barbarians' must have been established at Chanhu Daro and other Sind sites; and these people, as has been shown above, clearly entered Sind by way of Baluchistan. Professor Piggott shows that there is ground for believing that the newcomers conscripted 'Indus' craftsmen; and it is probable that other elements of the Harappan population especially cultivators, also remained in various parts of Sind where crops could be conveniently raised, and worked for these 'barbarian' overlords.

Meanwhile at deserted Mohenjo Daro the silting-up process had begun; the same process which has covered the ruins of buildings and towns belonging to every epoch in Sind's history with a similar shroud of grey and dun-coloured earth. Not engulfment in the mud of an imaginary lake, but gradual overwhelming by wind-borne dust and sand, and the consolidation and shaping by rain of the mounds thus formed.[53]

In like manner, over a thousand years later, the renewed occupation of the city of Ur came to an end. The Euphrates abandoned the course on which Ur's life had always depended. "When the river changed its course...the drying up of the old bed meant the stoppage of water-borne traffic ... and the end of agriculture. The starving city had no longer any reason for existence... the houses crumbled, the winds sweeping across the now parched and desiccated levels brought clouds of sand which they dropped under the lee of standing walls, and what had been a great city became a wilderness of brick-littered mounds rising from the waste".[54]

NOTES

1. S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 208.
Sir M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization* (3rd Edition, 1968) p. 117.

2. Countries known as Magan and Meluhha mentioned in Babylonian texts subsequent to 1500 B.C. have generally been supposed by Assyriologists to correspond more or less with ancient Egypt and Ethiopia: and of late years it has been suggested that these toponyms were allocated to those lands because they were sources of the same valued commodities, particularly ivory, as the eastern countries formerly so named, trade with which had ceased many centuries before. Dilmun or Telmun, which is generally held to be Bahrein, seems to have been a port of call on the African trade route, as formerly on that to India. Professor Kramer has objected to this theory of the transfer of names and argues that Meluhha was Ethiopia in Sumerian as also in later Babylonian times. He cites the references to the Meluhhaites in the 'Curse of Agade' as "the people of the Black land" and notes that in a much later Esarhaddon inscription the expression "the black Meluhhaites" clearly refers to Ethiopians. But Kramer's view is also open to objection, in that there is no evidence of an Ethiopian civilization in c. 2500 B.C., which might have sent ships up into the Persian Gulf ("Ships of Magan", *vide infra.*) The inference from the dark skins of the inhabitants of Meluhha might just as well be that their country was on the Lower Indus; for the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, writing in the first century after Christ, declares that the natives of Sind were "men of large stature and *coloured black*" (italics, H.T.L.)

Antiquity xxxvii (1963), Kramer S.N., 'Dilmun; quest for Paradise', p. 112, Note II.
Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 74 (1954) Oppenheim A.L. 'The Seafaring merchants of Ur', p. 16. *Periplus*, Ed. McCrindle, para. 41.

3. *Antiquity* xxxii (1958); R.D. Barnett, 'Early shipping in the Near East', p. 221 and plate xxi b., opposite p. 256; Gordon Childe, '*New Light on the most ancient East*', p. 115 and table at pp 231-233; *Ur Excavation Texts* Vol. III, ed. Léon Legrain, texts 1053, 1054, 1459, 1680.
4. Ira Maurice Price, *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions of Gudea*, 1927, p. 13. (Cylinder A. 9)
5. Ibid., pp. 63-4, 71. (Statues B and D).
6. *Antiquity* xxxvii, S.N. Kramer, loc. cit.

   Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 74 A.L. Oppenheim, loc. cit.

   Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies Vol. 19 (1957) "Sissoo at Susa" by Ilya Gershevitch pp. 317-320; *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ed., William Vincent Part I, p. 94 φαλάγγων σησαμίνων cf. Part II, p. 342.
7. *Iran* Vol. III (1965) "The Mechanics of Ancient Trade in Western Asia" ... etc., by M.E.L. Mallowan, pp. 1-7. cf. Leemans, in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. III, p. 27;

   Woolley, *Excavations at Ur*, second impression, 1955, p. 116; *Periplus* etc. ed. Vincent (1805) Part II, p. 341.
8. G. Watt, *The commercial products of India*, London, 1908, p. 293. (*Avicennia officinalis* and *Ceriops candollean*)
9. *Periplus* trs. Vincent, 1809, p. 94.

   G. Watt, op. cit., p. 498.
10. Ur Excavation Texts, I. (Royal Inscriptions)

    Ed. C.S. Gadd and Léon Legrain, p. 11 (Text 50).
11. *Antiquity* xxxvii, S.N. Kramer, p. 113.
12. Illustrated London News, February 25th 1961, p. 302 - "New Light etc., by Sri S.R. Rao, re. Lothal.
13. Ur Excavation Texts, III - *Business Documents of the Third Dynasty at Ur*, ed. Léon Legrain. e.g. Texts 818, 368, 828.
14. Ur Excavation Texts, V. *Letters and Documents of the*

Old Babylonian Period, Ed. H.H. Figulla and W. F. J. Martin Text 292.

15. *Antiquity* xxxii (1958) G. Bibby and others, pp. 243-6. cf. Wheeler, op. cit., pp. 115-6.
16. Woolley, op. cit., pp. 193-4.
17. Wheeler, op. cit., pp. 64-5.
18. E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations* 2nd Ed. (London, 1948), p. 120;
cf. S. Piggott, op. cit., pp. 200-201;
B. and R. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, (1968), p. 134.
19. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 10, 103.
20. Sir L. Woolley, Alalakh, in *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. XVIII*, pp. 10, 304, 377-8.
21. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 94;
Mackay, op. cit., p. 114.
22. M.S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa* I, p. 324.
L. Woolley, op. cit., p. 116.
cf. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, pp. 42, 44.
23. Piggott, op. cit., p. 151.
24. Wheeler, op. cit., pp. 122-3.
cf. B. and R. Allchin, op. cit., p. 140.
25. Wheeler, loc. cit.
26. E. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, Delhi, 1938, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.
L. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur*, pp. 177-8.
27. D.A. Holmes "The Recent History of the Indus" in *Geographical Journal* 134, part 3, (Sept. 1968), pp. 367-382.
28. Sir Claude Inglis "*The behaviour and control of rivers and canals*", etc. Govt. of India Research Publication No. 13, Poona 1949, Vol. I, p. 172;
Marshall, op. cit., p. 7.
29. Marshall, op. cit., p. 103.

30. Mackay, *Further Excavations*, etc., pp. xiv, 2, 101, 107-8.

31. Descriptions of a number of these trenches are given by Mackay in *Further Excavations*, pages 1 to 5; the locations of six are readily distinguishable. Details of the two mentioned in the text are as follows:-

(a) About 40 feet from the north edge of the DK mound: Mackay, p. 2; section of the trench appears on Plate VIII, H. 2. Level of surface of the plain here, about 159 feet above sea level.

(b) Between the L mound and the ... southern slope of the Stupa mound: Mackay, p. 3. Located in a sort of re-entrant of the plain which almost divides the citadel mound. Surface of the plain here, approximately 156-5 above sea level, which is about the mean height of the surrounding plain in general.

32. Mackay, *Further Excavations*, p. 2.

S. Piggott, Notes, etc., in *Ancient India* No. 4 (1947-48) writes with reference to Mackay's excavation and stratigraphy, "An important feature in the sequence (sc., of building levels) is the presence of three thick layers of river silt at various levels" (p. 27; cf. diagram Fig. on p. 28)

With a single exception none of these thick layers of river silt occurred in the inhabited area, but in the trenches outside. See preceding note, and Appendix.

33. Mackay, op. cit., p. 44.

34. The great flood of 1929 was due to the bursting of such an ice-dam, on the Shyok river.

35. Marshall, op. cit., p. 125.
Mackay, op. cit., pp. 42, 43.

36. Marshall, op. cit., p. 21.
Mackay *apud* Marshall op. cit., p. 265.

37. Mackay, op. cit., pp. 2, 170, 171.

38. Mackay, op. cit., pp. 8, 66.

39. Mackay *apud* Marshall, op. cit., p. 265.

40. Mackay, *Further Excavations*, p. xiii, p. 6 (footnote). Plate XX.
41. Mackay, op. cit., p. 6.
42. Mackay, loc. cit.
43. Mackay, *Chanhu Daro Excavations* (Amer. Or. Soc. Newhaven, Connecticut, 1943), pp. 18, 59, 63.
44. S. Piggott, op. cit., pp. 192-4, 214-5.
45. *Vide* Vol. I of this History; *Sind, a General Introduction*, pp. 34-5.

    cf. D.A. Holmes, "*The Recent History of the Indus*" in Geographical Journal, Sept. 1968, p. 375; *Antiquity XIX* (1945) Dorothy Mackay "Ancient River Beds and Dead Cities".
46. S. Piggott. op. cit., pp. 228-229.
47. S. Piggott, op. cit., pp. 223-226.
48. Rama Prasad Chanda "*The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period*", in Memo. of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 31 (1926), p. 4, and *Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, M.A.S.I. No. 41 (1929).
    cf. V. Rangacharya, *History of pre-Mussulman India* in Vedic India, part I, pp. 147, 169-181.
49. T. Burrow, "On the significance of the term *arna*", etc. in *Journal of Indian History*, April 1963, pp. 163-5.
50. Ibid., pp. 161-2. In two of the Sutras the existence of ruined sites along the Sarasvati and Drishadvati is mentioned.
51. Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects*, p. 432; *Cambridge History of India* I, p. 79.
    cf. *contra*, Rama Prasad Chanda in M.A.S.I. No. 31 (1926), pp. 2-5.
52. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 101.
53. H.T. Lambrick, "The Indus Flood-Plain and the 'Indus' Civilization", in *Geographical Journal*, December 1967, pp. 490-491.
54. Sir L. Woolley, *Excavations at Ur*, p. 248.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTERS 1 AND 2
FLOODS AT MOHENJO DARO

The evidence of floods and their effects on the Harappan city of Mohenjo Daro, according to the first excavators' interpretation of data observed by them, has been reviewed in the second chapter of this volume. The existence of other interpretations, and of other suggested data, was briefly alluded to. In view of the controversy that has developed on this subject, I think it desirable to examine some of these later interpretations and theories, and the data on which they were based, in the belief that thereby it can be demonstrated where, how, and why error is likely to have crept in.

Sir John Marshall and Doctor Mackay may be reckoned as belonging to the Flinders Petrie school of archaeologists, formed in Egypt and operating mainly there, in Palestine, Mesopotamia and the Indian Sub-Continent. In the latter part of the Second World War and thereafter archaeologists trained in the Pitt Rivers school, whose experience had been gained in Britain and Western Europe, were able to investigate afresh sites of the 'Indus' civilization and review the work of their predecessors in that field. Their leaders felt obliged to condemn the excavation technique and methods of stratigraphy used by Marshall and Mackay, and a great deal of this criticism was undoubtedly just and valuable. But in certain instances it far overshot the mark, revealing indeed that the critics in their haste to condemn had failed to understand just how the "incredible system" they arraigned had been applied in practice.[1]

In 1948 Professor Stuart Piggott, in an article dealing primarily with the significance of certain peculiar artefacts previously recovered from Mohenjo Daro made three complaints against Mackay's record of his excavation of the area concerned—in the DK mound.

1. He had not produced a stratified section drawing.
2. He had assigned objects "to their respective horizons by means of levels beneath an arbitrary datum rather than

by reference to the natural layer of soil or debris in which they occurred".

3. His nomenclature of building phases was "very confusing" and his whole account of the stratigraphy "complex and sometimes inconsistent".[2]

Piggott therefore produced a 'reconstruction' which, he claimed, though only an approximation, gave "in convenient visual form a rough outline of the probable sequence encountered by the excavator in the central area of the DK mound". He thus invites attention to his own drawing in section:- "An important feature in the sequence is the presence of three thick layers of river silt at various levels...and of these three can be inserted on the diagram from Mackay's data". It will be recalled that Mackay in fact encountered only one deposit of river silt in his deep excavation in the DK mound; the other layers of silt recorded by him were actually exposed in trenches dug in the flood-plain outside the inhabited area, though he had *correlated* two of these—erroneously, in my opinion—with the two levels of subsidences of buildings within the mound, which he held to have resulted from flood seepage.[3]

Next Piggott, having alluded to Mackay's nomenclature of the main buiding periods, remarks, "the fact that flood silt cuts across these main periods in each instance was not apparently regarded as an inconsistency by Mackay". In actual fact flood silt did not 'cut across' these main periods in the deep excavation in the DK mound, though it was present in the lower levels reached in the undivided Early period. As to inconsistency, Mackay specifically calls for modification of the stratigraphy based on Marshall's in the light of the new evidence (subsidences ascribed to floods): thus, "the so-called Late III Phase should be regarded as the uppermost stratum of the Intermediate Phase...terminated by a complete evacuation of the city on the occasion of a great flood ... It is the Late II Phase that marks the real beginning of the Late Period". Similarly "the Intermediate III Phase should really be regarded as the last phase of the Early Period. It was brought to an end by the earlier of the two floods of which we have evidence ... ".[4] Piggott's 'reconstruction'

of these lower levels reads, "Virgin soil was not reached in the DK area, owing to the present water-table, but flood silt was encountered above which two imperfectly distinguished building levels lay, themselves covered by the silt of the first recognizable flooding of the city. Above this were two more building phases, Early I and Intermediate III, before the second layer of flood silt".[5]

Here again Piggott's 'reconstruction' completely misrepresents Mackay's findings; and since there is really no great difficulty in delineating in section the latter's stratification as revised by himself, and the substances and indications which he did find in his deep excavation in the DK mound and in separate trenches dug in the flood-plain, with the approximate positions of these trenches; or in showing the strata throughout in accordance with the references to datum given by Mackay himself, I have drawn all these in the accompanying sketch, inserting also Professor Piggott's 'reconstructed' section at (I trust) its correct level, for purposes of comparison. And in the hope of preventing renewed misunderstanding I am appending explanatory notes to this sketch.

On the right hand side of the sketch appears a schematic representation of part of the DK mound in section both above and below the modern level of the flood-plain, showing some substances encountered by Mackay in the southern portion of the G-section of the DK area, where he carried out his deep digging. The datum-level at 178.8 feet above sea level which he employed for vertical references is drawn across with a scale on the right in feet indicating depths below datum, as given by Mackay throughout his text.

The stratification by periods and phases in my representation of the mound in section is that set forth on pages xiv to xv of Mackay's Introduction to "Further Excavations" embodying the modifications required by his remarks, viz., "The so-called Late III Phase ... appears as "the uppermost stratum of the Intermediate Period" (Intermediate I), with "the Intermediate III Phase ... regarded as the last phase of the Early Period" (Early I).

I have also drawn the *mean* level of the 1927-31 A.D. surface of the surrounding plain at 157 feet above sea level (21.8 below datum). This level is produced across to the left of the sketch, where sections of the six readily distinguishable trenches, etc., mentioned by Mackay as dug at different places in the surrounding plain, are shown side by side in section, with reference to his datum-level and details as in his text. Above these I have inserted a small plan of Mohenjo Daro, adopting the 160-foot contour line for the boundary of the mounds, so that the approximate location of the trenches can be conveniently seen.

Between the section of the DK mound and the sections of trenches in the flood-plain I have inserted Professor Piggott's 'reconstruction' diagram as given in Fig. 2 of his 1948 article in *Ancient India* No. 4, omitting his representation of the axe-adze and pins, but including his scale of feet below surface. I have taken his 'surface' (=0) to correspond with Mackay's highest level of Late Phase 1A in the DK mound, viz., .86 above datum (p. xiv of Further Excavations).

The general levels of those subsidences in the DK area which Mackay ascribed to the effects of floods (percolation of the mound) have been inserted just below, i.e. prior to, phases Intermediate II and Late II respectively; this being the obvious interpretation of his remarks on pages xiv, 2, 8, 101, 107-8 of *Further Excavations*, and at page 265 in *Marshall* Vol. I, and Plate LXII in Vol. II.

The stratification of Mackay's deep excavation within the mound has also been inserted with reference to the details he gives on pp. 42-44 of *Further Excavations*. Included is the only instance that I have been able to find in his account of his investigation within the DK mound of flood deposit actually encountered and recognized as such—"from 35 feet (sc., below datum) downward a layer of stiff clay with occasional pockets of grey sand is clear evidence of the occurrence of a flood". The deepest points reached in 1931 and 1932 are also shown, and for ready reference and convenience I have added the levels reached by Wheeler in 1950 and by

G.F. Dales in 1964–5 as if they too had been excavated through the DK mound.

The strata of deposits of various substances observed by Mackay in the trenches or other excavations *in the surrounding plain* have been drawn in accordance with the data he gives on pages 2–6 of *Further Excavations* and two of them, numbered by me 1 and 2, checked with the diagrams in section which figure in his Plate VIII, Figs. H.8 and H.2 respectively.

I trust that these and the other details and levels mentioned by Mackay have been correctly indicated in the sketch, as also those which appear in Professor Piggott's diagram of his 'reconstruction'. It is surely easy enough to relate feet above sea level to Mackay's feet below datum, and with Piggott's feet below surface (sc., of the DK mound).

Unless I have fallen into some strange error, there is no correspondence between the positions of Piggott's "layers of flood silt" and Mackay's levels of observed subsidences and of the deposit of "stiff clay with pockets of grey sand" interpreted by him as evidence of floods. Piggott's "Flood Silt three" lies higher than the subsidences accompanied by salt which Mackay ascribed to a flood at the end of the Intermediate Period; while the reconstructor's "Flood silt two" occurs above, and his "Flood silt one" below, the level of the earlier subsidences thought by Mackay to be due to a flood which closed the Early Period. Again, Piggott's indication of "Silt" about his thirty-foot level (below surface) lies several feet above the deposit of "stiff clay with patches of grey sand", the upper surface of which Mackay states occurred at thirty five feet below datum in the DK mound.

On the other hand, the levels of Piggott's "Flood Silt One" and his basic "Silt" do quite closely correspond with those of the two layers of sandy clay in Mackay's trench No. 2—dug in the plain forty feet away from the northern edge of the DK mound.

Now if these details and comparisons have been fairly and accurately set forth above, the curious coincidence last mentioned only reinforces the impression left by the other

extraordinary discrepancies, viz., that in this instance the work of Doctor Ernest Mackay has been grievously misrepresented and traduced, apparently through inadvertance. And the mischief extends further than injustice to Mackay. Professor Piggott's diagram seems to have become accepted by other writers on this subject, during some twenty years following its publication, as if it were the most authentic possible exposition of the stratification of the Lower City—something by virtue of which they were exempted from the task of re-examining for themselves Mackay's own statements and diagrams connected with his excavations.

Thus in the third Edition (1968) of "*The Indus Civilization*" we find Sir Mortimer Wheeler writing of "deep flood deposits such as the three observed by Mackay amongst the higher levels" (sic) "penetrated by him", to which a footnote is appended "See discussion of Mackay's alleged stratification by Piggott in *Ancient India* No. 4 (1948) pp. 27 ff." Thus Wheeler on page 119; he had already cited Piggott's 'reconstruction' similarly in a footnote on page 55. Again on page 127 Wheeler writes "it would appear from the records of the principal excavators" (sic) "who unhappily recorded their observations with baffling inadequacy that at Mohenjo Daro periods of occupation were interleaved by three main phases of deep flooding", and once again, in a footnote, "Reconstructed so far as the evidence permits" (sic) "by Piggott in Ancient India No. 4 (1948) p. 28".

Prior to the appearance of this edition of Wheeler's work Mr. R.L. Raikes had adduced Piggott's (factitious) "thick beds of river silt" as significant data in the evolution of his theory of deep still-water flooding of Mohenjo Daro. In his 1965 article, *The Mohenjo Daro Floods*, Raikes alludes to his earlier paper *The End of the Ancient Cities of the Indus*,[6] observing... "Reference was made to the only existing attempt (by Piggott) toreconstruct the stratigraphy of earlier excavations. The most important arguments were the great thickness of individual silt beds indicated *in the reconstructed stratigraphy*" (my italics, H.T.L.) "...it was clear that Marshall's thirty feet or more of deposits were all under the present

flood-plain but it was not known whether Piggott's stratigraphy referred to the same zone. If the archaeological evidence was right, all this deposition of silt took place only during the occupation of the city".

But in the sequel, when Mr. Raikes obtained the opportunity of carrying out some investigations at Mohenjo Daro he found— not surprisingly— that "analysis of the actual levels of flood deposits does not indicate the existence of general inundation levels as suggested in Piggott's stratigraphy".[7] Instead, what he deemed to be still-water flood deposits appeared almost omnipresent in the ruins up to twenty nine feet above the level of the modern plain. He ascribed these deposits to siltation from Indus water impounded in a lake the surface of which, presumably, had been higher still. To account for such a lake he postulated tectonic disturbance in the plain far down stream, producing a great barrier which prevented the river from reaching the sea. The ponding back of the water he assumed to have been very gradual, slowed up by percolation through the 'dam' and by evaporation. Eventually Mohenjo Daro is supposed to have been overwhelmed by mud; but thereafter somehow the ante-diluvian conditions are thought to have been restored, and all traces of the natural dam removed.

This theory and the data on which it was said to rest were challenged by the present writer in 1967, in a paper which appeared in the *Geographical Journal* for December that year, entitled *The Indus Flood-Plain and the 'Indus' Civilization.*[8] The reader is referred to that article for reasoned arguments against Mr. Raikes' theory. I shall only mention here two of my contentions. First, that if a natural dam of the dimensions and in the position he requires for his purpose *had* been thrown up nearly 4000 years ago, there would still be clear traces of it; but there are none. Secondly, that the agency by which deposits of natural alluvium have been left at so many levels in the ruins of Mohenjo Daro above the level of the existing flood-plain is likely to have been the wind. The formative influence in Sind of air-borne dust, silt and sand is one of the most characteristic features of the country. Certain-

ly the data presented by deposits of alleged still-water 'silty clay' etc., require objective examination and interpretation by a qualified sedimentologist before they can be properly accepted as evidence of lacustrine as distinct from aerial deposition.

Meanwhile Mr. Raikes' theory has received the powerful support of Sir Mortimer Wheeler. He writes in 1968, "Suffice it that however explained, a succession of abnormal and apparently prolonged floods at Mohenjo Daro are *plain to see* (my italics, H.T.L.) and the human consequences are equally plain to understand ... the citizens were called upon to battle again and again with arduous circumstances. Again and again the lake had advanced upon them up the valley, spreading slowly perhaps but relentlessly. Eventually we may envisage the city as an archipelago of insulated habitations on heightened foundations in an inland sea. And then when— after who knows how long a time?—the lake subsided once more through regressive earth movements or through the openings of a broken dam, the islands were enlarged by the exposure of silt and debris. It is easy to imagine the accumulative demoralization of the citizens and the gradual worsening of civic standards".[9] But what is *not* easy to imagine is

1. Why the people of Mohenjo Daro should have elected to remain there to "battle again and again" against such irresistible invasions (from downstream) by water and mud?

2. What was their means of livelihood in their "insulated habitations on heightened foundations in an inland sea"?

3. If, alternatively, the people evacuated this city marooned in a lake, when the greater part of it was engulfed in mud, what was the attraction which caused them to recolonise such a place after the waters had subsided?

In introducing Professor Piggott's reconstruction of the stratigraphy of the DK mound, which appears to have contributed so much to confuse the issues, I alluded briefly to his

criticism of Mackay's method of record by recourse to a datum-level. Sir Mortimer Wheeler is more vigorous in his denunciation of "its utter absurdity":- "be it repeated, the so-called stratification of the Indus valley civilization ... was dominated, not by local observation, but by the level of the sea nearly 300 miles away!"[10] The introducer of the datum-level system of reference at Mohenjo Daro, Sir John Marshall, may perhaps be allowed a word:- "It is not of course to be assumed by the reader that the levels of the seven strata or of any one of them are uniform throughout the site...even at its centre the levels of contemporary buildings or groups of buildings show great disparity ... it will therefore be clear to the reader that though the depth of a given stratum below datum-level may be, and frequently is, an index to its relative date, it is by no means invariably so".[11] And many passages could be quoted from his writings and those of Mackay to show that they did not apply their datum with blind rigidity, but recognized other exceptions and took into account factors other than relation to datum. Thus Mackay observes "a most useful check on the levels of the various phases is provided by the masonry of the wells, on the outsides of most of which there are distinguishable the levels from which they were raised from time to time".[12]

Finally a word on that perennial problem encountered in prehistoric sites on the flood-plain of Sind— the high water-table which frustrates deep excavation at Mohenjo Daro and Chanhu Daro. Everyone must hope that the constantly increasing resources of modern technology will eventually overcome the difficulty. But until that day, which may not dawn for many years yet, what policy is to be followed in archaeological investigation in other such sites? Eventually, one may suppose, it will be decided to explore some of those Indus settlements the location and description of which were communicated to the former Director General of Archaeology in India as long ago as 1946, which still await the spade—Ther and Hakra in Upper Sind, and Garho Bhiro near Nohto in Lower Sind. (Incidentally, R.L. Raikes cited "the total absence" (sic) "of Indus sites in the flood-plain of Southern Sind" as a factor in support of his theory of tectonic uplift.

Garho Bhiro contradicts this. It stands close to the lower Hakra-Nara where the surface of the plain is only about twenty five feet above sea level. The subsoil water level is likely to be high here.)[13]

I cannot see what has been gained by Professor Piggott's reversal of Doctor Mackay's order for the series of three Harappan strata at Chanhu Daro, since the orthodox Occupation Stratum One, on virgin soil, cannot be attained. No sensible layman interested in archaeology will object if a certain number-sequence in used for one technical archaeological purpose and the opposite sequence for another purpose, provided that each system works in practice. But what is one to think of a system recommended as "logical" and for universal application, which has already proved inapplicable to sites as important as Mohenjo Daro and Chanhu Daro, merely on account of a high water-table in the subsoil? The two enumeration systems are not, in the characteristic conditions of the Sind flood-plain, "both logical and practical for their several purposes", as claimed.[14] One is so, the other is not. The "consistency" for which a plea is here made, is consistency with experience and commonsense. Surely there is a strong case in such conditions for adopting the *démodé* system of numbering occupation sequences from the top downwards — the *latest* figuring as ONE. The obvious advantage is that every earlier occupation stratum attained, IF deeper digging is found possible, can be added to the sequence—even though it may not attain virgin soil.

No doubt this is swimming against the overwhelming current of archaeological opinion, but I still cannot see any particular virtue in the system of applying the lowest number of an occupation sequence to the earliest period. In ordinary chronology we have become accustomed to reckon in the opposite manner for periods preceding the birth of Christ, so that the First Century B.C. is relatively late, the Second, Third, etc., earlier. Even Archbishop Usher, who in the Seventeenth Century A.D. worked out a 'datum-level' for the creation of the world (analogous to Archaeology's

GARHO BHIRO, MITHI TALUKA

View from the top of the site across the Hakra bed towards Nohto villag

GARHO BHIRO, MITHI TALUKA

The site seen from the plain, looking N. N. E.

virgin soil) reckoned it as "4004 B.C." and not "Creation Year One". Incidentally, archaeologists have to try to relate the cultural phases of prehistoric civilizations to chronology, so the earlier they are, the higher the "number" of the equivalent century or millennium before Christ. Why should not archaeologists number the cultural phases similarly?—that is, in the same direction as they naturally number the layers as these are exposed in the course of excavation? I cannot but think that this method is appropriate at least to conditions in the Lower Indus flood plain.

H.T.L.

Note: This Appendix is based upon a Lecture delivered in the University of Cambridge on 4th December 1968.

NOTES

1. *Vide* R.E.M. Wheeler "*Archaeology from the Earth*" (1954) pp. 14-22, 51-56, 127-8.
2. Stuart Piggott in *Ancient India* No. 4 (1947-48) pp. 26-40.
3. Vide ante, Chapter 2, pp. 38-9.
4. Mackay, *Further Excavations*, p. xiv.
5. Piggott in *Ancient India* No. 4, p. 29.
6. *Antiquity* XXXIX, pp. 196-203;
   American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, 1964, pp. 284-299.
7. *Antiquity* XXXIX, pp. 196-7.
8. *Geographical Journal* Vol 133, pp. 483-495.
9. Sir Mortimer Wheeler "The Indus Civilization" 3rd Edition, 1968, pp. 128-9.
10. R.E.M. Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth* (1954), p. 53.
11. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization* Vol. I, p. 10.
12. E. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo Daro*, Vol. I, p. xv.
13. R.L. Raikes in *Antiquity* XXXIX, p. 196.
    cf. *Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, Vol. VIII (1946), pp. 59-60.
14. By R.E.M. Wheeler in *Archaeology from the Earth*, p. 56.

3

THE TRADITIONAL EARLY HISTORY OF SIND

The fall of Mohenjo Daro and the destruction of the Indus State were followed by a dark age of which we know virtually nothing. The institutions of the Indus people cannot have long survived the ruin of the cities on which they had mainly depended, and the only element in their culture which seems to have persisted into a subsequent period was religion - in those observances which in all probability were indigenous to the Indus valley before the rise of the Harappa civilization.

