The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study.

By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY, Bombay Army (Retired).

The identification of the routes taken by Alexander the Macedonian, and the countries, towns, and rivers mentioned in his campaigns, extending from the mountains of Hindu-Kush to the Persian Sea, included in the present Afghan state, the territory of the Panj-ab, and Sind, has exercised the ingenuity of many oriental scholars, and also of many students of oriental subjects.\(^1\) Later on come the travels of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, of whom the former visited India about seven hundred, and the latter nearly one thousand years, after the time of Alexander; and these also exercise the ingenuity of scholars and students, and exercise it very greatly too, particularly the travels of the last named pilgrim, who enters into much greater detail. He remained many years in India, and is said to have been "well-versed in the Turki and Indian languages," but he chose to write all the names of places and persons in the Chinese.

Most of the writers on these subjects, if we exclude their "identifications" in the Afghan state, appear to have based their theories chiefly upon the present courses of the rivers of Northern and Western India, which, probably, have altered their courses a hundred times over, and to have expected to find places on their banks now as they stood ........

\(^1\) I make a difference between the two, as between those who can refer to the native writers for themselves, and those who have to depend upon Dow's and Briggs's 'Ferishta,' and the like.
more than two thousand years ago. I am not going to attempt, in the present paper, to improve upon these interesting researches, although I cannot help, farther on, pointing out two or three palpable errors. What I propose to do here is to notice some of the numerous fluctuations in the courses of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, and of the rivers of the Panj-āb. The changes in the courses of two of these rivers, together with the drying up of the Hakrā, Wahindah, or Bahindah were so considerable that they reduced a vast extent of once fruitful country to a howling wilderness, and thus several flourishing cities and towns became ruined or deserted by their inhabitants.

At page 1150 of my "Translation of the Tabakat-i-Nāsirī," there is an account of the despatch of armies into different parts on the accession of Kynk Khán as ruler over the Mughal empire founded by his grandfather, the Chingiz, or Great Khán.

One of these armies was detailed for the invasion of Hindústán; and the Nūn or Nū-yán (both modes of writing this title being correct), Mangūtah, who was at the head of the Mughal mings or hazārah Occupying, or located in, the territories of Tukhāristān, Khatl-ān, and Ghaznīh, was appointed leader of the forces in question. He was an aged man, and had been one of the Chingiz Khán's favourite officers.

In the year 643 H., which commenced on the 28th May, 1245 A. D., he invaded the Dihlī Kingdom by way of the Koh-i-Jūd, Namak-Sār, or Salt Range, and the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, keeping along its western frontier, and entering the province dependent on Multán. His object was first to assail the frontier strongholds of Multān and Uchchah or Uchchh, both then situated in one and the same Do ābah, the Sind-Sāgar above mentioned. He began with Uchchh, which, at the period in

2 See note farther on.

3 I need scarcely mention that the name Indus was, and is unknown to Oriental geographers and historians. It was Europeanized, if I may say so, by the Greeks out of Sindhu, or they may have called it the Indus as being the river separating Hind from Irān-Zamsn, their "Ariana," and not intending it to be understood that Indus was the proper name of the river; for it was known to the Hindús as 'Sindhu' or 'the River,' and 'Ab-i-Sind' by the early Mūhammadān writers, and sometimes 'Nahr-i-Mihrān.

4 Incorrectly styled "Kholtān" in the "essay" by Yule, in Wood's "Oxns" and other books of travels: the first vowel is short 'a.' This district or territory was famous for its horses, which, from the country, were known as Khatāi horses.

5 The name of this famous city is thus written by the oldest authors, with being the Tājik for city. The other forms of the word are merely vitiated forms of the above. "Ghazna," as some European authors write it, is totally wrong. The other forms of the word are Ghaz-nin, and Ghaz-ni, but the first is the correct one.
question, was under the charge of the Khwájah (Eunuch) Sálíh, the Kot-wál, who was acting as the Deputy of the feudatory of the district, Mu-ayyid-ud-Dín, Hindú Khán, the Treasurer of the Dihlí kingdom. At this period, Multán and its territory was in the possession of Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Hasan, the Kárůgh, Karlokh, Káluq, or Kärulq Turk, who was not a vassal of the Dihlí kingdom, and who had lately been dispossessed of his own territories beyond the Indus by the Mughals, and had recently seized upon Multán.

In due course the Nú-in Mangúthá, reached the banks of the Sind near Uçch— it must have been about the middle of October of that year, as the news reached Dihlí in the following month, in Rajab—and Malik Hasan, the Kárůgh, speedily abandoned Multán, and, embarking on the Ab-i Sind, started down that river in order to gain Sindú-stán, as the city of Siw-istán and its territory, since known as Sihwán, was then called, to gain the port of Dewal or Debal (‘b’ and ‘w’ being interchangeable) on the sea coast of Sind.

6 See under “Shamsúah Malik,” no. ix, page 744 of the “Tabakát” Translation, and also page 809. There it says the Mughals “invested the fortress of Uçch, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and the territory of Manşárah” ; and, that, “Within that fortress, a Khwájah-Saríe [Eunuch], one of the servants of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, Abú-Bikr, named Mukhliš-ud-Dín, was the Kot-wál Bak [Seneschal], and a slave of Kabír Khán, Aq-Sunkar, by name, was the Amir-i-Dád [Lord Justiciary].

7 He was independent, and coined money in his own name. At the period referred to, after having previously submitted to the Mughals, he found their yoke so unbearable that he abandoned Ghazní, Karman, and the territory north of, and including, the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range, and occupied Multán. Some of the coins of this same Kárůgh Malik have recently been found near the village of Chitthah in that very Koh-i-Júd. The tribe of Kárůgh, Karlokh, Káluq, or Kärulq Turks gave name to the tract of country in the Panj-áb, miscalled by us “Hazara” but in history, called the country or district of the Hazaráh-i-Kárůgh, that is, where the-winning, or haszarah, or legion, consisting of Kárůgh Turks, was located when the Khwárazm Sháhs dominated over those parts. See the Society’s “Transactions” for November, 1889, where the coins of Saif-ud-Dín, Hasan, the Kárůgh, are noticed under the designation of “Qurlagh.” In Thomas’s “Pathán Kings of Dehli,” he is called “a rebel” at page 97, but, as he was never subject to the Dihlí rulers, he was not a rebel. He was a feudatory under the Khwárazm Sháhs who held those parts, and, after their fall, had to submit to the Mughals. More respecting him and his son will be found in my Tabákát-i-Náširi. See notes on page 175, and page 177. His son, Malik Nášir-ud-Dín, Mahammad, was neither “a powerful monarch,” nor did he ever hold dominions in Sind. See “Tabákát-i-Náširi,” pages 781, 859, 877, and 1154.

8 If Multán had then another broad and unfordable river immediately on its west side, as the Chin-áb now flows, Malik Hasan would scarcely have needed to evacuate Multán, and probably would not have done so, and, certainly, not with
Mangútah having made his preparations, proceeded to invest Uchohh. The author of the Tabakát-i-Násiri says, that he first destroyed the environs and neighbourhood round about the city. "The people of the fortress put forth the utmost exertions and diligence, and used immense endeavours in defending the place, and despatched great numbers of the Mughals to hell." Having failed in all their endeavours to take the place, and, in the last assault, having lost one of their principal leaders, and hearing of the near approach of the forces of the Dihlí kingdom under Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas’úd Sháh, in person, they began to give up hopes of taking the fortress. To continue in the words of the author: "When the sublime standards reached the banks of the river Bfah, the army moved along its banks towards Uchohh, as has been previously related and recorded. On the Mughal forces becoming aware of the advance of the forces of Islám, and the vanguard of the warriors of the faith having reached within a short distance of the territory [dependent on Uchohh], they did not possess the power of withstanding them. They retired disappointed from before the fortress of Uchohh, and went away; and that stronghold, through the power of the sovereign of Islám, and the Divine aid, remained safe from the wickedness of those accursed ones."

This detailed account of the investment of Uchohh is kept by the author for the last part of the Tabakát, but he also refers to the event in two earlier passages. Under the reign of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas’úd Sháh, page 667, he says: "In the month of Rajab of this same year, news was received from the upper provinces, of an army of infidel Mughals having advanced towards Uchohh, of which force the accursed Mangútah was the leader. Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas’úd Sháh, for the such precipitation as he used on the occasion in question. At that period, however, no river intervened between Multán and the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, which was almost as close to it then as the Chin-áb is now, and, consequently, Malik Hasan’s retreat might have been cut off. He, accordingly, embarked on the combined rivers Chin-áb (including the Biah) and Ráwí, which then ran north and east of Multán, and united with the Biah some miles farther south, and so, placing a river between himself and the Mughals, he was enabled to get down into Sind, without danger of molestation, by the Biah and Hákhrá, into Lár, or Debal. What afterwards became of him has never been mentioned in history, and it is not improbable that he may have reached the Dakhan, and have taken service there, and there ended his days. An account of the Kárúgh or Karugh Turks will be found in my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násiri," note to page 877, and note to page 1130.

9 This was after the combined Bihat, Chin-áb, and Ráwí had united with it, and below the point of junction indicated in the map showing the ancient courses of these rivers at the period in question which will be given later on.
purpose of repelling the Mughal forces, assembled the troops of Islam from various parts. On their arrival on the banks of the Biáh, the infidels withdrew from before Uchchh, and that success was gained. The writer of this work was in attendance on the sublime Court on that expedition; and persons of understanding and men of judgment agreed, that no one could point out to view anything of an army like that host and gathering in years gone by. When information of the numbers and efficiency of the victorious forces of Islam reached the infidels, they decamped, and retired towards Khurasán again."

In his account of Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, who, before he succeeded to the throne, bore the title of Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, the author says: "In this same year [643 H.], Mangútah, the accursed, who was one of the Mughal leaders, and of the Malikys of Turkistán, led an army from the borders of Táe-kán and Kunduz, into the territories of Sind, and invested the fortress of Uchchh, which is one of the famous strongholds of the country of Sind, and of (i. e., included in) the territory of Mansúrah. While every one of the [other] Amírs and Malikys was showing indecision about this undertaking, Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam showed determination in carrying it out; and, when the royal standards moved forwards towards that [threatened] quarter, Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam—Be his power prolonged!—despatched guides in advance on the line of route, so that [the troops] used to get over the marches with rapidity. He was wont to represent to the troops that the [next] halting place would be about eight kuroh off, and [consequently] about twelve kuroh, and even more than that, they used to march, until the troops reached the banks of the Biáh, and passed over that river; and he conducted them to the banks of the Ráwah [Ráwi] of Láhór."

10 See the Shamsiá Maliks, No. XXV, page 809.
11 This same leader had been one of the commanders with the Bahádur, Tá-fr, who, in the sixth month of 639 H. (December, 1241 A. D.), had attacked and sacked Láhór, the whole of the inhabitants of which were either massacred or carried off captive. See "Translation," pages 727, and 1132-1196.
12 As the Biáh and Ráwi then flowed, centuries before either the Sutlaj or the Biáh deserted its bed, the Dihlí forces would be in the fork between the Ráwi and the Biáh, in the Bárí Do-ábah, near their junction, with their flanks protected by the rivers, and in a position to threaten the Mughal line of retreat. Having crossed the Ráwi above the junction, or below the junction of the three rivers, they could have marched down the Do-ábah to Uchchh without having any other river to cross, and reinforcements from Multán could have joined them. On the other hand, they would have caught the Mughals in the fork between the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, which flowed near Uchchh on the west, and the Sind Rád, described further on, on the east, both unfordable rivers, and, in case of defeat, the Mughals would have been
"In this manner used he to show such-like determination on this expedition, and such lion-heartedness, and was wont to stimulate the Sultán and Maliks to repel the infidel Mughals, until Monday, the 25th of the month Sha'ban, 643 H. (about the last week in January, 1246 A. D.), when intimation reached the royal camp that the army of infidel Mughals had raised the investment of Uchchh. The cause of it was, that, on reaching the vicinity of the river Biáh, Ulugh Khán i-A'zam appointed couriers, and directed so that they wrote letters from the sublime presence to the garrison of the fort of Uchchh, and announced to them the approach of the royal standards, the vast number of the array and elephants, the host of cavalry with the army, and the courage of the soldiery in attendance at the august stirrup, and despatched them towards the fortress of Uchchh. A division of the army was moved on in front, to act as a reconnoitring force and form the advanced guard.

"When the couriers reached the vicinity of Uchchh, a few of these letters fell into the hands of the host of the accursed, and some reached the people of the fortress. On the drum of joy being beaten in the fort, and the subject of the letters, the advance of the victorious army, and approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the accursed Mangúthah, and the cavalry of the advanced guard approaching the banks of the river Biáh of Lahor, near to the frontiers of the territory of Sind, fear and terror became manifest in the heart of the Mughal [leader].

"When Mangúthah became aware of the advance of this great army," the author continues, "and that it moved towards the river Biáh, near the skirts of the mountains, and from thence, in the same manner, was marching downward along the banks of that river, he made inquiry of caught in a trap and annihilated. Such being the case, the Mughals retired by three divisions, up the Sind-Ságar Do-abáh by the route they had come, keeping close to the east bank, before any of the Dihli troops, beyond the detachment referred to, had crossed the Ráwi.

13 It is probable, nay, almost certain, that these couriers came down the right bank of the Biáh the whole way, leaving the great army when it crossed the Biáh and the Rawah or Ráwi on the way to Lahor. A glance at the map indicating the former course of the Biáh and the other rivers will show why they did so.

14 The author had good reason for calling the Mughals "accursed." They had ruined and depopulated his native country and the parts adjacent, the tracts between Hirát and Kábul and Ghaznín, exceedingly populous and flourishing before the invasion of the Mughals, from whose devastations they have not recovered to this day.

15 Thus showing that it still flowed in its old bed; for, after it left it, it lost its name, and that was only in the last century.

16 Below the junction with the others previously mentioned as uniting with it near Multán to the south.
some persons what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islam towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by Sarastí and Máruţ was nearer. They replied, that, on account of the number of islands on the banks of the river, there might not be a road for the army of Islam. Mangátah remarked: "This is a vast army: we have not the power to resist it: it is necessary to retire;" and fear overcame him and his army, lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off. Their army was formed into three divisions, and routed, they fled, and numerous captives, both Musalmán and Hindú, obtained their liberty."

Before I proceed to adduce my authorities and information on this subject, I had better refer, as briefly as possible, to an article which appeared in a late number of the Calcutta Review, entitled "The Lost River of the Indian Desert." The writer of the article in question, in support of his arguments respecting the period at which he supposes the Hakrā to have disappeared, or, more correctly, the period at which its waters ceased to flow, quotes the "Tabakát-i-Násrî" as his authority, from a portion only of that work contained in Elliot's "Indian Historians," Vol. II, p. 363, which was translated by the late Mr. J. Dowson, Hindústání Professor

17 To this the following note was appended. "Long, narrow banks of sand, probably extending, in places, for several miles, and sometimes, of some height, are doubtless meant here, such as are found after the annual inundations, with water, sometimes of considerable depths between; and to the effects of the past inundation, the people no doubt referred. These would have caused great obstruction, and have taken much time to cross, as well as have entailed great trouble, therefore, the forces of Dihlí kept farther north, and made their march a flank movement at the same time, which may have been the original intention. In what direction they went may be seen farther on." Here it has been already related.

18 I wish this last expression to be particularly noticed. See also, and compare, this passage with that in Elliot's Historians, Vol. II, pp. 363-64.

19 I may mention that part of the present paper was originally intended as a note to the investment of Uchchh in my "Translation" [See page 1155], but, on after consideration, on account of its length, I thought it would be more advisable to publish it as a separate article in the "Journal," after completing the Tabakát-i-Násrî. I unfortunately mislaid the rough draft, which our lamented friend, Mr. Arthur Grote, saw and read over; and he agreed with me, that it was better adapted for publication in a separate form. In March 1887 I found the MS. quite unexpectedly, among some maps, after I had given up all hope of seeing it again, as I feared I had burnt it, by mistake, along with some old proofs of the "Translation." The appearance of another article on the same subject, by Mr. R. D. Oldham, in the Society's "Journal," No. IV of 1886, determined me no longer to delay its publication. What I have here stated will explain my reference to "a late number of the Calcutta Review."
at the Staff College, previously alluded to, from the incorrect Persian text of the original published at Calcutta; but, from that translated portion contained in Elliot’s work, the detailed account of the investment of Úchôh is omitted altogether. Thus it will be seen, that the observations contained in the Calcutta Review article, are based entirely upon this single extract in Elliot’s “Historians.”20 The writer, consequently, has been partly misled by the rendering of an incorrect passage in the Calcutta printed text, as stated in a note to my “Translation,” and partly by his own errors in reading “drought” where “fissures” are mentioned in Elliot, and in losing sight occasionally of the old course of the Biáh, or “Bias” previous to its junction with the Sutlaj, when both rivers lost their names and became the Hariári, Nilú or Ghárâh.

The passage quoted from Elliot occurs in the account of the Ulugh Khán-i-A’zam, under the events of the year 643 H., and is as follows. “In this year the accursed Mankútí (Mangú Khán)21 marched from the neighbourhood of Tálíkán and Kunduz into Sindh. * * * The Dihlí army arrived on the banks of the Biáh, made the transit of the river, and reached Lábor on the banks of the Ráví. * * * Trusty men record that when Mankútí heard of the approach of the army of Islám, under the royal standard, that it proceeded by the river Biáh, near the skirts of the hills, and that it was advancing along the banks of the river, he

20 My translation of this particular portion of it, perhaps, had not reached India at the time.

21 The late Mr. J. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot’s “Historians of India,” and translator of some, and reviser of all the extracts from the Ţabákát-i-Násírí contained in that work, turned the old, one-eyed leader of the time of the Chingiz Khán into Mangú Khán, his grandson, and called him Mankútí instead of Mangútah. The Great Khán, Mangú, was the son of the Chingiz Khán’s youngest son, and did not succeed to the sovereignty until five years after this investment of Úchôh, which happened during the reign of Kayuk, and, moreover, he was never near the Indus in his life, nor within hundreds of miles of it. See “Ţabákát.” Translation, note to page 1180. Blochmann, in his printed text of the A’in-i-Akbarí, where this investment is briefly referred to, has ða‘lî, the shoulder of the ð being left out, made that letter ‘l’ instead of ‘g,’ and the letter ð—‘t’—has been turned upside-down and made ð—‘y.’ These are probably printer’s errors, because in the MSS. of the work the name is correctly written. The author of the “Notes on the Lost River,” presently to be noticed, also has “Mangú Khán,” but “Mankútí” is left out altogether!

It is wonderful how people will jump at impossible conclusions; and because one of the Mughal sovereigns was called ða‘lî—Mangú—which name they may have read of, immediately they see the word ða‘lî—Mangútah—they at once assume that the former must be meant, and this, too, when the author in another place had stated, that Mangútah was an aged man, with dog-like eyes—[some copies have ‘one-eyed’], and that he had been one of the Chingiz Khán’s favourites.

See “Tabákát,” Translation, note to page 1180.
made inquiry of a party (of prisoners) why the army of Islam marched
along the bases of the mountains, for the route was long, and the way
by Sarsuti and Marút (Mirat?)* was nearer? He was answered that
the numerous fissures on the banks of the river rendered the way impossible
for the army."**

The writer of the Calcutta Review article on the "Lost River," might have noticed, that, in a foot-note, the editor and translator says,
"The text—از كثرة جمر كنار آب رخ نباسته is far from intelligible and ap-
parently contradictory. The royal forces are said to have marched along
the banks of the river, although that route is declared to have been im-
practicable. The whole passage is omitted in Sir H. Elliot's M.S."

The translator and editor appears to have been much puzzled,
certainly, and seems to have forgotten that he took the army "across the
river "Rávi," as far as Láhor, just before, because it was doubtful
whether it could proceed along the banks of the "Biyáh." He has
confused one river with the other; and, if the route along the left or
east bank of the Biáh was supposed to be impracticable, it did not follow
that there was no way along the right or west bank. As previously
stated, there were other reasons for not following the course of the Biáh
direct to Uğháh, even if the route had been practicable on the other
or on both sides of "the river," which referred to the Hakrá, which
flowed past Márút, and not to the Biáh at all.

The "Review" writer, further says: "In the same volume, page

---

* There is not a word about "prisoners" in the original.
** Here it will be seen, that, in two places where the author was perfectly
right as to the names Mangúthah and Márút, Mr. Dowson thought he knew better,
and turned the first into "Mangú Khán," and the latter into "Mirat," and has
thereby shown the extent of his historical and geographical knowledge. Mirat is
just five degrees east of Márút, and, more than that, lies north-east of Dihlí, in a to-
tally opposite direction.

---

25 I have noticed in my "Translation," in note 8, page 812, that the word جم
supposed to mean "fissures," is but part of the plural form of جمجم, namely جمجمه,
part of the word being left out in the Calcutta text, signifying 'islands,' etc. Under
any circumstance, جم—jar—does not mean either a fissure or fissures, but the Hindí
جار—chars—means, 'a bank,' 'an island.' This word is used in the Pánj-áb for such
shoals, banks, or islands as are found on, and near the banks of rivers after the
subsidence of the annual inundations, and this local word may have been used by the
people of whom Mangúthah made inquiry.

See the large scale map of the Baha-l:pír territory, and some idea may be
formed respecting such 'islands' or 'banks' as the author refers to, still to be
seen in the ancient channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah, and also the notice of that
channel which will be found farther on.
the same expedition is referred to, but there it is merely stated that when Sultan 'Alau-d-din arrived on the banks of the Biáh, the infidels raised the siege of Uch.'

From the correct version of this identical passage, as it occurs in the Persian text of the "Tābākāt-i-Nāṣirī," given at page 812 of my "Translation," it will be noticed, that, as usual with its author, he has not mentioned the details therein, but retained them for his account of the invasion of the Mughals, which I have given at the beginning of this article.86

What are the facts respecting this investment of Uochh? The Dihli forces having first crossed the Biáh, coming from Dihli in the direction of Lahor by the direct route between the two places, Malik Ghiyas-ud-Din, Balban, afterwards raised to the title of Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam,87 who was the Sultan's chief of the staff, so to speak, or rather, the real commander, conducted the army of Hind towards the Ráwah, as it is called, as well as Rawí, of Lahor. We also learn from the passage in the account of Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, which has just been discussed, what determined the Mughal commander to raise the investment of Uochh. It was not only that one of the most famous of the Mughal leaders had perished in the recent assault, and that the invaders had been repulsed in making it, as stated in the detailed account, but, on reaching the banks of the Biáh on the way from Dihli to Lahor—I am referring to it as it flowed in its old bed, not as it and the Sutlaj flow now under the names of Haríári and Gháráh—Malik Ghiyas-ud-Dín, Balban, despatched couriers to Uochh88 with letters for the defenders, some of which were purposely allowed to fall into the ene-

86 At page 1150 of my "Translation."

87 Sultan Nasir-ud-Din, Mahmúd Sháh, who was set up as ruler of Dihli in the following year, after Sultan 'Alá-ud-Dín, Músúd Sháh had been imprisoned, married the daughter of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam. After the decease of his son-in-law, who died childless, he succeeded to the throne under the title of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Dín, Balban. He was a Turk of the Ilbarí tribe, but compilers of Indian Histories and Gazetteers, and archaeological experts, turn him, like many other Turks, Tájaiks, Jāts, and Sáyyids, into "Patháns," which is synonymous with Afghán, it being the vitiated Hindí equivalent of Pushtún, the name by which the people generally known as Afgháns call themselves, in their own language.

A specimen of this "Pathán" fallacy appears in the "Transactions" of the Society for November, 1889, page 226. Referring to a find of coins from the Koh-i-Júd or Salt Range, they are described as "all of one kind, viz., coins of the Pathán Sultan of Dehlí, Gháiásu-ud-Dín Balban." Now this very personage is no other than the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam mentioned above, who was an Ilbarí Turk, not an Afghán or "Pathán." If the "Tábakát-i-Náṣirí" were more studied, such great errors would not occur. It is quite time to give up Dow and Brigg's "Ferishta."

88 See note 13, page 160.
my's hands, intimating, in somewhat exaggerated terms, the advance, and near approach, of a vast army with numerous elephants: and, in truth, it was said to have been the most formidable army that had been assembled for a very long period. Malik Ghiyás-ud-Din, Balban, immediately after the army had passed the Biháh on the route to Láhor, had also pushed forward a considerable body of cavalry towards the frontier of Sind, and this force, at least, went by the right or west bank of the Biháh, through the Bári Do-ábah, between it and the Ráwí. On the couriers reaching Uchchh, the drums and other so-called musical instruments announced to the Mughals that the defenders were aware that succour was at hand, and that they would speedily be relieved; and what with their own recent, unsuccessful assault, and the loss of one of their famous leaders, it became clear to the Mughals that Uchchh was not to be taken as easily as they had expected.

Another important point to be considered is, that this march from Dihlí towards Lahor and the Ráwí was a flank movement, to cover, and succour Multán39 if necessary, and threaten the line of the Mughals' retreat towards the Júd Hills—the Namak-Sár or Salt Range—the route by which they had come against Uchchh.50

It will also be noticed that the Nú-in Mangútah was quite alive to this flank movement, when, on hearing of the route taken by the Musalmán forces, he said it was “time to retire,” and the author adds, “lest, if they remained longer, their line of retreat should be cut off.”

Another reason for the advance of the Dihlí army towards Láhor, instead of going direct from Dihlí to Uchchh through the now desert waste, was, that the Biháh and Ráwí, which did not flow then as they do now, were more easily crossed higher up at the season in question—the months of December and January51—when these operations took place.

39 Multán and Uchchh, as before mentioned (see note 8, page 157, and note 12, page 159) were then situated in the same Do-ábah, no great river intervening between them, but a cutting from the river Chin-áb, called the Loli Wá-han, flowed past the fortifications of Multán, and filled its ditch, or formed a wet ditch around it, which, in the cold season, could be filled at pleasure. There were likewise several canals about, at lesser or greater distances.

The Ab-i-Sind or Indus, at this period united with the Biháh and its tributaries near Uchchh on the west, as confirmed by tradition mentioned in note farther on, and continued so to do down to modern times.

50 The Ránah, Jas-Pál, Síhra or Sohra, and his Khokhar tribes, acted as the Mughal guides, for which they were severely chastised in the following year, 644 H., the first of the reign of Sultán Násir-ud-Din, Maimúd Sháh. See pages 678 and 815 of my "Translation."

51 The Mughals raised the investment of Uchchh on the 25th of the month Sha'bán, about the end of January, 1246 A. D.
and lay through the most populous parts of the country, on the main route from Dihlí through the north-western provinces, where facilities for crossing this vast army were ready at hand, where supplies were abundant, and where some of the great feudatories of those parts would join the Sultán's army en route with their contingents.\textsuperscript{52}

At this period the Biáh flowed in its old bed past Debál-púr and the Wihat or Bihat, the Chin-áb or Chin-áo, and the Rawah or Rawí, having united into one stream to the north-east of Multán, flowed near it on the east side, and united with the Biáh some twenty-eight miles to the southward of that city, and east of U'ohchh, instead of west of it, as the united rivers of the Panj-áb now flow. This movement enabled the Dihlí forces to threaten the Mughal's line of retreat northwards, consequently, there would have been no road open to them except down stream or across the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, and these alternatives were, evidently, not approved of by Mangútah.\textsuperscript{53} As stated by the author of the "Tabakát-i-Násiri," who was present in attendance on the Sultán and his army in his ecclesiastical capacity, as soon as the Mughal Nú-in became aware that the army of Islám was marching down the east bank of the Rawí (which was generally fordable) through the Bári Do-ábah, near the junction of the rivers, in order to reach U'ohchh, he immediately found it necessary to retire; and, as the author of the above work\textsuperscript{54} states, "The advance of the victorious army, and approach of the royal standards, becoming manifest to the accursed Mangútah, and the cavalry of the advance force approaching the frontier of Sind [below the

Even if the Dihlí forces had taken the direct route by Máruít, they would still have had the Hákra and the Biáh below the junction of its tributaries to cross, both deep, broad, and unfordable rivers, in order to reach U'ohchh, which then lay between the Sind Rúd or the Biáh and its tributaries, and the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. Moreover, the Mughals before U'ohchh might then have been in a position to oppose their crossing the former river.

\textsuperscript{52} In crossing higher up stream, the Sultán of Dihlí merely did as Alexander the Great is said to have done before. Strabo, in his Geography (B. XV), says: "He resolved therefore to get possession of that part of India first which had been well spoken of, considering at the same time that the rivers which it was necessary to pass, and which flowed transversely through the country which he intended to attack, \textit{would be crossed with more facility near their sources}. He heard also that many of the rivers united and formed one stream, and that this more frequently occurred the farther they advanced into the country, so that from want of boats it would be more difficult to traverse."

\textsuperscript{53} He probably had no means of crossing the Ab-i-Sind, consequently he had to boat a hasty retreat up the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, by the same route as he came down against U'ohchh.

\textsuperscript{54} See pages 812, and 1156.
junction of the Rawi and other rivers with the Biáh south-south-east of Multán], * * * he made inquiry of some persons [natives of the country, without doubt], what might be the reason of the deviation of the army of Islám towards the skirts of the hills, because that was a longer route, while that by Sarasti and Márút was near. They replied, that, on account of the number of islands on the banks [of the river], 56 there might not be a road for the army of Islám."

The writer in the Calcutta Review, misquoting, as it will be seen, his own authority, says: "It is said in the Tabakát-i-Násirí that, when Uchh was besieged by the Mughals in H. 643 (A. D. 1245), the army sent [the Sultán, 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, commanded it in person] was unable to march by Sarsuti and Marot, in consequence of the drought on the bank of the river." 57 What river he does not say; but, in Eliot's "Historians," which he quotes, there is not one word about "drought," and in the author's text there is not one word to indicate that "the numerous fissures rendered the way impassable," as Mr. Dowson translated the words ٤٢١ نباصح — ráh na-báshad—which means that there might not be a road—a doubt, not a certainty. Consequently, as far as the authority of the "Tabakát-i-Násirí" is concerned, there is not the least reason for supposing that either the Rawi or the Biáh had then changed their courses, or that the Hakrá had dried up.

"Marot," the writer continues, "is now in the heart of the desert, but then the high road from Dehli to Multán passed under its walls, and followed the course of the Hakrá from Sarsuti to within a few marches of Uchh. After this period, armies marching from Dehli to Multán always took the road by Abohar and Ajodhan; but the more direct way by Marot was occasionally taken by travellers for some time later." 58

All this, like the "drought," is mere surmise. That there was a route by Márút is certain, but no scrap of evidence can be produced to show that armies, going from Dehli to Multán "always" took the route by Márút, nor would the writer be able to point out any place where it is stated that the route by Márút was the "high road between Dehli and Multán," or any authority for the statement, that armies marching

55 As I have before noticed, which of the rivers is not mentioned, and in coming from Dehli by way of Márút the Hakrá would have had to be crossed, under any circumstances, unless the troops crossed the Ghag-ghar at Sarasti or near it, and after that had been crossed, the Biáh and its tributaries, forming the Sind Rúd, would have to be crossed likewise.

56 Yet, at page 3 of his article in the Calcutta Review, the writer says: "Our knowledge of the condition of this tract of country previous to the time of Sultán Firúz Sháh in the fourteenth century is very vague."
from Dihli to Multán, "after this time always took the road by Abohar," or to name a single instance of an army taking that route in preference. The Márt̄ road was taken both by bodies of troops and travellers long after, and was taken by an English traveller—Arthur Conolly—in company with a caravan of that branch of the Tarín Afgháns commonly known as the Sayyids of Pushang, as late as 1830.

As to the route being "closed at this period and after" because of the disappearance of the "western branch of the Naiwal," which "was the last of the channels connected with the Hakrá which, therefore, at this time (about A. D. 1220) finally ceased to flow," the writer of the article in the "Review," himself says, that "a great part of the Indian Desert has undergone little change since pre-historic times," and, that "its ancient name of Marusthali (region of death) proves this." Does the "seige of Uch" belong to pre-historic times? The writer attributes the movement of the Dihli army towards Lahor, instead of following the route by "Marot," to the drying up of the Hakrá; while, in other places he says, that, "the downfall of the Sumras must have occurred between A. D. 1223," and, that that year had "been preceded by the disappearance of the Hakrá river." Now the year 1220 A. D. is equivalent to the year 617 H., which commenced on the 7th of March of the above year, or twenty-six years before the investment of Uchh; and the year 1223 A. D., is equivalent to 620 H., which began on the 3rd of February, or just three years less. This is certainly very contradictory.

"If the "Hakrá river" had dried up in 1220 A. D. or in 1223, the route by "Abohar" between twenty-three and twenty-six years after, would have been no better than that by "Marot." Both routes would have lain through much the same description of country; for Uboh-har87 was situated on one of its tributaries, and we know from Ibn Batúţah that there was no want of water in that part eighty years after the investment of Uchh.

Sultán Nasir-ud-Din, Ḳabal-jah the Turk,88 who ruled over the territories of Sind and Multán, on the sudden death of Sultán Kutb-ud-Dín, I-bak-i-Shil, from the effects of the accident which befell him when playing at the game of changdán at Lahor in 607 H. (1210-11 A. D.), annexed all the country east of Multán and Uchh, as far as Tabarhindah (the old name of Bhaţindah), Kuhrám, and Sarasti.89 This fact

87 The derivation of this name, which in error is written Abúhar generally by the Muhammadan historians, will be found farther on.
88 He is one of those turned into a "Pathán" by the experts.
89 Sarasti is the ancient name of Sîrâ: Sursuti is the name of a river, the ancient Saraswatí.
clearly shows, that, at this period, the Káji Wá-hah, Hakrá, or Wahindah, by which two latter names it is best known in the annals of Sind and Multán, had not ceased to flow, and that Sultan Násir-ud-Din, Kába-jah, annexed all the intervening territory between the banks of the Hakrá, which bounded the then dependencies of Sind and Multán on the east, up to, and including, those districts abovenamed, which is tributary, the Chitang, bounded on the south. It is beyond question that he would not have annexed a howling wilderness or "a region of death." It has also been proved beyond all doubt, that Sultan Shams-ud-Din, I-yal-timish, set out from Delhi by way of Tabarhindah for Uchchh with his forces in 625 H. (1228 A. D.) to oust Kába-jah therefrom, and take possession of Sind and Multán, and came through this present desert tract; that the Biáh and its tributaries, or Sind Rúd, flowed near to Uchchh on the east at that time; for the latter's fleet was moored in front of the káshbah of Nay Quwr-∗—Ihráwat—and that one of the Amirs of I-yal-timish, Tat-ud-Din, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khán, who commanded the advanced troops of his army, had been placed in charge of the district of Wanjhirút on the Hakrá, a place which is known to this day, and which then gave its name to the district. It is very evident that the Malik abovenamed would have been placed in charge of a desert, as Wanjh-rút would have been, if the Hakrá had disappeared in either 1220 A. D. or 1223 A. D., because these events happened five years after the last named date, in 625 H. (1228 A. D.).

The author of the "Tabakát-i-Násirí," himself proceeded by way of Hánsi and Abúhar [Uboh-har] to Multán on the 24th of Zí-Hijjah, 647 H. (the end of April, 1248 A. D.), four years after the investment of Uchchh

---

40 This place has disappeared, and its site is now unknown, as far as I can discover, which is not surprising, considering the vast changes which have taken place in this part.

41 Perhaps it will not be forgotten, that there were a number of flourishing mahdits or sub-districts of the Bakhra and Multán sarkárs of the Multán súbah—three of the former sarkar and seven of the latter—east of the present bank of the Indus and Ghárah near Uchchh, and extending to the Hakrá, and probably beyond, of which one is Diráwar on the very bank of the Hakrá, which are still well-known. These alone paid no less than 78,01,510 dams of revenue, equal to 1 lakh and 9,537 rúpés, or £10,953, per annum, not including free grants, and furnished 1,370 horsemen, and 8,600 foot for militia purposes, in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh.

42 He mentions why he went by Hánsi and Uboh-har. He says (page 687): "When he reached the Hánsi district [it was the first of his patron, the Ulugh Khán], the author took possession of the village conferred upon him by Ulugh Khán, and opportunity offered to proceed to Multán by way of Abúhar, and, on Sunday, the 11th of the month, Sa’far, 648 H., an interview was obtained with Malik Sher Khán-i-Sankar on the banks of the Biáh."
by the Mughal Nú-in, Mangú-tah (at which time also he accompanied
the relieving army from Dihli as already mentioned), and returned from
Multán by way of the fort of Máruút and Sarástí to Hánsí again, in
Jamádi-us-Šáni of the following year, about the middle of October, 1248
A. D. He had gone to Multán for the purpose of despatching forty
head of Indian captives—male slaves—to be turned into money, "to
his dear sister in Khurásán"; and, although he set out in the hot season
—the end of April—he says nothing about any "impossibility" in the
route, "drought," or "fissures," nor does he mention any difficulty or
obstruction whatever. Besides all this, he had an interview with Malik
Sher Khá-n-i-Sunkar, one of the greatest Amírs and feudatories of the
Dihli kingdom, "on the banks of the Biáh, after leaving Abúhar [Ubóh-
har], and this would have been simply impossible if the Biáh had left
its old bed and had united with the Sutlaj. Moreover, if one great river
[the Hakrá] had recently dried up, or disappeared, and if another river
nearly as large [the Biáh], on the banks of which his interview with
Malik Sher Khá-n actually took place, had abandoned its old bed to meet
another [the Sutlaj], halfway, which must have also similarly abandoned
its channel, so that a vast tract of territory previously populous and
fruitful had been turned into a desert, can it be conceived for a moment,
that, if such vast changes had really taken place he would not even
have hinted at them? Besides, it would have been physically impos-
sible for him to have held an interview on the banks of the Biáh with
Sher Khá-n, if any change had taken place, because, when it deserted
its bed, it ceased to be the Biáh. In going by this route he must have
crossed both the Hakrá, and its tributaries, including the Sutlaj as well
as the Biáh, to reach Multán by Ubóh-har, and the Biáh and the Hakrá
again on his return by way of Máruút.

In another place (page 782), he says, he went to Multán on the
occasion in question, and reached it in Rabí-ul Awwal, 648 H. (June,
1250 A. D.), a journey which few would have attempted at that season,
if all the rivers had dried up; and, that two days before his arrival,
Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlí Khá-n (not Ghíyás-ud-Dín, Balban,
the Ulugh Khá-n-i-A'zám, but a totally different person) had reached
Multán from Ubóh-har, and was then investing it; that he, the author,
remained at Multán for two months—July and August—during which
time Malik Balban relinquished the investment and retired to Ubóh-har
again; and that he himself returned to Dihli by nearly the same route
as he had come.**

** Turned into "100 beasts of burden," by Mr. Dowson, See Elliot's Historians,

** At page 822 of the "Translation" he says he set out from Dihli for Multán
At pages 787-88, under Malik Badr-ud-Din, Sunkar-i-Safi, entitled Nuşrat Khan, it is stated, that, “in 657 A. H. [which began on the 28th of December, 1258 A. D.] he was placed in charge of the then western frontier districts of the Dihli kingdom, namely, the city of Tabarhindah [subsequently called Bhatindah], Sunam, Jhajhar, and Lak-wal [Lakhhi-wal], and the frontiers as far as the ferries over the river Biāh,” which shows that the Biāh still flowed in its old bed, and also tends to prove that the parts between the places mentioned above and the Biāh were not then deserted by the rivers, and not reduced to a desert. Had they been so, of what use was it defending the line of a dried-up Biāh and its “ferries” from the waterless desert side? The Mughals, or their vassals and tributaries, including Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban-i-Kashlú Khan, were then in the possession of the tracts on, and west of, the Biāh, consisting of the provinces of Uchochh, Multán, and Lāhor. The author adds, that, “up to the date of this book being written [his history], he [Nuşrat Khan] is still stationed on that frontier, with ample military resources and a large army.”

In several other places in his work, the author throws considerable light on this subject. At page 723, he says, that, after he first came to Uchochh from Ghaznîn by Banián, in Safar, 625 H., he went to the camp of Malik Táj-ud-Din, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khan, at the time Sultan Yal-timîsh was about to invest Sultan Nasir-ud-Din, Kabâ-jah, in that stronghold, Táj-ud-Din, Sanjar, having lately been put in possession of the district of Wanj-rút (properly, Wanjh-rút) of Multán. This place in Zi-Ka’dah [the eleventh month], 647 H., by way of Hânsî and Uboh-har, right across the present desert tract. He adds: “When the rainy season set in, and the rains of compassion fell, on the 26th of Jamádi-ul-Awwal [the fifth month of the following year], he set out on his return by way of the fort of Má rút, Sarastî, and Hánî [page 688], and reached the capital in the following month. See also note to page 823 of that work.

45 Now generally known as the Lakhhi Jangal. It is described farther on.

46 Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunkar appears to have again been placed in charge of the western frontiers after his kinsman, the Ulugh Khán-i-A’gam, became Sultan. The author of the Târikh-i-Fîrûz Sháh-i (who follows the author of the Tabakât-i-Nâşir after a lapse of ninety-five years, however, but there is no contemporary writer between them), states, that, “Sher Khán-i-Sunkar, who was the brother’s son of Sultan Ghiyás-ud-Din, Balban, held charge of all the western frontier in the beginning of his reign, and held it up to the time of his own death, four or five years after. He says: ‘This Sher Khán held charge of all the western frontier, Sunám, Lobhowar [Lâhor], Dobût-pûr, and other sieves exposed to the Mughal inroads. See note farther on.

47 Miscalled “Beejnot,” in the maps. There is another place called Wanjh-rút, in Upper Sind, near the western channel of the Haçrâ and the old bed of the Biāh,
is now in the midst of the desert, in the Baháwal-púr state, but, at the period referred to, it was the chief place of a district on the banks of the Hakrá, extending upwards towards Uchchh, but, chiefly, along its right or east banks. Multán had been already taken possession of by one of the Sultán's Malik's, the feudatory of Sarasísí, who had marched down the Bání Do-ábah from the direction of Láhor.

The author of the "Ṭabaḵát-i-_NSírí" repeatedly mentions the river Bišh up to the time when his history closes, and, perhaps, it will not be amiss to state briefly what he says.

I have mentioned that Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Káshlí Khan had attempted to recover Multán from Malik sher Khán-i-Sunkár, when the author was there in 643 H. (1250 A. D.) The latter had, some time before, wrested Multán out of the hands of the Kárlugh Turks, who had compelled Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, to surrender it to them. After Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban had withdrawn from Multán, Malik sher Khán marched against Uchchh. At this time Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, was absent at Nág-awr, or "Nágor," and he at once hastened from thence towards Uchchh to endeavour to save it; and, thinking that Malik sher Khán would take into consideration that they were both servants of the same sovereign, and would abandon his designs upon Uchchh, he presented himself in his camp; but Malik sher Khán, who appears to have known that he was a traitor at heart, detained him as a prisoner until he consented to surrender the place. This he did, and had to retire to Nág-awr again. The author says that, with Uchchh given up to him, all Sind came under Malik sher Khán's sway. Now, the route from Nág-awr to Uchchh led across the Hakrá, and through the vast tract at present chiefly desert; but Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban and his following do not appear to have had any difficulty, either in going or coming, with regard to water or forage.49

and which was included in the same district, which extended from the Bīkānír border to the banks of the Hakrá, and the first named place appears to have been its chief town.

48 In the "Mujmal-i-Fasíb-i," under the events of the year 648 H. (1250 A. D.) it is stated, that, in that same year, Sher Khan-i-Sunkár retook Multán from the Mughals, and ousted a rival Malik of the Díhil Court, who was disaffected, and intriguing with the Mughals, from Uchchh; and that, soon after, he had himself to retire to the urdá of Mángú Khá'n, while his rival went to Hulsúk. Multán was retaken from the Kárlugh, who were for some time vassals of the Mughals. The "disaffected Malik," of course, refers to 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Káshlí Khán.

The year 648 H. commenced on the 4th April, 1250 A. D.

49 Nág-awr then formed an important sief and province of the Díhil empire, which Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Káshlí Khán was allowed to hold, as well as Sind and Multán. Its dependencies adjoined those of Uchchh and Multán on the
In Shawwāl, 650 H. (January, 1253 A. D.), Sūltān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, set out from Dihlī with his forces in the direction of Lāhor, with the intention of marching to Multān and Uchchh, in order to recover them from Malik Sher Khān, and restore them to Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban. Malik Sher Khān was the kinsman of the Ulugh Khān-i-A'gam, and this movement against him was the first step in a plot which was then on foot, to overthrow the power of the Ulugh Khān-i-A'gam, and remove him from the court. The forces marched from Dihlī by Kaiṭhal, because the feudatories of Budā'ūn, Bhiānah, and other parts, were to join with their contingents. The troops reached the banks of the Bīāh, but, as the conspirators had succeeded in getting the Ulugh Khān-i-A'gam banished to his fiefs of Hānsī and the Siwālīk territory, the Sūltān, who was a mere tool in their hands, marched back with them to Dihlī in the first month of the following year.

