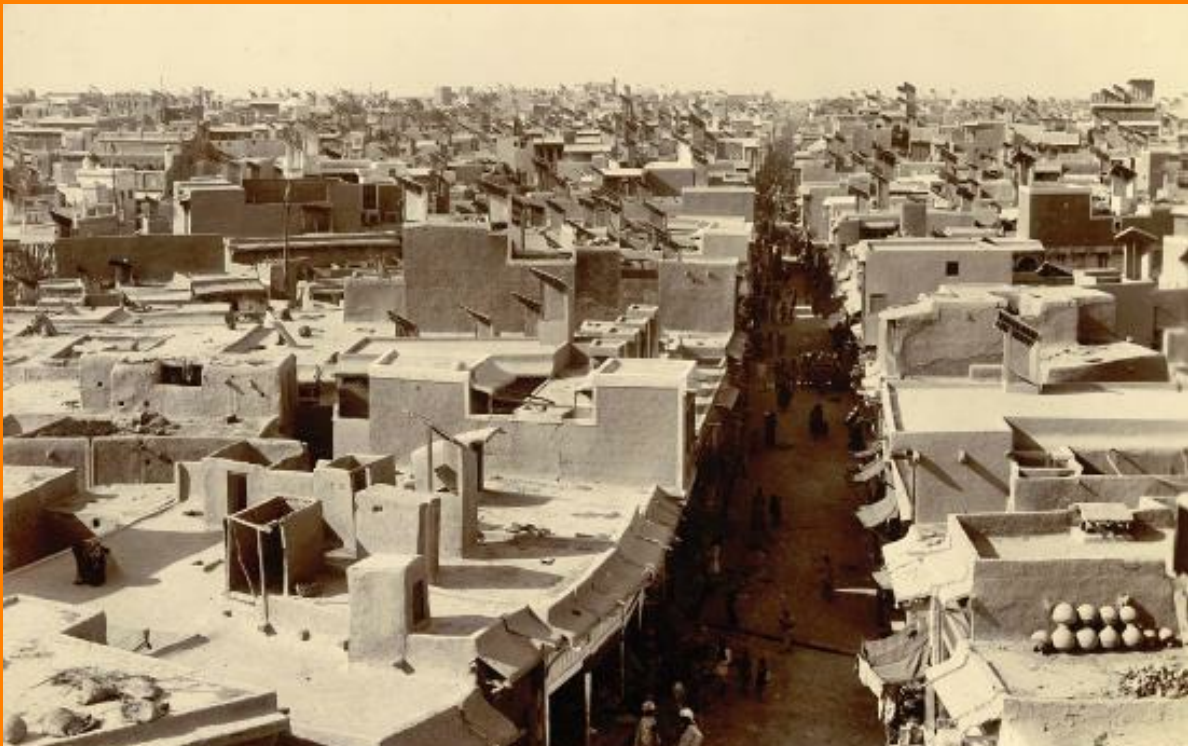


An Account of the Country of Sindh

James M'Murdo (1834)



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AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY OF SINDH;

WITH REMARKS ON THE STATE OF SOCIETY, THE GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, AND
CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE

&

MEMOIRS ON THE RIVER INDUS

JAMES M'MURDO

SOURCE: THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND, VOL. 1, NO. 2 (1834), PP. 223-257

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Introduction

The English came to the Indian subcontinent primarily as traders and so their interest was to establish themselves as a commercial power. For this they explored various parts of India. As a result of the disintegration of the Mughul Empire, the political chaos prevailed in India which provided a chance to the East India Company to acquire political power to further their commercial interests. Thus in the 18th century, the East India Company emerged as a strong force against the Indian states. With the establishment of political power in India, the attitude of the Company changed particularly towards Sindh. It became more political than commercial. This political cum commercial interest was represented by a political mission led by Nathan Crow to the court of Sindh in 1799 and 1800. When the British political power further increased and the danger of Russian, Persian, and Afghan invasions was felt in India, their interest in Sindh became more intense. It was then when the commercial interest decreased and political designs dominated their policy towards Sindh.

It was at this time that the British ruling classes at home and in India were interested to know more about Sindh *viz:* its history, natural resources, products, revenue, army, military strength, political condition, and the system of government. Nathan Crow was the first Britisher who wrote the account of Sindh on these lines and submitted to the Bombay government. The second attempt was made by Captain James McMurdo, an official of the Bombay government. The account of McMurdo differs in some respect from Crow, although both accounts were based on personal observations, and information gathered on the spot. Crow assessed everything with definite political motives, while McMurdo's approach was scholarly. Nevertheless, his investigations also show the political angle which was then the characteristic of the British officers in India.

Captain James McMurdo was the youngest son of Major McMurdo of the Dumfriesshire Militia. As a young boy he was inspired by his father's profession and planned to join army or navy. Those were the heydays of the British imperialism when young Englishmen wanted to join army and serve in the colonies in order to earn fame and wealth. James McMurdo came to India as a young army officer and worked under General Alexander Walker, the Resident of Broada. During the service he studied oriental languages particularly, Hindustani (Urdu) and Persian. Later on he joined the staff of Sir John Abercrombie and accompanied him to the Mauritius expedition. He returned from the island to India in 1812 and was appointed Agent for the Cutch Affairs. In this capacity he visited the coasts of Cutch, Sindh, and Makran. His first contact with Sindh created an interest in him to study the history of Sindh. He collected all the available Persian sources on the history of Sindh and gathered information from reliable sources. In 1814 he was appointed the Government Agent on the Jhalwar Frontier near the Runn of Cutch. In 1816 he went on a mission to the Rao of Cutch to

persuade him not to give shelter to the bandits who were creating trouble in the North-west frontier of the Bombay territories. Next he was appointed as the Resident at the court of Cutch. Having sufficient time and enjoying an influential position, McMurdo devoted his time to the study of history and geography of Sindh. The result of his research is his *Account of Sindh* and his *Memoirs on the River Indus*. Captain McMurdo did not live long. He died at the age of 35 in April 26, 1820 in cholera epidemic.

McMurdo's *Account of Sindh* is turning point in the historiography of Sindh. While writing the history of Sindh, he did not deal with the rulers, their courts, political intrigues, and civil wars, but concentrated his research on the detail and description of the country, its climate, products, animals, and the peoples. The history of the masses which was generally ignored by the court historians, is brought into lime light by McMurdo. He was a keen observer and a shrewd researcher. He did not merely narrate the events but analyzed and examined them. No doubt his imperialistic outlook and sense, of superiority of the white race is evident in his writings so some of conclusions could be challenged, but as a whole his account of Sindh is valuable and helps us in comprehending the history of Sindh.

McMurdo minutely observed the customs and manners of the Sindhi society For example, writing about camels, he remarks that the people of Sindh did not think it below their dignity to ride on the camels and so much attention was paid to the comfort and elegance of the saddle. In another place he writes the ruling classes derived their power from the army and their policy to rule the country based on coercion. From his account we derive that the Sindhi society was a primitive agricultural society and its trade and commerce, which was on the height during the 17th century declined and no encouragement was given to the industrialists and the business classes. The feudal class of Sindh stuck to the old traditional values and no reform was introduced in the society. Even the presence of the European nations did not stimulate the ruling classes to encourage industry and patronize trade and commerce.

McMurdo remarked about the laziness and lethargy of the people of Sindh. What were the reasons which made the people of Sindh sluggish? People are not lazy by nature. They are the product of particular environments and social and political conditions. If the people of Sindh were lazy the sociopolitical environments of the country are to be blamed. The centuries old feudal system sucked the blood and energy of the peasants and labor classes. The exploitation of the common people under the primitive feudal system deprived them of their due share. Once their share was not given to them, they lost their interest in work and developed a sense of alienation from labor. Why to work, when work failed to provide them dignity and basic needs? Thus, poverty, illiteracy, low social status, laziness, and lethargy were the result of the harsh and oppressive treatment of the feudal and ruling classes.

Thus in Sindh like other parts of India, we find the people cut off from the main stream of society and kept aloof to play any role in the society. No new political and social set up brought any change in their life. The masses did not play any active role in history. They silently watched the change of political dynasty from one to another and showed no sympathy for the outgoing ruling family. Keeping in view this background, McMurdo's remarks, about the role of the people, could, be understood "It is remarkable how little the people of Asiatic countries have to do in the revolution of their governments. They are never guided by any great and common impulse of feeling, and take no part in events the most interesting and important to their country and their own prosperity"

McMudo's observations on Hindu Muslim relations are interesting. Though he tried to find out discrimination against the Hindus in a bigoted Muhammadan rule and not finding any, he laments that, "The Hindus of Sindh have lost these fine feelings of casts and distinction characteristic of the same race elsewhere." He admits that there was no prejudice against the Hindus and they were free to enjoy religious freedom. The Hindus possessed confidence of the rulers and held important posts in the government. Even among the Muslim community there was no conflict between the Shi'as and the Sunnis.

McMudo's remarks about the army system of Sindh showed his political insight "The feudal services of the most warlike nations in the world have been found calculated only to check or quell the intestine broils which they themselves create". But if there was an attack of an organized army they were incapable to resist it. It was an encouraging information to the British government in India who was planning to occupy Sindh.

Though he collected the information on his own account, he provided valuable information to the British ruling classes on a country yet to be conquered. His account helped them to evaluate and, assess the condition of Sindh. However, inspite of some drawbacks, his account is highly valuable to scholars and students of the history of Sindh.

Captain McMurdo's Account first appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland Volume I, Part II, 1834 The second part of his Account is has "Memoirs on the Indus". It was also published in the same journal Volume I, Part I, 1834.

Mubarak Ali

An Account of the Country of Sindh; with Remarks on the State of Society, the Government, Manners, and Customs of the People, by the late Captain JAMES M'Muuno, of the Bombay Military Establishment. — Communicated by JAMES BIRD, Esq. M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.

Read 5th of July, 1834.

The author of the *Tohfat-al-Girani* (Kiram) states, that "the country of Sindh takes its name from SINDH, the brother of HIND, the son of NOAH. It is reckoned the forty-third of the sixty-one countries of the universe. The line of the second climate passes, from the north, directly through its centre; and although Sindh is situated in the five first climates, it nevertheless chiefly appertains to the second, and, consequently, lies in the region of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina." It would be difficult to discover where the author quoted has found these grandsons of the patriarch; indeed, as is usual in such genealogies, they are probably altogether imaginary. The Hindu writings may, perhaps, afford some more satisfactory explanation of the name; but I have not been so fortunate as to meet with it. As far as I can learn from such sources, this country was called *Sindhudes*, or "the country of the ocean," alluding doubtless to the river Indus, which receives that dignified appellation in their sacred writings. The same authorities also state Sindh to have been governed by a *Xhuthi*, named JAYADRAIHA, who was slain in the civil wars of the Pandits; and it has, in consequence, sometimes received the name of *Jayadrat'hades*, after that chieftain.

I think it highly probable that Sindh, generally speaking, takes its name from the river,—an opinion which I formed from finding the same appellation used in ancient times; for such I take the Sindomana of the Greeks, which was the capital of a province, to be; and further investigation has confirmed me in the belief, that Sindh was the name originally of a small tract of a country lying upon the river, but whose precise boundaries are now lost, in the changes, both local and otherwise, to which this country has been subject in a remarkable degree; and I conceive that in this division, wherever it may have been, is to be found the site of the ancient Sindomana.

The limits of this country, as they may have existed at various periods of its history, and under different governments, cannot now be exactly defined; nor is it even possible to determine, with correctness, the precise boundaries of the present province of *Sindh* proper. The fairest mode of ascertaining its extent would, perhaps, be to confine the term *Sindh* to the tract watered by the Indus, corresponding nearly with the territories at present held by the *Talpuras*, the acknowledged rulers of the province; and the same method is, upon the whole, the safest for defining the limits of the country, at the

earliest period. According to this plan, the province of *Sindh* will lie between the twenty-third and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and sixty-seventh and seventieth degrees of east longitude: while, in general terms, it may be said to be bounded on the north by the territories of *Kabul*; by the *Davoudputras*, to the west and east of the Indus; and on the south by the district of Cutch and the ocean. The great sandy desert, and the territories which it embraces, separate Sindh from India, whilst a vast chain of rocky mountains forms a distinct and natural boundary along the whole western frontier.

If credit is to be given to the Greek historians, the country, included in the limits which I have just fixed for those of *Sindh*, was divided into several considerable sovereignties, possessed of powerful resources both in men and riches. Judging, however, from the extent of space allotted to them, I am inclined to believe that their importance has been much exaggerated, in order to enhance the exploits of an ambitious individual. Whatever changes may have occurred to them, either politically or statistically, in the course of a series of centuries, they cannot have been such, as in any respect to justify the accounts of so many sovereigns and nations being subdued by the army and policy of ALEXANDER, in the space between *Multan* and the sea. Difference of name, habits, or language, may perhaps have given rise to this hyperbolic classification of the divisions of *Sindh*; for although we should never think of calling a portion of country, not equal in size to a province, by the name of a nation, yet if people were found living under distinct governments, and differing from each other in manners, customs, and language, the appellation would, in such case, become at least less ridiculous. No traces of such a variety however can be discovered, either in written documents or traditionary accounts; although, with the progress of society, it may fairly be supposed that certain changes must have been produced.

Passing over those obscure and unsatisfactory conjectures, let us proceed to consider the divisions of Sindh, as understood among the people themselves. The province has had, from time immemorial, two grand divisions, the northern and southern. The former, extending from the neighborhood of Bhakar to the parallel of the modern *Halakandi*, below *Sehwan*, is styled *Sirra*; and the latter, including the space to the ocean, is named *Lar*.¹ Of the etymology or origin of these names, I can find no trace; but that they are extremely ancient is probable, because the geographers, in the commencement of the Roman empire, I believe, applied the name of *Laryia* to the country lying near the mouth of the Indus; and in the same name we discover the origin of *Lari Bandar*, or the

¹ Mr. POTTINGER, in his definition of the name *Larkhana*, says it is derived from a word signifying saliva. This meaning, if authentic, would apply better to the *delta* of the Indus; for its ooze is greater than that of any other part of *Sindh*. *Ladkana* is spelt with a *d*, which makes it a different word from *Lar*, which, in *Sindhi*, signifies low.

port of *Lar*, in whatever part of the delta that place may have at different times been situated.²

Each of these two divisions appears to have had its respective capital; *viz.* *Alor* in *Sirra*, and *Bramanabad* in *Lar*; at least we find no mention made of other cities on the same scale as those, in the earlier times of the Muhammedans. They were undoubtedly considered as the first and second cities in the empire of the *Raias*. *Sirra* and *Lar* were, in all probability, divided into a number of inferior districts, which, it is likely, were, in some instances, known under their present names, and, in others, by appellations now either totally lost, or so corrupted as not to be distinguished. *Sundra*, *Sehwan*, *Tehri*, *Lohri*, *Gora*, or *Carnalla*, are, at all events, names of districts coeval with the Muhammedan conquest, and probably of a much earlier date; but the titles of a moiety of the present divisions are evidently modern, and have their origin in local or temporary circumstances. The districts into which *Sindh* is now divided, are generally said to be forty-four in number; and, perhaps, in the public records and accounts of the province, they are restricted to that number. The division is, nevertheless, subject to variation; for some modes of dividing the country increase the *parganahs* to above fifty.

The following is the most popular mode of dividing this country:

In the delta lie — *Chachgam*, *Jhatti*, *Kakralla*, *Sarka*, *Thatta Dharkja*, *Sundra*, *Pallejar*, *Chakerhalla*, *Imdmwah*, or *Tranda* of MUHAMMED KHAN TALPURA.

East of the river— *Sirra*, *Jam Tumhchi*, *Battora* (merpur), *Rupa*, *Odiyhaji*, *Samawatti*, *Tranda*, *Mir Allah Yarkhan*, *Mattaloi*, *Shehdadpur*, *Halakandi*, *Dim*, *Kandidra*, *Rani Gumbat*, *Lakawat*, *Hallam*, *Behlani*, *Lohri*, *Moraguchira*, *Khairpur*, *Mattila* (Mirpur).

West of the river — *Koteri*, *Khonto*, *Sun*, *Sehwan*, *Tehri*, *Bobuk*, *Samtani*, *Khodabad*, *Kullah*, *Kocha*, *Baghban*, *Tigger*, *Chandka*, *Gohrah* or *Carnalla*, *Doaba* or *Haiderabad*, and *Karachi*, with its country to the westward of *Thatta*, called *Chapper*, which is a modern addition to the *Sindh* territory.

Various, however, are the divisions in the *parganahs*, and to enumerate these would only be to confuse. *Jow* and *Baddin*, two large districts, are included in that of *Chachgam*, as is the very ancient *Mandra*. *Nasirpur* was at one time a large *sirkar*, and rose upon the ruins of *Mattaloi*. It has, however, in its turn again become dependent on its more fertile or favored neighbors. Under the head of *Thatta* are included several *parganahs*, but in particular that of *Druk*, supposed to be very ancient; also that of *Gungra*, both of which

² Dr. VINCENT gives a *Laribandar*, and a *Bandar-Lari*, the one on the east, and the other on the west branch of the river. I have not been able to discover any foundation for such a distinction, nor, indeed, is the term *Laribandar* at all familiar to the natives. The name, however, might, with equal propriety, have been applied to any port in the *delta*.

are now separated from *Thatta* by the river. The *Dirak* is another ancient district now not much known by that name.

The author of the *Tohfah-al-Giram* states *Sindh* to be blessed with a fine climate. The mornings and evenings, he remarks, are truly delightful; the northern division warm, and the lower cool. The fact, however, I believe to be, that this province is, generally speaking, unhealthy; particularly in the neighborhood of those parts subject to the annual inundation. "When it is considered," says a gentleman, who resided several years in *Lar*, "what an immense tract of land is laid under water, and afterwards exposed, with its vegetation, to the putrifying effects of a burning sun, it can hardly be supposed that this climate, farther corrupted by the stagnations which every where take place, can be very congenial to the human constitution; on the contrary, a numerous train of diseases are here prevalent, among which, as may be expected, intermittent fevers, asthma, and rheumatism take the lead." The northern division of the country, however, does not bear so bad a character in point of climate, although the hot winds blow, in some parts, with uncommon severity; and throughout the summer months, the heat surpasses, by all accounts, that of any part of India. So great is the estimated difference between the climate of *Lar* and *Sirra*, that all public servants receive superior salaries when on duty in the former division, where they seldom remain for any length of time (if not natives) without suffering in their health.