It seems probable that Sind remained for a considerable time under the rule of the barbarians from the West who had first overrun it; and that the Vedic Aryans, when at length they came in contact with the country, were unable to exercise an influence comparable with that which they established over the rest of northern India.

Traditions relating to Sind are recorded in Sanskrit, Persian and Pali literature and afford a few glimpses of the political state of the country prior to the first definite date in its history. Some of this traditional matter may refer to subsequent periods, but the data for determining this are so slight that the subject is best dealt with as a whole at this stage.

We may first consider what is said of the kingdom of Sind in the Mahabharata. The great war between the Kuruvas and Pandavas must be accepted as a historical event of ancient times, though its story has come down to us overloaded with legends and details have been added to suit the ideas of a much later age. As has been well said, "the remotest peoples of Eastern and Southern India

and the late invaders of the North West alike claimed a place in the history of the Mahabharata, even as the royal houses of Western Europe traced their origin in Trojan heroes".[1] We can see at the present day how tribal pride among the Balochis works to the same effect. The *cachet* of original nobility in their race is held to lie in a list given in a traditional poem of no great length, known as the Daptar Sha'ar: a Baloch reciting it is almost certain to include his own tribe in the list, and will not hesitate to omit one of the old-established names in order to do so.

Now Jayadratha king of the Sindhus and Soviras plays an important part in the Mahabharata war, on the side of the Kuruvas; and it is on this side that the Sakas and Yavanas - late invaders from the North West - as well as tribes from the far south, were ranged. In default of other internal evidence, we might well presume that the name of the Sindhu Soviras too was added at a relatively late stage, as those others must have been, to the original list of the tribes engaged. But Jayadratha and his tribes are not merely one of the units in the Kuruvas' order of battle; they play a distinct and important role at an early stage in the epic - the abduction of the Pandavas' wife Draupadi. This forms a sort of prologue to the main theme of the epic, and would seem to be one of the original historical events commemorated. An incident of such importance and so discreditable to the king of Sind is not likely to have won universal acceptance in the poem had it been a mere late addition. Such fabrication would be a very different matter from the slipping in of an additional tribal name or two into a battle array, to gratify the vanity of new-comers to the Kshatriya Order.

The story is briefly as follows. Jayadratha king of the Sindhus, who is also referred to as Sovirarajah, saw Draupadi at her *svayamvara* (? hermitage), subsequently took occasion to intrude on her when the Pandavas were out hunting, and carried her off. He was overtaken by the Pandavas, defeated in battle, and fled only to be captured whereafter his life was spared on condition that he publicly

humiliated himself. When the great war broke out, he joined Duryodhana with a large contingent of troops under his standard, which carried a representation of a boar in silver. He was eventually killed in battle by Arjuna.

The interview and conversation between Jayadratha and Draupadi has a number of points of interest. Jayadratha comes to her accompanied by the kings of Trigartha and Kulinda, with twelve Sovira princes as his standard bearers, and introduces them to Draupadi. She asks, "Art thou, as sole ruler, governing with justice the rich countries of Saivya, Sivi, Sindhu and others that thou hast brought under thy sway?"[2] When he entices her, she threatens him with the vengeance of the Pandavas, but without effect; "..Thou canst not frighten us now with those threats. We too, O Krishna (Draupadi's other name) belong by birth to the seventeen high clans, and are endowed with the six royal qualities. We therefore look down on the Pandavas as inferior men." Warriors of the Sivi, Sovira and Sindhu tribes are mentioned as fighting side by side in Jayadratha's army in the battle which ensued when the Pandavas overtook him, and he is said to have had a bodyguard of "five hundred brave mountaineers" about his chariot.

Thus we find Jayadratha represented as a powerful king, who had extended his realm by conquest. In claiming for himself descent from the highest Aryan aristocracy he probably wished to dispel any idea that the ruler of a kingdom so remote from Kurukshetra as the lower Indus valley must belong to an inferior race. Elsewhere in the Mahabharata we are told that Nakula Pandava was formerly sent to conquer the Sibis and Trigartas (who in the "Draupadi-Harana-Parva" appear as allies of Jayadratha) "and had vanquished the whole Western region teeming with Mlecchas" (Non-Aryans).[3] According to Baudhayana's Dharmasutra the Soviras' country was considered impure, outside the limits of Aryandom proper: Aryans who went there had to perform a sacrifice of purification on their return.[4] It may be added that the Sibis may well

be identical with the Siboi of Alexander's time, and in all probability derived from the Sivas of the Rigveda. The Trigartas, again, are mentioned by Panini, who flourished about the middle of the 4th century B.C.

There seems some ground then for believing that what we are told of Jayadratha may be a substantially true account of a very early page in Sind's lost history. We are given a fleeting glimpse of one of its later pages elsewhere in the Epic, where the Soviras are said to have a Greek overlord, the "Yavanadhipa, whom the vigorous Pandavas had not been able to bring under their domination". This must refer to one of the Indo-Bactrian Princes who made their appearance in the Indus valley between 200 and 50 B.C.

We have an account of how Jayadratha came to rule over Sind in the legendary history of the country preserved in the Mujmalu-t-Tawarikh. The Sanskrit work there reproduced alludes to a number of the events described in the Mahabharata and may be supposed to derive from the same original nucleus of tradition. The chiefs of the Jats and Meds, it is said, recognizing that they could only live at peace side by side if they became subject to some superior authority, sent a deputation to king Dajushan (Duryodhana) son of Dahrat (Dhritarashtra) to ask him to appoint a king. "The emperor Dajushan nominated his sister Dassal (Duhsala) wife of king Jandrat (Jayadratha), a powerful prince, to rule over the Jats and Meds. Dassal went and took charge of the country and cities,.... but for all its greatness and riches and dignity, there was no Brahman or wise man in the country. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother for assistance, who collected 30,000 Brahmans from all Hindustan, and sent them with all their goods and dependants to his sister".[5] Here surely the story transmits the authentic tradition of a remote epoch in Sind history - the relatively late extension of Aryan dominance over the country, and the even later introduction of the Brahmanical faith.

Other details of interest are that the city which the queen made the capital was called Askaland - we hear of this

place in later eras - and that the Jats and the Meds were allotted separate territories under their own governors. The rule of Duhsala and Jayadratha is said to have been short - twenty-odd years - "after which the Bharatas lost possession of the country." The use of the name Bharata is natural here, in reference to the noble Aryan family deputed to rule over Sind; it recurs, perhaps, as an echo of this legend, in Buddhist traditions about Sind.

Buddhist literature is but little concerned with historical events, and it is only incidentally that it throws some light on political conditions. One such ray falls upon the Indus valley. In the Dighanikaya some of the old mnemonic verses are quoted, giving a table of the seven main divisions of Aryan India with the capital of each. This is followed by the names of their respective kings. The whole would appear to refer to an age preceding the rise of Buddhism. Sovira-land was one of these seven kingdoms: its capital was Roruka, and its king Bharata.[6] He and the other six kings, whose individual names are given, are called "the seven Bharatas". Again in Book VIII of the Jataka, the stories of the Buddha's former births, it is recorded that a king named Bharata reigned at Roruva in the kingdom of Sovira. "He practised the ten royal virtues, won the people by the four elements of popularity, stood to the multitude like father and mother, and gave great gifts to the poor, the wayfarers, the beggars, the suitors, and the like. His chief queen, Samuddavijaya, was wise and full of knowledge."[7]

Roruva is doubtless a mere variant of the name Roruka: but there is reason to believe that there were two royal cities called Roruka at this epoch, which have become confused in Buddhist tradition. According to the legend, a place bearing this name was overwhelmed with sand in retribution for the ill-treatment by its people of a Buddhist missionary. There can be no doubt that this story belongs to a Roruka in Turkestan; but in the opening words of the legend, both in the Divyavadana and in a Tibetan version,[8] Roruka in Sovira-land seems indicated. "The Buddha

is in Rajagrha. At this time there were two great cities in Jambudvipa (northern India), Pataliputra and Roruka. When Roruka rises, Pataliputra declines: when Pataliputra rises, Roruka declines." There is trade between the two places, and king Rudrayana of Roruka becomes friendly with king Bimbisara of Magadha, who sends Buddhist monks, and Rudrayana is converted. It is not necessary to follow the legend to its conclusion, which clearly concerns the Roruka of Central Asia.[9] The trade relations and the friendship of the king with Bimbisara of Magadha seem rather to point to Roruka of the Soviras.

Before glancing at the references to Sind in the legendary history of Persia,[10] it is well to draw attention to the strange discrepancies between that great body of tradition and fable, which has been invested with such splendour by Firdausi, and the historical facts ascertained from other sources. The Persians of the Sassanian epoch preserved no genuine tradition of the great Cyrus, or of Darius Hystaspes; when they became aware from Syriac accounts of the existence of these, the most glorious of all rulers of Persia, their own conceptions of their country's history were already fixed and the order of succession and the actions of each traditional monarch universally accepted among the people. All that could be done was to identify wherever possible a real with a legendary king. Cyaxares fitted in well with Kai Kaus, so Cyrus must be Kai Khusru - though the latter was really the Kava Husrava of Indo-Iranian legend. And after them, Artaxerxes Longimanus must be Bahman, who becomes known as Ardashir Dirazdast.[11]

It is to this Bahman that one tradition gives the credit, which rightly belongs to Darius Hystaspes, of having added Sind to the Empire.[12] Thus in the Mujmalu-t-Tawarikh we are told that Bahman, in the life time of his grandfather Gushtasp, "led an army to Hindustan and took a portion of it... Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindus and the Turks, to which he gave the name of Kandabil, and in another place which they call Budha he founded a city which he called Bahmanabad". The Arab

editor proceeds, "According to one account this is Mansuria; but God knows."[13] We are told later in the same work that some time afterwards 'King Kafand',[14] a potentate in north west India, sent an army to reconquer Sind, to expel the viceroy, Mahra the Persian, "from those places which Bahman had conquered, and to erect idol temples in place of fire temples." This was achieved, it is said, before Alexander's invasion of India.

This account of the recession of Persian dominion from the Indus valley at some time prior to the Macedonian invasion would seem to be founded on fact: but as the legend adds little to what we learn from historical sources, the subject may be left till these come under review.

NOTES

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 307.
2. Mahabharata, Trs. P.C. Roy, Vol. II, pp. 560-2.
3. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 32: cf. Vol. V, p. 48. The Sindhu-Soviras are also said to be Mlechhas in their practices. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 101.
4. Dharmasutra I.i. 32-3. *Vide* B.C. Law, Tribes in Ancient India, p. 344.
5. Elliot, History of India, I, p. 104 seq: M. Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans Inédits relatifs a l'Inde, p. 25.
6. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. III, Dialogues of the Buddha (trs. T.W. Rhys Davids and C.A.F. Rhys Davids), pp. 269-270.
7. Jataka, (trs. H.T. Francis & R.A. Neil) Book VIII No. 424, p. 280.
8. Udrayana, Kõnig von Roruka, trs. Johannes Nobel, (Wiesbaden 1955), p. 49.
9. Cf. Huber, Etudes de Littérature Bouddhique. Bulletin de l'école francaise d'extreme Orient, Tome V, pp. 12-15; pp. 335-340.
10. The reader is spared discussion of such fables as that which declares the 'Mihran' to have been excavated by Jamshed.
11. Shahnama, trs. A.G. & E.W. Warner, Vol. V, pp. 281-2.
12. In the Shahnama, it is Bahman's father Asfandiyar who restores the glory of the Persian Empire during the reign of Gushtasp, to whom the kings of Sind sent tribute.
13. The account in the Mujmal-ut-Tawarikh was derived from a work "In the Hindi Language" translated into

Persian about the same time as Firdausi was engaged on the 'Shahnama'. Gardaizi in his 'Zain-ul-Akhbar' written a little later relates the story in much the same terms.

14. Dr. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, following K. P. Jayaswal, believes that Kafand actually represents Kujula Kadphises who reigned about 25 B.C. to 35 A.D.

4

SIND UNDER THE ACHAEMENIAN KINGS OF IRAN

The first date in Sind history which can be fixed within narrow limits is that of its annexation to the Persian Empire in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. This was the first of that king's conquests, and would seem to have taken place in either 519 or 518 B. C. His predecessors had secured a foothold on Indian soil in Gandhara, which is mentioned in the Behistun inscription set up by Darius in the year 520 B.C. to commemorate the crushing within a year of the nine rebellions which took place on the death of Cambyses. The provinces enumerated are those of the Empire as it stood when he received it in a state of disintegration.

It has been suggested that Thatagush,[1] which is also in the Behistun list, was in the north west Panjab, mainly on the ground that Herodotus' version of the name, Σατταγύδαι appears to mean "Hundreds of Cows". But most authorities locate it in the Ghilzai or Hazara country. Be this as it may, it was Gandhara that provided the base for an advance down the Indus valley, the whole of which was probably brought under Persian control by 518 B.C. According to Herodotus, the Indians were conquered after[2] the celebrated voyage of Skylax down the Indus and along the coasts of Persia and Arabia to Egypt: but it is much more likely that the voyage was undertaken in conjunction with, or subsequent to, the conquest. If the statement is correct that it took Skylax thirteen months to reach the sea, it may be assumed that he had to conform to the movements of forces operating on the land, in the manner of Alexander's subsequent conquest.

Darius gave orders for the naval expedition with a view to ascertaining the possibility of navigation from the Indus to Persia. Skylax, a native of Caryanda in Caria, was appointed to the command and embarked at a place called Kaspapyros[3] in the Gandhara country - probably on the lower course of the Kabul river, as Herodotus tells us that he set sail towards the east.[4] After two and a half years Skylax reached Egypt. We do not know whether regular communications by sea were thereafter established, but 'Hindu', that is the lower valley of the Indus, became a satrapy of the Persian Empire and is mentioned in an inscription[5] which dates from before 515 B.C. The "royal fort" which the contemporary Greek geographer Hecataeus mentions as in the land of the Opiai, near the Indus river, would seem to have been a Persian garrison in the new frontier province. Hecataeus also states that beyond the country of the Opiai there was a desert "as far as the Indians".[6] This suggests that he had heard that there was a further 'India' beyond the Indus valley, but the Persians do not appear to have explored in that direction. Herodotus states that the eastern part of India is a desert, and he knows nothing of the Ganges valley.[7] In Sind, at least, the boundary of the new Persian province must have been the edge of the desert; but it is likely that a considerable portion of the Panjab east of the Indus was tributary if only for the reason that "India's" revenues and population far exceeded those of any other satrapy of the Empire. Herodotus states that the tribute paid by the Indians amounted to three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust; equivalent to over a million pounds sterling. This was about one third of the total amount imposed on the Asiatic provinces of the Empire, and implies very widespread and flourishing cultivation. The same author explicitly states that the population was far greater than that of any other nation known to him.[8]

Darius died in 486 B.C. and among the sculptures on his tomb at Naqsh-i-Rustam representatives of three Indian nations appear. Their clothes consist only of a loin cloth and a sort of turban, and they bear a long broad sword from a strap over the shoulder. In the reign of Darius'

successor Xerxes the new province provided an Indian contingent including both cavalry and infantry for the vast army he assembled for the invasion of Greece. Herodotus describes the infantry as clad in garments made of cotton and carrying bows of cane with cane arrows tipped with iron. They were placed under the command of a Persian, Pharnazathres son of Artebates. In addition to the cavalry there were chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.[9]

A stone tablet discovered at Persepolis records that Xerxes "by Ahuramazda's will" caused certain temples of Indian gods to be destroyed, and issued an ordinance that "the Daivas shall not be worshipped".[10] According to tradition recorded in the Mujmalu-t-Tawarikh, as already mentioned, there was a vigorous Hindu reaction in the days of the Empire's decline, when the Indians built idol-temples in place of the fire-temples erected by the Persians.

It does not appear however that the ignominious defeat of Xerxes, or his subsequent murder, caused any slackening of the hold of his successors over the Indian satrapy. A description of it was written by Ktesias, a Greek physician resident at the Persian Court, some seventy years after Xerxes' death. Of this work, entitled 'Indica', only fragments remain. Ktesias does not seem ever to have been to India himself, but his account must have been based on information received from Indians visiting the court of the Great King, Persian officials returned from duty in the Province, and travellers and traders between the two countries. It is unfortunate that the fragments which have come down to us consist largely of "travellers' tales", and throw no light on such matters as the Persians' administrative system in India. Nevertheless it is possible, as has been pointed out in the first volume,[11] to recognize many characteristic features of the Indus valley country. The clear reference to cotton has its significance, in regard to the remarkable wealth of the Province.

Even when the Achaemenian Empire was tottering to its fall, Persian India remained true to her allegiance. Darius Codomannus summoned Indian troops to his support

in his last stand against Alexander and the call was obeyed. Men and elephants were despatched to join him in time to take part in the fatal battle of Arbela.[12] It is not unlikely that at this period the boundary of the upper part of the Province had been withdrawn to the Indus: at least the elephants were supplied by Indians living on the right bank. It is also probable that the entire administration was now in the hands of the indigenous Princes and Chiefs, so that the subordination of the Province to Persia depended on their personal fealty to the Great King. No satrap of India is mentioned, nor does it appear that Alexander met or heard of a single Persian official in the course of his expedition through the Indus valley four years later.[13]

Whatever changes may have taken place in the north, it may be assumed that the whole of Sind, up to the edge of the desert, acknowledged the supremacy of the Achaemenian kings until the end of their rule. Unfortunately no contemporary monuments, inscriptions or coins have yet come to light in the Province. In the absence of these, and of the lost portion of the works of Hecataeus and Ktesias, Sind's history during this period of almost two centuries remains virtually a blank. At least it seems to have emerged from Persian rule in a flourishing condition, for we have Alexander's own testimony that the dominions of Musikanus in Upper Sind were the most prosperous part of 'India'.[14]

NOTES

1. By Professor E. Hertzfeld, in Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 34.
2. Herodotus IV. 44.
3. Hecataeus, Ed. C. Miller, Fragment 179.
4. Herodotus IV. 44
5. Discovered at Hamadan. M.A.S.I. No. 34, p. 2.
6. Hecataeus, Fragment 175.
7. Herodotus III. 98; IV 40.
8. Herodotus III. 94.
9. Herodotus VII. 86.
10. H. Raychaudhari, Political History of Northern India, p. 242.
11. Sind, General Introduction, pp. 101-2.
12. Arrian, Anabasis III. 8. 3-6.
13. According to Strabo, the countries of the Paropamisadae, Arachoti and Gedroseni extended to the Indus: this has been taken to mean that the tracts in the Indus valley occupied by the Persians were apportioned between these three satrapies. Strabo XV.ii.9.
14. Arrian, Anabasis VI. Cf. Strabo, XV.i.34.

5

THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The Indian troops which took part with the other Persian Imperial forces in the battle of Arbela against Alexander the Great in the autumn of 331 B.C. were brigaded with the men of Bactria and Arachosia, and commanded by the viceroys of those provinces. They included the "Mountaineer Indians" and some fifteen elephants "belonging to the Indians who lived on this side of the Indus"- that is the right bank.[1] The arrangement suggests that whatever may have been the original organization of Persian rule in India, the bond now consisted simply in the personal fealty of princes and tribes to the "King of Kings".

Darius perished without male heirs some six months after his defeat, and was said to have expressed while dying his satisfaction that the Persian Empire should devolve upon Alexander, who was worthy of it. The next three years saw the Macedonian march methodically from province to province, receiving or enforcing the submission of the people. In 329 B.C. he was at Kandahar within easy reach of the Indus valley, but he passed onward to the subjugation of Bactria. It was not till April in 327 B.C. that he crossed the Hindu Kush en route for India, and nearly another year was spent in mastering the hill tribes west of the Indus. The army finally passed the river at Ohind about March 326 B.C. and met with a friendly reception at Taxila from the local king Ambhi, who had already waited on Alexander in the hills.[2] His neighbour Porus, king of the country between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab), rejected Alexander's summons to do homage and pay tribute, and took the field with a large army. He was defeated at the battle of the Hydaspes, and converted into an ally

by the generosity of Alexander, who added to his kingdom some adjacent territories.[3] The conqueror led his army on across the northern Panjab, his objective being the kingdom of Magadha and ultimately the 'Eastern Sea'.[4] But at the Beas the army refused to proceed further eastward and Alexander was compelled to countermarch and instead complete the process of bringing the outlying provinces of the Achaemenian Empire under his control. He could avail himself of the Panjab rivers and the Indus for transport and thus reach the Western Sea.[5]

The boats he had used for his passage of the Indus had already been transported overland in sections to the Jhelum and reconstructed there, and were now supplemented with others built on the spot.[6] In October 326 B.C. the fleet sailed, accompanied by strong detachments marching by land. There was soon more fighting to be done.

In the southern Panjab the principal tribes appear to have been autonomous, and governed on an aristocratic or democratic basis. The Malli (Malavas) and Oxydraki (Kshudrakas) were thus organized, and entered into an alliance to oppose Alexander.[7] The Malli were attacked and beaten before their confederates could come into action, and the two tribes submitted together. "From the Oxydracians came both the leaders of the cities and the governors of the provinces, accompanied by the other 150 most notable men, with full powers to make a treaty ... they said that their error in not having sent an embassy to him before was pardonable, because they excelled other races in the desire to be free and independent, and their freedom had been secure from the time Dionysus came into India till the time Alexander came".[8] The Malli appear to have occupied the country in the angle between the Chenab and the Ravi, and the Oxydraki were situated between the Ravi and the Beas. According to Strabo the Persians had been able to enrol the Oxydraki as mercenary troops,[9] which suggests that they were not subjects of the Empire, liable for military service. Arrian makes mention of other "independent" tribes settled below these, apparently on

the left bank of the Indus; the Abastanians, in the angle between that river and the Panjnad, the Xathrians and the Ossadians. It may well be that the boundary of the Persian province in this quarter, where the Panjab meets Sind, was the Indus itself: in which case these tribes had solid claims to independent status.[10]

We are told nothing about the organization of the Sogdi, a people settled along the Indus below the independent tribes, but their chief town is termed a "royal seat" by Arrian.[11] It seems possible that this was a provincial capital of the kingdom of Musicanus. It does not appear that Alexander treated with the Sogdi as if they too were an independent tribe. He fortified this city and built a dockyard, probably expecting to receive at this place the submission of Musicanus in person, or at least an embassy. As the Indian prince gave no sign that he was aware of Alexander's presence on his borders, the king went rapidly downstream to meet him.

Alexander had already designated Sind, from the last confluence down to the sea, as a single satrapy of his Empire, appointing Peithon son of Agenor as his viceroy. Musicanus was the most important of the rulers on the lower Indus, his Upper Sind dominions being the richest part of Sind. Patala, the tract adjoining Musicanus' territory to the southward, was apparently independent. The author followed by Diodorus Siculus stated that its political constitution was similar to that of Sparta "for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority." Arrian, however, only mentions a single ruler of the Patalians, and Curtius gives his name, Moeris.[12] The status of the two other Sind chiefs, Oxykanus and Sambus, is not clear. Oxykanus is styled by Arrian as a governor;[13] and though Sambus is stated to have been at war with Musicanus, he may have been no more than a subordinate chief in rebellion against his overlord. Though it is uncertain exactly where their territories were situated, we are fairly safe in assuming that they lay in western Sind at some distance from the river, Oxykanus to the north and Sambus to the south.[14]

The extreme south west of Sind was occupied by an independent tribe, the Arabiti.

Musicanus was just in time to avert an onslaught from the conqueror. He hurried up country bringing the gifts which among Indians were reckoned of the highest value and distinction, and had all his elephants with him in his camp. He met the king and made complete submission, offering to surrender both his nation and himself, and at the same time acknowledging his error, which we are told was the most effectual way for anyone to obtain Alexander's favour. Though the king was too susceptible to flattery, Musicanus doubtless owed his confirmation in his territories as a vassal of the new empire to simple dictates of policy. The prosperity of this, the richest province of the Indus valley, would be best maintained by changing as little as possible in its administration. A Greek garrison, naturally, was to occupy the citadel in the capital city, and Craterus was entrusted with the task of fortifying it. The country and its city both aroused the king's admiration, and he considered that the garrison so sited should be able to keep the surrounding tribes in subjection.

The foreigners found much of interest in the state of society and the institutions of this country. The people were temperate in their habits, healthy and very long-lived. They had some peculiar customs which reminded the Greeks of Sparta - holding "a kind of Lacedaemonian common meal, where they eat in public" - the food consisting in what was taken in the chase. We are far here from orthodox Hinduism. Again, though there was no slavery, youths in the flower of their age were taken into service, in much the same way as the Spartans employed Helots. It appeared that the State took cognisance only of the gravest crimes, whilst the maintenance of order generally, and all matters of contract, were left to the general public. It may be fairly inferred that a panchayat system of local government existed, and was well organized and respected. There is the curious detail that medicine was the only science thought worthy of intensive study, "for they consider the excessive

pursuit of some arts, as that of war and the like, to be committing evil". Gold and silver also they are said to have despised.[15]

Alexander had already, it appears, provided another counter-balance to Musicanus' power in Sind by appointing the chieftain Sambus viceroy of the "mountaineer Indians"- the hill tribes of Western Sind. This chief had been at war with, or in rebellion against, Musicanus, and had probably come to make submission to Alexander, or bespeak his support, at the time when Musicanus remained aloof. Sambus was now disgusted by the pardon and favour given to his rival, and absconded. The other subordinate ruler of Upper Sind, Oxykanus, remained recalcitrant even when the king advanced against him.

This chief is called Porticanus by Quintus Curtius, Strabo and Diodorus, and Curtius gives the name of his people as the Praesti. Their country was, in all probability, that "Prasiane" which Megasthenes describes as a very large island formed by the river Indus. As it was the cold season when Oxykanus (or Porticanus) decided to make a stand against the European invader, the branch of the river which traversed his territory must have been dry, or at least too low to bear the ships, and Alexander marched against him by land. The accounts of Arrian and Quintus Curtius differ as to what followed. Arrian states that the king "at the first assault took by storm the two largest cities under the rule of Oxykanus, in the second of which that chief himself was taken prisoner". According to Curtius, "Porticanus" with a great body of his countrymen had shut himself up within a strongly fortified city, and Alexander took it after a three days' siege. The Chief had retired to the citadel when the outer works were taken, and sent out envoys to seek terms on which he might capitulate. But the assault was being pressed hard, and before the envoys reached the king, "two towers had fallen down with a dreadful crash; and the Macedonians having made their way through the ruins into the citadel captured it and slew Porticanus, who with a few others had offered resistance". If we can accept this version, it would appear that Alexander

had taken his battering engines with him and we may assume that they had been conveyed by elephants presented by Musicanus. Arrians says nothing of the chief's fate after he was taken, or of the disposal of his territories: merely stating that the booty was given to the troops, only the elephants captured there being reserved for general purposes. A detail given by Curtius is that all the prisoners were sold - in other words, ransomed.[16]

Alexander marched straight on through the defeated chief's territories into those of the absconding Sambus; town after town surrendered without resistance; "So much were the minds of all the Indians paralysed with abject terror by Alexander and the success of his arms."

Actually, this supineness was misleading. It soon became apparent that there was a subtle power in Sind which could create the will to resist the foreigners; the influence of the Brahmans. This was not revealed when Alexander appeared before Sindimana, Sambus' capital: the gates were thrown open, and members of the chief's household came out bearing his treasures "of which they had reckoned up the amount", and also brought his elephants. They said that Sambus had fled not with any hostile intentions, but through fear; on learning that his enemy Musicanus had won the king's favour, he could only apprehend the worst for himself.[17] This was plausible; but meanwhile a city of the Brahmans in Sambus' territory openly defied the invader. Alexander stormed the place and put to death all the Brahmans whom he considered to have instigated the revolt.

The simultaneous rebellion of Musicanus was likewise the result of Brahman exhortation. It is not easy to see what the chief expected to gain except honour, though the men of religion doubtless gave assurances of success by divine interposition against the sacrilegious barbarians of the west.[18] All was vain. Alexander despatched his newly appointed viceroy Peithon "with a sufficient army" against Musicanus and himself with the rest of his forces moved against the outlying "cities" of his principality. Arrian speaks of these as having been put under the chief's rule, which

may mean that the king had entrusted to him the territories formerly governed by Oxykanus, in addition to his own possessions. These places were reduced one after another: those which would fit into new arrangements for the direct control of the country were re-fortified and garrisoned: others were destroyed and their inhabitants enslaved. By the time that the king, having put down all opposition in these districts, arrived back at the main camp on the river, Musicanus himself had been captured by Peithon. "The King", says Arrian, "ordered him to be hanged in his own country, and with him as many of the Brahmans as had instigated him to revolt."[19] Plutarch speaks of the Brahmans as having "brought numberless other troubles upon the Macedonians";[20] the king's severity against the caste which by immemorial sanction was inviolable must have struck terror into the people at large, and put an end to all resistance so long as he remained in the country.