Towards the close of that year the Sūltān again put his forces in motion for the purpose of securing Uchchh and Multān. On reaching the banks of the Bīāh, a force was despatched towards Tabarhiṇdah, another of Malik Sher Khān's fiefs; but he, leaving those places in the hands of his dependents, had retired towards Turkistān, to proceed to the presence of the Great Kā'ān, Mangū Khān; and those provinces were taken from Malik Sher Khān's dependents, and entrusted to the charge of Malik Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Qhast; and the Sūltān again retired from the banks of the Bīāh, beyond which the forces did not move, and returned to Dihlī.

About 653 A. H., the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban, (1255 A. D.), was again placed in charge of Uchchh and Multān, apparently, west. Can any one imagine it would have been possible or desirable to have held Multān, Uchchh, and Nāg-awr, with a howling waterless desert between, and those districts also half a desert, with the principal river dried up, and two others merged into one, and thus rendering another vast tract desolate?

Nāg-awr, at the period in question, was generally held by a separate feudatory, but 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban, possessed great interest with the rulers of the Shamsi dynasty, to whom he was related by marriage, having espoused a lady of the family of Sūltān I-yal-timigh. He rebelled several times, and yet his conduct was passed over, and he was again and again restored to favour, as may be seen from the "Tabakat-i-Nāṣirī."

In Akbar Bāḏahā's reign, Nāg-awr was one of the two western sārkārs of the Ajmīr pūsāh; and Bikānīr, of which Jassal-mīr was only a mahdlī or sub-district, was another sārkār of Ajmīr. Even in that day, when some of the rivers had greatly changed, and a great deal of desert intervened between Nāg-awr and the Multān pūsāh, it contained thirty-one mahdlīs, and yielded a revenue of 40,389,830 dūms, equal to 1,600,743 rōpis, or upwards of ten lakhs. It is now a dependency of Jodhpūr in the territory of Máj-wār.
to counteract the designs of Malik Sher Khan in going to the presence of Mangú Ká'án, the supreme ruler of the Mughal empire. With the assistance of Malik Shams-ud-Dín, Muhammad, the Kurat, who held the fief of Hirát, and other parts adjacent, as a vassal of the Mughals—and heavy was their yoke—and through him, he tendered allegiance to Hulákú Khán, then in T-rán-Zamin on the part of his brother Mangú Ká'án, and requested that a Shañah or Commissioner should be sent to Uchchh. This was done, and the Nú-in, Sáli, or Sálin, also written Sári, was sent thither at the head of a body of Mughal troops in 654 A. H. (1256 A. D.).

In 655 H. (1257 A. D.) Malik Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlí Khán, who, with the troops of Uchchh and Multán, was then on the banks of the Biáh, advanced up the do-ábah in order to effect a junction with other disaffected Maliks of the Dihli kingdom. Having united, they pushed on to Mansúr-púr, Kuhrán, and Samánah, their object being to seize upon Dihli if they could. The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, who had again regained the greatest power in the state, moved against them at

50 See preceding note, and “Tabákát-i-Ñásiri,” pages 786 and 860.
51 In this word, as in many others, the letters ' r ' and ' l ' are interchangeable.
52 According to some other writers, in the preceding year.
53 The reason why Malik Izz-ud-Dín, Balban-i-Kashlí Khán was able to hold these places, although at the same time in open rebellion against his sovereign, the Sultan of Dihli, was, because Uchchh and Multán, and their dependencies, chiefly, lay west of the Biáh and Hakrá, and between the latter and the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, which then flowed much nearer to Multán, and farther west and beyond the Ráví and Chin-áb. Both strongholds, likewise, lay in the same do-ábah or delta, the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and this rendered them liable to attack from the Mughals coming downwards from the direction of the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, in the same do-ábah, which was in the possession of the Mughals. The fact that Malik Hassan, the Kárľugh, evacuated Multán immediately on the Mughals approaching the banks of the Ab-i-Sind to attack Uchchh in 643 H., and retired precipitately into Sind, to Siw-istán and the sea coast, confirms this. To do so, he did not take boat, on the Ab-i-Sind, or he might have been captured, but he embarked on the Biáh or Sind Rúd, below the confluence of the three other rivers of the Panj-áb with it, and from it got into the Hakrá or Wahindah, and by it reached the neighbourhood of Bukhar, and subsequently Lower Sind.

When Abú-l-Fazl wrote, Multán was in the Bári Do-ábah, and Uchchh in the district known as Berún-i-Panj-Nad, or Extra Panj-Ab or Panch Nad, that is, lying on either side of the united five rivers below their junction.

54 Including Malik Kutlugh Khán, who had married the mother of Sultan Nasir-ud-Dín, Mahmúd Sháh, who had rebelled against that Sultan in 658 H. (1255 A. D.), and coined money in his own name, hence he is not allowed to appear in the list of the Sultan's Maliks. He, too, was a Turk, not a “Pathán.” See “Tabákát-i-Ñásiri” pages 673 and 703. Also the Society's "Transactions," for 1889, page 226.
55 See "Tabákát-i-Ñásiri," page 785.
the head of the Sultan's forces. They managed, however, to give him
the slip when within ten kuroh of them; for, having fellow traitors
within the walls of the capital, who offered to open the gates to them,
they made a forced march of one hundred kuroh in the space of two days
and a half, and reached it on the evening of the Thursday. The Ulugh
Khán-i-Á'zam had, in the meantime, received intimation of these doings,
and he set out in pursuit of them. In the interim the traitors within
had been secured; and Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban, and his confederates
found the walls manned and gates closed ready for a vigorous defense
when they perambulated the place on the evening in question. On the
Friday morning, the Sultan's forces under the Ulugh Khán-i-Á'zam
having appeared upon the scene, the insurgents took to flight; and Malik
'Izz-ud-Din, Balban, being deserted by the troops of Uchhh and Multán
in their precipitate flight, was left with only about 200 or 300 followers.
He, however, succeeded in effecting his escape. This was in Jamádi-ul-
Khir of the year above mentioned (July, 1257 A. D.).

At this time, the Nú-in Sálí or Sálín or Sári, having entered the
territory east of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, reached Uchhh, and Malik
'Izz-ud-Din, Balban, had to join his camp. After this the Mughal leader
despatched the Kurat Malik, Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad, who had to
accompany him on this expedition whether he liked it or not, to occupy
Multán;65 and the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Bahá-ul-Ḥakḳ va-d-Dín, Zakariyá,
who appears, in the absence of a settled government, to have been the
chief authority there, or, at least, the person possessing the most in-
fluence, had to pay down 100,000 dinárs to save the place from being
sacked. The fortifications are said to have been dismantled by Sálí's
command, and a Turk mamluk or slave of Malik Shams-ud-Dín, Muhammad,
the Tájzik Kurat feudatory of Hirát and Ghúr, Qhingiz Khán, by
name, was made Ḥákím of Multán.67

Both Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunkar, and Malik Jalá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd
Sháh, brother of Sultan Násir-ud-Dín, Mahmúd Sháh, ruler of Dílí,

65 Malik 'Izz-ud-Din, Balban, was probably ashamed to accompany those infidels
thither to the presence of the Shaikh, therefore, the Tájzik Kurat Malik of Hirát
and Ghúr was made the means of communication.

67 I hope this Qhingiz Khán will not be mistaken by the archaeological experts
for Timur-chí, the Mughal, the Chingiz or Great Khán, because history states that he
did not coin money; while the coins, if they may be so called, of his immediate suc-
cessors were bidíghts or ingots. Many of those petty Musalmán rulers, who were
reduced to vasassage by the Mughals, like Malik Hasan, the Kárlugh, and Shams-ud-
Dín, Muhammad, the Kurat, had to put the names of these "infidels" on their coins.
See Thomas's "Paṭhán Kings of Dehlí," pages 91—98. Neither Hasan, nor his son,
Násir-ud-Dín, Muhammad were very powerful monarchs." See also "Ṭabūḵšt-i-
Násiri," Translation, pages 781, 859—863, and 1128—1132 for an account of them.
who had gone to the presence of Mangú Kā'ān, and had been honourably received, were also permitted to return; and the latter was allowed to hold the province of Láhor, independent of Dihlí, as a vassal of the Mughals, but he did not long retain it.

It is stated in another history, that, after settling the affairs of Uchchá and Multán, Sálí marched towards Láhor, which was then in the possession of Kuret Khá'n, or Khwán as it is written in the original, and that Sálí entered into an accommodation with this person, on the payment of 30,000 dínárés, 30 kharwárés of soft fabrics, and 100 captives; and that, after this, the Kurat Malik of Hirát and Ghúr, Sháms-ud-Dín, Muhammad, who, as the vassal of the Mughals, had to accompany the Nú-ín with his contingent and was probably quite weary of acting against his co-religionists on the side of the Mughal infidels, left the Nú-ín, Sálí, and retired towards Ghúr.

This person, Kuret Khá'n, who was in possession of Láhor, does not appear, however, to have been a feudatory of the Dihlí kingdom, and the city of Láhor was in ruins, or in a very ruinous state, it having been sacked and depopulated and destroyed by the Mughals in 639 H. (1241–42 A. D.). After that time, the ruins were occupied by the Khokhars, a powerful Ját tribe. These people have always been mistaken for Gakharás (by those who knew no difference between them), and the Gakharás for Khokhars.

A great army was assembled at the capital for the purpose of moving against the Mughal invaders and the traitor, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, but serious disturbances broke out in the hill tracts of Mewá't and parts adjacent, that had first to be quelled. Respecting this, the author of the “Ṭabaḵášt-i-Nāšírí” says, at page 850: “Nevertheless, it was impossible to chastize that sedition by reason of anxiety consequent on the appearance of the Mughal army, which continued to harass the frontier tracts of the dominions of Islám, namely, the territory of Sind, Láhor, and the line of the Bihá; until, at this period, emissaries of Khurásán, coming from the side of 'Iráḵ, from Huláú [or Hulákú], the Mughal, had arrived in the neighbourhood of the capital.”

These emissaries had not come on Hulákú's part, but respecting a matrimonial alliance mentioned at page 859 of the “Ṭabaḵášt-i-Nāšírí.” Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dín, Muhammad, who then ruled over the khittah of

---

59 There is a Malik named Táj-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Kuret Khá'n, among the feudatories of Dihlí, but he had never been in charge of Láhor according to the “Ṭabaḵášt-i-Nāšírí.” See page 756.

60 Had the Bihá been dry, they could easily have passed the frontier, but it was an unfordable river in the direction here referred to.
Banián in the Koh-i-Júd, was desirous of giving a daughter of his in marriage to the son of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, and an agent had been sent to him by the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam agreeing to his request. As Malik Nasir-ud-Din, Muhammad, was a vassal of the Mughals, at that time, and as Hulákú Khán, the ruler of I-rán Zamin on behalf of his brother, the Great Ká'án, Mangú, was therefore the Malik's immediate superior, the Malik had deemed it necessary to send the agent of the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam to Hulákú Khán to obtain his sanction for the proposed alliance. It was this Karlúgh emissary who had arrived along with the agent of the Ulugh Khán at this juncture, and with him had come a Mughal Shañnah, or Commissioner, resident in Malik Nasir-ud-Din, Muhammad's territory, probably to spy out the nakedness of the land. Advantage was taken of the arrival of these emissaries, who were detained for a time at some distance from the capital. The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam set out at the head of the troops, and making forced marches, suddenly and unexpectedly entered the hill tracts of Mewát, and attacked the rebels with vigour and effect. The rebellion was crushed, the rebels severely punished, and the forces returned to Dihlí. The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam advised the Sultan to give these emissaries a public reception; and so they were conducted with great pomp and parade to the Sultan's presence, and 200,000 footmen well armed, and 50,000 cavalry fully equipped in defensive armour, besides numerous war elephants, were assembled for them to behold and report on when they returned into Khurasán. This stroke of policy had the desired effect; and the author says: "Huláú [Hulákú] sent orders to the Mughal forces under the standard of Sáñ [Sálí], the Núñ, saying: 'If the hoof of a horse of your troops shall have entered the dominions of the Sultan, the command unto you is this, that all four feet of such

61 He was the son of the late Malik, Saif-ud-Din, Hasan, the Karlúgh, who had possessed himself of Multán shortly before the Mughals invested Uñghoh in 643 H.


63 The Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam had a body of 3,000 Afghan, horse and foot, along with him in this expedition, the first time they are mentioned by a contemporary historian as in the service of any of the feudatories of the Dihlí kingdom. They were only now become sufficiently numerous to take service under the Mughammadan nobles of the Dihlí state. The territories north, west, and south of their mountain home—I am referring to "the Afghanistán," as described in my "Notes" on those parts, not to the Afghan state—were either in the possession of the Mughals, who were infidels, or their vassals, who groaned under their yoke, like Nasir-ud-Din, the Karlúgh, above referred to.

64 This, of course, only refers to the country east of the Biáh, for the Mughals or their vassals were in possession of all west of that river at the period in question, and had been for some time, a fact which Indian history compilers (up to date), do not appear to have been cognizant of.
horse be lopped off.' Such like security did the Most High God miraculously vouchsafe unto the kingdom of Hindústán through the felicity attending the rectitude of the Ulugh-Khání counsels."

All these facts show, that, at the period in question, the Biáh still flowed in its old bed, and that the Sutlaj river had not united with it. The writer of the article on the "Lost River" in the Calcutta Review, however, again quoting the "Ṭabakát-i-Násiri" from Elliot's "Historians," in reference to the investment of 'Ucháh, says, that, "when he [Súltán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh] arrived on the banks of the Biáh the infidels raised the siege of 'Ucháh," and that, "here the allusion is to the united streams. The Sutlaj is not mentioned although the writer was with the army, that river having become merged into the Biáh."65 Here again the "Ṭabakát-i-Násiri" is not correctly quoted, and the writer contradicts what he mentioned before from that work. It was only after the Díhlí troops had crossed the Biáh, and moved towards the Ráváh or Ráví of Láhor, and were marching down the left or east bank of the latter river, in the Bárí Do-ábah, between that river and the Biáh, and the troops were approaching 'Ucháh from the northwards, that the Mughals, who had been repulsed in a recent assault, in which they had lost one of their famous leaders, finding their line of retreat threatened, raised the investment and "retired in three divisions." In no instance throughout the "Ṭabakát-i-Násiri" is such a river as the Sutlaj referred to; and I totally fail to see what proof the writer of the article has to show that the author "makes allusion to the united streams," when no such river as the Sutlaj is mentioned in his work,66 nor in any history of that period.

65 Mr. B. D. Oldham, too, in his recent paper previously alluded to, appears to have been unaware that the Biáh flowed near to Múltán at this period, or at least he does not refer to it as if he had been aware of the fact; and at this period no Haríári or Ghárah, miscalled the Sutlaj, existed. The Sutlaj was then a tributary of the Hakrá, and flowed much farther to the east. See note 67.

66 What "we call it now" is no criterion of its correctness; and the writer in the Calcutta Review (page 11) himself says, that, "The modern term Satlej is rarely if ever used, except by those who have been brought into contact with Europeans." The "modern term," too, is at least as old as the Kín-i-Akbarí.

It will perhaps be well to state, to make the subject clear, that, as long as the Sutlaj or Shattulj flowed in its own separate bed, that is, before it and the Biáh both left their respective channels and united into one river, the Sutlaj was a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah. After the junction of the two rivers for a time, they both lost their old names, but, having again soon after separated, the Sutlaj returning to its old channel, they flowed apart for about one hundred kuroh, equal to about one hundred and seventy-five miles, and again took their old names of Biáh and Sutlaj. After this, in the last century only, they again united, and lost their old names once more, and from that time have flowed in one channel, both having deserted their
When the Biáh and Sutlaj finally united their waters, it was not that the Sutlaj flowed in the bed of the Biáh, but both left their old beds and united midway, as their deserted channels remain to show. Moreover, after their junction, both rivers lost their names, and thenceforward they were known as the Hariári, Níli, or Ghárah. If the Biáh had left its old bed, and had moved from thirty-five to forty miles further eastwards, thus still more reducing the Dihlí territory, the author would certainly have mentioned such a fact, but, as the Sutlaj did not then exist in that part, being then a tributary of the Hakrá, it is by no means strange that it is never mentioned in his work. The author does not mention the Hakrá, nor the Qhitáng, nor the Chin-áb, nor the Ghaggah, but that, too, is no proof that they did not exist, for we know that they did.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban's march upwards along the banks of the Biáh in 655 H., is also considered a proof that the two rivers, the "Biyáh," and the "Satlej," had united, or rather that the "Satlej had merged into the Biáh;" but I have already mentioned, at page 174, why Malik 'Izz-ud-Dín, Balban, took the route in question. The extracts I have given from the "Tabákát-i-Náspírî" clearly show, that, up to the period its author wrote, namely, up to 658 H. (1259 A. D.), the Biáh had not left its old bed; and, furthermore, it is certain that it still continued to flow in its old bed for more than one hundred and fifty-seven years after the investment of Uchbí by the Mughals, up to the time of the invasion of India by Amîr Timúr, the Gúrgán, in 801 H. (1397-98 A. D.), as I shall presently show; and, moreover, there are people still living, ancient beds. The names of the river while united were Machhú-Wáh, Hariári, Dánd, Núrí, Níli, Ghallú-Ghárah, and Ghárah, the two last being only applied to the lower part of the stream, after the final junction. See the account of the Sutlaj farther on.

About the only writer who describes the Hariári or Ghárah correctly and in a few words is Elphinstone, who says (Vol. 1, p. 32), respecting Baháwalpúr: "The river winds much at this place, and is very muddy, but the water, when cleared, is excellent. It is here called the Gharra, and is formed by the joint streams of the Hyphasis or Beyah, and Hyusdrus or Sutledge."

67 Abú-1-Faşl, in the Kín-i-Akbarí, calls it Ghárah, Hariári, or Núrí. The Dánd or Dándah refers to a minor branch described further on, but not to be confounded with the high bank of the old channel of the Sutlaj further east, which in the dialect of the people of that part is called dandah.

68 There lately died in the village of Dhoki in the Montgomery (the old "Gogaríns") district, an old Jât named Bagh Mall, who, according to a Láhor paper, which gave an account of him a little while before, had reached the advanced age of 118 years, having been born in A. D. 1770. The account says:—'Though so old, Bagh Mall can still walk about, and goes as far as the village well, about 100 yards or so, and also to the village dharmśala every day. His vision is a good deal impaired, and
who remember the time when the Biáh first deserted its ancient bed, and the Sutlaj finally left its last independent channel, now known to the people as the "Great Danđah," and the two united and formed the Hariári, Níli, or Gharah as they now flow.

I certainly fail to see that because "the Tartar chief, Kadar" [a Mughal, I presume, and Mughals are not Tartars, although both are branches of the Turks] "came with an army from the Jud mountain in 695 A. H. (A. D. 1296) and crossed the Jhelam, Beyah, and Satlador (Satlej)" [which the writer just before said had "merged into the Biáh" fifty-two years previously, when the army marched from Dihlí to relieve Uchqhh] and was "defeated near Jalhandar," therefore "he must have crossed them above their junction" [the two latter, I presume, are meant, but three are named]. The "must" here is merely to support the previous theory that the Sutlaj had united with the Biáh and flowed in the latter's bed, which it never did do. This "Tartar chief" could not have crossed the Sutlaj at all, to have been defeated near Jalhandar,69 even after the Biáh and Sutlaj had united into one stream and ran as it runs to this day, because, if he had crossed the Sutlaj from the west to the east bank, he would have passed out of the Jalhandar Do-ábah, and have left Jalhandar some twenty-eight miles to the northward. That Do-ábah refers to the tract of country lying between the Biáh and the Sutlaj (in whatever direction they flowed, and may flow), which latter river now bounds it on the south. To reach that Do-ábah from the Koh-i-Júd, Namak-Sár, or Salt Range, the Chin-áb and the Rawí would have to be crossed as well as the "Jhelam" and "Beyah," but not the "Satlador (Satlej)"; and if it is a proof, because the Sutlaj is "not mentioned" by the author of the "Tabákát-i-Näsirí" on the occasion of the investment of Uchqhh, that it must have "merged into the Biáh," we might just as well say that it is a proof that the Chin-áb and Rawí had merged into the Jhilam, or some other river,

he is rather deaf, but otherwise seems in wonderful health for his wonderful age. • • • His descendants number eighty persons—children, grandchildren, and great-grand children—who take great care of him. The old man's memory is, of course, somewhat gone; but as a proof of his age he says he can remember the drying up of the Biáh [Biáh], which is supposed to have occurred some hundred years ago"


When Wilford wrote his remarkable "Essays," showing that he was far in advance of his time, and Rennell published his "Memoir on a Map of Hindoostan," in 1788, the Biáh and Sutlaj had not yet united and formed the Hariári, Níli, or Gharah, but they did so very shortly after.

69 Abú-l-Fazlí always writes it Jándhar. The Survey account I shall presently refer to has the name as above. The correct name of this do-ábah is Bist-Jalhandar, and it was also known as Schir-Wál.
since they are not mentioned in the case of this "Tartar" invasion, which was one of the numerous inroads of the Mughals into the Panj-áb territory.

I may mention here, that, when the Mirzá, Pir Muḥammad, son of Jahán-gir, son of Amir Timúr, in Rabí’-ul-Awwal, 800 H. (December, 1397 A. D.), crossed the Ab-i-Sind or Indus and invested Učchh as the Nú-ln, Mangúta had done in 643 H., reinforcements under Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Ná’íb of Sárang Khán, who was then governor of the provinces of Láhor and Multán, were despatched to the succour of Učchh. Pir Muḥammad, obtaining information of this, raised the investment of that place, and marched to meet Táj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, whom he fell upon the banks of the Biáh, and overthrew him. He, with difficulty, re-crossed the river, but, in so doing, lost a number of his men, who, in their hurry to escape, threw themselves into the Biáh and were drowned. Having effected the passage, Táj-ud-Dín Muḥammad retired precipitately towards Multán, which he succeeded in reaching, but was closely followed by the Mughals, who invested him therein. To effect these movements, if the Biáh and Sutlaj had united, both pursuer and pursued would have had to cross the Ghárah, but they had not yet united. The Ráví still flowed east of Multán and united with the Biáh, which still flowed in its own bed; but, the Qhin-áb, having separated from the Ráví and Biáh, and altered its course more towards the west, passed Multán on the west instead of the east, and thus Multán was in the Rachán-áb Do-ábah, and Učchh in the Bíst-Jalhandar, instead of the Sind Ságar, while at present, consequent on other changes in the courses of the rivers, Multán is in the Báí Do-ábah, and Učchh has long since been shut out of the Do-ábahs altogether.

So much for the Biáh and Sutlaj having merged into one before the investment of Učchh in 643 H.

The old bed of the Hakrá can be traced much farther south-west than "Kurrwalla, in Lat. 29°, 53', Long. 73°, 53'". It can be traced down to the sea coast of Sind, as I have here traced it.

The writer of the article in the "Calcutta Review" has also stated, that the upper part of the Hakrá "is called Sotra, which is probably a corruption of Satroda or Satruda, the old name of the Satlej" [in the "Tartar invasion" he called it the "Satladar"]. "Hakrá," he continues, appears to be the modified form of Ságra, the letter S being pronounced H in Rajputana and Sindh." It might have been added, that this inveterate propensity likewise prevails in Káthiáwár. But, 70 Only the Sutlaj was not the Hakrá, but merely one of its tributaries. See the notice of the Hakrá farther on. 71 Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau, of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Engineers, in his
how comes it that the 'k' in Hakra is changed into 'g'? The name Sagarah (or Shagarah in some MSS.) is as old as the time when Al-Mas'údí wrote, as will appear farther on.  

He also says that "the Satlaj when it abandoned the western Naiwal [Ná'e Wálí, the eastern and western, are names of old channels in which, in ancient times, the Sutlaj flowed] entered the valley of the Biyas. * * * At this time [the siege of Uchchh in 643 H.] therefore, took place the first junction between the rivers, and their combined streams were henceforth known as the Beyah." What is the difference? and what name may it have previously borne if it was only henceforth called the "Beyah"?  

This, however, is nothing less than a contradiction on the writer's part of his own previous and succeeding statements. He must have meant to say, or ought to have said, that, after their junction, whenever and wherever that might have happened, they lost their respective names, and were henceforth called Hariári, Nilí, or Ghárah; and, in any case, the Sutlaj never entered the valley of the Biáh, nor did the Biáh enter the valley of the Sutlaj, because the tracts through which the Biáh flows after leaving the hills, and a goodly portion of which I have myself traversed, and that through which the united streams now flow, is perfectly flat from their point of junction. The right or western bank of the old bed of the Biáh, like that of other rivers of this part, is much the highest, and forms the eastern side of the great central plateau separating the valley in which it flowed from the valley of the Ráwí, and forms the greater part of the Gandí Bár, described in the account of the two rivers farther on; and beyond this high bank the Biáh could not possibly pass, unless it had risen some forty feet to do so. The old bed of the latter river lies some thirty miles on the average farther west than the united stream, the Hariári, Nilí, or Ghárah. The Sutlaj and Biáh met half way, so to speak, both leaving their old beds, and formed a new one for a short distance, but they soon separated, and did not unite again until low down in the south-west part of the Multán district, as will be described in its proper place.  

"Personal Narrative" says that "the Bhatee borderers substitute a guttural kh in place of s, as "bukhtee" for "busteé;" o for a [for 'ah" as a final letter, as in Sind]; and sh for s," etc. Tod, on the other hand (as in the extract above, which is really from him), says the natives of these parts cannot pronounce the sibilant, so that 's' is commuted into 'h'."  

78 Ságár is the Sanskrit for 'ocean,' 'sea,' etc., and it is still known as the Sind-Ságár near the sea coast. Tod calls it the "Sanka," which is another form of the name; and it is called the Sankrah in the treaty entered into by Nárír Sháh, and Muhammad Sháh, Bádsháh of Díhlí, when ceding all the territory west of it to the Persians. The substance of that treaty is given farther on.
place. It was only towards the close of the last century that they again united, again lost their respective names, formed a new river and a fresh bed, and commenced to flow as at present.

The writer also states that, "the application of the name Satlej to the stream below its confluence is a modern innovation, and is not to be found in old writings, Hindú or Mohammedan." In this he is perfectly correct. It was stated by Abú-l-Fażl in the A‘ín-i-Akbarí nearly three centuries ago, that, "after the junction of the two rivers they both lose their names, and the united streams are known as the Dánç, or Dánças, Hariári, and Núrní, and lower down, as the Ghárah or Ghárá (both modes of writing being correct)." Then quoting Tod, the Review writer says, "Tod, in his "Annals of Rajast’han," says, that the Bhatti traditions say the Garrah is always called Beah. To this day, the river below Firozpur is known to the boatmen as Bíaáh [sic] or Garrah. The modern term Satlej is rarely if ever used, except by those who have been brought into contact with Europeans."73

I may add that the boatmen never call it "Satlej," nor Sutlaj below the confluence of the two rivers, and that, more correctly speaking, we might say that the Sutlaj unites with the Bíaáh, instead of the Bíaáh uniting with the Sutlaj. The Sutlaj was the interloper, and its entering the channel of the Bíaáh at Loh or Loh-Wál temporarily, caused the Bíaáh to desert its ancient channel altogether.

Before closing these remarks upon the article in the "Calcutta Review," I would point out what appears so very contradictory in the writer's statements. At page 10 he says, that, "when the Sultán (‘Alá-úd-Dín, Mas’úd Sháh), reached the banks of the Beyáh, the Mughals raised the siege of Uchh," and that "the allusion is to the united streams, the Satlej having become merged into the Beyáh." Now, after stating that "the Satlej is an interloper, and the Beyáh the original stream," which last statement is undoubtedly correct, he says that "the Satlej is no other than the Hakra or Naewal"; that "the Abohar" was the last which deserted its bed in the first half of the thirteenth century; that, although they met at Hariki Pattan [Hari ke Pañán—The Ferry of Hari] in 1593, they have only flowed in the same bed since

73 Tod in his "Rajast’han," says, note page 262, Vol II, that "The Garah is invariably called the Behah in the chronicle [which he is supposed to be quoting]. Gharah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (gar) suspended in its waters. The Garah is composed of the waters of the Behah and Sutlej."

Gárá (ँर) , not "gar" is mud in Hindi, but kneaded and prepared for pottery or building, but the name of the river is Ghallú-Ghárah (ँरँ[१]र) and Ghárah. See notes 66 and 67.
184 H. G. Raverty—The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries. [No. 3, 1796”]; and that “since then the lands on the banks of the old Biyâs became waste.”

If these last statements are correct, then the former one, that, when the Mughals raised the siege of Uchôhî in 1245 A. D., “the allusion is to the united streams, the Satlîj having become merged into the Biyâs,” is incorrect; as must likewise be the statements, that, after this siege of Uchôhî, “armies marching from Dehli to Multân were obliged to abandon the direct route by Marôt, in consequence of the disappearance of the Hakra,” which we are now told “is no other than the Satlîj or Naewal;” and that afterwards, they “always took the road by Abôhar and Ajodhan,” must be equally wrong, since the writer adds, that “the

74 Mirzá Shâh Husain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, after gaining possession of Uchôhî in 931 H. (1524-25 A. D.), and destroying its defences, marched from thence towards Multân, and reached the banks of the Ghârah; and the Langâh Jaâs of Multân took post on the banks, and there awaited his attack.

This clearly shows that the Bîsh and Sutlaj had then, in Mirzá Shâh Husain’s day, already united above Fîrûz-pûr, and become the Harârî, Dânâh, or Nûrî, as afterwards described by Abû-l-Fâdîl. But they soon separated again, and each resumed its former name, the only difference being that an intermediate, but very minor branch remained, called the Dânâh. After flowing apart for about one hundred kuroh, they again united and formed the Ghârah, as described in note 66, page 178, and in the notice of the rivers farther on; for, until they again united in the south-western part of the then Multân territory of the Langâh Jaâs, there was no Ghârah. The latter, however, was not then as it subsequently became, and now is, because it then passed some miles east of the site on which Bahâwal-pûr now stands, and also east of Uchôhî, to unite with the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus.

Mirzá Shâh Husain, moreover, is stated to have made peace with the Langâh ruler of Multân, on the stipulation, that the Ghârah, in future, should form the boundary between the Multân territory and Sind, and that all to the southwards of the Ghârah should belong to Sind. The point where the two rivers again united after flowing apart, will be found in the account of Ibrâhîm Husain Mirzá’s capture farther on.

It is further mentioned that Mirzá Shâh Husain attacked the fortress of Dir-âwar (since become the chief stronghold of the Dâ’d-pûrâh chiefs of Bahâwal-pûr), which through ‘l’ and ‘r’ being interchangeable in these parts, is also called at times Dil-âwar and Dir-âwal, and that he had to take a month’s supply of grain and water sufficient for his forces along with him, because it was “situated in a desert tract, so that even the birds of the air were afraid to glance at it.” This place is close to the west bank of the deserted Hakrá or Wahindah, about fifty miles south-south-west of Bahâwal-pûr. This statement also shows that the Sutlaj had then ceased to be a tributary of the Hakrá as it had hitherto been, and that by the Sutlaj uniting with the Biâh, both rivers, under the new names of Ghârah, etc., had become tributaries of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus.

The above information I may mention is from Mr Ma’ûn of Bakhar, the historian of Sind, who wrote as far back as near the close of the reign of Akbar Biâdshâh.
western branch of the Naecal was the last of the channels connected with the Hakra which, at this time (about 1220 A. D.) finally ceased to flow"; for the investment of Uchchh occurred twenty-five years after this last channel according to that statement, finally ceased to flow!76

My geographical and historical information concerning the Biáh, the Sutlaj, and the ancient Hakrã or Wahindah, and its tributaries, and concerning the other rivers of the Panj-ãb, differs considerably from that contained in the article in the "Calcutta Review," but it agrees generally as to the "Lost River" itself; and, in justice to the writer, it must be allowed that he was one of the first,76 in the present day, to call prominent attention to the fact that the Hakrã did once run through the so-called "Indian desert," which appeared almost to have been forgotten.

A good deal of my information is taken from a geographical work, the result of a personal survey, by a well read and very intelligent native of India of foreign descent, made previous to 1790 A. D., which was the year in which his work was completed, or just six years before the time the writer in the Review above mentioned, in his last statement just quoted, says, that the Biáh and Sutlaj "first flowed in one bed." Farther on I shall give some extracts from his admirable Survey record.

Before attempting to describe the changes which have taken place in the courses of the rivers of the Panj-ãb, and the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, and the disappearance of the Hakrã or Wahindah, it will be well to give a few extracts from the old Musalmán geographers and historians; and although some part of what they say is, seemingly, mere nonsense, we must allow for the conjectural spelling of translators (in cases where we have not the original works to refer to), who have attempted to render names, which, in the MSS. translated, have often no vowel points whatever. Indeed, for geographical purposes, and recording proper names in general, the 'Arabic character is, from the carelessness of copyists, and the nature of the characters themselves, an unfortunate one.

75 Thus far I had written twelve years since, as a note to the investment of Uchchh at page 1155 of my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Nâširi." I have allowed it to stand just as it was then written.

76 The Report of Lient. J. G. Fife, of the Bombay Engineers, to the Government of that Presidency on the project of "restoring water to the ancient channel of the Indus called the Eastern Narra," in which the Hakrã is referred to, as having once flowed through these parts, is dated as far back as September 1852, and Burton also refers to it in his work on Sind, published in 1851.
The geographers and geographical works I propose to quote are the following. Āhmad, son of Yatīya, son of Jābir-al-Balāzirī, who wrote his "Futūḥ-al-Baladān" about 270 H. (883-4 A. D.). Abū-l-Kāsim-i-'Ubaid-ullāh, known as Ibn Khurdād-bih, who wrote about 275 H. (888-89 A. D.), or, certainly, before 300 H. (912 A. D.). Abū-Za'id-al-Ḥasan, a native of Sīrāf, who appears to have written shortly after Ibn Khurdād-bih; for the writer who follows, met him at Bašrah in 303 H. (9.6 A. D.), and seems to have compared notes with him. Abū-Ḥasan, surnamed Al-Mas'ūdī, who wrote his "Murāj-uz-Zahab wa Ma'ādīn-ul-Jauāḥīr" in 332 H. (943-4 A. D.; Abū-Ishāk-al-Istakhārī, who wrote between 340 and 350 H. (951-52 and 961 A. D.). The "Kitāb-ul-Masālik wa Mamālik," written a few years after the preceding, and nearly about the time that Muḥammad, Abū-l-Kāsim, son of Haukal, hence, chiefly known as Ibn Ḥaukal, wrote his "Aṣhāl-ul-Bilād," whose work bears a considerable resemblance to the "Masālik wa Mamālik" in many places. Ibn Ḥaukal completed his work in 366 H. (976 A. D.). He appears to have met Al-Istakhārī in his travels somewhere in Sind, or in the Multān territory. The next in point of date is the celebrated Abū-Riḥān, Maḥmūd, son of Āhmad, familiarly known as the Ustād or Master, Bū-Riḥān, surnamed Al-Berūnī, who wrote about the year 420 H. (1028 A. D.),

77 He died in the year 279 H. (892-3 A. D.).
78 He is not called "Istakhrī," because he was a native of that famous Persian city called Istakhr or Persepolis. The word means a pond, lake, or sheet of water. 'Arabs write the name Iṣṭakhr.
79 He finished his work, the Tahkiḵ (not "Tārīkh," as in Elliot and Sachau) -ul-Hind by the first day of the year 423 H., which commenced on the 18th of December, 1031 A. D. In the year preceding, in several places in his work, he styles it "our year," because it was that in which his great patron, Sultān Maṣ'ūd, obtained the restitution of his rights as the eldest son and heir of his father, and assumed the throne at Hirāt in the fifth month of that year. He did not compose it in "Afghanistan," nor in "the Afghan-Indian empire," as Prof. E. Sachau, the editor of the text and translator of the same, assumes, because Ghaznī, or Ghaz-nīn or correctly, Ghaz-nīn, but never "Ghaz-na," although included in the modern Afghan state, is not, and never was, included within "the Afghanistān," or native country of the Afghāns. What that means and constitutes may be seen from my work entitled "Notes on Afghanistān," etc., page 453 to 470; and the world has not yet seen an "Afghan-Indian Empire," and Sultān Maḥmūd was a Turk, not an Afghan.

Some errors of a similar kind will be found in the English Preface to the 'Arabic text, and also in the Preface to its translation by the same learned Professor.

Abū-Riḥān was not brought to Ghaznī, under any compulsion, nor was he detained against his will by Sultān Maḥmūd in his dominions; for his contemporary and admirer, Abū-l-Ḥāṣāl-i-Baiḥāqi, tells us, that he first came to the Sultān's court, in the suite of the Khwārazmī ruler, the son-in-law of the Sultān, and that of his own accord he entered Sultān Maḥmūd's service. It was in the train of that conqueror, and that of his chief patron, Sultān Maṣ'ūd, that Bū-Riḥān had the opportunity of
after. He is extensively quoted by the author of the Jami'-ut-Tawarikh, and by the Fanakati, but honestly so; for they both acknowledge what they have extracted from his "Tahkik-ul-Hind. After him comes Abú-'Abdullah, Muḥammad, surnamed Al-Idrīsī, who wrote his work "Nuzhat-ul-Mushṭāk," about the middle of the twelfth century of our era, about 1150 H. (1150–51 A. D.). The next is Zakariyā, the Kaẓwīnī, who wrote his "Agār-ul-Bilād" a century or more after Al-Idrīsī, about 661 H. (1263 A. D.), a short time only after the siege of Uqqūjah by the Mughals, before noticed. He, however, quotes chiefly from the "'Ajā'īb-ul-Balāḍān" of Mus'īr, son of Muḥalhib, the Arab, who travelled into India and China in 331 H. (945–46 A. D.), and these quotations may really be considered to refer to the places noticed as they existed when the latter wrote. Lastly, the work of Ibn-al-Wardī-ul-Karshī, who wrote between 668 and 684 H. (1269–1285 A. D.), or about twenty years after the "Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī" was completed.

Aẓmād, son of Yaḥyā, al-Balāzirī, states in his "Futūh-ul-Balāḍān," that Muḥammad, son of Kaṣim, after his conquest of Sind, advanced to Multān, and, that "the Muḥammadans discovered there, beneath the idol-temple a Bait [بَيْت], ten cubits in length and eight in breadth, containing a considerable quantity of gold." The 'Arabic word "bait" here used does not mean "a house," only, as some appear to have assumed, but it signifies also "a vault," "a chamber," "receptacle," "repository," and many other meanings of a similar kind, and here refers to a receptacle or repository for the treasure, such as was not visiting Hind, and instituting his inquiries respecting that country. He may have visited parts farther east along with the troops of those Sultāns in their expeditions, but he appears not to have dwelt any time in those parts, except at Multān, and Lāhor—at that period the seat of Government of the Muḥammadan territories recently conquered from the Hindūs—and here he was enabled to institute his inquiries (tahkikāt, hence the title "Tahkik-ul-Hind") respecting Hind and its people. He is neither called "Bārāh," as in Elliot, nor "Alberuni," as in Sachau, but was entitled Al-Berānī. He is not so entitled because of any place so called; for he was a native of Khwārazm, and there was no place so called in that country. Being a foreigner, or rather a stranger—for, when he wrote, Khwārazm was an integral part of the Ghazniwi empire—when mentioned as Abū- Riḥān, that being not an uncommon name by any means, by way of distinction, he was styled Abū- Riḥān or Bū- Riḥān, the Berānī, that is, the outsider—the stranger or alien.

This name in 'Arabic signifies, 'one who notices any novelty,' 'a spectator,' 'observer,' 'spy,' etc. Mis'ār, as in Elliot, Vol. I, page 95, is meaningless.

He is so called because he was addicted to the use of a mixture—some say intoxicating—made from the balāzir, or Malacca bean, which is used in medicine. The word is an 'Arabic one, and written with the letter ]='. He is incorrectly called "Al Bilādūrī," "Belādūrī," "Biladarī," and the like, anything but by the correct name.
unusually, but generally, contained in Hindú idol-temples, beneath where the idol stood, and such as Sulṭán Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tīgin discovered beneath the idol in the temple of Som-nāth. The Bālāzīrī continues: "There was an aperture from above into this receptacle through which the gold was poured in; and it is from this circumstance that Multān is called 'the Farkh [ظرخ] or Temple containing the Bait or Receptacle for Gold.' The idol-temple of Multān received rich offerings from the people of Sīnd, and others who made pilgrimages thereto."

This writer details the history, rather than the geography, of Sīnd and Multān.

Ibn Khurḍān-Bih, whose work does not contain much on the subjects here discussed, says: "Multān is called 'the Farkh [ظرخ] or Temple of the Bait or Receptacle of Gold,' because Muḥammad, the son of Kāsim, the conqueror of Sīnd, and lieutenant [of his uncle and father-in-law], Al-Ḥajjāj, acquired forty buḥārs of gold in a depository or receptacle in that place, which was henceforth called 'the Bait or Receptacle of gold.'

* * * From the Mihrān to Multān [sic in MSS. and in the printed text of M. Barbier de Meynard], which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four day's journey."

Abū-Zaid-al-Ḥasan of Sīrāf states, that "the idol [temple] called Mūltān or Multān lies on the frontiers of Manṣūriyah," and people come a distance of many months' journey, and make pilgrimages thither. They bring thither the 'ud-i-ḵumārī [the sweet-smelling wood

83 The depositing of treasure in a vault or chamber in the midst of idol-temples was not peculiar to Multān, as shown from the fact here related, under or beneath the idol, and not in its "belly," as some of the "Fīrūštā," translations have. Mir Maṣūm of Bakhār also states, that, when Muḥammad, the son of Kāsim, early in 94 H., captured Asal Kandah or Askandah, north of the Biāh, and a considerable distance above Ubdabhi for which it has been "identified" (see note further on), its idol temple was destroyed, and in the midst thereof, deposited, an immense treasure was found.

At this very time (1889 A. D.), the Mahant, or religious superior of the idol temple of Tripāti, in the Madras Presidency, has been convicted of robbing the vault or chamber under the idol, and appropriating the treasure contained therein. See also page 191, and note 97.

84 See page and note just referred to respecting this word and its meaning.

85 Elliot (Historians, Vol. I, page 15) actually makes Bakhār out of this, by which he of course means Bakhār on the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. The word, as it now stands, is unintelligible, but might possibly refer to Basmid [بَسَمَد]. Besides, the author says "on the borders of Sīnd," while Bakhār is, and always has been, since its foundation, in Sīnd, but, at the period in question it was unknown. The place referred to lay, no doubt, east of Multān.

86 The territory dependent on it, at that period, all Sīnd, of which Manṣūriyah was the capital.
brought from Kámrúr], so-called from the country where it grows. • • • This 'úd is presented to the attendants of the temple, who use it as incense. • • • It is valuable, fetching, at times, as much as two hundred dinárs the mann. • • • The merchants purchase the wood from the attendants.” • • • This is all he says either respecting Múltán or Mansúriyah.

Al-Mas‘údí says: “Respecting the rule over Múltán, we have already said that it belongs to the descendants of Usámah, son of Luawai, son of Ghálib, [one copy has “descendants of 'Ugmá” i. e., the Bani 'Ugmán], a Kúresh, who has a powerful army. Múltán is one of the frontier territories of the Musalmáns,86 which they compute to contain within its limits of about 120,000 villages and estates [one copy has “towns and villages,” which is absurd] 87 We have already mentioned the bud or idol of Múltán, which is also known as Múltán. • • • At the time of my arrival in that city, after the year 300 H. [912-13 A. D.], the Malik then ruling was named Abú-l-Liháb-al-Munabih, son of Asad-al-Kureshí [in one copy, Abú Dilahát, son of Asad-ul-Munabbih-us-Sámi-ul-Kureshí]. It was at the same time that I visited Mansúriyah. Abú-l-Munzir, 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ullah, then ruled over that territory. I also saw his Wazir, Riyáhá [likely], also his two sons, Muḥammad and 'Alí. I also met an 'Arab, one of the Sayyids, among the Maliks [there], who was noted under the name of Ḥamzah. A great number of the posterity of 'Alí [the Khalifah], son of Abú-Ṭálib, and of 'Umar, son of 'Alí, the offspring of Muḥammad, son of 'Alí, had taken up their residence there.88 Between the Maliks of Mansúriyah, and the family of the Kázi, Abi-nsh-Shawáríb, there was close relationship, and a common origin. In fact, the Maliks who, at present, rule over that territory are

86 What at that period was considered the frontiers of Khurásán, not as it is known at present. The territory dependent on Múltán extended to the skirts of the mountains west of the Indus, as far up as the southern boundary of Bannú.
87 What are known as mauza's and chaks, and might be termed villages and hamlets, consisting of tracts of land containing a few inhabitants.
88 This was written about two centuries after it was founded, and it is referred to centuries after, consequently, Mansúriyah was not so “short lived” as some have imagined, nor was it such a small fortress, seeing that in Al-Istakhrí’s time it was twice the size of Múltán. See “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society” for 1884, page 282.
descended from Habbár, the son of Al-Aswad, and are known under the
designation of Bání 'Umar, from 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, the
Kuresh. This 'Umar must not be confounded with 'Umar, son of
'Abd-ul-'Azíz, son of Marván, the Umayyah [Khalifah].”