The whole of the *delta*, as far west as *Thatta*, is exposed, in some degree, to the effects of the south-west monsoon, which, consequently, brings the temperature of this portion nearly to that of the west coast of *Gujerat*. Much inconvenience is, however, felt to the westward of that city, where the monsoon but partially extends; and, indeed, I believe that in *Chapper*, and the country inhabited by the Jogias, several years occasionally elapse without any rain whatever. I have already said that the heat of the climate of *Sirra*, in the months of March, April, and May, is excessive; and the hot winds prevail in *Sewi* to such a degree, as to render travelling not only dangerous, but, in the desert which lies between that province and the northern frontier of *Sindh*, absolutely impossible. Rain, however, falls in *Sirra* generally in June, which, with the floods in the river, tend materially to relieve the oppressive heat. In the winter season, that is, in December and January, the trees and vegetation generally suffer from the frost, and are deprived of their leaves, — a circumstance which does not occur in *Lar*.

The soil of *Sindh* is of various descriptions; that which is subject to the inundation of the river is often of a rich clay, sometimes a fine loam, and elsewhere a loose sand. The land in question is extremely fertile, and produces the most luxuriant crops of grain without tillage, when the soil is yet moist from the recent floods. The grain is scattered over the surface, and the produce is yielded without further trouble. Towards the mountains of *Belluchistan*, on the western frontier of the province, the soil is rocky, and considerably impregnated with iron ore. Here it is poor and scanty, the rock generally approaching the surface, which circumstances, combined with the uncertainty of the

season, render it better adapted for pasturage than agriculture; to the former of which habits its people also naturally tend. On the north of *Sehwan*, almost to the vicinity of the hills, the soil is the richest and most productive in Sindh, and is nowhere interspersed with a rock until we reach the neighborhood of *Larkhana*, and north of that place.

The soil of the eastern parts of *Sindh* partakes in some degree of the qualities of the neighboring desert, but near the river, throughout the greatest part, the sand is mixed with a white clay which seems favorable for vegetation. In the eastern parts of *Lar*, that is in the vicinity of the river, the soil partakes chiefly of this clay; which, in the hot and dry months, yields a dust so fine as to elude all common precautions for escaping from its unpleasant effects, and the natives have recourse to ventilators in the roofs of their houses, which they keep in other respects shut up in the closest manner. A peculiarity in the soil of Sindh is worthy of remark, and this is, that a traveler may journey for days in the eastern parts without meeting with a rock or stone of any kind.

The fertility of this province, in those parts which are exposed to the floods of the Indus, is exceeded by that of no tract of country on the earth. On the regularity and abundance of these, however, depend the wealth, and, in a great measure, the supply of the absolute necessaries of life, of the inhabitants. In tracts remote from the river, where the rise of the waters does not naturally extend, and where this defect is not remedied by the labor and skill of man, the produce of the soil is often scanty and always precarious. A few districts in Sindh yield three crops of grain in the year; they are, however, generally confined to two, and, in some cases, where the waters of the Indus, either from natural obstacles, or from the indolence of the people, have not been introduced, the soil yields but one crop and that of the poorest description.

Throughout the whole of the lower part of *Lar*, where the country is one entire sheet of water for three months in the year, the quantities of rice produced is beyond any thing I ever heard of. The *parganahs* of *Kakralla* and *Kacha*, in particular, yield rice in great abundance. The seed is sown with the first appearance of the inundation; the plants rise with the waters, and the crop is sometimes reaped in boats. An inferior division of the *Kakrella parganah*, is ascertained to have yielded no less than 1000 *khirwars*³ of rice as the share of the government, which, making the usual allowances, is equal to about one-third of the whole produce.

In the lower *parganahs* the dry grains are rarely cultivated; nevertheless in those of *Jhatti*, *Imamwah*, and *Baddin*, crops of wheat, barley, *jowari*, Indian corn, sugar-cane, and tobacco, are produced by irrigation in the cold months.

³ A *khirwar* of *Shahbandar* is about equal to one and a half Surat *candies*.—The *candy* is a weight which varies very much in the different provinces where it is used; the Bombay *candy* is 560 lbs.—ED.

The great portion of Chochgam,⁴ which lies to the eastward of the *Goni* branch of the river, not being exposed to the floods, produces in the natural course of the seasons, *bajeri* and *mung* (a kind of pulse), besides wheat, Indian corn, &c. &c., by irrigation from the cuts made from the *Puran* and *Goni*.

The more northern districts produce abundant crops of wheat, barley, *jowari*, *mong*, and other common grain; almost exclusively, however, in many parts by irrigation, or in the moist beds of extensive *dhinds* or lakes which, formed by the annual floods, gradually but quickly evaporate. Cotton is also cultivated in small quantities, and the tree is represented as being tall, with many branches, and not perennial. Sugar-cane is cultivated everywhere in this province to a very great extent, and coarse sugar made annually, part of which is exported by sea, but the largest portion either consumed in the country, or carried to the northern provinces, which are less favored by climate. The cane produced here is larger than that of western India, but the sugar which it yields is of an inferior quality. The vegetables common to India are found throughout Sindh, where, as elsewhere, they require to be irrigated. The sweet potato seems to be peculiarly adapted to the soil. It is most abundant of all vegetables, and, in some parts, forms an essential article in the food of the people.

The indigo plant is reared with much care in the north of Sindh, and forms the standing *die* for the cloths of the majority of the population, besides furnishing a large supply for foreign markets. The cultivation of this plant is confined almost exclusively to the *parganahs* of *Sasti*, *Tiggir*, *Boghban*, *Chandka*, *Lohri*, and *Samtani*; in these, however, it is carried on to a great extent, and is found the most lucrative both to government and the people, of all productions of the earth. A space of ground nearly eight yards square, which is equal to a *Sindh biga*, employed for the cultivation of indigo, yields an annual revenue to the government of eighty rupees. This plant is entirely produced by irrigation; on the judicious management of which branch of agriculture, indeed, depends the success of every crop in Sindh.

The country round *T'hatta*, and various other parts, yields abundance of saltpetre. This article was formerly prepared in great quantities for exportation, and furnished the markets of western India. Of late years, however, it has been driven out of use by the extensive and cheaper manufacture of the same article in Bengal, where also more science is displayed and greater pains are taken to render the quality better. Saltpetre is nevertheless very largely prepared for home consumption and for land exportation in *Sindh*, which has the reputation of manufacturing the best native gunpowder in India. The shores of the *delta* yield a never failing supply of common salt, which is annually carried inland to a considerable amount.

⁴ This *Sirkar* takes its name from the *Chachak* tribe who inhabited it at one period.

In the valuable article of timber, *Sindh* appears to be nearly destitute, as far as I can discover. There are no forest-trees that can assume the name of timber. Throughout the *delta* marshes are covered with a brush-wood, of little use but to split and dry for fire-wood. The most common tree in the province is the *lye*, which is, I believe, the tamarisk.⁵ Near the sea-shore it never attains to any remarkable dimensions, but between Haiderabad and Sehwan, on the banks of the river, I am told that the lye is seen in forests, and the trees are of a large size.

Fruits do not appear to be in any variety, the mangoe, pomegranate, and melon, are all that are worthy of notice; but grapes, apples, pears, and plums, annually arrive from *Kabul* and the north. The plum is dried, but the others are packed in cotton and keep fresh for six months. Mineral waters are frequently met with, some of which have high reputation for medicinal qualities. Hot springs are found to the westward of *T'hatta* in the hills; and alkali is prepared in the northern *Khairpur* district, and exported to India, where it is used in making soap and lie.

The foremost of the animals of *Sindh*, both in numbers and utility, is the camel. It is bred everywhere throughout the province; what is a subject of surprise, as RENNELL observes, the marshes in the *delta* of the river are favorable for rearing this animal, although camels, bred on moist soils, are neither considered so hardy nor so strong as those from hilly and sandy countries. In the *delta* of the river, however, this animal is to be seen, sunk to the middle in mud and water, feeding on the stunted shrubs which grow below high-water mark. Here hundreds browse together in herds, and seem to improve on this food as much as on the driest leaves of trees.⁶

The utility of the camel in a country like *Sindh* is incalculable. The whole of the land-carriage of merchandise is performed by that animal; and the long and tiresome journey from the sea-shore to *Kandahar* is travelled by the camel with a load equal to twelve stone on his back. They travel during the night in these long journeys by stages of sixteen or twenty miles; halting during the day, and feed plentifully where most other animals would starve. Young camels selected for spirit are trained to the saddle, and become as fleet as the horse. Incredible journeys are thus performed; and although their paces are rough and uneasy to the rider, yet in *Sindh*, where people of the first rank do not consider it beneath their dignity to ride on the camel, so much attention is paid to the comfort and, indeed, elegance of the saddle, that the motion is rendered more tolerable than it is in other countries where the animal is in less repute. On the saddles, which are often made of embroidered broad cloth, are two seats, the foremost of which is occupied by the person who manages the camel, which he effects by means of a string attached to a piece of wood about two inches in length, with a knob at each end, passed through a perforation in the nostril: the seat in the rear is filled by an armed

⁵ *Tamarix Indica*,—WILLD.

⁶ Camels fed on this forage emit an insufferable stench when in the act of ruminating.

person, who acts as an attendant and guard. Fire-arms and even swivels are constantly used upon camels in Asiatic warfare, and are so employed to a great extent in *Sindh*.

Some other uses to which this animal is applied still remain to be noticed. They are yoked in harness; made to draw water for irrigation; and are occasionally seen at the plough or attached to a mill for expressing oil. Those who breed the camel drink the milk of the female, and consider it wholesome and nutritious. It is necessary to use it almost immediately after taking it from the animal, for, when exposed to the air, it spoils sooner than any other kind of milk.

The horse of *Sindh* is hardy and capable of performing long journeys with ease both to himself and rider, by means of an ambling pace to which they are all trained. Horses are procurable in considerable numbers; and as the soil and climate in the northern districts have from experience been found favorable for breeding, the supply might be increased by care and attention.

The Sindhian men of rank being chiefly military are remarkably fond of horses, and spare neither money nor trouble to possess the finest animal in *Quilal*,⁷ *Khandahar*, and even *Persia*; all of which produce breeds far superior to any found in *Sindh*. This country has a very excellent breed of mules, which animal is not considered in the disreputable light that it is in *India*. The mules in *Sindh* are large, strong, and handsome; very useful in the carriage of baggage on a journey; and convenient for the use of a servant, who can thus always be present with his master on the longest marches.

The country more remote from the river feeds vast herds of oxen, particularly the tract on the eastern border, where extensive plains are allotted solely to the pasturage of cattle of all kinds. In *Sindh*, they are used for food by the Muhammedans, and numbers are annually carried off by merchants from *Cutch*, *Kattiawar*, and *Gujarat*. The ox is rather undersized, but broad, strongly made, and well adapted for labor. Buffaloes are in great abundance, and form part of the property of rich and poor; in fact, a man's wealth is estimated by the number of buffaloes, camels, and goats, which he possesses. The domestic animals of *India* are plentiful in *Sindh*, and the fields are well supplied with the common species of game. There is perhaps no country in the world where water-fowl are more numerous. The large lakes and marshes are literally covered with them, and they serve as food to all the laboring classes of natives. Of beasts of prey, the wolf and jackal are, I believe, alone to be met with, unless in some parts of the country subject to *MIR SOHRAB*, where tigers are found. The creeks and rivers abound with alligators, which are venerated by the natives; and badgers and other animals are hunted for the sake of their skins, which are sold in the northern provinces to advantage. The wild hog, as may be supposed from the nature of the country, inhabits every quarter of *Sindh*, and the chase of this animal is the principal amusement of the

⁷ Kelaul of Mr. *ELPHINSTONE'S* map.

sovereigns and their nobility; all of whom, though strict Muhammedans, keep packs of a large ferocious breed of dogs for the sole purpose of hunting the boar. The river Indus, and the *d'hinds* or lakes formed by its waters absolutely swarm with fish, which is the principal article of food among the natives. Here is to be had the sable-fish, so much celebrated by Europeans. It is called *palwah* by the natives, and resembles the salmon in taste, but is filled with forked bones, which are troublesome and disagreeable.

The original capital of *Sindh* was *Alor*, situated on the old river, nearly in the parallel of latitude of *Bhakir*. It was ruined in the second century of the hejira, and has been ever since a dependency of *Bhakir*. During the government of the Khilifat, which lasted for three centuries, *Multan* appears to have been fixed on by their governors as the capital; but at the same time other independencies sprung up throughout *Sindh*, each of which had its capital town, but not one of them is now, I believe, to be met with. Their names and situations it may be proper to enumerate in order to illustrate the history of the country.

The city next in repute to *Alor* was *Bahmana* or *Bhamana*, also called *Brahmandbad*.⁸ It was situated on or near the *Puran*, in what was subsequently called the *Shehdadpur parganah*: *Bhamana* was afterwards called *Dibal Kangara*.

Nerunkot was a city on the site of which, or nearly so, stands the modern *Haiderabad*. It was distinguished for its defence, and its submission to the Muhammedan arms on their first entering *Sindh*. *Bhambor*, was a city situated on a branch of the Indus, which joined the sea between *T'hatta* and *Karachi*. It was deserted in consequence of a failure in the stream; and its inhabitants occupied the *T'hatta* and *Sakia parganahs*, from what I can collect, about the middle of the seventh century of the hejira.

Kallankot (or *Kollakot*) afterwards *Toghlakobad*, was situated on the hills a few miles west of *T'hatta*. It was a fort without inhabitants, and was considered as the work of Hindu gods. *Sundra* was an ancient city, the ruins of which are in the *parganah* still bearing that name; and *Himakot* was an old fort in its vicinity, also supposed to be the work of the gods. Its inhabitants were transferred to *T'hatta*. *Dibal* was the principal sea-port in *Sindh* as early as the first discoveries of the Arabians on the Indian coasts. It took its name from a celebrated *dewala*, or temple of the Hindus, which it contained, and which was destroyed by the Arabs. With regard to the situation of this city there are many different opinions, and I have endeavored to settle it in another place.⁹ The inhabitants were undoubtedly removed to *Laribandar*, and subsequently to *Dharroja*.

⁸ I shall enter into no particulars with respect to ancient cities here, as I propose to prosecute the subject elsewhere. (Vide Capt. W. Munno's former paper in the present volume).

⁹ See the present volume of the Journal.

Mandropat was a large town situated near the present Goni branch of the Indus, a little above the parallel of *Lakpat*. It was deserted in the eighth century of the hejira. *Tur* was a city of the *Sumras* in the same tract; and *Vijehkot* was the capital of the same people, lying on the *Puran*, now in the desert. It was destroyed by *Sultan ALLA'-UD-DIN* in the beginning of the eighth century of the hejira. *Mankatara* or *Manhatara*, was a city situated in the *Rupa parganah*. It flourished about the middle of the sixth century of the hejira. *Minagar* was a city subject to a chief, by caste an *Agri*. It flourished so late as the seventh century of the hejira; but of its antiquity nothing is known further than that the *Agris* were the descendants of ALEXANDER, according to the author the *Tohfat-al-Girani*. *Minagar* was situated on the *Lohanna* river, in the present *Shehdadpur parganah*. It is needless to enumerate more of these ancient towns in this place; I shall, therefore, now concisely state what is known of the modern towns mentioned in the history of *Sindh*.

According to native historians, the ground on which the celebrated city of *T'hatta* is situated was formerly covered by the sea, which however retired, and left a desert destitute of fresh water, in which state it remained until the change in the river Indus rendered it as fertile as it had before been barren. At the period of *Sultan ALLA'-UD-DIN'S* visit to *Sindh* in about A.H. 700, the *Sammās* founded the town of *Samoi* and the fort of *Mandrassa* to the north of the *Makali* hills, about five miles from *T'hatta*. Towards the close of A.H. 900, *JAM NANDA (Nizam-ud-din)* selected a spot occupied by a fishing village for the site of a new capital, which he named *T'hatta*, a term which some say is derived from the word *T'hab*, implying closeness of population, while others find its origin in the common word *T'hatta*, a crowd or assembly of people. Some persons think that the country was named *T'hatta* long before the city was founded; this, however, appears quite uncertain. The *Sagara* branch of the river runs to the north of *T'hatta*; and its inhabitants were drawn from *Dibal*, *Bhambora*, *Bagar*, , and *Terra*, which were large and populous cities on the *Sagara* river, and deserted in the course of time either from choice or necessity. It is stated by *MIR ABDUL RIZAK ISFAHANI*, surnamed *MASHRAB*, that this district was originally peopled from *Yuman*,¹⁰ from which circumstance it is that *T'hatta* has been so celebrated for the learned and able men it has produced.

The city of *T'hatta* continued to thrive in a surprising manner until it was destroyed by *MIRZA JANI BEG*, about A.H. 1000, on the occasion of the invasion of the troops of *AKBAR*. It never fairly recovered itself afterwards, and although it had the reputation of being the first city in *Sindh*, it gradually declined in consequence until the accession of the *Kalhora* dynasty; and as this family did not make it their capital, *T'hatta* never afterwards improved. The city has still further declined under the present rulers, and, by the most authentic accounts, does not now contain more than 18,000 inhabitants;

¹⁰ *Yuman* is generally supposed to be Greek; and, according to *Dr. ROBERTSON*, this country was conquered by the Greek government of *Bactria* after the division of *ALEXANDER'S* conquests.

although from its size, being, by all accounts, upwards of four miles and a half in circumference, it must at one time have held four times that number.

