

THE ARABS IN SINDH

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THE ARABS IN SIND.

By N. M. BILLIMORIA.

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Bocon says "Histories make men wise." The Mahomedan conquest of India should be regarded as the most important episode in the history of India, as it has radically changed the entire aspect of Indian history.

Mahomed, the prophet of the Madomedans, had infused into the Arabs the spirit of martial valour—this energy produced remarkable results. Mahomed died in A. D. 632, at that time his rule extended not beyond Arabia. His followers conquered Syria and Egypt by 638 A.D., North Africa was conquered between 747 and 749, and Spain by 713, A. D. Within one hundred years of the death of the prophet the Mahomedans had advanced to the heart of France, but their further conquest was checked by their defeat by Ch. Martel between Tours and Poitiers in A. D., 732.

Prof. Hitti in his "History of the Arabs" in discussing the causes of the rise of Islam and its rapid spread has once more, and we hope finally, destroyed the picturesque but erroneous theory that Islam was spread by the sword. The picture of an Arabian general with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other spreading Islam as an epidemic is still tenderly cherished by many.

It is well to understand the word Arab and Arabian. Arab according to Prof. Hitti is any Arabic speaking person particularly if he be a Moslem, and Arabian is an inhabitant of Arabia.

In the east the Mahomedans were equally successful. At the battle of Cadesia in A. D. 636 the Persian Empire was acquired and by 644, the whole of Persia, as far as Herat, on the east, was annexed to the Arab Empire. The Mahomedans advanced as far as the Oxus in A. D. 650, and the region between the Oxus and the Hindu Kush was annexed.

The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in A. D. 643 does not mention anything about Arab conquest. He wrote an account of Persia under the old rule—but there is not a word about the great change that overwhelmed that ancient empire.

Hiuen Tsang mentions three Hindu kingdoms on the western borderland of India; 1, Kapisi in the north; 2, Sindhu or Sindh in the south and the kingdom to Tsao-Kuta or Tsoo-li, between the two.

According to the Chinese traveller the ruler of Kapisi was a Kshatriya by caste and had control over ten states. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography*, p, 19-20, defines Kapisi as the whole of Afghanistan, from

Bamian to Kandhar on the west to Bolan Pass on the south in which Hiuen Tsang places ten separate states or districts, as subject to Kapisi.

The kingdom of Kapisi extended roughly from Hindu Kush mountains to the Bannu district, including the cities of Cabul, Jalalabad, and Peshawar.

The Chinese traveller Ou-Kong, who visited Afghanistan in 753 states that the capital of Kapin was in Ghandhara. Kapin is the same country as Kapisi, mentioned above. During the years 619 to 750, no less than six embassies were sent to China from Kapin. This alliance was sought as a protection against the threat of Arab invasion. The same menace forced the kingdom of Udyana to join hands with Kapin in 745. Udyana comprised the present districts of Swat, Panjkora, Bijawar and Bunir.

The second kingdom was Sind; it adjoined Bannu, the southermost part of the territories of the king of Kapisi. It comprised at least four states; it is difficult to locate them; but the four together comprised the entire valley of the lower Indus to the south of the point where the river is joined by its five tributaries, its northern boundary being formed by the kingdoms of Multan on the left and Bannu on the right side of the Indus.

Immediately to the west of the Sindhu lay Makran and Kirman. According to Hiuen-Tsang, it was subject to Persia, which lay immediately to the west. The town of Homo, identified with Ormuz, was on the border of the two countries.

In 1514 Hormuz, more generally called Ormuz, was taken by the Portuguese under Albuquerque and their port of landing on the mainland became celebrated under the name of Gombroon. This is the place which a century later Shah Abbas, re-named Bandar Abbas; it is the present harbour of Kirman, and probably occupies the position of Suru or Shahru in Fars. The name Gombroon is said to be a corruption of Gumruk (from the Greek Koumerki) which became the common term for a "custom house" throughout the East. In the Turkish Jahan Numa it is referred to as "Gumru, the port of Hormuz whence the city of Lar (in Fars) it is four to five days' march." (Le Strange, p. 319).

The area of Sind has varied from time to time. The Hindu geographers included the lower Indus valley in the term *Sindhu-Sauvira* (Cunningham's Ancient Geography, pp. 285 ff; and 690). When Hiuen Tsang visited Sind, the whole region from Shikarpur down to the sea was subject to Sind but of this area Sintu (Sind) appears to have formed only a small portion. To the Arab writers however as-Sind meant a much bigger idea. For Baladhuri, who wrote in the 9th century describes al-Kikan (modern Kelat in Baluchistan) as "a part of the land of as-Sind where it borders on Khorasan." Mukaddasi (10th century A.D.) praises al-Lahum, a city in Bamiyan as "the trade port of Khurasan and the treasure house

of Sind." The Arab historians included Multan in as-Sind. The Arabs understood by as-Sind the whole of the lower Indus valley from Multan down to the sea, including nearly the whole of modern Baluchistan.

The city of Bamiyan was the capital of a great district of the same name which formed the eastern part of Ghur (in Khorasan) and as its very ancient remains show was a great Buddhist centre long before the days of Islam. Istakhri (951 A. D.) describes Bamiyan as half the size of Balkh in the 4th (10th) century, and though the town which stood on a hill was fortified its district was most fertile, being watered by a considerable river. Mukaddasi (A. D. 985) names the city Al-Lahum, but the reading is uncertain, and he praises it as "the trade port of Khurasan and the treasure-house of Sind. It was very cold and there was much snow, but in its favour was the fact that bugs and scorpions were conspicuously absent. The city had a Friday mosque, and rich markets stood in the extensive suburbs, while four gates gave egress from the town. In the 4th (10th) century the Bamiyan territory included many large cities, the sites of which are now completely lost. The three chief towns are said to have been called Basghurfund Sakiwand and Lakhrab. (Le Strange, p. 418).

According to Masudi the king of Kanauj is one of the kings of Sind and Kashmir forms part of Sind (See Elliot, I, pp. 22-23).

III. Between the kingdom of Sind on the south, Bannu and Kelat on the south and south-east, and Kapisi with its tributaries on the north, Hiuen Tsang locates a vast kingdom, called by the Arab geographers Zabul or Zabulistan, and comprised the upper valley of the Helmond river, and a large extent of territory both to the east and west of it. Some powerful rulers flourished over this region in the seventh century A. D. From the coins found there, it appears that they used the old title Shahi, and one of them Shahi Tugin calls himself lord of "India and Persia" or more properly of "Takan and Khurasan." Another Sri Vasudeva calls himself king of Zaulistan and Multan.

Judged by the test of language and culture the western boundary of India, as described by Hiuen Tsang, may be roughly marked by an imaginary line drawn from Kandahar to Kabul and then extended north-east right upto Hindu Kush, and south-west along the boundaries of Baluchistan to the sea coast.

Alberuni (C. XVIII, Vol. I, p. 208) gives the boundaries of India as follows: "In the western frontier mountains of India there live various tribes of the Afghans, and extend upto the neighbourhood of the Sindh valley. The coast of India begins with Tiz, the capital of Makran." In his account of the town of India, Alberuni includes both Kabul and Ghazna (p. 206). The Arab Geographers generally refer to Kandahar as belonging to India or on the Indian frontier,

Sources of Information.

The Mahomedan historians give their narrative in isolated chapters and besides the chronicles represent only one side of the question. We cannot check the writings of the Mahomedan historians for want of Hindu chronicles. But the archaeological discoveries of the last hundred years have placed at our disposal a number of valuable data which help us in checking and correctly interpreting many of the episodes of this historical period. Only one historical work gives us connected account of the various expeditions viz. that of Al-Baladhuri (Elliot, I. p. 113 ff.) There are also two later works by At-Tabari and Khulasat-ul-Akbar Major Price has made use of the latter book in his "Chronological retrospect or memoirs of the principal events of Muhammadan history from the death of the Arabian legislator to the accession of the Emperor Akbar," pub. in 1811. There are other German and French books by Welhausen, Van Vloten, Muller, Sedillot, and Muir's Annals of Early Caliphate and Elliot's History of India Vols. I and II.

For the history of the Mahomedan conquest of Sind we read detailed account in Chach-nama. This is a Persian translation of an old Arabic history of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs. The Persian translation was made about 1216 by Ali Kufi; and the English translation by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg in 1900. Two later works also describe the Arab conquest of Sind, viz. Tarikh-i-Masumi composed in 1600 (Elliot I, pp. 212 ff) ; and Tuhfatu-l-Kiram by Ali Sher Kani, completed in about 1767-68. (Elliot, I, 327, ff.)

Raids Against Kabul and Zabulistan.

The first Mahomedan invasions were waged against Cabul, Zabulistan and Sind. In the year 649 A. D. Abdallah was appointed governor of Al-Busrah. Abdallah made some conquests in the land of Fars (a province in the south-east of Persia) raided Khurasan, and came up to the Oxus. Ar-Rabi was appointed on to Sijistan.

The province of Fars had been the home of the Achaemenian dynasty and the centre of their government. To the Greeks this district was known as Persis, and they, in error, used the name of this, the central provinces, to connote the whole kingdom. And their misuse of the name is perpetuated throughout Europe to the present day, for with us Persia—from the Greek Persis—has become the common term for the whole empire of the Shah, whereas the native Persians call their country the kingdom of Iran, of which Fars, the ancient Persis is but one of the southern provinces..... Shiraz, the capital of Fars is an Arab foundation.(Le Strange, p. 249).

"Sistan, which the earlier Arabs called Sijistan, from the Persian Sagastan, is the lowland lying round and to the eastward of the Zarah lake, which more especially includes the deltas of Helmund and other

rivers which drain into this inland sea." The capital was Zaranj, on Lake Zarah. Ar-Rabl besieged Zaranj and remained there for two years. After him Abd-ar-Rahman was appointed Governor of Sijistan. He is said to have established his rule over everything between "Zaranj and Kishsh of the land of Hind, and over that part of the region of the road of ar-Rukkhaj which is between it and the province of ad. Dawar." This is the first time that India is mentioned by Muslim writers; the above quotation is from Baladhuri and it requires careful scrutiny. The places mentioned are well known Le Strange in "The lands of the Eastern Caliphate" quoted by Mr. R. C. Mujumdar in his "Arab invasion of India".

"The broad valley, down which the Helmund flows from the mountains of Hindu Kush to *Bust*, still bears the name Zamin-Dawar, the Persian form, of which the Arabic equivalent is "Ard-ad-Dawar," the land of the Gates. " (p. 345 Le Strange).