The ruler of the southern portion of Sind, whom Curtius calls Moeris, now came in and made his submission in person: to be dismissed with the assurance that he might retain his possessions, and instructions to provide for the reception of the army at his capital, Patala. The king had taken occasion to inquire from this chief about the mouths of the Indus, and understood that the river formed a delta even greater than that of the Nile. The stage had been reached when he could apply himself to the geographical problems of the future imperial communications and trade routes: there would be little serious campaigning ahead, and he counted on his garrisons and the terror of his name to hold the subdued countries firmly behind him.

So while the camp was still in Musicanus' country Alexander broke up his army. Craterus was placed in command of three brigades, with some archers and all the invalids; the elephants were also entrusted to him, and he was ordered to march into Karmania "by way of the lands of the Arachotians and Zarangians" - that is, through Kachhi, Sarawan and Seistan. It is not known whether Craterus took the route by the Mullah Pass or that of the Bolan. In

either case his commissariat difficulties must have been immense; moreover it appears that he must have started from Upper Sind at almost the height of the hot weather.

The organization of the advance into Patalene followed the previous pattern. Alexander proceeded by river with a selected force; the main body, commanded by Hephaestion, marched parallel with him on one bank of the Indus, and Peithon was sent to the other with a more mobile detachment of light troops. With this he was to take a wider range in order to complete the colonization of those "cities" which had just been fortified under Alexander's orders in the course of his own operations against the rebels; after the completion of this task he was to rejoin the main army at Patala. If we are correct in believing that the countries of Oxykanus and Sambus corresponded generally with the modern district of Larkana and the northern half of Dadu district, it follows that Hephaestion's march was down the left bank of the Indus, next to the desert.

It was now the end of June or the beginning of July 325 B.C., and the swell of the river had begun. For the first three days, it seems, the advance of the fleet was by short stages, to allow Hephaestion's force to maintain contact. Higher up the river this would have been impracticable in the inundation season, owing to overspill at intervals from either bank; but we have reason to believe that the reach between the capital of Musicanus and Patala ran close to, if not within, the edge of the Eastern Desert. Now news arrived that the ruler of Patala had caused his people to abandon their homes *en masse*, and Alexander increased his speed down the river. When he reached Patala he found the city and countryside alike deserted: even the tillers of the soil had fled. The king despatched his lightest armed troops in pursuit of the fugitives; some were captured and sent off to carry to others the assurance that they might inhabit their city and cultivate their fields without fear of molestation.[21] Many accordingly returned; but their chief seems to have continued to abscond. According to Curtius this man, whom he calls Moeris, had fled for safety

to the mountains. He was probably in fear of being compromised by some violence on the part of his subjects, for which he would be held responsible: and so followed the example of Sambus. At least the event was such as he may have apprehended. Some of the "native barbarians" attacked the working parties which Alexander had sent out to dig wells in a waterless tract adjacent to Patala, and killed some of the Greeks; they were however repulsed with heavy loss to themselves and fled into the desert. The king reinforced the first detachment and completed the works, which he had ordered with a view to gaining the good will of the people.[22]

Near Patala was the head of the delta, both arms of which we are told retained the name of Indus as far as the sea. Here Alexander constructed a harbour and dockyard as a base for his fleet, and as soon as these were progressing well began his exploration of the two branches, starting down that to the right hand. He took with him a considerable number of ships - the fastest sailing vessels "both those with one and a half bank of oars, and all the thirty-oared galleys", and detailed a force of 1000 cavalry and 8000 infantry, both light and heavy-armed, under the command of Leonnatus, to march parallel with the naval expedition through the "island" of Patala. As the inhabitants of the tract along the river had fled, the fleet was obliged to sail without any pilots. To add to their difficulties, they encountered a storm on the second day which blowing straight against the stream raised such a swell that a number of the ships were damaged, some so badly that they were almost falling to pieces when they were beached.[23] According to Arrian, the king had others constructed: though we should have expected rather to have been told that he commandeered some local country boats. For it was while halted here that he sent his most mobile troops inland and captured some Indians, who were impressed to act as pilots. The latter part of the voyage seems to have been in the teeth of the monsoon wind, and where the river widened (Arrian says to a greatest breadth of 200 stades, but this must be exaggerated), the swell

was such that the oars could hardly be plied at all.[24] The pilots therefore conducted them into a canal, or branch channel, for shelter. Here the foreigners were taken by surprise by the action of the tide, a phenomenon unknown to men whose experience of the sea had been confined to the Mediterranean. The ebb left the ships high and dry but the equally unexpected return of the flood caused a number of them to run foul of one another, with considerable damage.

Alexander had these repaired as well as could be contrived and then sent a party in advance down the river in two boats to explore the island at which his Indian guides told him the fleet should anchor before putting out to sea. The name of this island was Killuta; the reconnoitring party reported that it was large, with fresh water available, and afforded a good anchorage, so the king ordered the fleet to put in there. He himself went on downstream with the best sailing ships to see whether the mouth of the river afforded an easy passage into the sea. No difficulties were encountered and they went far enough to see beyond the mouth another island out in the open sea. On the following day Alexander landed on this island, offered sacrifices there, and again in a short voyage further out to sea sacrificed bulls to propitiate Poseidon, God of the ocean, also pouring libations from golden vessels which he then cast into the sea as thank offerings. He also prayed to the God to show favour on the fleet in the long voyage which he had planned it should make under the command of Nearchus, from the Indus to the Euphrates and Tigris.

On his return to Patala he found the citadel fortified as he had ordered. It is not to be supposed that these fortifications, erected at every place which was to be garrisoned, were elaborate works. In most instances they probably consisted of walls of mud, or mud brick from demolished buildings, to raise or supplement existing forts. The "dockyards" and "naval stations" too must, for the most part, have been simple improvisations for the orderly mooring, protection, and repair of the ships. Only that which

Hephaestion was now ordered to fortify near Patala was designed on a large scale as a permanent work; for it was Alexander's intention to leave a considerable fleet there after Nearchus sailed with the sea going vessels. The communications of the Lower Indus satrapy with that of the Panjab were naturally to be by water.

The king meanwhile resumed his exploration of the waterways to the ocean, sailing down the left hand branch of the Indus. This presented no difficulty in comparison with the western branch. They came to a large lake or gulf before the open sea was reached, and here Alexander directed the greater part of his squadron to anchor while he reconnoitred the actual mouth of the river, with his gallies. Having satisfied himself that this branch was easier to navigate than the other, he landed and (if Arrian's account may be believed) taking some cavalry went three days' journey along the coast, "exploring what kind of country it was for a coasting voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that the sailors might have water to drink".[25] He then returned by water to Patala, ordered part of the army to march down the coast and complete the construction of the wells, and himself dropped down again to the "lake" to superintend the building of another naval station and dockyard. This he garrisoned, and formed a magazine with a four months' supply of food for Nearchus' fleet.

Alexander's determination that nothing should be left undone that could contribute to the success of Nearchus' voyage appears not only in these elaborate preparations but, as we shall see, in efforts to provide for him at later stages. He evidently hoped that it would be possible so to regulate the march of the army which he was himself to lead through Makran as to keep in touch with the fleet at intervals. Such a combined movement would enable him to determine in detail how future communications between the most easterly provinces of his Empire and its centre could best be organized.

In fact it fell out otherwise, and the fleet was never able to catch up with the army. Alexander marched from

Patala about the end of September. He traversed the country of the Arabiti,[26] the independent tribe occupying the south west Kohistan of Sind, without encountering any opposition, as the inhabitants fled into "the desert"- probably the remoter hills. The king then halted his army on the Hab river[27] and led in person a strong detachment "to the left hand" as far as the coast northward of Cape Monze. His object was two-fold; to dig wells for the benefit of the fleet, and to make a flank movement against the country of the Oreitai, the people living beyond the Hab in the country now known as Las Bela. This tribe, which had "long been independent" had failed to profit by the example set by their neighbours in Upper Sind, and made no friendly overtures to the king. Hephaestion was left in command of the main body of the army halted on the Hab, probably about Lang Loharani, and, we may suppose, distracted the attention of the Oreitai from Alexander's movements. These were rapid and decided: he crossed the twenty mile stretch of broken country to the west of the Hab in a night march, and then extending his force on a broad front swept northward up the plain, his cavalry cutting up all who resisted, while the infantry following up took many prisoners. Hephaestion advanced to join him when he encamped near "a small piece of water", which may well have been Siranda lake.[28] The army then marched up the country to the largest village of the Oreitai, called Rhambakia. The king was favourably impressed with the neighbourhood and decided to found a city there.

The next step was to come to some understanding, whether by the sword or otherwise, with the chiefs of the tribe. These with a large body of their people had encamped, supported by the Gedrosians, in front of a mountain pass leading into the country of the latter, with the object of opposing the king's passage.[29] Their courage failed them when he actually advanced on their position, and the Oreitai chiefs came in, offering to surrender their country. According to Quintus Curtius, the government of this tribe was democratic, and their submission had to

be ratified by a general council.[30] Alexander treated them with consideration and directed the chiefs to send their people back to their homes, as they had nothing to fear. He appointed Apollophanes as viceroy, and left with him Leonnatus as commander of the garrison, consisting of "all the Agrianians, some of the bowmen and cavalry, and the rest of the Grecian mercenary infantry and cavalry." Leonnatus was to remain until the fleet had come and gone, to colonize the new city which seems first to have been given the name of the country, Ora, and to reconcile the people to the new Satrap's rule. When all was satisfactorily settled he was to march on to rejoin the king's camp.[31]

Alexander with Hephaestion and the main army now advanced into Gedrosia, and we need not follow their toilsome progress through that forbidding country. During the prolonged halt at Pura in Karmania a number of his viceroys of adjoining provinces waited on him and Craterus effected his junction with the main army, having brought the elephants and his subsidiary force safely from Seistan across the Lut desert. He brought also a Persian noble whom he had arrested for attempting to raise a rebellion. Reports also came from several of the new Eastern Provinces, showing clearly enough how precarious was the imperial power in the newly won territories. All depended upon the personal qualities of the satraps and commanders, and some of them had failed. One such was Apollophanes. We are told that Alexander "discovered" that he had paid no heed to his instructions: we may assume that Leonnatus reported against him. The king ordered him to be deposed and appointed one Thoas[32] in his place. Before the new arrangement could be put into effect, the Oreitai had risen in rebellion. Leonnatus was equal to the occasion and defeated the tribe with great slaughter in a pitched battle, sustaining only trifling loss on his own side. Apollophanes however was among those killed.[33]

Shortly after this Nearchus arrived with the fleet at Kokala, a roadstead at which under Alexander's instructions corn had been stored for revictualling the ships. In view

of the disturbed state of the country Nearchus threw up an entrenchment round the camp he pitched on the shore. Here he was able to repair his damaged ships, and to replace by soldiers from Leonnatus' army a number of his own men who had become disgusted with the hardships of the voyage. After this reorganization Nearchus sailed on to the west but having fallen so far behind Alexander only succeeded in establishing contact with the main army when it halted in Karmania.

Leonnatus we must suppose remained in the Oreitai country until the new viceroy, Sibyrtius (for Thoas, the officer appointed in Apollophanes' place, had died) was firmly in the saddle. The General is next heard of at Susa, where he was one of those crowned with a gold chaplet, mainly for his good services in "Ora".[34]

The death of Alexander followed within a few months. Whether he would have shown in consolidating his far-flung dominions ability in any way comparable with his genius as a conqueror can only be guessed. At thirty two it was natural to look forward to an ample span of life for further achievements. Would Alexander have embarked on fresh conquests, in Arabia, Africa or Western Europe, as most of the classical biographers suppose,[35] while there was imminent danger of losing whole provinces from the Empire so lately won with so much toil? He was well aware of the reality of that danger, and that it might so develop that nothing but his personal presence at the point threatened would serve to overcome it. But for the time being his place was at the centre and heart of his dominions, where he could gather all the reins into his hands. His policy, during the last few months of his life was to convince his new subjects of his care and benevolence by inflicting exemplary punishment on provincial governors who were reported to have been acting oppressively. A number had begun to follow their own bent in the belief that he would never return from his long expedition to the East. Alexander was now inclined to believe any such allegations, and to punish even small offences with great severity.

"Under his royal sway" says Arrian, "it was not allowed that those who were ruled should be unjustly treated by those who ruled."[36] Though this is but the traditional policy of the Oriental despot who values the good will of his people, we remember that Alexander was a pupil of Aristotle. He needed time to prove what were his ultimate aims as a ruler, and time was denied him.

Alexander's policy in India had been to confirm in their principalities those rulers who had acknowledged his supremacy and proved themselves deserving of his confidence. Such were the Raja of Taxila and Porus: and the king had actually placed under Porus' rule a territory equal in size to his original dominions. Where the rulers had been hostile or aloof, and in countries with a tribal or democratic form of government, he had appointed his own officers as viceroys, leaving at their disposal a force of regular troops and in some places military colonists in addition. Thus the India of Alexander's Empire, being made up of feudatory states and Governors' Provinces, was partly under indirect and partly under direct rule. There can be no doubt that the king would have preferred to govern the whole country through Indian Rajas, which had doubtless been the basis of the Persian system. There is one instance in which he resorted to a combination of the two systems. When Philippus, his satrap of Northern India, that is the East and South Panjab,[37] was assassinated by Greek mercenaries, Alexander sent orders to the Raja of Taxila and to one of his own officers, Eudamus by name, to take over jointly the government of this northern satrapy. Ostensibly the arrangement was to be temporary, pending the appointment of another viceroy. But there is some ground for believing it to have been an experiment which, if successful, was to be extended into other parts of the king's Indian territories. In practice, the government would have been a sort of dyarchy, the Macedonian general dealing with the "Reserved Subjects", including of course control of the armed forces, leaving the "transferred subjects" - the civil administration generally - to the Raja of the adjoining

principality to handle, not as a prince but as a provincial governor. In the partition and reorganization of the Empire after Alexander's death, Raja Porus was entrusted with a further large tract of territory, including probably part of Sind: and it is noteworthy that this and other arrangements were said merely to ratify decisions made by Alexander himself.[38]

NOTES

1. Arrian, Anabasis, III. 8.
2. Arrian, op. cit., IV. 22; V. 8.
3. Q. Curtius Rufus, History of Alexander the Great, VIII. 13; Arrian, V. 19, 29.
4. Arrian, V. 26.
5. Arrian, V. 29.
6. Arrian, V. 8; VI. 1.
7. Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica, Book XVII. 98.
8. Arrian, VI. 14.
9. Strabo, XV. 1. 6.
10. Vincent Smith, "The position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Panjab conquered by Alexander the Great", in J.R.A.S., Oct. 1903.
11. βασίλειον. (Arrian, VI. 15.) It is conceivable that this "royal seat" was identical with the "royal fort" in the country of the Opiai, mentioned by Hecataeus (Fragment, 175: vide Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 336, note.) The Sogdi, called Sodrai by Diodorus, were very probably the Sŏviras of Sanskrit literature. (Diodorus XVII. 102.) Cf. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 171.
12. Diodorus, XVII. 104; Curtius, IX. 8.
13. ναύαρχος. Arrian, VI. 16.
14. Arrian's words, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Σάμβου αὖ ἦγε, are less likely to mean, "He then marched back against Sambos" (Chinnock) than, "He then (in turn) marched against Sambus" (McCrindle). Cf. Curtius, IX. 8.
15. Strabo, XV. i. 34.
16. Arrian, VI. 16; Curtius, IX. 8.

17. Arrian's account of the operations against Sambus is to be preferred to that of Curtius.

18. According to Plutarch, Alexander asked one of these Brahmans what was his reason for persuading Sabbas (sic) to revolt. The reply was "Because I wished him either to live with honour or to die as a coward deserves". Plutarch's Lives, Trs. J. & W. Langhorne, Ed. 1875, Vol. II, p. 751.

19. Q. Curtius says that Musicanus, whom he calls the chief of the tribe of Musicani, was crucified. Curtius, IX. 8.

20. Plutarch, op. cit., p. 751.

21. Arrian, VI. 17.

22. Curtius, IX. 8.

23. These we may perhaps suppose to have been the ships which were taken to pieces, conveyed from the Indus to the Hydaspes and there put together again. Arrian, V. 8., 12.

24. Arrian, VI. 18. Curtius gives a very full description of this part of the voyage. Curtius, IX. 9.

25. Arrian, VI. 20.

26. According to Nearchus (Arrian, Indika, XXII. 10) the Arabiti were the most westward of the Indian nations.

27. Holdich and Cunningham have adopted Quintus Curtius' statement that the army made nine marches from Patala to the river Arabius, and to make up the probable distance identify this river with the Purali. Sir A. Stein shows conclusively, by comparing Arrian's description with the terrain as it now exists, that the Arabius was the Hab - as was long previously determined by Henry Kiepert.

Curtius, IX. 10.; Sir T. Holdich, The Gates of India, Macmillan 1910, p. 149; Stein, in Geogra-

phical Journal CII, Nov. - Dec. 1943, p. 193; Kiepert, Atlas Antiquus, Ţab. II.

28. Stein, loc. cit.

29. Stein shows that this must have been the Jhau Lak, the pass leading into the Kolwa tract.

30. "Liber hic populus, concilio habito dedidit se" Q. Curtius, IX. 10. 3.

31. Sir W. Tarn states that Alexander returned from the mouth of the pass into the Oreiti country to superintend these arrangements. This is not explicit in Arrian's text, but is obviously probable. As he waited for Hephaestion to arrive at the head of the men who had been left behind before he finally marched into the Gedrosian country, we may perhaps assume that this officer had been sent to make preparations on the coast for the fleet, some sixty miles distant from the probable site of the city. Arrian, VI. 22. 3. Cf. Sir W. Tarn, Alexander the Great, Vol. II, p. 251, note 6; also p. 252.

32. Presumably the officer whom he sent on a reconnaissance to the sea coast, mentioned by Arrian, (VI. 23.)

33. Arrian, Indika, Chap. XXIII.

34. Sibyrtius was appointed Satrap over the Gedrosians and Arachosians. Arrian, VI. 27; VII. 5.

35. Arrian, VII. 1.; Curtius, X. 3.; Diodorus, XVIII. 4. Plutarch, op. cit., pp. 752-3.

36. Arrian, VI. 27.; VII. 4.

37. These tracts had probably never formed part of the Achaemenian dominions in India; as newly conquered territories, peopled by many tribes, it was natural to place them under a Macedonian officer as viceroy.

38. Diodorus, XVIII. 3.2.; Q. Curtius, X. 10. 4.; Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 427-9.

6

SIND IN THE TIME OF THE MAURYAS AND THE BACTRIAN GREEKS

The dust raised by Alexander's retiring columns had hardly settled before symptoms of revolt were manifested in Patala.[1] Nearchus felt obliged to hasten his own departure with the fleet; since his responsibility for its safety on the long voyage along unknown shores was heavy enough without adding the risks of a conflict before setting sail. The duty of repressing disorder fell to the viceroy Peithon, who had already proved himself in the campaign against Musicanus. How he now fared is nowhere recorded: but the apparent strength of the foreign military rule was gravely impaired when Philippus, his colleague in charge of the satrapy of the south east Panjab, was assassinated by his own Greek troops. For this was due to jealousy between Greek and Macedonian; and we know in addition that a number of the Greek colonists of the new cities and the troops themselves, were dissatisfied and homesick.[2] As we have seen, Alexander sent orders to the Raja of Taxila and to Eudamus to administer the northern satrapy jointly: and though the foreign settlers and soldiers could still look to the Thracian officer as their Governor, the increase in power granted simultaneously to an Indian ruler must have seemed a sinister portent for their own future.

The strength of the Imperial government in India already thus shaken, tottered at the news of Alexander's death. The loss of the all-important bond of common personal loyalty set free the individual ambitions of Governors and Generals. Under the partition of the Empire by his generals at Babylon in 323 B.C. no change was made in the distribution of the Indian satrapies. Sind continued to be

governed by Peithon. But in the revised division made two years later at Triparadisus, Peithon was placed in charge of the western frontier of India – the land lying between the Paropanisus and the Indus: while Raja Porus received a great accession of territory extending apparently all down the lower Indus valley to the sea.[3]

There can be little doubt as to the significance of this change. Direct military rule of the plain country, with its organized communities, was no longer practicable. The only hope of keeping these satrapies within the Empire lay in ungrudging and practical recognition of the Indian renaissance. "Taxiles" and Porus could enjoy practical independence in territories part of which were the gift of the foreigners, and could call upon their aid with arms or counsel, at the price merely of acknowledging the supremacy of the Imperial regency under Antipater. It was probably in the interests of the king of Taxila to continue on these terms. Gandhara was however taken from "Taxiles" and handed to Peithon.

But the new dominions of Porus in the east of the Indus basin adjoined the India which Alexander had not penetrated, and it was surely from hence that salvation from western dominance would come.

Chandragupta Maurya had been a general of the Nanda Raja of Magadha on the Ganges, and had rebelled against his master. The attempt was abortive and Chandragupta took refuge in the Panjab. Here he is said to have met Alexander, who seems to have inquired from him, as well as from Porus and Phegelas, about the countries to the eastward. The king was told that the ruler of the Prasii and Gangaridae was a worthless usurper who had obtained the throne by murder of the legitimate sovereign, with the connivance of his corrupted queen. The Raja said that it would be quite easy to overthrow the usurper, as he was hated by the people.[4] This account may have had some influence on Alexander's optimistic representation to his troops at the camp on the Beas, of the prospects of a campaign down the Ganges.

A few years later it seems that Chandragupta, in all probability in alliance with Porus, overthrew the Nanda and took possession of his kingdom. According to the account contained in the drama "Mudrazakshasa", one Chanakya, the instigator of Chandragupta, murdered "Parvataka" his chief ally who was ruler of the sub-montane part of the Panjab.[5] Now this Parvataka may be taken to have been Porus; but the Greek account states that Porus was treacherously murdered by Eudamus, the man appointed by Alexander joint satrap of the south Panjab. The latter's name does not occur in the account of the reorganization of the satrapies made at Babylon and Triparadisus, but it seems that he continued to be commander of the army of occupation in the north. Up till 321 B.C., Peithon was still satrap and his own commander-in-chief in the south.[6] But under the reorganization of Triparadisus he was appointed to Gandhara, which having been part of the satrapy of Philippus had been placed temporarily in charge of Taxiles. The latter retained his original kingdom. It may be that Eudamus took part with Porus and Chandragupta in the expedition to Magadha, and that the overthrow of the Nanda was achieved partly by Europeans acting as condottieri. If so, what follows was probably the result of some quarrel about the spoils: Eudamus killed Porus, as already mentioned, appropriated his war elephants, gathered together all the troops he could muster, and proceeded with them to take part in the war which was being waged by a coalition of the satraps of the eastern provinces against their colleague of Media, who had put forth pretensions to sovereignty. Eudamus passed through Peithon's province of Gandhara, and the two men must have met. Peithon shortly afterwards abandoned his charge to join in the fighting in Persia. No successors were appointed: and it may reasonably be assumed that it was recognized as hopeless to keep a footing in India while the wars of succession were undecided. Some Greek and Macedonian colonists nevertheless remained in north west India, particularly in the cities such as Nikaia and Bucephala, when Chandragupta extended his authority

into the basin of the Indus. They may have made some resistance, for it is recorded that their 'prefects' were put to death.[7]

It is not known when Sind became subject to Chandragupta. The greater part of the province had been transferred to Porus at the time that Peithon took over Gandhara; and it may well be that on Porus' death Chandragupta claimed over-lordship in a province which had been handed to his ally by the foreigners. He had several years in which to consolidate his power without interference from the West, and when at length the challenge came he was ready for it. About the year 305 B.C. Seleucus Nicator, having made himself supreme in Babylon and mastered the countries up to the Indian border, decided to essay the reconquest of Alexander's India. Chandragupta assembled an immense host to meet the invasion. Seleucus crossed the Indus, but it does not appear that any major conflict took place. The Indian king may have obtained a positional advantage which compelled Seleucus to agree to an alliance on most favourable terms: it is also likely that a call for aid from Syria reached him in the course of the operation and caused him to disengage himself as quickly as possible.[8] Far from regaining any lost territory of Alexander's Empire, he handed over to Chandragupta his own rights as suzerain in Gandhara and the western parts of Arachosia and Gedrosia - the frontier region extending as far west as a line drawn roughly from Jelalabad to Quetta, Kelat, and by the Purali river to the Arabian Sea.[9] It is possible that this area had already been penetrated and was for practical purposes under Indian rule, so that the dividing line between the two empires was a fair one. At least the arrangement does not appear to have been upset and relations between the two countries were amicable for several generations. Seleucus received in exchange for the ceded territory five hundred war elephants, and a convention establishing a *jus connubii* between the two royal families was included in the alliance.

Sind and Las Bela were thus severed by treaty from the Empire of Iran and joined to that of Hindustan. In all

probability they became feudatory states of the Magadha kingdom, retaining their own rulers and forms of government, though there may also have been resident viceroys on behalf of Chandragupta. We infer too that the districts west of the Indus were "frontier states" under his grandson, Asoka.

It is unlikely that Buddhism had attained any influence in these countries before the time of the royal evangelist. Though we should not suppose that a reference by Huan Chwang to an "Asoka Tope" in Sind or elsewhere necessarily indicated that the Stupa was actually a royal foundation,[10] the first impulse came from him.

No doubt Sind was allotted its share of relics of the Buddha which Asoka distributed throughout his empire; and Huan Chwang also records the tradition that his principal organizer of the missions to the various provinces, Upa Gupta, spent a considerable time in Sind, "explaining the law and convincing and guiding men", and that monasteries and stupas were built at the places where he sojourned. It is conjectured that the province was governed by Asoka's viceroy of the north-west, who was stationed at Taxila.

The Maurya empire declined after Asoka's death; there seem to have been two lines of successors, in the north-west and in Magadha respectively. According to the records, most of them were shortlived, which in itself portends the weakness of a dynasty.

Some thirty years after Asoka, and almost exactly a century after the expedition of Seleucus Nicator, Antiochus the Great made a brief appearance in the Kabul valley. He received the submission of the local king "Sophagasinus" or Subhagasena, who seems to have belonged to the Maurya family, and obtained from him supplies and a number of war elephants, with which he forthwith returned to the West, leaving an agent to collect the war indemnity imposed on the Indian ruler.[11]

In the second century before Christ, parts of north-west India became for a time subject to Hellenic princes from

Bactria. The evidence for their conquests is slender, consisting of a few references in classical authors, a few from Sanskrit sources, and finds of their coins in hoards or scattered examples in various parts of the region.

So far as Sind is concerned, the evidence of conquest and occupation by these Hellenic princes is practically confined to a statement of Apollodorus of Artemita, quoted by Strabo, that the Greeks who had succeeded the Seleucids as rulers of Bactria took possession "not only of Patalene but also of the rest of the coast of what is called the kingdom of Saraostus and Sigardis." Menander and Demetrius son of Euthydemus, were the princes who according to Apollodorus achieved these and other conquests; subduing more tribes than Alexander had done in his invasion.[12]

The author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, writing over two centuries after these events, mentions incidentally that coins of Menander and of another prominent Hellenic prince Apollodotus, were then still in circulation at Barygaza (Broach).[13]

Sir W. Tarn in his work "The Greeks in Bactria and India", accepts as a fact this occupation of Sind by the Bactrian Greeks, holding that it was undertaken as part of a large-scale invasion of northern India planned by Demetrius son of Euthydemus. The opportunity occurred when about the year 184 B.C. the Maurya Empire finally collapsed and the throne of Magadha was seized by a usurper of the Sunga tribe. Tarn's theory is that Demetrius descended from the Seleucid royal family in the female line, and that the later Mauryas probably inherited this blood through the princess who, it may be assumed, was given to Chandragupta's son Bindusara in fulfilment of the treaty with Seleucus Nicator. Such a collateral relationship may have encouraged Demetrius to embark on the recovery of the territories formerly ruled by the Mauryas with some prospect of being accepted as an heir rather than a foreign invader. Tarn also argues that he could hope to conciliate opinion in the predominantly Buddhist provinces by appealing to the people's fear of Brahman persecution by Pushya-

mitra, the Sunga king who had usurped the throne of Magadha.[14]

According to Tarn's theory, Demetrius after establishing himself in Gandhara began a double advance; proceeding himself with a kinsman Apollodotus as his second-in-command down the Indus, while another force was despatched against Magadha under a general not of the blood royal, Menander.[14A]

We know nothing of the condition of Sind at this time: it is very unlikely that the Sungas had established any influence there, and we may safely assume that the country was governed by indigenous rulers, who were probably Buddhists. The principal peoples of Sind at this period were the Sauvira-Sindhus, who had gradually moved down the valley of the Indus and were located in the Delta and the country to the eastward, and northward of them the Abhiras. The latter are thought to have entered India from the west during the period of confusion which followed the death of Alexander. Thus, Tarn argues, Demetrius' advance brought him first among people who must already have had some contacts with the Greeks in the lands beyond the Indian frontier, and may not have been unfriendly.[15]

One circumstance adduced by Sir W. Tarn in support of his theory of this invasion of the lower Indus country is the mention in the Mahabharata of a town Dattamitra in Sauvira, in conjunction with a reference to a "Yavanadhipa" which would ordinarily be rendered "Greek ruler". Moreover, a cave inscription of Nasik records religious gifts by certain Yavana donors, making mention of a town Datamiti in the north.