The city is situated on a rising ground about four miles west of the river, which, till within these forty years, sent a large branch off to the westward, above *T'hatta*, placing the town in a *delta* which does not now exist. *T'hatta* had originally no fortifications, but after it was sacked by the Portuguese, MIRZA ISA surrounded it with a brick wall which is now in ruins. The houses of the rich and respectable inhabitants are of brick; but those of the lower classes are of straw and wood, plastered with mud, and consequently are not durable. The trade of *Dibal*, by which name alone *T'hatta* is still known to the Arabs, was formerly very extensive, and in this view *T'hatta* will be considered hereafter. The capital is governed by a nobleman who has the title of *Navab*, but the military force at his command is very limited.

Haiderabad, the present capital of Sindh, is situated in latitude 25° 22' N. and longitude 68° 41' E., nearly on the site of the ancient *Nerunkot*. It was founded in its modern state by MIR GHOLAM SHAH KALHORA in A.H. 1182, and was defended by a wall and towers.¹¹ Its position is on a rocky hill, which is in some parts remarkably steep, and the foot of the precipice is washed by the *Falili* branch of the Indus. The *Mani* river runs three miles to the west of Haiderabad, but both streams are navigable.

The next city in fame, though, perhaps, not in consequence, in *Sindh*, is *Sehwan*. It is reckoned extremely ancient; and is known under the various names of *Sewistan*, *Sewan*, and *Sehwan*, the last of which however is correct. It has been sometimes called *Baghdad*; and the natives have a fable of its having been inhabited previously by a race of men who were cannibals. The fortifications of *Sehwan* were, it is believed, first founded in a regular form by one of the Jams of *T'hatta*. SHAH BEG ARGHUN took it from JAM FIROZE to whom it was restored. It was situated upon a rock rising abruptly from the Indus, was of small extent, and is now in ruins. The town is a miserable collection of huts, but contains about eight thousand people, and is divided from the castle by a ravine filled with water during the floods. In fact, *Sehwan* could only have been a place of importance when under a distinct authority, and it must have ceased to be so when it became a part of the general government of *Sindh*. The town and castle are on the west bank of the river, which is now at some distance.

Bhakir, or *Bakar*, was founded by the Arabs, and built from the ruins of *Alor*. It was originally *Ferishta*. The *Tohfat-al-Girani* states, that this town did not exist in the time of the Hindu *Raj*, and that it got its name *Bakar* ("the dawn") from SAIYID MOHAMMED MAKI, of religious memory, some years after its foundation. The city of *Bhakir* was, in the time of SHAH BEG ARGHUN, surrounded by water, being on a small island in the

¹¹ In digging for the foundation of the walls, vast numbers of human bones and entire bodies were found in a wonderful state of preservation (1768-1769 AD).

Indus. Whether it originally was so or not seems doubtful, and I should be inclined to think not. At present, the water to the west of the town, during the dry season, entirely disappears. The *Arghuns* made it their capital; and SHAH BEG built a brick wall round the town for its defence. At this time, also, it was that the *Saiyids*, who were anciently possessed of great power here, excited the jealousy of the *Arghuns*, and were compelled to leave the town and occupy *Lohri*, which has already been considered as a suburb of *Bhakir*, though divided from it by the easternmost channel of the river, and containing six times the number of inhabitants. On the opposite bank also is *Seikhar*, or *Seiggar*, a suburb of the city. In the precincts of *Bhakir* were the *Bhiralu* gardens, which were, with their magnificent and elegant buildings, destroyed by SULTAN MOHAMMED KHAN, on the report being spread of BIRAM KHAN, the *Khan Khanan* of AKBAR, being about to visit Sindh. Under the celebrated WHAMMED KHAN, *Bhakir* was the seat of an independent government; but on his death it became a dependency of Dehli, and was made the head of a district. On NADIR. SHAH's visit to *Sindh*, he destroyed its fortifications. This city is at present in the possession of MIR SOHRAB TALPURA, and has lost much of its importance. It is, however, still of consequence, as a frontier town between *Sindh* and *Kandahar* on one side, and serving as a barrier to MIR SOHRIB, towards the *Daudputra* country on the other. *Bhakir*, in a religious point of view, is of some repute among the followers of MUHAMMED; for it possesses in a golden box, two hairs and a-half of the prophet, to which peculiar properties are ascribed, and which are held in high veneration. *Bhakir* has always been the seat of old Muhammedan families, among whom much learning has been preserved; and I think that a considerable addition to our stock of knowledge regarding ancient *Sindh* might be made, if the libraries and records of these families were open to research.

Bhakir at present contains only five thousand inhabitants, who are said to be remarkable for their cheerful and social dispositions.¹²

Nasirpur, now in ruins, was once the most beautiful and flourishing city in *Sindh*. Although I agree with some geographers in believing this to be the *Al Mansura* of the Arabs, as is elsewhere explained,¹³ it is well established that the modern *Nasirpur* was founded by an officer named NASIR, who was left by *Sultan FIROZA SHAH*, of Dehli, to command in *Sindh* after that sovereign's attack on *T'hatta* in A. H. 751. *Nasirpur* was situated on the *Sangra* branch, at that time the main stream of the Indus, and its suburbs were highly ornamented by rich gardens, and pleasure-grounds filled with temporary or permanent villas for recreation. It was *Nasirpur* that the *Terkhan* dynasty, and that tribe in general, took so much trouble to embellish and improve. The precise date of the decay of *Nasirpur* is unknown; but it was coincident with the change of the stream to the westward of *Haiderabad*, which was prior to the entrance of the Dehli army in A.H. 1000.

¹² *Loheri*, or *Rohri*, as it is erroneously called, is an ancient city, at least it is believed to have been built at the same time as *Bhakir*.

¹³ Within the article.

Independently of the cities which I have here enumerated, there have been, and still are, a vast number of towns of importance in Sindh; but many of them are temporary, and all of them subject to change of name or situation. I have, therefore, thought it needless to enter into any description of them, because what is correct regarding them at the time I am writing, may be very different by the time this history meets the public eye. The map will convey, in my opinion, sufficient information on the subject of the towns, ancient and modern, to render intelligible the allusions made to them in the course of the work.¹⁴

The commerce of *Sindh*, both external and internal, has been subject to great vicissitudes. The country is by nature admirably adapted to benefit by commerce, and that it did so to the utmost extent under the ancient Hindi' government, there is ample proof; but from the time of its subversion by the power of the Khalifs, society was dismembered, the consolidated authority, which secured quiet and confidence to the people, was broken up, and an aristocracy formed on its ruins, which threw *Sindh* back, in point of political situation, to that of a country in the first stage of its emerging from barbarism, — a situation from which it has never entirely extricated itself. Such a state of things, it may be readily supposed, was not very favorable for commercial transactions. Were we to form a judgment of the former of the periods just referred to, from the accounts which still exist both in Europe and Asia, we should justly infer that the commerce of *Sindh* with Persia and Arabia was rich and extensive, and that *Dibal*, the sea-port of the Indus, was the emporium for the goods, both of India and of Arabia, and conferred a degree of wealth and splendor on the country and government that has never since been equaled.

During the period that Sindh was subject to NASIR-UD-DIN KABACHI of *Multan*, when the province was divided among seven tributary chiefs, over whom NASIR'S authority was but partially established, and during the whole period of the *Sumra* rule, there appears to have been a great defect in the system of government; and although we do not know from good authority the state of trade during these times, yet we may, nevertheless, assume, that it was not in a very flourishing condition; for besides the internal state of *Sindh* itself, the entire or partial dismemberment of the *Hindu* sovereignties in that part of India bordering on this province, must have tended materially to check speculations in commerce.

With the *Jam Samma* dynasty trade once more assumed a promising aspect, and under the encouragement of some individuals of that family, the country seems to have been rescued from a state deplorable in the highest degree. The succeeding government of the *Arghuns* was not injurious to the prosperity of *Sindh*; but the manner of their

¹⁴ It is to be regretted, that the map referred to by Capt. M'Alunno in this and other places, has not yet reached the Society.

establishment, and the circumstances consequent on a revolution of authorities, caused more attention to be directed to the military than to the civil branches of policy. In MIRZA ISA TERKHAN the industrious of all classes and descriptions found a warm friend and protector; and the MIRZA himself engaged deeply in commerce, both before and subsequent to his elevation to the rank of a sovereign. It was this MIRZA who improved and regulated the sea-ports; and he spared no expense or trouble to render the conveyance of goods through his dominions safe and easy.

The tyranny and frenzy of MUHAMMED KHAN, followed, as they shortly were, by the annexation of *Sindh* to the crown of Dehli, were injurious to the prosperity of the province. From the tyranny of the former, the lives of his subjects were never safe; and the latter gave rise to a contest which, short as it was, was productive of great distress to the country, and was succeeded by an annual change of *subadars*, who farmed the revenue, and possessed exclusive authority in every department of the government; while their views and dispositions probably assimilated in no respect but in that of amassing wealth,—circumstances which must of necessity have been inimical to industry of all kinds, but particularly so to the safe and profitable employment of capital. Under the *Kalhoras* commerce regained, in some degree, its natural importance; for an English factory was established, which was doubtless productive of mutual advantages, and the country was now also under one head, capable of improving its situation in every respect. The jealousy and narrow-minded disposition of some of that family, however, by endangering the safety of the individuals and property of the English establishment, put an end to those prospects, by causing the factory to be withdrawn; and it was only re-established, to be finally broken up in consequence of an open outrage committed on its chief member.

The present government of *Sindh* has left nothing undone to destroy this branch of its revenue, with regard to which it pursues a most barbarous line of policy; for, by appropriating to itself an unfair proportion of the profits of the trader, it effectually checks commercial enterprise, without affording any compensation by personal security, or by a just and energetic rule which might render the property of the subject secure. That trade of any kind has survived the disadvantages and lawless exactions to which it has been so long subjected, must be attributed to the improvements in other parts of India, where the introduction of European goods, capital, and industry, have been particularly felt; and perhaps a great portion of the success still experienced in trade in *Sindh*, may be placed to the account of the introduction of that equitable and enlightened system of government in other Asiatic countries, which not only benefits the dominions in which it prevails, but has a tendency indirectly to ameliorate the condition of all the states with which a connection, even though purely commercial, is maintained.

The principal sea-ports are *Karachi* and *Dharaja*. The former is a very ancient town, known in the Hindu *puranas* by the name of *Rambagh*, an appellation still commonly in

use. It lies in lat. 24° 51' N., and long. 67° 16' E. The town is situated on a creek at the head of a bay formed by Cape *Monze*, and carries on a brisk trade with Bombay, Malabar, and Arabia. The entrance of the creek or harbor is narrow, and, at low water, has only one foot and a-half water on the bar, but, at spring-tides, vessels of 400 tons find shelter here from September to May. The bay cannot be approached at other seasons without danger. *Karachi* originally belonged to an independent chief in *Makran*, but was conquered by the Sindhians. The revenues fall short of a lak of rupees per annum; but under a wise and well-regulated government, there is little doubt that they might be considerably increased. The description of vessels used here in the trade is chiefly the *D'hinji*, which is an awkward boat of from fifty to two hundred tons' burden, and can only keep the sea during the favorable monsoon, as it runs the risk of foundering should it meet with bad weather.

Dharaja is the sea-port of *T'hatta*, and is the same as *Laribandar* the site of which town is near the present *Dharaja*. This place is situated about twenty miles up the large mouth of the Indus, and is conveniently situated for trade. It is only within these few years that *Dharaja* has superseded *Shahbandar*, which has been subject to vicissitudes, owing to the fickleness of the stream.

The chief articles exported from *Sindh* of its own produce are grain, particularly rice; hides, shark-fins, saltpetre, potash, assafetida, cotton and silk cloths, horses, and indigo. Its imports are coco-nuts, dates, iron, tin, lead, and copper; but a particular list of the articles forming the trade of *Sindh* will be given in a table of the appendix.¹⁵

The commerce by sea is almost exclusively carried on by Hindus of the Bhatti and Lohanna castes, both of which are ancient inhabitants of *Sindh*. There are likewise some Muhammadans called Memans, who participate in the trade in some degree. Inland speculations are made indiscriminately by all descriptions of people of the country, besides whom, a numerous body of merchants from Multan, called Multanis, are settled in *Sindh*, where their command of money gives them a place of the first rank. They are the principal bankers, and possess a good deal of influence both with government and with the people. These Multanis carry on a trade with Kabul, Kandahar, Kuelat, Multan, and Bahawalpur, both by the river and by land carriage; and by them indeed are consumed the imports which would otherwise find no sale in the province.

There is little doubt but that the commerce of *Sindh* is capable of being increased to a great extent. The natural advantages it possesses are very important, particularly as regards the circulation of European goods. Hence lies a short and easy route to the northern countries of India and Persia, the climate of which, as well as the manners and usages of the inhabitants, approach nearest those of Europe, and, of course, their respective necessaries and wants resemble each other more than those of Europe and

¹⁵ This appendix, owing to some mistake, did not accompany the paper.—*ED*.

southern India. The wretched governments of the district provinces here alluded to, however, preclude the hope that the state of security, comfort, and confidence, so requisite to the encouragement of trade, can for a long time be established.

The revenues of Sindh are differently collected in the different districts. In some, particularly in those of the southern parts, they are realized in kind, in others by *jamma*, or land rent. In general irrigated lands are rented, whilst those which yield three crops with the seasons, pay in kind a third, a fourth, and even so little as the fifth of their produce, according to a valuation made on the grounds. These rates are regulated by the valuation of labor, or by natural obstacles (in the land) to agriculture. Irrigated land is rented from the government generally at the following rates: —

		rupees	per annum
Sugar cane,	per biga	12	per annum
Tobacco,	per biga	7½	per annum
Vegetables,	per biga	7½	per annum
Opium,	per biga	21	per annum
Indigo,	per biga	80	per annum
Grain,	per biga	6	per annum

The biga contains a square of about forty paces, with the exception of the indigo biga, which is twice that extent; and on comparing this assessment with that paid in other parts of India, it will, I believe, be found tolerably moderate. It is, however, merely a nominal value put upon the land; for the collection of the revenues is, in many instances, left to rapacious farmers, who cover their contracts and benefit themselves besides, at the expense of the ryot. Independently of this hardship, it is not uncommon in Sindh for the government to collect vast quantities of grain for the supply of troops, when any military expedition is on foot, in which case the rulers make no scruple of seizing a half of the produce of the whole country, leaving the farmer to settle with the cultivator the best way he can. The present Amirs are in the habit of purchasing vast quantities of grain, which, with the government share, in cases where the revenues are not farmed, they deposit in store-rooms, and afterwards retail to their subjects at an advanced price; a practice of which the evil consequences are severely felt; more particularly as the custom originates in avarice, and the purchase-money is turned into gold or jewels, which are deposited in the treasuries of the different members of the government, and, consequently, as these are looked on as private hordes, the money is totally withdrawn from circulation.

In the appendix will be found a table exhibiting the names of districts with their respective revenues, both of the land and in other branches; which table, although it was framed from the statements of men who had themselves farmed many of the districts, may be perhaps a little in excess of the actual produce, as it refers to a period a

few years prior to the present time; and there is reason to believe that the revenues of Sindh are rather on the decrease than otherwise.

In the table alluded to, it will be seen that the total revenue available to the Haiderabad rulers, including those of Mirs Sohrab, Tharsa, and others of the Talpura family, does not amount to half a crore of rupees. To this amount, however, must be added the produce of lands held in jaghir by chieftains for the support of feudal followers, of which the whole military force of Sindh is composed, as also the lands of whole tribes of Zemindars, who have held their patrimonies from the earliest ages, and who pay nothing whatever, either in money or service, to the government of the country.

There still remains to be taken into consideration the lands and other sources of revenue alienated for the support of Saiyids and other religious establishments attached to the Muhammadan faith. The amount of these there is no possibility of ascertaining correctly; but no country in Asia can boast of a like number of ecclesiastical establishments. Perhaps it would not be beyond the truth if the revenue appropriated to these purposes was calculated at one-third of what is enjoyed by the government. Some of these settlements are coeval with the introduction of Islamism, and nearly all the rest are prior to the fourth century of that era. Almost the whole of the Arabs who first entered Sindh received grants of land; and although it is recorded that few of the families of rank then settled in this province, yet vast numbers appear to have afterwards visited and settled in it, when they found themselves respected, and, as being related to the venerated founders of their religion, they derived an ample provision from assisting in its propagation.

POPULATION

Before an opinion can be hazarded as to the population of a country, it is requisite to possess a much more intimate knowledge of it than any European has yet had an opportunity of acquiring with reference to Sindh. Natives are never in the habit of making particular observations on this subject, so that information derived from them is likely to prove extremely erroneous. The modern capital Haiderabad is said to contain upwards of 30,000 inhabitants, the city of T'hatta not quite 20,000, and Karachi, the principal sea-port and trading town, has a population somewhat less than either. It has been a very frequent and natural remark, that whilst we observe the banks of all the large rivers in the old continents thickly studded with cities, towns, or villages, those of the Indus are observed to be, in all maps, nearly destitute of inhabitants; but although there are few or no cities, or even towns or villages, immediately on the banks of the river, it is not therefore to be taken for granted that they are uninhabited. The map prefixed to this work will, I believe, shew a variety of small towns and villages that have never before been known to exist; and it should be further remarked, that the habits and manners of the people in many parts of Sindh are inimical to living in towns. The nature of the banks of the Indus, the uncertainty of the position of its stream, and

the danger occurring annually and throughout its whole course, from its rise, are circumstances which are in a manner peculiar to this river, at least to the extent in which they are there found to exist, and which will account for the thinness of the population on its banks.

Any attempt to calculate the population of Sindh, without some reasonable data, which we do not possess, would be equally vain and fruitless; but though generally speaking I am inclined to consider this province, as below the medium standard of Indian population, it is, nevertheless, surprising that a country in which the necessaries of life are more easily procured than in any other part of India, should send forth such multitudes of adventurers in every profession, and contain that vast number of beggars, for which it is so remarkable. In those parts of the country inhabited by Belluches, or by the various erratic, or pastoral tribes of Sammas, the population, as might be expected, is certainly scanty; but in other situations, perhaps, Sindh is not more deficient than most countries of India.