The capital of the province (Sijistan) during the middle ages was the great city of Zaranj, destroyed by Timur, of which the ruins still remain, covering a considerable area of ground. The ruins of Zaranj lie round the modern villages of Zahidan and Shahrstan along the old bed of one of the chief canals from the Helmund, which since the middle ages has become dry. Near Zahidan is still seen the remains of a tower about 80 feet high, called Mil-i-Zahidan, having a special staircase, and two partly legible Kufic inscriptions. This tower, tradition says, was destroyed by Timur. . . . Nasratabad, the modern capital of Sistan, lies a few miles to the south of these ruins; it was known at first under the name of Nasirabad, which name however has now gone out of use. According to Mr. Savage Landor it is at present day also known as Shahr-i-Nasriyah.

The 'moving sands' however were a continual source of danger and Ibn Hawkal gives a long account of how in the year 360 (970) and odd, the Great Mosque of Zaranj became quite choked up with sand. The city continued to flourish for many centuries, and even during the Mongol invasion of the year 619 (1222) when Changiz Khan sent his hordes to ravage Sistan, the capital seems to have escaped devastation and it was for some time after this date under a Mongol governor. At the end of the century 785 (A. D. 1383) Timur appeared before the city with his armies. The capital of Sistan closed its gates and declined to surrender; after a short siege it was taken by storm, all its inhabitants who could be found were massacred, its walls were then razed and its houses destroyed. Since that time Zaranj has come to be a nameless ruin. (Le Strange, pp. 335-338).

"Half way along the remaining course of the Helmund, from *Bust* to Zaranj, stands the town of Rudbar, the Ar-Rudhbar of Baladhuri; and near this Ar-Rudhbar was Kishsh which appears to be the place called *Kaj*, or *Kuhich*, at the present day.

The Rukkhaj district, occupying the country round about Kandahar lay to the eastward of Bust along the banks of the stream now known as the Tarnak and Argandab." Le Strange, p. 344.

Bust, approximately lies in the same latitude as Zaranj..... Bust (or Bast) on the Helmund, at the junction of the river from Kandahar district, has always been an important place. Istakhri mentions that at its gate was the great bridge of boats "like those used in Irak," across which the high road came in from Zaranj. Bust was the second largest city of Sijistan in the 4th (A. D. 10th) century the people were in easy circumstances and are described after the fashion of the men of Irak and as being for the most part merchants who traded with India. The neighbouring land was very fertile growing dates and grapes..... At the close of the 8th (14th) century the place and its neighbourhood were devastated by Timur, who marched hither from Zaranj, destroying on his way one of the great dams across the Helmund, known as the Band-i-Rustam that kept up the head of water which served to irrigate all the western lands of Sistan. (Le. Strange, pp. 344-45).

Thus the Arabian force advanced towards India along the Helmund river and had a fight with the Indians near modern Rudbar on the frontier between modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan. In his description of this campaign Baladhuri tells us a story which reminds us of the breaking of the idol at Sommath by Mahmud. The historian relates that when the conqueror had got as far as the provinces of ad-Dawary, he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of az-Zur. Ibn-Samurah went into the temple of the Zur (apparently surya, the sun); he cut off a hand of an idol which had two rubies for eyes. Then he said to the satrap "keep the gold and gems; I only wanted to show you that it had no power to harm or help." Ibn Samurah then obtained control over Bust and Zabul.

By Zabul or Zabulistan the Arabs meant the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandhar rivers. It was a term of vague application but one which more particularly denoted the country round Ghaznah. On the other hand Kabulistan was the Kabul country, more to the north on the frontier of Bamiyan. Already the 3rd century (9th century A. D.) Yaqubi describes Kabul as much frequented by merchants. He says that the chief city was known as Jurwas, while Istakhri in the next century gives the name as Taban. Kabul, however, appears also to have been the name in common use more especially for the district. (See page 66, note 3, Vol. 1, Dynastic History of Northern India, by H. C. Ray, Calcutta). (Le Strange, p. 349).

In connection with the Muslim conquest of Kabul, Baladhuri makes a very interesting statement:—

"Abd-u-Rahman took with him to al-Basrah, slaves captured at Kabul and they built him a mosque in his castle there after the Kabul style of building."

The fact that one of the earliest mosque to be built at an important centre of Islam was modelled after Kabuli style, is full of importance for the history of the origin of Saracenic style.

When Abd-ar-Rahman was replaced by one Ziyab, the chiefs of Kabul and Zabulistan took courage to throw off the Muslim yoke. The king of Kabul drove out all the Musalmans from Kabul and Ratbil came and obtained control of Zabulistan and ar-Rukkhaj as far as Bust.

There is no doubt that Ratbil was a *title* and not a personal name, for it is assumed by successive princes from father to son. That word is not Arabic but Turkish.

The struggles of the Arabs with the Indian princes of the Helmund and the Kabul valleys went on from A. D. 650 to 860. The fruitless efforts of half a century (649-700) convinced the Arabs that the conquest of these countries was beyond their power. The Abbassid Caliphs occasionally exacted some tribute from them, and with the exception of a few occasional raids, Kabul and Zabul were left undisturbed till 870, when Cabul was conquered by Yakub in 870 A. D.

State of Sind Just Before the Mahomedan Conquest.

The first Mahomedan invasions were directed against Kabul, Zabul and Sind, but the wars with Sind were more prolonged. The Chach Nama begins with an account of Rai Sahiras, son of Sahasi Rai. The Rai dynasty ruled from A. D. 450 to 643, and had five rulers. Rai Diwaji, Rai Sihras, Rai Sahasi, Rai Sihras II, and Rai Sahasi II.

His dominions are said to have "extended on the east to the boundary of Kashmir, on the west to Makran, on the south to the coast of the sea and Debal, and on the north to the mountains of Kurdan and Kikanan." In the Tarikh-i-Masumi and Tuhfatul Kiram the boundaries are given:—

"On the east Kashmir and Kanauj; on the west, Makran, Debal, and the seashore of Oman; on the north, Kandhar, Sistan, and Suleman mountains, and the Kikanan Hills"; on the south, sea-port of Surat." Surat has been taken by Elliot (Vol. I, p. 405) to be Saurashtra, *i.e.*, the Kathiawar peninsula. But the text distinctly says "port of Surat."

A very learned note I find in Dr. Ray's "Dynastic History of N. India which I am tempted to copy out verbatim. "In the original Kanauj is (کَنؤج) spelt. It has been asserted by some scholars that Kinnauj is not Kanauj but only a dependency of Multan. Rai Hanchandar, son of Jahtal Rai, the contemporary of Muhammad Qasim is of course otherwise to history (Elliot, I, p. 208). But as Multan was one of the parts of as-Sind, in this period, and as it is asserted that the limits

of the latter extended upto Kashmir and Kanauj, it is more likely that the chronicler was referring in a vague way to the boundaries of the empire of Kanauj, which spread over a large portion of N. India in the 7th century A. D. At that period the western limits of this kingdom were not beyond the raids from Multan. Possibly Muhammad raided some of these western provinces which once belonged to the famous empire of Kanauj.

The confusion of the scholars mentioned above must have been caused by the statement of Masudi that the king of Kanauj was one of the kings of Sind. Masudi should not however be taken here to refer to the modern boundaries of Sind, for in another place he includes Kashmir also in Sind. It should be noted that Masudi never says that the city of Kanauj was a dependence of Multan or that it is on the banks of one of the Punjab rivers. The city which is thus located by him was called Baurar. (𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓, Pratihara ?) after the title of the kings of Kanauj. This city originally belonged to Kanauj, but was apparently conquered by the Amirs of Multan and formed a part of their principality. A careful analysis of Masudi leaves us in no doubt that by his Baurah (𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓) of Kanauj (𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓) he is referring to the Gurjara-Pratihara kings of that city. History does not know of a second Kanauj, near about Multan during this period. See Elliot, I, 405.

Smith's Early History of India. p. 369 in a note observes that the name which Elliot (p. 405) read as Kenauj really is Kinnauj, a dependency of Multan.

The central part of these territories was under the King, whose capital was Alor, and the rest was divided into four provinces, each under a governor—their status was more than an ordinary governor. The headquarters of these governors were at Bahmanabad, Siwistan, Iskandah and Multan. I will discuss the geographical portion later on Rai Shiras II lost his life in the battle with the ruler of Nimruz, a province of Persia, who had invaded his territory and entered Kirman. The battle took at place Kich.

Sistan was also called Nimruz in Persian, meaning "mid-day" or the southern land, a name said to have been applied to the province in regard to its position to the south of Khurasan.

Rai Sahsi II ascended the throne and ruled over Sind. During his reign a poor Brahmin named Chach rose to power, and after his benefactor's death secured the throne and his widow for himself. He had two sons, Daharsiah and Dahar and a daughter Bai. The governors of the provinces did not acknowledge Chach at first; but he subdued all of them, and directed his attention to the Persian territory. He subdued a part of Makran and fixed the western limits of his kingdom at a stream, separating Kirman from Makran. Then Chach marched towards Kandābil (Gandava south of Sibi and east of Kelat).

Turan, the name given to the Kusdar district, was often held to include the lands to the north, known as the Budahah district of which the chief town, Kandabil, has been identified, with the present Gandava, lying south of Sibi and east of Kelat. Kandabil is described by Ibn Hawkal as a large city standing solitary in a plain, and no date palms grew here. Of its dependencies was the town of Kizkanan or Kikan which from its position in the Itineraries is to be identified with modern Kelat.

On the north-eastern frontiers of Makran and close to the Indian border the Arab geographers describe the two districts; namely, Turan of which the capital was Kusdar, and Budahah to the north of this, to which the capital was Kandabil. Kusdar, also spelt Al-Kuzdar is mentioned among the earlier conquests of Sultan Mahmud of Guznah. (Le Strange, p. 331).

The People of Kelat agreed to pay an annual tribute. Chach died at Alor after a reign of 40 years. His brother Chandar succeeded him and ruled for 7 years. After the death of Chandar there was a split. Dahar the younger son of Chach ruled over Alor; while Duraj, son of Chandar, took charge of Bahamanabad. But Daharsiah, elder son of Chach, drove Duraj away; and for 30 years Daharsiah ruled over Bahmanabad, and Dhar over Alor. After the death of the elder brother, Dhar ruled over the whole kingdom. Chach Nama relates that Dahar's kingdom was attacked by the king of Ramal, but Dahar easily repulsed him (p. 55). In the Tuhfatul Kiram the invader is said to be Ramalrai, king of Kanaij, nor and king of Ramal.

We arrange the chronological table of the Brahmin dynasty of Chach as follows:—

Chach	.. A.D.	622-662	40 years.
Chandar	..	662-669	7 years.
Dahar	..	669-670	1 year.
Duraj	}	..	30 years.
Dahar			
Daharsiah			
Dahar	..	700-708	8 years.