Tarn assumes that these two place names both refer to a city "Demetrias in Sind", founded by the conquering Demetrius, and that it was probably on the site of Patala—in short, a re-founding of Alexander's river-port.[16]

After thus settling Sind Demetrius, according to Tarn's theory, returned to Bactria leaving his further plans to be carried out by his lieutenant Apollodotus, who proceeded

to occupy Cutch and Kathiawar in the name of Demetrius. The geographer Ptolemy locates another city, Theophila, in these regions, and this Tarn assumes to have been founded by Apollodotus and named in honour of Demetrius' queen or perhaps of his mother. From the statement in the "Periplus" that coins of Apollodotus and Menander were in circulation in Barygaza at the time of the author's visit, about 50 A.D., Tarn infers that this city – Broach – had also come under the rule of Apollodotus. He suggests that the same prince next pushed northwards from Gujerat in the direction of Ujjain, in pursuance of a plan to join hands with Menander, the leader of Demetrius' second expedition, in the Ganges valley, and then to complete the conquest of the old kingdom of Chandragupta. But this scheme, it is supposed, was soon given up and Apollodotus is thought to have returned to Taxila, leaving Sind and the other southern provinces to be ruled by military viceroys.[17]

Dr. A. K. Narain in his recent work "The Indo Greeks" has thoroughly examined the evidence upon which Sir William Tarn based this story of a Bactrian Greek conquest of the lower Indus country and the adjoining provinces, and shows – convincingly in the present writer's opinion – that it still rests solely on the authority of Apollodorus, the author of the Parthika, quoted by Strabo: and that Strabo himself regarded certain statements of Apollodorus as untrustworthy.[18]

Narain shows that there is no valid reason for connecting the Mahabharata's Dattamitra in Sauvira with the Greek ruler Demetrius; it was not even the name of the Greek ruler (Yavanadhipa) referred to in the passage, but an epithet of Sumitra, king of Sauvira. Again, the town of Datamiti mentioned in the Nasik inscription is stated to have been in the north, but Sind (Sauvira) is always reckoned to fall in the western division of ancient India. As to Ptolemy's city Theophila, there is no evidence that Demetrius' mother or wife was so named. The fact that coins of Apollodotus were noticed in circulation in Broach some two centuries after this assumed conquest is no proof that

Apollodotus ever reigned there. Its significance is more probably that this coinage was highly esteemed - as is that of the eighteenth century Queen Maria Theresa of Austria in twentieth century Abyssinia - and was liable to turn up in a mercantile city. Moreover Narain observes that the coins of Apollodotus were copied - even to their Greek legends - by the Saka Satraps of Maharashtra and Ujjain.[19]

On the other hand no coins of Demetrius, Apollodotus or of any other Bactrian Greek ruler are known to have been found in Sind or in Gujerat. The southern-most find of such coins so far recorded was made near Amarkot in the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Panjab. Since we have so little but numismatic evidence for the very existence of the majority of these Indo-Greek rulers, the localities of substantial finds of their coinage must be the basis for any estimates of the extent of their kingdoms. The complete absence of discovery of any of their coinage throughout Sind and Gujerat, while not conclusive, gives good reason for doubting the statements of Apollodorus that these countries were actually conquered by Greeks from Bactria.[20]

Narain incidentally argues that the Demetrius mentioned by Justin as "king of the Indians" who fought with Eucratides in Bactria (and is therefore to be identified with Tarn's conqueror of Sind) was not Demetrius son of Euthydemus, but more probably the son of Antimachus I, and so of a different royal house and reigning some twenty years later. Narain suggests that Menander was the son of this second Demetrius, who probably styled himself king of the Indians after conquering part of Gandhara - his coinage is the earliest to bear legends in Kharosthi as well as in Greek - and that Apollodotus was a younger son of Menander.[21]

There is far better evidence for the extent of Menander's rule and conquests. On the basis of substantial finds of his coins, his kingdom would seem to have included Paropamisadae (the Kabul valley) and Gandhara, which had been conquered by his predecessors; north eastern Arachosia,

probably as far as the Indus: Hazara and the Swat valley. The last named appears to have been governed for him by Viyakamitra, an Indian.[22]

Menander's invasion of the "middle kingdom" of northern India is mentioned by several contemporary Indian writers. According to the Yuga Purana, the Greeks took part in it together with the Pancala and Mathura powers; they advanced as far as Pataliputra and destroyed it, but then quarrelled among themselves, and after fierce fighting we are told "the Greeks could not remain in the Madyadesa". Patanjali in his Mahabhasya, written not long after these events, mentions incidentally in grammatical examples two places besieged by the Greeks on their expedition. Kalidasa states that they were defeated by the grandson of Pushyamitra while the latter was still on the throne.[23]

Narain points out that coins of Menander have not been commonly found east of the river Ravi though stray examples of his and of other Hellenic rulers' coinage have come to light in the Ganges valley. Their presence may be taken to indicate the popularity of their money rather than the extent of their rule. Tarn assumed that Mathura was part of Menander's kingdom on the strength of the finding of a single coin there; but Narain finds in the coinage of the Pancalas, Trigartas and Rajanyas, who occupied this neighbourhood - coinage showing no Hellenic influence - grounds for believing these powers to have been vigorous and independent.[24]

Tarn also suggests that Menander may have extended his rule over Sind, after the retirement and murder of Eucratides, who had seized Bactria and invaded Gandhara. But this seems to be nothing but surmise.

We are thus driven to the conclusion that Sind, during the century while the Bactrian Greeks had a foothold on Indian soil in Gandhara, was not in all probability brought under their effective rule. The statements of Apollodorus, if not unfounded, may relate to some temporary invasion or raid such as Menander undertook - apparently with Indian allies - against Pataliputra. That enterprise w?

launched from Buddhist territory against a Brahman usurper. But in Sind the collapse of the Maurya empire may not have involved any revolution in the government or reaction against Buddhism; but merely the acquisition of independent status by the former Governors - probably Chiefs of the Sauvira tribe.

NOTES

1. Strabo, XV. 2. 5.
2. Arrian, V. 27. The speech ascribed to Coenus probably states fairly the attitude of the troops.
3. Sir W. Tarn, Alexander the Great, Vol. II, pp. 312-3, note 6. Diodorus, XVIII. 39. V.A. Smith was of opinion that the Indus valley is more likey to have fallen to the share of the Taxilan king, and not to Porus. Early History of India, 2nd edition, p. 108 note.
4. Plutarch's Lives, trs. Langhorne, 1875 edition, p. 750. Q. Curtius, IX. 2.; Diodorus, XCIII.
5. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 471-2.
6. Diodorus, XIX. 14. 8. Cf. Tarn, Alexander, II, p. 310.
7. Justin, Historiae Philippicae, XV. 4.
8. Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 431-2.
9. Tarn, "The Greeks in Bactria and India", p. 100 and note 4.
10. E.g., in Sin-tu, A-tien-p' o-chih-lo and pi-tu-shih-lo; vide T. Watters, "On Yuan Chwang", Vol. II, pp. 252, 256, 258. Cf. Cambridge History of India, I, p. 501.
11. Cambridge History of India, I, pp. 442, 412.
12. Strabo. XI. 11.1
13. Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, §47.
14. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 152 and note 3, p. 174 note 3, pp. 175-7.

14A. Tarn, op. cit., pp. 141-2.

15. Tarn, op. cit., pp. 171-2.

16. Tarn, p. 142, The Mahabhasya of Patanjali and the Vyakana of Kramadesvara mention a city called Dattamitri in Sovira. (D.R. Bhandarkar, in Indian Antiquary, 1911.)

17. Tarn, pp. 162-5.

18. A.K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, (O.U.P., 1957), p. 35.

19. Narain, op. cit., pp. 39-42, 68.

20. Narain, pp. 92, 125.

21. Narain, pp. 122, 181.

22. Narain, p. 78.

23. There can be little doubt, as Narain holds, that this expedition was led by Menander, who alone among the Greek kings left a reputation in India as a great conqueror. The view of Mr. Amarendra Nath Lahiri, that it was undertaken by Demetrius while the weak Brihadratha Maurya was still on the throne of Pataliputra about the year 184 B.C., involves inter alia the rejection of Kalidasa's evidence, as it is not suggested that "the conquest" was more than a successful short raid.
(Indian Historical Quarterly XXXIII No. I, March 1957, p. 40. cf. Narain, pp. 82-3.)

24. Narain, pp. 88, 91.

7

SIND UNDER THE SCYTHIANS AND PARTHIANS

The westward migration of a Central Asian horde, expelled from Mongolia some time before the year 160 B.C., started a series of upheavals in the countries lying to the north and west of the Indus valley, culminating in the extinction of the Hellenic kingdoms and the appearance of new ruling races in the Indus valley itself.

The evidence for the earlier stages of these movements is derived from Chinese annalists and based on contemporary official reports: for the later developments we depend partly on Classical authors, partly on numismatic evidence and inscriptions. The absence of discoveries up to date of any contemporary coins or inscriptions in Sind leaves a vacuum in our knowledge of events there until the middle of the first century after Christ, when the existing state of the country is described by a Classical author. Thus the obscurity in which Sind is involved after the fall of the Mauryas, when the Hellenic kingdoms were flourishing in the Upper Panjab, is protracted through another century and a half which witnessed the eclipse of Greek rule and the consolidation of the power of their conquerors. We can only suggest by inference from the course of events elsewhere how the conditions in Sind as they appear about 50 A.D. were produced.

Shortly after the year 139 B.C. certain Scythian tribes, the Sacarauli and the Asiani, who had long been settled along the Jaxartes[1] came under pressure from a more powerful horde, the Yueh Chi, and moved on into Bactria. Part of this country they wrested from the successors of Eucratides, but their occupation of it seems to have been temporary and large numbers pushed on to the west, coming into conflict with

the Parthians who now held sway over eastern Iran. A prolonged struggle followed in which the Scythians probably were assisted by the people of similar origin who had migrated into Seistan and settled there some four centuries earlier. Neither Phraates II nor Artabanus I could prevail against them, but they were either reduced to obedience or expelled from Seistan by Mithridates II, the Great. If Strabo may be relied upon, Mithridates carried the war into the country from which the tribes had come.[2] But if the Parthians actually conquered Bactria or part of it from the Scythians as Strabo states, the success was short. lived, for about 100 B.C. the whole of that country was occupied by the Yueh Chi.[3] These people seem to have defeated the Bactrians, or it may be finally expelled their Greek rulers, some twenty years before; but were then content to remain themselves north of the Oxus, allowing the petty Bactrian chiefs to govern the country as their tributaries. In their turn, the Yueh Chi were now attacked and driven across the river by the king of the Wu-Sun, aided by the Huns; they then took full possession of Bactria, dividing the country among their five septs.

According to the Chinese Annalists the Sai or Sakas, one of the Scythian tribes dislodged from their settlements beyond the Jaxartes by the earlier onset of the Yueh Chi, had moved south instead of westward (the direction taken by the Sacarauli and the Asiani, as already mentioned) and their king became the ruler of Ki Pin, corresponding probably with Gilgit or north western Kashmir. The physical difficulties of the intervening country are immense, and Rapson was of the opinion that no considerable body of the Sakas was likely to have accompanied their king to Ki Pin.[4] But Dr. Narain, after re-examination of the relevant passages in the Chinese authors, is firmly of opinion that this was a tribal migration of the Sai, probably continuing for a considerable time; and he insists that it was this people who, entering from the north, founded the first Saka kingdom in India.[5]

It has been generally believed that the Scythian tribes of Seistan, after their defeat during the reign of Mithridates

the Great, were driven eastward and taking the line of least resistance by way of Kandahar and the Bolan or Mulla passes, poured into the lower valley of the Indus, taking possession of Abhiria or Upper Sind and thereafter bringing Patalene and eventually Cutch and Kathiawar under their authority. These countries thereafter became known to the Greek geographers as Indo-Scythia, and in Indian literature as Saka-dvipa - the river country of the Sakas.[6]

It has to be borne in mind, in view of Dr. Narain's insistence that the name Saka properly applies only to the Sai tribe of Scythians, that from the time of Darius Hystaspes it was used in Iran to denote Scythians in general with a distinguishing epithet attached when necessary.[7] Thus two Saka provinces, Saka Haumavarga and Saka Tigarkhanda were among the lands ruled by Darius, according to the list inscribed on his tomb. Dr. Thomas' view that the former should be identified with that part of the Helmand basin in which Scythians had been settled long before Darius' reign has been contested, but at least this was the region which became known as Sakastan after the Scythian influx towards the end of the second century B.C.[8] It will be recalled that one of the prominent tribes of Scythians which had moved westwards under pressure from the Yuch Chi bore the name of Sacarauli.

In India as in Iran, the name Saka was commonly applied to Scythians in general, and not only to those of the Sai tribe: and we may be confident that the Indians gave the name Saka-dvipa to the Lower Indus valley because it was settled by Scythian tribes who, in all probability, reached it from Sakastan.

But the first Saka kingdom in India of which there is positive evidence, in the shape of coins and inscriptions, was that founded by Maues in the North West Panjab, by conquest of part of the Hellenic kingdoms.

His coinage, closely imitated from that of the Greek rulers, includes a great variety of their types, among them the characteristic square pieces of Apollodotus, who was long supposed to be the first prince of that name and con-

temporary with Menander. But one of Maues' coins copied from this type has been found overstruck by Apollodotus, which may indicate a temporary revival of Greek power, and certainly supports Narain's view that there were not two Greek kings of this name, but only one, and that he did not begin to rule till some years after Menander's death.[9]

This brings us to two connected problems: what dates should be assigned to Maues' conquest and rule in Gandhara, and by what route and from what country did he enter India? It is convenient to deal with the latter question first.

The view held by Rapson and Tarn was that Maues belonged to those Scythians who had migrated from Seistan into Upper Sind and that he advanced up the valley of the Indus. Tarn even suggested, on the strength of a coin of Maues depicting Poseidon overcoming a river god, that a naval victory on the Indus may have been decisive in the campaign. But as this device occurs on a coin of Antimachus Theos it probably has no more significance than other Greek emblems adopted by Maues.[10] Dr. Lohuizen de Leeuw argues that though the name Maues is Scythian, he is likely to have been a Parthian; she considers that his coin types are more akin to those struck by the contemporary rulers in Eastern Parthia - the models for both being the coinage of the Greeks in Gandhara - than to those of known Saka rulers such as Ranjhubala, which were copied from those of Strato I and II.[11] On his later coins Maues calls himself Great King of Kings, which was a distinctively Parthian title inherited from the Achaemenids; and this perhaps lends support to the view that if not a Parthian he was one of those Scythians who while in Seistan had been subject to Parthia.

This same title was being used in Eastern Iran after the death in B.C. 88 of Mithridates II by Vonones, who had evidently been his viceroy in Arachosia and probably Seistan, and may have been responsible previously for the subjugation of the immigrant Scythians. He appears to have been an old man when he achieved independence, judging by the head on his coins; and either Spalirises or

Spalyris, his brothers, appear in association with him. It may be that Maues adopted the title Great King of Kings after the death of Vonones, though Spalirises as Vonones' successor in his own territories naturally used the same style. And finally we have to consider the significance of the fact that Azes I, the son or nephew of Spalirises, succeeded Maues as ruler in Taxila.

The simplest interpretation would seem to be that Maues, ejected with a large body of Scythians from Seistan by Vonones the Parthian viceroy of Eastern Iran, found his way into the Indus valley, and after some time achieved the conquest of part of the Greek kingdom of Gandhara; that meanwhile Vonones had become independent in his former Governorship; both then usurped the Parthian royal title as rulers of their respective territories: and that after Maues' death Vonones' nephew was able to succeed him, thus reclaiming his conquests for the "legitimate" dynasty of Eastern Parthia.[12]

Dr. Narain who dissents from this view of Maues' antecedents nevertheless lays stress on the mingling of Scythians and Parthians in Seistan, remarking that they became a composite people, known in India as the Pahlavas, taking both Saka and Pahlava names and under Azes I completing the conquest of the last Greek kingdom in the Kabul valley and Upper Arachosia after they had taken over Maues' territory in Gandhara, which they probably reached by way of the Kurram valley.[13]

Narain holds that Maues was king of the Sai tribe of Scythians, the people who according to the Chinese authorities reached Ki Pin – probably northwestern Kashmir – by a southward route from the Upper Ili in Central Asia. He remarks that Chinese sources tell of a certain Mu-Kua who was attacked by the Chinese about 102 B.C. in Ferghana, which would have been near this southern route, and argues that the resemblance in name proves Maues to have been a Saka.[14] He points out also that the earliest Saka inscriptions hitherto found occur in Gilgit and Hazara, where these people should be deemed to have established their

power before the conquest of Taxila.[15] He does not offer any explanation why Maues should have adopted the Parthian style "Great King of Kings" or why this Saka kingdom in Gandhara passed to the Pahlava Azes, but it would be possible to suggest reasons, although the circumstances seem to fit in better with the older theory that Maues emerged from Eastern Iran. It is noteworthy also that in the copper plate inscription which makes mention of the great king Moga, who is identified with Maues, the month in the inscription is Parthian. Rapson therefore argues that the era by which it is dated - the year 78 - was also probably Parthian in origin, and suggests that it may have begun about the year 150 B.C., when the Parthians established their rule over Seistan and Eastern Iran. Thus Maues would have begun his rule in Gandhara before the year 72 B.C., which seems to fit in well with the contemporary and subsequent numismatic evidence.[16] Narain assigns about the same date for the beginning of the era, but as he holds Maues to have been a Sai or Saka, offers other suggestions for the occasion of its inauguration - preferring the theory that it was a "Yavana" era introduced by the greatest Greek king in India, Menander, dating from the beginning of his reign, and taken over by Maues when he conquered Hazara and the Swat valley, which had formed part of Menander's kingdom. He dates Maues' reign at about 100 to 75 B.C. Narain shows good reason for rejecting Lohuizen de Leeuw's later dating of this era.[17]

Rapson has conjectured that Sind, after its occupation by the Scythians from Seistan, was reckoned by the viceroy of Arachosia to be part of his dominions.[18] It is certainly likely that Vonones, on becoming an independent ruler, claimed suzerainty over the province, particularly if Narain's view be accepted, that the Scythians and Parthians of Eastern Iran were so intermingled as to have become almost a composite race - the Pahlavas. Even in northern India, where (in Narain's view) the Sakas who under Maues had conquered Gandhara were distinct and had no previous connection with Parthia, the substitution of Azes, a Pahlava suzerain, in place of the Saka Maues seems to have made no difference

to the position of the Saka aristocracy. Patika the son of the Satrap Liaka Kusulaka in Maues' time, is found in the higher rank of Great Satrap in the reign of the Pahlava Gondophernes. At that period Mathura was under the rule of another Saka Great Satrap, Ranjubula. These Governors struck their own coins and seem to have held every attribute of royalty except the royal title.[19]

The dominance of the Sakas in North and North West India during the first century B.C. is reflected in a Jain tradition of their conquest of Ujjain, which may possibly have a historical basis. It is related that the saint Kalaka, having been insulted by King Gardabhilla of Ujjain, went to the land of the Sakas and persuaded a number of their chiefs to invade the kingdom of Ujjain. They succeeded in overthrowing the dynasty, but some years later the son of Gardabhilla, the famous Vikramaditya, attacked and expelled the Sakas from Malwa. The Vikrama era is held to date from this victory in 58 B.C.[20]

It is noteworthy that Kalaka expressly mentions that the king of the Sakas bore the title Sahanusahi, or King of Kings; and it is conceivable that the incident occurred in the time of Maues, the only Saka ruler that we know used this style. On the other hand the northern Panjab is hardly likely to have been known at the period in which this transaction is alleged to have taken place, as "the land of the Sakas": nor could Maues, with hostile kingdoms on either hand, have spared men for distant expeditions. We can more easily imagine Kalaka to have resorted to the Scythian chiefs established in Saka-dvipa - Sind or Kathiawar.

About the beginning of the Christian era the Kushans, a sept of the Yueh-Chi, made themselves supreme in Bactria, and though the Pahlava power in India reached its height under Gondophernes, disintegration was setting in towards the end of his reign. By the middle of the first century A.D. the Kushans were encroaching on Gandhara and the allegiance of some of the Pahlava governors to their suzerain was becoming merely nominal, as may be inferred from

the high titles appearing after their names on coins bearing the portraits of Gondophernes and Pakores.[21]

Sind was almost certainly one of Gondophernes' provinces: for we have good evidence that its rulers were Pahlavas shortly after his reign. Conditions in Sind as they were a little before 50 A.D. are described in a Greek work, the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,[22] the author of which was evidently a merchant writing for the instruction of other merchants wishing to engage in eastern trade. He states that the country was governed by Parthian princes constantly at war and supplanting each other.

Sind at this period was of considerable mercantile importance. The port, Barbarikon, was situated on the main outlet of the Indus, a branch in the middle of the delta. Here goods transported by sea were transhipped into river vessels proceeding upstream to the metropolis Minnagar in which the Parthian prince or satrap resided. The name has been supposed to be Saka: there is no mention of any Greek city, even of Patala. Barbarikon was the first port for the Indian trade reached on the coasting passage from the Red Sea; it never handled a volume of commerce equal to that of Barygaza (Broach) which was generally the objective of merchants of the western world, but the list of imports and exports is impressive. The import of luxury goods such as silver plate, topazes, coral, frankinsense, glass and wine suggests a high standard of living among the rulers and nobility of the Indus valley; for the rest, plain clothing was a substantial item. As for the exports, we may distinguish mainly local products of Sind, in the various spices, dyes, cottons and indigo; but the furs described as "from China" must certainly have come at least from the Himalayan regions, and silk thread probably from China itself by way of Bactria. Central Asia is likely to have produced the sapphires and green stones - perhaps emeralds - included in the list.[23]

This flourishing trade, extending to great distances, had in all probability grown up before the Sakas and Pahlavas became rulers in the Indus valley. There is nothing in the accounts of Alexander's expedition or of the voyage of

Nearchus to suggest that at that period Sind possessed any important sea-borne trade, but only that Alexander contemplated developing it. We have seen that there is no evidence for a conquest of Sind by the Bactrian Greeks; on the other hand the fact mentioned by the author of the Periplus, that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were still circulating in Barygaza suggests that the Greek princes from their kingdoms in the northern Panjab had traded with the West by sea. Much of this trade must have been with and through Sind; in the Milinda-Panho, Sovira is described as a great sea port, and Tarn draws attention to the outburst of prosperity in Seleuceia on the Tigris at that same period.[24]

The flourishing internal condition of Sind itself, despite its political instability, is clear from the description in the Periplus:-

"It is a region which produces abundantly corn and rice and the oil of Sesamum, butter, muslins and the coarse fabrics, which are manufactured from Indian cotton. It has also numerous herds of cattle. The natives are men of large stature and coloured black. The metropolis of the district is Minnagar from which cotton cloth is exported in great quantity to Barygaza. In this part of the country there are preserved even to this day memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells."[25]

NOTES

1. Strabo, XI. 8.2.
2. Strabo, XI. 9.2.
3. A.K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, (O.U.P. 1957), pp. 140-1.
4. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 563, 567.
5. Narain, op. cit., pp. 133, 142.
6. Camb. Hist. India, pp. 532, 564.
7. Herodotus, Book VII, 64.
8. Camb. Hist. India, I, p. 564 and footnote.
9. Narain, op. cit., p. 145.
10. Camb. Hist. India, I, p. 564; W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 322: cf. Narain, op. cit., p. 48.
11. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, "The Scythian Period" (Leiden, 1949), pp. 337-340; Camb. Hist. India, Vol. I, Plate V.9 and Plate VII.27.
12. Camb. Hist. India, I, pp. 568-9.
13. Narain, op. cit., pp. 138, 141, 164.
14. Ibid., p. 142.
15. Ibid., p. 144.
16. Camb. Hist. India, I, p. 570.
17. Narain, op. cit., footnote to p. 143, and p. 144: cf. The Scythian Period, pp. 33-4.
18. Camb. Hist. India, I, p. 569 footnote.
19. Camb. Hist. India, I, pp. 575-6.
20. The Scythian Period, pp. 330-1; Camb. Hist. India, I, pp. 168, 532.
21. Camb. Hist. India, I, p. 580.

22. For the probable date of this work see Tarn, op. cit., p. 148, note 4.

23. Periplus, § 38, 39.

24. Milinda Panho, Trenckner Edition, p. 359. It is not unlikely that the country is identical with Ophir of the Bible. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 569-571. Tarn, op. cit., p. 261.

25. Periplus, Ed. McCrindle, § 41.

8

SIND IN THE FIRST FIVE CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

In the second half of the first century A.D. Parthian rule over North West India succumbed to the Kushans. These were one of five septs of the Yueh-Chi, the Central Asian horde which nearly two hundred years previously had expelled the Sakas from Bactria. The Chief of the Kushans, Kujula Kadphises, made himself supreme over the whole Yueh-Chi nation and about the year 50 A.D. occupied the Kabul valley. His son Vima added Taxila and its territories to his dominions.

Vima's successor, Kanishka, probably ascended the Kushan throne in 78 A.D., and within a few years had made himself suzerain of Upper Sind. In an inscription at Sui Vihar close to Bahawalpur he styles himself "the Great King of Kings and son of the Gods, Kanishka". This is dated on the 28th day of the Macedonian month Daisios, in the eleventh year of his reign.[1] Kanishka also brought under his rule Kashmir, the upper basin of the Ganges, and the greater part of Central and Western India. He seems to have waged a successful war against the Parthians, and after an initial defeat wrested from China the provinces of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan.

Kanishka fixed his capital at Purushapura near Peshawar, and ruled his extensive empire through viceroys. Those appointed to the government of the Indian provinces apparently included a number of the Pahlava and Saka Chieftains, some of whom had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Great King of Parthia, while others were for all practical purposes independent. It is probable that Kanishka made

considerable use of these chiefs in effecting his Indian conquest. The higher grade of Governor was entitled Mahakshatrapa, and the lower Kshatrapa - names inherited from the Parthians.[2]

Kanishka died after a reign of some twenty three years about the beginning of the second century A.D. The most prominent of his successors were Huvishka and Vasudeva: the latter was reigning as late as the ninety eighth year after Kanishka's accession. From the evidence of the inscriptions there is some ground for believing that the immediate successor of Kanishka was Vasishka, and that he reigned for four or five years; it also appears that Vasishka's son, also called Kanishka, may have ruled for some years jointly with Huvishka. In one inscription dated in the forty first year of the dynasty, this second Kanishka is styled Maharaja Devaputra, which is the usual title borne by the Kushan sovereigns. On the other hand, the abundance of Huvishka's and Vasudeva's coinage, and the absence of coins of Vasishka and the second Kanishka, indicates that the two last named may merely have been associated in the government in a subordinate capacity.[3]

From inscriptions and other evidence it is clear that Huvishka ruled over Kabul, Kashmir, and Mathura on the Jumna. There is some reason to believe that he lost control of Malwa; on the other hand Upper Sind remained within the Kushan empire, possibly for two further centuries. The pioneer excavator of Mohenjo Daro, R.D. Banerji, recovered from the Buddhist buildings there a large number of coins of Vasudeva, Huvishka's successor, of the well-known thick copper type bearing the representation of Siva and his bull. In the same strata were found fragments of frescoes on which appeared the remains of inscriptions in Brahmi and Karoshthi exhibiting characteristic Kushan features, with some resemblance to others discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Khotan. Their dating is, however, doubtful. A much larger quantity of coins recovered from the Buddhist levels at Mohenjo Daro were of a type apparently peculiar to Upper Sind; cast, and not die-struck, rectangular in shape, and bearing a nimbate figure associated

with a cross, trident, or other emblem, but without any legend. On the evidence of the dress of the royal figure on these coins they date from the later period when the Indian dominions of the Kushans hardly extended beyond the Panjab. Yet another type of coin found here bore the device of the fire altar on one side and on the other a crude human figure. These symbols occur not only on money of the Kidara Kushans and of the Sassanians, but were adopted also by the Ephthalites or White Huns; and similar coins discovered elsewhere have been confidently ascribed to the fourth or the fifth century A.D.[3A]

At Jhukar, a few miles west of Larkana in Upper Sind, broadly similar numismatic evidence was revealed in 'late' levels of an ancient site. Here too coins of Vasudeva were found, but greatly out-numbered by examples of the peculiar type so prevalent near the stupa of Mohenjo Daro, dating from the period of the decline of Kushan power. Moreover some of these coins were found "either in association with or in close proximity to terracotta sealings bearing inscriptions in characters of the Gupta period, probably not earlier than the fifth century A.D."[4]

Before looking further into the data afforded by the excavations at Jhukar, it is desirable to consider contemporary developments in Lower Sind, so far as these can be traced.