PEOPLE

The people of Sindh are, for the most part, a strong and hardy race of men, with a complexion similar to that of the natives of western India. The higher ranks are corpulent to a proverb; and this habit of body is here even more than in other Asiatic countries looked up to as no less adding to the respectability than to the beauty of its possessor. Those, therefore, who are wealthy, or of consequence in the scale of society, encourage this tendency to corpulency, by indolence and full diet, and every other means in their power. The Belluches and many of the Samna tribes have, in a remarkable degree, those features commonly called Jewish, and which are strikingly different from those of the other inhabitants. An oval contour of face, aquiline nose, arched eyebrows, and high forehead, with expressive eyes, are the characteristic features of the Sindhians above alluded to. The people of both sexes are certainly extremely handsome, if a judgment can be formed from the opinions of several gentlemen who have visited the country, and from an acquaintance with the people on the immediate borders of Sindh, who are chiefly natives of that country.

The Hindus who reside in Sindh have much the same countenance as their brethren who inhabit the towns in the western coast of India, but they are generally more filthy in their clothes and persons than the latter, as will be afterwards more particularly mentioned.

There are here, as in other Asiatic countries, two descriptions of inhabitants, totally differing from each other in character; the military part of the population, and those who follow trade or agriculture. The military, including the whole of those Belluche tribes which have descended into Sindh, together with the various ancient Zemindars now known under different denominations, are, as a race of men, jealous, proud,

knavish, and mean. They are, however, remarkable for a fund of good nature in their disposition, which, in the low and uneducated classes, approaches to silliness or stupidity. It may, however, be fairly questioned whether this seeming easiness of temper does not originate in a slowness of perception and an un-susceptible turn of mind rather than in any inherent quality, for if once irritated, the Sindhian remains irascible and unforgiving. The meanness and knavery of this class of men are proverbial; and so strong and natural is their disposition to theft, that those who are other-wise respectable in character and situation, do not hesitate to practice the profession of a night robber; or to lay aside their dress, and with a wallet on their shoulders, make a circuit of many miles for the sake of asking alms. A propensity to begging and stealing is inherent in the Sindh soldier, and to the class from which he is drawn; and no loss of character accrues from the practice of either.

The mercantile classes, both Hindu and Muhammadan, are a different race of people. They are as industrious as the former are indolent, and seem to think of nothing but their professions. They neglect their persons and their comforts for activity in business, in the transaction of which, however, they are not remarkable for fair dealing; but they are enterprising in trade, and bear the exactions and tyranny of oppressive governors without complaint.

With most, if not all of the vices common to Asiatics, the Sindhians appear to possess few or none of their virtues. The ignorance in which the greater part of the population is involved surpasses what can well be imagined. There assuredly does not exist on the face of the earth a people, among whom the use of letters is known, where so little attention is paid to the acquirement of learning; and that of a religious kind is confined to the Saiyids and Pirzodehs, whose knowledge, in nine cases out of ten, extends no further than the repetition of a few common prayers and *ayits* from the *Koran*.

With the ignorance, their bigotry, arrogance, and self-pride keep equal pace; and an intelligent gentleman, Mr. N. Crow, to whom a long residence in Sindh gave abundance of opportunities for forming a just opinion on this subject, has truly and expressively observed, that in Sindh there is no zeal but in propagating the faith – no spirit but in celebrating the *Ede*—no liberality but in feeding lazy Saiyids –and no taste but in ornamenting old tombs. Such a picture as is here displayed in a few words, affords a just insight into the character of the Muhammadans, and into the state of society. They are certainly the most bigoted, the most self-sufficient, and the most ignorant people on record.

The Sindhian, among other bad qualities, is accused of treachery, at least as a national vice. On the contrary, although there are frequent instances of assassination, which is common to all military governments in a state little above barbarism, the natives of this country are nevertheless much less addicted to this detestable practice than their neighbors on the north and on the east. They have (in particular the Bellache tribes) a

high idea of the duties of hospitality, the rights of which are rarely infringed by those who have not been corrupted by ambitious temptations, or who have not otherwise lost their original manners, by mixing in the intrigues of courts and struggles for power and place. The Bellaches, likewise, have the highest respect for their females, who possess much influence over their mind and actions. Their adherence to any agreement or stipulation to which their women are parties may be implicitly relied on, and more confidence may be safely placed on engagements of this kind than if they had been sworn to on the Koran.

No Asiatic country, in proportion to the number of its population, sends forth so many needy vagrants as Sindh. All the provinces around it are overrun with a wandering and idle race of men, alternately soldiers, beggars, and thieves, who being too indolent to labor for a scanty subsistence (which in the centre of a most productive country appears unaccountably to be the lot of the greater portion of its inhabitants), prefer the uncertain but more congenial proceeds of the employment above-mentioned, and that even in foreign countries. As mercenaries in the pay of the western countries of India, the Sindhian holds the next place to the Arab, a race of men who have of late years rendered themselves remarkable for a continued though unintentional, and brave though unfortunate, opposition to the English troops throughout those territories.

The Sindh soldier is entertained by the native powers at the rate of from six to ten rupees per month. He is individually brave, but inferior to the Arab in coolness in action; neither does he possess that sense of honour which is manifested by the Indian soldier. The Sindhian is bold in his attack, but feels less hesitation in turning his back than almost any other man who carries arms. He differs much from the Arab in his absurd boasting, and equally so in the irregularity and meanness of his conduct, being under none of those severe and orderly regulations which exist among the Arab troops, and which have doubtless tended to inspire the Indians with so high an opinion of the military powers of this class of men.

The military tribes in Sindh are, however, generally expert marksmen, and are trained to the use of the matchlock from their youth, which gives them a fondness that is national for feats of arms. They consider the sabre indeed as the national weapon, but although the swords of Sindh are in high repute, I suspect that the country would derive little military renown if reduced to depend upon that arm. Fire-arms are undoubtedly the natural and most efficient power of Sindh; and it is ridiculous pride and ostentation that induces this nation to hold out that its sabre is irresistible. As soldiers, however, they are remarkably peaceable, faithful, and persevering; but are totally destitute of those ideas of dignity which generally accompany the military character, and hesitate not to steal in their own camp when they can do so with impunity. It would be almost impossible to enumerate the various tribes of Sindhians; they are numerous beyond belief, and are divided and subdivided into families, which

are known by distinct names. The manners of the whole are, however, much alike; and, considered as a people, they have few peculiarities either in customs or religion.

They are a homely race of men, whose first question when they meet after a short absence is invariably concerning the health of the children and the cattle, which last (as a man's wealth and respectability is esteemed according to the number of his camels, buffaloes, or goats,) are considered not the least important branch of the family.

The people who live on the eastern borders of Sindh are mostly shepherds, who reside in *wandhs* or herds, and lead their cattle from place to place as suits their convenience. They do not, however, reside in tents like other erratic people, but form huts of grass of a very simple and poor appearance. The principal food of these wanderers is milk and butter, with bread made of *bajeri* flour, which is almost the only grain produced in their country, and its cultivation is confined to the supply of their absolute wants. They eat the flesh of goats, but indulge in this only on particular occasions of feasting. The men are all armed, for they live in a desert which is infested by banditti, who drive off their flocks; and their own society, simple as it appears, is liable to the troubles consequent on ambition and jealousy.

DRESS

The dress of these men, particularly of the Muhammadans (for there are also Rajaput tribes¹⁶), is generally loose trousers of bad cloth dyed blue, with a long frock of the same stuff and color. The hammer-band or waistband of the better sort is generally a *lungi* of silk and cotton of T'hatta manufacture, and of the poorer class, any common stripe of cloth they can meet with, and which serves either for the waist, or, if occasion requires, for the head-dress, by being twisted round a cotton quilted cap which they all wear. In the dress of their women these Musalmans have retained the ancient Hindu custom, that is, the petticoat of coarse cloth, with an upper garment of goats-hair loosely thrown round the person and suspended from the head. The bosom dress covers the bosom distinctly, and tying above and below with strings round the shoulders and breast, leaves the hack exposed. The Muhammadans who have any claim to descent from the founders of the faith, and who are not converts from the Hindu creed, have in general adopted the trousers and frock for their women's dress, which, with the same people, is often of a green color, indicating their sacred origin.

The people who live on the Indus, or on the plains near that river, are a very different race from those now described. Their lives are devoted to agriculture and to trade, and their habitations are of course more fixed and in larger societies, although in many parts they are frequently found in small detached bodies on the borders of their fields. In the west parts of the delta, and to the north-west of T'hatta, the Jaquios, as a tribe of

¹⁶ On the skirts of the desert alone.

Belluches, live in huts of reeds, which are moveable at pleasure, and so well and compactly made as to resist all kinds of weather. Those who live in this way are called by the Sindhians the *Pak'hiraja*, which, I believe, signifies as much as "kings of the wilds."

FOOD

The food of the greatest portion of the natives of Sindh is fish and rice, although there are some particular sects whose customs do not admit of fish as an article of food. These are, however, very few, and confined to a very small number of Brahmans and Bhattias, the generality of both of whom do not scruple to eat fish. The sweet potato forms no inconsiderable part of the food of the people. It is not a pleasant vegetable, but is very cheap and reckoned a nourishing root.

THE HINDUS

The Hindu part of society in Sindh still adhering to their original religion and manners is composed of Bhattias, Lohannas, with their respective *gurus* or priests, and the Pokarna and Sarsat Brahmans. The Bhattias and Lohannas are mentioned at the time of the Arabian conquest as numerous races of people. These castes of men were exclusively natives of Sindh, until the spirit of trade and speculation scattered them, and they now are to be found all over western India and Arabia. The Bhattia of Sindh is not, by the rules of his caste, restricted to vegetable diet, and fish has been always an article of his food; but his brethren who have migrated to India having all adopted the worship of Vishnu, and assumed the cleanliness of person and strictness in diet peculiar to this sect, many of those remaining in Sindh have, in the same respects, deviated from their original customs.

The Lowannas or Lohannas compose the great body of Hindits in Sindh, where they follow the meanest modes of gaining subsistence, and rise to the highest offices under the government. Those of them who are attached to the chiefs and sovereigns are compelled to dress in the Muhammedan style, and to appear particularly clean; but others are so remarkably the opposite, that "as dirty as a Sindhi Lowanna" is a common expression. Both Bhattias and Lowannas wear the Brahman's string and the Musalmam's beard; at least the latter is common, although some affect to shave it. Those in the service of government are compelled to wear the beard, and much attention is bestowed upon it, as is generally the case wherever the beard is worn. The Lowanna customs admit of polygamy, of their females contracting second marriage engagements, and of divorce from that state. Those of the Bhattias do not. The Sarsat Brahman is the priest of the Lowannas, and differs very little from the people of that caste. He eats fish and flesh, drinks spirituous liquors, and lives upon his receipts at the marriages, births, and deaths of his followers. They worship the Hindi' goddesses in particular; and have many small pagodas, dedicated to the worship of the ocean, or

rather the river Indus, for a pot of fresh water is indispensable in the ceremonies of worship. The Pokarna Brahmans are the original priests of the Bhattias, and are somewhat more Hindu in reality than the Sarsat, although still inferior in that respect to their Indian disciples.

The language of Sindh is a written language, and has a character peculiar to itself. It is written from left to right, and has other signs of its Indian origin. The character is easily and expeditiously formed, and the letters run much into each other. To a cursory observer the Sindhi approaches nearer to the Malabar character than any other I have seen; but on breaking up the letters and examining them they have no resemblance. In the province there are two distinct languages. The first and original is the Sindhi, the other the Belluchi, which can scarcely be called a written tongue, although it is commonly met with in the Arabic character. The Sindhi, as I have said, is a written tongue, and seems to me, from the little acquaintance I have with it, to be a branch of the Sanskrit stock, which has supplied India with languages. That it is of Sanskrit origin, I advance on the opinion of scholars of the country; and on the same authority I may state, that the Sindhi has fewer modern innovations and a greater number of Sanskrit words than the Gujarati, which is a pure Hindi" dialect. There is some affinity between the two—at least the radicals of words are alike, though the entire words have no resemblance. There is undoubtedly, however, a great portion of Panjabi in the Sindhi; and, in fact, it is by many considered as only a dialect of that language.

The Sindhi is the language used by the Hindu inhabitants, and, indeed, by the mass of the population of Sindh proper, those of the southern desert, and, with a little variation, by the Jharejos of Cutch. It is worthy of remark, that the Jharejas, Bhattias, Lowannas, and other Sindhi tribes now inhabiting Cutch, have brought with them their language, which they still continue to speak in that country; but the Gujarati, which is spoken by the Abirs, Charas, and shepherds, who, if not the aborigines, are certainly many centuries prior to the others, as inhabitants of Cutch, has maintained its superiority, and continues to be the only written tongue in the province.

The Belluche is spoken by the different tribes of that name, who are, in fact, foreigners to Sindh. Their language appears to be a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Panjabi, and Sanskrit, and is spoken by them in various dialects. I subjoin in the appendix the numerals, with a few of the most common words both of the Sindhi and Belluchi, which have a strong resemblance to each other.

Under the Kalhora dynasty the government of Sindh was patriarchal. Every Muhammadan, from his religious principles, obeyed the sovereign; and the Hindu, at all times ready to imbibe every superstition, whether of his own or another faith, became, from the same cause, attached to his rule. A course of conduct replete with treachery, violence, and folly, alienated the affections of many of the military tribes

from the later princes of this race, and ultimately gave rise to the revolution which placed the present Talpura family on the throne.

The system of government pursued by this family is purely military, and, when examined, appears extremely superficial and temporary. All their views are directed to the accumulation of wealth, which they acquire by extortion and cruelty, and have thus reduced the revenues by one-third within the last thirty years. The districts are generally farmed to revenue officers, who are compelled to levy from the subject, over and above the fair dues of the public, a sum to indemnify themselves for the fine which their masters frequently impose.¹⁷

The Amirs hold courts of justice in their own presence every Friday; but they are rendered subordinate to the acquisition of money, both plaintiff and defendant being made to pay to the utmost extent of their means. There are, however, some singular instances of disinterested justice afforded by these venal judges towards foreigners against natives of Sindh, and the excellence of the government which existed under the authority of Mir Gholam Ali is frequently spoken of. The power of life and death is centered in two of the principal chiefs and governors only, and other officers send their prisoners to their presence.

As the government exists at present, it must be considered, in the true sense of the appellation, a military despotism; and although the annals of Asiatic countries seldom record any other kind of rule, yet it may be fairly questioned if any instance of such a despotic government is to be met with in their pages. The light in which the Talpuras stand, as usurpers of a popular government, may, perhaps, be the cause of their tenacity of a military reputation; and to this circumstance, and to the divided state of the reigning family in Kandahar, alone is to be attributed the success of the Talpuras in holding the supreme authority for so long a time. That they do not possess the good wishes of the inhabitants, and that their rule has always been in a very precarious state, is universally allowed; and that they themselves are aware of the circumstance may be inferred, as well from the steadiness with which they persevere in destroying the revenues of the province, for the sake of accumulating private wealth, as from the extraordinary favors conferred on the military tribes at the expense of their other subjects, and contrary to the rules of a good and systematic government.

We have seen that the deposed race of sovereigns possessed a double tie upon the affections of the natives of Sindh. The latter were attached to the Kalhoras, as a family which long held the sway, and under whose guidance the province had attained a considerable degree of prosperity. The sacred stock from which these chiefs were descended, and the respect and reverence which were their due from the

¹⁷ I am acquainted with a respectable Lowanna who farmed some of the districts, and was plundered by the Amirs and compelled to become Muhammadan.

Muhammadan part of their population, likewise weighed in their favor. The severe and illiberal treatment which the Hindus experienced under a few of the latter princes of the family may be considered as an obstacle to the eventual restoration of the Kalhoras to the throne; but as the Hindi's almost exclusively follow the peaceable walks of life, their voice would not be heard among a nation of armed men. It is also remarkable how little the people of Asiatic countries have to do in the revolutions of their governments. They are never guided by any great and common impulse of feeling, and take no part in events the most interesting and important to their country and their own prosperity. Thinking not of consequences beyond a day, they follow blindly, like slaves, whoever may be able to afford them a momentary gratification, by pay or plunder.

If, what is not probable, it should ever occur that an organized attempt were made by a Kalhora to recover the authority of the family, it could hardly fail of success. The Muhammadan families are, many of them, jealous of the success of a tribe with which they consider themselves as on an equality in every respect; whilst the treatment of every caste and description of natives has been more harsh and inconsiderate than has been their lot under any other of the various forms of government to which Sindh has been subjected.

The western Hindu has for many centuries known no other government but that of Islam. Shutout from intercourse with their Indian brethren, and surrounded by Musalmans, the Hindus of Sindh have lost those fine feelings of caste and distinction which characterize the same race elsewhere; for in the worst of times, and under the most bigoted Muhammadan sovereigns, there has always been some favored spot, some happy corner, where the principles of Hindu government have been maintained, and the prejudices of religion and the caste kept warmly alive. Hence there have, in the course of centuries, occasionally burst forth active and ambitious individuals, who have laid the foundations of powerful and independent states, or restored the vital spark to those which were languishing under the yoke of Islam.

How different is the picture which Sindh presents! In the course of a thousand years there is not an instance of a Hindu having attempted to rescue himself or fellow-countrymen from a state of the vilest slavery; nor, since the fall of the Hindu dynasty, has any aboriginal native of the province raised himself to independence, if we except the Samna family, who had, however, changed their religion before they succeeded to sovereignty.

The original Hindu tribes who were lords of the soil are all now ranged under the faith of MUHAMMED, or have become assimilated to his followers; and the peculiar custom of portions of tribes becoming proselytes to Islam, but retaining the name, dress, and, in some measure, the manners and prejudices of their origin, tended much to the removal of the distinction which religion had established.

Branches of the same family were at the same time professing different religious tenets, and maintaining their accustomed familiarity of intercourse. Muhammadan converts retained Hindu names, and Hindu's openly avowed their belief in and respect for the Muhammadan faith. In such a state of society, and where such manners prevailed, it cannot be doubted but that there must have been a tendency to the extinction of all feeling in regard to difference of religion and caste. That such has been the result, the present state of Hinduism in Sindh and the south-west part of India, among the tribes who are original natives of the country, bears ample testimony.