Chach Nama continues the story of Dhar upto the invasion of the king of Ramal; then the account of the Muslim invasion of Sind is opened. The fight between Dahar and the Arabs began in 708 A.D.

The kingdom of Sind was broken up in the seventh century A.D. by several causes: *First*, the usurpation of Chach. He had murdered all the nobles of the court; there was sudden rebellion of the governors of the provinces. Though these risings were put down with difficulty yet it was Chach who had sowed the seeds of discontent which came in the way of his son very shortly after his death. Some influential officials of the State deserted his son and joined the Muslim, their enemy.

Immediately after the death of Chach, one of his governors made a secret treaty with the kings of Kashmir and Kanauj with a view to seize the kingdom for himself. The hostile army came up to the very walls of the City (Ch. Nama, pp. 39, ff.) On page 33 of the same authority we read that another Governor when attacked by Chach applied for aid to the king of Kanauj.

Second. After the death of Chandar the kingdom was divided and thus the resources of the kingdom were weakened; the internal fight between Alor and Bahamanabad lasted for 30 years, and it was at that time the Mahomedan were trying to enter Sind.

Third. The kings of Sind were fighting with the rulers of Kashmir, Kanauj and Ramal. When Mahomed Kasim was marching towards Sind, king Dahar was fighting the king of Ramal.

Fourth. The powerful Buddhist monks exercised great political authority, and they were a great danger to the Brahmanical state. In the Chach Nama we read many references to the Samanis or Buddhist priests. When Chach proceeded against the governor of Bahmanabad who was a Buddhist sought the help of Samani Budhgui or Budrakhu (*i.e.*, Budhragupta). Chach Nama says on pp. 33-34 that "when Chach had come to know that Agham (the Governor) and his son had compact with the Samani and that it was owing to his sorcery, enchantments, magic, and counsels, that the war had been prolonged for a year, he had sworn 'If I succeed in taking this fort, I shall cease the Samani, take off his skin, give it to a low-caste people to cover drums with it and to beat them till it was torn to pieces.'

Again on page 38 we read that "the town of Armanbil (probably Lus Bela) was in the hands of a Buddhist Samani, descended from the agents of Rai Sahiras, king of Hind. In course of time, however he had thrown off his yoke and had become his opponent."

The important fortress of Nerun (Hyderabad) was in charge of a Buddhist Samani, named Bhandarkan, he basely betrayed his master in the hands of the Musalmans, even before the enemy's forces had obtained any victory. (Ch. Nama p. 72). He is reported to have said to Mahomed Kasim "I myself and all my men are subjects of the Khalifah, and we hold this place subject to the command and in accordance with the terms of the letter of Hajaj. In fact we owe our permanent position to his help and patronage and encouragement." There was a secret treaty between him and Hajaj and he opened the gates of the city of Nerun when Mahomed had beseiged it in vain and when he was in great difficulties. . . . Ch. Nama page 91.

Siwistan was a strongly fortified town; the Buddhist inhabitants of this place forced the ruler to surrender to Mahomed Kasim saying "we people are a priestly class. According to our faith fighting and

slaughtering are not allowable. We will never be in favour of shedding blood." Ch. Nama page 93.

The same historian says on pages 105 and 173 that the Buddhist of other places showed the same treacherous and cowardly spirit.

Though the kingdom of Sind was large and had many resources yet the internal situation was not favourable to make a sustained fight against determined invaders.

The Muhammadan Conquest of Sind.

The first Arab raids were directed against the coast of India. They had a safe base at Oman and from that place an army was sent in A.D. 637 to Thana near Bombay and Broach and to the gulf of Debal in Sind. Al Baladhri records a Muslim Victory at Debal, but does not make mention of the two other expeditions; while Chach Nama (pp. 57-58) records the defeat of the Muslims and death of their leader at the battle of Debal.

The Indian port best known to Arab geographers, beyond the eastern end of the Persian Gulf was Daybul, then a fine harbour at the mouth of the Indus. . . . The ruins of the port of Daybul, now lying far inland exist some 20 miles south-west of Thatta, and 45 miles east-south-east of Karachi. Mansurah is on an old channel of the Indus delta, about 40 miles north east of Hyderabad. Sind is of course only the old Persian form of the name Hind, but the Arabs used it vaguely to denote the great province to the east of Makran, which is now in part called Baluchistan and in part is included in modern Sind. Sindarudh is the River of Sind. (Le Strange, p. 331, and note.)

From time to time the Arabs raided the Sind frontier by land and sea; but the task was not an easy one. A report was made to Caliph Uthman that "the water supply is scanty; the dates are inferior, a small army would be lost there, and a large army would starve." The following verse quoted by Al-Baladhuri gives an idea of these difficulties:

And thou art going to Makran
 How far the destruction from the starting place;
 I have no use of Mukran
 Either to fight there or to trade.
 I was told about it; I did not go there;
 And I always dislike to hear about it.
 Most people there are hungry
 And the rest of them are depraved.

During the caliphate of Umar (A. D. 634-43) these raids were undertaken without any success.

During the caliphate of Ali, a great expedition was sent against India in A.D. 658. The Muslim army advanced without opposition to Kikana (mountainous country about Kelat) which was a part of Sind. The Muslim leader was killed together with all but a few of his followers A.D. 663. This is the version of Al-Baladhuri; Chach Nama relates that the Muslims obtained a victory at Kelat, but returned on hearing the murder of Ali.

Several attempts were made to subdue Kelat, the outlying frontier post of Sind. The first expedition was led from the Kabul side in the north, but did not get any success (A.D. 665). The second expedition ended in a disaster, and the defeated Muslim army fled to Makran. Chach Nama gives on page 62 more detailed account of this disaster. The next expedition was led by Sinan who conquered Makran, established a garrison there and made it his headquarters. Chach Nama refers to Sanan on page 63, but does not mention the conquest of Makran by him. There was respite for the next 25 years.

When Hajaj was appointed governor of Irak, things began to take a different turn. He appointed Mujjah as governor of Makran; he made some raids and conquered Kandabil (modern Gandava) A.D. 705.

About this time the king of Ceylon sent to Hajaj some women who were born in his country as Muslims, their fathers who were merchants having died; he wanted to come into the good graces of Hajaj by sending them back. Some pirates captured near Debal the ship in which they were sailing. Hajaj wrote to Dahar, who was ruling over Sind, to set the women free; Dahar wrote back that he had no control over the pirates. This was a sufficient pretext for Hajaj to invade Sind. Ubaidallah was sent to raid Debal, but was defeated and killed. A second expedition was sent by way of sea from Oman under Bazil, who marched towards Debal, Dahar sent his son Jaisimha against the Arab army; in a pitched battle which lasted for the whole day, the Arab army was defeated and Bazil was killed. (Ch. Nama p. 71). Hajaj then made preparations on a large scale to conquer Sind. He obtained services from the Caliph of 6,000 Syrian soldiers. War materials for siege were sent by sea. He appointed his nephew and son-in-law Mahomed Kasim as head of the expedition. Mahomed Kasim halted at Shiraz to collect his forces; according to Chach Nama Mahomed was joined at Shiraz by 6,000 horsemen, 6,000 camelmen, 3,000 loading camels and large number of coats of mail sent by Hajaj (p. 77). He came to Makran and took hold of Kannazbur and Armail (present Belah in Lasbelah).

Armail and Kanbali were two important towns, on or near the coast, about half way between Tiz and Daybul at the Indus mouth. Istakhri describes these as cities of considerable size, lying two days' march apart and one of them was situated half a league distant from the sea. Their people were rich traders, who had dealings chiefly with India.

.....The ruins of Armabil are probably at Las Bela, and those of Kanbali at Khayrokot....The earlier Arab geographers in point of fact knew little about Makran, and the later ones had nothing worth mentioning. Yakut (A.D. 1225) only repeats what his predecessors of the 4th (10th) century have said. All that Kazvini (A.D. 1275) has to tell us of this province is that there was a wonderful bridge there, crossing a river, and formed of one single block of stone. He adds: "he who crosses it vomits up the contents of his belly, so that naught remains therein, and though thousands should pass over the bridge this always happens to each one. So when any man of that country requires to vomit he has only to cross this bridge." (Le Strange, p. 330 and note).

The earlier geographers name many towns as in Makran, but give scant description of them. The chief commercial centre was the port of Tiz on the Persian Gulf and the capital of the province was Fannazbur or Bannajabur, which lay inland, at the place now known as Panjgur. Bannajabur, according to Mukaddasi had in the 4th (10th) century a clay-built fortress, protected by a ditch, and the town was surrounded by palm-groves. There were two city gates, Bab Tiz opening south-west on the road to the gulf port, and Bib Turan, opening north-east on the road to the district of that name, of which the capital was Kuzdar. A stream brought water to the city; and the Friday mosque stood in the market place, though, according to Mukaddasi the people were only Moslem in name, being savage Balusis (Baluchis) whose language was a jargon. In a note it is added, Kannazbur or Kannajbur as the name has often been printed is merely a clerical error for Fannazbur, by a doubling of the diacritical points over the first letter. Panjgur, five tombs, is so called after the five martyred warriors of the first Arab conquest. It lies one march west of Kal'ah Naghah, and the surrounding district is also called Panjgur.

The ruins of the great port of Tiz lie at the head of what was a fine harbour for the small ships of the middle ages. Mukaddasi describes Tiz as surrounded by palm-groves and there were great warehouses in the town, and a beautiful mosque. The population was of all nations as is usual in a great saefaring port; and in the 6th (12th) century the place had, in large measure, acquired the trade of Hormuz, which had fallen to ruin.

Then Md. Kasim laid seige to Debal. In this port there was great Buddhist temple with a high flag-staff over it. Chach Nama relates that a Brahmin came to Mahomed and said "We have learnt from our science of the stars that the country of Sind will be conquered by the army of Islam. But as long as that standard of the temple stands in its place, it is impossible for you to take the fort." Stones were thrown from catapults and the standard was immediately broken. The destruction of the standard demoralized the people, and the town was taken by assaults. No quarter was given, and for three days the inhabitants were slaughtered by the Arabs.