“From Múltán to Mansúriyah is seventy-five farsangs of Sind,
that is to say, the farsang of eight míc.” At eight miles to each, as here
given in the text, the distance would be just six hundred miles from
Mansúriyah.90

In another place he says: “This territory (Múltán) obeys a Kuresh
of the Bani-us-Sámah, the son of Lawí, son of Ghálib; and this place is
the general rendezvous of the kúflahs which proceed into Khurásán.”

“The Kitáb-ul-Masálik wa Mamalik says: “Múltán is a city about
half that of Mansúriyah, and is called ‘ the Farkh-i-Bait-uz-Zahab [The
Temple of the Receptacle or Vault of Gold].” Múltán has a strong
hisdr, but Mansúriyah is more populous. The reason why Múltán is
called the Farkh-i-Bait-uz-Zahab is, that, when the Musalmáns captured
it, they were poor and needy. They there found much gold, and they
supplied their wants, and acquired strength.

“About half a farsang outside Múltán there are kúshams [lofty edifices],
and there the Amir of Múltán has his residence. * * * He is a Kuresh
of the descendants of Sám [ن]91 son of Luwái [لو], who seized upon
Múltán. He does not pay obedience to the Khudáwánd [Master,
Possessor, Lord, etc. ] of Mansúriyah, but reads the khútba for the
Khalifah.”

Ibn Haukal’s statements agree with the preceding pretty well so
far, but here he states, that, “About half a farsang from Múltán are
lofty edifices called Qhándráwar, the residence of the Amir, who never
enters Múltán except on Fridays [to say his prayers in public]. He is
a Kuresh, of the sons of Sám, son of Núh,92 who first occupied this part;
and he reads the khútba for the Khalifah.”

Abú Riḥán-al-Berúní says “there was a famous temple at Múltán

90 See note farther on.
91 The direct distance, as the crow flies, is about three hundred and fifty miles
or about one hundred and ten ordinary farsangs. Eight miles to the farsang cannot
be correct; it is about three. The yojánah was eight míc, and this, I expect, is how
the distance became confused. However, in any case, the distance is not correct.
See Bú-Riḥán’s computation of the farsang at page 191, and also note 118, page 209.
92 This word نذرو—Núh—which was without a point, is, without doubt, meant for
Luwái—as mentioned by Al-Mas’údí, and in the Masálik wa Mamalik. Both
works concur in the first name—Sám. Respecting this word, and these Amírs, a
strange mistake has been made. See farther on.
When the Karāmītahs [descended from this Sām, son of Luwā, just named] took possession of Mūltān, the subduer thereof Jālam,\(^{93}\) son of Shaibān, destroyed the idol and broke it to pieces, and slew the priests. The kasr [the 'Arabic of kūshak previously mentioned] which was constructed of kiln burnt bricks on an elevated position,\(^{94}\) he made the Masjid-i-Jāmī' [Friday Masjid] instead of the old one, which he commanded should be shut up, out of hatred towards every thing that had been done previously under the governors on the part of the Banī Umayyah."

In another place he says, with reference to the changes in the names of cities, that Mūltān was originally called Kasht-pūr [کشت پور]—Kāshyā-pūr?], then Hans-pūr [هنس پور], then Bag-pūr [بگ پور], then Sānb or Sānaub-pūr [سنجاب پور], and, at length, Mūlistān [مولستان], mūl signifying, 'root,' 'origin,' 'lineage,' etc. (also 'the nineteenth lunar mansion') and istān, a place.\(^{95}\)

He also refers, but not expressly, with reference to the Farkh of the Receptacle or Repository of Gold, to the weight known as bhār, which, he says, is mentioned in the annals of the conquest of Sind, and states, that it is equal to the weight of two thousand fuls or puls [fulūs—small copper coins about the weight of an Indian paisah], which absurd statement makes it equivalent to the weight of an ox."\(^{96}\) In another place he computes the farsāk or farsang as equivalent to four mil or 16,000 cubits [دربخ], not yards.

Then comes Al-Idārī, who states, that, "Mūltān is close to Hind; indeed, some writers place it in that country. It equals Manṣūriyah in size, and is called 'the Bait or Receptacle of Gold.' * * * Mūltān is a large city, which is commanded by a fortress having four gates, and

\(^{93}\) See page 189 what Al-Mas'ūdī says about the rulers, and the preceding paragraph. Mas'ūdī wrote a century before Bū-Ribān, and knew more about the rulers of Mūltān than that writer, who evidently is mistaken in the name, or the text is wrong. The Amīr who is referred to is the one who, on the part of the 'Ab-bāsīs, ousted the Amīr on the part of the Umayyahs, named Mūsā, son of Ka'āb-ūq-Tāmīmī, from this territory.

\(^{94}\) There are no elevated positions there now, except the position on which the fortress stands, and the Manṣī-ḵwā, which, at the siege of Mūltān, was captured and occupied by the Bombay column, on the day of the attack on the suburbs the 26th January, 1849. I am inclined to believe that that is the spot indicated.

\(^{95}\) Shahāmat 'All, author of the "Sikhs and Afghāns," who served in political employ for many years in this vicinity, in his abbreviation of the "Annals of the Dā'ūd-pūtraš Nawwābs," says, that Mūltān at different periods was known as Iest-pūr, Bakhar-pūr, etc.

\(^{96}\) See following note.
surrounded by a wet ditch. * * * It [Multán] is called ‘the Farkh [فرخ] or Temple of the Chamber or Receptacle of Gold,’ because Muḥammad, son of Kásim, found forty buhārs of gold concealed in a bāit [vault, chamber, repository, receptacle, and the like] there. Farkh and Bihār [or Wihār, ‘b’ and ‘w’ being interchangable, and miscalled vulgarly "Vihār"] have the same signification.97 The environs of this

97 It must be remembered, that Abú Zaid-al-Ḥasan, and also Al-Mas’ūdì, just quoted, state, that the idol and its temple also were called Multán: the city which sprung up around it was so called after the idol. Consequently, the finding of so much gold “in Multán,” does not refer to the city or town, but the temple of the idol, Multán.

Elliot, in the first volume of his “Indian Historians,” page 14, quoting from a French translation of Ibn Khurdāb-bih’s work, has translated the name applied to this temple as follows:—

“Multán is called ‘the farj of the house of gold,’” because Muḥammad, son of Kásim, lieutenant of Al Ḥajjíjáj found forty bahārs of gold in one house of that city, which was henceforth called “House of Gold.” Farj (split) has here the sense of a “frontier.” A bahār is worth 333 māns, and each man is two rāds.”

As to this very strange translation, he makes no comment; and, in other places, although the correct word is given by him, and its correct meaning also (which has thus been turned into farj) clearly shown, it was not perceived by him or his Editor apparently.

At page 35 of the same volume, in his extracts from Ibn Ḥankal, Elliot has:—

“Multán is half the size of Mansūra, and is called “the boundary of the house of gold.” To this is appended the following footnote:—“The Ashkāl-I-Bilād says “burj” or bastion [this in the original character would be جر} without points; so it will be seen how this fearful blunder has arisen], which, at first sight, would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word “farj” are so strong [!] as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the Descriptio Iracæ (p. 67), that we are not entitled [!] to consider “burj” as the correct reading. (Quatremére concurs in reading “farj.” Jour. des Sav. See also Ibn Khurdābda and the account given in the Chachnāma).”

The letters of this word, in the originals generally, are جر; without points, the scribes deeming it unnecessary to point so well known a word. Some ignorant scribe mistook it for جر, and so made جر—burj—a bastion of it, and another took it for جر, and so made جر—marj—a meadow of it, and never guessed what the correct word was; but they very properly, did not think themselves “entitled” to write it ‘farj.’ Three words can be made of this جر, namely:—1. جر—farj, which I am certain will not be found so pointed in any MS. copy of any of the works quoted by Elliot; 2. جر—faras—which signifies ‘joy,’ ‘gladness,’ ‘cheerfulness,’ etc.; and 3. جر—farkh—which signifies, as described in the Muḥammadan dictionaries, ‘a pagan temple,’ and also ‘an idol,’ the plural form of which is جر خار Jarrākhār—signifying ‘idol temples’ in general, and likewise idols; and, in this sense, the word will be found mentioned in Ḥab-Ḥihān-al-Ḥarūn’s “Aṣār-al-Bākhyāt,” a translation of which was lately published by Prof. C. E. Sachau, in which
city are watered by a little river [a canal or water-cut, no doubt] which unites with the Mihrán of Sind. At one mile from Multán the author uses the word *farhār* with another, plainly showing (as Al-Idrisi also shows), their significations; namely, *bihdr* or *wihdr* thus—"*FARHĀR WO BHIHĀN*"—the first referring to Hindú temples, and the latter to Buddhist convents or monasteries.

Certainly, our dictionaries, among other meanings, describe "*farj*" as "the confines of a hostile country," "a dangerous place," "splitting," "separating," and the like, but the more general and universally applied and understood meaning is, "*pudenda tum maris tum feminæ*" but why on earth this latter word, "*farj*," bearing such a meaning, should have been chosen instead of "*farhā*" is inexplicable, unless the French translator was quite ignorant of its existence, or of its correct signification and application. Besides, there was no plausible reason for selecting the word "*farj*" in preference to the two other words which the unpointed letters दः are capable of representing.

In his extracts from Al-Idrisi's geography, (p. 82) Elliot himself renders the word "*farkh*"; and the reason why Multán was called "the *farkh* of the *bait* of gold" is clearly mentioned by the Arab author. In his extract from the Balázi's work he has also "*farkh*," and yet he failed to perceive that his previous rendering from the French translation was wholly unsuitable, and must be wrong, and that *bait* had other meanings than simply "a house." Had he given it a moment's thought, he certainly would have rejected "*farj*".

Again, in his extracts from the "Chach-Náma," on the very same subject, he has (Vol. I., p. 205): "I have heard from the elders of Multán that in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was Jibawin, and was a descendant of the Ráí of Kashmír. He was a Brahman and a monk, he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multán, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple fifty yards square, and he made there a chamber in which he deposited forty copper jars each of which was filled with African gold dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty masts of gold was deposited there. *Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir.*"

This is not quite what the Chach Námah states, which is literally to the following effect:

"It was thus ascertained from the elders of Multán, that, in ancient days, and in times long past, in this city there was a Ráí, Jass-want [जस-वें]—Jas-wín? by name, of the posterity of the Ráí of Kashmír. He was a Bráhman and a priest, and in the observance of his religion strict and zealous. He was constantly occupied in the adoration of idols. When his treasures exceeded the bounds of computation and calculation, he constructed a reservoir of water, 106 *gaz* long, by 106 *gaz* broad; and in the midst of the reservoir he erected an idol-temple, 50 *gaz* by 50 *gaz*, and therein made a receptacle [कोर], and there deposited forty copper jars or vessels, each of which was filled with fragments of African gold, amounting to 300 manās of buried treasure. Over the receptacle was the place for an idol, and there an idol was set up, formed of red gold. *Round about the reservoir trees were planted.* Muḥammad, son of Kasim, having obtained information of this from the priests,
is Jand-úr [چندور—Qand-úr?] the Chandráwar of Ibn Ḥaukal, and Jand Rúd of some others], a collection of fortifications strongly built, lofty, and well supplied with fresh water. The Amir of Multán passes the spring and his leisure time here. Ibn Ḥaukal states, that, in his time, the Amir used to proceed every Friday from these fortifications to Multán, mounted on an elephant, according to an ancient custom."

had the place opened and the treasure was found. "On being weighed, the gold dust contained in those forty vessels or jars was found to amount to 13,200 mams of gold." This, together with the gems and pearls obtained in the sack of Multán, was deposited in the treasury. I may mention that the lowest computation of the mams is 2 lbs of 12 oz each, but, according to some, 6 lbs; and, by the lowest computation, would amount to the enormous weight of 26,400 lbs, or 316,800 ounces of gold. No wonder the place was called "temple of the depository of gold."

It is quite time that this "farj" error should be corrected and washed out. What more can be required to do so than these accounts?

Al-Idrisí says above, that "farj and bihár have the same signification," considering, it seems, that, where idols are worshipped, must be an idol-temple, but the word "bihár," written with short 'u' for the first vowel, and not 'i,' as in the word signifying a Buddhist temple, refers to a weight, said to be equal to about 400 lbs English, and it also means," a vessel in shape like an ewer." The Sanskrit word भर, written in 'Arabico characters j'ह, pronounced bhár, means 'weight,' 'weight of gold,' etc., but, as the Özāh Námah says, he deposited forty jars or vessels, the Persian word of that meaning just referred to is doubtless correct.

98 To the eastward of the fortress of Multán, facing the tomb and shrine of Bahá-ul-Ḥaḳ wa-d-Dîn, Zakariyá (cul. "Bahawul Hak"), at about the distance of a mile and a half or little more, and extending a considerable distance either way, are—or were, for they may have been demolished by the railway Vandals for railway ballast now—the remains of many stone and brick-built buildings (as near as I can recollect after the lapse of some thirty-five years), which bore the marks of considerable antiquity, and among them was a good size masjid. I have often ridden to them of an evening, but never thought of instituting any inquiries respecting the ruins, and much regret now that I did not. I certainly wondered what could have been the object of building such structures in a perfectly waterless position; for there were no traces of wells near by, as far as I can remember. The ruins were bounded farther east, I now find, by the bed of a stream, a small branch of the Ráwí, possibly, which had been utilized as a canal; and this may have been the "little river" mentioned above. That the Ráwí and all the other rivers of the Panj-āb flowed east of Multán at the period these buildings were inhabited there is no doubt whatever. The Loñ Wa-han (which is a mere canal or cutting from the Chin-āb) ran nearer to the fort walls on the north-east, and passed, and still passes, near the east side of it, but it is now a very petry stream. It is noteworthy that the lands immediately south-east of the city of Multán are styled Ṭaraf Ráwí—the Ráwí Side—to this day.

It is possible that the ruins I have mentioned were connected with, or were included in, "the collection of forts referred to in the text above. At the time the author of the "Ṭabakát-i-Násiri" was at Multán there was a standing camp hereabouts.
Zakarîya, the Ḫazwîni, says very little respecting Multân in his " XBûr-ul-Bilâd," but refers to what he had previously written from the "'Ajâ'ib-ul-Bulûdûn," which agrees generally with what others have written about it and its idol-temple.

Ibn Al-Wârdî-al-Ḳarshi, who wrote between the years 668 H. and 684 H. (1269 and 1285 A. D.), mentions Multân very briefly, but, like all others, he says it is called the "Farkh [عرخ]-i-Bâit-uz-Zahab"—The Temple containing the Receptacle or Vault of Gold.

Having related what the old writers say about Multân and its Farkh, I will now turn to Mansûriyâh as the next most important place connected with the courses of the rivers, and having completed that, I shall be better able to mention what they say respecting the rivers themselves, and the places lying along or near their banks.

Ibn Khurdâb-bih gives no particulars respecting it, and Al-Mas'ûdî says but little. He states that Multân is seventy-five farsangs of Sind, each farsang being eight mil [miles], distant from Mansûriyâh. The villages and inhabited places dependent on Mansûriyâh [the territory] amount to 300,000. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with a nation called Med, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontier thereof. Like Multân it is on the frontiers of Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. Mansûriyâh is so called from Mansûr, son of Jamhûr, the Amir on the part of the Banî Umâiyah."

---

99 How then is it possible that Mansûriyâh could refer to Bakhar as Abû-l-Fâzîl (and those who follow him) erroneously supposed? This is the greatest error ever made by Abû-l-Fâzîl. See note 90, page 190.

The Multân territory extended south as far as Alor or Aror; while the territory of Mansûriyâh extended from and included Alor or Aror and its district southwards to the sea-coast.

100 This may be somewhat highly coloured, but the lands along the course of the Mîhrân, and farther east along the banks of the Hakrâ or Wahhindah, were remarkable for their fertility. See the "Report on the Eastern Narrâ," page 34, paragraph 3; 39, 7; and 40, 17.

101 Others, more correctly, state, that it is in Sind, of which there is no possible doubt.

102 It is strange that such discrepancy should exist respecting the foundation of this place. The Mansûr here referred to is Mansûr, son of Jamhûr, who was the last Amir of Sind on the part of the Banî Umâiyah, who was defeated by Mûsâ, the son of Ka'ab-ut-Tamîmî, who was despatched from Marw by Abû Muslim into Sind soon after he declared for the accession of the Banî 'Abbâs to the Khilafât. See farther on.

The Balûrî states (see farther on), that Ḥakam, Amir of Sind, about the year 120 H. (738 A. D.), built Mahûzah, and that 'Amr ('Amr) son of Muḥammad, the unfortunate conqueror of Sind, who served under Ḥakam, founded Mansûriyâh; while
The I斯塔khари says, "مانسُوريyah which is a city of Sind, is about a ميل [mile] long and a ميل broad, and is surrounded [part of the territory dependent on it] by a branch of the میران [as shown in the map taken from the مسالیک wa ممالیک]. The inhabitants are مسلمانی.

The مسالیک wa ممالیک, with which work that of Ibn ہاآکال very nearly, but not altogether, agrees, states that, "مانسُوريyah which they call Sindiyah,103 is a city of Sind, about a mile long and a mile broad, and surrounded [i.e., part of the territory dependent on it] by a branch of the میران. It is like an island. The people of مانسُوريyah are کُریشی, the descendants of هاببار, son of Al-عَاص, who seized upon it; and, up to this time it is in the hands of his descendants.

* * * The people in their dress and habits are like the people of 'یراک, but their بَدْشَاهی104 are like Hindús in appearance, and have rings in their ears."

بُریحان-al-Berúni enters into no particulars respecting this place, in this part of Rاشید-ود-Dین's history, but, in his account of the rulers of دیل, in another part, he says (as quoted by Rاشید-ود-Dین), that, "previous to the time of the سُلّمی, محمد, son of كَسیم, marched from the side of سیجیس-ستان into Sind, and subdued باهن-نیہ [نیپور], to which he gave the name of مانسُوريyah,105 and to دیلن, ماٰمْری".

Al-یدریسی says, on the contrary, that مانسُوريyah was founded in the beginning of the خلافت of Al-عابد [Abú-Ja'far-al-عابد], the 'Abbasí, the second Khalífah of that family, who did not succeed to the خلافت until 136 H. (754 A. D.), some sixteen years after the time of عَکام and 'ةمرو ('Amr) and some four years after the overthrow of قُریش, son of Jamhūr, the last Umaiyyah Amir.

It would appear from this, if all three writers are correct, that مانسُوريyah was founded in عَکام's time, finished in the time of قُریش, son of Jamhūr, and the name merely continued by Abú-Ja'far-al-عابد. بهمن-نیہ, or بهمن-نیہ, the بهمن-نیہ of the Sindis, was founded centuries before, by بهمن, son of Isfandiyār, in the reign of جوشتیب, sovereign of يران-Zain, who made conquests in the valley of the Indus, and western Hind, which were retained up to within a few years of the fall of the يرانی empire. See the following note 105, see also my "Notes on افغانیستان," etc. pages 318 and 509.

103 That seems to mean the سندی مانسُوريyah, or مانسُوريyah of Sind, to distinguish it from the other مانسُوريyah.

104 This word does not refer to sovereigns here, but to chiefs. See my "Notes on افغانیستان," page 154.

105 See the extract from بُریحان, page 219. This place, بهمن-نیہ or بهمن-نیہ, notwithstanding that more than one old author distinctly states by whom it was founded, European writers persist in calling "ب‌ریان-باد," because it is incorrect, seemingly.

A specimen of this dangerous system appears in Professor E. Sachau's edition of the text of بُریحان's work, printed at the expense of the India Office. At pages
In the printed text lately issued, this paragraph appears somewhat different from the above. It states that Muḥammad, ibn Al-Kāsim, ibn Al-Munabbih, conquered Sind from the side of Sigistán, and subdued 11, 82, 100, and 162, the printed text has امکانات, and this word is, actually, indexed and transliterated Brâmanâbād! In the same way جرید is indexed and transliterated “Barygasa”; and the words پنچ واد are rendered “Pancanada”!! In this way, the words of an author are changed by persons who fancy they know better than he did; and those who have to trust to translations are thus led astray, and the author is often condemned for the conceived errors of his editor. The latter might, at least, say, that he had thought fit to substitute what he thought correct, and then the student could choose between them. The Zain-ul-Akhbār of the Gardaisf, written in the reign of Sultan Furrūkh-šād of Ghaznīh, about 445 H. (1052-53 A. D.), a rare and highly esteemed chronicle, states, that, “Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, who used to be styled Ard-shir-i-Dārs Bāzū, or of the long arm,” and respecting whom, in connection with the tracts on the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, many traditions are related (and to some of which I have referred in my “Notas” above-quoted respecting Bannū), “founded a city in the zamān of Sind, which was named by him Bahman-ābād or Bahman-nīh, and which they call [when he wrote] Manṣūriyah.” The author of the Majmal-ut-Tawārīkh, who wrote his work about 525 H. (1181 A. D.), quoting an old work from the Hindi language, translated in the year 417 H. (1026 A. D.), the year in which Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznīh or Ghaznīn undertook the expedition against Som-nāth, says—“In the time of Gushṭābī, ruler of I-rān-Zāmin, Bahman, his grandson, surnamed Ard-shir, son of Isfandiyār, led an army into Hind and Sind, and subdued a considerable portion of it. No member of the family of the ruler, named Sunāgh, retained any power therein. Bahman founded a city between the frontiers or borders of the Hindūs and Turks [the “Indo-Scythians,” as they are styled] to which he gave the name of Ḫand-ā’il, and, in another part, which they call Būdah, he founded a city which he named Bahman-ābād; and, according to one statement, this is Manṣūriyah.” As to Ḫand-ā’il, see page 217.

According to Tod (Vol. II, p. 44), the Bānā of Odeypoor is descended from Bahman.

This statement, I find, is confirmed by the chronicler, Muḥammad, son of Jarīr, ut-Ṭabarī, whose statements may be considered indisputable, considering the sources of information which he possessed. He informs us, that the Malik of Hind who had been reduced to subjection by Bahman, threw off his allegiance, and that Bahman despatched the ‘Alīm, or Sage, Akhtūnūsh, one of the three sages who had accompanied Bukht-un-Nāssar against Jerusalem, with forces against the Malik of Hind, whom he encountered in battle, overthrew, and slew. Bahman conferred that territory on Akhtūnūsh. When the second of the three sages (the third had previously died), Dārūsh or Dāryūsh, who held the government of the provinces of ‘Irāk and Bābāl died, Bahman conferred them upon Akhtūnūsh, and directed him to leave a Khalīfah or Deputy to administer the affairs of Sind and Hind [the Bāh and its tributaries, it will be remembered, is called “the River of Sind and Hind”], as his presence in ‘Irāk and Bābāl was the most requisite. He, therefore, leaving a Deputy in Sind and Hind, returned as commanded. Akhtūnūsh had put his wife [Queen Vashti] to death on account of some misbehaviour, after which he married a woman.
the cities of *Behula* and *Bhelstan*, the first-named of which he called [sic] *Al-Manṣúriyah*, and the latter, *Al-Ma‟múriyah*. This word *Bhelstan* appears in three places with this additional letter at the end, but, in another

of the Baní Isrá‘il, whose name was Hadassah (Esther). He greatly favoured the Baní Isrá‘il, and released them from captivity. By his Isrá‘ili wife he had a son *Kyrash* (كيرش) by name, who succeeded his father as ruler of *Irak* and *Balal*.

This *’Alim* or Sage, Akhtúnúsh—which name is also written Akhturnúsh—in Hebrew, Akhsúrus—who was made ruler over those territories, is the Ahasernes of Holy Writ, and Artaxerxes of the Greeks.

We also know from Al-‘Tabarí, as well as from many others, that Núshírván, the Just, held extensive tracts of territory in the direction of Sind, if not in Sind itself. As to the influence of the sovereigns of *Y-rán-Zamin* in that direction, *Al-Mas‘údi* states, that Kai-Ká-ús founded a city in Kāsh-mír, and that his son, *Siáwshá* [سیاواحسدسیواشَ], during his father’s lifetime, founded a city in Sind, called *Mihr-ján*. *Al-Mas‘údi* also states, that the kings of Sind and Hind, and of all the countries to the north and south, sent ambassadors to Núshírván with rich presents, and to enter into terms of peace with him, because of the greatness of his power, the strength of his armies, the extent of his dominions, his rapid conquests, and the vengeance he had exercised upon so many kings and rulers, and also because of the justice of his rule.

In another place, the author of the *Muj-mal-ut-Tawáríkh*, in his account of “Kafand,” a Hindú king contemporary with Alexander, the Macedonian, says: “It is stated that he, Kafand, sent a Bráhman to Sámid, his brother, directing him “to go to Manṣúriyah, expel the *Y-ránis* from the places which Bahman had conquered, and erect idol temples in the place of fire temples.” The author, of course, does not mean that this city was then called Manṣúriyah, but Bahman-ábád which they called Manṣúriyah when he wrote.

Strabo, in his Fourteenth Book, referring to the account of India given by Erastothenes, which he considers to be the most credible account of that country, says that at the time of the Greek invasion, the Indus was the boundary of India and of Ariana, and in the possession of the Persians, and that, afterwards, the Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they received from the Macedonians.

There is no doubt whatever, that the rulers of *Y-rán-Zamin*, from time to time, held a considerable portion of the valley of the Indus, and that, up to the end of the reign of Núshírván, the rulers of the western most parts of Hind, including the ancient Turk rulers of *Kabul* of the Budhist faith, were tributary to him. Subsequently, when the *Y-rání* empire began to decay, some of these rulers began to regain their independence, and thus we find one dynasty of them, Hindús, under the title of “the Bah-Thel,” in possession of Sind and Mukrán in one direction, and *Kabul* in the other, and opposing the ‘Arab forces in their advance eastwards. See my “Notes on Afghanistán,” page 567.

The Gardaisí relates how Bahrám-i-Gor, the *Y-rání* sovereign, came into Hind in disguise, and that Shermáh its ruler, thinking he was merely a person of a noble *Y-rání* family, gave him his daughter in marriage, and conferred upon him, as her dower, Sind and Mukrán.
place, it appears as بَلْشَمْرَانْ, the extra ل، of course, being added by some one else to make it suit the "Brâhman" theory. Where the extra ل came from in the first word it is hard to say; but, as both Rashid-ud-Din,

When Sultan Muhammed-i-Sabuk-Tigin in 417 H. (1026 A.D.), marched against Som-náth by way of Jasal-mir and Nahar-Wálah, he, on his return, took another route from thence towards Múltán by way of Manşúriyáh and the banks of the Jihún [of Sind—the Háká or Wahindah], and expelled its Kárámírâh ruler. See farther on. What with the aridity of the desert near the coast, and the annoyances of the Jâts of Múltán and Bhátiáh on the side of Jihún [i.e., the "great river"—the Mihrán of Sind] and other afflictions, a great number of his troops perished, as likewise did the greater part of the cattle of his army. The "Tabákát-i-Násírí," the earliest work written after the Gardnizí and the Bahákhéf wrote, says he was purposely misled by a Híndú guide into this waterless desert part, which refers to the rash or marsh of Kávháh. (See note 128) But from all that is said, it appears that the country through which his route lay, for part of the way at least towards Jasal-mir, had only recently become waterless; and it is between, this period and the return of Ghóhatah, Amáráñí, as related by the Sayyid, Sadr ‘Alí Sháh, that Bahman-níh, Bahman-no, or Bahman-abád was destroyed by some convulsion of nature, or other calamity.

Manşúriyáh can scarcely have escaped; yet, from the way in which it is subsequently mentioned, there is very great doubt whether it was much injured, and it was certainly not wholly destroyed at the same time. One proof of this is, that Ibn Ḥanáqal visited it in 350 H. (961 A.D.), and that when Aḥmad-i-Níal-Tigin, the governor on the part of the Ghánnír Súltán of the conquered territory immediately east of the Indus—the present Panjáb and part of Sind—rebelled in 425 H. (1033-34 A.D.), and had to fly, he made towards Manşúriyáh. At first he defeated a body of troops sent against him by Sulţán Mas’úd, who then despatched another and larger force, under Tilak, the Híndú, son of a barber, and commander of the Híndú troops in the Muḥammadan service Tilak overthrew Aḥmad-i-Níal-Tigin on several occasions; and was in the habit of mutilating such of the rebel’s followers as fell into his hands, whether soldiery, or merchants and traders, by cutting off their noses and hands. At last Aḥmad-i-Níal-Tigin had to fly from the Láhor province, Tilak having by money tampered with his Turk-mán troops, and made for Manşúriyáh of Sind, with two hundred followers, and endeavoured there to cross the Mihrán of Sind—the Háká or Wahindah and its tributaries—but it so happened, that, at that time, the river had risen considerably, and all the Jâts and Hindús around were in pursuit. No time was to be lost, and in his attempt to cross he was carried away by the current and drowned. His body having been swept along for a short distance, was washed into an inlet or creek or side channel (see farther on for a description of these inlets), and brought to land, where it was recognized by his followers. The head was cut off and sent to Bálkh where Sulţán Mas’úd then was. This is differently related in the Bahákhí, but the Gardnízí is much more circumstantial.

The "Tabákát-i-Násírí" states, that, in 623 H. (1226 A.D.), about the time that its author was at Ummeh, "a body of the Khalíj tribe of Turks, part of the forces of the Khwárazmí Sulţán, after the downfall of his power west of the Indus, retiring before the Mughals, appeared on the north-west frontier of Sulţán Násir-ud-Din, Kábá-jah’s territory of Sind, and acquired supremacy over the 'arz—territory—of
and Fakhr-ud-Din, the Fanákatí, nearly six centuries ago, read this name from MSS. copies of Bú-Riḥán’s work as I have written it above, and as travellers, older by a century than he, also wrote it, I need merely

Maṣúriyah, which is one of the cities of Siw-istán, but they were defeated, and their leader slain.”

From what the author has stated it is not certain whether, at the period in question, the city or fortified town of Maṣúriyah was inhabited or not; but it would appear from the context that it was, notwithstanding that he seems to refer more to its territory than the fortified town. It can scarcely be supposed, that the earthquake, which is said to have so suddenly destroyed Bahman-ābād and its inhabitants, would not have affected Maṣúriyah likewise, to some degree at least, seeing that it was only about six miles distant from it. If it was inhabited when the Khalj Turks appeared there, it must have been in a ruinous state, and the inhabitants probably very few.

The accounts given by modern writers respecting Bahman-nīḥ or Bahman-ābād, are contradictory and erroneous, with few exceptions. Nearly all persist in calling it Brāhmaṇ-ābād because, perhaps, the shortened form of the word Brāhmaṇ happens to be Bahman, and this shortened form to contain the same letters as the name of the son of Iṣfandiyār, but it never occurred to them, with a single exception, that it was not possible for the I-ṛāḥi terminations of nīḥ and ṛāḥ to be applied, at that period at least, to a Sanskrit word. Burton, who is the only exception, says (in his Scinde,” Vol. I., p. 200): “Now Brahmanabād—a wrong name by the by—because the word is partly Sanskrit, and partly Persian; consequently, not Scindian.”

The Balāgirī is the only old Arāb geographer who mentions “old Bahman-ābād,” and he wrote about 270 H. (883–84 A.D.), but he does not mean by that that it was in ruins or had been destroyed, but the contrary. He says, that “Muḥammad, son of Kāsim, went to old Bahman-ābād where the remainder of Dāhir’s forces had rallied, and that it was situated two farsangs [little over six miles] from Maṣúriyah, which, at that time, had not been founded, and that its site, at that period, was a jangal.” See also farther on, where he says Maṣúriyah lay on the west side of the estuary of the river, and Maḥfūzah on the east side.

The Fanákatí, who quotes from Bú-Riḥán, says, that, “Muḥammad, son of Kāsim, after the capture of Debal, first took .readyState (Bahman-no), to which he gave the name of Maṣúriyah, and to Mūltān (quoting from Bú-Riḥán, apparently), the name of Ma’mūrah.”

The error of Bú-Riḥán, as to Muḥammad, son of Kāsim, having named Bahman-ābād Maṣúriyah, I have already noticed.

This difference between the names Bahman-ābād, Bahman-nīḥ, and Bahman-no, may be easily accounted for. Nīḥ and ṛāḥ are of much the same significations in Persian, but, in the dialect of Siud, nīḥ would become no, as in Dar-belah—Dar-belō; Ubārah—Ubēro, Thaṭḥah—Thaṭho; Hakrá or Hakrah—Hakro, and the like, and thus Bahman-nīḥ became Bahman-no.

The Tarikh-i-Ṭahirī says, that Bahman-ābād was destroyed after Alor or Aror had been deserted by the Hakrá through the iniquity of Dilū Rá’e’s, and that, at that period, Dilū Rá’e’s brother, Jhotah or ʿƏḥhotah, Amarānī, was then dwelling at Bahman-ābād, and that it was swallowed up in the earth—men, buildings, and all—the only signs of it being, in that author’s time, a manār or tall tower. He also
notice the fact of its appearance in the printed text, and shall not follow it. The statement, that Muhammad, son of Kasim named Bahman-no, "Al-Manuriyat," shakes my faith in Bu-Rihan's accounts considerably, says that Jhotah or Chhotah, and his Musalmán wife, reached the town of Siw-istán, that is the town or chief town of the Siw-istán district, and which, in his day—about 1035–40 H. (1625–1631 A. D.)—was called Siwhán.

Just thirty years before this, Abu-1-Fazl, in his K'in-i-Akbari, described Bahman-ábad, but his master's Hindu proclivities led him to alter or mistake the name for Bráhman-ábad, he not perceiving how strange a Sindí—Sanskrit—proper name appeared with a Persian termination. He says: "In early times Brahman-ábad was the seat of government. It was a large city, and its fortifications had fourteen hundred towers, and the distance between each was one tandb. To this day, of the towers and walls, numerous indications remain. After Brahman-ábad Ailor became the capital." The tandb measure consisted then of sixty iláht gas, each of about thirty inches, but, we cannot calculate the extent of the walls, because we do not know the diameter of the towers. I have elsewhere mentioned the terrible error he makes in mistaking Bakhar for the site of Manuriyah; and he seems to have been totally ignorant that Manuriyah lay close to Brahman-ábad.

Mr. A. H. Bellasis, of the Bombay Civil Service, who was the discoverer of the ruins of this ancient city in 1854, identified the great mound—the tall, but not "Thúl" nor "Túl"—with Brahman-ábad itself, and I think correctly so. He says in his account of it: "On first entering Brahmanabad [he, too, calls it by the Bráhman name], so extensive and so complete are its ruins, that you feel lost in contemplating its utter desolation. * * * After a little examination, the most prominent object that presents itself is the ruin of a high tower of brick-work standing isolated on a large heap of ruins." This is the same as is referred to by the author of the Tarikh-i-Táhirí, upwards of two centuries before. He supposed this to have been the citadel, but Thomas objected to this, "because the local coins consisted exclusively of specimens of 'Arab governors of Sind, with the name of Manshir on the margin, and because not a single piece could be attributed to any Hindu Rajah of Sind." It must be recollected, however, that the Musalmáns had been the rulers of Sind for more than two centuries before the destruction of this city.

While calling the ruined city "Brahmanabad," Mr. Bellasis also calls it "Bambra-ke-Thúl," and adds that "Bambra is a name frequently applied to old ruined cities [not to this one only] in Sind," and that "Thúl" means a tower or bastion. Here he is in error: the word is the 'Arabic word tall, a heap, mound, or hillock; and this word is in common use—"Tall-al-Kabir" of Egyptian fame for example.

With Bellasis's account before him, apparently, Cunningham ("Ancient India," p. 282) makes out Hwen Thsang's chief city of middle Sind "O-fan-cha," to have been called "Bambra-ka-Tul, or the Rained Tower" ["O-fan-cha" is the Chinese for "ruined tower" perhaps], or simply Banbhar, which according to tradition, was the site of Brahmanwás or Brahman-ábad." Here it will be noticed how Bellasis's words and meaning have been changed. The latter says Bambra—not "Bambhar" nor "Bambura"—is frequently applied to old ruined cities in Sind, not to "Brahmanabad" alone.

Cunningham continues: "In the middle ages, under Hindu rule, the great cities
because we know of a certainty, that Manšūriyah was not in existence when Muhammad was recalled from Sind, but was subsequently founded near Bahman-no; and some state that it was even founded by his own

were Sadusān [what of Ptolemy? See his “Ancient India” page 266], Brāhmaṇa or Bāhmanwā, and Nirunkot. * * * Close to Brāhmanwā, the early Muhammadans founded Mansura.”

He and some others say, that “Nirunkot” is “Haidarābād,” meaning, possibly, that it was founded on the site of the first named place.

In another place (pp. 272–273) the same writer says: “Mr. Bellasis’s measurement of Bambhraka-thūl [sic] was within a few yards of four miles. * * * I conclude that the great mound of Bambhraka-thūl represents the ruined city of Mansura, the capital of the `Arab governors of Sindh. The Hindu city of Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇābād must therefore be looked for in the neighbouring mound of ruins now called Dilura, which is only 1½ mile distant from the larger mound.” This may be reversed, I think; for the ‘Arabs are more likely to have had a small and compact fortified town than one with four miles of wall to defend. But we are plainly told by the Balsāgiri, quoted farther on, that Manšūriyah was built two farāmahs distant from “old Bahman-ābād,” which is equal to over six miles. What is referred to as “the ruined city of Deper, 5 miles in another direction,” is more likely to be the site. It lies to the north-eastwards of Manšūriyah.

Major-General C. R. Haig, for many years in the Survey Department in Sind, in an article on “Brāhmaṇa-bād,” in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1874, says: “Cunningham thinks O-fan-cha of Ilwen Thsang (which Stan. Julien renders Avaṇḍa) to be Brahmanabad, but a Buddhist would avoid Brahman abominations.” This last is assumed, of course, on account of the supposed ‘r’ in the name which is entirely a modern addition. If Buddhists would avoid “Brahman abominations” they would probably avoid a Brahman name also for their city.

This same word, “avaṇḍa,” is also mentioned in the extracts from the “Si-yu-ki” xvi, by the Renv. Prof. Beal, contained in the same volume of the Journal above mentioned.

Cunningham further adds, that “the date of Dilu Rai is doubtful. M’Murdoo has assigned A. H. 142, or A. D. 757, as the year in which Čh’ota, the brother of Dilu, returned from Mekka, but as Mansura was a flourishing city in the beginning of the tenth century, when visited by Masudi and Ibn Hanḵal, it is clear that the earthquake cannot have happened earlier than A. D. 950 [here he is clear the mark: 339 H. is 950 A. D.]. * * * But it is difficult to believe that there were any Hindu chiefs in Bāmana during the rule of the ‘Arabs in Mansura [See what the “Māṣālik wa Mumālik” says on this, page 196]. * * * Mansura must have been founded on the site of Brāhman-ābād, which must have been destroyed by an earthquake.”

This too is stated after what the Balsāgiri has chronicled, and after, himself, saying that Mansura must be looked for at Dilura a mile and a half away from it. I may also mention that, even in the time of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud-Din, Ḏaḵājaw, 607–625 H. (1210–28 A. D.), there were no less than seven Hindū Rānāhs who were only tribu-
taries to him, as in the time of the ‘Arabs without doubt, and that one of them is named “Jasodhan Akrah or Akarah of Miṅ Nagur in the district of Bāmbarwā,” and another “Chanīsār of Dewal,” or Lār—Lower Sind. See “Ṭabāḵat-i-Nāṣirī also, page 614.

Bennell, D’Anville, and Vincent, all three, placed Bahman-ābād within four
It is strange that this new name applied to Multán was also unknown to the 'Arab writers. See what the Baláziri says on this subject farther on; and, moreover, the Khalifah Mansûr did not succeed to the miles of Thathah; but Elliot, after stating that "there seems no reason to conclude that Brahmanábad or Bahmanábad was founded by the Persian king [he was not king at the time], Bahman, upon his invasion of Sind," tells us that "his city is expressly said to have been built in the province of Budha [this is what he sometimes writes Nudha, and is correctly, Bódah, described at pages 207, 8, and 9] which never extended so far as the Indus." At page 78 he tells us, that "Mansûr" [which he also says was close to "Brahmanábad"] is "on the west of the principal branch of the Mihrán;" and at page 870, that, "we may rest assured that it was on the eastern side of the Indus." Again, at page 88 he says, "from Multán to the vicinity of Mansúr the country is occupied by a warlike race called Nadha, and at page 106, that Bahmanábad was founded by Bahman in Budha" which is "supposed to be Mansûr." At page 189, also, quoting from the "Chach-náma," where he writes the name "Brahmanábád or Bán-udh," he has the following note:—"The real name of this place was Bahmanu or Bahmanud." At page 34 he had previously called it "Bámiwán," and at page 61 "Bahmanú Mansúr." After all this, and in several places calling it by its correct name, and indicating its correct position, he winds up with "we may fairly consider that Brahmanábád [with the extra 'r'], after being immediately succeeded by the 'Arab capital, is now represented by the modern Haidarábad." However, all his contradictions of his own quotations, even when correct, and all his speculations on this subject, based, apparently, on the supposition that the Mihrán of Sind always flowed west of Haidar-ábád in nearly the present channel of the Indus, have been refuted by the discovery of the ruins of Bahman-nih, Bahman-noo or Bahman-ábd, close to the west bank of the principal channel of the great river, as the old geographers and historians had clearly stated it was. The value of other similar speculations of his may be judged of accordingly. See note 147.

Crow, who, in the last century, was the Honourable East India Company's Agent at Thathah, also falls into error respecting Bahman-no or Bahman-ábd, as well as "Tatta being Debal Sindy." He says: "Brahminabad, called by the natives Kulan-kote, the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the south-west of Tatta," etc.

Dr. J. Burnes ("Visit to Sind," page 133), and Sir A. Burnes, following Crow's statement, also considered "Kulan Kot, near Tatta" to be "Brahmansbad." The correct name of the place they thus mistook for Bahman-no or Bahman-ábd, is Kalyán Kót—kalyân, in Sanskrit, meaning 'prosperous,' 'happy,' etc.

Tod (Vol. II, page 299, note §), among other wild assertions, actually tells us that "Omar, in the first century [the Khalifah 'Umar, died in 23 H. i.e. 643-44 A.D.], had established a colony of the faithful at Bekher [as he spells Bakhar], afterwards Mansoora;" while a few pages farther on (233), he says, "the celebrated Caliph Al Walid was the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions, was Arore, the capital of Upper Sind." At page 269 he says: "the ancient capital of Sind was Mansoora, better known to the Hindus as Rori Bekher." At page 310, he states, that, "The islandic Bekher, or Mansoora (so named by the lieutenant of the Caliph Al Mansoor) is considered as the capital of the Sogdi, when Alexander sailed down the Indus;" and he also supposes that "the Sogdi and Soda [the Sodah tribe] are the same. At page 93 of his first volume, he states, that "the Sogdian country is Dhat in the desert."
At page 312, we have "The great Pūar [Pramārah] sovereignty, of which Arore or the insular Bekhor [they are all one to him], was the capital, when Alexander passed down the Indus." Again, at page 332, we have: "On the island of Bekhor there are the remains of the ancient fortress of Mansoor named in honour of the Caliph Al Mansoor, whose lieutenants made it the capital of Sind on the opening of their conquests [it was "Omar" at page 229, but Al Walid at page 233]." At page 243, he says, that, "on the final conquest of Sind, the name of its capital, Arore, was changed for Mansoor;" while at page 449 of the same volume we have the following: "Referring to abandonment of Sind by the lord of Bamuni, he says, in a note, "the lord of Bamuni," in other places called Bahmanwasse, must apply to the ancient Brahminabad, or Devol, on whose site the modern Tatta is built."

In vol. I, p. 217, he had previously stated, that, "Sinde being conquered by Omar, general of the Caliph Al Mansoor, the name Minagara was changed to Mansora;" but, after that again, at page 243, he says: "I had little doubt that Minagara was the Suminagara of the Yadu Jharejahs. *** On every consideration I am inclined to place it on the site of Sehwan."

Here are no less than nine or ten statements respecting Mansúriyah, all different, and all totally incorrect; but see note 111 for still greater errors.

MoMurdó is the only European writer who, before the discovery of the actual site of Bahman-no or Brahman-ábád, nearly fixed on its right position. He placed it on the "Parán" [puránah signifies 'old,' 'ancient,' etc.] afterwards called the Lohano Þoro, but he calls it, in error, the "Lohána Darya," which was "at a short distance from where it separates from the Parán."

He was mistaken, however, respecting the period of the destruction of Bahman-ábád or Bahman-no in supposing it to have occurred about 140 H. (757-58 A. D.).

The most pertinent observations on the subject of Brahman-ábád are those of the Sayyid, Šadr 'Ali Sháh of Thatah, who was consulted by Bellasis respecting the period of its destruction. He says, that "the city of Brahman-ábád appears to have been founded before the Hind dynasty of the Bráhmans [yes: a very long time before], which commenced in the first year of the Hijri or A. D. 622, [this is incorrect: Sihrás Rá’i fell in battle with the 'Arabs at the close of 23 H.—October, 644 A. D.]. *** and that Qahch, the first of the Brahmans kings, subdued among others, "Aghor (Akham, the Lohánah of the Qahch Námah), chief of Brahman-ábád."