This short digression was necessary to shew, that, if even the Hindu part of the population had the power to influence the fate of the government of Sindh, it would not be guided in any degree by motives of religion, and that the restoration of the Kalhoras would not be impeded by any feelings derived from that quarter.

We are somewhat surprised to discover, that notwithstanding the unpopular government of the Talpuras, they have few or no prejudices against those who profess a different faith. Hindus possess the confidence of the rulers, equally, and perhaps in a greater degree than do the followers of Muhammad; and they compose the most valuable and trustworthy part of their establishment, as officers and servants. In Sindh, also, the Shia and the Sunni among the Musalmans are equally protected. The chiefs themselves adhere to the doctrines of the former sect, whilst those of the Sunni are more prevalent in the province.

Although the Amirs are thus liberal towards those who worship idols, they are, nevertheless, eager in making converts to the true faith, and avail themselves of the smallest opening or coloring to compel the poorer class of inhabitants to conform to it. If an unfortunate Louwanna happens to say to a Mussalman, "You are my brother," or "I will accompany you on your journey," he is liable to feel the folly of his cordiality in circumcision. Still, however, no advantage is taken of their difference in religion to the detriment of their persons or property. The misfortunes which marked the latter years of their predecessors in power may have afforded the Talpuras a lesson on the score of the impartiality which governments owe to their subjects; or the more powerful consideration of pecuniary benefit may have dictated toleration as the best policy.

In other respects, the oppression and exorbitant exactions of these governors are the subject of well-founded and universal discontent. Their avarice is so unbounded, and so illegally gratified, as to prove an effectual check to trade and manufacture: both of which are fast declining, and must soon reach the lowest ebb, if not saved by a timely revolution. The immediate produce of this short-sighted policy has been enormous; but the increase must naturally become every year less with the deficiency of revenue. It is well ascertained that the Amirs had deposited many crores of their accumulated wealth in their fortresses within the great desert, where it was long considered safe from the attempts of the northern invaders, who constantly threatened Sindh with their inroads.

The rapid strides of the British arms, however, towards their eastern frontier, have alarmed them for their power as well as treasure. The latter was some years ago removed to a position in the mountains to the north-west of Haiderabad, where a fort¹⁸ is now nearly completed, which they consider, from its natural and artificial defenses, as impregnable. The treasure is all in gold and jewels, into which the annual revenues are quickly transformed and deposited in their hoard, to the great injury of the trade and industry of the country.

The quantity of specie and bullion thus annually subtracted from the circulating medium, and, indeed, the capital of the country, it would be difficult exactly to calculate; but if we refer to the revenue of the government, and to the schedule of the expenses of the state, as given in the Appendix, we shall find that the latter are uncommonly small in comparison, and it is therefore probable that the sums amassed are very considerable.

The policy of the Amirs appears to be equally simple and ridiculous. Their principal anxiety is to keep aloof from intercourse with foreigners, whom they treat with a jealousy and suspicion approaching to insult. By these means they expect to conceal the resources of the country and the disposition of its inhabitants, and by an overbearing and haughty behavior they expect to impress strangers with a high opinion of their rank and power. Never was there such an erroneous line of policy adopted; for, in the first place, their jealousy invites attention and inquiry, when their threats are at once discovered to be empty boasting, and are contradicted by the personal fears of the Amirs, who have so little command over their feelings that they have become notorious far beyond the limits of their kingdom. The treasure that has been collected is stated by these chiefs to be intended for the public use, in cases of exigent danger from foreign enemies. But it is the general belief, that they are so sensible of the feeble nature of their authority, that it is their intention to ship their riches for Muscat in case of any serious threat or invasion of an enemy.

No foreign power has excited such uneasiness in the breasts of the Amirs as the British, of whom they have always been extremely suspicious; but the events which have occurred within the last fifteen years have presented to them a nation hitherto only partially known in the capacity of conquerors of princes and nations, approaching with rapid strides in all directions towards their frontier, and have created a sensation which these boasters cannot conceal. These sentiments of fear and suspicion have on frequent occasions been made evident; but since the British government was forced by circumstances to support an influence in Catch, they have known no bounds. It is well ascertained that they have long since ceased to fear or respect the authority of the King of Kandahar; yet in the moment of alarm, and on the advance of an English army into Catch, the Amirs cunningly endeavored, by false and exaggerated representations, to

¹⁸ Ranni is the name of the place alluded to.

urge the already distracted councils of the north into a dispute with our government solely to satisfy their own fears, and at the same time intrigued with the petty states of Cutch to renounce the friendship of that power, which had only a few months previously called them into existence.

As the Amirs certainly contemplated the probability of an attempt on the part of some foreign power to dispossess them of Sindh, it perhaps may not be considered irrelevant to offer a few observations on the means which they possess of repelling such an attack, if made. These, however, I propose to offer in as concise a manner as the subject will admit, since it possesses but little interest with the generality of readers.

The military force of the Amirs of Sindh is composed of levies from the Muhammadan tribes, which are more remarkable for their numbers and variety than for their prowess in war. These tribes are subject to chieftains of the same family, holding a certain quantity of land for the support of those followers who reside upon it. The Jaghirs are exposed to change with the pleasure of the Amirs, who frequently make transfers annually, and in some cases not for ten years. The names of the soldiers belonging to the chieftains, at least those of the Belluchis, are registered with their descent, which is carefully preserved as a mark of distinction among that caste of people; by which means, if any of them are discharged by the *jaghirdar*, they have only to complain to the Darbar, which redresses their grievances; and at the same time this usage enables them to check the abuses consequent on the system of never mustering their retainers.

The *jaghirdars* seldom or never pay their followers in cash, but each man has a certain quantity of grain allotted to him, which he receives at the different periods of harvest. Under the Kalhora government a bad principle existed of *Jaghirdars*, who were the heads of different military tribes, *viz.* the Talpuras, Jaquias, Leckis, and Khosahs, having all the military force of the state included under their respective banners. The Talpuras, however, have adopted another, and better system; for they cautiously prohibit any excessive *Jaghir*, and no *Sirdar* of that description has now more than a thousand or twelve hundred followers. The Khosahs are excluded entirely, as are the Leckis, from their supposed attachment to the Kalhoras; and the number of *Jaghirs* retained as servants are reduced to an officer and a hundred or two hundred men, with three hundred of the tribe of Namurdi, of both of which the Talpuras are exceedingly jealous.

The number of household troops, which compose the only force on permanent duty, does not exceed four thousand men. They are quartered in Haiderabad; and about half the number are mounted on government horses. Their duty is to attend the Amirs, both as servants and soldiers. They are paid half-yearly, and receive principally grain in lieu of wages.

On occasions of necessity, when an army is requisite, orders are dispatched throughout the province for the *Jaghirdars* to assemble at stated places and periods, with their

armed followers. Three days are sufficient to spread the intelligence, and fifteen to effect the assembly of about thirty-five thousand men; two-thirds and upwards of which are cavalry. The country people boast that the Sindhi levies amount to a hundred thousand; but there is every reason to believe that, including twelve thousand of Mir Sahrabs and five thousand of Mir Thairas, who are not federals of Haiderabad, the state of Sindh could not levy above fifty or fifty-five thousand fighting men.

This military assembly is composed of different tribes of Muhammadans amounting to several hundred, but generally commanded by Belluchis, and in particular by Talpuras, in whom the Amirs naturally confide, and whom they have until lately favored to the injury of all their other subjects. The troops are armed with swords and shields, and matchlocks; and, independent of the established allowances from their immediate chief, they receive from the Amir's treasury each foot-soldier three Dohras, and each horseman double that sum per day, as long as they are employed. The *Sirdars* also receive a daily allowance correspondent with the rank which they hold in the list of officers. The artillery of the Sindhis is notoriously wretched—they seldom have more than three or four guns with the army; and as this powerful arm is looked down upon by these soldiers, the equipments of these few pieces are uncommonly bad.

The cavalry are mounted on various descriptions of horse. The *tattu*, or pony, is, however, the most common. Numbers are seen on mules; and from the Amir to the beggar a camel is in use. The horses, even of the best breeds, are not adapted to form good cavalry, for they are generally heavy in hand — a fault which is increased to such a degree by the ambling pace to which they are universally trained, as to render it difficult to urge them to a gallop. Their matchlock-men are excellent, and, as before observed, are trained to the use of this weapon from their infancy.

The pay of a Sindhi soldier, calculating on the rate at which he receives grain, may amount to two and a half rupees per month, or perhaps a trifle more, with the additional allowance already mentioned, when on actual service. His food when at home has before been described; and when abroad he still adheres to a simple diet.

The foregoing cursory remarks will suffice to shew that little effort could be made by the military resources of Sindh; and that even admitting that the rulers were capable of bringing into the field the numbers of which they boast, the system by which they are organized would nevertheless prohibit any vigorous military measures. The feudal services of the most warlike nations in the world have been found calculated only to check or quell the intestine broils which they themselves create, and have always been deficient when opposed to an army organized like those of modern times. They are badly armed; are without order or discipline; and constantly disperse on suffering a defeat, however trivial.

Unlike other countries, Sindh has few or no fortified places, the attack of which might retard the motions of an invading army. The few forts that are to be met with are extremely insignificant; and although there are some strong natural positions on the western bank of the Indus, it has never been the policy of the government in such cases to defend them; for to do so, would still leave the fertile country an easy prey to the enemy. The custom hitherto has been for the people of Sindh to fly with their property to the desert, where they remain in perfect safety, under the protection of the desert tribes, whose hospitality has frequently been put to a severe test, but has never failed.

If the danger is very urgent, an order is issued for the destruction of all property, and the Belluchis and other barbarous tribes commence a system of plunder and rapine among each other on the goods of their neighbors, which is justified on the principle that the enemy might benefit by it, in a public point of view; or at all events, that it is better for friends to plunder their own country, than that it should fall to the lot of foreigners. The history of the country affords abundance of instances of this line of proceeding; and the province has often been overrun, and generally fallen an easy conquest. The devastating system was adopted by the Sumras, when Ala-ad-Din invaded Sindh. When Humayun sought an asylum here, Mirza Shah Husain followed the same plan; and in the attack of the Khan Khanan Mirza Jani Beg reduced the province to the condition of a wilderness, and permitted his capital city to be burnt and sacked by his own subjects. The same policy was frequently adopted by the Kalhoras, whose early history is one continued description of flight to the desert and returns to re-occupy the abandoned province.

The government of Kandahar, as it has existed since the time of Ahmed Khan Durrani, has never been sufficiently united to effect (if it seriously desired it) the conquest of Sindh. If we refer to the Afghan history of this period, we shall find that they have either been engaged in wars of tribes, with dissensions in their royal family, or in defending themselves from the attacks of their neighbors. Nevertheless, they appear to have desolated the country on more occasions than one; but have either been bribed by a pecuniary present, or compelled by domestic circumstances, to return, without making a settlement either for themselves or for the unfortunate Kalhora, whose battles they pretended to fight.

Of late years the government of Kandahar has fallen a prey to the ambition of its different members, and to their enemies the Sikhs, now an aspiring nation of soldiers, who are likely to turn their arms against Sindh in the course of a few years; and there cannot be a doubt but that they will obtain an easy conquest, unless the policy of some other powers shall interfere with this system of aggrandizement.

The British government has, in the course of events, become a neighbor of Sindh, and our possessions extend so near to the borders of the territory of the Amirs, that our frontier is exposed to depredations from their banditti. Much mischief has already been

committed by these plunderers; and representations have been made to the Amirs, without succeeding in checking the evil. As the Pindarri hordes have been broken and dispersed in Hindustan by a wise policy, the execution of which was perhaps delayed too long, it is not improbable that some steps may ultimately be taken for the extirpation of the banditti who find an asylum in countries composing part of the Sindh territory. Should such a measure ever be contemplated, and were a war with the Amirs to be the consequence, it ought not to excite any uneasiness. The success of any attack on Sindh cannot be doubted, provided the proper season of the year is chosen. The policy of such a measure is more problematical. In our present situation, we cannot be provided with a better frontier than that which we have in the desert; and the independence of the Jhareja chieftains in Cutch ought to be particularly cherished by us. The only advantage which we can hope to attain, and by far the most important, is by a commercial connection with Sindh, to which our views should be restricted; unless appearances in European policy should be such as to dictate the propriety of establishing some degree of influence at the court of a state possessed of great resources for the supply and convenience of armies.

MEMOIRS ON THE RIVER INDUS

ART. M.—*Dissertation on the River Indus. By the late Captain JAMES MCMURDO, of the Hon. East-India Company's Military Service on the Bombay Establishment. — Communicated by Lieut. Colonel EDWARD FREDERICK, M.R.A.S., Commissary-General of Bombay, &c. &c.*

The following, from Colonel Fredrick, bears such honorable testimony to the character and merits of the much-lamented author of the accompanying Dissertation, that the Council deems it highly deserving of being recorded.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Sir, Bombay, Sept. 20, 1833.

The original of the accompanying Manuscript fell into my hands some weeks since; and in justice to the lamented and able individual who had been engaged on the spot for a series of years in its preparation, I deem it requisite to submit this portion of his labors to the judgment of the Society, and to promote, in as far as it rests with me, their publicity.

If the subject, and its mode of treatment, appear of the same value in the estimation of the Society that they do in mine, I should hope that the Dissertation will find an appropriate place in the Annual Transactions.

Captain McMurdo, whose character and talents could receive no additional luster from any testimony that a sincere feeling of friendship would willingly accord, has been dead some years: this remembrance of him, therefore, can do no more than revive a pleasing reminiscence and gratification to his relatives and friends, the latter of whom were both numerous and deeply attached to him. As to the interest his literary attempts may excite in the world at large, I must of course leave to the taste of the public to determine; and as far as I am myself concerned, I can only add, that I have not risked an alteration, curtailment, or addition, in any part.

There is one merit, however, his labors possess in an eminent degree, that never, I should conceive, fails to fix the value of a literary work as connected with the accuracy of its facts and relations, which form its ground-work. In this view, any production of Captain McMurdo's would ensure the esteem of his friends, from their conviction that his moral feeling would prevent him hazarding anything that had not received the strongest confirmation in his own mind; the tone of which was governed by the nicest delicacy of sentiment, and most rigid

adherence to the authenticity of the occurrences and events related. He might be said, in his assertions of historical accounts, to have adopted the principle of Herodotus—of advancing as a fact only what he had seen, and relating as tradition what had been mentioned to him by others.

I have two other Papers in my possession: one of which is a Description of the River Indus, which the Geographical Society here have prepared for publication; and a History of Sindh. This latter I shall do myself the pleasure to forward, by an early opportunity.

In order that the Paper I now transmit may appear to the Society in the light it deserves, I beg to add, that I have compared the writing of the original with Captain McMurdo's signature and hand-writing in other documents, and feel perfectly convinced of their similarity.

I have the honor to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)
ED. FREDERICK.

CAPTAIN MC MURDO'S PAPER.

MEMOIRS ON THE RIVER INDUS

Before I proceed to a description of the River Indus as it at present exists, I shall endeavor to throw some light upon the nature and courses of this noble stream, as they have stood at different periods in its ancient history. It is necessary to premise, that, in advancing any opinion on the subject, I shall be guided entirely by such lights as have been occasionally discovered in the native histories of the times, and in the course of a laborious and protracted investigation, conducted chiefly by means of natives well acquainted with the country through which the River Indus flows. I must however candidly confess my conviction, that the state of this stream, even so late as twenty-five years ago, cannot be correctly ascertained; and that its ancient course is involved in an obscurity, that no conclusions drawn, either from records of an early date, or from modern observation, will ever succeed in entirely dispelling. In the course of my remarks, I feel that I shall be compelled to differ in opinion with able and learned writers; in whose theory of the ancient Indus, if I should appear not on all occasions to concur, yet, as my own sentiments will, I trust, be found stated without presumption, I indulge a hope of standing acquitted of any intention to enter the lists with such talent as has been employed on this subject, or of invidiously attacking a system, which, if not absolutely correct, displays a degree of ingenuity and research, far beyond what could have been expected from writers who had never visited India, or at least those parts connected in any way with this river; and whose sources of information must, from the little intercourse that Europeans have ever had with Sindh, have been no less obscure than limited.

The River Indus is known, in the earliest of the Sacred Hindu writings, by the name of Sindh or *Sindhu*, a term applied, in the same language, to the ocean; and the river may have received the appellation, either from its size, or perhaps, metaphorically, from the abundance of every necessary of life produced by its periodical floods. The country, on the same authority, is called *Sindhudes*, or the country of *Sindhu*; but whether the river took its name from the former, or that of the country had its rise in the latter, it is impossible to determine. I am not prepared to assert that the term *Sindhu* originally attached to the river, higher up in its course than where the junction of the several tributaries form one stream; indeed, I am inclined to suppose otherwise: for although, at the period of the Muhammadan conquest, and perhaps long prior to the commencement of the era of *Islam*, the territories of the sovereigns of *A'lor* extended nearly to the confines of *Kashmir*, yet it is probable that their original sovereignty was *Sindhudes*; which, from the situation of the two capitals, and other large towns in their dominions, would appear to indicate the country lying south of *Multan*; an opinion

corroborated by prevalent tradition, and indeed by the understanding of the present generation, that *Sindh*, or *Sindhudes* Proper, includes a small portion of the southern part of *Sindh*, chiefly on the eastern bank of the Indus. When the Arabs entered the province, we find that the proper name *Sindh* was very much out of use, and that the same channel of the river took names from the different cities, towns, and even villages, beneath which it chanced to flow. This practice, which had perhaps obtained for centuries in all the varieties to which it is naturally subject, and which is still prevalent, is the principal cause of the confused mixture of names of rivers, which are constantly floating on the mind of the investigator, and involving him in a maze of difficulty, which he finds it utterly impossible to unravel, and the varieties of which he cannot satisfactorily reconcile.