Mahomed then sent war materials by boats and advanced to Nerun modern Hyderabad; the Buddhist priests were already in correspondence with Hajjaj and now openly received Mahomed and supplied the army with provisions. Baladhuri calls the place al-Birun and says that its inhabitants had sent two Buddhist monks to Hajjaj and had made a treaty with him. Mahomed then advanced to Siwistan (Sehwan); and took possession of several cities without much fight. The Buddhist party at Sehwan welcomed the Arabs; either through their aversion to shed blood or due to their prophesy that Islam will conquer India. Mahomed pursued the ruler of Siwistan as far as Sisam in Budhiah, and then occupied Nerun on his return. Haig in his Indus Delta Country identifies Sisam with Shah Hasan a place at the western end of the Manchchar Lake. Some of the Chief men of Rasal Samani, and several headmen of the Bhattis came forward to do homage to Mahomed Kasim and seek his pardon. He concluded a treaty with them; then he proceeded to the fortified town of Ishba. The fortress was strong and impregnable. The people held out for a week after that surrendered. After staying for some time in that town, and leaving a representative there, he proceeded to the country of Raor, and alighted on the bank of the river Mehran on the western side, where he was joined by Jasen (Jahin) the ruler of Bet. (A. D. 711, Chach Nama, p. 105). Before he could cross the river he heard that Chandram Halah, ruler of Siwistan, had revolted, and had driven the Arab soldiers from the Fort. Mahomed sent one of the lieutenants, who reduced Siwistan, and returned with 4,000 warlike Jats from that place.

On the opposite bank of the Indus Raja Dhar lay enamped with his large army; his son Jaisinha joined him by the small river of Kotak with a large number of men and implements of war. Hajjaj had sent 2,000 select horse to assist Mahomed Kasim. Hajjaj urged Mahomed Kasim to cross the river and fight with Dhar, when he had halted on the bank of the river for two months. He came to the country of Sakrah, in the district of Jhim, posted a strong garrison at the island of Bet and crossed without any loss by means of a bridge of boats. According to Baladhuri this was effected by the help of a neighbouring King Easil. Chach Nama suggests that Dahar deliberately allowed the Mahomedan army to cross the river "lest it may be imagined by him (M. Kasim) that we are in perplexity and have become very weak and powerless" (Chach Nama pp. 108-111). Dhar sent his brother Mokah Governor of Bet, to oppose the crossing of Mahomed; "Mahomed therefore ordered all the boats to be linked together in a line along the western bank to the length corresponding to the breadth of the river at that place. . . . then moving the whole block of boats, keeping one end of it fixed at the crossing-point and turning the other, the headboat was made to touch the opposite point on the eastern bank." The Arab soldiers now landed from the boats and made vigorous attacks. Dahar's soldiers fled and were pushed up to the fort of Jhim (Chach Nama, p. 125).

It may be noted that according to Masumi, Mahomed crossed at Talla in order to go to Alor.

Moka and his brother went over to Mahomed, who crossed the lake that lay between his and Dahar's army; made his camp at Jitor on the stream of Dohara; from which place he watched the army of Dahar both the front and the rear, and cut off his supply. Dahar then came over to the fort of Raor, left behind his followers and baggage and took up his position at a league from the Arab army. Here a hand to hand fight took place between both the armies. Dahar fought bravely and on the second day the Muslim army was nearly defeated. Mahomed rallied his men; the litter of Dahar's elephant took fire; and the animal plunged into water. Dahar got back on shore, an arrow struck him at the heart; when he dismounted, an Arab swordsman cut off his head. Chach Nama gives a detailed account of the battle, see pages 133ff.

Dr. Majumdar is inclined "to place Sakrah at or near modern Sukkur and to identify the island of Bet with the rocky island of Bhakar or Bakhar, which is such an important landmark in the topography in that part of modern Sind. Roar would then be naturally identified with Rohri."

Cousens in his *Antiquities of Sind* writes "in connection with Mahomed's movements, up and down the west bank, to find a suitable crossing, he is at one time, within the district of Jhim, and this name may possibly be perpetuated in Jhim Pir, the name of the tomb upon the islet in the river opposite Rohri. Indeed, we might almost have identified the Bet of our story with the island of Bakhar, did we not know for certain that the river did not flow in that bed in those days, and Bakhar is also known as Bet."

The Sindhian army was completely routed, and took refuge in the fort of Raor; the widow queen defended this fort, and when no hopes were left, she and other ladies burnt themselves, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. Jaisinha, son of Dahar retreated to the strong fort of Bahamanabad. Cousens places the fort of Raor "some 20 to 25 miles to the west or west by south of Alor, just below Kingri." Mahomed now marched towards Bahamanabad. On his way Mahomed captured two fortified towns of Bahrur and Dahlelah. Jaisinha fortified Alor and Bahamanabad; this famous city is spelt without "r", on the strength of a legend that it was founded by the Persian king Bahaman. "It is situated in the hitherto deserted plains which stretch away to the east of the Indus, eight miles south-east of the railway station of Shahdadpur, and forty-three miles north-east of Hyderabad" (Cousens *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 48)

The siege lasted for six months, and Mahomed was much disheartened; again treachery placed the fort in the hands of Mahomed; he subdued several other places, and then proceeded to Alor, which was in charge of Fofi, son of Dahar. When the residents of the place wanted to make peace with the enemy, Fofi withdrew from the city and joined his brothers Jaisinha and Wakiah at a place called Nazwalah Sandal in Jitor. Alor submitted to the enemy. Baladhuri mentions Baghrur, Sawandrai and

Basmad as having been conquered by Mahomed on his way from Bahamanabad to Alor. Chach Noma names Mustahal, Bharowar, the lands of the Sammahs, Luhanas and Sahtahs. Alor fell in A. D. 714. It is a question why Mahomed first went to Bahamanabad instead of subduing Alor, which was close by. The reason seems to be that the main army had followed Jaisinha to Bahamanabad, so instead of wasting time by prolonged siege of Alor, Mahomed wanted to over-power the enemy's army, before it could gather strength.

Mahomed Kasim conquered the forts of Babiah, Gholkonda, and Sakkah and then laid siege to Multan. Sakkah, according to Cunningham's Ancient Geography, must have been somewhat near the present Mari Sital, which is on the old bank of the Ravi, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Multan. Fighting near Multan continued for two months; again a traitor pointed out to Mahomed the source of water supply for the City. Mahomed cut it off and the residents surrendered. Then Mahomed conquered Kiraj, subdued Bailaman and made peace with the people of Surast. Kiraj is in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar; Surast is evidently Surashtra. Evil days fell on Mahomed Kasim upon the death of Hajjaj in A.D. 714. As soon as Sulaiman became Caliph he sent Yazid to Sind who put Mahomed in chains and tortured him to death. Chach Nama relates the story how two virgin daughters of Dahar, who were sent as prisoners to Caliph Walid brought about the death of Mahomed Kasim by falsely accusing him of having outraged them before sending them to the Caliph. Soon after Mahomed Kasim's death, there was a revival of Hindu power in Sind. Dahar's son, Jaisinha re-conquered Bahamanabad. Mir Masum says that two years after the death of Mahomed Kasim "the people of India rebelled and threw off their yoke, and the country from Debalpur to the Salt Sea only remained under the dominions of the Kalifa. According to Baladhuri many kings, including Jaisingh, son of Dahar, accepted Islam and adopted Arab names. Thus the province of Sind became independent again, and Kandabil or Gandava is referred to as "on the remotest frontiers of the Arab Empire (Elliot, I, p. 440). During the caliphate of Hisham (A. D. 724-743) Junaid was appointed as governor of Sind. He quarrelled with Jaisinha, who was defeated and taken prisoner.

Junaid then conquered Kiraj. He sent army against Marmad or Mirmad, Mandal, Dahnaj and Barwass. He also sent army to Uzain, and the land of Malibah. They waged war against Uzain, raided Bahrimad, Junaid himself conquered Bailaman and Jurz. Dr. Majmudar identifies the places thus: Marmad may be safely identified with Maru-Mara corresponding to Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur. Burwas is undoubtedly Broach, and Mandal probably denotes Mandor. Jurz was the Arabic corruption of Gurjara and Bailaman probably refers to the circle of states referred to in Ghatiyala inscription of Kakuka as Vallamandala. Izain and Maliba no doubt refer to Ujjain and Malva, *i.e.* the eastern and western Malwa.

Baladhuri writes that "in the days of Tamin (the successor of Junaid) the Muslims withdrew from the land of Al-Hind and abandoned their

headquarters and they have not returned so far as that since." There is no doubt that the Muslim suzerainty stopped short at the right bank of the Indus. This is confirmed by Baladhuri: "Afterwards, while al-Hakam . . . was ruler the people of al-cutch-Hind apostatized with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah (Cutch). A place of refuge to which the Muslims might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake (al-Buhairah) where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Mahfuthah establishing it as a place of refuge for them where they would be secure, and making it a capital." Later on, continues the historian "al-Hakam built on this side of the lake a city which he called al-Mansurah. It is where the governors reside today." Al-Hakam fought and scored some success, but was killed. Afterwards the Governors "kept fighting the enemy and seizing whatever came into their hands, and subduing the places in the neighbourhood whose inhabitants rebelled." Thus, the last years of the Umayyids witnessed the decline of Islamic power in India.

When the Abbassids came into power, they tried to extend their rule of Islam. Almansur (A.D. 754-775) appointed Hisham, governor of Sind. Baladhuri writes that "he conquered Kashmir, obtaining many prisoners and slaves. He conquered al-Multan, and cleared out a faction of Arabs which was in Kandabil. He went to al-Kunduhar with the fleet, and conquered it, throwing down the Budd (*i.e.*, the temple) and building a mosque in its place."

Kashmir was at that time at the height of its power; at the most it can only mean some successful frontier raids. For the ruler of Kashmir had thrice defeated the ruling chief of the Arabs, and this had the effect of checking the Arabs in that direction.

The action of throwing down the Hindu temple, as stated above, was contrary to the policy of the first conqueror of Sind of forming alliances with infidels for the purpose of political conquests, as opposed to holy war; Mahomed Kasim did not interfere with the temples and religious life of the friendly Indians and placed the Budd of the Hindus in the same status as the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews and fire temples of the Magians."

Imran was appointed governor of Sind by his father in A.D. 836. Imran fought with the Jats of Kelat and Mids of Cutch. This shows that these two hardy people who defied the Muslim arms as far back as A.D. 662 were not yet subdued. The power of the Abbasid Caliphs was declining rapidly.

The weakening of the Arab control over Sind is illustrated by their expulsion from Sandan in Abrasa in the southern district of Cutch. Some place this between Broach and Sopara (See Elliot, I, p. 16 and also p.402).

In A.D. 871 the Caliph handed over the province to Yakub ibn Lais the Suffarid leader. This dynasty was soon replaced by the Samanids (900 A.D.). The Saffarids or the Samanids did not exert any effective control over so remote a province as Sind. The Muslim territory in Sind

was divided between two independent chiefs, those of Mansura (near Bahamanabad) and Multan.