It was almost inevitable that men of princely descent entrusted with viceregal power in the outlying provinces of so great an empire would remain true to their allegiance only so long as the occupant of the throne was a man of exceptional capacity. The independent rule of Saka Satraps and Great Satraps in Mathura and Ujjain in the latter part of the first century B.C., prior to the establishment of the Kushan dynasty, appears to have succumbed to a Hindu renaissance;[5] but in the second century A.D., after the death of Kanishka, Saka chiefs once more achieved royal status in western India. They continued nevertheless to content themselves with the titles Kshatrapa and Mahakshatrapa.

The founder of the dynasty known as the Western Satraps was Chastana, who is mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy as ruler of Ujjain in Malwa.[6] His earliest known date corresponds with 130 A.D., at which time his grandson Rudradaman was associated with him in the government. This Rudradaman became the most distinguished of all the Western Satraps. According to his inscription at Junagadh, dated in the year 72 (equivalent to 150 A.D.) he ruled over the northern Konkan, Gujerat, Malwa, Central and South Western Rajputana, Kathiawar, Cutch, and Sindu and Sovira. He warred against the Yaudheyas of the eastern Panjab and against the king of Andhra; it was from the latter that he had won Kathiawar and the northern Konkan.[7] It is not stated that lower Sind was conquered by him but this is probable, as there is no evidence that the province had been included in the dominions of Chastana. It is more likely to have continued up till the time of Rudradaman under the rule of local Saka or Pahlava governors, nominally owing allegiance to Kanishka's successors.

Rudradaman was a conscientious ruler and governed with the advice of his council of ministers. He paid for the reconstruction of the famous Sudarsana Tank in Kathiawar from his privy purse, as the council did not think the work feasible and would not sanction the expenditure of public funds. The Junagadh inscription describes him as "chosen as protector by all castes"; and in another passage he is stated to have taken a vow, and kept it all his life, not to kill men except in battle.

It is not known how long lower Sind remained under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas of Ujjain. The founder of the Sassanian Dynasty of Persia, Ardashir Babagan, who reigned from A.D. 226 to 241, is stated by Ferishta to have marched into north west India and to have exacted tribute.[8] Some forty years later Bahram II forced the Sakas of Seistan to submit, and pushed on into the Indus valley. An inscription records that Saka chiefs of Northern India were among Bahram's retainers. Though he was recalled from these distant conquests to meet the threat by the Emperor Carus

to his western frontiers, it is probable that Sind continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Persia until nearly the middle of the fourth century A.D.[9] At its commencement, the Shah Hormuzd II married the daughter of the Kushan ruler of Kabul; and a Pahlavi inscription at Persepolis dating from the first years of his son Shapur II, then an infant, refers to the Sassanian Satrap of Seistan as "Sakanšah, minister of Ministers of Hind, Sakasthan and Tukharistan".[10] There is also some evidence that the Abhiras living to the east of the lower valley of the Indus at this period acknowledged the sway of the Sassanians. When Shapur II besieged Amida on the Tigris in 360 A.D., he had the aid of Indian elephants and of Kushan troops under the command of their king Grumbates;[11] the presence of the latter on such a remote expedition, which in no way concerned him, becomes intelligible if we assume that he had become a vassal of Persia.[12]

Significant also is the fact that between the years 295 and 340 A.D., approximately, the title of Mahakshatrapa remained in abeyance at Ujjain: the rulers were content to style themselves Kshatrapa.[13] The assumption by Rudrasena III of the higher title suggests that he was no longer obliged to defer to the claims of the Sassanian monarch to suzerainty over the lower Indus valley and the adjoining country. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Rudrasena brought Sind under his rule, beyond the discovery of one of his coins at Sudharanjo Daro.[14]

At much the same time as Persian influence in North West India was declining, the Gupta dynasty of Pataliputra was extending its power over the valley of the Ganges, and by the middle of the fourth century A.D. had become the imperial power in India. In the last decade of the century Chandragupta II turned his arms against the Mahakshatrapa Rudrasinha, dethroned and killed him, and annexed his dominions. According to Chandragupta's inscription on the celebrated iron pillar of Delhi, he "crossed the seven mouths of the Indus" and defeated a nation called Vahlika, which apparently occupied part of the Panjab.[15] The

Guptas do not appear to have incorporated the Indus valley within their dominions, but may have exacted tribute for some years.

In the first half of the fifth century A.D. there seems to have been a revival of Persian influence in north west India. It appears in some of the designs on pottery recovered at Jhukar, and Sassanian coins of the period have been found near Larkana. It is noteworthy that these gold coins are of a type unknown elsewhere. They bear no Pahlavi inscriptions. The head-dress of the king bears a crescent and star, a fashion which first appears on the coins of Yezdegird I, who reigned from 397 to 417 A.D. It seems possible that these coins were specially struck for circulation in Sind.[16] According to Persian tradition, Sind was actually ceded by its Indian overlord to Bahram V, better known as Bahram Gur, who ruled Persia from 420 to 440 A.D. Bahram Gur is one of the greatest of Persian national heroes and it is not easy to unravel his real career from the romance which has been woven round it. The best known story is almost identical with one told of King Jayapida of Kashmir, in the Rajatarangini. He travels alone and in disguise into India: he kills single-handed a lion that has been devastating the country, and gains the favour of the king: his identity is revealed by chance and the gratified king bestows on him the hand of his daughter.[17]

The Muslim historians state that he approached the borders of India at the head of an army, and by means of the threat of invasion negotiated a treaty with the king (presumably the ruler of the Indus valley) by which the provinces of Debal and Makran were handed over to him, and were incorporated in the satrapy of Karman.[18] The acquisition of these new provinces may well have been celebrated by the issue of the special coinage mentioned above. The Indian expedition is said to have taken place after Bahram had waged a successful war against the "Turks"- probably repulsing an early invasion of Persia by the White Huns.

The Huns began to penetrate into India in the second

half of the fifth century and were similarly repulsed at first by Skandragupta. A more powerful wave submerged the kingdom of the Kushans in Kabul and Gandhara about the year 465 A.D. and a few years later broke the power of Skandragupta. The course of events was much the same in North east Persia where resistance collapsed with the defeat and death of King Feroz, in 484 A.D. The main flood of invasion now poured into India and before the end of the century a Hun Chief, Toromana, was established as ruler of Malwa, and adopted the style and titles of an Indian monarch.

It is not known whether Sind was annexed by or became tributary to Toramana, or his son Mihiragula, whose capital was at Sakala, the modern Sialkot in the Panjab. The inferences which led Rapson, Hoernle, Cunningham and others to the conclusion that the Huns obtained possession of Sind have been ably contested by Mr. B.D. Mirchandani.[18A] The latter does not however appear to have taken into account the remarkable terracotta sealing recovered from Jhukar bearing a male bust which shows a striking resemblance to authenticated coins of the White Huns. The similarity "lies in the head-dress forming an angle on the forehead, the peculiar folds of the breast muscles, the profile bust turned to the right and the beardless face." Moreover other terracotta sealings found in association there with the coins attributed to the fourth or fifth century A.D. carry the inscription *Sri-Karpari-Harasya* "Of Hara (Siva) the wearer of skulls", and we are reminded that Mihiragula was a worshipper of Siva.[19]

This does not, of course, amount to conclusive evidence that the White Huns ruled, or had the suzerainty, over Upper Sind; but in the absence of any data indicating other rulers in Sind during this chaotic period at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D., it deserves serious consideration.

Other branches of the Hun nation, and associated tribes who had accompanied them in the invasion of India, also

laid the foundations of kingdoms during the sixth century. Thus the Maitrakas established themselves at Valabhi, in the east of Kathiawar, and the Gurjaras founded a considerable kingdom in south western Rajputana. The Parihars and other well known Rajput clans descend from Hun and other foreign chieftains and their followers who succeeded in establishing themselves as a local aristocracy and were admitted into the Hindu fold as Kshatriyas. It is not unlikely that barbarians somewhat lower in the social scale imposed themselves on Sind as independent rulers.

The sixth century A.D. was thus a period of great confusion in North West India, and at the same time the power of the Persian Empire was rising to its zenith. In the absence of local records, considerable weight may be given to the assertions of the national historians of Persia,[20] that Naushirwan who reigned from 531 to 578 A.D. once more brought the lower Indus valley under Sassanian rule. According to the Shahnama, which is based on these histories, the Shah came in person to India: "At his commandment all folk came to him, came seeking to ingratiate themselves, and for two miles beside the Indus-bank were horses, elephants, brocade and coin. The great men all with honesty of heart and loyalty appeared before the Shah, who questioned them and well entreated them in accordance with their rank." The monk Cosmas Indicopleustes, writing about the middle of the century, states that in his time the right side of the Indus Delta belonged to Persia. It is not improbable that the Rai dynasty of Sind began their rule as vassals of Naushirwan. Raverty is of opinion that while not under the direct control of the Persians, they acknowledged the supremacy of the Shah, and paid a nominal tribute.[21]

Towards the end of the sixth century Sind may also have been harassed from the north east. The father of the great Harsha, by name Prabhakaravardhana, Raja of Thanesar, waged successful wars against most of his neighbours, and is described by Bana, the panegyrist of Harsha, as "a burning fever to the kings of Indus-land".[22]

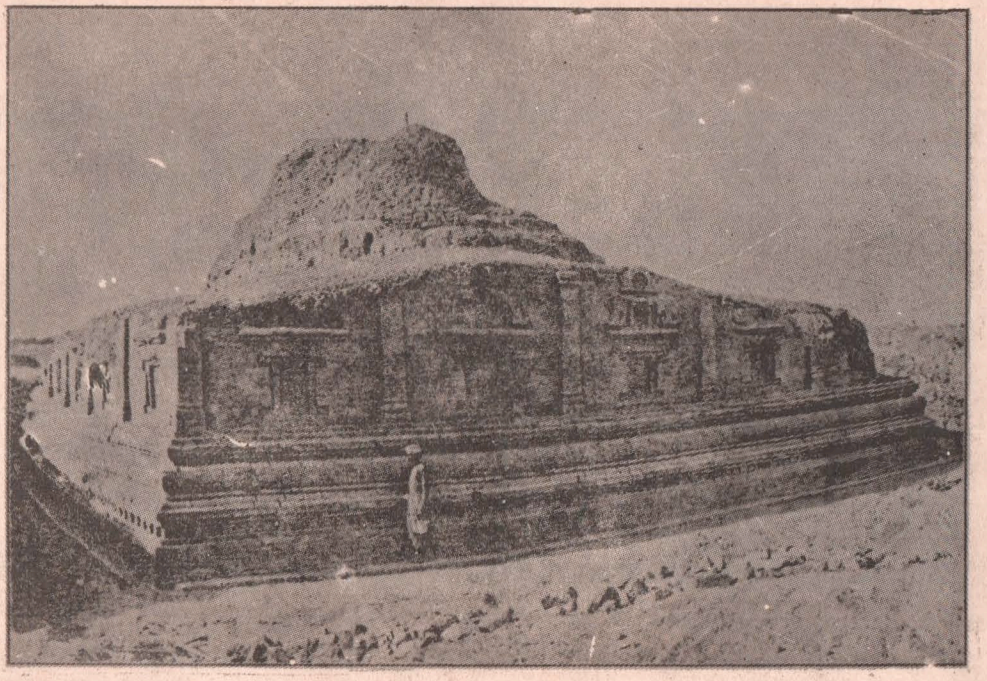
It must be admitted that history during the first five centuries of the Christian era throws very little light upon the affairs of Sind. The province was a bone of contention between the rulers of Persia and the powers which from time to time dominated north west India. Among these vicissitudes one stabilising factor in the country seems to have been the Buddhist religion. Kanishka was converted to Buddhism, and the Saka satraps were not unfriendly to the creed, though they inclined personally to the Brahmanical cult. From the evidence unearthed at Jhukar it may be presumed that the Hun invaders had become worshippers of Siva.[23] But there can be little doubt that the people of Sind as a whole professed Buddhism throughout this long period. Most of the Buddhist stupas in Sind appear to have been built between the first and fifth centuries A.D. Thus at Sudharanjo Daro, to the south of the Ganjo Takar, a coin of Kanishka was found among other votive offerings; the stupa is considered to date from about the beginning of the Christian Era.[24] That at Mohenjo Daro has been assigned to the second century A.D. On the evidence of style, those of Mirpur Khas and Thul Mir Rukan must have been contemporary with each other, but somewhat later in date.

A feature of Buddhist architecture in Sind was the regular use of ornamental brick work, the designs being carved on the clay before firing. The same method occurs at Jamal-Garhi near Peshawar, and at Shorkot in the Panjab.

Many of these designs show strong affinities with Indo-Greek work in Gandhara. The capitals of the pilasters at Mirpur Khas and Thul Mir Rukan are most characteristic. Again, the fashion of the Buddha's dress in the images of the Mirpur Khas stupa, a robe covering both shoulders worn over trousers, distinctly belongs to Gandhara.[25]

The great amount of image-sculpture on the best preserved stupas in Sind indicates that they belonged to the Mahayana school of Buddhism, which was favoured by Kanishka.[26] We know from Yuan Chwang's account on the other hand that by the 7th century A.D. the Hinayama school

'Thul Mir Rukan' (Buddhist Stupa) Sakrand Taluka



Stupa at Mirpur Khas

Image found in the Mirpur Khas Stupa

was paramount. He states that there were several hundred monasteries in Sind occupied by about ten thousand priests. As to stupas, he remarks that Asoka Raja had caused them to be erected in places where the sacred traces of the Buddha were found.[27] This probably refers to Asoka's redistribution of relics of the Buddha in order to spread the bodily presence of the Teacher as widely as possible through his empire. The very minute reliquary discovered in the stupa at Mirpur Khas seems to have contained some such tiny substance, and it is possible that it was originally deposited in a stupa built in the time of Asoka, and again embodied in that which replaced it and still survives. It is possible that the ashes in a phial discovered close to this silver and gold reliquary may have been those of the Arhat Upargupta who, as Yuan Chwang records, did much under Asoka's instructions to spread the Buddhist cult in Sind.[28]

Votive tablets deposited at the Mirpur Khas stupa bear inscriptions in characters of the sixth and later centuries A.D., and it is noteworthy that most of the images of the Buddha on them are dressed in the Indian style, with the robe over one shoulder.[29]

An image thought to represent the builder, or the donor of funds for the building, of the existing stupa at Mirpur Khas was found there. The figure wears a waist cloth, a necklace and an elaborate head-dress which may have been a wig. It was painted; the complexion was wheat-coloured, with black eyes, eyebrows and moustache. One hand holds a small lotus flower, the other is placed carefully on a fold of the waist cloth which we may suppose did duty as a purse.[30] The features, as also the dress, are characteristically 'Indian'. If the assumption that this image represents the person responsible for building the stupa is correct, it is of peculiar interest as the earliest known portrait of an individual inhabitant of Sind: perhaps a prominent merchant of the second or third century A.D.

NOTES

1. Trs. Hoernle, in Indian Antiquary, Vol. X (1881), p. 326.
2. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, in J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 639.
3. N. N. Ghosh, Early History of India, 3rd Edition. Allahabad 1951, p. 243.

3A. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1922 - 23, pp. 102 - 4 (article by R.D. Banerji); Sir John Marshall, Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, pp. 122-3, 127-9 (article by N.G. Majumdar).

4. N.G. Majumdar, in Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 48, p. 7.
5. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, The Scythian Period, p. 336.
6. Ptolemy, VII.i.63.
7. Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 42 ff.
8. Elliot, History of India, VI, p. 557.
9. Raychaudhari, The Political History of Northern India, 5th Edition, 1950, p. 510.
10. Some coins of Hormisdas show signs of Indian influence: representations of Siva and his bull appear on them, and they may have been struck for circulation in an Indian province of the Persian Empire. Rawlinson. The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy, p. 141 note.
11. Vincent Smith, Early History of India, 2nd Edition, p. 255.
12. It is significant that large numbers of Sassanian coins have been found at Taxila. J. Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, p. 17 note.
13. Raychaudhari, Political History of Ancient India, p. 510.
14. Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, pp. 183-4.

15. The 'seven mouths' may mean the seven Panjab tributaries. N.N. Ghosh, Early History of India, pp. 275-7.
16. Cousens, p. 183.
17. Rajatarangini, trs. M.A. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 159-163 (Book V, 419-462.)
18. Farsnama, p. 82; Tabari I/868. Quoted by Baloch Nabi Bakhsh Khan in "The Political Influence of Persia in Sind in pre-Islamic Times". Journal of the Sind Historical Society, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 74-5.

18A. B.D. Mirchandani, Sind and the White Huns, in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1964-5, pp. 61-85.

19. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
20. In this phrase Tabari and Al Masudi are included: vide Tabari I/894; Masudi, Muruj II/200, quoted by Baloch Nabi Bakhsh Khan in J.S.H.S., Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 74-5.
21. J.A.S.B. 1902, p. 56.
22. Bana, Harsa Carita, trs. E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas, (Oriental Translation Fund), p. 101.
23. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 9.
24. Cousens, op. cit., p. 105.
25. Ibid., pp. 89, 97, 108: Plates XIX and XXIV to XXXI.
26. Ibid., p. 106.
27. Si-yu-ki, Trs. Beal, Vol. II, p. 272.
28. Si-yu-ki, loc. cit. Cousens, op. cit., pp. 88, 94.
29. Cousens, op. cit., pp. 92-3.
30. Ibid., p, 95.

9

THE BUDDHIST RAIS OF SIND

The Buddhist Rais of Sind belong to the earliest dynasty of rulers mentioned in the chronicles of the country itself, and their names are nowhere else recorded. Were we able to accept implicitly what is stated in the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, we should reckon on the first of these princes having begun to reign at the end of the fifth century A.D., and the last of them to have died in or just before the first year of the Muslim era, in 622 A.D. But the very few pieces of independent evidence that we possess tend to show that the Rai dynasty was in power in Sind twenty years later than that date. No inscriptions of these rulers have yet come to light, by means of which we could check or amplify the jejune statements of the chronicles. The Rais hardly emerge from the realm of tradition into that of history.

The name of the earliest recorded prince of this line appears in the chronicles as Diwaij or Diwaji, which Hodivala suggests may represent Devaditya. Four successors are mentioned in the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram,[1] while the Chachnama gives only three. As no definite events are recorded of any reign before the last two, the discrepancy has a bearing only on the duration of the dynasty. This was 137 years according to the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, and this chronicle also represents the Sind kingdom to have been somewhat more extensive than it appears in the Chachnama version. The latter lays down the boundaries as follows: "On the east, to the limits of Kashmir: on the west to Makran: on the south to the coast of the sea and Debal: on the north to the mountains of Kardan and Kaikanan". The Tuhfat-ul-Kiram makes the 'eastern' boundary march with Kanauj as well as Kashmir; the western is given as "Makran

and the shore of the sea of Uman, that is the port of Debal". To the south the kingdom is said to have extended as far as the port of Surat (or Surashtra), and to the north up to "Kandahar, Sistan, the hills of Suleiman and Kaikanan". The cardinal points are very loosely applied here, Kashmir lying actually to the north east of Sind; Kanauj indeed was to the east, but with the whole of Rajputana intervening. As to the north, (really the north west), Kardan is thought by Hodivala to be a mistranscription of Qusdar,[2] and he supposes Kaikanan to have been in the same neighbourhood: but there seem fair grounds for believing Kaikanan to have been more in the region of the modern Loralai. The reference to Surat, or the port of Surashtra, may be variously interpreted, but must remain highly suspect.

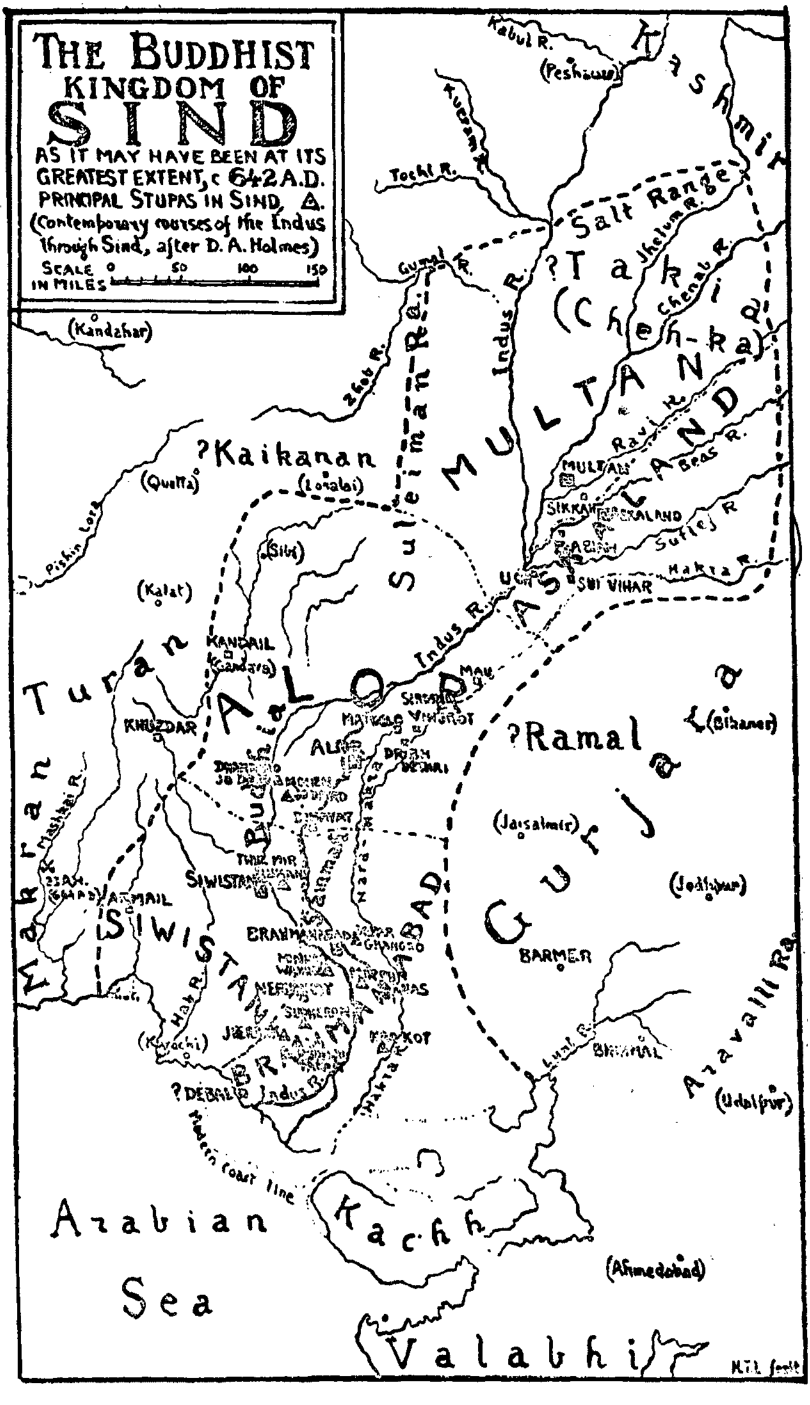
Certain coins of the class known broadly as Indo-Sassanian, dating apparently from the early seventh century A.D., were supposed by Cunningham and others to have been issued by members of the Rai dynasty. The bust of a ruler appears on the obverse, while the reverses display differing emblems; the fire altar with attendants, or the bust of a deity which in some instances appears to be a Sun-god, and in others a goddess. A peculiar feature is that the legends borne by some of these coins are in three scripts - Indian nāgari, Sassanian Pahlevi, and Kushan Greek - while others have the last two, but no inscription in nāgari. Two names of rulers appear, Sri Vasudeva on two or three, and one example of 'Shahi Tigin'; while another coin closely resembling a type issued by Khusru Parvez bears no ruler's name. No member of the Rai dynasty according to the list in the chronicles had a name resembling either Vasudeva or Shahi Tigin, though it is possible that they may have been known by more than one name or title. A stronger objection to the identification however lies in the fact that none of these coins appear to have been found in territory which formed part of the Rais' kingdom. As to the part of the inscription which usually includes the countries for which the coins were issued, the only names agreed upon by all who have examined and discussed them are Zabulistan

(Vasudeva) and Khurasan (Shahi Tigin); while "Bahman", "Multan", "Tukan", and "Sapardalakshan", names claimed by some authorities as readings of other words in the varying legends, have all been contradicted by others.

The whole question has been most ably discussed by Mr. B. D. Mirchandani, and along with him we should surely endorse the opinion of R. B. Whitehead, "These hybrid coins were struck by kings of Sassanian affinities not in the Panjab and Sind, but in Zabulistan and other debatable lands between Iran and India."

It had been argued by Cunningham, on palpably flimsy grounds, that the first two members of the Rai dynasty, named according to the chronicle Diwaji and Siharas, were identical with Toramana and Mihirkula the White Hun leaders who as we have seen ruled over parts of northern India between c. 490 and c. 540 A.D. Cunningham proceeded to argue, on the basis of his own readings and interpretations of the legends on the peculiar coins described above, that Shahi Tigin, Vasudeva, and the un-named ruler who struck them were the last three Rais of Sind, and that they were descendants of Mihirkula. While we feel obliged to reject the argument on which this theory is based, as does Whitehead, we may again associate ourselves with the latter's opinion, that it is nevertheless quite likely that the Rais were of Hun provenance. There seems little substance in Mr. Mirchandani's view that they more probably descended from the Mauryas.[3]

As has been shown in the last chapter, the sixth century A.D. and particularly its second half, during which this Buddhist dynasty must have been reigning, was a period in the history of India of which relatively little is known. There was no paramount power and the disruption caused by the Hun invasions allowed a number of small states to rise and enjoy an independent existence. The Gurjaras, who had been invaders probably closely associated with the White Huns, founded a considerable kingdom in Rajputana, and must in fact have been the nearest neigh-


THE BUDDHIST KINGDOM OF SIND
AS IT MAY HAVE BEEN AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT, c 642 A.D.
PRINCIPAL STUPAS IN SIND, △.
(Contemporary courses of the Indus through Sind, after D. A. Holmes)
SCALE IN MILES 0 50 100 150
Kabul R.
(Peshawar)
Kashmir
Kuram R.
Tochi R.
Salt Range
Jhelum R.
?Taki
(Cheh-ka)
Chenab R.
Gumal R.
Indus R.
(Kandahar)
Zhob R.
Suleiman Ra.
MULTAN
Ravi R.
Beas R.
?Kaikanan
(Quetta)
(Loralai)
MULTAN
SIKKA
Sutlej R.
Pishin Lora
(Sibi)
Hakra R.
(Kalat)
UCH
SUI VIHAR
ASKALAND
KANDAIL
Turan
ALOR
MAU
(Bikaner)
KHUZDAR
?Ramal
Gurjara
Makran
Mashkai R.
(Jaisalmir)
SIWISTAN
(Jodhpur)
BUDHIA
BARMER
Hab R.
(Karachi)
BRAHMANABAD
?DEBAL
Indus R.
Luni R.
BHINMAL
Aravalli Ra.
(Udaipur)
Modern coast line
Arabian Sea
Kachh
(Ahmedabad)
Valabhi

bours of the Rais of Sind on the east. It is likely that the Rais themselves were of similar racial provenance. We also know that a dynasty almost certainly of 'foreign' origin, was in power in the kingdom of Valabhi, in Kathiawar, throughout the sixth century. In view of this it appears altogether impossible that the Sind kingdom could have included any part of Surashtra, much less Surat.[4]

As to the westward, the omission of any mention of the Persian Empire seems to be in accord with the circumstances of the time. After the death of Naushirwan the eastern Satrapies are known to have revolted, and Makran in particular probably remained for all practical purposes independent until the Arab invasion.

The Tuhfat-ul-Kiram does not mention the duration of any of the five reigns mentioned, and the account given of each prince is little more than vague and conventional eulogy. Diwaji "formed alliances with most of the rulers of Hind", and his dominions were so quiet under his absolute rule that caravans travelled in perfect security. Siharas his son, and Sahasi his grandson, were also prosperous and successful rulers. It was the son of the latter, also called Siharas, who according to the Chachnama organized his kingdom on a system of delegated authority. Considering its extent and shape (if we accept in general terms what the chronicles record) the resulting arrangement was well devised.

The metropolitan province, ruled directly by Sahiras from his capital at Alor, extended over what is now Upper Sind and, probably, the southern part of the Derajat and the adjoining portions of Baluchistan including Kachhi. It thus completely separated the two pairs of Governors' provinces, the capitals of which were at Bahmanabad and Sehwan in Sind, and Askaland and Multan in the Panjab.[5] The Bahmanabad province was evidently equivalent to central Sind eastward of the Indus together with the whole of Lower Sind and possibly Cutch, and that of Sehwan (Siwistan) included roughly speaking the modern districts of Larkana and Dadu and, possibly, Las Bela. The terri-

tories under Askaland may have corresponded broadly with Bahawalpur State and part of the adjoining Panjab districts, and the Multan province would seem to have run up at least as far as the Salt Range, as it is said to have bordered on Kashmir.