The peculiar nature of this river, the lowness of its banks in many places, the height to which its waters rise above the level of the surrounding country in others, the great declination from the north which is generally allowed to be a characteristic of the Indus, are circumstances which, as the soil is loose and sandy, combine to expose its channels to great and frequent changes: nor does this apply alone to the *delta*, as in other large streams; for I believe I shall be able to shew, in the sequel, that such material alterations have from time to time occurred in the courses of the Indus far above the *delta*, as at present understood, as must be acknowledged to render it a matter of the greatest difficulty, if not absolutely impossible, to reconcile the ancient and modern streams.

In the course of my reading, and verbal inquiry while compiling the History of *Sindh*, I was struck by the great difference between the inhabited part of the country as it existed at the time of the Arab invasion, twelve centuries ago, and as it stood at the time of the *Arghur* conquest, or indeed as it is at the present day. In the battle which was fought under the walls of *A'lor*, and which decided the fate of *Sindh*, historians relate,¹⁹ that when the troops of Rai Dahir fled in confusion, they rushed in numbers to the river and were drowned, and that the body of the prince was discovered in a ravine leading to the bed of the river. We also learn from the same sources,²⁰ that *A'lor* was situated on a stream of the Indus that was navigable to the sea. *Bahamanabad* (the *Brahmana* of the Hindus), according to the last-quoted author, was situated on a stream of the Indus called *Patan Bahman*, afterwards known by the name of the *Lohanna Deria*. Both the authors now quoted, agree in stating, that, until some years after the Arab conquest, the district of *T'hatta* was by no means well peopled, or productive; and that it was originally an uninhabited sand desert, or covered with the sea. The rich and fertile tracts of *Sindh*, the consequences of abundance of water, were then the districts included in the ancient *Dirak*, or modern *Chachgam* and *Badban* divisions, a range of country bordering on the desert, and now indebted for a scanty supply of water to artificial canals.

¹⁹ Mir Maasam.

²⁰ *Tohfat al Giram; Tarikh-i-Tahiri*.

The foregoing facts first led me to suspect that a great body of the waters of this vast river found their way to the sea by a more eastern course than that which is at present followed by the main stream; and the inquiries and investigations which succeeded, although they added further conviction to my mind, were nevertheless attended with so many contrarieties to be reconciled, and so much confusion to be cleared up, that although I have frequently thought the different points sufficiently illustrated for my own conception, yet their succinctness, on committing them to paper, has proved far below my expectations. Such as they are, however, I venture to present them to the notice of those who are better able to do justice to a subject of such intricacy and interest.

The channel, which I suppose the Indus to have occupied at the above-mentioned early period, is still to be seen. It lies to the eastward, and parallel to the present stream, at a distance of between sixty and eighty miles. This channel is now known by the name of the *Purana Deria*, or "ancient river," and on its banks, or their vicinity, are to be traced the remains of the ancient and celebrated cities of *A'lor*, *Bahmana*, *Abpur*, and *Wagehkot*, the capital of the *Sumrahs*. I have not found it practicable to trace, with the precision I could wish, the exact spot where the *Purana* channel separates from the present stream. That it was above *Bhakir* is certain; and several accounts that I have had, state that it is at a place now called *Syyed Ganj Bakhsh*, about forty miles above the former city. I suppose, therefore, that the *Puran* passed to the eastward of the modern town of *Bhakir*, perhaps twenty miles, and flowed to *A'lor*; from whence it pursued its course south to the neighborhood of *Bahamana*; which town was situated, as will be seen by a reference to the map, a few miles to the westward of the river, upon a branch called (formerly) the "*Lohanna Derida*" or the *Lohanna* river, but now generally known by the name of the *Bahmanawa*, or "the canal of *Bahmana*."

In the latitude of this latter town, and about twenty miles east from it, a division took place in the *Puran*: one branch, still retaining the name, travelled south, and, fertilizing the now sterile districts bordering on the great desert, passing through the *Jone* and *Badban Parganah*, fell into the present river, near *Allah Bandar*, where, spreading itself over the flat country, it found its way into the sea, through the *Lakpat* river; which I conceive to have been, as it is at this moment, the easternmost branch of the Indus. That this branch formed a lake near its mouth, is mentioned by *ARRIAN*; and the name of *Narayana Sirowar*,²¹ which, with *Koteshwara*, is situated on this river, about twenty miles S. W. of *Lakpat Bandar*, proves that a lake of some kind did actually exist in that quarter. These two places are extremely ancient; and are mentioned in the Hindu *Puranas*, as places of worship.²² I shall have occasion hereafter to return to this part of the subject;

²¹ The lake of *Narayana*.

²² There is still a small tank or piece of water at *Nardyana Sirowar*, in which the Hindus bathe, to purify themselves of their sins: there is also a town surrounded by a wall belonging to Cutch. *Koteshwara* is a Pagoda or Hindu Temple, and a small village on the bank of the river, one mile from *Nardyana Sirowar*. The water is salt.

but it may not be superfluous to remark, that the remains of a lake, or of the waters of the Indus having spread themselves to an uncommon extent, are evident in the marshy ground lying between *Allah Bandar* and *Lakpat* on the north and south, and the present *delta* of the river and the *Runn* or marsh lands to the north of *Cutch* on the east and west. For the present, it will be proper to return to the division of the *Puran*, and, for the sake of perspicuity, trace the westernmost branch of the Indus.

This stream, at one period called the *Lohana Deria*,²³ separating from the *Puran*, pursued a course westerly as far as the modern *Khodabad*, or perhaps between that place and *Halakandi*; where, joining the present channel, it crossed that course; and fell into the sea at *Dibal*, after passing the ancient *Bhambor*,²⁴ the ruins of which city are to be seen about twenty miles on the road from *T'hatta* to *Karatchi*. Although I cannot satisfactorily establish the exact spot where this branch separates from the channel at present forming the river, yet that it ran to the westward of *T'hatta* is mentioned in the *Tabkat-i-Akbari*, an historical work of some repute; and, indeed, this is generally allowed to be the case: however doubtful this may be, it is a well-established fact, that at *Gagah* between *Karatchi* and *T'hatta*, and where the ruins of *Bhambor* are still to be seen, is a creek terminating in a sandy channel,²⁵ communicating with the sea, which the tradition of the country, known to all, asserts to have been a mouth of the Indus. A reference to M. DE LA ROCHETTE'S map will shew a similar branch to this, actually crossing the present channel at *Halakandi*, and passing the westward to *Dibal*: on this branch he has placed *Sarasan*.

Bhambor was a city, the seat of a chieftain named *Bhambo Raja*²⁶ who lived about the end of the tenth century. That it was a town of considerable note, and very populous, we learn from an author who states that the *Sakia Pargana*²⁷ was peopled from *Bhambor* when that city and its surrounding country were deserted from a failure in the river, which, now passing close to *T'hatta* (still to the west however), fell into the sea, near *Lari Bandar*. Independently of the testimony already adduced of *Bhambor* having been on the bank of a branch of the Indus, we have that of the *Tohfat al Giram*, and the ancient legends and ballads of *Sindh*, to a circumstance from which we may infer that the *Lohanna Deria* did actually flow past the city in question. The circumstance to which I allude, is that of the female infant of an inhabitant of a town on that branch having been floated to *Bhambor* in a chest or basket, where it was saved by some washermen, and carried to their master, under whose care it was reared, and afterwards gave rise to one of the most popular ballads in the *Sindhi* language. It appears that the parents of the child wished to destroy it; but being saved as already described, in a few years she

²³ *A'ghamkot*, or *A'gham*, *Lohanna's* city, is said to have been situated on this river, which gave the name to the stream.— *A'gham* is by some supposed to have been *A'bpur*, which is comparatively a modern name.

²⁴ Or *Bhambora*.— I believe that this city did not exist until the first *Dibal* was deserted.

²⁵ Mr. Maxfield's Journal.

²⁶ *Tohfat al Giram*.

²⁷ Mir Tahir.

displayed a degree of personal beauty far beyond the common standard, and received, in consequence, the name of Susi, or "the Moon." The legends relate an attachment between her and Pannu the son of a chieftain of Makran,²⁸ who came from the neighboring country to ascertain if fame spoke truth of her charms. He became her slave; but the cruelty of his father brought both to an untimely end.

It matters little whether this love-story is a plain fact, or whether it is embellished by Asiatic fancy or superstition. One thing we may fairly take as truth; that is, that the wildest fiction could hardly have brought a stream from *Bahamana* to *Bhambor*, if it did not exist; particularly when we reflect, that, for the principal part of the romance, the river in its actual situation, if *Bhambor* was not mentioned, would have done equally well. The washerman, whose name is recorded, is said to have been a man of considerable wealth; and that he had a great number of workmen in his service, who, when employed on the river, found the basket in which the child was: it may be inferred from this, that the river at *Bhambor* was of fresh water; which corresponds with the history of the Indus, the waters of which are fresh to the very lowest parts of the delta.²⁹

From what has been already adduced, it appears certain that there has been some remarkable change in the course of the Indus; and it remains for me to shew on what grounds I assume the *Puran* to have been the former channel of this river.

That a material change took place, is positively stated by several authors;³⁰ and although they attribute it to means by which it could scarcely have been effected, yet—as we are aware of the superstition of the Asiatic, the desire inherent in him to set down to the score of divine interference, circumstances by no means beyond the efforts of mankind, or at least the common course of nature—the objections made to the mode in which it is said to have been brought about can by no means be considered as tending to invalidate the fact of an alteration in the stream of the river. Mir Tahir relates, that during the government of Dillu Raja at *A'lor*, his tyranny reduced his subjects to a state of abject wretchedness. The duties which he levied on merchandise passing down the river at *A'lor* amounted to one-half their value, independent of the valuable articles which he in general forced from the merchant. On one occasion, a Muhammadan merchant of great respectability, named Saif Al Mulk, with his wife Badi' Al Jamal, was proceeding down the river to embark at Diwal, on a pilgrimage to the city of Mecca.

In those days, the *Mehran* (Indus) flowed past the vicinity of the city of *A'lor*; and Dillu Raja, hearing of the beauty of the traveler's wife, determined to seize her, as she passed the town. The merchant, finding his voyage thus interrupted, prayed to God for

²⁸ He is stated to have been a Muhammadan of the tribe of *Airi*. This tribe is still numerous in Sindh.—May they not be, from their situation, the *Arrie*, or the *Oriti*, of the Greeks?

²⁹ *Bhambor* is now forty miles from the sea.

³⁰ *Tohfah al Giram*, and *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*.

assistance; and employed stone-cutters to cut through a mountain which approached to the bank of the river, and built a strong rampart on the opposite side; which having effected, he passed through with his boats. From this time, the *Mehran*, deserting its ancient course, pursued the channel it at present occupies, and, notwithstanding every exertion, the city of *A'lor* was deserted. Saif Al Mulk and his wife returned; and, with two sons, were, at their death, interred between the *Dera Ghazi Khan* and *Sitapura*, where their tombs are still worshipped, near the fort of *Rattah*, a place of great antiquity.

The *Tarikh-i-Tairi* states the same event to have taken place, and from the same cause; and adds, that the river from that time "took a course by *Bhakir* and *Sehwan*; and, by its desertion of the *A'lor* channel, that city, and between nine hundred and a thousand towns and villages, were rendered uninhabitable; and Dillu Raja compelled to change his residence to *Dillor*," the present *A'bpur*, near *Bahmana*. Such is the account given by these historians of an event of vast importance to a whole country; and however skeptical we may be as to the manner in which it was effected, the truth of the fact is corroborated by legends and tradition, which, with the evidence that may be drawn from what I have already mentioned, ought to be sufficient to substantiate it to most minds. Another argument, however, and to my mind one of great weight in favor of the ancient channel in question, is, that the capitals *A'lor*, *Bahmana*, and *Wagehkot* – the two former of undoubted antiquity – were situated in the neighborhood of the *Puran*, and far from any river or fertile country at the present time. Now, I do not conceive it likely that the two principal cities in the empire would have been built in a desert: on the contrary, it is natural that they should have been founded on the banks of a river which nature pointed out as the source of wealth and comfort to their inhabitants.

That there is no mistake in the supposed site of *A'lor*, I think I may venture to assume. It is a *parganah* in the present *Sirkar* of *Bhakir*,³¹ which city was built from its ruins; and the town or ruins of *A'lor* are as familiar to the natives of the country, as *Bhakir* itself is. That *Bahmana*, *Bahbina*, *Bahnband*, or *Brahmanabad*, as it is variously written by Persian historians, was situated on the *Lohanna Deria*, also called the *Bahmanawa*, is certified by the remains of the city still to be seen, and by the universal testimony of the country; and I feel confident that this ancient city is erroneously said to have been near *T'htatta*; the result of my inquiries on the subject having satisfied me that the remains of the ancient *Kallakot*, or perhaps those of *Bhambor*, have led to the mistake.³² *Brahmanabad*, and *Bahmana*, in all the situations where I have met with their names, have never been considered as different places: and as to the site of *Bahmana*, I am positive. *Brahmanabad*³³ was overwhelmed by an earthquake, or by sands from the desert, for the

³¹ Mir Massam.

³² I have heard natives of *T'hatta*, when asked where *Brahamanabad* was situated, say, that it was to the westward of, and near *T'hatta*; but I feel very positive that this is an error, as the country was not inhabited until after the Muhammadan era.

³³ *Tohfat al Giram*.

sins of Dillu Raja, and, metaphorically speaking, only a pillar left, to mark where it stood.

The period at which this change in the river occurred, is more open to dispute: for though all accounts agree in its having happened during the time of Dillu Raja, yet there is much inconsistency in the different authors with regard to the period when this prince lived.³⁴ One author³⁵ states him to have been a descendant of the old family of Ras; whilst another says that he was a Sumras.³⁶ There is no direct notice taken of the year in which he reigned, but, from concurring circumstances in history, it is most probable that he lived at a very early period of the Muhammadan era. Both historians already quoted relate that Amir had two sons, Dillu and Chata; the former of whom succeeding to the sovereignty, the latter visited Mecca, was there married, and, on his return, in A. H. 140, to *Sindh*, endeavored to amend his brother's morals: he failed, however; and Dillu making an attempt to seduce his wife, Chata left his territory, and resided in *Sehwan*, where his tomb was afterwards revered. It will have been seen, in the history of these times, that I have placed Dillu Raja about the beginning of the second century of the Hegira; and my reasons for so doing are there likewise detailed.³⁷

It appears, from the preceding detail, that vessels sailed down the Indus, to the sea at the port of *Diwal*, by the way of *A'lor*, or the *Puran* river; and that it was not until after the commencement of the second century of the Hejira, and the latter end of the seventh of the Christian era, that the channel by Bhakir and Satan was in existence, or, at all events, accessible. I feel diffident in asserting that the stream now flowing from *Bhakir* and *Khodabad* did not exist; but there will be reasons hereafter given, which will make the fact highly problematical.

It may be proper to fix the situations of some of the most ancient towns in *Sindh*, by which we may be guided in our elucidation of the subject;—and first with regard to *Diwal Bandar*. A learned and ingenious writer on this subject derives the name of this place from the Arabic *Dib al Sindhi*,³⁸ or the Island of *Sindh*. If this derivation was correct, we might certainly expect to find it corroborated by the sense of Arabian authors of the times. On the contrary, in the various readings that I have met with in Asiatic writings, I have never seen *Dib al Sindhi*; but either *Dibal* (ديبال) or *Diwal* (ديوال);³⁹ which last, as it is written with they, prohibits the idea of its being the Arabic particle ال

³⁴ *Tohfat al Giram*.

³⁵ Mir Tahir.

³⁶ Mir Tahir.

³⁷ Although some doubts certainly remain in my mind on this subject, I must nevertheless say, that there is more evidence for that which I have preferred, than for any other account of Dillu Raja.

³⁸ See Dissertation on the Voyage of Nearcuhus, by the Rev. W. Vincent, D.D.

³⁹ *Dibal* or *Diwal*, the Mohammadan *b* and Hindi *w* are the same.

or *al. Diwal* probably took its name from the Hindi *Dip*, an island; or from *Dewal*, the name of a Hindu temple, of which there was one of great celebrity in the town.⁴⁰

Diwal was situated on the western bank of the westernmost branch of the Indus, called the *Sagara*⁴¹ river: this, independent of the evidence of the author quoted, we may conclude was the case; for Muhammed Bin Kasim did not cross any river, when he attacked this place. The *Sagara* ran past *Bhambor*: therefore the port of *Diwal* must have been but a short distance from that place, which is forty miles from the sea. The *Diwal* now spoken of was reduced to ruins by a Muhammadan invasion, and another site chosen to the eastward. The new town still went by the same name; but it was deserted at the same time, and from the same cause, as *Bhambor*; and was succeeded by *Lari Bandar*, or the port of *Lar*, which is the name of the country⁴² forming the modern *delta*, particularly the western part.

Bhakir is a town on the situation of which much weight has been laid, by all writers on the river Indus. Here I conceive, however, they have been laboring under false impressions; for *Bhakir* is a modern town, if we are to credit native authorities. The author of the *Tohfat al Giram* states, that the village on the site of which the city was built was called *Farishta*, which would bespeak it of Arab origin; and it was not until after the conquest that it became the resort of *Saiyids* and other holy characters, when the subsequent ruin of *A'lor* raised *Bhakir* to the rank of a city. The name, by the same authority, is a corruption of *Bakar*, "the dawn;" which was bestowed upon it by Saiyi'd Muhammed Maki, of sacred memory. I have never, in the course of my researches, found *Bhakir* called *Almansura*, which name is attributed to it by the *A'yin Akbari*;⁴³ but even this would prove its Arabic origin.

Sehwan is undoubtedly a place of vast antiquity; perhaps more so than either *A'lor* or *Bahmana*. According to the *Tohfat al Giram*, it is *Lustan Saiwan*⁴⁴ and *Sehwan*, and modernly *Sewisani*: the orthography I have chosen, appears, however, to be the most ancient, for the city takes its name from its founder, Raja *Sehwan*, who is stated in history to be a descendant of *SINDH*, the fabulous author of the country and people. At all events, Raja *Sehwan* must have lived at a very early period. This city had its fortifications erected by one of the *Samma Jams*, was occupied afterwards by the *Arghuns* when it became subject to *Bhakir*, was the seat of an independent government in the

⁴⁰ See History.