The history of Sind from 879 to 925 A.D. is the history of small principalities gleaned from Khurdad bih (A.D. 912); Masudi (A.D. 943); Istakhri (A.D. 951); and Ibn Haukal (A.D. 976).

Dr. Ray in his Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. I, p. 14-15 gives a list of coins of the Arab Governors in Sind. He says:—

“Silver and copper coins have been discovered in Sind which from paleographic and other considerations are supposed to belong to the Arab Governors. The following is a complete list of these coins. The numbers on the right refer to those given in the table at the end of this paper:—

Names.	Description of coins.	Remarks.
1. Ali & al Nasar	Silver ; weight about 8-10 grains.	
2. Ali & Mahammad	do.	
3. Umar & al-Nasar	do.	
4. Al-Faraz	do.	
5. Abd-al-Rahman & Nasar	do.	
6. Nasar	do.	(6) Probably No. 10 of the Abbasid list.
7. Abd-al-Rahman	do.	(7) Probably No. 1 of the Abbasid list.
8. Abd-allah	do.	(8) May be No. 4 of the Umayyad list.
9. Muhammad (& Nasar	do.	May be No. 10 of the Abbasid list.
10. Muhammad	do.	Probably No. 6 of the Umayyad list.
11. Banu Amr	do.	
12. Ahmad	do.	
13. Amru Nasar	Copper about 35 grains	
14. Mansur	do. do.	(14) Probably last governor of the Umayyads No. 15.
15. Abd-ul-Rahman	do. 33 do.	(15) Probably No. 1 of the Abbasid list.
16. Muhammad	do. 44 do.	(16) Probably No. 6 of the Umayyad list.

Before I proceed further I would review what we have said above. From the time of the Second Caliph Umar, the Arabs were keenly determined to conquer Hind and Sind. There were four routes open to them: 1, by sea; 2, through Khyber Pass; 3, by Bolan Pass; and 4, by the Makran coast. They tried to enter by every one of these routes. They vainly tried against Thana, Broach and Debal, by sea. The Khyber Pass was guarded by Kabul and Zabul; when the Bolan was guarded by the brave Jaths of Kelat. Except what is written by Mahomedan historians we do not know anything how these brave people defended their gates against Islam for about 200 years.

When the Mahomedans failed by the three routes, they tried the fourth, through Makran coast. Here also they were not very successful till Mahomed Kasim forced his way through it to the very heart of Sind. There are reasons to show why they succeeded by this route when they had failed by other routes; 1, the equipment of the Arab army under Mahomed Kasim was made on a lavish scale; he had received assistance of forces even from Syria; besides Hajjaj was the master-mind. Personality of the ruler of Sind, treachery and superstition of the people assisted the invaders. The heavy luggage of the Arab army was sent by sea; the Mahomedans were not a sea power. Dahar was lax in opposing the Arab enemy. He had guarded the Bolan Pass, but not the passage through Makran. From A. D. 670 to 700 Dahar was not in possession of the southern part of Sind. Darshiah was making friendly overtures to the Arabs. Both Nirun (Hyderabad) and Siwistan opened their gates to the enemy. The unpatriotic character of the Buddhists, owing to their aversion to shed blood, greatly assisted the enemy. Dahar is responsible for allowing the enemy to cross the river Indus. The want of strategy on the part of Dahar, the treachery of the Buddhist of the south, betrayal of the chief officials of Sind brought an end to the ruler of Sind.

There is a parallel between the entry of the Arabs in India and Europe. In both cases, in the conquest of Sind and of Spain treachery played an important part. Charles Martel saved Europe by the victory at Poitiers; at the same time a check was put to the Arabs by Nagabhata and Pulakesi. There are two causes for the decline of Arab supremacy in India, internal condition of the Muslim empire in the last days of the Umayyids, and the strength of Indian States. The Indian Rulers realised their danger from 713 to 741 when a king of Central India sent an embassy to China with a view to make a common cause against the Islamic power.

As said above the Muslim territories were divided between two independent chiefs—Mansura and Multan. Masudi places Mansurah at 75 Sindian parasangs (1 parasang equals 8 miles) from Multan. Towards the north it extended as far as al-Rur which was included within its boundary. The estates and villages dependent of Mansurah amounted to 300,000. The figure is regarded by Elliot p. 455, Vol. I, as "ridiculous exaggeration." The whole country is well cultivated and covered with trees and fields. Ibn Haukal states that Mansurah was surrounded by a

branch of the Indus, so that it looked like an island. Besides these two principal states in the Indus valley there were others ; Quasdar (Kuzdar) with dependent towns and villages. Turan, not far from this state, was under the authority of a native of Basra, named Abdul Kasim tax-gatherer, administrator, judge, and general, who could not distinguish three from ten. Kukran also formed another principality under Isa Ibn Madan who established his residence in the city of Kez.

We have noticed that the Arabs in Sind placed the Hindu Temples on the same footing as the places of worship of the Jews, Christians and the Persians ; this helped to establish a new line of Islamic policy. The Arabs gradually adopted Indian dress and customs, which as time progressed formed an Indian Moslem community as distinct from the early Arab conquerors. The early Arab settlers brought no women with them. The result was as Elliot has observed that there was "among the descendants of the Scindian colonists, less infusion of the real blood of Arabs than in any other province subjected to their dominions" (Elliot I, pp. 463-64). Masudi noticed that the language of Sind was different from the rest of India; but it was not Arabic, for Istakhi says that the people of Multan and Mansurah spoke Persian and Scindi. The rule of the Arabs appears to have been more or less of a military character. The land was held by Arab garrisons supported by grants of land. The internal administration of the country was left in the hands of Hindu landlords paying the land tax (Kharaj) and the capitation tax (Jizya). Chach Nama mentions the *baj* and the *Ushari* or *ashari* amongst other taxes paid by cultivators in Sind (Elliot I, p. 474-77). It is not certain what was the annual revenue of the whole of Sind; but in the days of the Caliphs, Sind paid to the Imperial exchequer a sum of 11,500,000 dirhams and 150 pounds of aloe wood. Elliot, I, pp. 460 and 470; he calculates the value of one million of dirhams at 5½d. each, as equivalent to about £23,000. Commerce flourished. "Caravans were often passing and repassing between Sind and Khurasan, most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bamian." The City of Al-Lahum in Bamian was the trade port of Khurasan and the treasure-house of Sind.

Masudi tells us that the caravans of Khurasan assembled at Multan. Trade between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India was carried on by the Arabs. Produce of China and Ceylon was brought to the seaports of Sind; and from thence carried to Turkastan and Khurasan by way of Multan. Islam religion continued to spread. The conquerors adopted the policy of toleration from the very beginning; this was political wisdom ; they allowed the existing temples to stand ; even they allowed the Barahmans, as at Bahamanabad, to rebuild their demolished temples. Only in case of violent resistance to the enemy's armies, as at Diabal, that harsh measures were taken against priest and temples of the Hindus. They desisted from breaking the idols ; only that, but, as at Multan, they thrived on the income of idols, and used the money to gain political ends. By adopting the policy of moderation, the Mahomedans largely succeeded in Sind.

Between 938-985, the Qarmatians were disgracefully defeated in Egypt and Iraq; so they sought the new field of Sind. In the beginning of the 11th century, Mahomed of Gazni found Multan and Mansura in the occupation of the Ismali sect. Al-Burini (translated by Sacau pp. 116-117, the book is in the Frere Hall Library) tells us that when the Qarmatians occupied Multan, Jalam ibn Shaiban, the usurper, broke the idol of Aditya to pieces and killed the priests. The temple which was built of brick was converted into a mosque and the old mosque was ordered to be closed "from hatred against anything that had been done under the dynasty of the Caliphs of the house of Umayya. When afterwards the blessed prince Mahmud swept away their rule from those countries he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship."

In the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 10 it is stated that the Arab conquest of Sind was "a mere episode in the history of India which affected only a fringe of that vast country." As a political force or as an Arab missionary enterprise the Arab conquest of Sind played an inferior part. But trade was flourishing during that time; interchange of commodities brought in interchange of ideas. I quote from Dr. Ray's Dynastic history of N. India :

"Arab Sind formed a link in a vast empire and the Arabs soon became the carriers of the seed of Indian culture and the mediums of exchange of eastern and western thoughts. Astronomy in Arab civilization seems to have come chiefly from India. The study of mathematics learned from Greece and India, was developed of Arab writers who in their turn became the teachers of Europe in the 16th century. Al-Biruni tells us that the numeral signs which the Arab used were "derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs". In this connection Amir Khusru, the Persian poet (died 1325 A. D.) in one of his *mathnavis* entitled the *Ninh sipihr* (nine skies) gives us some interesting information. According to him the word *Hindsa* (هندسا) means the mathematical system of the Indian professor *Asa*. He tells us that the Arab astronomer Abu Mashar went to Benares and studied this system for ten years, and we are informed that whatever he has written is derived from the Hindus. This Abu Mashar is probably to be identified with Abu Mashar of Balkh who died in 885 A. D.. In the field of medicine, folklore, and religion also the contact was not less fruitful. Al-Biruni has already noticed the Arab translation of the work of Caraka and the stories of the *Pancatantra* known in his time as the book of Kalila and Dimma. In religion, in the opinion of competent authorities, the monastic strain and other features of Sufism such as the use of the rosaries, the doctrine of fana (Nirvana ?) and the system of stations (*maqamat*) on the road thereto were borrowed from Buddhism and other schools of Indian thought. Writing on Sufism Prof. Nicholson observes "it looks as though the legend of Ibrahim ibn

Adham a prince of Balkh, who one day suddenly cast off his royal robes and became a wandering Sifi, were based on the story of Budha.'

The next period of the history of Sind from the first quarter of the 11th century down to the 16th century is the history of encroachment made step by step of the Turks from the north. Not long after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni, lower Sind became independent under the Sumras whom both Elphinstone and Elliot regard as Rajput in origin. *Ain-i-Akbari* states that the Sumra (Rajput) line of 36 princes reigned for 500 years. The Southern Sind was never thoroughly conquered by the Gazni, and as soon as the dynasty became weak, a local tribe living in the neighbourhood of Thari (the little desert separating Sind from Cutch) the Sumras established their sovereignty in that region. Their territory included Alor in the north, and their capital was Mahomed-Tur in the Pargana of Dirak identified by Elliot with Shahapur, a village ten miles south of Mirpur on the borders of Tharr. Vjeh-kot, five miles east of the Puran river above the Allah-band was their another capital. Masumi states that some of the kings of this dynasty resided at Thatta. *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (Elliot I, p. 256) says that from the year of the Hijra 700 (1300) A. D.) until 843 (A. D. 1439) the Hindu tribe of Sumra were the rulers of Sind. The author remarks on p. 266 that "they belonged to the Hindu faith, yet that they ate the flesh of the buffaloes although eating the flesh of cow is held in abhorrence according to that religion."