This is the Agham, Lohána of Elliot. The Lohánah Hind race—called "Lohánah Jats in the Qahch Námah—"are," he says, "the most influential tribe in Sind, and all wear the Brahminical thread." (Vol. I, p. 362). To suit certain other incorrect theories, he afterwards turns these Lohánah Jats into "Lohání Afghánns"? It is only since the time of Aurang-zeb-i-'Klam-gir Bádahí, when considerable changes were made in the mode of writing, that the initial letter of their name, which is, correctly, Nûbární, they being descendants of Nûb, son of Ismá‘íl, began to be written by Hindústání writers, Lábární, with 'I,' for 'n,' and by those who did not understand the Pushto letter 'm,' Lúhání; and they do not "wear the Brahminical thread." The Lohánah (or Loháno as the Sindís write and say) Baniyás till flourish in Sind, but they have not, even yet, grown into Nûbární Afghán.
Al-Ibrîsî says: "Manşûriyah is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrân, although it is at a distance from the river. [In another place he also says, that it is a mile square each way.] It lies west of the principal branch of the river. * * * Manşûriyah was founded at the beginning of the reign of Abî Ja'far-al-Manşûr, of the Banî 'Abbâs. This Khalîfah gave his name to four different cities: the first was Bagh-dâd in 'Irâk, the second, Manşûriyah of Sind. * * * It is a great, populous, and rich city, and carries on a considerable trade. The buildings are constructed of burnt bricks, tiles, and plaster. * * * The name of the city in the Hindi [the Sindî dialect of the Prâkrit?] language is Mir-Mân [ميرمان]. This seems to me to be an error in the MS., and it is considered one of the dependencies of Sind, like Multân, Sharûsân [سیوستان, the modern Sîwân]," etc., etc.

Zakâriyâ, the Қазвînî, who, as before mentioned, quotes chiefly from the work of Muşîr bin Muhalhil, who wrote in 381 H. (942-43 A. D.), says: "Manşûriyah, so called after the second 'Abbâsî Khalîfah, is also styled Manşûriyah-i-Şânî, or the Second Manşûriyah, and a branch of the Mihrân encircles it. It is very hot, and has many fleas, but it is a place of considerable size, and has good and sweet water."

Ibn Al-Wardî al-Kârsîfî, likewise says, that "it was one of four cities to which Abî Ja'far-al-Manşûr, the 'Abbâsî Khalîfah gave his name of Manşûr, but the others being Bagh-dâd in 'Irâk, Al-Ma'sîsat on the sea of Shâm [Syria], and Al-Râškat in the Diyâr-i-Mużâr."

At page 187, in his own extract from the Châch Nâmah, "the Jats of Lohâna" are mentioned, also, that they consist of "Lakha and Samma," and that "they plundered within the territory of Debal." The Purânah, one of the old channels of the Mihrân of Sind or the Hakrâ, is called the Lohânî Dhor after them to this day.

Tod, in his "Rajâ'athan," says (page 320): "The Lohana, were formerly Rajpoots [fancy Elliot's Afghânîs], but betaking themselves to commerce, have fallen into the third class. They are escribes and shop-keepers, and object to no occupation that will bring a subsistence, and as food, excepting their cats and their cows, they will eat anything." See also Burton's "Scinde," Vol. I, p. 236.

Şâdr 'Ali Shâh further observes, that, "the city must have been ruined before the expiration of the fourth century of the Hijrâh, or about 1020 A. D. [on the 26th April, 1020 A. D., the year 411 of the Hijrâh commenced], because Ghîhotah, Amarânî, brother of Dilorah, Amarâni [Dilû Râ's], who departed to Baghâdîd, on account of his brother's injustice, where he embraced Islâm, married the daughter of a celebrated 'Arab, and returned with her into Sind before the expiration [before the middle?] of the fourth century, along with a number of other 'Arabs, among whom was the Sayyîd, 'Ali Mûsâ." He evidently meant, before the middle of the fourth century. He is rather too late by about thirty or forty years; while McMurdo is too soon by nearly two hundred and fifty. The fourth century of the Hijrâh commenced on the 24th August, 1009 A. D.

106 It is used as an adjective, as is the Past. Part. of نصر, signifying, 'aided,' 'defended,' 'victorious,' 'conquering,' etc. 

A A
I will now relate what these writers say respecting the rivers, and the places on or near their banks.

All that Ibn *Khurdâd-bih* says is, that, “from Barmáser [بَرْمَسَر] to Debal is eight days’ journey; and from Debal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the ocean is two *farsangs*."

Al-Mas‘údí says: “The Mihrán of Sind issues from sources well known, situated in the *kohistán* or mountain tracts of Sind, the country of *Kinnauj*, the territory of *Búdah* [بُودَة—*Banúdah* in one MS.], the territory of *Kash-mir*, and *Kandhár* [*Kandháráh or Kan-*
dgháro *?*], and *Tafán* [ُطَافَن—*Tákin*—also *Táfn*—in some MSS., which may be *At-Táfah*, or *At-Tákah*, or even *At-Tákár*], and flows on towards Múltán, where it receives the name of “Mihrán of Gold,” the same as the word Múltán signifies [!] the “Frontier of Gold.”

“From Múltán the Mihrán takes its course through the country of *Máshúriyah*, and near the territory of Debal falls into the sea. It forms many inlets and creeks, such as the creek or estuary of *Sand-bur* [§نَدِبُر*؟*] in the country of *Bághir* [بَغْهِر—*Wághir*, *b‘* and *w‘* being interchangeable].

“The Malik of Hind is the *Ballhar* [بَلْهَار*]; and the Malik of *Kinnauj*, who is one of the Maliks of Sind, is *Búdah* [بُودَة—*Banúdah*—*Barúzah*, بَرْوزَه*—*Bauúdah*—*Nawwarah* نَوْوارَة—in as many different

107 In the text of M. C. Barbier de Meynard this name is written *Nármashírat* (نَارَمِشِرَة*); and in Elliot’s extracts from the same author, it is “Narmasíra.” The name in Ibn *Hánkal* is as I have given it above; and it is a well known town of Kirmán, and is repeatedly mentioned down to modern times.

108 Thus in the original, but Elliot (p. 21), turns it into “*Banúra*,” and renders the rest of the passage as follows: “and from Kashmír, Kandhár, and *Tafán*; and at length running into [sic.] Múltán, it receives the name of Mihrán of gold, just as Múltán means boundary of gold.” Did they find a “house of gold” in the river too?

109 Not *Kandhár* certainly, eight degrees farther west, which was not known by that name at the period in question: it was then styled *Bál-yús*.

110 The word *jír*—meadow—is also, without doubt, a mistake for *fárkh*. It was probably written without points in the original copy of the text quoted, and that *fárkh* is meant, the statements which follow fully confirm. See note 97.

111 Mas‘údí must be wrong, of course, although he visited these parts in 331 H. (942-43 A. D.), and wrote from personal observation; for does not Tod, who was never there, tell us in his “Rajas‘than,” that “the remains of the ancient fortress of Mansoora are on the island of Bekher”? See note 105, page 204.

112 See Burnes’ “*Travels*,” vol. I, page 308. There was an old fort hereabout, swallowed up during the earthquake of 1819, called *Sindrí* or *Sandri*. It lay on the east or *Káchchh* side of the estuary of the *Hákra*, Wahindáh, or *Sind-Ságar*. 
MSS., the Búdhiyáh—بدرها the title of the Chach Námah], which is the title of all the Malik of Kinnaj. There is likewise a town called by this name, and at present it is within the pale of Islám, and is among the dependencies of Múltán. From thence [Búdah] issues one of the rivers which together form the Nahár-i-Míhrán of Sind. * * * This Búdah, who is the Malik of Kinnaj, is the enemy of the Balhári, the Malik of Hind. The Malik of Kándhár [Kandhárah or Kandháro before noticed], who is one of the Malik of Sind and its hill tracts, rules over the territory of جخص or جخص [Jachch or Jacheh, the tract lying between Uchchh and Kandhárah or Kandháro, a small territory then dependent on Multán. Jachch Wá-hán, once its principal town, is still in existence]. Out of it comes the river Rá'id [رَأِد], one of the rivers which go to form the Míhrán of Sind. Kándhár [Kandhárah or Kandháro] is called the country of the Rahbút [in the original, رَهْبُوْت—Al-Rahbút, and also Al-Ráhyút—الRARYوت—and, no doubt, meant for Ráj-put—راجبوت]. Another, the third of the five rivers, is called Hátil [هَاتيْل]. and comes from the mountain tracts of Sind, and flows through the country of Rah-bút or territory of Kándhár [Kandhárah or Kandháro]. The fourth river of the five comes from the territory of Kábúl and its mountains, which form the frontier or boundary of Sind towards مُن.

The Wágirs are still well known in the tracts between Lower Sind and Kachchh, and Suráth or Káthiáwá (vol. "Kattywar)," and have given much trouble at different times. Sind-búr, or Sánd-búr was certainly in Kachchh. See also the old 'Arab map, page 213.

113 This distinctly shows in what direction this Kinnaj was situated, and that it has nothing whatever to do with the celebrated city of that name on the Káli Nádi, near its junction with the Ganges. See also note farther on.

114 Elliot has "Hahaj" but for the purely 'Arabic letter ج to appear twice in an Indian word is impossible. The part here referred to lay on either side of the Hakrá, adjoining Jachch on the north. The name still remains in Kandhárah, or Kandháro in the Sindi dialect, in the south-west corner of the Baháwal-púr state adjoining Upper Sind, the "Kundairáh," "Kundearáh," and "Kandarāh" of as many different maps. It lies on the east bank of the old channel of the Hakrá, near its western branch, called the Ráìn or Ráíni, the "Raines Nullah" of the maps, respecting which more will be found farther on. Jachch or Jacheh Wá-hán, appears in the maps as "Juja." The petty ruler referred to in the text above was evidently one of the Ránás subject to the 'Arab rulers of Múltán. As late as the time of Sultán Nádır-nd-Din, Kábá-jah, seven of these Ránás were tributary to Múltán, and Uchchh.

The word here given can only refer to the Rá'in branch of the Hakrá or Wá-hindah. See note 120, page 209.

115 This appears to be the same word, with the addition of another letter, as in the extract from Bú-Ribán, who says: "The river Kuj or Kaj, which falls from the hill range of Biajil." See note farther on.

116 This cannot refer to the river of Kábúl and its tributaries, since the word
Bust must refer to Bust—on the Helmand; and if so, shows that mighty changes have taken place in this direction since the Mas'ūdī wrote. All the rivers of the parts here referred to, now flow south-westwards, and empty themselves into the lake of Zarang. The only streams that come from anything like the direction of Ghaznī and Bust are the Gūmul and its tributaries, and the streams from the direction of Kulát-i-Nikhrārah, but the latter rise some two hundred miles south-east of Bust on the Helmand. It will be noticed how many rivers are said to go to form the Mihrán, which do not refer to the other rivers of the Pānch Nadu or Panj Ab. I have elsewhere mentioned, that, in former times, the Ab-i-Sind must have been joined by some considerable tributaries from the westwards; and, from my geographical inquiries, it is evident to me, that the river of Kurma'h (vul. "Kurram"), and its tributary the Gambilah, which still unites with it, formerly sent a greater volume of water into the Ab-i-Sind than at present. It is said, that, previous to the time of Amīr Timūr's invasion of Hind, in 801 H. (1398 A. D.), the country around Laka'i of the Mar-wats was a vast lake. Lower down again the united waters of the river of the ḽioba'h and the Gūmul used, likewise, to contribute a considerable body of water to the main stream in ancient times; and, doubtless, minor streams, now changed and dried up or diverted, used to contribute their waters, as well as the rivers lower down, from the southern Afghanistan by Siwí, the course of one of which was changed by an earthquake in Akbar Badghšī's time, as well as other tributaries from the Balūghistán, which united with the Ab-i-Sind when it, or a branch of it, flowed westwards from near Rūján, as explained in the account of that river further on. I believe that a considerable river flowed through what now constitutes the Bolān defile or pass, respecting which I have more to say presently.

In Vol. II of his "Archaeological Reports," page 27, Cunningham, strange to say, "identifies" Ptolemy's "Sabbana" as "the modern town of Zhobi, at the junction of the Zhobi and Gomāl rivers. The Serarnais would therefore be the Zhobi river, or perhaps the Gomal itself."

The only difficulty would be where to find this "modern town of Zhobi." By "Zhobi," I suppose he refers to the river of the ḽioba'h or ḽioba'h Dara'h in the Afghanistan, but such a town as Zhobi does not, and never did, exist. See also pages 26 and 32 of the same "Report."

I ought to notice here, that, although the 'Arab writers mention the name of Mihrán, and sometimes, Mihrán Rūd, as if the Ab-i-Sind, above and immediately below, Multān, was so called; yet they did not mean it to be so understood, as here shown, and as subsequently confirmed. They referred to what went to form the Mihrán of Sind, which consisted of all the rivers from the Ab-i-Sind to the Chitāng. After all had united they obtained the name of "Mihrán of Sind," and this name it
about one hundred and twenty square farsangs, each farsang being equal to eight mil [miles].

This Malik has four armies, according to the four cardinal points, each consisting of 700,000 or 900,000 men [1]. The south army defends the territory from the Balhari, Malik of Mankir [before stated to be Malik of Hind]; while that of the north is for the purpose of carrying on war with the Malik of the territory of Multan [consequently, it, Kinnaj here referred to, must be south of Multan], and with the Musalmans, his subjects, who are established on that frontier; while the other two armies are sent wherever an enemy shows himself.

"When all these rivers [five are referred to] have passed the "Gate of the Bait or Receptacle of Gold," or Multan, they unite between it and Mansuriyah into one stream, at a place called Dosh-i-Ab [lit. Meeting-place of Waters, or Waters-Meet, from the Tajik or Persian 'dosh'—'meeting,' 'coming into contact,' etc.], which flows towards the town of Aror [or Aldor— ] [1], which lies on its western

bore, until it finally emptied itself into the ocean. The Ab-i-Sind or Indus, with its affluents was one tributary, and the Biabh, with its affluents, the Rud-i-Sind wo Hind as it is called, another, which united with the Hakra or Wahindah and its affluents, and formed the Mihran of Sind as above described. Consequently, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, and the Rud-i-Sind wo Hind, were really tributaries of the Hakra or Wahindah; for, after the Ab-i-Sind or Indus deserted the other, it still remained the Mihran of Sind; and this is borne out by the statements of all the 'Arab and native writers, as will herein appear. See note 156, page 218.

[1] A vast area truly! Even if we compute it at 41 square farsangs of 8 miles each, 26,600 square miles is the result. The farsang generally was about three mil, each mil being equal to 4,000 gaz, the farsang being 12,000, and each gaz being equal to 24 fingers' breadth measured sideways, or six clenched fists. The Sindí farsang, it will be noticed, is stated to be eight mil. See note 90, page 190.

[2] Tod, Vol. II, page 229, note to "Arone," says: "The remains of this once famous town I had the happiness to discover by means of one of my parties in 1811." Any one, unacquainted with the history of these parts, would imagine from this, that its site had remained unknown up to the period of this wonderful discovery— "on the island of Bekher," where Aror never stood.

The place of junction here referred to lay near to Sahib Garh and Baghlah of the present day, about seventy-two miles south-west of Uchchh. When the Masudi wrote, the branch of the Hakra which flowed past Aror on the east, had not, according to the tradition, been as yet diverted. Elliot's editor (Vol. 1, p. 23), unacquainted with the meaning of 'dosh,' supposed it to be "Dáb," as he writes Do-ábah.

[3] The 'al' in this word, as here written, and by all the old geographers, is not, and must not be mistaken for, the 'Arabic article al,' because the name Alor or Aror was the Hindi name centuries before the Musalmans had any acquaintance with it, and it may be, and is, written and styled Aror, with 'ar' as well as with 'al.'

The derivation of the word Ruphti is evidently derived from the Sanskrit रुप्त —
[sic] bank, and is a dependency of Manṣūriyah, where [i.e. at Alror or Aldor] it receives the name of Mihrán. There [but, in one copy, "Farther on"] it separates into two branches, and both these branches of the great river, styled the Mihrán of Sind, fall into the sea of Sind [or Hind] near the town of Shágaráh [شگرخی — Ságarah ?], one of the dependencies of Manṣūriyah, a distance of two days' journey from the town of Debal. 122

* * * After Tiz of Mukrán [eastwards], the littoral of Sind commences, where are the mouths of the Mihrán or Nahr of Sind, the principal river of that country. In this part stands the town of Debal; and it is [near?] there that the coast of Hind joins that of Barúz (ربض), where they make the spears called barúzī.

"The territory of Manṣūriyah contains 300,000 villages and estates [what we style mauza's in India probably], lying in a fertile tract of country, well planted and cultivated. This territory is continually at war with a people called Med, originally from Sind, and also with other races.

rúr, in reference to its situation on the rocky limestone ridge, and the signification of which word is, 'rough,' ' stiff,' 'rugged,' ' hard,' etc. See my "Notes on AFGHÁN-ISTÁN," etc., page 326, note 97.

Mr. A. W. Hughes, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service, in his "Gazetteer of the Province of Sind," p. 678, says it is "the ancient Loharkot," but what, or whose, "Loharkot" he does not inform us, nor does he give us his authority; and yet, on the next page, says it was founded "by one Saiyad Rukandín [Rukn-ud-Din perhaps is meant] Sháh in H. 698 (A. D. 1297).

Cunningham, on the other hand, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (p. 258): "The true name of Alor is not quite certain. The common pronunciation [of English writers?] but how is it written?] at present is Aror, but it seems probable that the original name was Rora, and that the initial vowel [here the "initial vowel," so called, is the first letter of the alphabet, and a consonant] was derived from the Arabic prefix IL, as it is written Alor in Biladúri, Edrisi, and other "Afríb authors [and also "Aldor," with 'd,' as given in Elliot's work]. This derivation is countenanced by the name of the neighbouring town of Rori [here a letter is left out to support the theory], as it is a common practise in India thus to duplicate names. So Rora and Rori would mean Great and Little Rora. This word has no meaning in Sanskrit [as I have shown above], but in Hindi it signifies "noise," "clamour," "roar," and also "fame." It is just possible, therefore, that the full name of the city may have been Rora-pura, or Rora-nagara; the "Famous City." Why not, at once, call it the "Roaring City"?

But the "Hindi" word here quoted by him happens to be Sanskrit Ṛṣ; and, unfortunately for this "Famous" theory, the name is not written Ṛṣī by the people of the country, but Ṛúrhi—रूरही; and as Ṛ is interchangeable with Ṣ in Hindi and other dialects, it is also called Lúrhi as well as Ṛúrhi. There is another word Ṛṣ (रूर )—roṣ, of the same derivation, signifying, 'stone,' 'rock,' or 'a fragment' of either. The period when Ṛúrhi was founded will be mentioned farther on.

122 Compare the map taken from the "Masálik wa Mamálik" at page 213.
"Manṣūriyah and its dependencies, like Mūltān and its territory, is a frontier. The name, Manṣūriyah, it derived from Manṣūr, son of Jamhūr, who had been placed there by the Bani 'Ummiyah, as Ḥākim. * * * Sind is the territory nearest the Musalmán dominions: Hind lies more east. Nofīr, son of Fūṭ, son of Ḥām, son of Nūḥ, at the head of his descendants and followers, took the direction of Sind and Hind, where his posterity multiplied, and were remarkable for their gigantic stature. They established themselves in the territory of Manṣūriyah, a dependency of Sind. This confirms the tradition, that Hind and Sind had been peopled by the descendants of Nofīr, son of Fūṭ, son of Ḥām, son of Nūḥ."

The Istakharī says: "Samand is a small city [or town] situated like Multān, on the east of the river Mihrān. Between each of these places and the river the distance is two farsangs.186 * * * The town of Alor [٣٥٩] is about the size of Multān. It has two walls [٣٥٩], is situated near [not on, it will be observed] the Mihrān, and near the borders of Manṣūriyah [the territory]. Nīrūn is about half way between Debal and Manṣūriyah. * * *

"The river of Sind, which is called the Mihrān of Sind [lower down stream], is said to issue from a mountain range in which several of the tributaries of the Jihūn rise.184 The Mihrān passes by the borders of Samand [the Samandūr of the Ḥākim, who quotes this work]185 and Alor [or Aldor] from the neighbourhood of Multān, and from thence to Manṣūriyah,186 and farther onwards, until it unites with the ocean to the east of Debal. Its waters are very pleasant [sweet].187 It is said that there are crocodiles in it as large as those of the Nil [Nile]. It rises and inundates the land just like that river does, and after the waters subside seed is sown in the same manner as I have described in the account of Miṣr [Egypt]. The Sind Rūd [or River of Sind and Hind]

186 Compare the Mas'ūdī's statement, pages 189, 90. If the Sindi farsang before mentioned, of eight mil to each farsang, the distance would be sixteen English miles, but, according to the more correct computation, about six.
184 See my "Notes on Afgānistān," etc., page 563, note *
185 See page 213 and farther on, also the old map from Purchas.
186 Elliot has, at page 30, the following:—"The Mihrān passes by the borders of Samand and Al Rūr (Alor) to the neighbourhood of Multān," etc. It is impossible for the river to have flowed backwards from "Al Rūr" to Multān. It is exactly contrary.
187 Compare this with the statement in the "Masālik wa Mumālik" and Ibn Ḥaṭṭāḥ, farther on.

Ḥāfīẓ Abrū says the Sind river or Ab-i-Sind runs into the territory of Manṣūriyah, its course being from north to south, and, at the end, turning towards the east.
is about three stages from Multán. Its waters are very pleasant [sweet] even before its junction with the Mihrán.”

This statement is important, for here we have two large rivers, the Mihrán and the Sind Rūd distinctly mentioned. The following, too, is remarkable, and shows what changes have taken place to the westwards, respecting which I shall have more to say presently. He says: “Mukrán is mostly desert, and has but few rivers. Their waters flow into the Mihrán on both sides of Mansúriyah.”

“The cities and towns of Sind are Mansúriyah, Debal, Nirún, Kálwí [or Kálarí], Anarí, Bálwí [or Bálarí], Maswáhi, Bahraj [قهر] of the old 'Arab map, generally written without points], Bányiyah, Manjámíri [Manjábári of others], Sadúsán [Sharúsán or Síw-istán], Alroz [with ‘z’—Alror before], etc. The cities of Hind are Múltán, Jand-rúd [قهر-rúd ?], Basmad, Sindán, etc.

“The distance from Armá’il in Mukrán to Debal is four days’ journey; from Mansúriyah to Debal, six; Mansúriyah to Múltán, twelve; from Mansúriyah to Fámhal, eight; between Múltán and Basmid, about two; from the latter to Alroz [Alror], three; thence to Anarí, four, from which to Kálwí [or Kálarí] is two, and from the last-named place to Mansúriyah one day’s journey. Bányiyah [باني站—without points] lies

128 See also the Ḵazwina’s account, page 205. How far Mansúriyah or its jurisdiction extended at that period may be gathered from Al-Idrīsī, who says: “Between Kiz and Armá’il are two tracts of territory touching each other: one, named Rähűn, is a dependency of Mansúriyah, and the other, called Kalwán, depends on Mukrán.” Mansúriyah comprised all middle and lower Sind.

129 In the old ‘Arab map page 213, it is placed west of Mansúriyah on the west-bank of the Mihrán. See page 215 and also farther on.

130 These are the فلالي (Fáláli), بلديي (Baláli), Maswáhi, Bahraj, نائي (Náyastah), Manjábári, Sindúsán, and Aror of the “Masálik wa Mamálık.”

131 This clearly shows that the Sind Rūd of the Masálik wa Mamálık map just referred to is that which flowed between those places.

132 The Basmad, سریان (Sirán or Sairán) or سیدان (Saidán), and كنائه of the before mentioned work respectively.

133 Elliot, “Historians,” Vol. I, page 15, has: “From the Mihrán to Bakar, which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days’ journey.” All this is pure surmise; for the word is unintelligible, and, in the Paris copies, according to his own account, is illegible. In them it is البكر which may be anything almost. In the printed text of M. Barbier de Meynard it is البكر; yet, even with this before him, Elliot made it Bakar, a place never mentioned by any of the old geographical writers here quoted, because it did not then exist, and this too after translating the additional passage given in this note from Idrīsī thus:—“From hence بانیا to Māmhal
between Manṣúriyah and Fámhál, at one day's journey from Manṣúriyah and from Debal to Manjánrí [Manjábári] is two days' journey. From Bániyah to Manṣúriyah three days' journey; to Fámhál six days'; and to Debal two." 136

The Masálik wa Mamálık, which, as I have before mentioned, is, in many places, like Ibn Ḥaukal, differs from him considerably in others. It states that, "From Multán to Basmíd or Samíd [it is written both ways in the original MS.] to the Rúd-i-Sínd is three days' journey. Basmíd or Samíd is a small city [or town], and that, and Multán and Jandáwar [جندور the original has ج but as this purely 'Arabic letter could never occur in a Hindi name, it is probably intended for ج (Chandáwar or ج Jandáwar] are situated on the east side of the Rúd [river] of Multán, each at a farsáká distant [but, according to the map of Sind in the original MS., they are a long distance east of the river, and in it Multán does not appear, being farther up stream]. Samíd or Basmíd is a city full of wealth and affluence, and is not less [in size] than Multán, and has two walls [ژو], placed on either side of the river Mihrán. 136 * * * The Mihrán comes out near Multán, passes the boundary or limits of Basmíd, and Manṣúriyah, and east of Debal unites with the ocean. The Rúd-i-Sínd 136 is three days' journey from Multán, and is a pleasant [sweet] river, and unites with the Mihrán Rúd. It is subject to inundation like the Rúd-i-Nil and has likewise crocodiles."

Here again two great rivers are mentioned, just as Al-Idrisí states, 137 the Mihrán, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sínd wa Hind, but the Masálik wa Mamálık goes farther, and adds: "The Jand Rúd [جند رود or جند رود] and Kambáya the country is nothing but a marine strand, without habitations, and almost without water, consequently, it is uninhabitable for travellers."

No doubt the Kunchí ran is here referred to, into which Sultán Firúz Sháh was led by a treacherous guide, like as Sultán Maḥmúd before him, as related at page 80, See also note 105.

136 Al-Idrisí states that, "between Bániyah and Fámhál (Elliot has “Máhmal” here), and Kambáyah, the country is a salt, marshy shore, without habitation, and almost without fresh water, and therefore it is impassable to travellers." Its position therefore is towards the sea coast and the Kunchí ran, or great marsh of Kachchh, and not as Elliot supposes within fifteen farsangs of Aror. See his work, Vol. I, pp. 61, 174, and 367.

137 The Mihrán here, and the Rúd-i-Multán above, both refer to the Ab-i-Sínd or Indus, as mentioned in the preceding note 117, which see, also note 123.

138 The Tārikh-i-Táhirí, referring to the Sind Rúd, says it is also known as the Panj-Apb, and below Bakhar is known as the Bahmín [ثبخن]. See page 216.

137 He wrote, it must be remembered, in 646 H. (1150-51 A. D.).
Chand Rūd?—this is a different word from Chandāwar above mentioned] or Samand Rūd [Samand Rod ] is also a great river, and a sweet, on whose banks stands the city [shahr] of Jand [or Chand ?]. It unites with the Mīhrān Rūd below the Sind Rūd, towards the territory of Mansūriyah.188

We have here, therefore, three large rivers. The first is the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus; the second the Bīāh and its then tributaries, the Bihāt,189 the Chīn-āb, and the Rāwah or Rāwij, which, in those days, passed north-east and afterwards east of Multān, and united with the Bīāh, some twenty-eight miles to the southward of the last named city, forming the Panch Nad or Panj Ab of the geographers; and the third river is the Hakrā, Wahindah, or Sind-Sāgar, and of which, at the period in question, the Sutlaj, was a tributary, as were likewise the Ghag-ghar, the Sursuti, and the Qhitang.

I now turn to Ibn Ḥaukal, who states, that, "Basmīd is a small city [shahr], and it, and Multān, and Chandwār [in another copy Chandāwar] are placed on the east side of the Rūd of Multān. From each place to the bank of the river will be one farsang. Basmīd

188 This is the Samand of the Istakhrī in the only copy available, but the Ḩaẓwīnī, who quotes him copiously, says, that the Istakhrī calls it the Samandūr, consequently part of the word has been left out in the copy of the Istakhrī quoted. See page 51.

It will be noticed from this important statement, that the old 'Arab map here given (and likewise as shown in the map to Ibn Ḥaukal's work) does not quite agree with the writer's description. But two rivers are indicated, the Mīhrān Rūd and the Sind Rūd, and, that between what appears as the dor or Bāndār near their junction, down as far as Multān, but a single river is indicated; while farther east, a line, with five towns on it, runs down to, and includes Chandīwāli above noticed, and that one of these five is Basmīd, and another, Anārī, two days' journey from Basmīd. The description says, that the Sind Rūd [the Rūd-i-Sind wa Hind—the Bīāh and its tributaries] unite with the Mīhrān Rūd [the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind] above Basmīd, which is three days' journey below Multān and three days' journey above Aror; and that the walls of Basmīd rise on either side of the Mīhrān. Further, that the Samand Rūd [the Hakrā and its tributaries] unite with the other two still lower down towards Mansūriyah, at a place known as Doğh-i-Ab. I have not interfered with the 'Arab map, but I have indicated what is meant from the description, which agrees with other old writers, at the right hand side of that map.

189 There appears to have been another river besides the Bihāt, Chīnāb, Rāwij, and Bīāh, and I have seen somewhere what tributary of one of these four it was, which formed the fifth, but I cannot recall it to mind. Neither the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, nor the Shuttldrād, were included among the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, or Five Rivers; and to this day, the people dwelling near the junction of the other rivers, including the Sutlaj, after the junction, style the united stream the "Sapt Nad" or "Sat Nad"—the "Saptah Sindāwah" of the Hindū legends—or Seven Rivers.
is a city full of affluence and convenience, and will not be less [in size] than Multán. It has two walls [or—bar or—sides?] placed or situated on the banks of the Mihrán Rúd. 140

"Debal is situated to the east [ظرفی—sic in MSS. 141] of the Rud-i-Mihrán, and on the sea coast. It is the harbour of that territory. They cultivate the land without irrigation. It is a confined place [نَطْک, a word which also means 'barren'], but for the sake of trade people take up their dwelling there.

"Nirún is a city situated between Debal and Mansúriyah on the road thither, and is situated on the west side of the Mihrán; and Bahraj or Bharaj [بہر]—also written [بہر and بہر in other copies], Maswáe or Maswáhi or Maswá'ī [مسوئی or مسوئی], Sindúsán or Sidúsán [سندیسین or سندیسین], and Haníbar [هنیبر] or Halbah [هلبه] or Haliyáh [هلیه] or Halat [هلت] or Hažah [هژه] are situated on the western side of the Mihrán. Frí [فری] or Idí [یدی] or Andí [اندی or اندی], and Abru—[ابرو—and Abrí—[ابرو], and Fálú [فالو] or Dálu [دالو] 148, lie on the east side, in such wise, that, in going from Mansúriyah to Multán, they lie at a distance from the banks of that river.

"Balú [بلو] or Jalbú—[جلبو] 144 is situated on the Mihrán, near unto a channel which branches off from the river behind Mansúriyah [as shown in the map of the Masálik wa Mamálík, just opposite Sadúsán or Siw-istán].

"Fámihal [فامیل] is a city [or town] situated on the nearest border of Hindústán, as far as Šaimúr [صموئیر]; and from Fámihal to Mukrán,

140 In Elliot (p. 27), this description is applied to Alrúr. He has: "The country [city] of Alrúr is as extensive as Multán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra."

The text I have quoted is as above, and agrees with the "Masálik wa Mamálík."

141 In the map to Ibn Ḥuγkál's text, as in the Masálik wa Mamálík map, Debal is placed west of the river. The above, therefore, is palpably a mistake of the copyists. See the map from Purchas.

142 This is the same place as is mentioned by the Istákharí, and by the Balágírí in the account of Muḥammad's advance against Sadúsán, or Siw-istán, the modern Sīhwáy.

143 Such are the variations in different copies. In the text translated by Anderson in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for 1849, the words are بلو and ملی.

144 The name is thus written in the map to Ibn Ḥuγkál's text in the Bodleian Library. It will be noticed, that, in writing, if the upper part of ꞌ is rounded a little, as in quick writing, it is liable to be mistaken for ꞌ; and this last letter, if the upper part is lengthened, as it is very apt to be in MS., may easily be mistaken for ꞌ. This place is the Kalári of the Istákharí.
to Nudhah [Nudiyah of the Sindian historians], to the boundaries of the territory of Múltán, all appertain to Sind. Báníyah [بنته] or Náníyah [نانیه] or Máníyah or Máníah [مانیه]—but all are doubtful, because the word is chiefly written بنته, without points, and مانیه, and even نانیه], is a small city [or town] which 'Abd-ul-'Azíz-i-Ḫábárfi the ʿKureshī, the ancestor of the tribe who hold Mansúriyah in sujuction,146 built. Mand [مند] belongs to Hindústán, and there are infidels dwelling therein; and all that has been mentioned belongs to Hindústán."

Then follows the important statement, that, “The junction of the Mihrán with the Sind Rúd [the Biáh and its tributaries as elsewhere explained] is below Multán, but above Basmid. The Jadd [or Qhánd] Rúd [the Hakrá] unites with the Mihrán below the junction of the Sind Rúd, towards Mansúriyah.”

Nudíyah [ندیه], or Nudiyah [ندیه]147 is a flat open tract of coun-

146 It is, from its situation, the same place as mentioned by the Istakhari, and towards the south-east of Mansúriyah, as shown in the map to the Masálik wa Mamálik. See page 213. It is written without points in the map to the Bodleian MS. See note 103.

147 That is, the towns dependent on Mansúriyah and its district, and situated therein. See page 190.

Elliot sometimes renders this “Budh,” “Buddha,” and “Búdhiya,” but says that Idrisi and Kazwini prefer “Náda or Nudha,” and immediately after [p. 388, vol. I] says: “The old tract of Budh or Búdhiya, very closely corresponds with Kaohh Gandává,” and straightway goes to “Bori or Búrá in the Afghan province of Siwístán,” and of course, becomes hopelessly confused.

The Borah or table land, so called, of the southern part of the Afghánístán—

for there is no town called “Bori,” much less “Búrá,” as he imagined—is out of Sind altogether, and one hundred and twenty-five miles farther north than Gandábah and more than three hundred and fifty miles north of Bahman-ábád.

In a note at page 389 he says: “In the passage above quoted from the Mu'jam-ul-Tawárkh, Bahman is said to have founded a city called Bahmandáb in the country of Budh. There is a place entered as Brahman in Burnes’ map, between Shál and Bori.” This shows the utter confusion into which he has fallen. He should have added to the above, that, in the work last quoted, the author says that “this Bahman-ábád is said to be Mansúriyah by some,” and he assigns it its proper position. See Elliot, Vol. I, page 109 as to “Mansúra” and Bahman-ábád, and note 105, para. 18.

I may add, that, Ibn Ḥaukal, and the Masálik wa Mamálik, have Nudhah—ندیه—at all times; and in changing it to, or reading it as, “Budh,” “Buddha,” and “Búdhiya,” Elliot may have been under the impression, that it must be correct to do so, if the people were Buddhists, or in support of some theory that required to be bolstered up. See also pages 206 and 208.

It so happens that Nudah or Nudiyah lay on the west of the Mihrán, while Búdah the Búdhiyah of the Qhách Námah, lay on the east. See what Wilford, who
try, situated between Túrán [the territory dependent on Kuşdár, from which Kandá'il is five farsangs distant] and Mukrán, and Multán and the towns of Manşúriyah; and this tract lies to the west of the river Mihrán. From this part bakhti [hairy, double-humped] camels are taken to other parts of the world.149

The Kaşbúh [bázár town] of the tract called Nudiyah is a place of traders, and they call it Kandá'il.150 The inhabitants of this tract of country are in appearance like the people of the desert [of 'Arabia], and have dwellings constructed of canes along the banks of the Mihrán, from the boundaries of Multán as far as the sea coast; and they have also grazing lands between the river and Fámhal [farther east, and elsewhere said to be “the first place belonging to Hindústán in that direction”]. They are a numerous tribe. Fámhal, Sindúsán [or Sadúsán, Sihwán of the present day], Samúr, and Kandáz or Kusdahr,155 all four towns, have Adíná masjids, which the Musalmáns founded.

was far in advance of his time, says respecting these parts in the 9th volume of the “Asiatic Researches,” page 225. Búdah or Búdiya has nothing whatever to do with Bráhús as M. de Geoje, states in his notes to the text of what he calls “Beladsori” (referring to the Balúzír): they were unknown in that early day.

148 See pages 189, 90.
150 The Istakhari says, respecting Kandá’il, that it was so called after A’il [ايل], a man of that name who subdued it; so here we have the word Kand, as in Kand-ahár, and in Samr-Kand and Bey-Kand. The word is plainly written كند and Kند. With the above very plain statement before him, Elliot persists time after time, in calling the place “Kandábít” and “Kandábél.” Cunningham, of course, follows Elliot in the spelling, but he considers that, “Ptolemy’s Badana, which lies immediately to the north of the rivulet, must be the present Gandáva, as the letters B and G are constantly interchanged. In the books of the early ‘Arab writers [according to Elliot’s versions, it should have been added] it is always called Kandábít.” See “Elliot,” vol. I, pages 29 and 84, as to its conqueror. It so happens, that Kandá’il is not Gandával, but stood on a hill, which Gandával does not. The Mastákí wa Mamálík distinctly states, that there is but five farsangs distance between Kuşdár, the situation of which is well known, and Kandá’il, which is eight days’ journey from Manşúriyah, and ten from Multán.

M. Barbier de Meynard’s ‘Arabic text of Ibn Khurdád-bih, p. 57, contains the same error respecting Kandá’il, and Kuşdár, after the same fashion in “Kuşdán.” See my “Notes on Afghanistán,” etc., page 558, note §§.

151 Because the river was continually altering its course. It was the same when Abú-l-Fasíl wrote upwards of six centuries after; and canes play a great part in the construction of dwellings of all kinds, both for man and beast, in Sind and the Indus valley higher up, up to the present day. The people here referred to are the Sammáhí and Jahárjáhs (or Zhárjáhs) or both.

155 This word is unpointed and may mean anything. Elliot reads it “Kambáya,” but as he reads Kandá’il as “Kandábít,” we must make allowance, and be permitted
Respecting the distances between some of the places mentioned above, he says: "From Mansúriyah to the boundary of Nudah [or Nudiyah, as the Sindis write it] is five stages or days' journeys [mas- 433 kalah]; from Mansúriyah to Fámháal eight; from Múltán to Basmid two; from thence to Alor [Alor, the rúd] or Alroz [alroz, rúd] three; from thence to Abari [Abari] or Irí [Irí] four; from thence to Fálúí [Fálúí, Falui] four. From Fálúí or Fálúí [the Kalarí of others] to Mansúriyah one stage or a day's journey; from Debal to Nárián four; from Fálúí or Fálúí [Fálúí before, the Kalarí of others] to Ládán four farsangs; and Báníyah [written Máníah or Máníyah and in other ways before] or Náníah is distant one stage or a day's journey from Mansúriyah.

The source of the Mihrán, the waters of which are pleasant, is in the same mountain range in which the Jihún takes its rise. It comes out at [i.e., near] Múltán, and passes the boundary [حد] of Basmid Alor or Alroz, and by Mansúriyah, and falls into the sea to the easterly Debal. * * * The Sind rúd, the waters of which are also wholesome, is likewise a great river, and at three stages or days' journey below Múltán unites with the Mihrán rúd."

to doubt its correctness. The Gulf of Kachchh and the whole peninsula of Khóthiá- wár [val. "Kattywar"] intervenes, and Kanbháyat (val. "Cambay") was not subject to Musalmáns at such an early date as the time of the writer above quoted. Part of Kachchh is doubtless referred to here. The north-west part if it is called Kandhár and Kandháhar.

165 Two copies have the rúd—الرود—instead of Alor—الوز.
166 In two copies of the text this name is written Biroz or Búrúz [برون] and Píroz or Pírúz [پرون] respectively.
167 See note 105, and pages 212 and 215.
168 Although Ibn Hākal calls this river, which is the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, by the name of "Mihrán," it will be noticed that he makes a distinction between it and the "Mihrán rúd." Had he not done so, we could only suppose that he considered the two other great rivers to be tributaries of this one, but he evidently means the river which "went to form the Mihrán of Sind," as others do, or what he here calls the Mihrán rúd.

Bú-Rihán calls the river the Sind until it unites with the others, and the united streams he calls the Nahr-i-Mihrán. See the previous note 117, and the extract from that author at page 221.

167 This word does not occur in two out of three copies of the text consulted.

See page 213, and also the learned note in Elliot, Vol. I, pages 380-81, from the pen of his Editor, on the subject of "Chand Rúd." He takes it for granted, that the Qín-ab always flowed as at present. In the text, page 48, he has another meaning for "Chand." He says "there is some confusion here," and he has made it still more confused.
Another copy quoted by Elliot has: "The Chand Rúd is also a great and pleasant [خريش] river on whose bank is the city or town of Chand Rúd. It falls into the Mihrán below the Sind Rúd towards the territory of Mansúrah." This, however, does not agree with three other MS. copies which I have used, but agrees with the Masálik wa Mamálik just quoted; and, for a town "Chand Rúd" is an impossible name, and must refer to the river, or a town situated thereon.

Bú-Riḥán-al-Bérūnī, says, after noticing the junction of the river of Kábul with the “Nahr-i-Sind”: "The river Biháth, called Jih lám, on the west, unites with the Ab-i-Chándrá [the Chand Rúd of Ibn Haukal before noticed] at Jháráwar [جابرور] Jandráhah [جندرآه] nearly fifty mil [miles] above Múltán, and flows past it on the west. Then the Ab-i-Biáh [!] increases it [by uniting with them] from the east. Then the Íráwah [يرود]—the Ráwah of the Ṭabdá-o-Násírī—the Rawí joins them. The Nahr-ul-Kaj [or Gaj—.initially in one copy Laj—] the upper stroke of the ك being left out, but that letter may be mistaken for ل if not marked thus ك branches off from the Nahr-ul-Kút [ذرناکوت], which issues from the mountains of Bahátil [بہتیل], and joins them, after which the Nahr-i-Shutlad [شتلد or Shutladr شتلد] unites with them below Múltán at a place called Panch Nad."150

150 In one place in his text, Bú-Riḥán says the Sind is called Wahind; that جندرآه or جندرآه refers to the Chandar Bhág—the Chandar-Bhág or Chín-áb—that the Biáh flows to the west of Loháwar, and the Íráwah—the Ráwah or Rawí—on the east of Loháwar.

The Biáh never yet flowed west of Láhor, within "the range of history," but the Ráwí has, but not very far west of it. It will be seen how he has reversed matters. In another place, as in the text above, he makes the Biáh unite with the Chín-áb above or north of the Ráwí, again reversing facts.

150 His Nahr-ul-Kaj or Gaj, and Nahr-ul-Kút or Gút can only refer to those tributaries of the Hakrá or Wahindah which came from the hills east of Jasal-mír in early times, noticed farther on. In the recently published printed text, in place of this Nahr-ul-Kút we have Naghar Kot—نغر کوٹ.

The letter here written ج may be meant for ج. Bahátil is the Hátíl of Masúdí. See page 206, 7.

151 Professor Sachau indexes these two simple Hindi words in his printed text of "Alberúlni," under the meaningless form of "Pánca nada;" and translates the above passage as "a place called Pánca nada"! A person who had to depend on his translation would suppose Bú-Riḥán had so written it.

The author of the "Lost River" article in the "Calcutta Review" appears, from the following, to have had a confused idea of the Panj Ab or Panch Nad. He says (page 14): "Thus, too, is solved the difficulty in providing a place for the Satlej among the five branches of the "Panjnad," which has compelled modern geographers to transfer that name from the Indus to the Chináb [1]. The latter has
I have entered here just what he says, but there is evidently great confusion; for we know that the Biáh—if it is here referred to—never united with the Chin-ab and its tributaries before or above the Rawi, as is here stated. Moreover, the mention of "Sutlad" rather shows that the抄写员 wrote the names as he knew them best. Indeed, with regard to all the extracts from Bú-Riḥán contained in the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh, it is difficult to decide which are actually his, and which Rashīd-ud-Dīn's (the author), because, especially in reference to the river reaching the sea by two channels, which, in those early days it did not do, as I shall presently show, the latter mentions events as if stated by Bú-Riḥán which occurred three centuries after his death. I shall also prove that no "Sutlad"—Shutlaj or Sutlaj—flowed in the direction here indicated, even at the time that Āmīr Timūr, the Gūrgān, invaded these parts more than four centuries after Bú-Riḥán wrote.161

To continue his account, however, he states, "After this, the united streams become a vast river, and during the season of inundation, the waters spread out to the extent of ten farsangs in breadth, and swallow up all the other great streams, and the refuse brought down by no claim whatever to this title, which Burns justly observes (Travels III—287) is unknown upon its banks. The "Panjnad" or "Panjāb" is the Indus itself. The application of the term to any one river appears to be of late date."