⁴¹ *Ajaib al Makhlukat*.

⁴² Called by the ancients, *Laryia*.

⁴³ The *Ajaib al Makhlukat*, a book of considerable worth, says, that *Nasirpura* was built on the site of *Al Mansura*, which brings it near to *Brahmanabad*. According to D'Anville, *Nasirpura* was the seat of government of Feroz Shah's Lieutenant, in A. D. 1339; and *Bhakir* and *Lakhar*, with the country between those cities and *Nasirpura* were subject to him.

⁴⁴ Dr. Vincent appears to me to consider *Sewi* and *Sehwan* as the same; and, in consequence, has difficulties in his subject that would not otherwise occur. *Sewi* is a district, town, and province, north-west of *Bhakir*. *Sehwan* is never called *Sawi*.

time of AKBAR, and returned to its subordinate state on the rise of the *Kalhoras*. — I have already started a doubt of the river having originally passed the town; on which subject more shall be said in the end.

Hyderabad, the ancient *Nerunkot*; or *Nerun Kafiri*, as it was distinguished by the zealous Mohammedans. It is impossible to fix any period for the rise of this town: like *Sehwan*, it would appear to have been a fief of *A'lor*; the chieftain, who was suspected of treachery by the Raja, was removed, under the plea of serving in the presence, on the advance of the Arabs, but afterwards hastened to the Mohammedan army, and surrendered the fort. The *Sagara* river originally ran to the westward of this place.

Brahmanabad, or *Bahmana*, was, as I have said, situated. on the *Lohanna Deria*, at a short distance from where it separates from the *Puran*.

A'ghamkot, called also *Kallakot*, lies about seven miles to the westward of *T'hatta*: it is not mentioned until long after the Arab conquest.

T'hatta is a modern town, founded by one of the latest of the *Samna* dynasty; near the site of *Samoi*, or *Samoinagar*, which was their capital, and which was peopled at the time the *Sundra Parganah* was first occupied, on the destruction of the *Sumras*. Such are the points of which we have a thorough knowledge at the present day, so as to enable us to form a conjecture of the ancient topography of *Sindh*: and, from the whole of what has been said, it remains for me to compare the result with the ancient accounts still in existence, and which have been so frequently canvassed by more able men. Before I enter on this part of the subject, however, I must mention a few places, which are spoken of in Asiatic books, as being extremely ancient, but of which I have been able to procure no account.

A'shkandra, or *Sekandra*, was an extremely strong town, and fort which was defended by some of the family of Raja Dahir, after the overthrow of his capital. The resistance made here was so great, and the place of such strength, that Muhammed Ben Kasim, who commanded the besiegers, despaired of taking it. As the army proceeded, immediately after the fall of *A'shkandra*, to Multan, I conceive that it must have been between that place and *A'lor*.

I do not conceive it improbable that this *A'shkandra* was one of the *Alexandrias* built by ALEXANDER, and perhaps that one which he founded among the *Sogdi*: the situation corresponds, and the name has a resemblance which I do not believe is to be met with in any other city in Asia. ISKANDER, or SEKANDER, is the Arabic and Persian name given to ALEXANDER; and after a period of nine centuries, it is not improbable that a city should retain its name, although corrupted. Here was a beautiful figure of a warrior on horseback, in complete armor, worshipped; a circumstance, I believe, unheard of in Hindu mythology. A vivid fancy could easily portray to itself the figure of the

Macedonian hero, worshipped in a city founded by him, and dignified by his own name.

Himakot, or *Jhamkot*, was the seat of a *Rajaput* independency, the ruins of which are to be seen in the *Palyar Parganah*. I have no information regarding this place, further than that it is fancied to have been founded by the *daityas* of the Hindu mythology; some of whose fanciful works are still to be seen, in extraordinary excavations in the rocks of the neighboring hills: among the rest, there is one in which the roof of the excavation is hewn into the resemblance of a cow's udder, and from which, in better times, milk exuded: the milk is, however, now changed to water, which is still said to drop, as a testimony of the existence of the *Kali yuga*. I am doubtful whether this *Himakot* is not the same as *Kallakot*, afterwards called *Taghlakabad*, and situated a few miles west of *T'hatta*.

*Minagar*⁴⁵ was one of the cities dependent on *Multan*, in the twelfth century; and was the possession of a chief, by caste an *Agri*,⁴⁶ and descended from Alexander.⁴⁷ It was situated on the *Lohanna Deria*, not far from *Bahmana*, in the parganah now called *Ldehdadpura*.

Having thus adduced the grounds from which all my opinions with regard to the river Indus are drawn, I shall proceed to deduce from them general remarks on the subject; noticing occasionally the opinions of European writers on the ancient state of the river and country, in order to convey an idea of how and where there may be any difference of opinion, and the reasons for that difference.

I have already stated my reasons for supposing that the river Indus did not originally pass *Bhakar* and *Sehwan*, or, at all events, that it was a secondary stream that did so. It is said by the Muhammadan historians, that after the fall of *Nerunkot* to Ben Kasim, that commander advanced to *Sehwan*, which he likewise conquered; and receiving an order from his uncle, at *Baghdad*, to prosecute the war against Dahir direct, and to cross the Indus without delay, he returned to the neighborhood of *Nerunkot*,⁴⁸ and made his arrangements for advancing on the capital. This expression would induce a further belief that *Sehwan* had not been on the main channel of the Indus; and we know that *Nerunkot* was not far from the river, for the engines and military stores were conveyed from *Diwal* to the attack of the former place, in boats up the *Sagara* branch. If it were possible to fix the precise spot where the Arabs crossed the river, it would afford data

⁴⁵ This is doubtless the *Binagara*, or the *Agrinagara* of Ptolemy; although placed by that geographer in such a situation as to induce Dr. Vincent to take it for *Bhakar*.

⁴⁶ *Tohfah al Giram*.

⁴⁷ It appears from ARRIAN, that ALEXANDER left some of his *Agrians* in *Pattala*: may not these *Agris* be their descendants?

⁴⁸ Mir Maasm says, that he crossed near *Teleti*; but this author uses modern names, in speaking of ancient places, without distinction. For instance, he mentions, that Mohammed Ben Kasim conquered *T'hatta*; and tells us, afterwards, that *T'hatta* was peopled and founded by the *Sammās*, who reigned many centuries after the Arab conquest.

from which a great deal might be drawn. One author⁴⁹ speaks of two places in the neighborhood of this spot, viz. *Rawar* and *Jaiwar*; but there are now no traces of such towns or situations. It appears that there was a dispute in the Arab army as to the propriety of marching to meet Raja Dahir at his capital, or laying siege to *Brahmabad*; and I should therefore infer, that it was near to the latter place that the Arabs crossed the Indus: but the want of means for transporting the army attributed to Mohammed Ben Kasim, is unaccountable, under the previous information we have of the expedition having been accompanied by a fleet as far up the *Sagara* river as *Nerunkot*, to attack which the army must have crossed the stream in their fleet.

A reference to my sketch of the ancient river will shew that the Arabs were originally on the same side of the river with *A'lor*; but as the country between *Sehwan* and that capital appears to have been uninhabited, it is probable that *A'lor* could not be approached in that direction. This would lead to the march of the army in the vicinity of the river: and as it is said that Muhammed was blamed by his officers for passing *Brahmanabad*, it is likely that it lay nearly on his route. It follows, in that case, that the *Lohanna Deria* was to be crossed by the army; but why the fleet should not have been employed, it is hard to say, unless the vessels were of too large a size, or unless the RAJA occupied positions on the river which prevented their passing.

For the sake of perspicuity, I shall here trace the Indus from *Bhakir* to the sea, in company with Dr. Vincent, who has, in a very able manner, followed Arrian and other Greek writers down the whole course of the river, and disposed of the chieftains and people in situations as nearly to truth as, perhaps, was possibly to be done at the present great distance of time.

THE SOGDI BHAKIR.

The author above quoted, places the *Sogdi* at *Bhakir*, which, according to D'Anville, was the capital of that race of men. If Asiatic authority is to be depended on, I have already shewn that the city of *Bhakir* was not in existence more than twelve hundred years ago, and that it is of Mohammedan origin. I have, on the same authority, shewn that the branch of the Indus did not pass *Bhakir* until the desertion of *A'lor*, which was the cause of the peopling of the former city. That the *Sogdi* were, however, in the vicinity of that place, I think extremely probable; and there is good reason to believe that their territory extended on the east bank of the Indus, to a considerable distance. I have little doubt but that the people now spoken of, are the same as the *Sodhsa*, a race of *Rajputs*, at present occupying the habitable tracts of the desert between *Sindh* and *Gajarat*, but who were assuredly chieftains in *Sindh*, and of *Amerkot* and its dependent country, not many centuries ago; whilst there is reason, from traditionary accounts, to believe that they were anciently sovereigns of a much more extensive country to the northward, even of

⁴⁹ *Tohfat al Giram*.

A'lor itself. This would bring the *Sogdi* and the *Sodhds* nearly in the same situation, and correspond with. Dr. Vincent's account, making the capital to the north of *A'lor*, between that place and *Multan*.

"It would have been a fortunate circumstance," says Dr. Vincent, "if any of the historians had mentioned an island here, or in any part of the Indus between the junction of the *Acesines* and *T'hatta*; but their silence is unanimous. It will appear, however, that we have something more than conjecture to direct us for other names, *Bekier*, *Sekier*, and *Tekier*, as three places dependent on *Mansura*;" in which, though he is mistaken as respects the first (*Bekier* being *Bekker*, the same as *Mansura*), he is still right in regard to the other two; for *Sekier* of the *A'yin Akbari*, and *Tekier*, is the fort called in that work Alone, the *Louheri* of DE LA ROCHETTE, &C.

If what I have advanced relative to the change in the river be correct, it accounts for the silence complained of in the Greek historians with respect to the island in the Indus. *Sekier* is evidently *Sachar*, which is on the west bank, and opposite and in sight of *Bhakir*, of which it, with the modern *Lahri*, are considered suburbs. *Tekier* I conceive to be *Tiggir*, which, as will be seen by the map, is a *parganah* on the west bank, and south of *Bhakir*. I have already said, that, on the authority of the *Ajaib al Makhluqat*, I am inclined to agree with D'Anville, who places *Mansura* at *Nasirpura*; and even the authority of the Nubian geographer,⁵⁰ upon which Dr. Vincent argues in favor of its being *Bhakir*, appears to me to be more in favor of D'Anville than otherwise, when the channels of the river then existing are considered. — I have already shewn that *A'lor* and *Lahiri Loharkot* are distinct places.

MASEKORNUS; SEWI'; SEHWAN.

"*Sewie*," says Dr. Vincent, "is written *Sevi Schowan*, *Sihwan*, and *Schwan*. It is not easy to establish the identity of these names to the same place; for though our maps make them the same, the *A'yin Akbari* mentions a chain of mountains extending from *Sehwan* to *Semi*, regarding them as different places, though in the same *Sircar*."

In my concise account of *Sehwan*, I have already said, that it is never styled *Sewi*, which is a distinct district, lying westward of *Bhakir*, on the road to *Kandahar*: its original inhabitants were a race called *Sewes*, or *Sabiz*, whose capital in the sixth century was *Kakaraje*.⁵¹ There was also a fort in the district, called by the same name, *Sewi*: it was situated on the side of a mountain remarkable for the stones which were everywhere found of a round shape. I am inclined to believe that the same is derived from *Siva*, the *Mahadeva* of the *Hindus*, to whose emblem of worship, the *Linga*, this stone bore a resemblance. I would also venture to suggest, that the *Sewes*, or *Sabis*, are the *Silo*

⁵⁰ See Dr. Vincent, p. 116. "See Note Nub. Geographi. p. 57."

⁵¹ I find no traces of this place. *Sisam*, *Bhelter*, *Salor*, and *Kundacel* (*Kundabil* of La Rochette), were places in *Sewi*, mentioned by Muhammadan authors as being in existence long before the Mohammadan conquest.

mentioned by Arrian, as having been worshippers of Hercules, from the circumstance of their marking their cattle with a club. It is a common practice among Hindus to mark their male calves with a trisula Ψ or trident⁵², and turn them loose as an offering to Siva. This *Sawi* is the *Seewee* spoken of by A'bul Fazl; and is perfectly distinct from *Sehwan*, which I have never heard named *Sewie*.

With regard to Musicanus and Oxycanus being the chiefs of *Sewi* and of *Sehwan*, as Dr. Vincent thinks very probable, I have nothing to object; nor am I inclined to dispute his etymology of the names of these chieftains; although little dependence can be placed on deductions made on such principles. *Sehwan* is a name extremely common in *Sindh*; and it appears, from history, that the founder of *Sehwan* was of that name; but I can discover no grounds for his being styled Ox *Sehwan*, or *Muschwan*. *Outch* signifies a *maund*⁵³ in the language of the *Panjab*, with which the *Sindh* very much assimilates: and *Mu*, or *Mow*, although the name of a city erected in the fifth century by Rao Sa'hishi', I cannot discover to have any meaning known at the present day, although it doubtless originally had, agreeably to the Indian custom. I confess that, according to Dr. Vincent's plan, unless Musicanus is placed at *Sehwan*, I can see no other situation where his government could be fixed; and yet, as it would appear that his capital was on the river, or very near it, placing him at *Sehwan* would overthrow all I have said with regard to the change in the river. Proceeding on the learned Doctor's theory, were I at liberty to offer an opinion, I should transpose the situations of Dr. Vincent's Oxycanus and his Musicanus, by placing the former at *Sehwan*, and the latter between that place and the *Puran*, somewhere between *A'lor* and *Bahmaaa*. This arrangement would afford room for Oxycanus between the *Lakhi* mountains and Musicanus's territory, of which the learned author himself appears so much at variance, if Musicanus be placed at *Sehwan*. Sibus, I agree with Dr. Vincent, can only be supposed to have been on the *Lakhi* chain; a feature so characteristic, and so durable, that the revolution of ages cannot change it. And here I may remark, that it is hardly possible for so striking a feature in the Indus, as that which is said to be represented at what is called the *Lakhi* Pass, to have escaped the particular notice of the Greek authors, if the river had, in the time of Alexander, actually occupied this channel. The pass through the mountains is extremely difficult of access;⁵⁴ and the latter approach boldly and abruptly to the river side, leaving a scanty road for travelers. The difficulty of finding a spot for *Sindhimana*, the capital of Sibus, if this chieftain is placed among the mountains, is not so easily overcome; for the evident connection which this term has to the name of the country, of the river, and of the fabulous ancestor of the natives of *Sindh*, would induce a belief that *Sindhimana* had been a city of some importance in the country.

Having thus followed Dr. Vincent in his voyage to *Pattala*, I shall, before I enter on the subsequent part of the investigation, compare what has been said with what might be

⁵² This mark { } distinguishes cattle offered to the sun.

⁵³ A weight of about twenty-four pounds.

⁵⁴ See *Akhbars of Sindh*.

said on the same subject, under the impression of the *Paran* having been the original stream of the Indus.

About eight hundred years after Alexander had visited *Sindh*, the government of the country was held by a variety of chieftains, who, although they were considered as dependent on a superior government, may nevertheless be fairly supposed to have acknowledged but a nominal subservience: and even if they should be admitted as federals of the *Rajas* of *A'lor*, we may infer this, from the avowal of Dahir, who was as potent a sovereign as any of his family are understood to have been, "that he could not control the people of the *delta* in their piratical dispositions, that the chieftains were not of his nomination, or in perfect subordination to his rule." At the time now spoken of, the following chieftains and capitals are mentioned in the country of *Sindh*.

<i>Diwal</i>	was governed by	Jahi'n Bhada
<i>Nerunkot</i>	by Samna
<i>Sehwan</i>	by Batchera, the son of Chuadrame.
<i>Bahmana</i>	by a Lohanna, whose name is not precisely known.
<i>A'lor</i>	by Raja Dahir in person.
<i>Sewi</i>	by Bhada, the son of Kaka.

Let us now see how far this agrees with the state of *Sindh* in the time of Alexander: according to Arrian, "The king arrived at the kingdom of Musicanus, which, according to the information he had received, was the richest and most populous throughout all India." Under this view of Musicanus, I should place him at *A'lor*, which was the seat of a very rich and populous government, agreeable to authentic and positive accounts, nine hundred years after Alexander's visit; and if analogous reasoning can be admitted, we might reduce the nine hundred to six hundred years. Making *A'lor* the capital of Musicanus, I should suppose the country to have extended as far south as the division of the *Paran* and *Lohanna Deria*. According to this arrangement, the *Sogdi* should be higher up the river than afar, and between that city and *Multan*. Here is sufficient space for such a realm as theirs would (from the little notice taken of them) appear to have been; and I have already said that the *Sodha Rajaputs* were originally inhabitants and sovereigns of a considerable tract of land, which we know to have laid as high up as *A'lor*, and, we may presume, considerably higher.

At *Sewi* I should place Oxycanus. Arrian says, that "Alexander having erected and garrisoned a fort in Musicanus's capital, he proceeded, with his archers and *Agrians*, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, to attack a neighboring prince called Oxycanus." Now, as Craterus, with the greatest part of the army, had been already ferried over to the left (or eastern) bank of the river, it must follow that Oxycanus resided on the west bank, else why take troops from his navy, where the army of Craterus would have answered the purpose? The position of *Sewi*, with reference to *A'lor*, corresponds sufficiently with those of Arrian's two chiefs; and unless

some ancient city and government should be proved to have existed between *Sehwan* and *Bhakir*, I can see no other place so appropriate for Oxycanus as *Sawi*; an idea in which I am, in some degree, supported by Dr. Vincent, who says, that if *Sewi* and *Sehwan* could be proved to be different places, he should certainly assert that Musicanus had been the chief of one, and Oxycanus that of the other.