According to *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* "Umar Sumra gave his name to the Fort of Umarnkot."

Elliot has shown, p. 322, Vol. III, that the dynasty certainly came to an end in A. H. 764 (A. D. 1384) because in that year Sultan Firuz Tughluq invaded Sind and was opposed by a prince whose title was Jam a title borne by the Summas only.

The Sumras were displaced by the Summas in the middle of the 14th century. Jam Unar was the founder of the Summa line. There were about 18 rulers in this line. Jam Firuz ruled (A. D. 1536) when Shah Beg Arghun began to throw his eyes towards Sind. In 1521 he was driven away from Kandahar by Babur; he invaded and conquered Sind; Firuz fled to Gujarat 1522-23. The Arghun dynasty was established and Shah Husain Arghun was ruling over Sind when Humayun took shelter in 1541. On the death of Shah Husain, Muhammad Isa Tarkhan in A. D. 1556 took the royal power. During the reign of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, Akbar invaded Sind in 1591 and annexed it to his empire.

Sir H. M. Elliot in the 1st Vol. of his History of India has devoted some pages on the Arab administration in Sind. Let us see what he says:

The internal administration of the country was necessarily left in the hands of the natives, for the Arabs had brought with them no men capable of exercising civil functions. The Arabs, either through indolence, pride or ignorance left themselves at the mercy of their subordinates, and were unable to fathom the intricacies of accounts. The natives practised the most ingenious devices of flattery, falsehood, cajolry and self-interest—rendered more acute by religious hatred—in order to cheat their masters. The rack and the threat of circumcision would sometimes extort the illicit accumulations of past years; but in the long run the pliant and plausible officials were the gainers and cases were compromised when a little ready cash was offered.

It was Abdul Malik who introduced an Arab currency, in supersession of the Greek and Persian money, with which trade had been carried hitherto; though the old denominations of *dinarius* and *drachma* were still retained under the slight change of *dianar* and *dirham*. Walid next abolished the Greek language and character from the public office of finance, and substituted the Arabic; this freed the Arabs from the trammels which these foreign systems had interposed. The land tenure and personal taxes, being based upon principles introduced by the victorious Moslems, retained their Arab nomenclature.

Much of the conquered land was, during the whole course of Arab occupation, liberally bestowed upon sacred edifices and institutions as *wakf* or mortmain.

No allusion is made anywhere of Arab women accompanying Sindian camps. Sind, on account of the distance and difficulty of communication and the absence of intermediate Arab colonies, was invaded by men prepared for military operations only; and who could not possess the means of carrying their families with them.

The military colonies which formed a peculiar feature of Arab settlement were styled *junud* and *amsar*—armies and cities. The principal seats of these cantonments in Sind were, Mansura, Kuzdar, Kandabel, Baiza, Mahfuza, and Multan—and Jandrud, a mile from Multan. We have ample proofs to show that Sindian troops were levied, and sent to fight for the Arabs in distant quarters. The Arabs followed the policy of the Romans, who did the same from motives of expediency—hoping to find employment for turbulent spirits and to neutralize the elements of rebellion, by sending foreign mercenaries into remote provinces.

Commercial activity was not wanting. Sind appears to have kept up a regular commercial communication with the rest of the Mahomedan empire. Caravans were often passing and repassing between the country and Khorasan *via* Kabul and Bamian. It had communication with

Zabulistan and Sijistan, by way of Gazni and Kandhar. When Masudi visited it Zabulistan was a large country known as Firoz. The people talked various languages and were of different races. In Sijistan there were gardens and cultivated fields on the banks of the Helmand ; its stream was covered with boats ; and irrigation was carried on extensively by means of windmills.

With respect to routes from the North to India, Biruni observes :

“We reach Sind from our country (Turkistan) by going through the country of Nimroz, that is to say, Sijistan, and we reach Hind through Kabul. I do not mean to say that this is the only route for one can arrive there from all directions when the passes are open.”

There was commercial traffic by sea-board also. The products of China and the ports of Ceylon, Uman and Malabar was carried through Sind to Turkistan and Khorasan, and as far as Constantinople. Malabar supplied timber which was used in the construction of boats which plied on the river. From Arabia horses were often imported into Sind.

The toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice of their religion was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries; but it was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders.

Regarding the expense of Sindian expedition, Hajaj found that he had spent six crore dirams, and had received double that amount. The equivalent comes to 23,000 to English money; this is highly exaggerated for the country cannot yield such a booty even though the Arabs exercised the greatest violence to extort the amount.

Re. public revenue of Sind ; we find from several Arab geographers the province of Sind yielded annually a sum of 11,500,000 dirhams and 150 pounds of aloe-wood ; Multan was probably included.

The assessment upon Sind and Multan about £270,000—must be considered moderate if it comprises the land-tax, poll-tax, customs dues and all other items ; this is not an improbable amount when we take into consideration the liberal alienations and reserves, as well as the change in the value of money. Under the Talpurs, Sind is said to have occasionally yielded £ 400,000 ; and under the Kalhoras £ 800,000.

The ordinary revenue was derived from land tax and capitation-tax from non-Mahomedans. The land-tax was usually rated at two-fifths of the produce of wheat and barley ; of dates, grapes and garden produce one-third was taken; and one-fifth of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls and generally from any product derived from cultivation; one-fifth of the value of slaves and booty was reserved for the Khalif.

Besides this land-tax Chachnama mentions two taxes laid upon Sindian cultivators, *viz.* *Baj* and *ushari*, literally "tithe-lands."

All unconverted tribes had to pay capitation tax, *jizya*, which was exacted with great rigour.

With regard to the Arab dominion in Sind, a traveller would be struck with the absence of all record of their occupation. In language, architecture, arts, traditions, customs and manners they have left but little impress upon the country or the people. It has been observed that no people ever constructed so many edifices as the Arabs; who extracted fewer materials from the quarry; the buildings of their first settlers being everywhere raised from the wrecks of cities, castles, and fortresses which they themselves had destroyed.

Arab Governors of Sind. (680 to 870 A.D.)

(a) Governors of the Ummayyads:

- (1) Ibn al-Hari (A.D. 680) conqueror of Mukran.
- (2) Mujaa-i-Sir at Tamimi.
- (3) Said-i-Aslam i Dara (694 A.D.) First Governor of Makran.
- (4) Ubaid Ullah i. Abi Bakr (698 A.D.)
- (5) Abd ur-Rahman i. Muhammad (A.D. 700)
- (6) Muhammad i. al-Qasim (707-715 A.D.) Conqueror of Sind.
- (7) Yazid i. Abi Kabshah (715 A.D.)
- (8) Habib i. Al-Muhallab (715 A.D.)
- (9) Amr i. Muslim al-Bahili (717 A.D.)
- (10) Junayd i. Abd ur-Rahman (725 A.D.)
- (11) Tamim i. Zaid al-Utbi (726 A.D.)
- (12) Al-Hakim i. Awana al-Kilabi.
- (13) Amr i. Muhammad i. al-Qasim. Founder of Mansurah.
- (14) Sulayman i. Hisham.
- (15) Al-Mansur i. Jumhur (749 A.D.)

(b) Governors of the Abbasids:—

- (1) Abd ur-Rahman i. Muslim (751 A.D.)
- (2) Al-Masuyyib i. Zuhair (751 A.D.)
- (3) Musa i-Kab (751-758 A.D.)
- (4) Uyayna i. Musa (758-759 A.D.)
- (5) Abu Jafar Umar i. Hafs (759 A.D.)
- (6) Hisham i. Amr al-Taghlabi (768 A.D.)
- (7) Mabad i. al-Khalil (773 A.D.)
- (8) Bustam i. Amr (775 A.D.)
- (9) Ruh i. Hatim (776 A.D.)
- (10) Nasr i. Muhammad (777 A.D.)
- (11) Abd ul-Malik i. Shihab (777 A.D.)

- (12) Ishaq i. Sulayman (A.D. 790)
- (13) Daud i. Daud (800 A.D.)
- (14) Habib i. Salih (826 A.D.)
- (15) Ghassan i. Abbad (828 A.D.)
- (16) Amran i. Musa (832 A.D.)
- (17) Haydar i. Kaus (837 A.D.)
- (18) Yaqub i. Layth (870 A.D.) Died in 879 A.D.

Independent Dynasties in Sind.

(a) Dynasties of Multan :

- (1) Arab Quraishite Dynasty—The Ghalibs (942-976 A.D.)
- (2) Qarmatian Dynasty founded by Jhalan ibn Shaiban.
- (3) Afghan Lodi Dynasty
 Shaikh Hamid Lodi (963 A.D.)
 Nasir
 Abdul Fath Daud (1005-1010 A.D.)

(b) Dynasties of Mansurah :

- (1) Arab Quraishite Habbari Dynasty (912-976 A.D.)
- (2) Qarmatians and Sumras (1025—1362 A.D.)
- (c) Sammas (1290 to 1521 A.D.)

B I B L I O G R A P H Y .

- 1. Elliot, History of India, Vol. I.
- 2. Chachnama by Mirza Kalijbeg Fredunbeg.
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- 4. The Arab Invasion of India by R. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
 (Decca University supplement, reprint from Vol. X, Part I
 of the Journal of India History)
- 5. Al Biruni, translated by Sachau
- 6. Elliot. Arabs in Sind
- 7. Records of the Gupta Dynasty to which is added a chapter on
 Arabs in Sind by Ed. Thomas with plate, 4to. 1876.
- 8. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. N. Majumdar
- 9. Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, by Le. Strange

Records of the Gupta Dynasty illustrated by inscriptions, written history, local tradition and coins, to which is added a chapter on the Arabs in Sind.—By Edward Thomas. London, 1876.

Coins of the Arabs in Sind.

Some of the less prominent examples among Mr. Burgess's recent acquisitions may possibly prove of more direct and immediate interest to Antiquarians in Western India, than the numismatic remains of unrecorded history with which we have hitherto been concerned.

The conquest of Sind by the Arabs in A. H. 93 (A. D. 712) constitutes a marked epoch in the annals of the land, and is associated with many instructive coincidences—in its inception, in the domestication of the the conquerors on an alien soil, and their abrupt disappearance into comparative obscurity.

The daring and chivalric advance of Muhammad bin Kasim, was freely backed by the encouragement and support of the celebrated Hijaj bin Yusaf, who so completely reversed the Khalif Umar's policy of non-extension of the Muslim boundaries to the eastward.