All this is contrary to fact. All those who have dwelt in, and are acquainted with the geography of this part, know, and as the best maps show, that the rivers which unite above Uchchh, receive the name of Panch-Nad, as Bú-Riḥán, here relates, and as does Abū-l Faḍl likewise; and it is only after the united streams join the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, that they cease to be styled the Panch Nad or Five Rivers, and when all have united they are known, even to the present day, as the "Sapt" or "Sat Nad," or Seven Rivers. I believe that what has been read as شنل —Shutlaj—was really meant by Bú-Riḥán for "Sapt Nad" or "Sat Nad." See note 139.

It should be borne in mind, when comparing statements contained in Mas'ūdī, the Masālik wa Mamālik, and Ibn Haukat, that those writers visited Sind as well as Mūltān and other places, while Bú-Riḥán never went farther south than Mūltān or farther east than Lāhor.

161 It is beyond a doubt, that, until the Biáh and the Sutlaj both left their respective beds to unite and flow in one channel, when they lost those names, the Sutlaj was a tributary of the Hākrā, but, after that, the united rivers, under the name of Harāri, Ghārah, etc., became tributary to the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. These facts ought not to be overlooked; and yet we find recent authors writing of "Par-dikkas carrying the Greek arms to Ajudaṇ on the banks of the Sutlaj, ages before the Sutlaj and Biáh uniting approached within twenty-five miles of Ajūḍḍahān." Who shall say that Ajūḍḍahān was in existence even ten centuries after the time of Alexander the Macedonian? It is nearer to the Sutlaj at the present time than it ever was before, and the distance is eight miles and a half. In the last century it was twenty-five miles distant. See note farther on.
it remains sticking in the branches of the trees [which are submerged during the inundations] and appears like the nests of birds in them. The united waters bend to the westward\textsuperscript{168} from the city or town of Aror [أور]—the Aldor—[of others] in the middle of the territory of Sind, and are received into the Nahr-i-Mihrán or Mihrán River, which flows slowly through the midst of the country, and forms a number of islands [i.e., the waters flow in several channels which again unite, and the lands between are islands] until the river reaches Mansúriyat [مندووريه] as he always spells the word in the original]. This city is situated among the branches of the river, and from that place the river unites with the ocean by two channels. One is near the town of Lohárání [لوهوراني],\textsuperscript{168} and the other bends round towards the east in the confines of Kaj [كج]—Kachchh—[كچو خچو ]], and is called the Sind Shákar [سند شاکر], which means The Sea of Sind.

\textbullet \textbullet \textbullet The river Sarasat [سرست] unites with the ocean to the east of Súmináth."\textsuperscript{164} This last named river is, of course, the Saraswati, which

\textsuperscript{168} This is not given in the printed text.

\textsuperscript{168} In another place, Bú-Ríhán, immediately after referring to Lohárání at the mouth of the Nahr-i-Mihrán, where it unites with the ocean, says, that, "from Bāzánah [بازانه], also in other MSS., and in copies of Rashíd-ud-Dín's work], between south and west, is the city of Anhal-wárah [انهولواره] and [نهرى ورها], distant sixty farsangs; and from Súmináth, in the sea, fifty. From Anhal-wárah or Nahal-wárah towards the south is Láo-des or Lár-des [لاودياس or لوديس], the kázba [بازار تنوا ] of which are Bahzúj or Bahrúj [بہروج], and Dhanjára or Bhanjúra [دهنچورا or رہنچورا], distant forty-two farsangs. Both these places are on the sea-shore east of Láo-des [لاودياس—لاو -تنا]—Táñá]. This is what Elliot reads "Bániya" at page 27, "Bilha [بليما]" at page 37, "Báni" pages 39 and 40, "Tána" and " Bháti" at page 61, and "Bániá" at pages 77 and 79. From Bāzánah to the west is Multán, fifty farsangs distant [a distance which will not suit Gusarát]; and from Bháti [بھوتي] or or لینلي or باني — بالتي for it is written in as many different ways] fifteen farsangs. From Bháti south-west [south-east in one copy] fifteen farsangs, is Aror, Arro, Aró, or Udar [اور - اورو ] meant, probably, for [foreigners, it will be remembered, always leave out the ل in Hindi words]. Bháti lies between two branches of the Sind Rúd [not the Nahr-i-Mihrán, it will be observed], thence twenty farsangs to Bahman-no Mansúriyat; and from thence to Lohárání, which is the mouth of the river [he mentions two mouths in the text above: this was the western mouth at that period]; where it empties itself, is distant thirty farsangs." Compare also Elliot, Vol. I, page 61, who says, at page 58, that this "Naraya" as he read it, and which his Editor altered into Naráns, is "the capital of Gusarát," but, in the original, the word is "Kórat and کورات" in different copies.

\textsuperscript{164} See page 182.
falls into the sea near Pattan Som-náth, not the classical river, the tributary of the Ghag-ghar, described farther on, the sacred river of the Bráhmans.

In another place he states, that, "from Bazánah [برانه—also written نرالانه in different MSS.] where roads branch off to the west, is Multán, distant fifty farsangs, and to Bháti [بہائی—also written بہائی!]

166 The place called "Bháti" above, is what Elliot at page 79 calls "Báná" where the country is "a marine strand;" and whatever may be its correct name, whether Bazánah, as Bú-Rihan writes it, be the capital of Guzerát or not (but Anhal-Wárah was its ancient capital), all these places, undoubtedly, lay near the sea coast, between the mouth of the Mihrán of Sind and Káthiáwar, and this evidently was Elliot's idea when writing about it as "the capital of Guzerát." Notwithstanding this, from the footnote 9, page 58, of the volume referred to, written by the Editor, Mr. Dowson, it appears that Elliot considered it, "one of the most interesting places in the North-Western Provinces [sic] to identify [this "marine strand" in the North-Western Provinces!] from the pages of Bhirání.]" He thought it to be represented by the modern Narwar, and entered into details in support of this view, but he was unable to account for its being called the capital of Guzerát."

Then the Editor tells us, that General Cunningham takes another view, and says: "I have identified Guzerát with Bairát, or the ancient Matsya. • • • Firishta [i. e., "Briggs?""] gives these two names as Kairát and Nárán, which he says, were two hilly tracts, overrun by Mahmúd of Ghazni. Now Guzerát and Kairát are only slight corruptions of Bairát, when written in Persian characters; and Nárán and Narúana are still slighter alterations of Nárúana, which is the name of a town to the north-east of Bairát." See also pages 394, 5, and 6 of Elliot's Vol. I.

Now let us see how "Guzerát" and "Kairát" look so much like "Bairát" in Persian characters: بیرات - کیرات - گئرات— and how very much alike are "Nárán" "Nárúana" and "Nárúana": ناران - ناریانا - نارودین. There is not very much similarity here, I think: at least, I cannot discover it. The word, however, is بزانه Bazánah.

But alas for these "satisfactory" identifications! The names given by Firishtah in his Persian text are دوز و کیرات - Núr and Kirát, which refer to two darahs north of Jalál-ábád and the river of Kábul, in the Káfrísitán, no less than eleven degrees farther north! The mistake respecting them I pointed out in my "Translation of the Tabákát-i-Násíri," page 77; and I have also given an account of Amir Máhmu'd's expedition to those darahs in my Notes on Afghánistán," pages 134 and 135, from the author from whom Firishtah derived the information, and who wrote in the time of Amir Máhmu'd's grandson, Sultán Farrukh-Zád. See also Elliot, vol. I, page 47, where the same darahs of Núr and Kirát, written "Núrokirá" as one word, are mentioned along with Lamghán north of Jalál-ábád and the river of Kábul.

According to Bú-Ríhán, who mentioned this so called "Núrokirá" above referred to, this Bazánah is 60 farsangs = 180 miles from Anhal-Wárah, and we know where that is, and it is a long way from Lamghán, and from Bairát too. Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, also cannot be referred to here, because this Bháti is but 20 farsangs = 60 miles, north of Mansúriyah, and 30 farsangs = 90 miles from Lohárání, at the mouth of the Mihrán of Sind; and it is said that this place—Aro, Ador,
or the [Kohri
ناثي
The town of the Bhátiah is evidently meant here] fifteen farsangs. From thence between south and west is Aró or Arú [in MS., perhaps Aror or Arur?], distant fifteen farsangs. From between two arms or branches of the Sind Rád, is Bahman-no, or Bahman-no Mansúriyat,165 distant 20 farsangs, from which Loháráni, which is place of outlet [of the river], is distant thirty farsangs.”

Referring to other routes going from Kinnauj to the Mihrán, he says, after mentioning Sunám, that, going north-west from thence [Kinnauj] nine farsangs is Arat-húr [also written Arat-húz or A'datt-húr - حمزة or حبوز], then to Bab-húr or حبوز or حمزة or حبوز [which I will not attempt to speculate upon] six farsangs. From thence to Mandhúkúr [ماندهکور] the kasbah or bázár town of Loháwar, east of the river Iráwat [the Ráwah or Ráwf], eight farsangs; then to the river Chandráhá [چندروہ] twelve; then to Jihálam west of the Bihat [MS. has يیت and printed text] eighteen farsangs; from thence to Dahind [دهند or Wahind; Wahind, in the printed text], the kasbah of Kandhár [گندھر], which the Mughals166 call Kará-Jáng [کرا جانگ] west of the Ab-i-Sind, twenty farsangs.” * * * Referring to the mouths of the Nahr-i-Mihrán, he says: “After this, you come to the lesser and greater mouths of the river, and then reach the [haunts of the بارج ] Bawárij who are pirates, and Káš [Káshh] and Súminát. * * * From Debal to Kohrá'í or Kohrá'í [کوراى] is twelve farsangs [thirty-six miles or little over].168

e tc.,—which is probably Addo of the maps, about 60 miles east of Bhúj in Kachohh—is but 15 farsangs = 45 miles from “Bhátí.” The places referred to here mostly lie near the sea coast, Elliot’s “Marine strand,” extending from the eastern mouth of the Mihrán of Sind to Súráth, the Saurashtrah of the Hindús—Káthíawár—and of this there can be no doubt. See page 258.

166 See note 105, ante, page 196, and note 146, ante, page 216. These distances, if correct, would show this place Bazánah—to be situated in the north-west corner of the present Jasal-mir state.

167 The words “which the Mughals call Kará-Jáng” will not be found in Bú-Rišán’s text. Here we have Rašhid-nd-Din, not Bú-Rišán, for the simple reason, that, at the period the latter wrote, and for more than a century after, the Mughals were unknown to the Musalmán writers. For more respecting this Kará-Jáng, see Tabakát-i-Náširi, page 1216; and compare Cunningham, “Ancient India,” page 65.

168 See ante page 206, and note 112. The overflow from the channel of the Hákí, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar still reaches the sea by the inlet which appears as “Kohri” in our maps, the names in which are generally incorrectly written. The Hajamro mouth of the Indus is just thirty-four miles (or lately was): it may have changed considerably since the publication of the most recent maps) from the Kohri’s mouth to the north-west. Bawárij is the plural of بارجة, a war-boat apparently, and certainly refers to boats or vessels.
Al-Idrisi, who wrote about 545 H. (1150-51 A. D.), nearly a century before the investment of Unnab by the Mughals, says, that "Sand-ur"¹⁶⁹ [for Chand-ur or Jand-ur? 's' is interchangeable with, and often substituted for 'ch' and 'j' by foreigners] is situated three days' journey south of Multán, which is famous for its trade, wealth, and extravagance of its inhabitants. It is said to form part of Hind [he afterwards mentions it among other places belonging to Hind], and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrán above Samaíd [Basmid of others].¹⁷⁰ Going from Multán towards the north there is a desert tract which extends as far as the eastern boundary of Túbarán.¹⁷¹ From Multán, as far as the neighbourhood of Mansúriyah, the country is held by a warlike race called Nudah [or Núdiyah, as the Sindis write it], consisting of a number of tribes scattered about between Túbarán and Mukrán, Multán and Mansúriyah, like the Barbar nomads. These Nudahs [Núdiyahs] have peculiar dwellings, and marshy places in which they take shelter, if necessary, to the west of the Mihrán. They possess a fine breed of camels, particularly a sort called karah, like the camel of Balkh [the Bakhti camel], which has two humps, and is held in great esteem in Khurásán, and other parts of Irán.¹⁷² — The place chiefly frequented by the Núdahs [or Núdiyahs] for purposes of trade and other matters is Kandá'il."

Al-Idrisi also says respecting Debal, that it is a populous place, but not fertile, and is inhabited merely because it is a harbour for the vessels of Sind and other parts. "Going west," he says, "from the mouth of the great Mihrán [the principal or eastern branch] Debal is six mil [miles] distant. From Debal to Nirún, also on the west of the Mihrán, is three days' journey.¹⁷³ Nirún is about midway between Debal and

¹⁶⁹ This name occurs in an old map which I shall give farther on between Ráphi and Multán, and it would therefore seem that it was known in the early part of the last century; and, from its position therein, appears to have been situated somewhere about Nohar, or Islám-Kot of the present day, near the banks of the Hakrā, or farther north. It seems to be identical with the town or city of Jand or Chand mentioned ante, at pages 213-14.

¹⁷⁰ See ante page 216.

¹⁷¹ This appears to refer to the southern parts of the great, elevated plateaus extending from a few miles east of the Indus to the high left bank of the Bišt, and through which the rivers forming the Panj Ab, or Pançh Nad, now cut their way, and which from what is known as thethal or bār-i-Qhínā east of the Qhín-áb, and bār and qhaiyé east of it. These elevated plateaus represent three distinct geological periods apparently, respecting which more will be found in the notice of the rivers farther on.

¹⁷² See ante page 217, where Ibn Ḥaukal says much the same, and note 146.

¹⁷³ The position of Nirún is plainly shown in the old maps of the Masālik wa Mamālīk and Ibn Ḥaukal, as well as from the description of its whereabouts in those
Manṣūriyah, and persons going from one to the other cross the river here. Nírún is a place of little importance, but it is fortified.

two works, and in others, including Al-Idrisí in the text above. Modern writers identify its position satisfactorily to themselves, but differ as to its whereabouts. Elliot fixes it at Jarak, while Cunningham prefers Ḥaidar-ābád. He says ("Ancient India," p. 279) "the people still know it—Ḥaidarābád—as Nirankot," but this requires confirmation. He also says, "it was situated on the western bank of the river.

At present the main channel of the Indus runs to the west of Ḥaidar-ābád, but we know that the Phuleli or eastern branch, was formerly the principal stream. According to McMurdo, the change of the main stream [by which McMurdo means the Hakrā, Wahindah, or Ságarah, not the "Phuleli"] to the westward of Ḥaidarābád, took place prior to A. H. 1000, or A. D. 1592 [Haigh previously quoted, says "the change occurred only in the middle of the last century," and he is perfectly right], and was coincident with the decay of Nasirpur [Naṣr-púr is the correct name], which was only founded in A. H. 751, or A. D. 1350."

The Naṣr-púr here referred to, I may observe, lies some seventeen miles N. N. E. of Ḥaidar-ābád, and was founded by Sulṭán Firúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk ruler of Dihlī; while the place referred to by Elliot ("Indian Historians," Vol. I, p. 216) as being a place of great importance as early as the time of Dúdah, the Sumrah, who was contemporary with Sulṭán Ḑabd-ur-Ráshíd of Ghaznín, some three centuries before, refers to an entirely different place. That refers to Naṣr-púr in the southeast of Sind. It was still the chief place in that part in Akbar Bádsháh's time, and gave name to one of the five sárkárs into which the territory dependent on Thatha was divided. It was here that the same Sulṭán founded a fort on the banks of the Sankrah [Hakrā], on his advance against Thatha the last time from Gúzarét.

Cunningham continues: "As Naṣirpur is mentioned by Abul Fazl [Gladwin's translation?] as the head of one of the subdivisions of the province of Thatha, the main channel of the Indus [the main channel, as I have before mentioned, was the Hakrā] must have flowed to the eastward of Nirun Kot or Ḥaidarābád at as late a date as the beginning of the reign of Akbar." I may observe that Abú-l-Fazl's work was completed in the forty-second year of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and that Naṣr-púr (a different place from Naṣr-púr) was, as stated above, the name of the most south-easterly sárkár of the Thatha province, one of the seven mahális of which was Naṣir-púr, giving name to the sárkár, and that Amar-Kot was another. In this part a small fortified town was also founded by Sulṭán Firúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk, on his advance from Gondaí to Thatha.

Elliot, on the other hand, identified, according to the writer previously quoted, Nirún Koṭ with "Jarak, and the Kinjar lake near Heláí in its neighbourhood, as that in which the fleet of Muhammad Kaśim [Muhammad, son of Kaśim, is meant, the latter having been dead for years] lay," but Cunningham adds that "the Kinjar lake has no communication with the Indus," and thus he disposes of Jarak "identified" by Elliot and others; but Elliot says (Vol. I, p. 400): "I am disposed to place Nirún at Heláí, or Heláýa, a little below Jarak. * * * Lakes abound in the neighbourhood, and are large enough, especially the Kinjar, to have admitted Muhammad Kaśim's fleet."

The attempt to identify places mentioned in the ancient history of Sind according to the recent state of the channel of the Indus, as it its banks had been of adamant instead of hour-glass sand and mud, and had not changed in the space of eleven,
From it to Manşúriyah is a little more than three days' journey. Manşúriyah is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán, but it is at a distance much less twenty-three centuries is sufficiently absurd, but it is still greater when, from his own authorities (page 157), the fleet of boats of Muhammad was sent up the Sind-Sagar (or Wahind Ságar as stated in the Chach-Námah. See note 181, page 231), that is, the Hakrá or Wahindah, mis-called the "Narra" in the maps and Gazetteers, and that it flowed some seventy-five miles east of this "Helái" and the "Kinjar lake," and continued to do so for centuries after the time referred to. How many scores of times, likewise, has the western branch (described farther on), changed during that period from west to east and back again, and how many lakes formed, dried up, or swept away?

Wood—a keen observer and experienced surveyor—says in his work ("Journey to the Oxus") respecting this, that, "In the neighbourhood of Vikkar is the imbedded hull of a Dutch brig-of-war, pierced for fourteen guns, affording proof, if any were wanting, of the ever-changing course of the Indus. It is in vain in the delta of such a river to identify existing localities with descriptions handed down to us by the historians of Alexander the Great. The whole country from Kach'h to Karáchi is alluvial, and none of its spontaneous productions, the tamarisk tree, for instance, exhibit the growth of a century. Higher up the course of the river, where its channels are more permanent, this tree attains a large size, and this never being the case in the delta, our conclusion would appear legitimate, the soil at both places being the same.

"Could the northern apex of the delta be as easily fixed as its triangular sides can be defined, we might then venture to speculate on the probability of Alexander having visited Kach'h or Gujerat. * * * But, as before observed, the absence of tangible localities involves us in a maze of doubt; and hence our deductions are oftener the result of fancy than sound inference.

"The old Dutch-built vessel mentioned above affords negative evidence that the mouths of the Indus in her day were not more accessible than at present. * * * We have tolerable evidence that the Indus has never been more or less navigable than we now find it to be. Tavernier, nearly two centuries ago, said, "At present the commerce of That'hah, which was formerly great, is much diminished, as the mouth of the river is always getting worse, and the sand, by increasing, scarcely gives room for a passage," pp. 2—3.

"In a mud basin undergoing continual change, such as the valley of the Indus south of the mountains, it is almost vain to look, after the lapse of so many centuries, for indications of the Grecian general's march," p. 20.

As to the apex of the delta, there can be very little doubt, that, in very ancient times, it was between Bahman-ábd, and the range of lime stone hills running down from Aror, and where the Mihrán of Sind separated into two branches. See note on the rivers farther on.

To return to the previous subject, however, after this digression One thing appears conclusive, namely, that as the distance between Bahman-ábd and Nirún was rather more than between Nirún and Debal, its site must be looked for some thirty-five or forty miles south of the modern Haidar-ábd, and about the same distance east of That'hah; and in the Sindi accounts of the founding of Haidar-ábd there is no mention of its being founded on the site of Nirún. Al-Idrísí says Nirún lies about half way between Manşúriyah and Debal, that it is three days' journey
been towards the latter place and Nirun, and that people going from thenoe to Mansuriyah about and the river at Manjabari (which lay about mid-way between the two places). Ibn Haukal, on the other hand states, that the country of Nirun is rather nearer to Mansuriyah than to Debal; and, in another place, that while it is six days' journey from Mansuriyah to Debal, it is but two days' journey between Nirun and Debal. In the map contained in the Masalik wa Mamalik, and also in Ibn Haukal's map, Nirun is some distance from the banks of the great river, and Manjabari intervenes about midway between it and Bahanabad. But between the time that Al-Idriis and Ibn Haukal wrote, a period of about one hundred and eighty years, great changes appear to have taken place, since the latter says that "the Mihran passes on towards Nirun, and then flows to the sea." See farther on about the second great transition of the courses of the river, also Elliot Vol. I, page 78.

Cunningham at page 279 of his work has the heading "Patala or Nirankot," which, as before noticed, he identifies with Haidar-abad, and the "Pattala of Arran," but at page 236 he considers that "another name" appears to have "a confused reference to Nirunkot." It is confused enough truly. This name is "the Piruz of Istakhrî, [the Istakhari], the "Kannazbür" of Ibn Haukal, and the "Firabûs" of Edrîsi [Al-Idriîsî]," and, after quoting what they say from Elliot, he considers that their "unknown city" will accord exactly with that of Nirunkot. "Debal," he says, "I will hereafter identify with an old city near Lâri-bandar [at page 279 he says Lâri-bandar is its probable position], and Manhâbarî [Manjâbarî?] with Thatha." Had Ibn Haukal's map contained in Elliot's volume given all the names, as in that of the Masalik wa Mamalik, which I have appended to this paper, it would have been perceived that what has been called "Firabûs," "Kannazbûr," and "Piruz," lay midway between Darak and Manjâbarî, and between Nirûn and Debal, but a little nearer to the latter and about north of Debal, while Nirûn lay more to the north-east from Debal; and the place in question, "Firabûs," or whatever it may be, was a town of Mukran, whereas Nirûn was a town of Sind, and they are totally distinct places. The name of this place is written in a variety of ways in the different authors, but in the Masalik wa Mamalik, in Ibn Haukal, and Al-Idrisi, it is خراز - خراز - خراز - خراز - خراز - خراز - خراز, but by what means it is managed to get Kannazbûr, Kannazpur," and "Kinarbûr" out of it, is beyond my comprehension and how the 'n' becomes doubled.

It is clearly stated that Nirun lay on the road from Debal to Mansuriyah, the position of which two places there is no doubt about. Then, that between Debal and Mansuriyah is six days' journey. Thus we can compute by actual measurement within a few miles, to be about one hundred and twenty miles as the crow flies, or about twenty miles, to the day's journey. The Istakhrî, the Masalik wa Mamalik, Ibn Haukal, and Al-I'drisi, all say that Nirun lay between Debal and Mansuriyah, and that Nirun was three days' journey from each. It is likewise stated, that from Armalî (the Hormara of the maps) to Debal is also six days' journey, consequently, the distance is much the same from Debal to Mansuriyah as from Debal to Armalî." This being determined, Ibn Haukal says, that from Debal to this "Kannusbûr is four days' journey ["fourteen days," as in Elliot is an error or a misprint for "four"], consequently, the distance from Debal thereto is one-third less than to
where it separates into two branches, the principal branch flowing
towards Manṣūriyah, and the other north-west-wards as far as Sharūsān
[Sadūsān or Siw-ıstan] when it turns westwards and re-unites with
Armā’il. He then says that from’ Kannazbūr’ to Manjābāri or Manchābāri is
two days’ journey. Al-Idrisī says that Manjābāri or Manchābāri is three days’ journey
from Sharūsān [Siw-ıstan, the modern Siwān], and this we know the exact position of,
and therefore Manjābāri or Manchābāri was the same distance from Siwān as
Nirūn was from Debal and Manṣūriyah. He also says that it is six days’ journey
from Sharūsān or Siw-ıstan to “Firābūz,” the “Kannazbūr” of Ibn Ḥanḵal [I give
the names as mentioned in Elliot and quoted by Cunningham, because the originals
are anything but “Kannazbūr,” “Kinnazbūr,” “Firābūz,” or “Firūz,” as may
be seen above], and that in going from Debal to “Firābūz” the road passes by
Manjābāri. He also says that “Firābūz” belongs to the province of Mukrān, that is,
that it was close to the Sind border. Elliot in his version of Ibn Ḥanḵal, vol. I, pp.
33-34, has “Kabryūn [Kannazbūn]” for this same place, which he also says is “in
Mukrān.”

Cunningham supposes “Manchābāri,” as he calls it, to be Ṭaḥāthah, but as he
identifies” Debal as Lāri-bandar, which were two distinct places and a considerable
distance apart—twelve farvange, or thirty-six miles or more, according to Bū-Riḥān—
we may be permitted to be dubious on the subject; and after identifying Nirūn with
“Haidarābād,” he “would suggest,” that the first of the three names, Pirūz,
Kannasbūr, and Firābūz (which Elliot identifies with “Punjgoor”) all of which
refer to one place, “might possibly be intended for Nirūn, and the other two for
Nirūnkot, as the alterations in the original Arabic characters required for these two
readings are very slight.” I will show how slight they are. Nirūn and Nirūn Kot
are written “Firābūz”-، فیرابوس-، “Kannasbūr”-، کانساسبیر-، Pirūz-، پیروز-، “Punjgoor”-، بینجوور-، and
Manjābāri. All these are very much like each other certainly. A few lines under, he
continues: “comparing Bilādūrī’s [the Balūzī’s extract in Elliot] Kiṣvān with Ibn
Haukal’s Kannasbūr [see also his note to p. 287], and Edrisī’s Firābūz, I think it
probable they may be intended for Punjgūr, as suggested by M. Reinand.”

The position of this many named place with respect to Armā’il the “Hormara”
of the maps, Debal, Manjābāri or Manchābāri on the Mhīrān (from which it was two
days’ journey), the great mouth of that river, and Nirūn, would be some eighteen
miles north-north-east of Jarak, but “Punjgūr” of Elliot, and “Punjgūr” of
Cunningham, in Mukrān, and only three hundred and seventy miles farther west-north-
west, is totally impossible. With regard to Manjābāri or Manchābāri, there is a
place called Manjābān in the maps, close to the Railway on the west bank of the
Indus, just half-way between Kotrā and Siwān, fifty-nine miles from Jarak, and
still a place of some importance, but the distance from Debal would be too great.
See the old ‘Arab map, where Manjābāri or Manchābāri, written without discritical
points, is marked.

To the south of Ḥaidar-ābād, in the plain close to where the Fulālī branch of the
Indus used a few years back to unite with the Gānū, the country for miles round is
covered with broken bricks and the ruined foundations of large buildings. Tradition
says that a large and flourishing city once covered the plain and extended as
far as the range of limestone hills on the extreme northern part of which, some
eighteen miles farther north, Ḥaidar-ābād stands. Hereabouts the site of Nirūn-kot
the main river, and forms after that but one stream. This junction occurs twelve mil [miles] below Mansúriyah. The river then passes on to Nirún, and subsequently unites with the ocean. Mansúriyah is accounted among the dependencies of Sind, like Debal, Nirún, Sharúsán, Chandúr, Baniyah, Kálari, Atri, Basúd, Multán, etc.

"Dor" lies on the bank of the Mihrán which flows west of that city [or town]. It compares with Multán in size. From it Basúd is three days' journey, Atri four days', and Kálari two. The last-named place is on the west bank of the Mihrán, is a well fortified town, and carries on a brisk trade. Near it the Mihrán separates into two branches, the largest branch [i.e., the main branch] flows towards the east as far as the vicinity of Mansúriyah which is on its west bank, while the other runs north-west, then north, and afterwards towards the west. The branches again unite about twelve mil [miles] below Mansúriyah. Kálari is some distance out of the main route, but is much frequented for trading purposes. It is distant from Mansúriyah a long days' journey of forty mil [miles], and from Sharúsán [Síw-istán o Sadúsán] three days' journey. Sharúsán is remarkable for its size, its fountains, and canals, its abundant productions, and its profitable trade. From thence, distant might be sought for. Then again there are the ruins near "Shakhr-púr, of the maps, some thirty miles westwards from Thathah, and the extensive ruins near Bādin, about thirty-three miles west of that again. The ruins at this place are similar to those of Bahman-no or Bahman-ábád, and the city or whatever it was, was probably destroyed at the same time. The ruins near Bādin may be those of Mansúbārī, and those near "Shakhr-púr" may be the remains of Nírún Koč, but more probably of Damralah; but there is no district of Sind less likely to show remains of antiquity than that known as Sháh Bandar.

174 See Bú-Riján's account above, who also mentions two mouths.
175 It is stated in the Tarikh of Háfiz Abrú, which is a comparatively modern work, but held in great estimation, and completed about 829 H. (1425 A.D.), that, "The source of the river Sind is on the skirts of the mountains of Kash-mir [north of] and runs from the western side of those mountains into the territory of Mansúriyah, its course being from north to south, and near the end of its course bends towards the east, and enters the sea of Hind. The river Jamd [the Jhilam] also rises in the mountains of Kash-mir, but on the south side. It runs from north to south, and enters the land of Hind. * * * In the neighbourhood of Multán it unites with the Sind river, which falls into the ocean. The Biáh is a large river, which rises on the east side of the mountains of Kash-mir, flows through the territory of Luháwar [Láhor], and from thence to Uchchh, and falls into the ocean in the country of Kambáyah." The chronicler, no doubt, meant the tract adjacent to Soráth or Sauráshtra, between it and Sind, the river separating the two tracts of country; and he referred to the Hakrá or Wahindah of which the Biáh was still a tributary.
176 Others consider Multán to be dependent on Hind.
177 The word is Ḗr or Ror - Ḗr, it appears written with Ḗ in MSS.
three days' journey, is Manjábarí, a town situated in a depression or hollow, a pleasant place, surrounded with gardens, fountains, and running water. * * * It is two days' journey from Debal.179 * * * Among the places of Hind, touching upon Sind, are Fámhal, كنعان, Sindán, Saimúr, etc." He mentions likewise certain maritime isles, referring, no doubt, to the tracts on the coast, and the Ran, or great marsh, between the mouths of the Mihrán and Ka'chóth.

The Kazwíní, who quotes from a much earlier writer, does not give us very much information respecting the rivers of these parts, but he says, that "The Nahr-i-Mihrán [that is the 'Ab-i-Sind. See ante note 117.] rises in the same mountain region in which the affluents of the Jihún take their rise," and, that "the Nahr-i-Mihrán flows in a general direction of about south-west. After being joined by another Nahr from the eastward, the united rivers flow towards the west [south-westwards], and fall into the sea of Fárs. A branch having separated from the Nahr-i-Mihrán, encircles Mansúriyah, and makes it like unto an island." The territory immediately about Mansúriyah is, of course, meant as shown in the Masálik wo Mamálik map.

In another place, quoting from the Istakhri, already noticed, he says: "The Istakhri states, that the Nahr-i-Mihrán rises at the back of the mountain [range] out of which the affluents of the Jihún issue. It then appears near Multán, on the boundary of Samandúr [مسجدادر], and, having passed under [below] Mansúriyah, unites with the sea to the east of Debal."

In another place the Kazwíní mentions Nudiyah or Núdiah, which he says, "is an extensive tract of country in Sind, containing numerous people, who are of different tribes. They possess considerable wealth; and most of the cultivation is rice, [showing that water was not scarce]. * * * They also have a fine breed of camels, the like of which is not found elsewhere. They are taken into Khurásán and Fárs to breed from."

Another geographical work, the Murásíd-ul-Ittik, plainly states, that "Debal is a well-known town [or city] on the shore of the sea of Hind, and a place of considerable trade, near which place, likewise, the rivers of Láhor and Multán, empty themselves into the ocean."

We may now gather further information respecting these rivers of Sind from the proceedings of the 'Arab conquerors, but they double up

179 The name of this place is generally written Díbal by the old geographers and historians, but, as the name is evidently derived from Debal or Dewal—an idol-temple—the mode of spelling given above is the more correct.

180 I leave it as it is written. This is the word of which Elliot makes "Kam-báya."
events, so to say, considerably. Aḥmad, son of Yahyā-al-Balāzarī, author of the Futūḥ-ul-Baladān, previously quoted, is the earliest historian. He brings down events to the year 227 H. (842 A. D.). He does not appear to have actually visited Sind; for his work is a general history of the conquests of the 'Arabs, but he quotes from persons who had been, and had served, in Sind; and he is repeatedly quoted by Al-Mas'ūdī and Ibn Ḥaukal, both of whom afterwards visited it, and by others. He died in 279 H. (892-93 A. D.). It is strange that there is so little mention made in Ṭabarī’s chronicle respecting the conquest of Sind. All he says is, that, “during the Khilāfat of Walīd, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, many victories were gained; and, among other parts, a portion of the territory of Hindūstān was conquered by Muḥammaḍ-i-Abū-l-Ḵāṣim,” and this is all. Sind he included in Hind or Hindūstān.

The Balāzarī says, that Muḥammad, son of Ḫāṣim, advanced into Sind from Sijis-stān by way of Arma’il,181 which was taken, and reached Debal or Dewal, the sea-port of Sind, and the nearest point from thence [Arma’il] on the sea-coast of Sind. Here there was a budh, the name given by the 'Arab writers to a Budhist temple where idols are worshipped, and which the name of the place was derived from. From this budh a large red flag waved from a tall staff, which was struck by one of the balistās of the 'Arabs, and knocked down. The place was taken by assault, after which Muḥammad moved to Nīrūn or Nīrūn Koṭ,183 which

181 The Ghach Nāmah, however, may be considered equally early, as it contains the accounts related by actual actors in the events recounted in it, handed down from sire to son. See note 185.

182 This well known place in the history of Mukrān and Kirmān, Elliot, in his "Indian Historians" invariably miscalls "Armaib," just as he miscalls Ḫandābil "Kandābel," and "Kandābel," in most places, but "Kandāil" in a few others. It is, apparently, what Masen calls "Hīmar.“

183 The Ghach Nāmah says, that, after possessing himself of Debal, he despatched his balistās on boats which went up the river which they call the Sind Sāgar [that is, the main branch of the Ḫakrā or Mihrān of Sind] towards Nīrūn Koṭ, but went himself with his army towards Sisam, and when he reached it, he received a reply to his announcement of the capture of Debal from Amīr Ḥājjāj which was dated Bajab, 98 H. (May, 712 A. D.).

An 'Arab who was present, quoted in the Ghach Nāmah, states that Muḥammad proceeded from Debal to the Ḥiṣār of Nīrūn, which was twenty-five farsangs (seventy-five miles) distant, and that on the seventh day he reached the neighbourhood of Nīrūn, which was a grassy plain which they [the people] called Balā-hār in the tract or district [samān] of Ro’f or Rūf. At that period, the Ab-i-Sihūn and the Mihrān, had not reached it; and the troops became much distressed for water, and began to complain. Muḥammad having offered up prayers to Heaven for rain, it fell, and all the water-courses and reservoirs in that vicinity were filled.
capitulated. Proceeding north-eastwards, he came to a river which
flows on this [the west] side of the Mihrán,\(^{134}\) which he crossed, and then
took a place called Sahbán [Sīsam of the Chach Nāmah, and Salīm of
others], after which he moved to the banks of the Mihrán. His object
was to attack Bahman-ābād, the place of greatest importance in that part
of Sind; but, before doing so, he had to detach part of his force to recover
possession of Siw-īstān, which had previously been surrendered to him,
but which had now revolted, the exact situation of which, with Bahman-
ābād, and Aror, or Alor, there is no possible doubt about. His detaching
this force, as he did, clearly shows, that, at that time, the Mihrán of
Sind or Great Mihrán, as some of the old writers call it, did not flow
even so near to Siw-īstān or Sadūsān, as it did when the Masālik wa
Mamālik and Ibn Ḥaukal's work were written, some two hundred years
after these events; for, according to the maps in those works, the river
appears to have still passed some distance east of it.\(^{135}\) Had this not

When Rāʾe Dahir heard of the fall of Debal, he made light of it, saying that it
was “a place merely inhabited by low people and traders; and he directed his son,
Jai Sinha, to leave a Samāni [Priest] there in charge, and repair himself to old
Bahman-ābād.” Nirūn was surrendered to the 'Arabs by the Samāni in ques-
tion.

The Chach Nāmah states, that, “in the night following the fall of Debal, one
Jāhīn, by name, got his women over the walls, and on arriving outside, found horses
and a dromedary waiting them, which had been sent by Rāʾe Dahir, and mounting at
once, pushed on until they reached a cutting or small channel of the Mihrán, which
they call Gār Mitti [Gār Mitti] on the east side of the Mihrán. From thence Jāhīn
sent an elephant to convey the news of the fall of Debal to Dahir, who enquired
what village Jāhīn had reached; and he was told that “he had reached “Gār
Mitti,” that is to say “Kul-i-Shor” [village of Misfortune or Calamity’].

\(^{134}\) This may refer to the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, which, near
Kālarf, some forty miles above Bahman-ābād, turned to the north-westwards, and
then south again, but more probably refers to one of the old channels from the
Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, which flowed between Siw-īstān and Bahman-ābād, noticed
further on. According to the Chach Nāmah this river was called the Kunbh.

\(^{135}\) After halting some days at Nirūn and suffering for want of forage, that place
was given up, and Mūhammad, leaving a Shāhnāh or Commissioner there, moved
towards “the fortress of Siw-īstān, situated to the west of the Mihrán on the sum-
mit of a hill.” He determined that he would reduce this stronghold first, and
having set his heart at rest respecting that part of Sind, on his return from thence
he would make preparations for crossing that river, and attacking Dahir. Elliot
has “re-cross” but as he had not crossed it, he needed not to re-cross.

I may mention here, that the Chach Nāmah, which is taken from 'Arabic annals,
containing the statements of persons who were present along with the Amīr, 'Imād-
ud-Dīn, Mūhammad, son of Kāsim, and who had related the events to their
descendants some years only after they occurred, was translated in the reign of
Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kābā-jah, nearly four hundred years after the Balgharī wrote
his work, just one hundred and thirty-five years after the invasion of Sind. The
been the case, and had no other great obstacles existed, which there did, he might have crossed and taken his whole force to Bahman-ábad from original was probably written before the Balágarí wrote. It states that Muḥammad proceeded from Nírún stage by stage until he reached a place called Manj or Moj [ٰجٰ], which others call Bharaj or Bahraj [ٰجٰ], the same place as is mentioned at page 215, and which also appears in the old 'Arab map, thirty farssangs from Nírún, and that there was stationed a Malik on the part of Bajhrá, son of Chandar, Rá'e Dáhir’s uncle. Then the account passes at once to Siw-istán, the people of which—those interested in trade and in saving themselves only—were desirous of submitting, but Bajhrá would not listen to it, and the fighting men were ready to defend it. * * * “Muḥammad, son of Kásim, took up a position before the Registán [sandy tract or desert] gate to attack the place, because there was no other ground; for the waters of the rainy season had risen, and, from, or on, the north side, the ji‘e Sind—the Ab-i-Sind—did not, in former times, flow.” That is to say, at the time the narrator was referring to. There is not a word about any “selected ground,” nor any “Sindhu Rawal.” Elliot mistook أوال for أوال. His version of the Qalah Námah is very imperfect, or carelessly done; and to understand Muḥammad’s movements in Sind, and the events which happened at that time, the Qalah Námah requires to be properly and faithfully translated.

These operations against Siw-istán must have been carried on in December, 711, if not in January, 712 A. D., but all the dates are more or less confused.

After some days’ investment, and the failure of an intended night attack upon the ‘Arab camp before the Registán Gate, Bajhrá, under cover of the night, fled by the Koh-i-Shamál [North Hill] Gate, crossed the river [not the Mihrán: that was a long way off], and did not tarry until he had reached the boundary of Búdiyâh, east of the river. At that time, the ruler of the Búdiyâh territory was Kákah, son of Kotal, whose residence was the fort of Sisam on the bank of the Kunbh.”

From this it would seem that there were two places called Sisam, or there is a mistake in one of the two names, which is most probable, because Sisam, the Sahbán and Sílám of others, is the place which the ‘Arabs reached from Nírún on their way to Siw-istán.

After the flight of their governor, the people of Siw-istán were allowed to surrender.

Elliot says that “Seisan, a village on Lake Manchur may be the place here called Sisam.” There is a place, so called, in some comparatively recent maps, but such is not to be found in the “Indian Atlas” map from the most recent surveys. Sisam, however, as the context shows, was a considerable distance to the eastward of Lake Manchhar.

Mír Má‘gún of Bakhar, one of the historians of Sind, makes a statement worthy of record here. He says, that the tract of country west of the Mihrán [as it flowed in his day] dependent on Siw-istán, is called by the Fuṣkáhá-i-İslám [Doctors of Law and Divinity] by the name of U‘shár, because the Jinna people أشَار [sic in MS., possibly meant for Qhinnah] submitted of their own accord to the Musalmáns, on which account, according to the Şará‘, the legal tribute they were liable to, was one-tenth; whereas, if they had been reduced by force of arms, the legal tribute would have been one-fifth.
Siw-istán, instead of having to return to Nirún for that purpose. He found it impossible, however, to get to Bahman-ábád from thence for various reasons, as related in the Chaḥ Námáh; for he had previously despatched his battering rams up the Sind Ságar towards Nirún, on the west side of the estuary of which, at the distance of about six miles, Bahman-ábád was situated, as stated by the Balázari, who subsequently visited it. When we see the vast changes which a single year brings about in the courses of the rivers of these parts, we can form some idea of the changes which must have occurred in two hundred; although there are some who expect to find on its banks, and actually presume to identify, places mentioned above two thousand two hundred years ago, and suppose the rivers to be running in the same channels, and in much the same positions, as the Greeks found them.

The Balázari takes us, at once to Sadúsán or Siw-istán, and states that it capitulated, which so far is correct; but another work, the Jámi'-ut-Táwaríkh, says, that, “the fortress of Salím” was first captured, and then Sadúsán or Siw-istán surrendered. Its affairs having been disposed of, and an 'Arab officer left in charge of it, Muḥammad, son of Kásim, prepared to cross to the east side of the Mihrán by a bridge of boats which he had caused to be constructed. But the writers do not mention the

186 The Sahbán of the Balázari, and Sísam of the Chaḥ Námáh.
187 Some considerable time elapsed before Muḥammad could cross the Mihrán. After the capitulation of Siw-istán, he, leaving a Commissioner there with a small force, moved with his army against Sísam, and reached a place called Nidháhah in another MS. نیدهان—Nidhán] on the banks of the Kunbh. The chief priests of the Budhá there, who traced their lineage from Ikránáh or Akránáh on the Gang, which they call A-dwand Bihár (See “Ṭabaḵát-i-Náširi” page 491, and Appendix D, page xxvi) incited the Ránás of the Jaṭs of Búdhiyah, and Kákah, son of Kotal, to make a night attack on the 'Arab camp. They made the attempt, Kákah sending a thousand men with them, but it did not succeed; and, soon after, Kákah submitted, and subsequently, betrayed his countrymen. After this affair Muḥammad appeared before the fort of Sísam and invested it for two days; the infidels were defeated, and the fort captured. Bajhrá, son of Chandar, and uncle's son of Dáhir, with Ráwats and Thákurs, who were his dependents and followers, there fell, along with Bajhrá; while others fled to Upper-most Búdhiyah بودهیه بالا تر [ between Sálúj and Kándálí.

About this time Muḥammad received orders from Amír Ḥajjáj, saying, that it was necessary for him to leave other places alone, and to return to Nirún, and make arrangements for crossing the Mihrán and reducing Dáhir, and when that was effected, the strongholds and provinces would naturally fall into his hands. Muḥammad accordingly returned towards Nirún, and, on his way, happened to halt “near the fortress situated on the hill (koh) of Nirún, adjacent to which was a lake,” the praises of which he gives in glowing terms. Without doubt, this lake is that called the Sonhari Dhanḍ, and the ruins of the fort are on the north side of it. The Jámi,
difficulties he had to encounter, the delay in obtaining boats, the want

damachi, one of the Sammah rulers, is said to have subsequently occupied it. See ante note 173. Muhammad gave Amir Hajjaj an account of his recent proceedings, and that he "had reached the bank (tab) of the Ab-i-Sihun, which they call Mihran, at a halting place which lay in the tract of country around Budhiyah, and opposite to the fortress of Lagraur or Baghrur [نفرور], which is situated on that river [on the east bank] and belonging to the territory of Dahir, and the very strong fort of Sisam; but, in accord with his commands, he had returned, and awaited further instructions, which he hoped to get soon," as the place he was then writing from, he says, was "near to the Dar-ul-Khilafat." He probably meant nearer than Siwistan was.

With all this before him, Elliot, in his work, confounds Baghrur with Nirun, while it is certain that the place in question lay east of the Mihran, and Nirun on the west, as is plainly stated. See vol. 1, page 163, where he has, "opposite the fort of Baghrur (Nirun), on the Mihran. • • • This fort is in the country [district is meant which lay east] of Alor. • • • The forts of Siwistan and Sisam have been already taken," etc.