At *Sehwan* I should place Sambus. It may be supposed that this chieftain had met Alexander in the realm of the *Sogdi*; for, considering the terms on which Musicanus and he were, it could not consistently have been in the territories of the latter that Sambus had been appointed "Satrap of the mountains." The position of *Sehwan*, situated on a branch of the *Lakhi* mountains, must naturally have given its chief great influence among the tribes who inhabited them; and it was natural that he should be appointed their chief. The great antiquity attributed to the city of *Sehwan*, and the circumstance of its being supposed to have been founded by a descendant of SINDH, whose name it took, are inducements to assimilate *Sehwan* with the *Sindomana* of Sambus, more especially as no other city can be discovered at all answering to the name or situation. The foregoing arrangement of the sovereignties, with which Alexander met on his voyage down the Indus, would afford sufficient grounds for estimating their wealth and resources at the high standard of the Greek writers; whereas, if Oxycanus, Musicanus, and Sambus, are all huddled in between *Sehwan* and the mountains, I must confess I cannot perceive where their populous territory could possibly lie.

We now come to a part of the subject which should have been clearer and better understood at the present time than anything that relates to Alexander's voyage down the river: on the contrary, however, although great and various talent has been employed in its illustration, the site of *Pattala*, and the ancient state of the delta, is at present (and, I fear, doomed still to continue), in as great obscurity as any other part of Alexander's passage down the Indus.

Dr. Vincent is of opinion, that the ancient *Brahmanabad* may be safely understood to have been the *Patalla* of Arrian; in which remark I am inclined to agree: but it will have been observed that I have differed materially from this author in my position of *Brahmanabad*. I place it at the head of the ancient *delta*, as I take it to have existed; whilst Dr. Vincent – and, I readily acknowledge, every other authority – fixes *Brahmanabad* at the head of an inferior delta, which is not now itself in existence, and which, according to every Asiatic author whom I have observed to treat of the subject, must have been recovered from the sea long after the age of Alexander: and, under that conviction, I shall not follow my usual guide through the *delta*, but endeavor to render the situation which I have chosen as clearly applicable to *Pattala*, as if it had been at the head of the inferior and modern delta.

The territory of *Pattala* was situated next below that of Muscanus; and Alexander had been met by the king of the former district, while he was yet employed against Sambus.

Muscanus, at the same time, revolted, which caused Pyhton to be dispatched against him. That officer conquered his country, and returned to the camp and fleet, carrying Muscanus along with him in chains. I should suppose, from this circumstance, that Alexander's fleet had proceeded down the river, some distance from Muscanus's capital. On the occasion of his attack on Sambus, the fleet does not appear to have been in company with the army: and it is probable that Alexander, after having destroyed the city of the *Brahmans*, dispatched Pyhton; and returned to the fleet on the river, where he waited the return of that officer. The king sailed three days down the river; and then hastened his voyage to *Pattala*, in consequence of the flight of the king of that country. The short time here allowed for Alexander to reach *Patalla* from *Bhakir*, is adduced by Dr. Vincent as one reason why Muscanus's should be placed at *Sehwan*. Supposing that chieftain had been at *Sehwan*, Alexander would still have had nearly two hundred miles to proceed in the space of time above alluded to, before he could reach the *Pattala* of Dr. Vincent. If Muscanus is placed at *A'lor*, which is nearly in a latitude with *Bhakir*, and *Pattala* is allowed to be at the ancient *Brahmanabad*, or the head of the ancient *delta*, the distance of Alexander's journey will then be reduced to little more than one hundred miles in a direct line, or somewhat less than one hundred and fifty miles by the sinuosity of the river, a distance not very disproportionate to the time: and if we admit that Alexander had before proceeded below Muscanus's capital, the distance will be by no means extraordinary.

In other respects, *Brahmanabad* seems equally well calculated for a comparison with *Pattala*. It is said that the king of *Pattala* had fled to the desert before Alexander arrived. If, by desert, we are to understand the sandy desert, which I should presume to be the case, it may be remarked, that the great desert approaches closer to the *Puran* opposite *Bahmana*, than anywhere else; that the town itself was afterwards deserted in consequence of the influx of sand from that tract; and that all the country in the same longitude with *Pattala* bears every feature of the great sandy desert; a circumstance which will account for there being no wells in the country, as is mentioned by Arrian. This account of a desert does not agree well with the lower delta. Supposing *Pattala* to have been at *T'hatta*, it would be difficult to discover the desert here alluded to; for, had it been on the west bank, the people would have been exposed to the attacks of the Greeks, who marched along it; and a reference to the state of this supposed *delta* will shew that the desert could not have been to the eastward of it, unless at such a distance from it as would appear inconsistent.

Another circumstance noticed by Arrian is, the march of a heavy and light armed force of foot and horse "through the Island of *Pattala*, that they might meet the fleet on the other side." Supposing *Pattala* to have been at the spot supposed by Dr. Vincent, may I ask, what could have been the object of marching nine thousand men from *T'hatta* to *Lahri Bandar*, where the nature of the country, intersected by *naillas* and marshes, must have been extremely inconvenient, if not absolutely impracticable, to their advance? It is, besides, very difficult to suppose for a moment that there could be any country or

district, between *T'hatta* and *Lahri Bandar*, of sufficient importance to require the march of such a force through it: and on referring to the sketch of that *delta*, and the positions of *T'hatta* and *Lahri*, where the troops were to join the fleet, the expression of Arrian (if Mr. Rooke is correct), "through the Island of *Pattala*, that they might meet the fleet on the other side," will appear very ill applied.

The principal objection which I can discover to the supposition of *Bahmana* being the ancient *Pattala*, is the distance at which it stands from the sea-coast. It does not, however, appear at all certain, in any of the ancient accounts that I have seen, how far *Pattala* was from the ocean: for although a mere perusal of Arrian would induce a belief, that when Alexander sailed down the right branch of the river, he took his departure from *Pattala*; yet, from the circumstance of "Hephaestion's having been dispatched to build a fort in the city," it may be inferred that Alexander himself was not at the city, but probably had advanced a considerable distance in pursuit of the king or his people, and might have embarked on his voyage down the right branch, considerably below *Pattala*. On a reference, however, to the plan⁵⁵ of the ancient river, as I have attempted to delineate it, it will be observed, that the distance between *Bahmana* and the ocean is not much greater by the western branch than it is from *T'hatta* to the mouth of the *Lahri Bandar* river: this proceeds from the circumstance of the whole of the present *delta* having been recovered from the ocean, which is mentioned by several historians; and the truth of which is corroborated by the state of that country, and the extensive lands recovered in the memory of man, and still continually increasing.

Ptolemy mentions the western branch of the Indus by the name of *Sagapa*; and one of the ancients, the easternmost, by that of *Lonibare*;⁵⁶ and according to his geography of the Indus, the river would appear to have divided into two branches, much farther up than *T'hatta*; and to have emptied itself by seven mouths, which, however, cannot be considered as branches of the river. The theory of the river which I have adopted, I had formed long before I had any opportunity of consulting ancient geographers; but let my plan of the Indus be compared with that of Ptolemy, and a remarkable resemblance will be observed, which is still the more striking, from the names of the two branches approaching so near to each other. That the *Sagora* or *Sagara* is the *Sagapa* of Ptolemy, appears, from the delineation of the westernmost branch, to admit of little doubt;⁵⁷ and that the *Lonibare*.⁵⁸ of the ancient is the *Lakpat* river, which is still known by the name of the *Loni*, may, without much credulity, be admitted. And now that I have returned to this division of my subject, I shall take the liberty to state some particulars with regard to this part of the country, that may, perhaps, not be generally known.

⁵⁵ It is to be regretted that this and other plans by Capt. M'Muudo, referred to in this paper, did not accompany it. — *Editor*.

⁵⁶ I am at a loss to discover who gave this name to the eastern branch; but I observe it in a map of the ancient world, by CHRISTOPH WEIGEL, of *Nuremberg*, where *Sagapa* is the name given to the western branch.

⁵⁷ It is certain, that the *Sagora* branch was in existence long after the *Purana* had been deserted.

⁵⁸ *Bara* is the Indian name of a roadstead, or the entrance to a harbor: it also signifies "to the seaward."

The Gulf of Cutch divides the latter country from the Peninsula of Gujarat. From the end of this gulf a strip of waste land, called *Bhanni* and *Runn*, passes round the north of Cutch, and continues west as far as *Lakpat Bandar*. From the month of July till October, this tract is covered with water, forming Cutch into an island. This water is supplied, in some measure, by the torrents in Cutch, rising on the north side of the *Lakhi*⁵⁹ mountains; which, forming a lofty and complete chain from east to west, through the centre of Cutch, empty themselves into this waste, whilst the streams rising on the south side of the same range fall into the sea. These streams are, with a few exceptions, dry or stagnant, excepting in the monsoon months above mentioned. Besides these, however, there were several considerable streams, which, flowing from the north through what is called the desert, fell into the same tract. Among these, the *Haggra*⁶⁰ and *Nargali* were connected with the *Puran*, high up to the northward, and pursuing separate courses (the last within seven miles of *A'merkot*), fell into the *Bhanni*, to the eastward of *Khetti*.

The *Puran* likewise, as I have before stated, when issuing on this low ground, must have spread over it to the eastward; and at the periodical flood, it is probable that there was left an extensive sheet of water, a great part of which, at certain seasons, was fresh; and in all likelihood had found a passage, when over flooded, into the Gulf of Cutch, into which there is at the present day a considerable current, from the westward, by the *Runn* at *Arrisir*, when the tract is under the influence of the south-west monsoon. When the *Puran*, *Haggra*, and *Nargali* rivers failed, the *Bhanni* of course became dry and sterile, and the *Lakpat* branch (*Puran*) afforded no opposition to the sea, which, in the south-west monsoon, was driven up over the flat country, and at once destroyed all its productive qualities,⁶¹ and reduced it to the same soil as the desert; with this distinction, that it is a hard sand, while the desert is in the form of sand-hills. This former tract is

⁵⁹ This range of hills is called by NEIGATOR, and even by RENNELL, "the *Chigoo* Range;" but the *Chigu* is a sandy bank, which runs along the coast of Cutch, to which it is parallel, so as to form the shore. The word signifies, in the Cutch language, language, a "look-out place." The remarkable hill of *Manow*, seen far off at sea, is one of the *Lakhi* range. "Parallel to the coast," says Dr. Vincent, "runs a range of mountains called *Chigos*; and the strip of land between those and the sea is the residence of the *Langanrians*, a race infamous for their piracies:" and I have already said, that between the *Chigu* range and the sea there is no space. *Landan* is the name of a town on this coast, famous for its piratical and plundering disposition at a former period. The pirates of *Bate* and *Dwarca* used to plunder, under the name of Sanghan, one of their most distinguished pirate chiefs.

⁶⁰ It is possible that this may be the *Kaggar* of Major Rennell. The *Paddar* is placed at the head of the Gulf of Cutch; which corresponds precisely with the situation and course of the *Bannas*, a river which rises in the hills at the borders of *Marrwar*, and pursues a wild and intricate course to the *Runn*, into which it empties itself by many channels, and loses itself in the sand. The *Nargali* and *Haggra* are sometimes said to be only different names for the Indus, or *Puran*; but I think they must have been cuts or branches from that river, which disembogued separately.

⁶¹ Tradition states, that rice was produced in the *Bhanni*.

styled *Runn*,⁶² or *Erun*, a Hindi word, signifying, I believe, a "barren waste, difficult and dangerous of access," also a "field of battle," or a "haunted spot."

Nerayansir and *Koteswara*,⁶³ two celebrated *Tirt'hs*, or places of pilgrimage of the Hindus, are, as has been already stated, situated on the east bank of the *Lakpat* branch of the Indus, about twelve or fifteen miles from the bar or entrance of the river. These places are believed to be of equal antiquity with any of the most celebrated of the Hindu places of worship; and it was here that a famous assembly of the Gods was held. This spot has been considered by the Hindus, on the authority of their sacred writings, as one of the limits of Hinduism; a circumstance which will tend to confirm my opinion, that the branch on which these very ancient places are situated, was, in the time of their celebrity, not only the western, but also the principal stream of *Sindhu*.

That the right branch of the Indus, as mentioned by Arrian, resembles the *Sagara* branch, more than any other at present in existence, is inferred from the circumstance of its disemboguing so far to the westward as to admit of the admirable account of the shore given by Nearchus corresponding with *Karakhi*, the bay of the same name, and the mountainous and singular features of Cape Monze. That the fleet, on leaving the Indus, entered the bay of *Karakhi*, is probable, from their having the mountain *Iras* on their right hand, and from their discovering a dangerous rock at the mouth of the river. It is remarkable, that, in the space now occupied by the mouths of the Indus, from *Lakpat* to *Lahri Bandar*, there is no rock to be found; everywhere the bottom and beach is sandy. At *Karakhi*, however, a change takes place; and we have rocks, and a rocky shore, with the waves beating high. Close to the mouth of the *Karakhi* creek is a singular rock in the sea: it is perforated from end to end, so that a small canoe could pass; and the water, rushing through the passage, makes a loud and tremendous noise. Had Nearchus issued from the Indus by a mouth so much to the eastward as *Lahri Bandar*, so far would he have been from sailing, immediately afterwards, with the mountain on his right hand, that I venture to say he could scarcely have seen it *a-head of his fleet*, and that there would have been thirty or forty miles of sand shoals between him and *Karakhi*, instead of (as it is said) his having a lone flat sandy island on his left hand, and a mountainous⁶⁴ coast on his right: and that he must have been close to the mountainous coast, I infer, from the passage between the sandy island and the main being so narrow as to be particularly measured.

⁶² A similar tract, and known partially by the same name, connects the Gulf of Cutch and Cambay, forming an island of the Peninsula of Gujarat for six months of the year.

⁶³ *Koteswara* signifies a 'Crore of Gods.' Here is a peculiar stone, of the size of a shilling, resembling a worn-down *Linga* it is found in vast numbers. At *Narayana Sirowar*, the pilgrims receive an impression on the arms with a hot stamp, but different to that used at *Dwarea*.

⁶⁴ Chilney Island is properly called *Mohari*. Chilney is a corruption of *China*, the name of a goddess worshipped by mariners on this island: offerings of clothes, and coronets of flowers, are thrown from vessels, in passing.

The idea of supposing islands or spots now at the lower part of the delta, and comparing them with ancient accounts, must infallibly end in disappointment; for these spots vary every year. Each flood inundates islands; and when it subsides, others are formed, varying in size and position: and so uncertain is everything, that the site of *Lahri Bandar* is seldom two years the same.

Such are the arguments that I have been able to discover in favor of this new theory of the river Indus. That every conjecture on the subject of the foregoing pages must be unsatisfactory and vague, I am perfectly aware; and I do not therefore presume to expect that deference should be paid to my opinion, in preference to those of more able and learned men. I conceive, however, that enough has been said to excite a spirit of inquiry in those who have abilities and opportunity to pursue the research; and that the old beaten tract which every writer appears hitherto to have considered himself as unwarranted in deserting, having in one instance been quitted, and new ideas broached, a free scope will thus be allowed for the exercise of ingenuity and judgment, in the future investigation of this subject.

It may, perhaps, occur to the reader, that the *Sumras* inhabited the country through which the *Puran* once flowed, long after that river was deserted by the stream: and it may be proper to notice, that the *Puran* still received a considerable quantity of water from the new channel, when the latter was flooded; a supply was afterwards furnished to it through the small *Attok*,⁶⁵ as it is called; and at the same time an annual supply found its way through the *Lohanna Deria*, directly in the opposite direction to what it formerly had done; a course which it still follows in an inferior degree, as well as that through the *Phitta Deria*, respecting which it may now be necessary to say a few words.

The *Phitta* (or "destroyed") channel, it will be seen, divides from the present river, not far from where the *Lohanna Deria* joins it; and pursues an eastern direction for some miles; after which, it turns to the southward, and, crossing the *Falili* channel, follows a S.W. course, under the name of the *Gajia*, or, as some say, *Garra*, to *T'hatta*; whence it continued its route, by *Lahri Bandar*, to the sea, under some other appellation. In the triangle formed by a division of the river, and between the *P'hitta* and the *Haiderabad* branches, is situated the once rich and populous district of *Nasirpura*, and the ruins of *Mansura*: and with reference to what has already been said on this subject, a view of the position of *Nasirpura*, with respect to the river in question, will at once shew how perfectly justified M. D'Anville is, in placing it where he does, on the authority of the

⁶⁵ From *A'lor* to *Loheri*, or *Loherkot*, was formerly a *nalla*, according to the expression of the country. This was, perhaps, an artificial cut, either to bring water into the *Puran* after its failure; or rather, I should suspect, to furnish water from the *Puran* to *Loheri*, which was a very ancient city. I am inclined to this latter opinion; for when the people of *A'lor* awoke Dillu Raja with intelligence of the river under the town being dry, he "desired them to look in the *nalla*; but they replied, that it was needless going to search the *nalla*, when the river itself was dry."

A bridge was built over the *nalla*, by Gholam Shah Kalhora, who gave it the name of the *Deria attok*, in imitation of the celebrated town and pass of that name. The *nalla* still continues to be flooded periodically.

Nubian geographer.⁶⁶ It is impossible to say when the *P'hitta Deria* was first formed; but it is probable that it is very ancient, perhaps coeval with the *Sagora* river. *Nasirpura* flourished in splendor during the reign of the *Terkhan* dynasty; and went to ruin when the *P'hitta Deria* failed, which, as near as I can collect, was subsequent to the conquest of *Sindh* by Akbar.

The Indus, after it gets as far as the bottom of the *Doab Parganah*, is so subject to changes, that it would be endless and vain to attempt a delineation of the streams, which have been varying annually for many centuries. That these changes have been more frequent within these nine hundred years than they were before that period, I think extremely probable; and that the low country through which the streams now run, and in which their changes take place, has been recovered from the sea within these last thousand years, I have already endeavored to shew.

⁶⁶ He says, page 57, "*Mansura* is a city encircled at a distance by a branch of the *Mehran* (Indus). The city itself stands on the western side of the main channel; for the *Mehran*, in its descent, separates into two streams at *Cabre*, a day's journey from *Mansura*: the main stream passes to *Mansura*; the inferior turns to the north, towards *Sarasan*, and then winds back again to the west, till it joins the main channel once more, about twelve miles below the city."—Vide Note, 104, Book 2, p. 126, Dr. Vincent's *Voyage of Nearchus*.