It is curious to note the readiness with which the conquerors settled themselves as residents and the facile refuge this extreme corner of the Muhammadan world afforded to persecuted and heretical members of the new faith, while they retained among themselves so many of their ancient tribal divisions and jealousies; and it is instructive to follow the untold tale of ethnic subsidence and final absorption into the Indian native element when the true Arab blood came to be exhausted by foreign admixture as in other cases wherever the standard of the Prophet carried with it, the loose teachings of polygamy beyond the nomadic tents of the desert.

The sole preface to such obscure investigations as the present must be gleaned from the casual contributions of Arabian writers to the annals of an outlying province, with which they were seldom brought in contact.

The sole preface to such obscure investigations as the present must be gleaned

In the subjoined table of the Arab rulers of Sind, I have taken, as my leading authority, a writer, who seems to have had extensive and exceptional knowledge of his subject. This list was originally compiled from Reinaud's text and translation on Belazari for my edition of Princep's Essays, being further collated with Sir H. M. Elliot's excellent work on the Arabs in Sind, which has since been incorporated in his *Historians of India*, Vol. I, p. 113.

Abu Jaffir Ahmad bin Yahya ibn Jabir al Balazari, ob. inter 256 and 279, A.H., Ibn Khaldun p. 438. Reinaud *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits, relatifs à l'Inde*, pp. xviii, 182.

A. D.	A. H.	
711-712	93	1. Muhammad bin Kasim 2. Yazid bin Abu Kabshah as-Saksaki.
714-715	96	3. Habib Bin Muhallab 4. Amru bin Muslim Al-Bahali 5. Junaid bin Abd al rahman Al-Marri (under Hisham)
725-726	107	6. Tamin bin Zaid Al-Utbi. 7. Al hakim bin Awanah Al-Kalbi. (Amru bin Muhammad) (Sulaiman bin Hisham and Abu al-Khattab under the Abbasides).*
		* Appendix to the Arabs in Sind; Cape Town 1853. Elliot quoting "Tohfah ul Kiram," Historians of India, I. 443.
		8. Abd al rahman bin Muslim Al-Abdi defeated by
		9. Mansur bin Jamhur Al-Kalbi the local Governor under the Ummaih Khalifs.
		10. Musa bin Kaab, Al-Tamimi; overpowers Mansur (The Tohfah ul Kiram attributes this victory to Daud bin Ali).
757-8	140	11. Hisham bin Amru Al-Taghlabi. 12. Amar bin Hafs bin Usman, Hazarmard (transferred from Sind to Africa in A. H. 151, Reinaud p. 213.)
770-771	154	13. Ruh bin Hatim (A. H. 160 to 161. Reinaud, p. 213)
.800	164	14. Daud bin Yazid bin Hatim 15. Bashir bin Daud (about 200 A. H. Reinaud).
828	213	16. Ghassan bin Abad (Gildemeister quoting Abulfeda II, 150) 17. Musa bin Yahia bin Khalid Al Barmaki (dies in 221 A. H., 836 A. D.) 18. Amran bin Musa (killed by عمر بن عبدالعزیز الہبانی Balazari, p. 215) 19. Fazl bin Mahan 20. Muhammad bin Fazl, his brother Mahan rebels and eventually The Native races regain possession of the soil.

In addition to the kingdoms of Mansurah and Multan there were other quasi independent governments at Bania, where Umar the son of Abdal Aziz Habbari seems to have held sway* and at Kasdar where the Governor, in Ibn Haukal's time (A. D. 943) was Muin bin Ahmad. **

**The note which I compiled in 1858 to aid my first fragmentary description of the coins discovered by Mr. Bellasis at Brahmanabad contains so many references that may prove useful to Antiquarians in Western India, that I have thought it advisable to correct and enlarge it, as far as possible, up to the requirements of the present day.

The first coin introduced into the following list is not supposed to belong to the province of Sind. It has been inserted here, with a view to trace the apparent prototype, upon which the arrangement of the reverse devices of the local coinage was based.

ABD AL RAHMAN BIN MUSLIM

No. XVIII* Copper. A.H. 133, 4, 5, 6. (A.D. 750-753-4)

لا اله الا الله	محمد
والله	
وحده	رسول الله
بسم الله صفا امر به الامير عبدالرحمن بن	قل لا اله الا الله في
صمام سنة اربع وثلثين وصحة	انقرابي

“Nomine Dei. Eest ex iis, quos (cudi) jussit Emir Abd al Rahman bin Muslim (A.H.) 134.”

“Dic; non peto a vobis ullam hujus facti mercedem, nisi amorem in propinquos.” (Kuran, 42, 22)*

MANSUR THE SON OF JAMHUR, AL KALBI.

No. XIX. Copper. Weight, 33 grains. Size 6 of Mionnet's scale. Mr. Bellasis.

MANSURAH, A. H.

Obverse.	Reverse.
Area لا اله الا الله	Area محمد
الله وحده	
لا شريك له	رسول الله
Margin—Illegible.	بسم الله صوب [هذا اللقب] ص با امصورة صفا امر به الامير

“In the name of God, this copper coin was struck, at Mansurah, under the orders of Mansur(r).”

of Elliot's History of India as told by its own Historians, London, Trubner, 1867. Ariana Antiqua, p. 414; Journal. As. So. Bengal, Vol. VII, pp. 93, 279; Vol. X, p. 183, Vol. XIV p. 75; McMurdo, Journ. R. As. So. Vol. I, p. 23, et seq; Burne's Bokhara, Vol. II p. 31; Dr. Bird, J. R. A. S. Vol. I, p. 199. Postan's Observations on Sindh, p. 143 Pottinger's Beloochistan and Sindh, London, 1816 p. 381; Wood's Oxus, London, 1841; p. 20; Mohammed Masum's History of Sind, A.D. 710 to 1500; Bombay Govt. Selections. New series, Vol. XIII, 1855; Mr. A. F. Bellasis, The ruined city of Brahmanabad, in Sind, Bombay, 1856; Col. Sykes in the Ill. London News, Feb. 21 and Feb. 28, 1857, p. 187. With numerous illustrations of Brahmanabad and engravings of coins of Mansur bin Jamhur (No. XIX of this series) and of Muhammad (No. XXII).

*In Fraehn's Recensio (1826, p. 18) a second similar piece is given of the year 135 A.H. a new specimen of the same date is quoted by Stikel (Jena collection, 1845, p. 5). Tornberg cites a coin of 136 A.H. in his Symbolae ad rem numariam Muhammedanorum (Upsaliae, 1856) p. 8 and finally M. Tiesenhausen produces a specimen bearing the date of A. H. 133, Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux (St. Petersburg, 1873) pp. 65, 66.

No. XX. Copper. Size, 4. Mr. Bellasis. Mansurah, A. H.

Obverse.

Reverse.

Device.

Area. 

Altogether effaced and obliterated.

رسول الله

Margin. الله [عرب هـ با اصوره

••••• مما امر به منصور

ABD UL RAHMAN.

No. XXI. Copper. Size 5. Weight 44 grains.

Obverse.—Central device, a star, reduced to four points, on the sides of which are disposed, in the form of a square, the words

••••• رسول الله عبد الرحمن

The outer margin of this piece displays a line of dots enclosed within two plain circles, with four small dotted semi-circles to fill in the space left vacant by the angular central legend.

Reverse.—A scalloped square, surrounded by dots, within which, arranged in three lines, are the words بِالله عبد الرحمن لـ the concluding word I am unable to decipher, it is possibly the name of Abdulrahman's tribe.

When the English originated a "Star of India" they were perhaps not aware that Sind had a star of its own; a very special and discriminative symbol which attained such permanent recognition in and around the province itself, that the device here discovered on Abdulrahman's coins, continued to constitute in a slightly modified form, the typical emblem of the State, down to the time of Taj-ud-din Ilduz, the Lieutenant of Muhammad bin Sam, eventually independent Sultan of Sind, and likewise that of his opponent and successor Kubachah, another general of the *Ghori* conquerors of India, who established himself in Sind about 600 A.H. (1203-4 A.D.) to fall at last before the troops of the chivalric Jalal-ud-din Kharizmi, who, in his turn had to swim the Indus for his life, before the hordes of Changis Khan.†

† Ilduz's special symbol was a "star" beneath the conventional figure of the Rajput horseman. See coin No. 24, page 31, of my *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, Trubner, 1871. Kubachah follows in the occasional use of the Star, No. 87, p. 101, *ibid*; so also Muhammad bin Sam's own coin, No. 7. (*Princep's Essays* pl. XXVI, fig. 45) and Altamash's coin, No. 48, continue to display the local device. The coins of Uzbek Pai, the Indian General of Jalal-ud-din, Kharizmi struck at Multan, reproduce the identical cluster of the seven stars of the shah Kings and the Guptas (plate VII, figs. 9-13 ante)—which discriminative mark survive, till lately, on the native currencies of Udiour and Ujjain. *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, No. 85, pp. 99; *Princep's Essays*, Useful Tables, No. 18, p. 67.

MUHAMMAD.

No. XXII. Copper. Size 3.

A unique coin of apparently similar type (though the obverse is, in this case, absolutely blank) replaces the name of Abd-ul-rahman on the reverse by that of محمد Muhammad. The concluding tribal term seems to be identical with the designation embodied in the Kufic scroll at the foot of the reverse of No. XXI.

ABDALLAH.

No. XXIII. Copper.

Obverse.—Device as in No. XXI (Abd-ul-rahman)

Legend.— محمد [رسول الله] عبدالله

Reverse.—Blank.

No. XXIV. Copper. Size 3½ ; weight 18 grains.

Obverse.—Central device the conventional four-pointed star, as in No. XXI, around which, in a circular scroll, may be partially read the formula لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Reverse.—Central device composed of the name of الله and الله being crossed at right angles, so as to form a *tughra* or monogrammic imitation of the outline of the star with four points of the obverse device.

The marginal legend is arranged in the form of a square, and consists of the words محمد رسول الله [الا] مير

No. XXV. Silver. Size 2. Weight 8.4 grains.†

Palm branches, roses, stars and all other mundane devices are rejected and replaced by simple Kufic legends, so cherished by severe Muhammadans, to the following effect :

Obverse :— لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Reverse :— محمد رسول الله الا مير عبدالله

No. XXV-A. Copper, bearing similar legends. Other specimens vary in the division of the words, and omit the title of *Al-Amir*.

BANU-DAUD (DAUD-PUTRA'S?) *

No. XXVI. Silver. Weight 5.6 grains. My Cabinet. Unpublished

محمد	بالله بنو
رسول	داود
الله	واحد

† Among the silver coins exhumed from the so called Brahmanabad, some are so minute as to weigh only 1.2. gr.

* Daud-putras, Journal, Roy. As. So. Vol. VII, p. 27.