His accounts of Muhammad's movements preparatory to crossing the Mihran, in his extract from the Ohch Nama, is hopelessly confused. He says (page 166): "Muhammad Kasim [this is how he writes the father's and son's names together as those of one person] had determined to cross, and was apprehensive lest Rai Dahir might come to the banks of the Mihran with his army, and oppose the transit. He ordered Sulaiman bin Tihan Karashi to advance boldly [here a sad mistake has been made, and the words "towards Baghrur" have been rendered "to advance boldly" mistaking for Pride," haughtiness," etc.] with his troops against the fort in order that Fuifi, son of Dahir, should not be able to join his father [In a note he says: MS. A. is faulty, but seems to say "the fort of Aror." He was a long way from Aror]. Sulaiman accordingly went with 600 horsemen. He ordered also the son of 'Atiya Tiffi to watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance [this refers to a place, not a man. See his work page 362], in order to cover Gandava [sic.] and he ordered the Samani, who was chief of Nirun to keep open the road for the supply of food and fodder to the camp. Mus'ab bin 'Abu-r-rahman was ordered to command the advance guard, and keep the roads clear. [This Mus'ab, son of 'Abd-ur-Rahman, of Jaf, was a kinsman of Muhammad]. He placed Namuna bin Hanzala Kalafi in the centre with a thousand men; and ordered Zakwan bin Ulwana al Bikri with 1,500 men to attend on Moka Bissaya, chief of Bait [sic.]; and the Bheji [Bhati?] Thakura and the Jats of Ghazvi, who had made submission and entered the 'Arab service, were told to remain at Sagara and the island of Bait."

We all know where Gandaba is, also that bet, not "Bait," means an island, or rather, the delta of a river, surrounded by channels, which this was—the delta of the Mihran; and what he has mistaken for "Ghazvi" along with his "Gandava," is the word—a western, applied to the Jats on the western side of the Mihran, as sharfi Jats are applied subsequently to those on the east side. We also know for certain that Nirun lay between Debal and Manzariyah, but nearer to the former, and that Sagara was two days' journey from Debal on the east. Elliot likewise tells us, as does Cunningham, who follows him, that "Gandaba was always called Kandab in those days." See note 150, page 217.
of food and forage, and the consequent loss of men and horses from

If any one will take the trouble to look at a map, it will be seen at a glance what nonsense this is. Gandábah is no less than four degrees of latitude farther north than where these operations took place, namely, in the lower part of the delta of the Mihrán, in the southern part of the present Ḥaidar-ábdád Collectorate of Sind, and between the present town of Jarak and the Puránah Ḋhorah, and farther north. The bet, or delta, at that period, did not extend farther south than the Pír Pätho hills and the present Wángah Bázár, if so far south. The object of these movements of Muḥammad, son of Ḫásim, is sufficiently manifest. It was to pass the western branch of the Mihrán just above its junction with the main stream again, as indicated in the “Masálik wa Mamálık” map. We must not judge of the lower part of the delta by what it is now, but by what it was some twelve centuries since. See note 163, page 221.

The account given in the Chach Námah respecting Muḥammad’s movements after his return from Siw-istán by command of Amír Ḥajjáj, contains so many important geographical details, that I must give a short abstract of them here.

At the period in question, one of Rá’e Dáhir’s “Maliks,” as they are styled in the Chach Námah, held a Ḥisár or fort in the Bet or delta, on the Mihrán, and apparently just below the junction of that branch of the river, which, about forty miles above Bahman-ábdád separated into two, and re-united with the eastern branch again some distance to the south of that city, and towards the sea coast. This Bet, it is stated, was situated on the east side of the Mihrán on the margin of a stream [a minor channel], an island formed by the Kungh river. The Malik was called Ráśil, son of Sámí. Muḥammad was told that, if he could win him to his side, the difficulty of crossing the Mihrán would be got over.

Amír Ḥajjáj, in his letters to Muḥammad, containing excellent advice for his guidance, impressed upon him to choose a place where a strong bridge of boats might be constructed, and where the crossing place was flat and even. It was after this that Nirún was surrendered to him by its governor, who was continued in charge of it. In the mean time, some of the petty chiefs of the Bsháti tribe, and others, began to submit to him; and, at Nirún, an inhabitant of Debal, who was a native of Başrah, brought to him a Samání or Priest, who, he said, could facilitate his crossing the Ab-i-Sind [sic. not Mihrán]. In Muḥarram, 93 H. (October, 711 A. D.), Muḥammad moved from his position—the last mentioned was the delightful place on the koh-i-Nirún, near the lake before referred to—and arrived near the fortress of Ash-bahár (البهار), a place of great strength, with a determined garrison, the town, which lay on the west side, having been brought within the area of the defences by surrounding it with a ditch. It was, however, reduced and a Sháhínah or Commissioner left there. From thence Muḥammad moved to the west bank of the Ab-i-Mihrán, on the verge of the boundary of Ráwar. This appears to have been one of the most important places in lower Sind, which Chach had founded on the east bank of the great river, and near it was Jai-púr, which is constantly mentioned along with it. In the mean time, a chief named Mókah, the Bsháyah, submitted to the ‘Arab leader. He was brother of Ráśil, the then chief of the Bet, above referred to, and between the two brothers and their father, who sided with Ráśil, great hostility existed. For this the Bet was conferred upon him (nominally), and he was directed to collect boats for the proposed bridge.

Muḥammad wrote an account of these matters to Ḥajjáj, and, soon after, moved
disease, and the months that elapsed in the mean time. Having effected
to that part of the west bank of the Mihrán which was opposite to Rawar [and] Jai-pûr, and Mokah was sent to select a place for crossing. But Hajjáj required "a map on paper, with the measures of the depth and breadth of the river, and the state of the banks for four farangas up and down stream at the place proposed." During this period, Dâhir's people had surprised Sîw-îstán, which had been left with but a few of his own 'Arab troops, and Muhammad had to detach 4,000 horse thither, and secure it. This is what the Balâqarî refers to in the text above, as though that was the first capture of Sîw-îstán.

On hearing of Mokah's proceedings, and of his going over to the Musalmáns, Dâhir now sent his son Jai Se'há to the Bet, to prevent the 'Arabs crossing and holding it. Jai Se'há came [down stream] with his troops, accompanied by boats, by the Kotkah branch, to the banks of the Mihrán, to the fort of the Bet opposite to Muhammad's position.

More than a month passed, want of food for themselves and their horses stared the 'Arabs in the face ; the horses fell ill, and such was the scarcity, that those which became affected were killed and eaten. Boats were not forthcoming; and suspicion arose that Mokah was deceiving them. Hajjáj became angry at the delay, and commanded that boats should be procured by whatever means attainable, and sent from his own stables 2,000 horses. In the mean time, provisions and forage began to be brought in, but great sickness [scurvy] prevailed, so much so, that Hajjáj had to send vinegar, which was done by repeatedly saturating carded cotton with vinegar and drying the cotton each time, and when sufficiently saturated, it was made into bales for facility of transmission. The cotton was to be soaked in water, and the vinegar solution given to the sick. Hajjáj further directed that the passage should be made at the Bet, wherever the Mihrán was narrowest and the banks easy; and, if there was an island or bank in the channel, it was to be made use of, and the crossing effected by degrees, constructing a bridge of boats for the purpose.

Muhammad now broke up his camp, and marched into the district [or tract—sâmîn] of Ságarah, belonging to the district of Jhim, and directed the boats to be brought, and planks as many as might be required. In the interim, the Wazír of Bâ'î Dâhir endeavoured to rouse him from his carelessness and neglect of his affairs; and Muhammad, not desiring to be obstructed in the construction of the bridge of boats, and in crossing, detached 600 horse towards the fort of Baghrâr (on the opposite side) to attract the attention of Fûfî, Dâhir's son, there stationed; also 600 horse on the road to Akham ["Aghâmanno" of Hughes, and "Aguoomanno" of maps, on the Purânah Dhorah, 25 miles S. E. of Haidarábád] to watch the territory of Kandarárah [-كندارهك]. This is Elliot's "Gandava." See also pages 166 and 362 of his work; while the Samâni in charge of Nirân (who had previously submitted to the 'Arabs) was to take care that food and forage reached the army. Another 1,000 men were pushed forward to guard the road, while another body of 1,500 more, and Mokah, the Bîşyâh, Malik of the Bet, and the Thâkurs of the Bhatís and the western Jats [this is the word read as "Ghant" by Elliot. See pages 167 and 507 of his work], and the chief men of Ságarah, who have submitted, were stationed in the jastrah of Bet." The author, probably, was not aware that both words are of the same signification, one being Persian and the other Hindî.

As soon as Muhammad reached the Jhim passage, he went to examine where the ford was narrowest and least obstructed, and the banks suitable; and he came to a
the passage at last, without much opposition on the part of Dáhir, son of

stand opposite to the jastrah in question. Having satisfied himself, boats were brought, stones laid out [to moor them], planks laid on, joined, and fastened together. Dáhir being aware of Mokah's doings, had sent his son, Jai Senha (as before noticed) to hold the Bet, and he was directed not to trust the Bisháyah, Sarband, who might be in communication with Mokah. On this, Rásil, the latter's brother, and his enemy, went to Dáhir, and asked to be permitted to defend the Bet, as he and his father had always been hostile to Mokah; and he was sent, and directed to prevent the 'Arab army crossing, and the chief men of the Bet were commanded to obey his orders. On this, Jai Senha returned to his former post at Ráwar. Rásil, accordingly, effectually prevented the bridge from being finished and secured to the east bank; so Muḥammad had to have as many boats prepared and joined together on the west bank as would span the Mihrán, troops were placed on it, and it was pushed off. It so happened that (swinging round) it touched the opposite bank exactly at the point where the enemy were collected to oppose the passage, and the infantry on the bridge of boats, pouring a volley of arrows among them, leaped on shore, formed up, and dispersed them; while their comrades secured the bridge head with pegs and stakes, and then they pursued the enemy to the very gate of Jihim. One of the fugitives, however, managed to get away, and, by dawn the next morning, reached Dáhir's camp, and told the bad news. [See Elliot, page 107].

Then Muḥammad addressed his army, and told them of the hardships and dangers they were about to encounter, and that if any one wished to return, now was the time, but only three persons did, their reasons being deemed sufficient; and the bridge being now quite finished, body after body of the troops crossed, losing but one man, who fell from the bridge and was drowned. As soon as the passage had been effected, the army was marshalled in battle array, and moved forward until near the fort of the Bet, using great caution (as enjoined by Ḥajjáj), and intrenching the camp. From thence Muḥammad advanced towards Ráwar until he reached Jai-púr, and between it and Ráwar was an inlet or creek, and at the passage across, Dáhir, who had reached the east side of the creek with his forces, had sent a party to reconnoitre; and Jai Senha was directed to oppose the further advance of the 'Arabs, but he was overthrown with great slaughter.

At this juncture, Rásil, brother of Mokah, who had prevented the 'Arabs from completing their bridge and securing it to the east bank, offered to submit; but, in order "to preserve his honour," he asked the 'Arab leader to send a party of troops and capture him at a certain place, at the jā-e [canal or water-course] of Barťarí or Bāsirtí, five farsáhs from the fort of Kanbh, where he would be, under pretence of going to Dáhir's presence. This was done, and then Mokah, his brother, was installed in the Bet.

Muḥammad was advised by both brothers, to move from where he then was to a place called Nárki or Nárání (نارین); for Dáhir was at Ḫajjáj [a strange Sindi word with two 'Arabic ق]; and, on well examining the country around, it was found that a large lake [long, narrow lake or ghand], which was impassable (on foot), intervened. Rásil said it must be crossed; and he obtained boats, and the passage was effected, but still another inlet, ghand, or side channel, intervened between. Rásil advised that the force should move another march farther up stream, towards Jai-púr on the canal of Dadahah Wáh, which is a village belonging to Ráwar, and
Chach, the ruler of the country, whose capital was Aror, he encountered Rā'ē Dāhir in battle, at the head of a considerable army with numerous war elephants, who, towards the close of the day, was completely overthrown, and killed in the engagement. Muḥammad, after this success, moved towards old Bahman-ābād, which was two farsangs from where Manṣūriyah was afterwards built, its subsequent site at the time being a jangal. The great mound, styled "Thool [Tall] Depur Ghangra" of the large one inch scale map, six miles north-east of Bahman-ābād is doubtless its site. At Bahman-ābād the remains of Rā'ē there halt, as Muḥammad would then be parallel with Dāhir's position, and from it, would be able to act either in front or rear of it, and on Dāhir's baggage. He did so, and came to the canal of Dadahah Wāh, on which Dāhir moved towards Rawar; and having there deposited his servants and baggage, he came and took up a position where, between him and the 'Arab forces, only a farsang distance intervened. Muḥammad, on this, moved nearer towards Dāhir's position until he had reached within half that distance from him. Fighting had gone on for three days, until, on the fourth, Dāhir himself appeared in the field, and a severe conflict took place. Muḥammad had detached 6,000 of his troops in advance, with directions to cross the channel, which on that day separated the two armies; but, finding that they were likely to be hard pressed, through the enemy having got an inkling of the movement, he moved to their support with the remainder of his forces. Dāhir had determined on making a supreme effort, and did so. He had concentrated all his available forces, and the different tribes of Sind, including the shankī Jāṭs—the Jāṭs east of the Mihrān—besides his own troops, were posted in the rear in support. All was of no avail: the infidels were driven back with great loss; and the Musalmāns, that night, remained on the field, in the position they had gained. This was the 9th of Ramazān, 93 H. (19th June, 712 A.D.). On the following day, the 10th, Muḥammad harangued and exhorted his troops [there was no "khuṭba," to read. See Elliot, page 169]; the Arabs made a general attack upon Dāhir and his forces; and he was finally killed near the fort of Rawar, between the Mihrān river and the canal of Dadahah Wāh, in endeavouring to reach that fortress, and his troops were overthrown with great slaughter, and pursued to the gates of that place. Jai Seṭha, son of Dāhir, and Rānī Bāī, Dāhir's sister, whom the latter had married, entered the fort of Rawar, and there shut themselves up; but Jai Seṭha was for sallying forth, and again fighting the enemy while life lasted. He was dissuaded from doing so, and advised by the Wazīr of Dāhir, to retire to the hisār of Bahman-ābād, where he would be able to rally the forces of the country, and be able to make a stand against the Musalmāns with more chance of success. He did so; and Rānī Bāī, with some of Dāhir's Maliks along with her, remained in the fort of Rawar resolved to defend it. It was invested, and the walls breached, and finally surrendered; but, before this was done, Rānī Bāī had ascended a funeral pyre, and joined her husband and brother.

From this it will be seen, that a considerable time elapsed after the 'Arabs entered Sind before these events came to pass; and, what is surprising, is, that these operations went on in the height of the hot season, when, at the present time, the rivers are in flood, and the country inundated, and yet no remark is made on the subject.

183 A little over six miles. See note 105.
Dahir's forces had rallied; and in the operations which ensued before that place fell, 26,000 men were slain on the part of the defenders. 189

189 Mir Ma'sum here is quite at variance with the historians who wrote several centuries before him, and one of whom wrote not much more than a century after the events he records. Mir Ma'sum is brief, doubles up events, and thereby confuses them. He makes Muhammad, son of Kasim, after the fall of Siw-istán and Salim, reject the advice given him to attack Bahman-abad first, and makes him march direct from Siw-istán to Alor or Aror, which he did not do. He says he crossed "the river" to the mauza' of Tahl-ti—پنچھی کمند—which, in two other copies of his work, is written نکوری and نکوری—three or four kuroh from Siw-istán. The first name, however, is correct. "The river" here cannot refer to "the Mihrán of Sind" (nor even to the branch which flowed towards it from Kalari), which passed upwards of forty miles farther east at the period in question, in which direction Kalari lay, but to what is called the Kumbh in the Ghach Nâmah. There is still a mauza' called Tahl-ti about seven miles north of Siw-istán or modern Siwán, on the east side of the river which we call the "Western Nâra," whose channel, in former times, was, no doubt, a branch of the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind; and at that period, it may have been known as the Kumbh or Kuhb, or river of the Kumbh or Kuhb.

These words کم، کماد, کماد, کماد, کماد, کماد (or کماد) signify, 'a water-pot,' or 'vessel,' in Sanskrit; and whether we can connect those meanings with the Lake Manchhar which, in its centre, is somewhat in the form of a pot or water vessel, being very deep, with steep, rocky sides, is rather doubtful, but the idea crossed my mind. The words cannot be intended for the Sanskrit word for a spring etc., for that is سکری—kunq. The 'Arab writers do not allude in the slightest degree to this at present great lake, which seems hardly to have existed as a lake in those days. Perhaps at the period in question only the deep portion contained water, and hence its similarity to a gigantic kunh.

With respect to Tahl-ti, I do not presume to say that the present mauza'—the "Tatl" and "Tulsee" of the maps—is the identical place referred to by Mir Ma'sum, for a thousand changes may have occurred since that time. I merely mention the fact of such a place existing under that name in the exact locality mentioned, and where also is a Tahl-ti ghând or lake. That Muhammad first reduced Bahman-âbâd, and then moved to Aror, there is no doubt whatever. Mir Ma'sum says, that Râ'ee Dahir, finding that Muhammad had crossed to Tahl-ti, despatched a force to oppose his advance to the kol-i-âb or lake of گلکری—Kingri—or گلکری—Kingri—(about twenty miles west of the ruins of Aror), upon which, the 'Arab commander marched on نیشان—Râfiân—(in other copies of the original نیشان and ریان). There is a Râfi Dero ferr south-west of Kingri, and detached part of his troops to encounter Râ'ee Dahir's forces, and overthrew them. This lake is said, in Mir Ma'sum's work, to have been crossed by the 'Arab army by means of one boat, which took three men at a time, which, of course, is absurd.

After this, according to the same writer, Muhammad moved with his whole force against Aror; and, in an engagement, which took place on the 10th Ramazân, 93 H., near that city, Dahir was defeated and slain.

From this it will be noticed that he leaves out nearly every thing that occurred at Bahman-âbâd during six months, and all the events which took place on the banks of the Mihrán before that, including Dahir's death, and has transferred them to Aror instead; and, consequently, has shown, that, for the early history of Sind, he is not
Muhammad, leaving a governor there, moved towards Aror and Baghrûr, 

As soon as Jai Sehâ, son of Dâhir, reached Bahman-âbâd, he endeavoured to rouse his brother and kinsmen to oppose the invaders with energy, but without result: there was no combined effort made. Accordingly, he despatched letters to his brother Fâlî, at the capital, Aror; to Qach, son of Daraiyah, Dahir's nephew, who held Bâbiyâh [the Fâbiyâh of Elliot before, but, now he makes it Bhattiyâ although there is no 'h' in it] on the south side of the river Bâth [which was subsequently held by Kakah, son of Chandar, Dahir's uncle, according to the same authority]; and to Dahol or Dahû, another son of Chandar, who held Nûdiyâh and Kâi-kânân [the "Kîkân" of the Bâlärât—tracts west of the A'b-i-Sind]. Muhammad, son of Kâsim, on the other hand, after the death of Dâhir, and capture of Râwar, as before related, moved towards Bahman-âbâd, between which two places were two fortified towns Bahûr and Dâhiyâh. The first offered obstinate resistance, and was only captured after two months' investment, and the latter nearly as long, but without much opposition. The people, at last, finding they could not hold out, despatched their families thence by the bridge over the Manhal [branch of the river]; but, on the Mussalmâns becoming aware of it next day, they were pursued, and a great number slaughtered. Such as escaped made their way towards Hindû-stân by the Râmâl territory [the tracts inhabited by the Bhatti tribe], and the regiâtân, or sandy desert [evidently towards Jâsal-mir, the feeders of the Hakrâ from the direction of Poh-karn, at that period, having ceased to flow], towards the territory of Sico? There is a "Sero," eighty-one miles above Bahman-âbâd, east of Sayyidah] of which Diw Râ [or Râj, as in Elliot] was ruler. He was the uncle's son of Râ's Dâhir [and, consequently, must have been son of Chandar].

Dâhiyâh having been given up, Muhammad located there Nûbah, son of Dâhârân, son of Dâhiyâh, and charged him with the care and superintendence of boats [it appears to have been on the Purânah Dhorah branch of the Mîhrân of Sind] along the banks from that place to Dadahâh-Tiyâh [possibly Wadahâh-Tiyâh], which was a farasang [three miles] from Bahman-âbâd. [See Elliot, page 176.] Another march from Dâhiyâh brought the Arab forces to the banks of the Jalwâlî Nahr [canal or minor channel] on the east side of Bahman-âbâd [which Elliot's editor very wisely supposed was the "Fâlalâii," which is only thirty-three miles south-west of Bahman-âbâd] and there they took up their position.

Bellasis, in his interesting account of the ruins of Bahman-âbâd, which he discovered, appears even to have found what we may well suppose was the site of the Arab camp during the investment. He says: "On my last visit to Bahman-âbâd, I made inquiry of an old cultivator if he had ever seen any of the round solid balls of pottery mentioned in my first paper. 'Sâhib,' rejoined the old man, 'come to the Top Kåshâh [arsenal], and I will show you plenty.' I followed his guidance, and he led me outside the city walls, and across the dry bed of the river, and there, in the plain, sure enough were many of these pottery balls. I could distinctly see the square heaps in which they had been piled in regular rows like round shot; and, scattered over the plain, numbers of single ones were to be found, slightly embedded in the soil. They were of various sizes, some as large as 12-pounders, others about the size of billiard balls. The old man accounted for there being so many scattered about the plain by saying that in ancient times a great battle had
been fought on that spot. The smaller balls might have been used in a sling, but the larger ones would have required some engine like the balista to propel them."

To return, however, to the subject of Jai Senha. Not liking apparently, to be shut up in Bahman-ábád, he had retired to Cháni-sar [Tíbáb-i-Cháni-sar. See farther on], but he had previously selected and appointed sixteen of the chiefs of the place to the charge of the gates, to guard them as leaders of the troops. Four gates are mentioned, but the names of five are given; namely, the Jarijári, which may be that of the citadel, as the others are numbered, and 1. Bhárand or Bhérind; 2. Sátíyá; 3. Manorah; and 4. Sálah. On Monday, 1st Rajab, 93 H. (April, 711 A. D.). [This cannot be correct, as Dáhir was only killed two months and ten days after that date], Muhammad intrenched his position, and prepared to attack Bahman-ábád, which was said to contain 40,000 fighting men. Fighting went on continually, until six months had passed away [the hot season included], and Muḥammad and his forces were become dispirited and almost hopeless of taking the place. At length on Monday, the end of Zí-Hijjah, the last month of the year [17th October, 711 A. D.] news of Jai Senha was obtained. He had returned from the country of Ramal, which is called Bhátiá, and had begun to infest the roads and harass the Musalmáns by causing a scarcity of forage and food. On this Muḥammad had to send to Mokah, the Bisháyah, to ask him what had best be done, and he advised the despatch of forces to drive Jai Senha away. This was done, and Jai Senha, who appears unable to relieve Bahman-ábád, sent his family and effects by way of the registán, or sandy desert, [the tributaries of the Hákra coming from the eastward, from the side of Poh-karn and Jasal-mír, as elsewhere stated, had at this time ceased to be perennial streams and did not reach it, hence that part had become a desert,] to a place called Jangán, and to 'Urá or 'Orah, and Kábá [Khábo?] in the territory of Chitrúr; and, at last, retired into the territory of Kásch-mír.

Jai Senha having retired to Chitrúr, no hope remained of being relieved and the investment raised; and the principal merchants and traders,—who always fear for their money bags, and their own interests,—under the plea, that without leaders to lead the troops, those who could have done so, having been killed, it was impossible to hold on longer, deputed four of their number to enter into communication with the Musalmán commander. The up-shot was, it was agreed, that a sally should be made from the Jarijári gate by partizans of theirs, under pretence of fighting, and that, on the appearance of the 'Arabs they should take to flight, and leave the gate open for them to enter; and thus was it treacherously betrayed to them. As soon as they got inside, and appeared upon the walls, the garrison (or as many as could) endeavoured to escape by the eastern gate, which of the four is not named. About 6,000 fighting men were killed; some say 16,000, but this seems to refer to those who had perished during the investment, and not to those killed when the place was taken. At this place Ráni Ládí, one of Dáhir's wives, was made captive, whom Muḥammad afterwards purchased, and then entered into matrimony with her.

After this success, Muḥammad wrote an account of the proceedings to Amír Ḥajjájá, in which he says, that he had written his report at a place on the higher part of the Jalwát Já's (canal or minor channel). Before leaving Bahman-ábád, and moving northwards, he settled the government of southern Sind. He placed Núbah [already mentioned as having been placed in charge of Dháliyáh], son of Daháran,
1892.] H. G. Raverty—The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries. 243

along with Rawar, which lay on the west side of Bahman-ábd, and was

son of Dháliyah, in charge of Rawar and its dependencies, together with the charge
and supervision of vessels and boats, to have them (some) kept in readiness; and he
ordered that every vessel or boat which should arrive or depart, from above or below
(stream), should be taken to the fort of Rawar if it contained men or war materials.
The boats and vessels above Dháliyah were placed under the supervision of an
'Arab officer, Ibn Ziyád-al-'Abdí. Other Wális and 'Amils were nominated to the
charge of Siwistán, Nirún, Dháliyah, and other places; and the parts inhabited by the
Jats were likewise brought under control.

Having disposed of the affairs of Bahman-ábd and the Lohanáhs, and all parts
to the east and west, and in the environs and neighbourhood thereof, on Thursday,
the 3rd of Mubarram, 94 H. (9th October, 712 A. D.), Muḥammad marched with his
forces to a place called Muthal [in one MS. Munhal. Muthalo of the Sindís, which
appears in one map as "Mothilo" and in another as "Mothito"] in the neighbourhood
of Sáwandí, also called Sáwandí of the Sammahs, where there was an áb-gtfr and a
greasly plain, and which was called the Karbhr Dandh (ďhand), and on the shore
thereof he pitched his camp. All the dwellers in that part were Samanís (Priests),
Nahr-bán (canal diggers?), and merchants and traders, who all came out to receive
him, and submit to his authority; and in the parts around were Jat peasantry. From
thence Muḥammad marched to Bhrur or Bhírur [mistaken by Mr Masúm and
others for Bghrur, which was in quite a different direction], and despatched officers
to administer the affairs of that place and of Kandbar. He then moved into the
tract of country peopled by the Sammah tribes, and nominated a chief over them.
Having provided for the administration of the affairs of the Lohanáhs, he came
among the Sihtahs, arranged their affairs, and required them to guide him towards
Aror.

I may here notice, that, from the foregoing account contained in the Ghach
Námah, Rawar and Dháliyah appear to have been situated on the east side of the
western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, which separated into two channels forty
miles above Bahman-ábd, as shown in the 'Arab map. Also, that there is no actual
mention of that branch having been crossed to get to Aror; but it was probably
passed at the stage where the Karbhr Dhand is mentioned.

I must also remark that the dates given in the Ghach Námah are either wrong
or confused. Debal appears to have been taken in the first month of 93 H., but the
letter of Ḥajjáj, acknowledging the account of its capture, is dated in Rajab, the
seventh month, and took sometime to come, a couple of weeks at least. After this Muḥammad moved against Siw-istán, and after his return from thence it was some
months before he could cross the Mihrán. Several other letters passed between
them, and yet between the letter of Rajab and the 10th of Mubarram when Dáhir
was killed, only the months Shábán and ten days of Mubarram intervened. After
that, when Rawar had fallen it took two months to reduce Bhrur, and the reduction
of Dháliyah took nearly as long. This would bring us to the end of the year 93 H.;
and yet, it is said, that he appeared on the 1st Rajab, 93 H. before Bahman-ábd,
two months and twenty days before Dáhir was killed; and after being six months
before Bahman-ábd, it was only the end of Zí-Hijjah, the last month of 93 H., that
news of Jai Sepha was received which led to its capture. Then it must have taken
some little time to settle the affairs of Bahman-ábd, and yet he is said to have
marched towards Aror from thence on the 3rd of Mubarram 94 H. According to
captured after Dahir's defeat, and was close to the east bank of the western branch of the Mihrán. It appears to refer to the Bahirí of the Chach Námah. First, the people of Táwandarí [the name is somewhat doubtful. See the Samándír of the Kazwini, page 211, and Samand of the Istakhari, page 211] submitted to him, and he reached Basmad [not to be mistaken for Basmid nearer Multán near which the Mihrán flowed] which also submitted, after which he appeared before the capital, Aror. This place was situated on a hill, and he had to besiege it for several months; it finally capitulated on terms.

Having effected these successes, Muhammad advanced to Dáhir, which was situated on this side, that is, on the south side or left bank, of the river Bíáh. This was captured, and was in ruins when the author wrote. After this Muhammad crossed the Bíáh, and

the time occupied in the different operations as stated in the Chach Námah, he could scarcely have started for Aror before Rajab, 94 H., otherwise there is but four months and twenty-three days from the death of Dahir for the completion of operations which it is said took upwards of ten months to accomplish, and consequently, there is an error somewhere.

190 This word, being without points, might be mistaken for one word, but it is merely the Sindi proper name Sikah, with the 'Arabio prefix 'al,' as distinctly shown in the Chach Námah. See note 192.

191 This is incorrect. Sikah was close to the east bank of the Ráwi, but Bábíyah was on the left or south bank of the Bíáh, and Asal Kandah or Askandah was on the north of the Bíáh, as shown in the following note.

192 Certain enthusiastic writers have supposed that the name of the Oxydraco is derived from the name of Uchch, which they also suppose was in existence two thousand two hundred years ago; while some of those who labour under this supposition call it by the incorrect names of Uja, Uch, and even Buk. The only doubts entertained on the subject, apparently, arise in the minds of more recent European writers because "Arrian and Strabo seem to say," that it [the town of the Oxydraco] stood "on the west bank of the Acesines [the Chín-áb].

Uchch stands on the east bank of the Chín-áb and its tributaries now, but, in former days, and down to comparatively modern times, it stood on the west bank of the Bíáh, or Ráni-Sind wo Hind of the old writers, and a little above its junction with the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind; and, at the period in question, the Chín-áb and other Panj-áb rivers were tributaries of the Bíáh. The Greek accounts, however, show, that the country or town of the Oxýdraco lay north of the Ráwi, and in the Raghin-áb Do-ábah, as shown farther on.

Elliot (vol. 1, p. 109), quoting the "Mujmala-t Tawárikh," on the division of Sind by the son of Kafand, one of the ancient kings, said to have been contemporary with Alexander the Great, states, that, "One king [governor is meant] he established in 'Askalánda. Upon another he bestowed the country of Zor, to which Anj [Uch] is attached." In a note, he says, "It is written اسکلندوس,"—with two purely 'Arabio letters, ﺣ and ﻂ?—"but the name is generally accepted as 'Askaland, or 'Askalandra, and the termination was has not been found elsewhere, [that is, in one MS. only]. May not the passage be read—He established one king
moved towards Multán and invested it, first defeating the infidels out-
at 'Askaland and Sah? or may not the last word signify—and three (depen-
dencies)"? Yes, if "saH" meant three in Persian, only it does not.
Such are some of the foundations on which are based the identification of the
Oxydracæ with Uja, Uch, or Us. Very solid foundations, truly!
At page 104 of the same volume, relating as far back as the traditionary period
of the fall of the Pándús, where this supposed same place is mentioned as Askal-
and, but where neither Uja, nor Uch are mentioned, we are referred to Ap-
pendix X, which (p. 365) states, that, "The Askalanda, Asal-kanda, and Askalandra
of the Chach-náma, is the same as the Askaland, and Askaland-Usa, [leaving out, of
course, all reference to the 'Arab letters in the word] of the Mujmalu-t Tawáríkh,
and the Askandara and Askanda of the Tuhátu-l Kirdám. The close correspond-
ence of the name, especially in the last instance, induces us at once to recognize it
as identical with the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines with the
Indus; but a little examination will show the resemblance to be more specious than
real. * * *

The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided into four Satrapies of which
the third (p. 188) comprised the fort of Askalanda and Máíbar. Now Máíbar
and Chachpír still exist [the same since the time of the Pándús, probably?] under
the modernized names of Mírbar and Cháchar, close together at the very
junction of the Acesines and the Indus. Consequently, Askalanda must have been
higher up the river, as subsequent passages will show." In a foot-note to the
name Máíbar the Editor says, "The text has Yábíba, but Pábiya is the more
general spelling," but, in the extract at page 138, he has "Askalanda and Pábiya,
which are called Tulúdra and Chachpír,;" and in another foot-note, he says that
"the name is written Páya and Báya, Bábiya, and Pábiya: the last seems the pre-
ferable form".

I may mention that the Cháchar here referred to, some forty years ago, was six
miles below the junction of the Panj Nad, or Panj Áb with the Indus. Míthan dá
Koth was then three miles and a half below the junction; and about ten years since,
Míthan dá Koth was eleven miles below the junction, such are the continual altera-
tions. There is no Mírbar now, but there is a Juja fourteen miles south-east of Cháchar.
Why not have pressed that into service? Further I may mention, that it is only within the last century that the junction of the Panj Nad with the
Indus has taken place within twenty-four miles north-east of Cháchar and Míthan
dá Koth, and how far off it was before who shall say. Where it was in the last
century will be found farther on.

After all this, supposing that the courses of the rivers have remained precisely
the same for over two thousand years, although we find so much change in forty,
he says: "Its [Askalanda's] proximity to the Biás, and its name of Askaland-
Usa"—about which, at page 109, he was doubtful whether it was part of the name
or not—"lead us to regard it as Úchh of more modern times." Yet he adds that,
"That place bears marks of most undoubted antiquity, and the absence of all men-
tion of it in the Chach-náma, where we are, both in the time of Chach and Muham-
mad Kásím"—here the father's name is again brought in as that of the son—"intro-
duced to many transactions in its neighbourhood, can only be accounted for that it is
disguised under some other appellation."

It certainly seems strange that Úchh should not be mentioned in the Chach
Náma, and in the earlier works on Sind, because we know from the Tuhfatu-l-
side, who fled in disorder to regain the shelter of their walls. After
Kirám that it was an ancient fortress on the frontier of that country. It states,
that Bá’s Sahusi remitted the taxes of his people on the condition that they should
increase the height of six fortresses: namely, Úchchh, Máthilah, Siw-ráí or Siw-
rášh, Ma’ú or Ma’úsh, Aror or Alor, and Siw-istán.” See my “Notes on Afghan-
istán,” etc. page 567.
Úchchh was several times destroyed and repaired, from the time of Sulhán
Jalál-ad-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, to the time of the Arghún dynasty of Sind. Ibn
Batútah says, in his time, Úchchh was “a large city on the Sind,” and that “Multán
was then the principal city of Sind.”
Elliott also speculates on “the other ancient Uch [sic], now in ruins,”—just
as the other has for a long time—“near the junction of the Hydaspes with the
Acesines.” Here again he takes it for granted that the present junction has always
remained the same; but in 801 H. (1398-99 A. D.) we know that it was twenty-six
miles lower down than at present, and that it was continually altering; that, before
that again, it was many miles higher up; and in the last century was near Oghau-
tarah. See farther on.
With respect to the name of Úchchh, there are no less than three places so
called, still existing, and all of some antiquity.—1. Úchchh which is forty-seven miles
north of Shikár-pur, and twenty-seven to the northwards of Khán Garh, now Jacob-
ábád. It is in Kachchh or Kachchh—a common term for an alluvial tract, not
peculiar to this part any more than to Kachchh Bhuj—and is simply known as Úchchh.
It is not far from the Sind Hollow, in which the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, or a branch
of it, once flowed, as shown in the account of that river farther on. 2. Úchchh-i-
Gul Imám, a strong fort in the last century, but now in a state of ruin, twenty-one
miles north-north-west of Shor Kot, and about eleven miles south-west of the late
junction of the Bhát [Hydaspes] and the Chin-áb [Acesines]. I say late, because
it has probably altered considerably since the Survey map I refer to was made a few
years since. This is the “Uch” which Elliott (vol. 1, p. 367) considers “as offering
a far more probable identification,” and is seventy-two miles to the northward of
Multán. 3. Úchchh-i-Jaláli, or Úchchh-i-Sharif, formerly, that is to say within the
last century or thereabouts, consisting of seven small contiguous villages, or rather
quarters, enclosed within one wall. Now it consists of three rather large villages
on mounds, contiguous to each other, and connected by a wall of brick, which lately
was in a dilapidated state. These villages or towns stand on high, artificial mounds,
the neighbourhood having been at all times liable to be swept away by the Ab-i-
Sind or Indus, as related in another place. The western-most of the villages is
small, but contains a celebrated shrine, within a large and handsome old Muham-
madan building, sadly out of repair. This is known as Pir ká Úchchh or Úchchh-i-
Makhdám, and the houses have sprung up around it. It is said to have been called
Walh-ar in ancient times, before the Makhdum in question took up his dwelling
there. The eastern-most of the villages is the largest, but there are no walls now
standing, the ruins of the gateways, however, can still be seen. Some little trade
is carried on with Sind in grain, which is sent down the river in boats. In the neigh-
bourhood are very extensive ruins of the ancient stronghold, embosomed in dense
groves of date trees and venerable pipala. Many of the buildings are almost entire,
and could easily be made habitable. They are constructed in the best style of
Muhammadan architecture of kiln-burnt bricks.
sitting down before it for a considerable time, the supplies of the 'Arab

The site is undoubtedly ancient; and yet, strange to say, it is not mentioned in the Ghach Námay; nor, under that name at least, by the 'Arab writers, including the Balágharí, in his history; nor by the other Muhammedan historians of the time of Sul'tán Maḥmúd of Ghazní, and his sons, namely, Al-'Utba, Bú-Riḥán, the Bálahé, and the Gardaízí. I believe, however, that it is mentioned by these historians under the name of Bhátiyáh, (called the country of Ramal in the Ghach Námah); and for this reason.

The author of the "Tabákât-i-Násirí," the next author who follows them that we know of, mentions (page 449), the "delivery of Multán from the hands of the Kárámiyih" heretics, but Uchchh is not referred to; yet, immediately after (page 451) he mentions the Sul'tán Mu'izz-ud-Din, Muḥammad-i-Sám, marching towards Nahar-Wálah by way of Multán and Uchchh. In the account of his victories, however (page 491), his "victories over the Kárámiyih of Multán and Uchchh" are distinctly stated, but, there is no mention of the Bhátiyáh among them, although the capture of the stronghold of the Bháti tribe is distinctly mentioned. The author knew Uchchh, for he was for a time in Sul'tán Násir-ud-Din, Kábá-júh's service there, being in charge of the Firúzí College in 624 H. (1227 A. D.), and holding the office of Káji to the forces of 'Alá-ud-Dín, Bahram Sháh, the Sul'tán's son. It is strange that the Bhátiyáh are not noticed by him. Yet others relate that the Sul'tán delivered Multán from the Kárámiyih, and annexed the territory, and then invested the Bhátiyáh, (which is the plural of Bhati), within the walls of Uchchh; and that, after its fall, it was entrusted to 'Alí Karmákh's charge together with Multán. It is evident from this, that those authors whose works have been translated, such as 'Utba's, did not mean that there was any town or fortress called Bhátiyáh, but meant the stronghold of the Bháti tribe, that is, of the Bhati tribe, and their stronghold, we know, was Uchchh, which they appear to have obtained possession of sometime before the reign of Sul'tán Maḥmúd of Ghazní, when the power of the 'Abbási Khalífsahs over Sind and Multán was merely nominal. Elliot, therefore, was right in supposing that Uchchh was "disguised under another name"; and I believe that the sentence in the "Tabákât-i-Násirí" at page 419, was before the text had been interfered with, that "he marched an army towards Multán and Uchchh and delivered them out of the hands of the Kárámiyih"; and this would account for the "stronghold of the Bhátiyáh" not being here mentioned by its author.

With respect to Sul'tán Maḥmúd's capture of the stronghold, the Gardaízí, a contemporary writer, states, that the Sul'tán attacked the fortress of the Bhátiyáh in 396 H. (1005–6 A. D.), and that Bajrí (بجرا), the Bhátiyáh, so called on account of the number of his men, his success, and his great hightness [बज्रा - bajra or wajra signifies 'a thunderbolt' in Sanskrit], put his forces in array to oppose the Sul'tán, and sent them out against him, while he himself kept aside, near the skirts of a jangal. Some of the Sul'tán's troops surrounded it, on which the Bhátiayáh Rájah drew his dagger and killed himself. Great slaughter was made among his tribe, the Rájah's head was brought in, and a great number of elephants were taken. It was after this that the Sul'tán attacked the Kárámiyih of Multán, for which I have not space here, but it will be related in another place.

Bú-Riḥán mentions this tribe in several places as though it was the name of a place, as ملک and ملک, in the printed text, but, in the Index, as two different
force fell short, and they had to eat some of their animals for food.

The passage is, with three exceptions, much as Elliot translates it (p. 61), namely: "West of Naráná [in text] is Multán distant fifty farsangs; thence to [and to?] Bhati fifteen. South-east from Bhati is Arór, distant fifteen farsangs. Bhati is situated between two arms or branches of the Sind Rúd." The name Arór is doubtful: the MSS. have, if Arór is referred to, that is nearly south-west.

According to this statement, the stronghold of the Bhátiah would lie exactly midway between Multán and Aró. If we calculate the thirty farsakús between Multán and Arór at eight mil to the farsakús, which is certainly not correct, it would make two hundred and forty miles, which, as the crow flies, is just the distance between those two places; but Uchch, the fortress of the Bhátí tribe or Bhátiah, is but seventy-five miles (equal to twenty-two farsakús) from Multán, while Arór is one hundred and sixty (equal to nearly forty-seven farsakús) from Uchch; consequently, by Bú-Ríján’s account, if we are to place entire dependence on it, which I am hardly disposed to do for several reasons, his "Bhátí" and "Bhátiah" cannot represent Uchch, unless we read his statement to mean that this Bhátiah lies about midway between Multán and Arór, without taking distances into account. There is still a Bhátí Wá-hán in this part, an ancient place, once the chief town of a maháll of the Berún-i-Panch Nad district of the Multán súbah, which is situated just midway between Uchch and Arór; but, from what other writers state, as will be seen farther on, there can be little doubt, that, under the name of the town or city of the Bhátiah, Uchch-i-Sharíf is referred to.

Elliot, in the two first volumes of his “Indian Historians,” tries, by many arguments to prove that the Bhátiah here referred to, is what he calls “Bhera on the Jailam,” that is, Bahrah, no less than one hundred and ninety-two miles, north-north-east of Multán; while from several translated passages in his own work, its whereabouts is distinctly shown. All these errors arise from the supposition that the courses of the rivers have never changed, and, that the tracts east of the Indus have always been a desert. See Vol. 11, page 439. For example: Sul tán Mahmúd returning from the expedition against Somnáth in 417 H., set out with the object of returning by Manšúriyah, the ruler of which was a Multánísh or Karámísh. On the news of his approach the heretic fled to the date forests in the vicinity of Manšúriyah, but the Sul tán having surrounded the one in which he had taken shelter, came upon him and his followers, the greater number of whom were either killed or drowned in endeavouring to cross the river (the Hákra or Wahindah), and very few of them escaped.

From thence the Sul tán, having crossed the Ab-i-Sind near Multán, moved against the Bhátiah, and after reducing that refractory people to submission, returned to Multán again, and from thence to Ghaznín, which he reached in Safar, 417 H. (about 11th March, 1026 A. D.). Now how is it possible that “Bhera on the Jailam” can be the place referred to? There is a “Bhera” just five miles east of Arór, if a “Bhera” is required.

After this, in the year following, a naval battle was fought; and it appears to have taken place near the then place of junction of the Ab-i-Sind with the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, on the then Panch Nad consequently. I believe it was fought
but, at this crisis, a man came to Muhammad and promised, if admitted
between Uchchh and Ghauz-pûr, which I suppose to be the position of Basmid of the
'Arab writers or very near it; and, possibly the action may have been fought a
little lower down.

The Gardazi states, that, as the Sultan had sustained great annoyance and
much insolence from the Jats of Multân and the Bhâtiâh, on the side of the Sihûn
[a name applied by the early writers to the Punjab as then existing] on his way
back from Somnâth, he now determined to chastise them thoroughly for it. When
the year 418 H. came round he set out from Ghaznîn, and on reaching Multân, gave
orders for the construction of 1,400 boats, each of which was to be fitted with three
strong [and sharp] iron rams, one in the bow, and one on each side, and strong
enough to cut and destroy whatever came in contact with them. In each boat
twenty men were embarked, armed with bows and arrows and flasks of naphtha.
The Jats hearing of these preparations sent away their effects to distant jauârâhs [or
beta: tracts encircled by minor channels of the rivers], and prepared to encounter
the Sultan's vessels with 4,000 of their own, some say with 8,000, in each of which
were a number of armed men. They accordingly moved to attack the Sultan's fleet;
and in the action which ensued, they were nearly all sunk or destroyed by the rams,
or the naphtha. As the banks of the Sihûn were occupied by troops, horse and foot,
and elephants, those who escaped to land were captured or slain. Continuing to
follow the remainder of their vessels along the banks [down stream; for they could
not go up under such circumstances], the troops reached the place where the Jats
had deposited their property and effects, which were seized by the victors, and great
numbers of other captives were likewise made. After this affair the Sultan returned
to Ghaznîn.