The Provincial Governors were in some instances near relatives of the Rai himself; a system which has the drawback that Satraps of royal lineage have a greater temptation than lesser men to take advantage of a weak king and set up for themselves as independent rulers. This was a frequent cause of disintegration in the Persian Empire, and it seems to have been due to the ambition of one of its Satraps that Rai Sahiras, according to the chronicles, became involved in a conflict which cost him his life. We shall see hereafter that another work gives this episode, or it may possibly be a curiously similar but distinct episode, a context which implies a chronology for the Rai dynasty very different from that which is to be inferred from the chronicles. The latter may first be allowed to tell the story.

"All of a sudden an army of the king of Nimruz invaded his country, entering Makran. When this news reached King Sahiras, he went forth from the fort of Alor with his main army, determined to confront the foe without delay. Battle was joined[6] and after many brave men and tried warriors had been slain on both sides the Persian army, placing their whole trust in the Almighty, made a vigorous assault. The army of Rai Sahiras was broken, overpowered, and took to flight The Rai stood firm, fighting for his name and honour till he was killed. The King of Fars returned to Nimruz, and Rai Sahasi son of Sahiras sat upon the throne of his father."

Nimruz is a name given to Sijistan - it was traditionally the appanage granted to the great Rustam by Kai Khusru, who is credited with the conquest of Makran[7] - and its "king" could have been no more than a Satrap of the Persian Empire who had asserted his independence. This suggests at first sight that the event took place either in the reign of

Hormuzd IV or in the earlier part of that of Khusru Parviz, between 579 and about 592 A.D. Persia was then distracted both by external wars and the revolt of Bahram Chubin, who actually seized the throne in 591. It was natural enough for a rebellious Satrap of Sistan to take the opportunity to consolidate his new position by possessing himself of the adjoining province of Makran, which must also have slipped out of the control of the Shah. It was equally natural for Sahiras, who seems to have been a proud and warlike character, to have made a bid for the prize himself.

The prestige of the ruling family does not appear to have been shaken by this defeat, and Sahasi succeeded his father in an undiminished kingdom. According to the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, "The army of Sahiras assembled in a body and seated his son Sahasi upon the throne."[8] The Chachnama's account of Sahiras' expedition suggests that he advanced hastily with only part of the Sind army, and it is fair to assume that his son was following with a force in support. This would also explain the fact that the "King of Nimruz" not only did not follow up his victory, but retired into his own country.

The reign of Sahasi the second appears from the chronicles to have been peaceful and prosperous. "He established his authority in the country, and the four princes who had been appointed by his father submitted and assented to him, exhibiting every mark of obedience, placing their wealth at his disposal, and supporting him with honesty and energy. The whole country was thus safely secured in the power of Rai Sahasi, and the people lived happily under his just and equitable rule." Thus the Chachnama.[9] The Tuhfat-ul-Kiram states also "he remitted the taxes of his subjects, on condition that they should raise (or repair) the earthwork of six forts, namely Uchh, Matela, Seorai, Mao or Mad, Alor and Siwistan."[10]

The mention of the name of Uchh (by which Uchh-i-Sharif is doubtless intended) may be an anachronism, but at least goes to show that the old provincial capital, Aska-

land, is not to be identified with this place. Mathelo and Seorai both continued to be of importance down to Moghal times: their ruins are still to be observed within a few miles of Ghotki and Sabzalkot respectively.[11] The Fort of Mao may be represented by the ancient mound known as Mao Mubarak in Naushahro Taluka.

It is difficult to resist reading into this statement about the forts, so casually made, a hint that Sahasi's realm may not have been so secure as is elsewhere represented; perhaps even that his northern frontier had contracted, the quondam governor of Multan having successfully thrown off his allegiance. This would in fact agree with what we are told of the Sind kingdom by an independent observer who happened to visit it about the year 641 A.D. - Yuan Chwang, the Buddhist Master of the Law.

We are at once confronted by a problem of chronology, to explain which it is necessary to anticipate in part what the chroniclers say of the succeeding dynasty. The usurper, Chach the Brahman, is said to have established his rule in Sind in the first year of the Hegira - 622 A.D. His dynasty certainly ended in the Hegira year 92 or 93; we have other evidence for this fact. On the other hand the aggregate of the years in the three reigns, as given in the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, is eightyone instead of ninety. Elliot has shown that it is possible to bring forward the accession of Chach to the tenth year of the Hegira without doing great violence to the text of the chronicle.[12] But the consistency so achieved does not remove the difficulty presented by Yuan Chwang's account of Sind. On Elliot's reckoning his visit would have taken place when Chach had occupied the throne for about nine years: but what the pilgrim tells us indicates rather that the Rai dynasty was still in power.

The king, he says, was of the caste of Siu-t'o-lo, which can hardly bear any interpretation other than Sudra; the same word is used with reference to the king of "Mo-ti-

pou-lo" in Central India, who worshipped the celestial bodies and had no faith in the Law of Buddha. Yuan Chwang on a number of occasions specifies kings in India as Kshatriya (Tch-ti-li): others he designates by race, as Sakas, Turks and the like. He was of course well aware of the position in Hinduism of the Brahmans; these he calls Po-lo-men.[13] He actually mentions that the king of Ujjain was of this caste, and it is unthinkable that he could have written down the king of Sind as a Sudra had he really been a Brahman. Unless we postulate an extraordinary lapse on the part of the author - something more than a slip by the copyists - we must conclude that the king of Sind in 641 A.D. was not Chach.[14]

The pilgrim was particularly concerned with the attitude of the kings of India to Buddhism; the ruler of Sind, he says, showed a great respect for the Law of Bûddha. While this may mean that the king himself was not of this religion, but only well-disposed towards it, we may be confident that had he been a Brahman, Yuan Chwang would have mentioned the fact. We find him careful to define the attitude of the Brahman kings of Kia-mo-liu-po (Kamarupa) and Ou-che-yen-na (Ujjain); for royal Brahmans were potentially the greatest enemies of the Faith.

We may proceed, then, on the hypothesis that the king of Sind at the time of the pilgrim's visit belonged to the dynasty of the Rais. We should have expected to find him ranked as a Kshatriya, as were the rulers of the neighbouring kingdom of Gurjara and Valabhi.[15] Possibly the Rais derived from a humble stock among the invading races, and having established themselves much later, and in a traditionally "Mlechha" country, were not admitted to the Kshatriya order.

The disposition of the dominions of this king as described by Yuan Chwang corresponds fairly with Rai Sahiras' organization of the centre, south and west of his realm according to the account in the chronicles; but the Multan province is definitely stated by the pilgrim to have been a dependency

of Cheh-ka, a state in the north of the Panjab, at the time his visit.[16]

Yuan Chwang's 'Sin-Tou', seven thousand Li in circuit, evidently corresponds with the metropolitan province of the chronicles, though the name of the capital, Pi-chen-po-pu-lo, remains an unsolved conundrum.[17] The A-tien-po-tchi-lo country, measuring similarly five thousand Li, agrees with the Bahmanabad province - lying along the river Indus and the coast of the sea. Pi-to-shih-lo and A-fan-tu, or O-fan-cha, the former with a circuit of three thousand Li and the latter 2500, may have formed together the province of Siwistan.

Yuan Chwang's country of Lang-ka-lo must, in view of the length of his journey into it, have included much of Makran; and since he describes it as a tract occupied by independent tribes, it would appear to have had no effective political ties either with Sind or with Persia. We know that in 641 A.D. the Shah Yezdegird was raising contingents from every province in the empire which would still support him for his final struggle with the invading Arabs; but the pilgrim says not a word of such a crisis in his short account of Persia, which is clearly second-hand. This suggests that the Sassanians had failed, perhaps had never attempted, to re-establish control over the Makran satrapy after the general disruption in the reign of Hormuzd, and that its people had become indifferent to the fate of their former suzerain.[18]

The pilgrim describes the people of Sind as rough and cruel in disposition, and inclined to settling their disputes by violence. He says almost in the same breath they were upright and honest, and that they were given to lying and backbiting. The "deep faith in the Law of Buddha" which he ascribes to the people at large probably means little more than superstitious reverence for holy places, relics, and men of religion. Monasteries were numerous - several hundred in 'Sin-tou' and eighty in A-tien-po-tchi-lo - but the Sin-tu monks were in general indolent and vicious. On the other hand there were wise and virtuous men with a

thirst for knowledge who pursued it in the solitude of the mountains and forests.

The pastoral tribes living along the Indus, among the marshes and bye-rivers, were very primitive and ferocious. Yuan Chwang reckoned that there were several hundred thousand families of these people, whose sole occupation appeared to be the taking of life. There were no distinctions of rank among them and there seemed to be no individual ownership of the cattle which wandered at will about the plains. Men and women alike cut their hair short and wore the dress of Buddhist mendicants, but were utterly ignorant of the principles of the faith.

While the great majority of the population were at least nominally Buddhist, Yuan Chwang mentions that there were about thirty temples to Hindu deities in 'Sin-Tu'; he adds his usual contemptuous allusion to worshippers.[19]

The southern realm of A-tien-po-tchi-lo was similar in most respects to Sin-Tu, but a few special features attracted the pilgrim's attention. Thus the houses were of elegant architecture, which suggests the use of carved stone, and were "full of precious things". This may indicate overseas trade, but we have no word of a sea port, such as Yuan Chwang mentions at Tan-mo-li-ti in Eastern India.[20] I have ventured in the first volume to suggest that the place Yuan Chwang calls the capital of this country - Khie-tse-chi-fa-lo - with its notable Mahesvara temple must in all probability be the same as that known to the Arabs as Debal, but it has to be admitted that the capital of the southern province according to the chronicles was Bahmanabad itself, which may well have had such a temple. In A-tien-po-tchi-lo, and again in the Western Province of Pi-to-shih-lo, Yuan Chwang noticed that the language spoken differed considerably from that of Central India. The worshippers in the temples too were largely members of a Hindu sect who daubed themselves with ashes, or clay; these may possibly have been Digambar Jains from Gujerat.

Yuan Chwang's picture of Sind is naturally both coloured

and limited by his preoccupation with his mission. We recognize the raw material of military power in its rough inhabitants, but receive no clue to the institutions, the administrative machinery or the communications, by which the king's government over such an extensive country must have been maintained.

We now come to an event in which all these were put to the test. I have already remarked that the story of a king of Sind marching into Makran to repel an invasion of that country, and falling in the ensuing battle, exists in two versions. We have reviewed that of the chronicles, in which the protagonists were Rai Sahiras II and the "King of Nimroz", and have suggested that the period following 579 A.D. produced the conditions in which the event might have taken place exactly as described.

The other version emerges from the early history of Islam, and there is no doubt about the date of the occurrence, namely 644 A.D., the twenty third year of the Hegira.

After their decisive victory over Shah Yezdegird at Nahavand in A.H. 21 (642 A.D.) the Arabs proceeded under the Caliph Umar's orders to the annexation of the provinces of the Persian Empire. These were left by the fugitive Shah to organize their defence individually, with no central direction. The result of course was that they were conquered in detail one after another, the last to fall being Makran.

This province, we are told by Yaf'ai, was then under the rule of a Malik named Sa'ad, who sought help from the Malik of Sind "the rule over Makran being dependent on Sind". ". . . . This Malik having assembled a great army with numerous elephants proceeded in person at its head to the assistance of Malik Sa'ad. The news of these preparations having reached Kirman, Abdullah bin Abdullah leaving a deputy in that country marched at the head of his available troops to the aid of the other Arab commanders previously despatched into Makran." Having effected his junction with these advanced forces, Abdullah made a night

attack on the army of the ruler of Sind, with complete success. This king was killed, his army overthrown, and an immense booty fell into the hands of the Arabs. We are told that Abdullah while sending one fifth of the spoil to Khalifa Umar asked for instructions how to dispose of the captured elephants: they were uneatable and themselves required much food: moreover there were no bridles with which to ride them. He also asked for permission to advance into Sind. Umar, having received most unfavourable reports on the climate and country of Makran, with information that the country beyond (namely Sind) was worse, ordered Abdullah not to advance further. The elephants were to be sold to "local Maliks"; and they realised a considerable sum.

This account is derived from the Tarikh-i-Guzida, the author of which Reinaud considered to be a careful writer, and is confirmed by Hassan bin Mahomed Shirazi in his Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh and, with some differences in detail, in the Habibu-s-Siyar.[21] The names of the commanders vary with each work which, however, is not unnatural considering that several small forces were engaged in these operations.

This conflict, which took place in 23 A.H., is referred to by another authority as "the battle of the river" - perhaps the Mashkel in Makran. This authority records the name of the ruler of Sind as Malik Rasal, but does not mention that he was killed. The name Siharas in the Chachnama may well be a perversion of Shri Rasal. The Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh gives the ruler of Sind a title, remarking, "In the language of Sind they style their Malik Zabnil in the same way that the Malik of Ajan is styled Kisra and the Malik of Rum, Kaisar". The Mujmalu-t-Tawarikh also remarks, "The kings of Kabul and Sind are styled Ratbil". The Arabic letters of this name lend themselves to transliteration in many different forms. Elliot suggests that the interest excited by the successful resistance of the ruler of Kabul, Ranbal by name, to the arms of Islam, some fifty years after the conflict in Makran, caused him to be

adopted by later chroniclers as "the hero of many Arab stories of the holy wars on the frontiers of Hind."[22]

Whether or no this title was in fact borne by the kings of Sind, it seems clear that we are here concerned with a member of the Rai dynasty: at least, the king was certainly not Chach.

The question remains whether two rulers of Sind were killed on expeditions into Makran - the first in disputing the right of a Satrap of Sistan to make free with the province, and the second acting in aid of the Governor of Makran itself against the Arab invaders - or whether the two accounts really refer to a single transaction. Vincent Smith, in his Early History of India, prefers the later or "Arab" account, and assumes the Rai dynasty to have been ruling in Sind at the time and, apparently, to have been extinguished in a second but unrecorded defeat. He says, "The Buddhist king of the Sudra caste mentioned by the pilgrim must be Sihras Rai, son of Diwaji, who was succeeded by his son Sahasi. During the reign of Sihras Rai the ever victorious Arabs, then in the first flush of enthusiasm, entered Mukran (Baluchistan) and were met by Sihras Rai, who was defeated and slain. Mukran was permanently occupied by the invaders late in 644 A.D., and about two years later Sahasi, who continued to oppose the foreign enemy, shared his father's fate." This last remark would appear to be founded on a misunderstanding of a statement made incidentally by Major Raverty in an article on a different subject.[23]

It is unfortunate that we are left without any indication of the length of the reign of Rai Sahasi the second; still, there is no adequate reason for doubting the account in the Chachnama, according to which he died in his bed.[24] The breathing space which Sind obtained from Caliph Umar's prohibition of any further advance eastward was in effect prolonged for many years by intestine conflicts within the empire of Islam.

It may be that the omission of Al Baladhuri to mention the "battle of the river" in his Fatuh-ul-Buldan, one of the earliest surviving Arab chronicles, was due to the fact that though a Muslim victory it was followed by a withdrawal,

not an advance. According to this author, it was in the reign of Mu'awiya, some twenty years later, that the conquest of Makran took place.[25] Meanwhile Muslim pressure had been exerted rather in the direction of Kelat and the country to the northward. On the other hand, Al Baladhuri records the first hostilities between Islam and Sind as early as the year 15 or 16 of the Hegira, in the raid by sea upon Debal; but he says nothing of the ruler of Sind at the time. The Chachnama of course places it in the reign of Chach, having assigned his usurpation of the throne to the second, (or it may be the tenth) year of the Hegira.

It is clearly impossible to reconcile the many contradictions among the authorities who touch upon the affairs of Sind at this period.

If we were to accept the chronology of the Chachnama, even as amended by Elliot, as substantially correct, we should be obliged to assume that Yuan Chwang mistook the Brahman Chach - for he would have been Sind's ruler at the time of his visit - for a Sudra; the context shows that this could not have been a simple substitution, by a copyist's error, of one caste-name for another. We should also have to reject the Arab historians' account of a king of Sind being defeated and killed in Makran about the year 643 A.D., because Chach would then have been king, and he was not involved in any such conflict. On this hypothesis the discrepancies could be explained by assuming that the story had been borrowed from the Sindhi annals and redressed to figure as an Arab victory which never actually occurred.

These difficulties are discounted by Mr. B.D. Mirchandani because he holds the country of Sin-Tu, which with its dependencies was visited and described by Yuan Chwang, to have been altogether distinct from the Rais' kingdom of Sind; he is positive that this latter was under the rule of the Brahman Chach at the time of the pilgrim's visit to Sin-Tu with its ruler of the Sudra caste. Yuan Chwang's mention of rock-salt is claimed as showing that the Sin-Tu country must have been in the Panjab,

but this does not seem sufficient ground for distinguishing it from the Sind kingdom of the Chachnama, the Multan province of which, we are told, extended up to Kashmir, that is beyond the Salt-Range. If the country Sin-Tu corresponded broadly with the Derajat, and the dependent province of A-tien-po-tchi-lo was identical with Las Bela, as Mr. Mirchandani suggests, it is not easy to see how the pilgrim reached the latter from Sin-Tu (the Derajat) direct, i.e. without passing through some portion of the Chachnama Sind kingdom such as Budhia, in the province of Siwistan; or else through A-fan-Tu and Pi-to-shih-lo, subordinate provinces of Sin-Tu which Mr. Mirchandani holds to have been Kachhi and Jhalawan. For Yuan Chwang only passed through those two provinces on his return from the distant land of Lang-ka-lo, to which he had proceeded from A-tien-po-tchi-lo. Again, the pilgrim recorded that the province last named was not only "near the sea" but "on the Indus", which Las Bela is not.

Finally, assuming that Sin-Tu was altogether distinct from the Buddhist Rais' Sind kingdom, would it not have been strange had Yuan Chwang omitted from his itinerary the latter with its many stupas and monasteries which existed in his time and remain to this day for us to inspect if we wish? Even if that country were under a Brahman ruler at the time, he (Chach) was no bigot, and the aristocracy and common people were Buddhists.[26]

It would appear that Mr. Mirchandani's theory of the two distinct kingdoms stems mainly from his unqualified acceptance of the chronology and connected matters as stated in the Chachnama, and in particular the date of Chach's usurpation of the Rais' thro. I hope to show in the following chapters from internal evidence in the Chachnama that the value of this chronicle as a historical source is limited, and that it is full of absurdities on points of detail.

The cumulative force of these improbabilities is overwhelming; we are compelled to assume rather that Rai Sahiras

the Second was king of Sind at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, and that he fell in battle against the Arabs in 643 A.D. His reason for going to the aid of the 'Malik' of Makran may well have been to defend territory of his own in Las Bela,[27] for it is not improbable that this formed part of the Sind province of Siwistan. The previous expedition by the ruler of Sind towards Kirman, when the government of Persia was "in the hands of a woman" - that triumphal progress which the Chachnama ascribes to Chach - would thus in reality have been undertaken by Sahiras or his father. It may have been in the light of this that the Tarikh-i-Guzida states that the rule of Makran was dependent on Sind. On the other hand, Yuan Chwang was not aware of any such tie when he passed through "Lang-ka-lo" (Las Bela and Makran): and it may have lapsed, to be revived only in a time of stress.

On this hypothesis we shall be obliged to reject altogether the dating of Chach's reign and also a number of its events as recorded in the Chachnama. It will be seen in the following chapter that it is by no means improbable that the Brahmans who supplied the information on which this part of the chronicle was based sought to enhance his reputation as a great king at the expense of his Buddhist predecessors, and nearly doubled the true length of his reign. The Arab author seems to have been fascinated by what he was told of Chach, and added romantic colouring to the taste of his own nation, in order to present the Brahman as a truly royal infidel.

NOTES

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XIV, p. 80.
2. S.S. Hodivala, "Studies in Indo-Muslim History", pp. 80-1. Cf. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, pp. 563-4.
3. B.D. Mirchandani, "Sind and the White Huns", in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1964-5, pp. 61-85; Cf. Rapson, Indian Coins, pp. 30-1, Cunningham "Later Indo-Scythians, White Huns or Ephthalites", in Numismatic Chronicle, 1894, pp. 243-93; C.V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval India, Vol. I, p. 19, and other authorities cited by Mirchandani.
4. For the Gurjaras see Vincent Smith's article in J.R.A.S. 1909, pp. 53-6, 247-281. For Valabhi, Smith, Early History of India, 2nd edition, pp. 295-6.
5. The Chachnama, trs. Mirza Kalichbeg, Karachi, 1900, pp. 11-12. The original title of the work was Fatehnama Sind. It was a Persian translation by Ali son of Muhammad Kufi in 613 A.H. (1216 A.D.) from a manuscript in Arabic of unknown date preserved at Alor by a descendant of one of the companions of Muhammad bin Qasim, the Arab conqueror of Sind. For many points of detail it is desirable to check the Mirza's English translation with the modern critical edition in Persian by Dr. U.M. Daudpota and with that in Sindhi by Makhdum Amir Ahmed and Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, published by the Sindhi Adabi Board in 1954.
6. The battle was fought near Kej, according to the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram. J.A.S.B., Vol. XIV, p. 79.
7. Firdausi, Shahnama, trs. Warner, Vol. IV, pp. 241-3, 297.
8. J.A.S.B., XIV, p. 79.

9. Sir H. Elliot, History of India, Vol. I, p. 139.

10. J.A.S.B., Vol. XIV, loc. cit.

11. H. Raverty, The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries, p. 488, note 566.

12. Elliot, op. cit., I, pp. 413-4.

13. Vide Yuan Chwang's descriptions of Kosala, Valabhi, Kapisa and Gurjara. (Julien, Vie de Hiouen Thsang, pp. 185, 370, 392, 409.) Brahman is rendered "Po-lo-mên". Ibid., p. 391. Cf. also p. 451. The king of Mo-ti-pou-lo (Matipura) is said to have been a "Siu-t'o-lo" (Sudra). Ibid., pp. 420-1.

14. M. Reinaud says flatly "Le roi, qui sans doute était Tchotch appartenait a la caste des Soudra". Mémoire sur l' Inde, p. 153.

15. Julien, op. cit., pp. 409; 370.

16. T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, (London 1905), Vol. II, pp. 254-5. There can be little doubt, in spite of Watters' objections, that Mou-lo-san-pu-lu was Multan. See Vol. I of this History, p. 147.

17. Watters, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 252-3. Cf. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, pp. 249, 259. Haig, Indus Delta Country, p. 34.

18. Watters, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 257-8. Yuan Chwang nevertheless states that the country was subject to Persia.

19. Watters, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 252-3.

20. Julien, op. cit., p. 450.

21. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, pp. 568-9. Reinaud, Mémoire sur l' Inde, p. 171.

22. Elliot, II, pp. 416-9. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, p. 568.

23. Vincent Smith, Early History of India, 2nd Edition, pp. 328-9. Raverty, the Invention of Chess, J.A.S.B., (1902), pp. 48-9, 52.

24. Dr. H.C. Ray suggests that the Rai dynasty ended in 643 A.D., which implies that it was Sahasi II who fell in battle in Makran, and that this was the occasion for Chach's usurpation. But there is no authority for this. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, p. 45.

25. Al Baladhuri states that the province was conquered and occupied by Sinan son of Salama, who was appointed to the frontier command by Ziad, Mu'awiya's half-brother, the celebrated viceroy of Fars. But he notes that Ibn al Kalbi ascribes the conquest to Hakim bin Jalala al Abdi. Historians of Sind, Vol. I (Elliot and Dowson, Edn.), Susil Gupta, Calcutta 1955, p. 18.

26. B.D. Mirchandani "Identification of Hiuen Tsiang's Sin - Tu Kingdom," in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol. 39/40, 1964-5;

    Ibid., "On Hiuen Tsiang's Travels in Baluchistan" in Journal of Indian History, Vol. XLV, Part II, No. 134, August 1967; Cf. Chachnama (Ed. Qalich Beg), pp. 10-11; H. T. Lambrick, Sind, A General Introduction, pp. 146-152 and map opposite p. 170.

27. Yuan Chwang's description of "Pi-to-shih-lo" suits Las Bela. See Vol. I of this History, p. 149, for a refutation of Cunningham's and Haig's locations of this country in Eastern Sind.

10

THE USURPATION OF CHACH

We possess but a single account[1] of the circumstances in which the dynasty of the Rais gave place to a line of Brahman rulers in Sind. Its romantic interest - the tale of the handsome young pandit who took the tide of fortune at the flood and became a puissant king - has caused his name to supersede the original title of a work which is mainly concerned with the early conquests of Islam in India. The Book of Victories has come to be called the Book of Chach. Yet his name is otherwise unknown to history. The Kashmir chronicle tells of an indigenous usurper, Jajja, who for three years occupied the throne of his brother-in-law Jayapida: but makes no allusion to events in the neighbouring kingdom of Sind.[2]

Jajja is, in all probability, the correct form of the name which the Muslim author has transmitted to us as Chach,[3] and which we may suppose appeared on his coinage. But no coins of the Brahman kings of Sind have yet come to light.

We are compelled, then, to judge the authenticity or otherwise of this part of the Chachnama by its own internal evidence, in relation to what we know of events and conditions in the neighbouring countries, in particular the proceedings of the Arabs in Baluchistan.

Rai Sahasi II, as we have seen, is said to have succeeded on his father's death to an undiminished kingdom and to have enjoyed a peaceful reign. Its probable duration can only be conjectured with reference to the chronology of the period as a whole, and the lesser question may be deferred until the greater is examined. The Rai had a Brahman minister named Ram, who appears to have exercised almost absolute authority on his behalf. To this high

dignitary a young Brahman one day presented himself. He belonged to a priestly family living in the vicinity of Alor; his father Selaij and his brother Chandar served a temple and he, Chach, had come to seek employment under the minister. By chance the opportunity of showing his abilities occurred in the first interview; he acquitted himself to the admiration of Ram and was taken into employment forth with. Shortly afterwards, the minister happened to be absent at a moment when the Rai required his services urgently and Chach deputised for him with great success. The king himself confirmed him in his appointment as Assistant Secretary; Ram was well content to delegate more of his burdensome duties to such capable hands; and on the death of the old minister Chach stepped naturally into his shoes. In the chief position he enhanced his reputation; "he behaved towards the people with courtesy and kindness, so that in a short time he held firm sway over the whole kingdom and was obeyed by all".

The turning point in Chach's career came when Rai Sahasi granted him an audience in the presence of his queen Suhandi, who promptly fell desperately in love with the handsome Brahman. The royal couple were childless and Sahasi entirely under the influence of his wife, who was evidently a woman of strong mind as well as of strong passions. Events now followed the pattern of a hundred romances founded on human nature. The queen sent Chach a message through a cunning go-between: Chach returned word expressing the sentiments proper to his situation; the prospect of entering upon an intrigue with his master's wife was in every way abhorrent to him - as a loyal servant, a man of prudence, and a Brahman. "I would not bring this contempt on my head. You will never gain this object from me." But all that he said, and doubtless felt, was undone by his acquiescence in the lovelorn queen's plea to be granted the joy of seeing him when he waited on the king. Clandestine meetings soon followed and all Chach's good resolutions were overcome. Sahasi, infatuated both with his wife and with his minister, was

blind: for their part they were discreet, and though a party in the court became suspicious and suggested to the king that all was not well, he would not listen. Chach continued to be assiduous in performing his duties as minister, and having the entire support and confidence of the king, his personal authority over Sind and its dependencies was absolute.

Now Sahasi fell ill; and the queen became very anxious. She pointed out to Chach that as the king had no issue the kingdom would devolve at his death on one or other of his near relations, all of whom were ill-disposed towards herself. They would deprive her of her property, perhaps of her life. On the other hand if Chach would act with her firmly and courageously in the crisis, he could not only save her but obtain the kingdom for himself. It must have occurred to Chach that his own position would probably be even more precarious than that of the queen, should a relative of Sahasi succeed. While the king was sinking they planned a coup d'état. The scheme was Suhandi's and Chach merely followed as she led. The chronicle's account of the methods employed and their working may be largely fictitious, but certain elements in the plot stand out as probable. The king's death was kept secret - the physicians attending him being detained in the palace - while the queen and the minister with their confidential dependants and henchmen inveigled his most influential relatives into the palace, seized them, and then announced that Rai Sahasi was recovering his health, but had found that these persons were engaged in a plot against his life. They were promptly put to death under the alleged orders of the king - the word of Chach having long been accepted as his master's: and the instruments of this crime, both those who acted under a misapprehension and those who were in Chach's interest, were lavishly rewarded. A full assembly of the "estates of the realm" was summoned, and informed that Rai Sahasi still hoped to recover, but in the meantime appointed Chach as his vice-regent. The queen improved the occasion by gifts of estates to a number of the influential

nobles, and all swore fealty. After a time the king's death was announced. We must assume that the body had already been cremated in secret - the Sind climate would admit of no delay. Whether the conspirators arranged a fictitious funeral, or felt themselves sufficiently strong to let the people think what they would, does not appear.