The archaic form of Kufic stamped on these coins, would, under ordinary circumstances have placed them in a far earlier position, in point of time, than their apparent associates in size and style, whose almost identical legends are couched in less monumental letters; but I prefer to attribute any divergence in this respect to local rather than epochal influences, regarding which we have had so many instructive lessons in the parallel Nagari alphabets of India.††

BANU-UMAR**

No. XXVII. Silver. Size, 1½. Weight 9 grains. Five specimens. Mr. Bellasis.

Obverse.—Legends arranged in five lines.

بِاللهِ مُحَمَّدٌ رَوَى اللهُ عَنْهُ

Marginal lines, plain or dotted, complete the piece.

Reverse.—Kufic legends in three lines

بِاللهِ مُحَمَّدٌ رَوَى اللهُ عَنْهُ

No. XXVIII. Copper. Size 4. Weight 35 grains. Common.

Legends as in the silver coins, with the exception that the **هو** is placed, for economy of space, in the opening between the two **ل**'s of **بِاللهِ**

No. XXIX. Copper. Size 3½. Weight 21 grains. Unique. Mr. Bellasis.

MANSURAH, A. H.

Obverse.—Blank.

Reverse.—

Centre **هو هو روى الله عنده**

Margin **س س بِالْمَصْرُورَةِ سَنَةِ اربع ?**

††The patronymic, in the local application, may have been derived from *the* Daud bin Ali bin Abbas No. 10 in the above list who was permanently associated with the overthrow of the Ummaih Khalifs. (Tabari IV, pp. 289, 326, 342). As uncle of the new Khalif he was all powerful, and as governor of Kufah (in A.H. 132) of which Sind was a dependency, *his troops* would naturally have effected the final transfer of dominion in that province. Masaudi, VI, pp. 88, 91, 98; Price, II, pp. 2, 4.

*I am inclined to identify this ruler with the Abul Manzar Umar bin Abdallah, indicated in the general note p. 58 ante as the reigning sovereign of Mansurah, in A.H. 300—at the period of the geographer Masudi's visit to the valley of the Indus and of whom he speaks further in the following terms:—"There is some relationship between the royal family of el-Mansurah and the family of esh-Shawarib, the Kadi **الشيخ ابو الشوارب** for the kings of el-Mansurah are of the family of Habbar ben el-Aswad **ابو حبار بن اسود** and have the name of Beni Amr ben Abd el-Aziz el-Karsbi **بنو امر بن عبد العزيز القرشي** who is to be distinguished from Amr ben Abd el-Azize ben Merwan, the Omaiyyide (Khalif) "—Sprenger's *Meadows of Gold*, p. 385. The Arabic is from M. B. Meynard's edition, p. 377. See also Gildmeister, quoting Ibn Haukal, p. 166; and Elliot, citing the same author (*Historians of India*) p. 63; and Prof. Dowson's edition, Vol. I, p. 21.

BANU-UMAR.

No. XXX. Copper. Size 4½. Weight 36 grains. Unique. Sir Bartle Frere.

Obverse.—Central device, four lines crossing each other at a common centre, so as to form a species of star of eight points; four of these are, however, rounded off by dots.

Legend arranged as a square: محمد رسول الله سر
with single date at the corner of angles, and two small circles filling in the vacant spaces outside of each word.

Margin. . . . Two plain circular lines with an outer circle of dots.

Reverse. . . . Central legends in three lines within a triple circle, composed of dots, circlets, and an inner plain line. I transcribe the legend, with due reservation, as:
 يا لله هو هو واه صبر

AHMAD.

No. XXXI. Silver. Mr. Burgess. Unpublished.

Obverse.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Reverse.

محمد
رسول
الله الامير
احمد

ABD-ALLAH (Wali and Malik)

No. XXXII. Silver. New varieties. Mr. Burgess. Unpublished.

Obverse.

محمد
رسول
الله
عبد الله

Reverse.

يا لله واه
عبد الله
ومله

In terminating this brief Muhammadan section, I ought to advert, momentarily, to the information obtained from the early Arabian travellers in India, respecting the mixed currencies of Sind and the adjoining provinces.

The Merchant Sulaiman, A. H. 237 (A.D. 851) is the first who affords us any insight into the condition of the circulating media of the land; he tells us that, among other pieces used in commerce in the dominions of the Balhara, Tatariya, dirhams took a prominent place and that these were reckoned in value as equal to 1½ of the ordinary coins of the King.*

*Abu Zaid, circa 303 A.H. who follows Sulaiman, incidentally mentions: "Autr fois, l'on portait dans l'Inde les dinars du Sind (وكان يعمل الي الهند في القديم الدنانير الهندية) dont chacun equivalait a trois dinars ordinaires et davantage." P. 153. Reinaud's translation.

So, later in point of time, the Egyptian author of the Masalik-al-Absar refers to the "Tanbah d'or" as equal to 3 Mithahals. This was the modern representative of the normal ancient weight of 100 Ratis (Sataraktiha), or, as nearly as possible, 175 grains. See *My Pathan Kings*, pp. 217, et seq. and my *Ancient Indian Weights*, pp. 12, 36, 70.

The identification of this term *Tatariya* has formed the subject of much vague speculation ; M. Reinaud's latest conjecture pointed at a variation from the Greek *Stater*.**

I myself have, for long past, persistently held that the true term was to be found in Tahriya, the name of a dynasty dominant above all others in Eastern Asia at the period of the merchant's visit to India.***

This conclusion has gradually been strengthened by the discovery of the exact generic *word* in the unique Oxford Ms. text of Ibn Khurdad-bah (Journ. Asiatique, 1865, p. 289, M.B. de Meynard, I find, adhered to the Tatherides, in defiance of Prof. Cowell's testimony to Taheriya. (Elliot's Historians, Vol. I, p. 4) and in the more critical version of Masaudi (Text, Vol. I, 382) lately completed in Paris.

To these evidences I am now able to add the definite legend of a coin of Tallah bin Tahir, struck at Bust, on the Helmund, in A. H. 209 (A.D. 824).

TALHAH BIN TAHIR, A.H. 209.

Copper ; Size 5½; weights, 30, 31, and 22.5 grains. Bust. A.H. 209, A.D. 824. Two specimens, Cunningham collection B. M. A third coin, recently acquired by the B.M. contributes the legible name of the mint. (Mr. S. L. Poole discovered the correct reading of this mint from a later coin of Lais bin Ali, A. H. 298. N.C. Vol. XIII, p. 169).

Obverse:—

Centre. لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Margin.— بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلاس بسنة سبع و مائتين

Reverse.—Central device, a reduced Sassanian head, to the right, with the usual flowing back-hair, and traces of the conventional wings above the cap ; the border of the robe is bossed or beaded.

In front of the profile the name of طالحة is inserted.

Margin.— محمد رسول الله ما امر به الا مير طالحة علي بن ابي طالب

This coin has further claims up on our attention in its testimony to the survival of old types and the continuity of the recognition of Sassan-

(2) **La monnaie qui circule dans ses Etats consiste en pieces d'argent qu'on nomme Thatherya اطارية. Chacune de ces pieces equivaut a un dirhem et demi, monnaie du souverain." *Relation des Voyageurs*, Paris, 1845, I, p. 25 Reinaud 'Inde. 1849, p. 235 ; Gildemeister, *de Rebus Indicis*, Bonn. 1838, p. 166 ; Tod's Rajasthan, quoted in Princep's Essays, 1.86. Dr. Sprenger, in his edition of Masaudi, proposes the interpretation of Talatawiya.

(3)***The Arabic text of Yakubi edited by Juynboll (Lugd. Bat. 1861), gives the dates of this family as follows:—

Tahir bin Husain	A.H. 205	A.D. 820-1
Talhah bin Tahir	207	822-23
Abdallah bin Tahir	215	830
Tahir bin Abdallah	230	844-5
Muhammad bin Tahir.. ..	248	862-3
Yakub bin Lais	259	872-3

See also Princep's Essays, U.T., p. 304 ; Hamza Isfahani (Gottwaldt) pp. 177, 228, &ca.

ian devices in Seistan, extending in its local influences, even to the confessed followers of Islam, upto so late a period as 209 years after the Hijrah of Muhammad.

Considering this aspect of fixity of national designs it may instruct us in the classification of some of the devices previously noticed about which our knowledge is indeterminate in the extreme. We know from the later developments of the Indo-Muhammadan coinages of the immediate successors of Mahmud of Ghazni* that the Eastern *Turki* Muslims were less strict in their denunciations of emblems and figures, than their presumedly more orthodox co-religionists of the West, and that in these cases the Northern invaders of India freely accepted the national types of conquered kingdoms, which in this sense may furnish data for tracing back and discriminating the earlier examples of parallel assimilations.

To return to the material estimates of the *Sindi* currencies, we are in a position to cite the consecutive testimony of Istakhri and Ibn Haukal whose verbatim texts in their latest exhaustive forms are re-produced at the foot-note.†† These restored versions authorise us to infer that there were, among other impinging or still extant national methods of weighing and estimating metallic values *inter se* certain market rates, or prices current, for international exchanges, which were quoted in fractions at that time, as our half-crowns still count, in defiance of decimals, in the London stock lists.

From these returns we gather that there were coins termed "Victorious" equivalent to five ordinary dirhams in the local exchange and that, concurrently the Bazar or open market recognised a totally different scale, based upon a coinage only plus 1/8th or 1/3rd above the home issues.

With the very imperfect numismatic materials extant, it would be presumptuous to pretend to fix, even approximately, the coin weights and measures obtaining in such a vague international crossway as Mansurah; but I could quote within narrow geographical or epochal limits, such extreme variations of weights of dinars, dirhams, and copper coins a discretion, that, if I wished it, I might prove almost any given sum to momentary demonstrations, an exercise, which, as a collector of positive facts, I specially desire to avoid.

*Princep's Essays, Vol. I, p. 333; Pathan Kings of Delhi, p. 58; J.R.A.S. Vol. VII, pp. 171, 177.

The conversion of the Kaheriya into Kandahariya seems to have been a purely arbitrary correction, and one not justified by the tenor of the associate text.

Kandahar is not mentioned elsewhere in Ibn Haukal's geographical lists. The town at this period does not appear to have attained any degree of importance. See Goeje's text, p. 287. The name however occurs in Ibn Khordadbat, IV, p. 278,

††Istakhri.

و نقود هم الله هر يات كل د رهم نود خمسة د را هم و ليم د رهم يق ل له الطاطري في الدرهم
Ibn Haukal.

و نقود هم القند هر يات كل د رهم منها خمسة د رهم و لهم د رهم يقال له الطاطري في الدرهم
وزن د رهم و ثمانين
د رهم و ثمان

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