In the following reign, when Aâmâd-i-Nâl-Tîgin, feudatory of Lâhor, rebelled
against Sultan Maa'id, being defeated by the troops sent against him under Tilak,
the leader of the Hindû troops of the Sultan, Aâmâd had to evacuate Lâhor, and
retired towards Multân with the object of reaching Maânûriyah of Sind. He was
harassed the whole way by the Hindû tribes, Tilak having raised the whole province
against him. From Multân he moved towards the Bhâtiâh (stronghold) whither
some of the Hindû (Bhaâ?) chiefs had retired. The chief of the Bhâtiâh, however,
was unable to stop the progress of Aâmâd-i-Nâl-Tîgin; for the small force of Turks
with him (two hundred men) was still unbroken; and the chief had to furnish him
with the boats he required to enable him to cross the Sind Bâd [or Rud-i-Sind wo
Hind, i. e., the Bîh and its tributaries], between two branches of which Bhâtiâh was
situated, on his way to Maânûriyah, near which latter place, in attempting to cross
the Mîhrân, he was subsequently drowned.

How is it possible that this Bhâtiâh can refer to "Bhera on the Jailam"?

Cunningham ("Ancient India," p. 256) considers "Pâbiya" to be "Bhâtiya,"
of others, but as he also considers it "probably the same place as Talhâtti where
Jâm Janar [Jâm Jûnây, the Sammah] crossed the Indus, or perhaps also the same
as Mûtila or Mâthila," we may easily dismiss that theory, because the Jâm crossed
the Mîhrân where the 'Arab leader is said to have crossed before him or nearly so,
at Talh-ti, more than one hundred miles below Aror on the south-west; while Mâthi-
lâh or Mâthilo is thirty-seven miles above Aror to the north-eastwards.

With respect to the seven contiguous villages surrounded by a wall which con-
stituted Uchchh a little over a century since, here is a specimen how some writers
to quarter, to point out a nahr or river [also a canal] by means of which
will jump at conclusions. Vincent, in his "Navigation of the Ancients," on the
subject of the "Oxydraco Outche," says: "It is somewhat singular that Arrian
should mention these people as cantoned into departments, and their magistrates as
presiding in each separate canton, while the moderns distinguish them to this day
by the appellation of the "Seven Towns of Outche." This, he says, is on the
authority of Tiefenthaler, Vol. 1, p. 118, and de la Rochette's map.

Cunningham, also, appears to agree in this. He says: "It has been supposed,
indeed, that the name of the Oxydraco is derived from the old town of Uchh, but
their position according to Strabo and Arrian appears rather to have been on the
western side of the Akesines." See the first paragraph of this note.

From the accounts of the campaign of Mirzá Sháh Húsain, the Arghán Mughal
ruler of Sind, against the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán in 931 H. (1525 A.D.),
Uchchh was still considered to be a very strong place and enclosed within lofty
walls. He first reached Siw-rá'i, one of the six forts mentioned in the Tufát-
ul-Kiram, the mounds of which were to be raised, and still one of the strongest in that
part, which was taken and destroyed, after which the Balúchis, who held these parts
under the Langáhs, retired within the walls of Uchchh. The Mirzá subsequently
reached Ma'ú, also written Ma'úh, another of the six forts above referred to, and
pitched his camp near a kol-i-dv or lake at that place. From thence he reached the
shrines of the Shaikhs, of which the Shaikh, Rúh-ullah, Kureshí, had charge; then
to the boundary of the Badar (میدان) people, and from thence to Uchchh. It was
captured and destroyed and all the wood put on boats and sent to Bakhar, according
to the historian, Mir Ma'súm of Bakhar; and he states, that what fortifications were
standing when he wrote, were of Mirzá Sháh Húsain's erection.

In after years, down to within the early part of the present century, the place
suffered greatly in the constant hostilities between the Shaikhs of Uchchh and the
Dáúd-putrahs, hence the fortifications raised by the Mirzá are in ruins. See my
"Notes on Afgánistán," etc., page 655.

To return, however, to the place of so many names supposed to be Uchchh, I
do not consider that either of the places called Uchchh are referred to, but a totally
different place. All these three places certainly lay west of the Chin-áb (but only
as a tributary of the Biáh), even after it changed its course from the east to the west
side of Multán. One still lies near the west bank, and another west of the Ab-i-Sind
or Indus; and Uchchh-i-Sharif also continued west of the Chin-áb down to
comparatively recent times, but, when the Chin-áb (along with the other rivers forming
the Panj Nad), changed its course, as mentioned above, Uchchh-i-Sharif was placed
in the Bist-Jáhandar Do-ábah, and continued there until the Sutlaj deserted the
Hakrâ to unite with the others and formed a new Panj Nad, when it was shut out
of that last-named Do-ábah into the district or tract of country styled Berún-i-Panj-
Nad, or Extra Panj-Áb, and was placed on the east side of the river. But, since
the time of Arrian and Strabo, it is probable that this, as well as the other rivers
of this part, have altered their courses hundreds of times; and it is very certain, as
will be shown farther on, that few parts of the territory now known as "the Panj-
áb," have seen greater changes than the tract between Multán and Aror in one
direction, and Baháwal-púr and Rúján in the other, the rivers having, at different
periods, flowed over every part of it; and consequently, in no place, was any "city
founded by Alexander," less likely to have had any long existence.
the people of the place received their supply of water from the river

Let us now see what history says respecting Asal Kandah, etc.

After Rā's Ohach had attained sovereignty over Sind, he set out from Aror for the northern frontier of his territory, between the Khari-Sind and the Hakra, and reached the ḥijar of Bābiyah, also written بابلیه—Bābiyah, situated on the south bank of the Biāh [as the Yabībā of Elliot, page 202], which was afterwards known as Chach-pūr, and captured it. Finding that the enemy had retired within the fort of Askandah, or Asal Kandah, also written بابلیه—Askandah, anciently called Talwāpah, he left a garrison in Bābiyah, crossed the river Biāh, and appeared before Askandah, or Asal Kandah, which latter word, being without points, might be transliterated in several ways. Having gained possession of that fortified place, Ohach moved towards Sikah of Multān. The ruler of Multān, hearing that Ohach had reached the Biāh, issued from that stronghold, and advanced to the banks of the Rawī, in order to support his nephew, who was in charge of the fortress of Sikah, opposite to Multān on the east side of that river. They then moved to encounter Ohach and oppose his crossing that river; and Ohach remained encamped near the ford over the Biāh [See the strange note by Mr. Dowson to page 142 of Elliot's "Historians," Vol. I, on the "Biās"] until the water decreased sufficiently, and then he effected the passage. He was then in the fork, so to say, between the Biāh and the Rawī, which united a short distance from where he crossed, and consequently, in the Bāri Dābāh. He then moved towards a place higher up, where there were less obstacles in crossing, and reached the kasbah of Sikah, defeated the enemy outside the walls, and invested the place for some days, after which it was evacuated, and the governor fled to his uncle at Multān. The latter, with his nephew, and all their available forces, then marched out of Multān to encounter Ohach on the west bank of the united Qin-āb and Rawī, in case he should pass over that river. Ohach effected the passage, defeated the Multān chief in several encounters, and the latter then retired within the walls of that fortress, in which he was closely invested by Ohach. The Qin-āb then united with the Rawī north-east of Multān.

According to the Ohach Nāmah, which I have said before gives a much more detailed account of events in the time of the 'Arabs, they followed the same route from Alor or Aror as Ohach had previously taken in going against Multān. Muḥammad, the son of Kāsim, having disposed of the affairs of Aror, and installed a governor there, marched from thence towards Multān until he reached the fort of Bābiyah, situated on the south, or left bank of the Biāh (the site of "Pubbeer walle," of the maps of the present day? See the notice of the Biāh farther on), and which place, Mir Maṣūm of Bakhar says, was called Ohach-pūr in his day. This Bābiyah was an old place in which Kaksah, son of Chandar, Raʾe Dāhir's brother, who had fled from the battle-field near the Mihrān when Dāhir was slain, had taken shelter. He, on the appearance of the 'Arab forces, came out and submitted, and was taken, it is said, into the confidence of the 'Arab leader. In another place, however, it is said that the Hindūs evacuated that place.

After this, Muḥammad, leaving a garrison in Bābiyah, crossed the Biāh—I wish to draw attention to this fact—that is to say, from the southern to the northern bank of that river, and appeared before the fortified town, the name of which is written اسکندرون, علا کندن, إسکندرنة, علا کندن, اسکندرن—Askand or Iskand, 'Alah Kandah or 'Ulah Kandah, Askar or Usal Kandah, Askandarah or Iskandarah, and in other ways, in different places, in as many different MSS., for we do not know for certain the
vowel points—the people of which issued forth to oppose him. Now how is it possible that this place situated on the north or right bank of the Bûh, as it flowed in its old bed, could be "Uch," as Elliot and others suppose, which lies forty-five miles farther southwards? The author of the Qâch Nâmâh, who wrote in the time of Sultan Nasir-ud-Dîn, Kâbâ-jah, whose capital was Uchchh, was a native of that place; and if it had been anciently known as Askand or Asal Kandah, or whatever it may be, is it likely that he would have neglected to say so when writing of its former history? Mir Ma'âum of Bakhar writes the word, or rather it appears in three different MSS. of his work; as Eskandur, and he distinctly states that this place, supposed to be "Uch" to support a theory, was anciently called Tahvârah.

The people fought obstinately, but had, at last, to seek shelter within the walls; and they resisted for seven days all the attacks of the 'Arab forces. The latter had now become distressed for provisions, when the nephew of the Multân chief, who had defended it so bravely, at the end of this time, under cover of the night, abandoned it, and throw himself into the fort of Sikah—سکه— which was a great fortification on the brink of the southern (left) bank of the Râwî, the river, at that time flowing east of Multân and uniting with the Bûh some twenty-eight miles to the southward of that place. See farther on. Finding themselves deserted by their governor, the inhabitants of Askand or Asal Kandah (or whatever may be the true reading), sent to tender their submission to the 'Arab leader. The fighting men to the number of 4,000 were put to death, and their families were made slaves, but all others were spared.

Neither the Mujmal-ut-Tawârikh, nor the Qâch Nâmâh, mention Uchchh, which, probably, was not known by that name at the period in question, but both mention this Askand or Asal Kandah, or Oas Kandah, said to have been even then, an old fortification.

In one place (p. 368), Elliot is inclined to suppose that the Satrapy of Askalanda contained the whole tract north-east of Alor, and south-east of the Panjnad and Ghara; almost precisely the same, in short, as the present Dâûdputra country. He is nearer the mark here, but it will be noticed that he seems to take for granted, that the rivers ran then as now. The position of the fortress of Askand or Asal Kandah is distinctly stated to have been on the north bank of the Bûh, as it flowed in ancient times, and must have been within twenty-eight miles or less of Multân.

Cunningham supposes that the old bed of the Râwî and Sikah Multân—the original is "Sikah-i-Multân," that is Sikah of or belonging to Multân—to be somewhat near Mâri Sital, which lies on the old banks of the Râwî, two miles and a half east of Multân. It is no proof, however, as he seems to think, that the Râwî flowed under the walls of Multân, because Alexander, the Greek, is supposed to have circumnavigated the walls of some city supposed to be Multân. This he could have done, in the last century, if Multân is the place (only it could not have been according to the Greek writers), by the Lolî Wâ-han, and which then had to be crossed by a bridge; and it was some cutting, or branch from the Chân-âb like this one, no doubt, which, as mentioned in the following note, Muhammad cut off or diverted, and caused the surrender of that stronghold.

193 This cannot be the river of Basmid referred to by ʻbn Haukal at page 216, because that was two days' journey or more below or south or south-east of Multân,
which they call a *tālāb* [pure Persian word]. This was destroyed, after which, the defenders, overcome with thirst, surrendered the place. The fighting men were put to the sword, but the women and children, and the attendants of the *budh* or temple, to the number of 6,000 persons, were made captives." This was in 95 H. (713-14 A. D.).


unless it refers to it as the river "which, below Multān and above Basmid, united with the Mihrān," and that was the Rūd-i-Sind wo Hind, the Bīhā and its tributaries. The Ohāch Nāmah here again differs from the Balāgarī, but we must not forget, that, at this period, the Rawī and Biāh, at this point, flowed nearly parallel to each other, and united near by. The author of the former says, that after Asal Kandah or 'Alah Kandah, etc., as it is here written, surrendered, Muḥammad crossed the Biāh, and advanced to Sikah of Multān, which was a strongly fortified place on the south or left bank of the Rawī. The Balāgarī is somewhat confused here, through confounding Sikah with Asal Kandah, and says it—ُساكنا—is a town "on this side of the Biāh, and now in ruins." As the author of the Ohāch Nāmah was a native of these parts, and the account of Ohāch's campaign in the very same places is perfectly clear, we may place dependence on his statements. After seventeen days of hard fighting, in which the 'Arabs lost twenty-five distinguished officers, and two hundred and fifteen other warriors, Bajhā, a relative of the Multān chief, Dāhir's uncle's son, Kuṣriyāh, son of Chandar, brother of Ohāch, who held it, passed over and entered Multān. This clearly shows, as indicated in the maps referred to, how the Rawī then flowed, and the nearest point of which, at present, is thirty-four miles north-north-east of Multān. The 'Arabs followed the Hindūs, severe fighting ensued, and continued with great obstinacy for about two months, by which time provisions became so scarce that "the head of an ass cost five hundred dirāms." The 'Arabs had gained a footing near the walls, but no spot was found suitable for sinking a mine, until a person came out of the place by stealth and sued for quarter, which was given him. He pointed out a spot towards the north of the fort, on the banks of a canal or cutting [ٓلاك], the same to which the Balāgarī refers. Elliot (page 205) supposes that "this can hardly mean the main river." Hardly: it refers to a cutting or canal, similar to the Lolī Wā-han, which flowed in the same direction up to modern times, and traces of it still remain, or recently did, between the northern face of the fort and the 'Id-gāh, and in the time of the inundations contains water.

"A mine was dug, and in the course of two or three days the wall was brought down and the fort captured. "Six thousand soldiers were taken prisoners and put to death, and their families were taken as slaves. The rest of the inhabitants were spared."

The account of the finding of the treasure, as related in the Ohāch Nāmah, has been already related. See note 97, page 102.

After Muḥammad had settled the affairs of Multān, founded a Jāmī' Masjīd, and appointed Dā'ūd, bin Nashr, bin Walīd, 'Ummānī, governor of the place, he sent another, 'Abd-ul-Malik, Tammīnī "to the fort of Bramah-yūr or Bramah-pūr, on the side of the Ab-i-Jihlam," which was called Sū-būr or Sū-pūr (سوبور)—in one copy سوبر—Sūr-badar. Not intended for Shor Kāt, certainly, which was on the Qhin-āb), another to the territory around Multān, and another to the forts of Ījāhād and Karūr or Karūd. All these names are more or less doubtful. Karūr is
The finding of the gold, from which this temple was afterwards known among the Musalmáns as "the Furkhá of the Bait, or Receptacle of Chamber of Gold," has been related in another place.

"After this success, Muhammad, son of Kásim, returned to Alor or Aror and Baghrúr, and made presents to his soldiers."

After the removal of Muhammad, son of Kásim, and his death, when Ḥabib, son of Muhallab was Amír of Sind, Jai Siqhá, son of Dábir, had returned from Kásh-mír to Bahman-ábd and established himself there, but Ḥabib having advanced to the banks of the Mihrán, the people of Alúr [sic. Ar-Rúr? or Ar-Ror?] made their submission. In the meanwhile the Khalifá, Sulimán, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, died, and 'Umar, son of 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, succeeded. He sent to the native chiefs of Sind inviting them to become Musalmáns, and several did so, including Jai Siqhá, son of Dábir, and they received 'Arab names.

possibly meant for Kahrór. Then he is said to have sent a force of 10,000 horse against Kinnauj, which is constantly mentioned in connexion with Sind and Multán, and appears to have adjoined the latter territory on the east, and included part of the present Bikanúr state. See pages 207, 208, and 223.

On reaching a place called Udah-fúr [�داب] Odih-púr—the "Odipoor" of the maps, fourteen miles to the southwards of Alwánah on the Hákrá], one of the 'Arab officers was sent to the ruler of Kinnauj, who is styled Rá' Har-Qhandar, Jhital; and at this same place, which Muhammad had thus reached, in expectation of entering into hostilities with the Kinnauj ruler, and extending the Musalmáns conquests in that quarter, the orders arrived from the Khalifá for him to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the 'Arab capital, which subject I need not enter into here; but, soon afterwards, great disorders appear to have arisen in these parts, and the Musalmáns lost ground considerably, and which they did not recover for sometime afterwards.

The Qash Námah says Muhammad, son of Kásim, was preparing to make war on Rá' Har-Qhandar, Jhital, of Kinnauj (not the city on the Káli Nádí), the very day before his recall (on account of the false accusation of the daughters of Ra'e Déhir), but Tod, in his "Annals of Mewár," whose historic knowledge was of a peculiar kind, actually makes him march to "Cheetore," as he spells Chitor, but only to be overthrown by a Ráj-pút, as we might fully suppose. He says (vol. 1, p. 231): "In the ninety-fifth year of the Hegira—A. D. 713, Mahomed Bin Kasim, the general of the Caliph Walid, conquered Sind. * * * If any doubt existed that it was Kásim [sic] who advanced to Cheetore, and was defeated by Bappa, it was set at rest by finding at this time in Cheetore, 'Dahir,' the Prince of "Debel," as he spells Debal, which Dábir had been killed in battle more than two years before.

All this is not surprising when we consider who this "Bappa" was who defeated "Kásim," only it was Kásim's son who conquered Sind, after his father, Kásim, had been dead some years. According to Tod's "Annals," Bappa "overcame all the kings of the west, Ispahan, Kandahar, Cashmere, Irak, Iran, Tooran, and Cofferisthan; all of whose daughters he married, and by whom he had one hundred and thirty sons, called Nosheyra Pathans." This is quite sufficient.
Subsequently, Junaid, son of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān-al-Marri, was made Amir on the frontier territory of Sind, as the deputy of 'Umar, son of Hubairah-al-Fazārī [he, at this time, was Amir of Khurasān and the East], by the Khalifah, Al-Hišām, son of 'Abd-ul-Malik, who began to reign in 105 H. (724 A.D.). Junaid proceeded to Debal,195 and advanced to the Mihrān; but Jai Siṅha, [whose 'Arab name, however, the historian does not give] requested that he would not cross over, as he had become a Musulmān, and his territory had been confirmed to him by the ruling power. After receiving the tribute due, and giving and taking pledges, hostilities arose between them. Some say that Jai Siṅha first took up arms; while others affirm that Junaid acted unjustly towards Jai Siṅha, who assembled his forces, fitted out vessels, and got

195 It is strange that neither the early 'Arabs, nor the travellers who followed, ever mention Damrīlah, which, in after years, is constantly mentioned along with Debal or Dewal.

When Sultan Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barni, the Khwārzm Shāh, had to retire from the Panj-āb into Lār or Lower Sind, he, having gained possession of Siw-īstān, as it is called by some historians, as well as Sharusān, Sindustān, and Sadosān, marched towards Debal and Damrīlah. A Habūs [here the Sumrāh chief of Debal is meant], who was ruler of that district or territory, fled, got on ship-board, and escaped. The Sultan detached part of his forces towards Nahār Wālah, from which they returned with immense booty. He founded likewise a Jāmi’ Masjīd at Debal on the ruins of an idol temple. See “Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī,” note, page 294, and a note farther on.

Ibn Baṣṭānah went into Lār or Lower Sind before going to Dihī. He says: “I then went by the Sind to the city of Lāhārī [Lohārānī, supposed by some to refer to Debal, but is a totally different place], which is situated on the shore of the sea of Hind, where the Sind unites with it [but the junction of the main channel of the river with the ocean was at some distance to the eastward of Debal]. It has a large harbour, into which vessels from Fārs, Yaman, and other parts come. At the distance of a few miś [miles] from this town, are the ruins of another, in which stones in the shape of human beings and beasts, in vast numbers, are to be found. The inhabitants of this place say, that, according to their chroniclers, there was formerly a city in this place, the people of which, for the most part, were so wicked, that the Almighty transformed every thing within it, the people, their beasts, even the seeds of plants, into stone.” This was written in 734 H. (1333-34 A.D.)

This would seem to refer to the situation of Damrīlah, but, as late as the reign of Sultan Muhammad, son of Tughlūk Shāh—744 H. (1343-44 A.D.), it is mentioned as lying in the route from Gondhal in Kāthiāwār to Thāṭhāh, and in connection with the Sumrāhs.

Tūghi, the rebel, whom Sultan Muḥammad pursued from Guzarāt into Sind, took refuge in Damrīlah; and in reference to the boundaries of India, which Sultan 'Alī-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the second Sultan of the Khālj Turk dynasty, who succeeded to the throne of Dihī in 695 H. (1295-96 A.D.), the different tracts which he was advised to bring under complete jurisdiction, that extending “from Mulān to Damrīlah” is referred to, but such a place as Thāṭhāh is not mentioned because it was not yet founded.
ready for war. Junaid moved against him in vessels likewise; and they fought a naval action in the estuary of uš-Sharkī \(\text{uš-Sháqirá—The}
\) then Khorā'ī\(^{146}\) mouth, no doubt, by which that branch of the Mihrán of Sind which flowed past Manṣúriyah, united with the ocean, but which estuary, in that day, existed much farther north], in which Jai Sinha was defeated, his own vessel captured, and he was taken prisoner and put to death. * * *

This Junaid, son of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, was subsequently made Amir of Khurásán, which included all the eastern territories under the sway of the Musalmáns, and he greatly distinguished himself in Farghánah, between 111 H. and 116 H., (730–734 A. D.) when he died.

In after years, when Ḥakam, son of 'Awanah-al-Kalbi, succeeded Tammím, son of Zaid-ul-'Utbá, the people of Sind had, for the most part, relapsed into idolatry; and the Musalmáns being without any place of security to which, in case of need, they might retire for safety, he built a town on the other side of the estuary in question, and made it the chief town, to which he gave the name of Maḥfúzah—the Guarded or Preserved. Subsequently, 'Umaro, son of the unfortunate Muḥammad, son of Ḥasím, the conquer of Sind, was made governor of Maḥfúzah, and was greatly trusted by Ḥakam, and had been employed in many important affairs. He was sent from Maḥfúzah on an expedition [but whither is not stated], in which he was successful, and was elevated to the rank of Amir. He founded another city on this side [the west] of the estuary, which he named Manṣúriyah, in which the governor now [when the Balázarí wrote] dwells.”

Then came the time of the 'Abbáśís [132 H.—750 A. D.], and Abú-Muslim-al-Marwazi, who was the chief instrument in setting up that dynasty of Khalífahs, despatched 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Abú-Muslim-al-Mughallísá-al-'Abdí, to proceed into Sind to oust the 'Ummiyyah officials therefrom. He came through Ṭukháristán from Marw, but he was encountered by Manṣúr, son of Jamhúr-al-Kalbi [the same after whom the city and district of Manṣúriyah were named according to Ibn Khurdád-bih\(^{147}\)], his troops put to flight, and himself killed. Abú-Muslim then despatched Músá, son of Ka’ab-ut-Ṭammímí into Sind, who reached the banks of the Mihrán, which separated him from Manṣúr, who thought himself secure as the river flowed between them; but Músá came upon him [in what manner is not stated], put Manṣúr and his forces to flight, and slew Manṣúr, brother of Manṣúr. The latter, in a sorry plight, fled to the sandy desert tracts, where he perished of thirst. Músá ruled in Sind for some time; and he repaired the city of Manṣúriyah, and enlarged the masjid there.

\(^{146}\) See ante note 168, page 223.  \(^{147}\) See ante page 105, and note 102.
He was succeeded by Hishám, son of 'Umaro-un-Taghállubí, whom the Khalífah, Al-Manşúr, Abú-Ja'far, 'Abd-ullah, deposed in 141 H. (758-59 A. D.), for giving shelter to 'Abd-ullah, son of Ibráhim, son of the unfortunate Hasan, son of the Khalífah, 'Ali. 'Umar, son of Hifz, received him with great distinction and espoused his cause, as did also the other Musalmán officers in Sind; and they cast off their black 'Abbási garments, and adopted white ones, white being the colour of the Shi'ahs. At last, finding 'Abd-ullah was not safe in Sind, 'Umar sent him to a Rájah of Hind, between whom and 'Umar great friendship existed, so that he might not fall into the hands of his persecutor, the Khalífah. In consequence of 'Umar's conduct towards 'Abd-ullah, he was removed from Sind and sent to serve in Afrikah.

The Sayyids of Sind are said, on the authority of the Tárikh-i-Alfi, to be descended from the above mentioned 'Abd-ullah, who was subsequently killed by a party of Arabs, who came upon him in a shikár-gáh on the borders of Sind, leaving a son who was under the protection of the before-mentioned Rájah—of the neighbouring territory of Saurášttrah, probably, and one of the Balábhi dynasty.

It would be a physical impossibility to reach Kandahár in the present Afghan state by boats, unless they were boats attached to baloons, and just as practicable to reach Gandhárá on the upper Indus above Aţak by the same means from Sind. The part meant here, lay near the banks of the Hákra, and has been already referred to at page 207.

Because this word is written “Kandahar” by persons who did not know, apparently, the word in its original characters, and because a tract of country lying on the east bank of the Indus above Aţak was anciently known as Gandhárá, and, in comparatively modern times, between the inroads of the Chingis Kháñ and Amir Timúr, the Gúrgán, the south-eastermost part of Zábul-ístán of the ancient K-rání empire became styled Kandahár, European writers, and English in particular, have managed to confound them (just as they have confounded Gajni and Ghaz-níh or Ghuz-ní), and some try to make them out to be all one. An example of this is to be found in the “Herodotus” of the Rev. Canon Rawlinson, page 175, in which “Baladhore,” “Mass'oude,” etc., are quoted, and we have “Sindhu Gandhára,” the “Cabool Gandhára,” and the “modern Gandhára,” the appellation alike of the province and of the capital, in one delightful jumble. The “Sinda” Kandhárá is written كنادخار (Sindi—كنادخار or كنادخار_Kandhár—or كنادخار) of Káthiawár كنادخار—Kandhár, and its chief town, كنادخار—Kandahár, and all are totally different. It is from similar theories that Hindú Lohánahs or Lóhanos of Sind are turned...
Yahyá, of the family of Barmak, was Amír of Sind in the time of the Khalífah, Al-Mámún [198-218 H.—813-833 A. D.], but he died in 221 H. (836 A. D.); and the Khalífah, Al-Mu'tásim Billah, confirmed his son, 'Amrán, in the government of the province. ** He made war upon the Meds (مبد) and slew 3,000 of them; and there [in their country] constructed a band or embankment, which is called Sikr-ul-Med, after which he encamped on the Nahr of Aror or Aro.” Why this band was not constructed is not mentioned. This affair happened, of course, near the sea coast of Kaḥūh, because 'Amrán caused a canal to be dug from the sea to the reservoir or tank of the Meds, and spoiled all their fresh water. This Aro or Ado or Aror refers to the place, the name of which is written ارور ارور, and the like, by Bû-Rihán, and which I believe to the “Addo” of the maps, the “Addooe” of Dr. J. Burnes, and, correctly, Adhoí, by which, indeed, a nahr or small river runs, some sixty miles east of Bujh. In the ‘Arabic character this name would be ٍ، and in that character ٍ, ـ, and ُ، in manuscripts especially, if carelessly copied, are very liable to be written and mistaken one for the other. What satisfies me that the coast above referred to is meant is, that Muḥammad, son of Kásim, is said by the Balázarí, to have entered into an accommodation with the people of Surast, with whom the men ofların مايى، or Surast, etc., to the place which Elliot reads as “Bána,” “Tána,” “Bania,” “Basia,” and the like, which, as may be seen from the “Masálik wa Mamálik” map lies between Fáhmal and Masúriyah.

This is all I find in the Balázarí in which the rivers of these parts are anywhere mentioned.

I must now leave Sind and return to the territory of the Panj-áb again.

into the descendants of the Afgán Núb (Noah). There are still other places also called “Kandhár.” See ante note 105, page 196, and note 114, page 207.

Sikr—in 'Arabic means an embankment, but not “sakr.” The embankment may have been erected by the 'Arabs in order the better to approach the stronghold of the Meds.

It is in the Morbi district of Káthiáwár, which comprises the sub-districts or dependencies of Morbí, Wágár, and Adhoí.

See ante page 216, and note 145, and page 221, and note 163.

I may mention that the Khalífah conferred the territory of Sind, as well as other parts, upon Ya’kûb, son of Lais, the Şífári, of Sigiz-stán, in 257 H. (870-71 A. D.); and that Sulún Maḥmúd, of Ghaznín took Masúriyah in 417 H. (1026-27
In the extracts from Abú-Riḥán given by Elliot, I notice events which are not mentioned by him, but by Rashíd-ud-Din, and are not contained in Bú-Riḥán’s text. It is the extract [at page 57] in which the latter is made to quote events which occurred in 692 H. (1293 A.D.), about two hundred and sixty years after that author completed his work. From this we might suspect, that even some of the extracts which I have given here from Rashíd-ud-Dín’s work, which he appears to attribute to Bú-Riḥán are his own, such for example as the mention of all the rivers of this part, with the Biáh north of the Ráwí, uniting with “the Satladar below Multán, at a place called Panch-Nad,” as already noticed in the extract from Bú-Riḥán; but I shall presently show, that, for upwards of two centuries and more after the date above quoted [692 H.], the Shuttlaj, that is the Sutlaj—if that is what he means by the Nahr-i-Sutldad—did not unite with the other rivers of the Panj-āb at the place indicated.

The son of the Turk Sultan of Dihlí, Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban (the same who, under the title of Malik Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, conducted the army under Sultan ’Alá-ud-Dín, Mas’úd Sháh, to the relief of Ughchh in 643 H.—1245 A.D.), Muhammad by name, entitled Muhammad Sultan, and subsequently styled the “Khán-i-Shahíd” or “Martyred Khán,” on the death of Malik Sher Khán-i-Sunkar, Balban’s kinsman, who is said to have founded Bhaṭnár, or more probably

A.D.), which was the year of his expedition to Somnáth, when, on his return from thence he drove out the Karámíṭha ruler thereof. See note 192, page 244.

It is the statement, that “Multán and Uḡchh are subject to Dihlí, and the son of the Sultan of Dihlí is governor.” There were no Sultáns of Dihlí when Bú-Riḥán wrote—428–430 H. (1020–1030 A.D.), and not for nearly two centuries after, the first being Kuṭb-ud-Dín, I-bak, the Turk, in 608 H. (1208–9 A.D.); and there was never any Sultan’s son governor of these parts until the time of Muhammad Sultan, the Khán-i-Shahíd, son of Sultan Ghiyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, the Ilbári Turk. Rashíd-ud-Dín completed his work twelve years after the date given in the text above, namely, in 710 H. (1310 A.D.).

See page 220. In the MSS. of the K’in-i-Akbarí, which I have examined, the name is written Shutlaj, but in Blochmann’s printed text it is “Shatdūr—" See the extract from Muir’s “Sanskrit Texts” in the account of that river farther on.

Malik Nusrat-ud-Dín, Sher Khán-i-Sunkar, referred to in note 45, page 171, is said by Žiyá-ud-Dín, Baráni, to have built a lofty cupola or domed building at Bhāṭnár, and to have erected, among others, the fortresses of Bhāṭnár and Bhāṭjīndah. He held for a considerable time, off and on, the frontier provinces of the Dihlí empire on the west, or, rather, the provinces which still remained; for the traitor, Malik ’Izz-ud-Dín Balban-i-Kashlí Khán, had betrayed Multán and Uḡchh, and such part of Sind as he had held, by becoming a feudatory of the Mughals.
restored it, was placed by his father in charge of the western frontiers of the Dihli kingdom, as it then existed; and the siefs of Samānah, Debal-pūr, and as much of the Lāhor province as was in the possession of his father, were conferred upon him. Muḥammad Sulṭān used to send his troops to patrol as far west as the Biāh, and to guard the frontier from the incursions of the Mughals, who held all the parts beyond or west of the Rāwi under subjection. From their domination Multān had only lately been recovered; and they carried their inroads into the parts between that city and Lāhor, which was still in ruins, as far as, and even beyond, the banks of the Biāh, which washed the walls of Debal-pūr.

Muḥammad Sulṭān, subsequently, on an invasion of the Panj-āb territory by the Mughal infidels, under the Nū-in or Nū-yán, both being correct, Timūr,303 in 684 H. (1285-86 A. D.), moved from Multān to encounter them. He fell in with them between Debal-pūr and Lāhor, and overthrew them; but he was afterwards killed by a body of the invaders which had rallied during the pursuit, and came upon him unexpectedly when almost alone, at a well, where he had alighted to refresh himself, and to say his prayers, and when he supposed they had all disappeared. On this account he is styled "the Khān-i-Shahīd" or "Martyred Khān." It was in this affair that Amīr Khusrau, the Poet, was made captive by the Mughals.309

"Malik Sher Khān, was greatly trusted, and held in great respect and reverence; for he was as the Sadd-i-Yājūj Mājūj [the Barrier of Gog and Magog] against the Mughals, whom he had repelled on several occasions. He brought under subjection to his authority the Jāts, Khokhars [not "Gickers" or "Ghukhurs"], Bhātis, Meniaws [Ma’īns?], and Mandāhrs, and other marauding tribes, which those who succeeded him were unable to control. Sher Khān died early in the reign of his kinsman, Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, the Ilbari Turk, and never used to come to Dihli; and it is said, but, apparently, without good reason, that the Sulṭān caused poison to be administered to him." The author of the "Tārikh-i-Firūz-Shāh-i says he died at Bhaṭnūr, where a fine tomb was erected over him.

For more respecting this great feudatory, see my "Translation of the Tabakât-i-Nāširi," page 791.

308 Called by some writers Timūr Akā, which is, doubtless, his correct name. Nū-in or Nū-yán merely indicates his rank.

309 Another battle with the Mughal invaders took place in 691 H. (1292 A. D.) in the reign of the Khālī Turk Sulṭān, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Firūz Shāh, on the confines of Bar-rām (بِیرم), with the river between; but I cannot discover whereabouts this place is, or was, situated. In the printed text of the ʿA’in-i-Akbarī (in which the names of places are often incorrect) the word is Bāgrām; and lest it should be supposed to refer to Pesghāwar, the old name of which was Bagrām, I beg to state that that part is not referred to. This Bar-rām was in Hindūstān, the Mughals having entered it; and Bagrām of Pesghāwar is not Hindūstān.
Mîr Ma'gûm of Bakhar, the historian of Sind, states, that in 693 H. (1293-4 A. D.), Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Khajj Turk ruler of Dihlī, marched to Lāhor, and despatched his middle son, Arkal Khān, to assume the government of Uchchh and Multān; and Nuṣrat Khān, another son, was made feudatory of Sind. Subsequently, Nuṣrat Khān was placed in charge of the Multān, Uchchh, Bakhar, Siw-istān, and Thâtahh territories, with the town of Multān as the seat of government.

In 697 H. (1297-98 A. D.) Saldāe, the Mughal, invaded Sind, on which occasion Nuṣrat Khān took his troops to Siw-istān (but not to Siwī) by water—this does not mean that Siw-istān, the modern Siwān, was close to the banks of the Ab-i-Sind; for it was still a considerable distance from it—overcame the Mughals, and returned to Bakhar. There he found orders awaiting him to lead half his forces from Bakhar by way of Jâsāl-mîr, in order to take part in the campaign against Gujarát, upon which service his brother, the Ulugh Khān, had been sent. From this it appears that there was no scarcity of water between Bakhar and Jasal-mîr, and the Hakrá or Wahindah must have been still flowing, but whether in so large a volume as previously, we cannot say, as there is no distinct mention of it.

After these events, in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alâ-ud-Dīn, the Khajj Turk, Ghâzî Malik, afterwards Sulṭān Ghiyâs-ud-Dīn, Tughluk Shāh, was sent to Debal-pîr at the head of 10,000 horse to repel the Mughal inroads into that part of the Panj-āb territory.

In the Ṭârikh-i-'Alâ'i, or Khazâín-ul-Futûh by Amîr Khusran, there is an account of Sulṭān 'Alâ-ud-Dīn, the Khajj Turk, who reigned from 695 H. to 710 H. (1296 to 1310 A. D.). In the first-mentioned year, Kadar, the Mughal [who is made a Tâdâr of in Elliot's "Historians"], invaded the tract of country called Jârān-Manjûr, having come from the Koh-i-Jûd or Salt Range west of the Jîhlâm. The author says he crossed the Bîdh, Jîlâm, and Sutlaj, and burnt the villages of the Khokhars." The rivers are mentioned by him in the order in which they are here written.

'Abd-ullah-i-Wašâf, in his history, completed in 728 H. (1327 A. D.), in the brief notice of the Sulṭâns of Dihlī, mentions the Sutlaj. He says with reference to the route between Khurâsân and Hind:

"After crossing the panj-āb or five rivers, namely, the Sind, the Jîlâm [Jîhlâm], the river of Lohâwar, the Satlût [in the margin is Sutlaj].

The name of this place is written in various ways—Jâwan Manjûr, Jârân-Manjûr, Jâr-Manjûr, and the like. In Elliot it is turned into "Islandhar." See vol. 111, p. 162, note 2.
and the Bháh," thus reversing their situations as is done in the previous extract, while the Chin-áb is not mentioned. He also mentions towns and districts, saying: "There are Báníán of Koh-i-Júd [he is the only author that I know of who distinctly mentions where this tract lay], Súdarah [Súdarah], Jálándhar, the territory of the Kókar [Khokhara], Múltán, Uboh-hár, Hásí [Hánsí], Sur-Sutí, Káithal, Súnám, Tabárhandáb," etc.

Previous to this, about 707 H. (1307-8 A. D.), Sultán Ghíyás-ud-Dín, Tughlúk Sháh, when he, as Gházi Malik, held the fiefs of Múltán and Debal-púr,²¹² then the capital of the northern Panj-áb, and Múltán

²¹¹ See "Tabakát-i-Násir," page 677, note 5. Súdarah is situated about four miles east-north-east of Wázír-ábád, and styled "Sohdarah" in the maps. In former times the Chin-áb flowed close to it on the north, but is now nearly four miles from it. Súdarah is an ancient site. In the last century, there used to be a lofty mandir of burnt brick standing there, on the bank of the Chin-áb.

²¹² From the various operations and encounters between the rivas for the throne, before Sultán Ghíyás-ud-Dín, Tughlúk Sháh, succeeded to it, who, as Gházi Malik, held the fief of Debal-púr, there appears to have been no want of water between that place and Sarástí. He, on one occasion, came out of Debal-púr to meet his rivals coming from that part. "Gházi Malik, leaving Debal-púr, passed the kásbáh of Dábhalí (کب‌ه), and with the river (āb) in his rear, he encountered them." That river is not named, but the place here mentioned lies between Debal-púr and Sarástí or Siráz, thirty-six miles to the westwards of Uboh-hár, and stands on the bank of the oldest channel of the Sutlaj, called in the maps "the eastern Naiwal" and "Nyewal." See the notice of the river Sutlaj farther on.

In the extracts given by Elliot in his "Indian Historians" vol. III, from a French version of Ibn Baţúfah, it is stated, that, in the reign of Sultán Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughlúk Sháh, "Kíshlí Khán revolted against him, spread his money, raised troops, and sent emissaries among the Turks, Afgáns, and Khúrúsánís, who flocked to him in great numbers. His army was equal to the Sultán's, and even superior to it in numbers. The Sultán marched in person to fight him, and "they met two days' journey from Múltán, in the desert plain of Abúhár. The "desert plain" here mentioned, refers to the sandy tract referred to in the next paragraph of the text above.

There seems to have been considerable disarrangement in the MSS. from which Lee's and other translations of Ibn Baťúfah have been made; for, in them he sets out from Múltán and goes to Uboh-hár, and, after going a journey of four days from thence, reaches Ajúdghán. The traveller's account, therefore, has been reversed. He first went to Ajúdghán from Múltán, and, from the first-named place, in four days, reached Uboh-hár. At Ajúdghán he visited, he says, "the famous Muhammádán saint, whose tomb after his decease became a place of pilgrimage," and after a lapse of five centuries still continues to be held in great veneration—the Shaikh-ul-Íslám, Faríd-ul-Ík waú-Dín, Shákur-Ganj, son of Jalál-ú-Dín, Súlímán; and at whose tomb, Sultán Firúz Sháh, and Amír Timúr, offered up their prayers, as related farther on. It is from this Muhammádán saint that Ajúdghán is also known as the Pák Íttá, The Holy Town—but not Páfan, a Ferry, as some have assumed.
of the southern parts, used often to make incursions into the tracts held by the Mughals and their tributaries farther west. His son and successor, Sultán Muhammad Sháh, when about to enter Lár or Lower Sind from Guzarat towards the close of 751 H. (about January, 1351 A.D.), in order to punish the Samrás of that part for sheltering rebels from his dominions, gave directions for boats to be collected from all parts, from Sisw-istán [but not Síwí nor “ Sebi ”], from Uchobh, Multán, and other parts, at Debál-púr, to enable him to convey his troops across the Sind river. To have directed boats to be collected at Debál-púr after the Biáh had deserted its old bed would have been simply ridiculous, since, by that desertion, it left Debál-púr some twenty-three miles farther west. From the above facts it is beyond a doubt, that, at that period also, the Biáh still flowed in its old bed, and no Sutlaj had united with it.

In 734 H. (1332 A.D.), the Moorish traveller, Ibn Batútah, crossed from Multán to Dihlí, about eighty years after the investment of Uchobh by the Mughals; twenty-eight years before Sultán Firúz Sháh brought his first canal to Manṣúr-púr and Samánah; and sixty-seven years before the invasion of Amír Timúr, the Gúrgán. Ibn Batútah proceeded by way of Ajúḍghán and Uboh-har, and would have had to cross the Biáh as Amír Timúr subsequently did, before reaching the former place, and the Sutlaj after leaving the latter, and soon after the different tributaries of the Hakrá higher up. He says, after noticing that Ajúḍghán was a small place, “The first city we entered belonging to Hindústán [here he is perfectly right, the river was the boundary between the Multán province and Hindústán] was Uboh-har, which is the first place in Hind in this direction. It is small and closely built [it was a walled town with a fort], and abounds with water and cultivation. ** At length I left the town of Uboh-har, and proceeded for one day through a desert enclosed on both sides by hills [low, rocky hills], upon which were infidels and rebellious Hindús. The inhabitants of Hind generally are infidels; some of them live under the protection of

---

213 See a note farther on.

214 The reason why he says this is that the Multán province extended, at the period in question, to the Sutlaj, which then flowed in the Uboh-har channel, and was still a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah.

215 This name is written “ Abohar,” and “ Abúhar,” and the like in MSS., but it was founded by Ja prá, grandson of Rájah Rasálú, the Bhatí, and named after his wife, Uboh, and therefore Uboh-har is the correct name. The termination, ‘har’ occurs in the names of many places where the Bhatí tribe dwell, or previously dwelt, and refers to standing water, or where water is found.

216 These are the rocky hills lying immediately south of Tohsham, south of Hánsh, and the former place stands on the northern skirt of part of them.
the Muḥammadans, and reside either in villages or cities: others, however, infest the mountain tracts and rob on the highways. I happened to be one of a party of twenty-two persons, when a number of these Hindūs [Bhartīs probably], consisting of two horsemen and eighty foot, made an attack upon us. We, however, engaged them, and by God's help put them to flight, having killed one of the horsemen and twelve of the others. * * * After four days' journey, I arrived at the town of Saraasti [Sirsa]. It is large, and abounds with rice, which they carry to Dihli. After this I reached Hānsī, which is a very beautiful and closely built city, with extensive fortifications. I next came to Mas'ūd-ābād, after two days' travelling, and remained there three days." He adds, that, "The whole way between Multān and Dihli, a distance of forty days' journey, there are many contiguous inhabited places." From these remarks, it will be noticed, that, with the exception of "one day's journey through a desert tract"*17 after leaving Uboh-har, there was no scarcity of water whatever.

Some of the events which happened in Sind and the Panj-āb and adjacent parts, during the time of the Khalj Turk or Khalji dynasty, will tend to throw some light on the courses of the rivers of these parts, more particularly with respect to the Biāh and Sutlaj.

Shams-i-Sarāj,*18 the 'Afīf (abstainer from anything forbidden),

*17 This "desert tract" was that between the Uboh-har channel in which the Sutlaj then flowed, and the one farther east which it had last deserted. In all its changes it has invariably left the tract between its old and new channel covered with sand and silt.

*18 There is, of course, a "Gazetteer of the Hisar District, 1883-84. Compiled and published under the authority of the Punjab Government;" and in that "Gazetteer," as in most others, are some choice specimens of history burlesqued. The above writer is quoted therein as "one of Sir H. Elliot's Historians," under the name of Shams-i-Shirāz, the compiler apparently, having taken him for a native of Shirāz in Persia. It is a pity the Panj-āb Government has not some one to correct the historical part of its "Gazetteers."