The first stage in the usurpation was thus successfully accomplished. The worth of the story up to this point as a reflection of actual history can be judged by no firmer criteria than our ideas of its intrinsic probabilities and improbabilities. Indian queens with a force of character equal to that of Lady Macbeth have been known to command events from behind the *pardah:* Brahman ministers have supplanted the kings they professed to serve.[4] There may be no similar instance of a Brahman wading through blood to usurp a throne: but Chach having once acted against his better nature, and come under the domination of the dynamic Suhandi, seems to have been borne forward by the force of circumstances. He could tell himself that Brahmans who occupied thrones elsewhere in India had to divest themselves of caste scruples and act like Kshatriyas. We know little of the actual state of society in Sind at the period: but subsequent history on which we can depend shows that the people as a whole have been remarkably indifferent to dynastic revolutions, and the men of rank and position generally inclined to turn towards the rising sun. Chach had already proved that he could rule: he now showed that he was prepared to trust the established nobility and to increase rather than curtail their dignity.

Within the metropolitan province of Sind, then, it appears that men acquiesced in the rule of Chach and there were no competitors belonging to the previous ruling family. As to the four subordinate provinces, the degree of authority exercised by the central government at Alor must always have depended largely on the characters of the king and the governors respectively, and the nature of the personal ties between them. As the Rai's minister, Chach is said to have had them well under control; as Regent

after the suspicious palace revolution, he could not hope to win their allegiance otherwise than by force of arms.

Meanwhile he was forced to fight a foreign invader, in order to keep what he had already gained. The bare fact that such a conflict took place shortly after the usurpation is likely enough; but many of the details of the account in the chronicle are highly improbable. In brief, it is stated that the "king of Jitor" was a brother - we may interpret the word as cousin - of Rai Sahasi: that he only came to know of the Rai's death six months after the event: that he laid claim to Sind as rightful heir, and invaded it with a large army: and that while calling on Chach to surrender the kingdom he offered him his old post as minister.

Jitor in all probability is meant for Jaipur, and not Chitor; but the same difficulty is involved in either identification. These places are on the eastern side of Rajputana and at the time the great Gurjara kingdom lay between them and Sind. Their chiefs were in all probability feudatories of its Parihar ruler, and of Kshatriya stock. It is most unlikely that dignitaries so situated would have been connected by marriage with the lower caste Rais of Sind; still less likely that they would have been allowed by their overlord to march an army across his territory to conquer that kingdom. It is more probable that the attempt was made by the chief of Ramal, if we are right in believing this to be the country adjoining Sind and now known as Jaisalmir,[4A] perhaps by arrangement with his Gurjara suzerain.

Returning to the chronicle, the next scenes are in the best tradition of historical romance, yet it must be admitted consistent with what has gone before. Chach asks his paramour for counsel. Suhandi laughs and says, "I am a woman, living behind a curtain. If I am to go and fight, put on my clothes and sit here, and give me your garment that I may go forth to battle. . . . when the kingdom has fallen to your lot, why do you require my advice? Gird up your loins and spring up like a roaring lion. . . . put confusion into the ranks of your enemy and step forth like a man."

Thus shamed, Chach assembled his army and placed himself at its head. An interesting if improbable detail in the account is that he now released the prominent men of the adverse party who had remained in prison since the coup d'état, engaging their support by rewards and promises. This suggests at least that the invader of the country had no better claim to the throne than his own.

Battle was joined between the two armies and as neither side appeared to be gaining an advantage king Maharat called a parley and proposed that he and Chach should settle their pretensions by single combat. To this Chach assented, on condition that they should fight on foot, as he was a Brahman and no horseman. Maharat agreed, but the crafty Chach made his groom lead his horse up close behind him as he advanced, and at the last moment turned, leapt into the saddle, rode at his adversary and cut him down. The Sind army immediately renewed the attack and routed the enemy, and Chach returned to Alor in triumph. We are reminded of Shivaji's treacherous encounter with Afzul Khan.

The last remnants of Chach's Brahmanism were now discarded, and henceforth his career as recorded in the chronicle appears to have proceeded on the single principle that to a king everything is permissible. He married queen Suhandi; and inevitable as this may appear for reasons of state and in view of their mutual passion, the union of a Brahman with a widow would otherwise be unthinkable.[3] We read with equal if not greater astonishment that he prevailed upon his brother Chandra "the crown of all the ascetics", to leave his temple and undertake the vice-regency of the city of Alor under himself. Moreover the arguments employed by Chach to convince his brother that this was his duty are an absurd perversion of Hindu doctrine. Indeed, as the tale proceeds the improbabilities in matters of detail redouble.

Chach's next step was to bring the outlying provinces of the kingdom under his rule; and he, who when minister to Sahasi had every detail of the administration at his finger-

tips, and exercised complete control over every corner of the kingdom, is now represented as having to apply to his wazir Budhiman for information about its former boundaries. A possible inference is that, in spite of what has previously been stated, the kingdom governed by Chach as minister of Rai Sahasi II consisted only of approximately the same territories as are mentioned by Yuan Chwang, and that in the time of Sahasi the elder it had been much more extensive. Yet Chach could not have been ignorant of the former limits; the speeches put into mouths of king and wazir are mere word-spinning in romance style.

The campaigns of Chach to regain the outlying provinces of the old Sind kingdom are described in considerable detail. He first marched against that lying along the river Beas, and at the fort of Babiya on its southern bank the governor, by name Chatera or Chatar, gave him battle and was defeated. Chatera took refuge in the fort and after it had been invested for some time managed to escape by night to the capital of the province, Askaland. Chach followed, and opened up a correspondence with an adherent of his own who was in the place, promising to appoint him governor if he would assassinate Chatera. This plot was successfully carried out, the principal men of the city submitted to Chach and pledged themselves to obey the new governor.

The king now moved upon Multan, the capital of a large dominion ruled by one Bajehrai, who is stated to have been a relative of Rai Sahasi. The first contest was for Sikka, a place described as "opposite Multan towards the east". Chach crossed the Beas and seems to have outmanoeuvred his opponents, Bajehrai's son Sehwal and his cousin Ajaisen; they were driven back upon Multan while Chach stormed Sikka, and appointed one of the principal nobles of Sind to take charge of the place. He then passed the Ravi, which at the time flowed south of Multan, and fought a hard battle against the main army of "King" Bajehrai, who in his turn was forced to retire into the fortified city.

An interesting episode follows. We are told that Bajehrai

wrote to the king of Kashmir informing him of the dangerous progress of Chach the son of Selaij Brahman, the new king of Alor, and urging him in his own interest to send an army to the aid of Multan. But the king of Kashmir had died shortly before the messenger arrived, his heir was a minor, and the kingdom in a disturbed state. Kashmir could give no aid, and Bajehrai was obliged to make terms with the invader, by which he surrendered Multan and left the country, together with his friends and adherents, under a safe conduct. They proceeded to Kashmir, and Chach installed one of his Rajput chiefs as governor of Multan.

We may look in vain in the Kashmir chronicle for anything corresponding with this incident. Chach would seem to have been a contemporary of the first king of the Karkota dynasty of Kashmir, Durlabhavardhana-Prajnaditya, who reigned from about 626 to 662 A.D. - the same who had received Yuan Chwang most hospitably in the earlier part of his reign.[7] He was a powerful king and had obtained a foothold in the plains: but the greater part of the north Panjab according to the pilgrim's account formed an independent state, by name Cheh-ka, and intervened between the territories of Kashmir and those of Multan. In 641 A.D., at least, Multan had been a dependency of Cheh-ka, and it may be that Bajehrai's application for assistance was in fact made to the ruler of Cheh-ka, as his suzerain, and that it was this State which happened to be involved in succession troubles at the time.

It is related that from Multan Chach advanced as far as the boundary of Kashmir close under the hills, without encountering any opposition. He must have passed through country which had formed part of Cheh-ka state, though from the chronicle we have to infer that all belonged to the former Sind province of Multan.[8] There was no opposition - the governors of Brahmapur, Karur and Ashahar successively did homage - and on reaching the border regions he overawed the neighbouring chiefs and entered into

compacts with them for keeping the peace. There is no word of a meeting with representatives of the king of Kashmir for fixing the mutual boundary, though Chach is said to have camped at the place for more than a month. It was close to the fort of Chakalhar higher up than the place called Kih, or Kumbah. Here, on the banks of a river called Panj Nahiyat - perhaps the Jhelum - he planted two trees, a white poplar and a deodar, in such manner that their branches commingled. They were evidently intended as symbols of the two countries.

This picturesque touch only increases our suspicion that the account of Chach's campaigns in the north is for the most part fiction: a sort of 'Digvijaya' designed to enhance his reputation in retrospect.

His proceedings in the southern provinces of his kingdom seem to rest on firmer foundations. After spending a year at Alor he set out for Budhiya and Siwistan, "crossing the Mihran at a village called Dihayat, which formed the boundary between Samma and Alor". The name of the chief of Budhiya has been variously transliterated, and Hodivala suggests that the title or surname rendered 'Baghu' may really have been Bhikku, which would indicate that he was a Buddhist monk.[9] His capital was Kakaraj, where the people were called Sewis. Chach attacked and took the fort of the Sewis - supposed by some to be represented by the modern Sibi, though it is unlikely to have been so far north[10] - and the chief's son made submission on behalf of his father. They seem to have been confirmed in their former authority there.

Events took much the same course at Siwistan: the governor, by name Mattah, at first offered resistance and on being worsted threw himself on Chach's mercy. The king was generous and reinstated Mattah, but also appointed a superintendent from his own confidential men to safeguard the royal interests.

The province of Brahmanabad remained to be dealt with. Chach while still in the territories of Siwistan summoned

the "prince", Agham Lohana, to make submission to him. After a few days the king's men intercepted a messenger bearing letters from Agham to Mattah of Siwistan. These acknowledged a previous letter from Mattah, apparently suggesting that they should make a stand together, and offered him a refuge in Brahmanabad territories. Mattah however preferred to proceed in the direction of Hind and seek safety with the king of Ramal called Bhatti.[11]

The chronicle now inserts a letter said to have been sent by Chach to Agham Lohana by way of remonstrance. The prince is warned not to take pride in his high lineage and power: the Brahman king, with audacious complacency, points out that his own success was due entirely to divine favour - "The One God, the Peerless, the Incomparable, the Creator of the world, has given me the kingdom by the blessing of Silaij" (his father). "We have been graciously favoured with the blessings of both the worlds". Here Chach declares himself a monotheist: though we are told that at Multan he prostrated himself before an idol and offered sacrifice. It appears that the Muslim author of the chronicle is so enthralled by Chach's career that at times he forgets that he was an infidel, and unconsciously attributes to him the outlook of a Muslim. This letter in fact resembles closely that which Muhammad bin Qasim is said to have sent in reply to Rai Dahar's contemptuous defiance of him after the fall of Debal.[12]

Chach now advanced on Brahmanabad, defeated Agham's army, and drove him within the walls; but the fort held out against him. We are told that a desultory warfare went on for a whole year, the resistance being due in the main to the influence of a Buddhist monk who was held in great respect both by the prince and the people. Agham himself died during the siege and was succeeded by his son Sarband. It appears that the monk Budhgui, or Budh Rakhu, came to the conclusion that Chach must eventually be successful, and Sarband decided to make his peace. This we are told was effected "through the intervention of chiefs

The 'Thul' at Brahmanabad

and heads of tribes". The terms were sufficiently favourable to induce Sarband to continue as governor under Chach.

The king at first resolved to take vengeance on the monk Budh Rakhu who was admittedly responsible for the prolongation of the struggle. The chronicle relates how Chach went to visit him at his temple called Nau Vihar,[13] accompanied by a bodyguard instructed to put the monk to death on an agreed sign from himself. The monk, far from showing fear, treats the royal Brahman with scant ceremony. Chach pretends that he wishes to associate him with Sarband in the government, but the monk bluntly declines any office, declaring that his sole concern was with "the service of Budh and seeking salvation in the next world". His utmost concession to the temporal authority of Chach is to consent to settle close to the city; and at the same time he expresses anxiety for the "sown fields of Budh", meaning evidently the estates belonging to the monastery. Chach is drawn into an acknowledgment of the excellence of Buddhism, and asks what he could himself do to acquire some merit. The monk promptly suggests that the king should undertake the rebuilding of the temple, or monastery, of Nau Vihar which being a very ancient institution had fallen into disrepair. This, apparently, Chach agrees to do and takes his leave. On being asked by his wazir how he came to change his mind, he produces a feeble excuse that he saw an alarming apparition in the temple.

Reading between the lines of this story, we can discern that the province of Brahmanabad was the main stronghold of Buddhism in Sind, and that Chach recognized that he could only hope to control the country by showing favour to the prevailing creed. Without the support of the Buddhist nobility he could not possibly have imposed on the wild Jats and Lohanas the harsh regulations recorded in the chronicle - forbidding them to use saddles or turbans or superior clothes, and on the other hand making it obligatory for them to go about accompanied by dogs, to supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad and to act as spies and guides. It

seems likely that these rough people, evidently the same as those described by Yuan Chwang, who "made the taking of life their occupation", had long been a scourge to the country: and that Chach was the first ruler to grapple effectively with the problem. If this is correct, it helps to explain his success in reconciling the people of this province to his rule.

But our suspicion of the trustworthiness of the chronicle returns when we read of the other measures taken by Chach to secure his position. He is said to have married the widow of Agham, who must have been a lady of mature age and, of course, of inferior caste. We cannot but feel that if the king deemed it expedient to enter into a matrimonial alliance with this family, he would have insisted on a virgin princess for his bride. The custom of espousing the widows and daughters of defeated enemies is characteristic rather of the Muslim conquerors than of Hindu kings. Even less comprehensible is the counterpart alliance which we are told Chach promoted, giving the hand of the daughter of his nephew Dahsiyah to Agham's son Sarhand, who had now become his stepson. This Dahsiyah was the son of Chandar,[14] Chach's brother (we must presume his elder brother) who though holding the appointment of governor of Alor continued to live as a devotee and ascetic. He at least was a Brahman, and it is inconceivable that he should have consented to such a match for his grand-daughter. As Hodivala observes, it is difficult even to imagine the perpetration of such social turpitude by any Brahman prince, as to allow a girl of his family to marry a Lohana.[15]

While we feel obliged to discount anomalous details such as these, and to doubt the extent of Chach's northern campaigns, the account of his reign up to this point may well be accepted as true in its broad outlines. That is to say, the usurper had had to prove his right to rule, and this took him two or three years' hard work to achieve. He won the capital and the metropolitan region by a mixture of force, fraud and the influence of his former master's widow.

He consolidated these first gains by defending them against a foreign invader. Not one of the four outlying provinces accepted him till it had felt the strength of his arm, but when submission was made he was never vindictive; he was ready to trust Agham's son even after Mattah of Siwistan had made an ill return for his generosity. Virtually his only attack upon 'vested' interests was his coercion of the Jats and Lohanas, which would seem to have been for the public benefit: while we infer from occasional remarks in the Chachnama that he strove to give the country good government.[16]

A ruler who has won his throne by his own efforts will generally seek to give prestige to his dynasty by external conquest, and the chronicle now represents Chach as embarking on this course.

It seemed expedient in the last chapter to anticipate events as recorded in the Chachnama, and draw attention to the probability that this expedition was in reality made by one of Chach's predecessors on the throne of Sind, and that the entire chronology of Chach's reign as given in the chronicle is incorrect. At this point it becomes necessary to examine in detail what the Chachnama tells us.

It states that it was in the second year of the Hegira, or 623-4 A.D., that the king resolved upon an expedition into Makran; and that he saw his opportunity when the government of Persia came into the hands of a woman on the death of Khusru Parvez. Now Queen Purandukht, the first of the two daughters of Khusru to reign over Persia for a few months, did not in fact ascend the throne till 629 or 630 A.D. and her sister, Azarmidukht about two years later.[17] The Arab historians placed the two reigns in the thirteenth and fourteenth Hegira years. Chach's victory over Mahrat of Jitor, and his accession to the throne of Sind, is stated by the author of the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram to have been in the first year of the Hegira. Another event said to have occurred in Chach's reign was the raid by the Arabs on the port of Debal. This according to Al Baladhuri

took place about the fifteenth or sixteenth year of the Hegira; Chach had then, the Chachnama tells us, been king of Sind for thirty five years.[18] Sir Henry Elliot seeks to reconcile these discrepancies by reading "tenth" for "second" (Hegira year) for the date of Chach's expedition, and "three to five" instead of "thirty five" years in the other passage. By Elliot's revised chronology for the reign, Chach would have acceded to the throne of Sind in the year 10 A.H., and made his expedition into Makran in 14 A.H.[19] Thus the Arab raid on Debal in 15 A.H. would have been in his fifth year. The duration of the complete reigns of Chach and his successors, as given in the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram would then bring us down to the Hegira year 93, in which the dynasty certainly ended with the defeat and death of Chach's son Dahar.

It will be observed that Elliot when building up his chronology takes into account Al Baladhuri's date for the raid on Debal but ignores the bearing of the events of the year 22-23 A.H. in Makran, when the ruler of Sind is said to have fallen in battle against the Arabs.[20] Yet on his reckoning this would have occurred in the twelfth year of Chach's reign, which according to the chronicle lasted forty years.

We may however return to the Chachnama, suspect though it must be, for the account of Chach's progress through Makran. He first marched on Armanbel or Armail, which is generally supposed to correspond with the modern Las Bela.[21] "That town was then in the hands of a Buddhist Samani descended from the Agents of Rai Sahiras, king of Hind (?Sind) whom the Rais had elevated for their loyalty and devotion. In course of time, however, he had thrown off his yoke and had become his opponent." From this it would appear that the territory of Las Bela was a dependency of Sind in the time of the Buddhist Rais. This dignitary acknowledged Chach as his overlord and was confirmed in his position, which would seem to have been superior to that of the provincial governors of Sind. The

king proceeded to Makran, took possession of Kannazbur and gave orders for the fort to be reconstructed, and for kettle drums and music to be sounded there at dawn and dusk according to the Indian custom. Passing on to a little river which separates Kirman from Makran - perhaps the Dasht - Chach is said to have marked out the boundary in much the same manner as his frontier with Kashmir by planting a grove of date trees on the banks of the stream.

He then marched back to Armanbel, and turned north through Turan, that is Jhalawan, "and no man dared to fight with him till he arrived at Kandabil. . . . from the valley extending to the open plain in the outskirts of that place, Chach prepared to make a sudden assault on the city, but the people had already sheltered themselves in the fort." He encamped by a river called Sibi, Sini or Samni, until the people were reduced to straits and submitted. It is interesting that part of the annual tribute they agreed to pay consisted of a hundred hill ponies. There can be little doubt that we are here concerned with Northern Kachhi, and that Kandabil is the same as the modern Gandava.[22]

This according to the chronicle was the last expedition of Rai Chach. He is said to have remained at Alor for the remainder of his reign, which lasted altogether forty years. The only other incident the Chachnama records as having occurred in Chach's time was the Arab's raid on Debal, to which I referred in the last chapter.

From Al Baladhuri's Futuh-ul-Buldan it would appear that the raid was one of several small expeditions sent by sea against places on the coast of India on the initiative of the Governor of Bahrain and Oman, Usman Sakifi, in or about the year 15 of the Hegira. These proceedings were contrary to the policy of the Khalifa Umar, who severely reprimanded Usman for acting without orders. All that we are told of the raid on Debal is that Hakam the brother of Usman, who held charge of Bahrain, "sent to the bay of Debal his brother Mughira, who met and defeated the enemy". The ruler of Debal or Sind is not specified. Umar

very reasonably wished that the strength of Islam should not be dissipated while the vast Persian Empire remained to be subdued: moreover such expeditions did not advance the reputation of Islam.

The Chachnama gives a different and much fuller account: in stating that Mughira was killed in the engagement it is undoubtedly incorrect, as there is reliable evidence that he was living near Basra several years afterwards.[23] But it is by no means improbable that the Arabs were repulsed. The object of the expedition may well have been plunder, as it is mentioned that the inhabitants of Debal were mostly merchants. The ruler of Debal "on behalf of Chach Rai" is named as Samah son of Dewaij. The Khalifa had required his lately appointed Governor of Iraq to keep him informed of affairs on his borders and this officer, Abu Musa, on hearing of the abortive raid is said to have reported that "in Hind and Sind there was a king who was very headstrong and stiff-necked and was determined to behave offensively": he also urged Umar, who was in no need of such counsel, to "think no more of Hind".

As it seems clear that the date of this expedition was in 15 A.H., the "stiff-necked" king cannot according to my views have been Chach. It was probably Rai Sahiras who, whether or not the holder of the proud title of Zabnil (which Raverty would read as Ran-Thel, the 'war-like'), must be identified with Malik Rasal, the ruler of Sind who fell in the "battle of the river" in Makran some seven years later.

The hypothesis to which we must incline, though not without misgivings, is that Chach's usurpation actually occurred nearly in the middle of the seventh century A.D. and not in or about the year of the Hegira. His reign must have been shorter and his 'conquests' to the west certainly, and to the north probably, less extensive than the chronicle would have us believe; he was fortunate in being able to establish his dynasty during a period in which the body-politic of Islam was convulsed by a series of civil wars and faction

fighting. While individual Arab commanders were active in Jhalawan and in the mountainous border country up to Kabul and beyond, Sind and India remained immune from attack.

The question remains - why did the chronicler magnify the stature of Chach at the expense of his Buddhist predecessors? I think the explanation must be that information about his reign was derived exclusively from Brahman sources. When dealing with events in the reign of Chach's son Dahar, Ali Kufi on several occasions states his authority to have been Brahmans of Alor and elsewhere.[24] The Buddhist officers of Dahar in more than one instance had betrayed their trust, and persuaded the people to submit to the invader whose success they held to be predestined. Dahar on the other hand had atoned for his earlier errors by falling in battle as a champion of Hinduism. The Arabs respected courage in the kings they overcame: they liked to dwell upon the magnificence of their countries, the strength of their walled cities, the state which they maintained, and the achievements of their forbears; for these added to their own glory. The Brahmans of Sind, too, though unable to confer a long royal lineage on the 'martyred' Dahar, could at least represent his father, the first of the line, as a warlike and successful king. They could make him anticipate Muhammad bin Qasim in all his conquests: when the Arab general carried his arms to the hills of Kashmir, it was only to find the trees that the great Rai Chach had planted there. Chach had added Makran, where the Buddhist Rais had been defeated, to his kingdom; it was a lieutenant of Chach who had repulsed the Arabs themselves when they came to plunder Debal. Thus the legend may have been built up, till it was believed not only by the conquerors but by the conquered. The chronicle preserved for us by Ali Kufi, when recounting the Hindu history of Sind as a prelude to the conquest, adopted this larger than life size portrait of Chach and even added traits which would further enhance his stature in the eyes of his readers.

This is not to suggest that Chach was in reality an

obscure and undistinguished king; moreover he must have been known in the Arab world by general repute. Trade between Arabia and the west coast of India had been carried on for centuries. A curious ray light is thrown incidentally by Al Beruni, in the course of a discussion on idolatry: "When in the summer of A.H. 53 Sicily was conquered, and the conquerors sent him (the Khalifa Mu'awiya) golden idols adorned with crowns and diamonds which had been captured there, he ordered them to be sent to Sind, that they should be sold there to the princes of the country. For he thought it best to sell them as objects costing sums of so-and-so many dinars, not having the slightest scruple on account of their being objects of abominable idolatry, but simply considering the matter from a political, not from a religious point of view".[25]

This so-called conquest of Sicily cannot have been more than a raid, as the island was not permanently occupied by the Muslims till the Khalifate of Al Mamun in the beginning of the 9th century A.D. But subject to this small amendment we may safely accept the story as true, being simply cited by Al Beruni as the most apt illustration for his subject. Once more we have to regret that a Muslim author omitted to furnish us with the name of an infidel prince. But we may be tolerably certain that Chach was on the throne of Sind in the year 670 A.D.

A strange picture is called up. Perhaps these images removed by Muslims from Christian churches were refashioned and installed as Hindu idols in the temple of Debal, there to become a second time the spoil of Islam.

NOTES

1. This chapter is therefore based almost entirely on the Chachnama. References are made to the English translation by Mirza Kalich Beg (Karachi, 1900) for the general convenience of readers. Names and other details have in some instances been corrected from the critical edition in Sindhi by Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch (Sindhi Adabi Board, 1954).
2. Rajatarangini, trs. M.A. Stein, IV. 410.
3. S.S. Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 80.
4. Thus Arjuna, a minister of Shri Harsha, usurped the throne of Kanuj on his master's death. Smith, Early History of India, 2nd Edition, p. 326.

4A. As mention will again be made of Rawal, it is proper at the outset to state that this name itself is doubtful, as also the identity and even whereabouts of the country thus referred to.

5. Hodivala, op. cit., p. 83.
6. Kalich Beg, pp. 23-4.
7. Rajatarangini, trs. M.A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 136; Life of Hiuen Tsang, Ed. Beal, pp. 68 seqq.
8. Later in the Chachnama mention is made of the province of Ta'kiah, situated apparently between Jitor (or Chitor) and Kashmir, which would therefore correspond with the N.E. Panjab - Yuan Chwang's 'Cheh-ka'. Kalich Beg, p. 160. Makhdoom Amir Ahmed, p. 295.
9. Hodivala, p. 84. Raverty has Kotal son of Bhandarger Bhagu.
10. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, p. 564.
11. Hodivala, p. 84. Kalich Beg, p. 32. Cf. Sindhi translation of Chachnama by Makhdoom Amir Ahmed, p. 56, and footnote.
12. Kalich Beg, p. 88.
13. Hodivala, p. 84.

14. Kalich Beg, p. 42.
15. Hodivala, p. 83.
16. E.g., his instructions to his brother Chandra when appointing him to the government of Alor. Kalich Beg, p. 24.
17. Sykes, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 489.
18. Kalich Beg, p. 57.
19. Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 412-4. Cf. note in Kalich Beg, pp. 37-8.
20. Elliot mentions the battle in Makran in his appendix "The advance of the Arabs towards Sind" (Vol. I, pp. 417-8) on the authority of the Tarikh-i-Guzida, quoted by Reinaud in his Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 171. Cf. the Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh.
21. Raverty thinks it was Ormara (Hormara). (Mihran, p. 231, note 182.) As Armail was only four days' journey from Debal, according to Al Istakhri, it could not possibly be Ormara (Ibid., p. 212.)
22. Cf. Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 385-6. Elliot supposes the river Sini to be that of Sibi, that is the Nari, which flows not far from Gandava. Raverty holds that Kandail was in Jhalawan near Zahri. (Notes on Afghanistan, p 566.)
23. "A Peep into the First Arab expeditions to India under the Companions of the Prophet," by M. Ishaq, in 'Islamic Culture' April 1945. "The Probable Date of the First Arab Expeditions to India", by Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, in Islamic Culture, July 1946.
24. E.g., Kalich Beg, pp. 115, 141, 156, 163.
25. Al Beruni's "India", ed. E. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 124.

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11

THE DOWNFALL OF THE BRAHMAN DYNASTY OF SIND

According to the Chronicle,[1] Chach had two sons by his Queen Suhandi, named Daharsiah and Dahar, and also a daughter, Bai, who would seem to have been born by another wife.[2] On Chach's death which is generally supposed to have occurred about the year 671 A.D., the succession passed not to either of these sons but to his brother Chandar, who as we have seen acted as governor of Alor. In Eastern monarchies the custom by which a brother succeeds in preference to a son is appropriate when the latter is a minor or otherwise unfitted to rule, and under the Kalhora and Talpur dynasties it was commonly followed in Sind.

It is clear from the Chronicle that Chach's two sons were not minors: they were entrusted by their uncle with important duties in a crisis shortly after his accession, but we find nothing to suggest that either of them asserted a claim to the throne. This must seem strange, the more because Chandar is represented as still concerning himself mainly with religious matters. It may perhaps be inferred from the text that he valued the exercise of royal power mainly in order to spread the Brahmanical faith in a country which was still predominantly Buddhist.

The succession to the throne of Sind of a man who was reputed to be more of a priest than a ruler aroused ambitions which had remained dormant during Chach's vigorous reign. We are told that Mattah, the former governor of Siwistan whom Chach had defeated and pardoned, and who had taken refuge in Kanauj, suggested to the ruler of that country that Sind should prove an easy conquest. Chandar, said Mattah, "is a devotee and spends his whole time with other devotees in his temple in the study of his religion. It will be very easy to deprive him

of the kingdom. If your Majesty takes possession of his country and hands it over to me I will impose a tribute for those parts on myself, and send it regularly to the royal treasury." The king of Kanauj, whose name is said to have been Sahiras son of Rasil - and is otherwise unknown to history,[3] fell in with this proposal and, we are told, enlisted the support of the king of Kashmir.

The latter is said to have been a "grandson of the great Chach by his daughter", and to have ruled over Ramal as well as Kashmir. The Kashmir chronicle knows nothing of such a connection, and this detail is probably pure fabrication. In fact, the account of the confederates' advance on Sind hardly makes sense: for they are represented as capturing a frontier fort of Sind, Devahpur, and thereafter methodically taking one place after another - the names are unidentifiable - and then halting for a month. Yet Chandar according to this account only became aware of his danger at the last moment. He then rejected the summons to surrender and acted with resolution, sending Daharsiah to take charge of Brahmanabad and himself holding Alor with the younger prince Dahar. The invaders invested Alor, but meeting with no success attempted to attain their object by strategem. If Dahar could be seized, the probability was that resistance would collapse. So king Sahiras sent word that he and his allies wished to make peace and evacuate the country on conditions, inviting Dahar to visit them in their camp under safe conduct to settle the terms. Dahar agreed, but went out accompanied by a large bodyguard of swordsmen: in the event he contrived to turn the tables on those who sought to entrap him. The name of king Rasil is now introduced in place of his son Sahiras; Dahar's swordsmen having this personage at their mercy, he was compelled to agree to evacuate the country, to restore the frontier fort of Devahpur and release his captives. Hostages were given for carrying out the terms and peace concluded. The manoeuvres of the two parties in this matter of the parley are so naively improbable that the whole story of the invasion, for which there is no other evidence,

falls under suspicion. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that some such attempt was made by neighbouring powers to disrupt Sind on the death of Chach.

The reign of Chandar is said to have lasted seven years, and on his death Dahar succeeded him at Alor;[4] we are told that Raj, a son of Chandar, established himself at Brahmanabad, but soon made way for Daharsiah. It is difficult to believe that this elder son of Chach could have acquiesced in his supersession even temporarily, particularly as it conflicted with the principle under which he himself had been superseded by Chandar. During the remainder of his life Daharsiah ruled Brahmanabad and its dependencies as a separate kingdom not less in dignity than Alor. He is said to have renewed his father's alliance with the family of the Lohanas, the former governors, by marrying the daughter of Agham.

The chronicle now introduces the story of Bai, the sister of Daharsiah and Dahar, and with her Nemesis appears on the stage; for the fall of Dahar, as yet distant in time, is the consequence of his conduct towards this sister. However fantastic and unhistorical the legend may be, it must not be passed over; we can discern in it the Sind Brahmans' explanation to themselves of the inevitability of the Muslim conquest. The fault was not altogether in the stars, but in themselves.

Briefly the tale is as follows. Bai, the daughter of Chach, lived at Brahmanabad under the protection of her elder brother Daharsiah. From the text it would appear that she had not attained marriageable age till more than five years after Daharsiah's succession, which shows that she can only have been born at the very end of Chach's lifetime. Her hand was sought by "Sobhan Rai Bhatiah, the king of Ramal" - the ruler, we may suppose, of the neighbouring kingdom, now Jaisalmir. Daharsiah welcomed the proposal, prepared a magnificent dowry, and sent Bai with a suitable escort to Dahar at Alor, as the "king of Bhatiah" had stipulated that a frontier fort should be handed over to him as her marriage portion.

Before the final arrangements could be made, Dahar was induced to consult a celebrated astrologer with regard to the affairs of his kingdom, and happened to enquire what the stars foretold as Bai's destiny. The astrologer replied that his calculations showed that the princess would never go out of the fort of Alor, and that no one should marry her except the king who would possess "the kingdom of Hindustan" - that is Sind. This pronouncement filled Dahar with anxiety and he took counsel with his father's wazir, Budhiman. This man agreed that it was impossible for a king tamely to resign himself to be deprived of his hereditary dominions, and as the stars could not be false - both he and Dahar relied implicitly on the astrologer's interpretation - the loss of Sind could only be averted if king Dahar went through a form of marriage with his sister. Dahar communicated the prediction to his confidential nobles, pointing out the difficulties that beset him whichever course he might take. "To cut oneself off from a kingdom is a very difficult thing"; on the other hand, "what wazir Budhiman considers expedient involves a great disgrace .... on our Brahman family" other kings would excommunicate them. The artful wazir however gave a practical demonstration how the most startling wonder ceased to be of any interest to the public after three days; and argued that if Dahar allowed his sister to be married to anyone but himself, his influential nobles would simply transfer their allegiance to that person, who it was fated would sooner or later occupy the throne of Sind. Dahar again explained his dilemma to the nobles and they unanimously agreed to support him in the course which, he supposed, would preserve the kingdom in his own hands. So the marriage ceremony between king Dahar of Alor and his sister Bai was solemnised; their scarves were duly tied, and they were seated together on the throne. For the rest, Dahar left his sword with her for bridegroom.

Dahar had not consulted his elder brother, and now sought belatedly to explain and excuse his conduct, pleading necessity as the reason for his breach of religion and custom.

But Daharsiah was not to be cajoled, and the Chachnama proceeds to describe at length the manoeuvres of the two brothers after their estrangement. Daharsiah dissimulated his intention to seize Dahar, and risked his own safety in the attempt to allay all suspicion, entering Alor unattended. But for the advice of the wily Budhiman, Dahar would have returned with Daharsiah to his camp. He was actually riding out of the fort, sitting behind Daharsiah on the same elephant, when at the last moment he was persuaded to cling to the top of the gate and detach himself. The gate was shut behind Daharsiah, leaving Dahar safe in Alor. Daharsiah conveniently died of a fever shortly afterwards, leaving Dahar undisputed king of Sind.

A different tradition of this episode is recorded in the Tarikh-i-Masumi, according to which Daharsiah was won over by the arguments of his mother and some nobles to acquiesce in Dahar's nominal marriage with Bai, and a reconciliation between the brothers took place. In this account also Daharsiah is stated to have died of natural causes immediately after the meeting.[5]

We may safely accept as historical the fact that after the death of Chandar Sind remained for some time divided into two principalities, ruled by the two sons of Chach; that the pretensions of the younger brother were resented by the elder, and that by the latter's death - not apparently without heirs - the whole inheritance passed without any conflict to Dahar. From remarks attributed to Daharsiah, in the Chachnama, it would appear that he never regarded Dahar as independent. When denied admittance to Alor he sends a message to him; "I have not come to fight with you. This fort was the capital city of my father and from him it has descended to me. You received charge of it as my agent and the kingdom is mine. There never have been two crowns in our country."[6] Daharsiah is credited with a 'reign' of thirty years by the Chachnama, but this would make the whole story of Bai chronologically impossible. Unless we reject altogether the sequence of events

as recorded in the chronicle, the thirty years must be reduced to seven or eight at the most; yet if this is adopted we shall not escape a further difficulty in calculating the length of Dahar's reign as king of the whole of Sind. On the whole, it seems preferable to proceed on the assumption that Daharsiah died in or about the year 685 A.D.

Dahar now took possession of his deceased brother's treasury and the territories of Brahmanabad though he is said to have acknowledged Daharsiah's son Chach as his father's successor. It is likely enough that such a promise was made, but when we next hear of the young prince, after Dahar's death, he seems to have been living in exile, in Bhatiah.[7] Once again the chronicle records a marriage which staggers belief, Dahar espousing his brother's widow who was the daughter of Agham Lohana, and thus also stepdaughter of his father Chach: probably also the mother of the younger Chach. All that can be said is that if the elder Chach had been able to divest himself of caste prejudice by making such alliances for political reasons, it is not surprising that his son should do the same.

Henceforward Dahar spent more of his time in the Brahmanabad territory than in Alor; passing the four months of summer at Raor, a fort which Chach had left unfinished and which Daharsiah had completed,[8] and which having "a salubrious climate and sweet water" would seem to have been in south eastern Sind, probably on the Puran. The winter he spent at Brahmanabad itself, and the spring at Alor. In this way, we are told, eight[9] years passed, and Dahar was firmly established as king of Sind.

Then came yet another invasion from the north. The Chachnama states that it was the king of Ramal[10] who, resenting Dahar's rising power, attempted to conquer the country. According to the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram the invader was Raumalrai, king of Kanauj. There is nothing to indicate whether this king of Ramal was identical or connected with "Sobhan Rai Bhatiah, the king of Ramal", the disappointed suitor of Bai; nor, for that matter, whether

Raumalrai was the successor in the kingdom of Kanauj of Sahiras who had been foiled in his invasion of Sind in the reign of Chandar. It is certainly strange that this attempt on the country should have been made only after Dahar had consolidated his power over the whole kingdom; the obvious opportunity had been at the time when he and Daharsiah were at odds, with the scandal of Bai's marriage affording a pretext for interference by neighbouring rulers.

Though Dahar's rule is represented as firmly established, he seems to have been demoralised by the crisis; he seeks the advice of his wazir, who sets forth alternative courses of action in a sententious speech; yet in the end Dahar merely declares that he would prefer death to dishonour, still remaining at a loss what to do. Wazir Budhiman most sensibly refers him to another counsellor. This was an Arab of the Alafi tribe, who having killed one Abdur Rahman in a feud in Makran, and being proscribed by the Khalifa, had fled to Sind and entered Dahar's service with five hundred followers. On Budhiman's recommendation - "no one knows the art of war so well as the Arab nation" - Dahar summoned the Alafi chief and told him that the occasion had now arisen when he could make a return for the favour and protection he had received. The Alafi was glad to show his mettle and was confident of success. He merely asked the king for the services of a few of the Sind horsemen in addition to his own, to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, while Dahar was to take up an entrenched position with his main army at a league from Alor. The Arab chief found that no proper guard was kept by the warriors of Ramal, who had penetrated thus far into Sind without meeting any opposition; and so made a night attack on their camp with the cavalry. This was completely successful and we are told that in addition to the killed "80,000 brave men and fifty elephants were captured".

Dahar, apparently, would have put the prisoners to death, but the wazir pointed out that it was the duty of a king to show clemency after victory. Dahar, finding

great satisfaction in acting magnanimously, begged his wise wazir to ask what favour he would. Budhiman said he was a childless man and anxious that after his death he should not be forgotten in the country which he had served so long. If his name could be struck on the reverse of the Sind coinage, as the king's was on the obverse, he would always be remembered. Dahar was pleased to grant this request. There is nothing to show what reward, if any, the Arab chief received for organizing the victory.

Such, according to the Chachnama, was the principal event in Dahar's reign as sole king of Sind prior to the incidents which led directly to the invasion of the country by the Arabs. Once again it is hard to judge whether the episode, when stripped of its characteristic improbabilities of detail, rests on any solid basis of fact. It may well have been invented for the double purpose of depicting Dahar as pusillanimous, and of glorifying the Arab chief who happened to have entered his service. Again, the typical romance character, wazir Budhiman, is enabled to make an effective last appearance on the stage.

Assuming that this invasion of Sind by the king of Ramal did in fact occur, and that the Alafi played a part in defeating it, it must be dated after 85 A.H., corresponding with 704 A.D., as it was in that year that the Alafis left Kandabil and entered the service of king Dahar. This is clear from the Chachnama's account of the transactions of the Arabs in Makran, for which the chronicler had far better sources of information than for contemporary events in Sind.[11] Calculating backwards from this approximate date, it will appear that the period of Dahar's peaceful reign after the death of his brother must have been approximately eighteen years, instead of the eight mentioned in the Chachnama.

Only some six or seven years later the event occurred which drew down upon Dahar the wrath of the Khalifa and unsheathed the sword of Islam against Sind. Some of the pirates who then, as for many centuries afterwards, infested the seas off the coast of Kathiawar, Cutch and Sind,

and made use of the port of Debal, captured some ships which were carrying cargoes of valuable goods to the Khalifa. The Chachnama's version of the affair is that these valuables were gifts sent by the king of Ceylon, and consisted of pearls, jewels and Abyssinian slaves. There were also on board a number of Mussulman women, who were making the journey in order to visit the Kaabah and the Khalifa's capital. They too were detained by the pirates at Debal with a view to ransom.

If, as is probable, Arab seamen were trading with Ceylon, at this period, it is not unlikely that its king should have been sufficiently impressed by their accounts of the power of Islam to have sent complimentary gifts to the Khalifa. The presence of Muslim women on board the ships seems unaccountable unless we assume that there were Arab merchants settled in sea ports of Ceylon or on the west coast of India. We are told that there were some merchants on the ships who were also detained at Debal; but it is not stated whether they were Muslims or subjects of Ceylon.

According to the Tarikh-i-Masumi the ships belonged to Syrian merchants, and had been sent by the Khalifa Abdul Malik to purchase female slaves and rich stuffs in India. Returning with their cargoes, they put into the port of Debal, and were there seized by pirates. This account seems on the whole more probable than that of the Chachnama.[12]

Some of the ships' crews evaded capture and made their way to Hajjaj, the Khalifa's governor of the East. On being told that the Muslim women had called on his name for help when they were taken captive, he exclaimed as if he heard their voices, "Here am I!" He forthwith addressed a letter to Dahar demanding peremptorily that he should release the women and forward the presents intended for the Khalifa. The messenger was despatched first to Muhammad Harun, the commander in Makran, who was to send an officer with him to Dahar, to obtain further information about the women. Dahar on receiving the letter dis-

claimed all responsibility and replied that the pirates were not under his control and would give him no satisfaction. Hajjaj then laid the whole matter before the Khalifa and with some difficulty persuaded him to declare a religious war against Sind.

The course of the Muslim conquest of Sind will be described in the next volume but it is appropriate that we should notice here those incidents which throw light on the state of the kingdom and its people in the last days of Hindu rule.

Although the first invasion under Budail was repulsed at Debal by Jaisiah, son of Dahar, after the local forces had been defeated, the Buddhist governor of Nerun, which place had also been threatened by the Muslim army, had no doubt that another and stronger expedition would be sent and entered into a secret compact with Hajjaj to secure himself and the people of the town when that time should come, even binding himself to pay tribute. Dahar would seem to have supposed that he had done enough to discourage further aggression and took no steps to strengthen Debal or to increase his forces in south western Sind. He was presumably aware of the approach of Muhammad bin Qasim with his army, but seems to have allowed Debal to fend for itself against this much more formidable attack, and merely sent camels and horses to assist the governor of the place, Jahin son of Barsayat Rawat, to escape when the defence could no longer be maintained. The Brahman of Debal who, according to the Chachnama, went to the general's camp at the beginning of the siege and told him how the place might be taken, explained his conduct by declaring that the stars clearly foretold the conquest of Sind by Islam. Later we find that Kakah Kotak, the chief or governor of Budhiah, was aware of this prediction of the Sind astrologers and only gave his consent for a night attack on the Arab army with great reluctance. As soon as it failed he made submission, pleading this predestination as his excuse. Another chief, Mokah son of Basayeh, gave the same excuse for changing sides. We cannot doubt that this idea speedily

spread through the country and its paralysing effect can hardly be overestimated. To the people of Sind west of the Indus their king must have appeared helpless in the grip of destiny, for he did nothing to support them. We are told indeed that Dahar himself consulted his astrologers who must by custom have been immune from the ordinary consequences of the royal displeasure: for they told him that the forces of Islam were destined to conquer Sind, and that Nerun would be the next place to fall. The Buddhist governor of Nerun, who as we have seen had already turned traitor and made a secret pact with Hajjaj, was at Dahar's court at the time. While the king may have had no more ground for suspecting him than any other, it was inviting disaster in the circumstances to send him back to his charge without a force for his support;[13] but this Dahar did, and the governor on arrival promptly surrendered the place, and proceeded to fulfil his undertaking to Hajjaj.

The letter which Dahar is said to have sent to Muhammad bin Qasim after the fall of Debal seems thoroughly in character, though we doubtless owe it to the imagination of the chronicler. The king disparages his great sea port, Debal, as an insignificant place of traders and artisans, the conquest of which conferred no glory. Muhammad would do well to consider how different the event would have been had he, Dahar, thought fit on this occasion also to send his famous son Jaisiah against him - the boasting and bluster ends with the threat that if the general came on he would meet with the same fate as Budail. But the king of Sind made no attempt to reinforce the strong places west of the Indus, much less to put an army in the field.

We can hardly blame the pious and prudent Buddhists of Siwistan for exhorting their governor Bachehra, a cousin of Dahar, to surrender without fighting. They began by pleading their religious scruples against bloodshed, but finding the governor obdurate warned him plainly that they would enter into a compact with the Muslims, who had a good reputation for keeping their word, by which their own lives and property would be spared. They seem

to have been the majority party in the town, and as soon as the siege began sent out word that Bachehra had not the means of offering resistance. The governor fled and the Buddhists duly received the favourable treatment for which they had stipulated.

The defection of the warlike Channa tribe of western Sind would seem to have been due to the fact that they were left without any leadership. According to the Tuhfat-ul-Kiram they sent a spy to observe the Muslim camp and were so impressed by his account of the discipline and unity with which the entire army offered prayers that the whole tribe decided to throw in their lot with the Arabs.[14]

Kakah Kotak, the chief of Budhiah, who as already mentioned surrendered when events convinced him of the truth of the astrologers' prediction, was taken into favour by Muhammad bin Qasim and became an active worker in the Muslim cause, securing immunity for other Sind chiefs who submitted and leading the Arabs against those who remained refractory.

We find, then, virtually every class of Dahar's subjects in western Sind deserting him; many would probably have remained staunch had the king but sent an army to dispute the advance of the Arabs. The 'Samani' governor of Nerun, by entering into an agreement with the enemy at a time when Dahar was acting as became a king, sending his own son to drive them from Debal, must be held a traitor indeed; the others could at least plead that their king had first deserted them. It must also be considered, in mitigation of their conduct, that the whole of western Sind bordered upon territory in which the Muslims had established their supremacy.

Nevertheless, one man at least made the attempt to shake off the hold gained by Islam over western Sind. Chandaram Hala, who is said to have formerly been governor of Siwistan, persuaded "some Thakurs and native officers of the place" to join him in a revolt which succeeded in gaining possession of the fort and driving away the Arab

garrison of the district. But he was defeated and, it appears, killed by a force sent by Muhammad bin Qasim; the residents of the town disclaimed all connection with him saying that he was a mere robber chief who had suddenly seized the place, and the general's lieutenant Muhammad bin Mus'ab pardoned them. This clemency clearly turned opinion firmly in favour of the Arabs, for after fresh arrangements had been made for the security of the place, Muhammad bin Mus'ab was able to bring a contingent of 4000 warlike people of the surrounding districts to serve as auxiliaries with the main army.

Prior to this Muhammad bin Qasim had been told by the party of Debal people now acting in the Muslim interest that Rasil son of Basayeh, an influential chief of the district of Bet, on the east side of the Mihran, was anxious to follow their example and was advising others to do likewise. Soon afterwards he sent messages to the general expressing his loyalty, but it would appear from what followed that he wished to postpone committing himself irrevocably till he was assured that Islam would be victorious. His brother Mokah Basayeh, who was on bad terms with him, also made overtures to Muhammad bin Qasim and these being favourably received he decided to steal a march on Rasil. As soon as he had the general's promise that he would be confirmed as ruler of the district if he came over, he devised a plan which he thought would save his name from disgrace among his own people. This was to be captured by the Arabs, ostensibly by accident. In the letter proposing this scheme to Muhammad bin Qasim, as recorded in the Chachnama, he sets forth his despicable motives with complete frankness. The general cannot but have felt disgust but agreed to make the arrangement Mokah desired. Actually, Dahar was warned that Mokah was about to turn traitor, but too late to take action. Mokah was captured according to plan and treated with great distinction by Muhammad bin Qasim, being made hereditary Rana of the district of Bet - this according to the chronicle was the first instance of such a dignity being conferred by the Arabs. But

the province which was thus made over to him "by letters patent" was on the eastern bank of the Mihran, and Mokah's first duty as the vassal of the Muslim invaders was to collect boats for their passage of the river.

Muhammad bin Qasim had meanwhile sent an envoy to Dahar, accompanied by one of the king's former subjects of Dabal, now a convert to Islam, as his interpreter. The king was invited to make his choice, either to cross the river to the west and there do battle, in which case the passage would be left open to him, or to let the Arab army cross to the left bank, similarly unopposed, to a battle ground of his own choosing.

Dahar consulted his wazir, Budhiman's successor, Siyakar by name, and was reminded that he had previously neglected his advice to advance with his army westward of the river before the Arabs had mastered that part of the country. Now the proper course was to let them cross; the main strength of the kingdom, in men and materials, was in eastern Sind and could conveniently be brought to bear upon the Arabs while the Mihran was at their backs, cutting them off from reinforcements and supplies. Muhammad Alafi, whom Dahar next consulted, advised him against this course. Once the army of Islam gained a footing in eastern Sind, they would maintain their ground and many of the king's people would submit to them. The Mihran should be held as a defence line and patrolled by boats; and the tribes on the west side ordered to wage a guerrilla war behind the Arab lines, cutting off supplies and stragglers.

Dahar decided that it would be best for his prestige to appear indifferent in the matter, and informed the Arab general that he would leave to him the choice whether to cross or not. He now learned of Mokah Basayeh's treachery, and sent his son Jaisiah with a strong force to take up a position opposite the Muslim camp. The Arabs were at the time suffering from lack of supplies and had lost most of their horses from disease, which encouraged Dahar to send a messenger to the general taunting him with his powerlessness. He seems once more to have neglected all precau-

tions, and to have spent his time in hunting and trifling amusements, to give the impression of complete confidence in his own strength. But the result was naturally to undermine the confidence of his own people, and Bhandwir Samani, who appears to have been one of his ministers, felt obliged to remonstrate with him. Dahar as usual asked for his advice, and the Samani suggested there were now three courses of action open to him. He might send his children and dependants out of the country, and give battle with his full force: or divide the army, leaving part to dispute the Arabs' advance, and retiring with the other to the most inaccessible part of his kingdom: or else betake himself to the territories of the prince of Jasam, who would assist him.

Dahar declared that he could not face the shame of deserting his people, or of going to another prince to crave shelter and assistance; he would stand and fight, conquer or fall honourably.

Yet even now he showed himself incapable of acting with prudence. On hearing that Mokah Basayeh was exerting himself to obtain boats for the crossing of the Arab army, he had sent his son Jaisiah to protect the fort of Bet, and instructed him to put no trust in Basayeh, Mokah's father, or any of that family. But Rasil, who had been on bad terms with his brother Mokah, hastened to present himself before Dahar, expatiated on his own proved loyalty, and begged to be given command of the forces in Bet. The king, incredible as it must seem, appointed him and withdrew his own son. Rasil failed to prevent Muhammad bin Qasim from establishing his bridge of boats and crossing the river, and Dahar again sent Jaisiah to engage the Arabs, when they were well established on the eastern side. The Sindhis seem to have fought at a disadvantage, their army was cut to pieces, and Jaisiah was fortunate to escape with his life.

Rasil now made up his mind to submit to Muhammad bin Qasim, and if we may believe the Chachnama, persuaded

him to make the same arrangement by which his brother Mokah had sought to save face. Having been captured according to plan, he was taken into favour by the general and cooperated with his brother in giving the Arabs the benefit of his local knowledge; but he did not survive to receive the reward which he hoped to gain by his treachery.

The time had now arrived for Dahar to make good his word that he would do battle for his crown. Even in this crisis he had not the common sense to attack with his entire forces, but launched relatively small detachments to destruction on two successive days. Wazir Siyakar felt obliged to point out to the king that he was acting in opposition to the elementary principles of warfare, and at long last the king took the field at the head of his main army.

The Chachnama relates in great detail the battle which decided the fate of Sind. Dahar's host appears to have been well armed and appointed, and to have outnumbered the Arabs. The Thakurs who held the divisional commands were no doubt Rajput nobles, but of the rank and file we are only told that a strong force of the Jats of eastern Sind was in the field. Possibly the horsemen "all encased in iron", some of whom let their hair hang loose, while other had it tied in knots, were Rajputs.

The morale of the Sind warriors, now at last under the personal command of their king, proved higher than he had any right to expect, in view of his previous negligence and vacillation. The first day's fighting went on the whole in favour of the Arabs, but was mainly an affair of detachments and was by no means decisive. On the following day, indeed, a handful of Sindhis went over to the Arabs, declaring that they accepted Islam, and were allowed to guide an attack on the rear of Dahar's army which produced some confusion: but there was no collapse and no further defections. The battle was restored by Dahar himself: the courage and leadership which he now displayed might have saved Sind had they been forthcoming before

the eleventh hour.[15] There was a moment when the Sindhi army, inspired by his example in killing an Arab champion who encountered him, almost broke the Muslims' formation and it was only by the personal exertions of Muhammad bin Qasim that they were rallied. The Sindhis fought on resolutely through the day, suffering immense losses, till in the evening few but the household cavalry remained. Dahar was leading a charge when his howdah was set on fire by a naphtha arrow: the elephant got out of control and rushed into the water, overturning his riders. In the melée the king was killed and the remainder of his army soon dispersed.

The Brahman dynasty of Sind ended with the defeat and death of Rai Dahar, though his son Jaisiah strove to maintain the struggle, and there was much hard fighting before the whole kingdom was subdued. It is evident that the people of eastern Sind were as a whole attached to their Brahman rulers; their government therefore cannot have been oppressive. Chach had been a successful administrator before he became king; and the stability of his throne must have been due largely to the measures he took for the protection and welfare of the people. Dahar inherited an efficient system of government with his father's wazir at the head of it; and, we may suppose, left well alone. We are not told of any disaffected nobles of Sind joining the kings who invaded the country from the north-east in Chandar's and Dahar's reigns. It is true that Dahar's name has become a bye word for folly, and he certainly deserves this for the ineptitude of his political dealings; yet it is difficult to resist the feeling that he must have had merits as a king which the chronicle does not record. The only virtue that we can discern in him is physical courage in the face of physical danger. The Brahmans of Sind recalled how in his young days, on foot and single handed, he killed a lion from which his followers had fled: and in his last hours he proved that the passage of thirty years had left his valour unabated. Had he possessed but half this measure of moral courage the downfall of his dynasty and country might well have been averted.

NOTES

1. This chapter like the last is based almost entirely on the Chachnama, trs. Kalich Beg.
2. That Bai was not full sister of Dahar and Daharsiah appears from Dahar's subsequent disparaging reference to her as "a daughter of the Jats". Kalich Beg, p. 48.
3. Kalich Beg, p. 40. We were told earlier in the chronicle that Agham Lohana, when attacked by Chach, had applied to a king of this name for assistance; but apparently without result. (Kalich Beg, p. 33.) See also Elliot, Vol. I, p. 153, note.
4. But see below. The fact is probably that Daharsiah, the senior prince, preferred Brahmanabad for his residence and allowed Dahar to hold Alor on his behalf.
5. Quoted in Kalich Beg, p. 54.
6. Kalich Beg, p. 50. Where this place was is uncertain.
7. Kalich Beg, p. 156.
8. Kalich Beg, p. 43.
9. "Eighteen" would seem to be more probable, as will appear hereafter.
10. Dahar later refers to him as "a kinsman". The Chachnama has told us that "the King of Kashmir and Ramal" who took part in the invasion of Sind in the reign of Chandar was a grandson of the great Chach by his daughter - though as already remarked this is quite incredible. Kalich Beg, pp. 40, 55.
Makhdoom Amir Ahmed, p. 94.
11. Kalich Beg, p. 69.
12. Kalich Beg, p. 70 (footnote).
13. According to another account Jaisiah the son of Dahar was at Nerun when news of the fall of Debal reached

the king, who ordered him to retire over the river to Brahmanabad and leave the Samani, the Buddhist governor of Nerun, in charge of the place with instructions to defend it. Kalich Beg, p. 86.

14. In the Chachnama it is stated that the Channas surrendered after the fall of Ishbha, a fortified town the position of which is not certain. They were pardoned by Muhammad bin Qasim.

15. The king is said to have been armed cap-a-pie on a war elephant, with two maid-servants sitting behind him in the howdah: their respective duties being to pass him arrows for his bow and betel-leaf to refresh him. Unless this is a mere picturesque invention of the Arab chronicler, we must suppose that there was nothing extraordinary in a king of Sind taking the field thus luxuriously appointed.

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THE AUTHOR

Born in 1904, Hugh Trevor Lambrick descends from a family some members of which served in Sindh before as well as after its annexation by the British in 1843; his maternal grandfather was Commissioner of the Province in 1889. He himself served there between 1927 and 1946 in a variety of administrative posts, devoting his spare time largely to study of Sindh's ancient geography, archaeology, history and ethnology. On these subjects he contributed extensively to the Journal of the Sindh Historical Society, and was President of the Society in 1940 - 1943. On retirement from the Indian Civil Service he became in 1947 Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, where he has formerly graduated, producing successively *Sir Charles Napier and Sindh, John Jacob of Jacobabad, Sindh: a General Introduction* (Volume I of the present Series), and later *The Terrorist.* In 1971 he was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Letters in the University of Oxford, and elected Fellow Emeritus of Oriel College.

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