For example: we are told time after time about "the reign of the Emperor Ala-ud-dīn Ghūrī." I beg leave to observe that no "Emperor Ala-ud-dīn Ghūrī" ever yet reigned in the Panj-āb or Hind. The Sultan, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, the Shamsabānī Tājīgī Ghūrī (who, in his youthful days, and before he became Sultan of Ghūrīn and assumed that title, bore that of Shīhāb-ud-Dīn), who conquered Hindūstān, and established the Muḥammadan faith at Dihli, is not once referred to in the Gazetteer in question!

Here is one more specimen. Referring to the claim of a Jāt tribe to Rājpūt descent from "Māns, the grandson of Salvahan, Bāja of Siākot," the compiler says: "As their story involves a war between Salvahan (A. D. 90) and the Muḥammadans of Mecca, it cannot be accepted with confidence."

I trow not, considering that the year 90 A. D., happens to be only five hundred and thirty-two years before the Muḥammadan era, and actually four hundred and seventy-three years before Muḥammad was born!
the author of the history of Sultan Firuz Shah's reign, dwelt at Uboh-har, which, he says, is the country of that Sultan's Bhati mother; for she was the daughter of Rana Mal, the Bhati. The great grandfather of Shams-i-Saraj was the 'amal-dar or revenue collector of the district dependent on Uboh-har—which shows that it could not have been short of water in his day, and as Ibn Batutah confirms—and Shams-i-Saraj was intimate with Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, Tughluk Shah, before he came to the Dhihi throne, when, as Ghazi Malik, he held the fief of Debal-pur, of which, at that time, Uboh-har was a dependency. Shams-i-Saraj states, that, at that period—previous to 720 H. (1320 A. D.)—all the lands from the largest to the smallest estates, and all the jangal, or waste lands, or uncultivated tracts, belonging to the Ma'in and Bhati tribes, were dependent on the town of Uboh-har. He also states that in the language of this part tal-wandi means a village.

When Sultan Firuz Shah was about to return to Dihli, after the death of Sultan Muhammad Shah, his kinsman, whom he succeeded on his death on the banks of the Sind near Thathah, in Muharram, 752 H. (March, 1351 A. D.), he was advised to return through Guzarat. As Ahmad-i-Ayyaz was in rebellion at Dihli, he determined to do so by marching up the Ab-i-Sind river instead, with his still numerous forces and followers, and going by way of Multan and Debal-pur. This also shows that he did not anticipate any scarcity of water for his forces and the numerous followers and animals. First, he moved up to Siw-istan, the modern Siwhap, and from thence towards Bakhari, where he crossed the river, and then marched to Multan without having to cross any other river. Leaving it, he moved to Ajuddhan, and paid his devotions at the tomb of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, Farid-ul-Hak, wa ad-Din, Shaker-Ganj. From Ajuddhan he moved right across the worst part of what, in modern days, is known as the 'Indian Desert,' to Sarasti [now Sirsá]. Marching from thence he reached Ikdar and founded Fath-abad, so named

819 Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, Tughluk Shah, ascended the throne of Dihli in 720 H.
820 Villages in this part are also called mandals by some writers. This word, in Hindi, means 'a circle,' also a 'circular hut or tent.' Mandals, however, are not 'fortifications,' as Mr. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot's 'Historians' supposed (Vol. III, page 254). The word is a common one in Hindi.
821 Sultan Firuz Shah was the son of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, Tughluk's brother, and Sultan Muhammad Shah was the latter's son.
822 See a note farther on.
823 This place is now the principle town of one of the five tahsil or revenue divisions into which the Hisar district under the Panjab government is divided.

There is a 'Report,' published in 1876, of the 'Settlement of the Hisar Division of the Panjab,' the history of which, so called, is taken from the 'Ain-i-Akbar' [sic], in which its compiler has the assurance to tell us, that, 'Under Mu-
after his son, Fath Khán. From thence he continued his march to Hánsi, having been joined by the feudatories of Samánah and Sunám with their respective contingents.

On his return from Lakhañawaṭi in 754 H. (1353 A. D.), he founded the Firúzah Hīsár, on the site of which were two villages [tal-wandis]; and there were fifty kharaks included in the first, and forty kharaks in the other. These villages were called Bará (Great) Sarás, and Chhoṭá (Little) Sarás, respectively; and in this tract of country there are no villages containing other than these kharaks [the Hindi for a cattle-shed, but here seems to refer to the dwellings such as the Jaṭs of the Khar’l and Si ál tribes construct—a flat roof of thatch or canes raised on poles but without sides or walls]. The Sultan was much pleased with the situation of Bará Sarás, and he thought it would be advantageous to found a town there; for water was deficient there at that period, and, in the hot season, travellers had to pay as high as four jitals for a hauz of water. * * * A fortress of considerable extent and loftiness was commenced; and in course of time [two years and a half] the place was completed, and the Sultan named it Hīsár-i-Firúzah or the Firúzah Hīsár or Fortress. It was surrounded with a ditch, and within the Hīsár a large and deep hauz or reservoir was constructed, which was intended to supply the ditch."

Hammadan rule and prior to Firoz Shah’s reign, nothing worthy of note occurred.”

See note 239, page 274, for the confirmation or otherwise of this statement. Then it states, that, in 1372 he erected the fort, and founded the town of Hissár, and had to cut a canal from the Jamna. * * * Firoz also built the Kasbah of Fattiabád, to which place, from the Ghaggar, he had a small canal cut, which is still in use.” In the same “Report” it is stated, that “Hissár” is otherwise called “Habeli”—“Hissár (alias Habeli).” This of course is a great error. Hauwél is not the alias of Hīsár, any more than it is of Rewrá bá hauwel, Budáún bá hauwel, Síw-istán bá hauwel, and many other places. Hīsár bá hauwel is as old as the X’īn-i-Akbari, wherein it will be found with many others. Hauwel is merely the ‘Arabic for ‘habitation,’ ‘mansion,’ etc.—the Government building or public offices, appertaining to the chief town of a Sarkár. Hīsár not “Hissár,” of course means a fortress or fortified place.

At the same time he founded three other small fortified places, which he named after his other sons, namely, Zafar-ábd, Rizá-ábd, and Muhammad-púr. Villages still bearing these names, and marking the sites, lie, in succession, along the banks of the Gher-ghar on the south side, north-east of Fath-ábd, but the places he founded have now disappeared.

At each of those places there was, and still is, I believe, a stone column like the tāf of Firúz Sháh at Dihlí. They were of red sandstone, and were erected by his orders.

The “Report” above referred to states, that, immediately under the building, a spiral staircase leads to a series of rooms, said to be connected under ground, with a similar building at Hánsi. A Jāmí’ Masjid, erected by Sultan Firúz Sháh,
The Sultan made great endeavours, according to the same writer, to supply the place and lands around with water. He succeeded in doing so by means of two canals—one from the river Jún or Yamúnah, and one from the bed of the Sutlaj, and which was again connected with that river lower down. This is important, as showing that the Sutlaj must, at that period, have been running very much farther to the eastward than in later years, and much nearer to the Fírúzah Hisá[r, and about mid-way (in the Uboh-har channel) between that place and the Sáhá, which we are certain still flowed in its old bed. These canals were the Rájírah and Aghamání. They were brought from the northward of Kárnl, and flowed a distance of eighty kuroh to the Fírúzah Hisá[r. This is about the first time, if not the very first time, that the Sutlaj is mentioned in the Muḥammadan histories of India by a contemporary writer. After the new town and hisá[r were finished, and water supplied, this part was separated from the district of Sahrind, formed into a separate one, and named the district of Hisá[r-i-Fírúzah, that is, or dependent on the Hisá[r of Fírúz Shá[h.

The Tárikh-i-Alfí, written in the reign of Akbar Bádshá[h, and compiled from the best histories then available in India, says, that “In the year 762 H. (1360-61 A. D.), the Sultan set out for a nahr or stream which is called Astímá[h, which really embraced two considerable streams, and contained never failing water, and between which a high pushtah—a spur or hill—intervened. The Sultan set 5,000 beldárs or pioneers to work in order to remove this obstruction; so that the waters of the Tárikh-i-Alfí supplies him with a deal of information, as well as the Tábihká-d-i-Akbá[rí, especially regarding the events happening out of Hind; and he copies both almost word for word.
Sursuti might be brought to the _nahr_ in question, and, when united, might flow on to Sahirind, Manşür-pûr, and Samânah."

'Abd-ul-Kâdir, the Budâ'ûnî, one of the authors of the Târîkh-i-Alfî above mentioned, says in his history of India, that "the water is that which issues from a mound or hill of a sandy nature, of considerable size, and which water falls into the _nahr_ or stream of the Sutlaj, which is also called the Sutladr," and that it—the water falling into the Sutlaj—is called the Sursutf;" that "it was distributed by means of two canals, and _used to flow_ by Sahirind, Manaşür-pûr, andSamânah. The whole of the mound or hill was not removed." It was, perhaps, merely cut through sufficiently to permit the water to pass freely.

"While employed in these excavations, the bones of elephants and human beings were discovered in this great mound or hill, among which were their arms [_dast_—the hand, including the arm to the elbow], measuring three _gaz_ in length, some of which were petrified, but the rest still remained unchanged. It was represented to the Sultân, that, when Sikandar [Alexander the Great] reached that place, the people, having made images of Nûshâbâh, used to keep them in their dwellings and worship them; and that, now [in the time of Sultân Firûz Shâh], her image had become the deity worshipped by the people of these parts."

Sultân Firûz Shâh, likewise, when proceeding towards Debal-pûr on a hunting excursion in 756 H. (1355 A. D.), "determined," it is said, "on opening a canal from the Sutladr (Sutlaj) to Jhajhar, a distance of forty-eight _kuroh_," or about eighty-four miles. Here there must be some error in the names, because the Satlaj where it issues from the hills at Rûh-pûr, its nearest point to Jhajhar, is about one hundred and seventy miles, and the nearest of its old channels to the west—the easternmost "Nyewal N." of the maps, is one hundred and forty miles to the westward of Jhajhar. Consequently, if Jhajhar is correct, the Sutlaj cannot be meant, and if the Sutlaj is meant, then some other place than Jhajhar must be meant, to which it would have been far easier to have brought water from the Yamûnah.

283 "Being therefore unresolved what course to take, he [Alexander] leaped from the tribunal, and shut himself up in his tent, forbidding any to be admitted, except those with him. Thus he sacrificed two days to his passion, and on the third he appeared publicly again, and ordered twelve altars to be erected of square stone, to remain as a monument of his expedition. He also caused the fortifications of his camp to be extended, and _beis to be left of a larger size than the ordinary stature of man required_, designing to impose upon posterity by this excessive outward appearance of things" "QUINTUS CURTIIUS." More respecting these altars will be mentioned farther on.

289 Nûshâbâh is the name of the ancient queen of Bârdâ', in Shirwân, on the west bank of the river Kur.
In the following year he had another canal excavated from the Yumna or Jum near Sirmur. He connected it with seven small rivers, and brought their waters to Hansi [which canal still exists], and from thence to the Firuzah Hisar; and a great lake [or dhond, as it is called in those parts], close to the kushk or castle there, was filled therefrom. The same Sultan brought yet another canal from the river Ghag-ghar, and conducted the water into the nahr-i-Khirah [نهر كیرة], and erected a fortress between, which he named Firuz-abad, near which there also used to be a great kol [the Persian of dhond] or lake, several miles long, filled from the Ghag-ghar.

His reasons for making all these canals are obvious. They are doubtless, connected in some way with the drying up, diversion of, or fluctuation in, some of the tributaries of the Hakra or Wahindah; but

In his extract from the Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shah-i Elliot says (Vol. IV., p. 8) that, "Firishta closely follows our author," or, more correctly, copies from him. He adds "and helps us to understand him," as we shall see. He continues: "There are several inaccuracies in the passage as given in Brigg's translation, so the following is offered as a more correct rendering of the lithographed text. "In the month of Shanban, 756 H. (the Sultan) went towards Dibalpur hunting, and having dug a large canal (jodd) from the river Sutlej, he conducted it to Jhajhar, forty-eight kos distant. In 757 H. he cut a canal from the river Jamna, in the hills of Mandowri [Mandowri Mandow or Mandow is well known, the other is an error] and Sirmur, and having turned seven other streams into it, he brought it to Hansi, and from thence to Abasin [Raisin ?], where he built a strong fort which he called Hisar Firozah. * * * He formed another canal from the river Khagar [it is Ghag-ghar in the original], and conducting it by the fort of Sarsuti, he brought it to the river Sar-khatrah (نهر سركهتر), where he founded the city of Firozabad. He also brought another canal from the Jumna, and threw it into the tank of that city." Then the Editor, apparently, adds: "The words "river of Sar-khatrah" are clearly wrong. In the translation, which was made from MSS., the name is given as "Pery Khira," which is more like Harfi-khir of our text. The real name is possibly Hari-khira." All this speculation is about the words mentioned above; and it will be seen how "closely Firishta follows our author." It will be noticed that نهر دیوپی کیدرود with which it is not

280 The Buduní says—and the "Haft Iklim" agrees with his statement—that the Sultan went to Debáipur in 756 H. (1355 A. D.), and caused a canal to be made from the Sutlej to Jhajhar, which is forty-eight kuroh distant. In 757 H. (1356 A. D.), he opened a canal from the territory of Mandú and Sirmur, and connected seven other nahr or streams with it, and conducted the waters to Hansi, and thence to Rasin; and there the Firuzah hisár or fortress was founded. Beneath the kasr or palace or castle, a haus or reservoir was constructed, and filled with water from the canal in question. Another canal was opened from the Kandar Nahr [نهر کندر], and brought under the walls of the hisár or fortress of Sarasti, and from thence conducted to Birí Kháráh [Khiráh ?]; and there a city [town] was founded which was named Firúz-ábad."
nothing whatever is mentioned, or even hinted at, on this subject, under the events of his reign, although we find, as related in detail farther on, that he followed the route from Debál-púr, Ajúdáhán, and across to Fath-ábád and Hání on more than one occasion, and which same route was followed by Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, some forty-three years after.281

Having arranged the affairs of his kingdom, in the year 763 H. (1361-62 A. D.), Sultán Firúz Sháh turned his attention to Sind, the expedition against Thátháh having had to be abandoned on the death of Sultán Muḥammad Sháh, his predecessor, on the banks of the Sind, in the vicinity of that town, about eleven years before. His forces on this occasion amounted to 90,000 cavalry, and 480 war elephants; and yet, strange to say, although it has been stated before, that water was scarce in the neighbourhood of his new town and fortress of Firúzah in the hot season, he marched across that very part; because it is plainly stated by the historians of his reign, that he again went across to Ajúdáhán, and offered up his prayers at the tomb of Sháikh Faríd-i-Shakar-Ganj, and that, after that, he reached "the confines of Bakhar and Siw-istán. Boats were collected from Debál-púr, and other places lower down, to the number of 5,000; and part of the troops, the baggage, and heavy equipments were embarked on them; while the Sultán, with the rest of his army, accompanied the fleet of boats, marching along near the river's bank. The father of Sháms-i-Saráj, the author of the Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháh-i, had charge of one division of boats containing troops, on this occasion.

The Sultán was unsuccessful in his operations; for a disease broke out among the horses in lower Sind, and three-fourths of them died. The hot season being near at hand, he determined to retire into Gúzarát, obtain reinforcements, and return as soon as the season opened, having first beaten off the forces of the Jám of Lower Sind, who had become so emboldened from the Sultán's losses, as to venture out and attack him.

281 The author of another Tárikh-i-Firúz-Sháh-i, Ziyá-ud-Dín, Barání, states, that, on one occasion, when he, the author, "was within the fortress of Bhaṭnúr, in the cold season, some little disorder arose, and the people from the tāl-wandis [villages] round about the neighbourhood came flocking in to the shelter of the fortress; and from the excess of dust raised by the horses and cattle, the broad light of day became so darkened therefrom, that people could not distinguish each others faces. Out of a thousandth part of the people and their animals, it was possible for one part to find a place within the walls. I entered the stable of the Hajjam, Ightiyr-ud-Dín, Madhú, and counted therein thirteen horses of 1,000 and 2,000 tangahs each in value; and the rest of the other property who shall calculate." All this does not indicate any scarcity of water; for horses and other animals cannot exist without water any more than human beings.
The guides proved treacherous, and brought the Sultan into the Kunchi ran or marsh,²²₃ [the ran of Kachchh], and his whole army was on the point of perishing for want of water. The author says it was "such a howling desert that no bird ever flapped its wings over it; not a tree was to be seen; not a blade of grass; not even a miserable, noxious weed."

²²₃ This word is spelt ran, but never riṣ, because riṣ means 'battle,' while ran means 'a marsh,' or 'marshy ground.'

The Tarikh-i-Tahirí states, that this ran extended from the ocean between the countries of Sind and Guzarat. Abú-l-Fażl, in his A'ìn-i-Akbarí says, that "between Kháilwárh [Khánawád] of the Sárkár of Āhmád-ábád, and the Páttan or City [i. e., Anhál-wáráh], and Súrah [i. e., Sauráshtráh] there is a great depression, in length ninety kuroh, and in breadth from eight to thirty kuroh. This they call ran (with short 'a' to 'r,' and the 'n' quiescent)."

When Sultan Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín returned from the expedition to Somnáth, towards Mansúriyáh, he was led by his Hindú guide into this ran, and on this occasion, according to the Baiákí, one of the Sultan's huntsmen killed an enormous serpent,—a python or boa-constrictor—which was skinned, and found to be thirty ells [gas] in length, and four in breadth. The Baiákí adds, "Whoever doubts the correctness of this statement, let him go to the citadel of Ghaznín, and see for himself the skin in question, which is hung up like a canopy." See note 105, page 196.

It is a wonder that Sultan Mahmúd ever ventured to attack this hot-bed of idol-worship; and that he and his army escaped is more wonderful still, because, in a book published at Bombay and in London in 1882, entitled "Tarikh-i-Soráth: A History of the Provinces of Sóráth and Hâlár in Káthiáwád, by Ranchodji Amári, Diván of Junághád, and edited by Jas. Burgess, LL. D., F. R. G. S., etc., etc.," who considers it "a genuine native history," and so it is in a Hindú point of view, we are told (p. 111) that, "The hateful Sultan Mahmúd Ghaznaví marched with an army from Ghaznín to Gujurát with the intention of carrying on a religious war. In Saámrut 1078 (A. D. 1021, A. H. 414) he demolished the temple of Sri Somnáth and returned. This act so provoked the Mahárája Mandalíka, who was a protector of his own religion, that he marched with Bhim Deva, the Rája of Gujurát, in pursuit:

They ran like fawns and leaped like onagers,

As lightning now, and now outwitting wind!

The Muḥammadán did not make a great stand, but fled; many of them were slain by Hindú scymitars and prostrated by Rájput war-clubs, and when the sun of the Rája's fortune culminated Sháh Mahmúd took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers, of both sexes [sic], were captured. Turkish, Afgáhn, and Móghal female prisoners were, if they happened to be virgins," etc., etc. So much for the "genuine native history." It is strange the valiant Rájah of the Hindús did not make the Sultan "take to his heels" before he captured the place, and that he did not bring back the four fragments of their stone deity, instead of allowing the Masalmáns to carry them off to Ghaznín, where a fragment was cast before the entrance of the great masjid and the Sultan's palace, respectively, to be trodden under foot (and where they might have been seen a little over a century since), and the others sent to Makkah and Madínah.
The season having come round, he returned from Guzarát with recruited forces, and reached the banks of the Sind; but, although he had boats, the breadth of the river was so great, and the opposition of the Sindis so determined, that it was found to be impracticable to cross it. The author states that the Sultan was consequently under the necessity of sending a portion of his army up-stream, to cross at Bakhar, a distance of one hundred and twenty kuroh, then march down again on the other side, and attack Thathah. When this force had appeared before Thathah, and fighting commenced, the breadth of the river was so great at this point, that, although the fortifications of Thathah were visible from that [the east] side, the land around could not be distinguished, and it could not be discovered whether his troops had been successful or not. In this state of uncertainty, the Sultan sent a messenger across, with directions to the leader of the troops to march up-stream again, re-cross at Bakhar, and re-join his camp, he having determined to occupy his position on the east bank, and await the arrival of additional troops from Dihli. At this juncture, the Sindis besought the Makhdum-i-Jahanián, the Sayyid, Jalal-ud-Din, Husain, son of Ahmad, Bukhari, the saint of Uchh, who was in the Sultan's camp, to make overtures on their behalf; and the upshot was that an accommodation took place, the Jâm and his brother came and made submis-

333 Fearing that those first sent across would be annihilated before others could arrive to support them.

334 The town or city of Thathah had only recently been founded by one of the early Sammah rulers, as mentioned farther on. The name of Thathah, as a city or fortified town, will not be found in any history written previous to the historian of Sultan Firuz Shah's reign—Ziya-ud-Din, Barani.

335 The Sultan could not have had any boats with him then, or perhaps they had been sent with the troops which marched upwards to Bakhar, otherwise, with a considerable part of his army on the Thathah side, he might surely have crossed with his army to their support, unless the Sindis with their vessels commanded the river, which is not improbable; for his troops had to march all the way back again by Bakhar to rejoin him. It will be noticed, that, when the Sultan returned after the accommodation with the Sindis, he came up the west bank of the river to Siwistan, the modern Siwâp, and from thence to Bakhar where he passed to the east side.

If we take into consideration the state of the river and delta near Thathah now, and, that although that place could be distinguished from the opposite side of the river, the land around could not, we can calculate how broad it must then have been, in the beginning of the cold season, too, after the inundation subsides. The river now, at the height of the inundations attains a breadth of about 1,600 yards—not quite a mile—and at its lowest is about 480 yards broad. A great part of the delta south of Thathah has been formed since those events happened.
tion, and the Sultan marched back to Dihli by Siw-istan, Bakhar, Multán, and Debál-púr, crossing once more, what has been assumed to have been, at that time, a great, waterless desert, on his way to Dihli.

If there then was such a scarcity of water, and all the rivers between Ajúddhan and the Firúzah Ḥiṣár had been dried up, he certainly would not have chosen that route on so many different occasions.856

Sultan Firúz Sháh died in the ninth month of 790 H. (1388 A. D.). Sultan Náṣir-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, his grandson, who succeeded his father, Sultan Muḥammad Sháh in 796 H. (1393-94 A. D.), despatched one of his Amírs, Sárang Khán, to Debál-púr, to gain possession of that fief and also Multán, and to put down Shaikhá, the Khokhar,857 who was in rebellion. In the eighth month of that same year (796 H.), Sárang Khán proceeded to Debál-púr. * * * In the eleventh month of the same year (just five years before Amír Timúr appeared upon the same scene), Sárang Khán, having taken along with him Rá’e Dul-Chín, the Bhatí chief, (the same who surrendered Bhatnír to Amír Timúr), and Rá’e Dá’úd, and Kamá-ud-Dín, the Ma’in858 chief, and the forces of Multán and Debál-púr, crossed the Sutladár (Sutlaj) near the town of Tilúrah, and afterwards the Bhá near Duhálí or Doháli, and entered the territory of Láhor. Shaikhá, the Khokhar, hearing of these movements, having previously mustered his followers, took advantage of

856 Shams-i-Saraj (as well as others) states, that, “in the hot season, numbers of gor khar or wild asses congregate between Debál-púr and Sarastí,” where Akbar Bádésháh hunted them in after years, as he also did in the neighbourhood of Ajúddhan.

857 See my “Notes on Afgánístan,” etc., page 367 respecting these Khokhars, who are invariably made “Gickers,” “Gukkars,” “Ghakkars,” “Gakhurs,” and the like, by different English writers, unaware of the existence of the great tribe of Khokhar who are Jats, and of the Gakhars, a comparatively small tribe, being a totally distinct race. The Khokhars extend from the northern Panj-áb, where their chief places are Bharah and Khúsh-áb, down into Lár or Lower Sind, Kachchh, and even Káthiáwar. They cannot number at present less than 50,000 families, and are probably nearly double that number. Cunningham, who falls into the same error as others respecting them, says, “Gakar”—turning them into Gakhars—is most probably only a simple [!] variation of the ethnic title of Sabar or Abári,” but the Khokhars are never even named by him! The Gakhars at this period were of no account whatever, being then a small and weak tribe, dwelling much farther west. They afterwards became somewhat stronger, and finally extended as far east as Gajarat (in the Panj-áb), the farthest point east ever reached by them. This was but for a short period, however, while they never extended farther south than the parallel of the Salt Range, about 32°-20’ N. Lat., while the Khokhars overran nearly the whole of the remainder of what, in after times, was called the Panj-áb, east and south, and even contemplated the seizure of Dihli and its territory. See also Amír Timúr’s encounter with them on the Bhá near Multán at page 281.

858 Also written Mahín.
them, and moved into the neighbourhood of Debâl-pûr, and invested Ajûdîghan; but, on gaining intelligence that Sârang Khan had passed Hindú-pat, and had sat down before Láhor, he gave up the investment of Ajûdîghan in the night, and made a forced march towards Láhor. Next day, the hostile forces having drawn near each other, came in contact at Sâmû-talah, twelve kuroh from Láhor, in which Shaikhá was overthrown, and fled towards Jammú.

There is a very important passage contained in the Târikh-i-Mubárak Shâhî-i, of Yahyá, son of Âhmâd, the Sahrindî, whose work embraces events up to the year 852 H. (1448 A. D.). After the departure of Amir Timúr from Hindústán, little was left to Sultán Nâsir-ud-Dîn, Mahmûd Shâh. He says: "In 803 H. (1400-1 A. D.), Tâghi Khán, the Turkâhí Sultáni [that is, the Turkish mamlûk or slave of a former Sultán], who was the son-in-law of Ghâlib Khán, the Amir of Samánah, assembled a large force, and moved towards Debâl-pûr against Khizr Khán [afterwards ruler of Dihlí, who had been left by Amir Timúr in possession of the whole of the Multán province, and the territory dependent on Debâl-pûr, both of which tracts of country extended eastwards as far as the banks of the Hâkra or Wahindah].

This fact, not generally known, or not well understood, has led some to assume that all this central tract, constituting the eastern parts of the Multán sâbah, the western parts of the Dihlí sâbah, i.e., the sâkâr of Hisâr Firúzâh, and the northern and western parts of the Ajmîr sâbah, was left out altogether by Abú-l-Faṣl. Elliot in his "Memoirs on the Races of the N.-W. Provinces (Vol. II, p. 17)," says: "It will be observed, by referring to the map of Dastâra, that the Western boundary of Sirkâr Hisâr Feroza has been extended only to the bed of the War river, which runs not far to the westward of the Gâhâr, the new Parganah of Wattu and Bhatiâjâ, being altogether excluded: for this tract, full of sandy plains and Thals, seems to have been little known in the time of Akbar, nor with the exception of Malaud, which was in Multán, does it appear to be included in any Sirkâr of the adjoining Sâbahs. It is to be observed, that Abul Faṣl, in mentioning the breadth and length of the several Sâbahs, measures from Hisâr in the Dêhli Sâbah, from Ferozpûr in the Multán Sâbah, from the Satlaj in the Lahore Sâbah, and from Bikanîr in the Ajmîr Sâbah, He appears, therefore, with the above exception, to leave the tract between all these places as neutral ground."

All this is entirely erroneous: Abû-l-Faṣl plainly says, and as the printed text will show, that the Dihlí sâbah extends from Palwal to Lûdhîânah on the banks of the Sutlaj, and from Hisâr to Khizr-âbâd; and among the maâdil or districts of the Hisâr sâkâr are the districts of Bhatâpur, Thîwânahâ, Hisâr Firúzâh, Sirsâ, Fath-âbâd, Aâbaulâh, Bhatiândah, Sahrind, Sunam, Samânanâ, etc., in all twenty-seven districts.

Bhatiând and Bhatiândah extended to the former channel of the Sutlaj, which flowed past Uboh-har, and the Debâl-pûr sâkâr of which Uboh-har on the bank of that channel was the frontier town, adjoined the Bhatiândah district on the other bank. The Debâl-pûr sâkâr included the maâdil or districts of Firúz-pûr, and Muâmâmad-ot (vul. "Mumdot"), which joined the maâdil of the sâkâr of Sahrind...
who was at Debal-pür at the time, advanced into the khittah or district of Ajúdghán to meet him; and a battle was fought between them on the 9th of Rajab of that year, near the banks of the Bahindah [بھیندہ] or Wahindah [ہیندہ] 'b,' and 'w' being interchangeable. In this word the 'j' in MSS. is liable to be mistaken for 's' and 'z,' and vice versa], in which Tághí Khán was overthrown and fled to Uboh-har." Here we have one of the names of the Hakrá, but, most unfortunately, the writer did not think it necessary to say whether it contained water or not, but, from the manner in which he relates these events, it would appear that it did contain water, or he would have mentioned such an important matter. It is very certain that large bodies of troops could not have moved about in those parts so continually unless there had been sufficient water for them. It is also proved beyond a doubt, that, at this time, the Sutlaj flowed between Uboh-har and Ajúdghán, about sixteen miles from the former, and nearly double that distance from the latter place; while we know, from subsequent events, that the Biháh still flowed in its old bed.

Nearly five years after the events above related, in Muḥarram, 808 H. (July, 1405 A. D.), Ikbál Khán, brother of Sárang Khán, chief rival of Khizr Khán, in the struggle for power among the feudatories of the Tughluq dynasty, marched against Samánah, and afterwards moved towards Multán, and arrived at Tal-wandi. From thence he reached the banks of the Bahindah or Bahindah, in the direction of the khittah of Ajúdghán (i. e., the district depending on it), and was encountered in that direction. Indeed, Abú l-Fazl says that the Láhor šúbah extended on the south to the frontier of Bikánír.

On the other hand, he describes the šúbah of Ajmír as extending to the sarkárs of Multán and Debal-pür of the Multán šúbah; and one of the sarkárs of Ajmír was that of Bikánír, consisting of eleven mahálls or districts, of which Jasal-mír, Bikam-pür, Biráil-pür, Púgal, Bikánír, and others, adjoined the Debal-pür and Multán sarkárs in the other direction; consequently, every portion is filled up, and the so-called "neutral ground" is as unsubstantial and illusive as the mirage which prevails on the borders of these šúbahs. The error appears to have occurred through not knowing that both sarkárs of Debal-pür and Multán extended eastwards to the ancient bed of the Hakrá or Wahindah, and, farther north-eastwards, to the banks if the Sutlaj as it flowed in its old channel. As to its being so little known in the time of Akbar Bádsháh see ante note 230, page 273.

230 This, its last deserted, independent channel, is now known as "the great ḍandáh." The author of the Survey I have been quoting in this paper, says, that, "The people of this part apply the term ḍandáh or ḍandá to the south or left bank of the Sutlaj. See the notice of that river farther on, but, I may observe that ḍandáh —بندھ— is differently written from Wahindah—بھیندھ—or Bahindah—بہیندھ—referred to in the text above, and must not be confused the one for the other.
by Khizr Khán at the head of a considerable force, defeated, and put to flight; and, in the pursuit, Ikbál Khán was slain.

This was in the height of the hot season, it must be remembered, and that these two armies were operating against each other in the midst of what could not then have been a sandy, waterless desert, although much must have been uncultivated waste.

In the time of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Din, Mubarak Sháh, son of the Rayat-i-'Ala, Khizr Khán, who succeeded his father in 824 H. (1421 A. D.), Jasraṯh, the Khokhar, Shaikhá's son, rebelled. Among some

241 This was the title assumed by the Sayyid-zádah, Khizr Khán, who never took that of Sultan, as he acknowledged the supremacy of the Amir Timúr, and after him, that of his son and successor, Sultan Sháh Buku, Bahádur Khán.

242 In every translation of these events, Shaikhá, the father, has been mistaken for Jasraṯh, his son (just as we have in Elliot, for example, Vol. IV, page 54—"rebellion of Jasraṯh Shaikha Khokhar"); precisely in the same way that Kasim, the father of the conqueror of Sind, has been mistaken for his son, Muḥammad, merely because the translators did not understand the proper use of the Persian izdáfat, and that an izdáfat, expressed or understood, was required between the names of Jasraṯh and Shaikhá, and between Muḥammad and Kasim, thus—Jasraṯh-i-Shaikhá, and Muḥammad-i-Kasim—after the idiom of the Persian, instead of writing Muḥammad bin Kasim, or Muḥammad ʿibn Kasim, according to the 'Arabic usage.

Scores of errors on this account occur in translations of the kind referred to, through want of knowledge of the use of the izdáfat of the Persian grammar; for, considering the two names thus following each other like the Christian name and surname of Europeans, such, for example, as James Thomas, or Thomas James, and the like, the translators generally manage to drop the first and retain the second, as in the case of Muḥammad, whose father, Kasim, was in his grave long before his son set out for the conquest of Sind; and in the events above related, we have Shaikha, who had been dead for some years, doing what his son, Jasraṯh performed.

In the same manner, we have Muḥammad-i-Sabuk-Tígin, written exactly in the same way in Persian MS., but, as most writers appear to have been aware that Sabuk-Tígin was the father of Maḥmúd, the translators have seldom failed to add "son of," after Maḥmúd's name when it did not occur (except in the form of an izdáfat, expressed or understood), in the original.

Such errors cannot be too much guarded against, when we find such scholars as Elliot, who must have known all this, falling into the same error, even after writing the names Muḥammad bin Kasim in his extracts from 'Arab authors; yet, when he comes to Persian and other non-‘Arab writers, forgetting what he had written before, he constantly writes the two names as that of one person, and sometimes leaves out the first, the actual performer of the action, altogether, and makes the defunct father perform what his son had effected. It may not be amiss to give an example here. Elliot, Vol. I, page 432, has: "Muḥammad Kásim, as he is universally styled by the Persians, but by Biládari [the Balágharí was an ‘Arab author], "Muḥammad bin Kásim," and by Abú-l Fídá [another ‘Arab or of ‘Arab descent who wrote in ‘Arabic], "Muḥammad bin Al-Kásim;" but, at page 397, he actually writes the word "Md. Kásim," as one would write "Rd. Smith" for Richard
of his acts was the plundering of some of the parganahs around Láhor (the Budá'úní, and Firíghtah—who copies the Tárikh-i-Mubárak Sháh-i and other writers almost word for word—say, that he destroyed Láhor, which Sul tán Ghíyáṣ-ud-Dín, Balban, is said to have rebuilt, after its destruction by the Mughals in the preceding reign), after which he crossed the Béáh, and from it passed the Sutláz, and plundered the tal-wandí of Ra'e Kamál (Kamál-ud-Dín, previously mentioned), the Maín, or Mahín, as it is also written. After this he moved towards Lúdhíánah, and, after that, re-passed the Sutláz and invested Jálíndhar.

Sul tán Mahmúd Sháh had to move against the Khokhars in person; and in that same year he reached Lúdhíánah, although it was the height of the rainy season. The Sutláz was, however, so much swollen, and all the boats in Jasrath's hands, that the Sultán was unable to cross; and Jasrath, with his forces, was posted on the opposite bank. Matters went on in this wise for about forty days; and when the waters began to

Smith! At page 488 he quotes Elphinston e thus, showing Elphinston e's terrible mistake at the same time. He says: "Elphinston observes that, 'Kásím's conquests were made over to his successor,' " etc., etc., and here again we have the dead father making conquests in Sind!

Lieut.-Colonel H. S. Jarrett, in his translation of "A's Suýátís History of the Caliphs," page 229, note **, after writing, that "Muḥammad-b-ud-Ḥásim commanded the army in Sind," immediately under refers to Elphinston e's India, "where will be found a sketch of Kásím's conquests"—the dead father for the son again.

I could mention scores of other instances in Elliot's "Historians," and in the writings of many others. The famous blunder of turning Tájísks, Turk slaves, Jásas, Sayyids, and others, into "Pathán Dynasties," and their money into "Pathán Coins," arose entirely through reading the names of the ancestors of the Sháhsábání Tájískı́ Sultáns who ruled in Ghúr, namely, Muḥammad-i-Súrí, or Muḥammad bin Súrí— for the names appear in both ways on the same page—as that of one man, thus: "Muḥammad Súrí." On this, those who knew no better, at once jumped to the conclusion (since there was a Pathán or Afghán Sul táns of Dihlí some centuries after, styled Sher Sháh, Sor or Sóráy, who belonged to the Sorí subdivision of the Lodí tribe, but whose progenitor Sor or Sóráy was not born at the period that Muḥammad, the Sháhsábání Tájískı́, and his father, Súrí, flourished), that this "Muḥammad Súrí" must be one and the same person, and at once turned all the Tájískı́ rulers of Ghúr into Afgháns likewise. See "Tabákát-i-Násír," Appendix B, page VII, and a note farther on.

The Ohach Namah contains scores of instances to prove the izafat. All the headings have Ra'e Dahir, bin Ohach, but when we come to the text we find Dahir-i-Ohach; and Dharsiyah bin Ohach in the headings, and Dharsiyah-i-Ohach in the text. This occurs not only with respect to Ohach and his sons, but the names of others are written in a similar manner, just as Muḥammad bin Kásím and Muḥammad-i-Kásím.

This is the way in which the name of the river is written in the Tabákát-i-Akbarí, and in other works of that period.

1892.]

H. G. Raverty—The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries. 277
subside, the Sultan moved from Lūdhiānah to Kābul-pūr, along the river's bank, followed by Jāsraḥ, the Khokhar, on the opposite side. On the 11th of Shawwāl, the tenth month, the Sultan managed to pass the Sutlaj, on which Jāsraḥ retired to Jālandhar, and was finally pursued to the Chin-āb. The citadel and town of Lāhor was then in ruins, but the Sultan had them repaired. This was in 825 H. (1422 A. D.).

At the time of these operations the usual ferry over the river Bīāh was at the manzā of Loh-Wāl (ٍلوه وَال) or Loh-i-wāl, a dependency of Haibat-pūr Patī or Paṭi Haibat-pūr, but the Sutlaj flowed a considerable distance—some eight miles or more—farther south-east.

In this same reign, the fort of Multān, which had become greatly dilapidated through the attacks of the Mughals, was rebuilt from its foundations by Malik Māhmūd, the feudatory of the district, son of the 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Malik Rajāb.

We notice from the foregoing, that Debāl-pūr was a place of great importance for some centuries. Up to the time of Malik, afterwards Sultan, Bahlūl, the Lodi, the first Afghān or Paṭan who sat on the throne of Dihlī, we hear of his holding the fiefs of Debāl-pūr, Sunām, and the Firūzah Ḥiṣār. The first named place would have been useless to him without water; and there is no doubt whatever that the Bīāh, in his time, washed the walls of Debāl-pūr. It is certain, likewise, that it still did so up to the latter part of Akbar Bādshāh's reign (and down to recent times, as I shall presently show), and, in which reign, Debāl-pūr still continued to be the chief place of that sarkār or division of the Multān sībah, and Uboh-har was its frontier town on the east.

This place is a little less than fifteen miles nearly due north from Dharam-Kot; fifteen miles and a half west of Nikūdar (the "Nukdur" of the maps, but named after the Mughal mīng or hasdārah which once held it, called the Nikūdarī hasdārah), and six miles south of Haibat-pūr of which Loh or Lohī Wāl was a dependency. It is also just fifteen miles east of the Paṭan, Ghāṭ, or Ferry of Harī ko, as the river ran in 1860. There happens to be a place about two miles west of Harī ke Paṭan of the present day, called بحير — Būh, or بیروز — Bū-pūr, which appears in the maps as "Booh." During the operations against Jāsraḥ, the Khokhar, there was a ferry at this place, which lies close to the old right or west bank of the Bīāh, but it was a ferry of the Bīāh only; for the Sutlaj and Bīāh had not then united even temporarily. This Būh or Bū-pūr lies about fourteen miles west of the place where the junction of the two rivers took place in the last century, when they lost their respective names altogether, and the united streams became the Harārī, Machhū-wāh, or Nīlī, and, farther south, was known as the Ghallū Ghārah, or Ghārah.

As the first letter of ب , when written rather long, may, without a point, be mistaken for ٍ, as in ٍوُب and ُوُبُوُ, some have supposed that ٍوُب referred to ب , and that the junction took place at this last named point, but such was not the case. See farther on.
When Pîr Mûhammad-i-Jâhân-gîr, that is, Pîr Mûhammad, son of Mirzâ Jâhân-gîr, son of Amîr Timûr, attacked the reinforcements from Multân sent to the relief of Uchchh which he was investing, he fell upon them at Tantamah (تنامه) or Tantanah ( تنانته) on the banks of the Bîhâ. Many perished by the sword, and many threw themselves into the Bîhâ, and were drowned, and but a remnant of the force sent from Multân under Tâj-ud-Dîn, Mûhammad, succeeded in reaching that place again.

I have compared three or four good copies of the Zafar Nâmâh respecting Amîr Timûr’s march from Bannû across the Indus to Multân and Dihlî, which lay through some of the very parts in which these vast changes in the courses of the rivers occurred, and the following is the result, omitting the operations by the way.

Leaving the banks of the Siud, so called in the Zafar Nâmâh, and having crossed it at the same place where the Sultan, Jalál-ud-Dîn, Mang-barnî, plunged in, Amîr Timûr marched to the river which, in that history, is called the Jamad—the Bihât or Jhilam, which flowed towards Uchchh. Proceeding downwards along its banks, he reached the banks of the Chin-âb, Chandrá Bhágâ, or Chin-ào, as it is also called, at, or near a fort, opposite to which the Jamad and Chin-ào met, and was astonished at beholding the waves, eddies, and whirlpools caused by the meeting of these two great rivers, or, as they are called in the history, seas. A bridge of boats had to be constructed; and, having passed over, he marched downwards, and encamped on the river [the

---

245 See a note farther on.
246 The Malfuzât says, that he halted that day and the next to enable the troops, materials, and baggage to cross.

In following Amîr Timûr’s movements, the former channels of the rivers should be remembered; not traced according to their present courses. See the general map.

From whence these boats were obtained is not said, but, as Shiháb-ud-Dîn, Mubârak Sháh, the Tamimí, Hákim of the “jazîrah,” or do-âbah or bet, or territory between two rivers—for the meaning of jazîrah is not an island only—after his night attack upon the Mughals, who had appeared before Bârâh, his capital (also written Bharah, the “Bherah” of the maps) and his defeat, endeavoured to escape from thence by dropping down the Jamad, Bihât, or Jhilam towards Uchchh, with a fleet of two hundred boats or vessels, which he had collected, and most of which were captured before he had gone very far, it is probable that these captured boats, or a portion of them, furnished the means for constructing this bridge. By the time Shiháb-ud-Dîn, Mubârak Sháh, with the remainder, reached the vicinity of Multân, the Mughals were ready to receive him on both banks to prevent his passing down. He first threw his wife and children overboard, and then took to the water himself, most of his followers who could do so following his example, and escaped to the jangals along the banks. Every boat was captured or sunk, the fugitives were pursued into the jangals, and many were killed.
Ráwi] opposite Tulami [i. e., Tulanbah], facing that town. He passed
over with his forces, no bridge being mentioned, and pitched his camp
in the plain near the fort of Tulami."

From Amir Timúr's own Tuzuk it also appears, that he crossed the
united Bihat or Jhelim, which he calls the Jamad, and the Chin-áo or
Chin-áb. He says: "There was a fort there, which was erected near
the bank of these rivers [the point where the confluence then took place],
and there I encamped, and amused myself in watching the force of the
current, and the dashing and surging of the waters, where these two
great rivers meet." Having crossed the river, he moved downwards
towards Tulanbah, crossed the Ráwi, and moved nearer to that place,
which, it is stated, "is thirty-five kuroh from Multán." It must be
remembered, that, at this time, his grandson, the Mirzá, Pír Muhammad,
was in possession of Multán. The Amír then crossed what he calls
"the Tulambi river," by which he refers, of course, to the Ráwi, and
which, as I have before stated, then flowed more to the north of Tulanbah
than at present. He subsequently moved towards the Biáh as stated
below.

The historian says, that no Bádgháh had ever before bridged the united rivers
Jamad and Chin-áo; for, that, although Taramshirín Khan had crossed the Chin-áo,
he did not succeed in throwing a bridge across it. This is the 'Alá-ud-Dín, Taram-
shirín Khan mention by Ibn Baťútah, who was then ruler of Bukhárá. He was the
son of Dowá Khan, and brother of Kútúgh Khwájah, of the family of the Chinígí or
Great Khan, who then ruled over Mávará-un-Nahr. Taramshirín Khan invaded
India in 729 H. (1328-29 A. D.), having entered it through the territory dependant
on Multán; carried his arms to within sight of Díhlí, the ruler thereof, at that time
being absent in the Dakhan; passed through Guzerát and Sind; and finally re-
crossed the Indus near Multán. What these parts suffered from this raid may be
imagined.

The Malfúzát-i-Timúrí says, that he, Taramshirín Khan, used his utmost en-
devours to construct a bridge of boats, but without success, and had to cross his
army by means of boats. This was what the people of that part told Amir Timúr.

The oft-quoted "Ferishta" says (in the original) that Amir Timúr "keeping
along the banks of the river reached a place where the river of Jalandar [sic: he
did not copy his authorities correctly here] and the Biáh join, and there there were two strong fortresses called Talmánf (طالمانف). He passed the river by a bridge
of boats, and encamped in the Talmaní plain (سارد). After having destroyed
Talmaní, he arrived at the mauzā' of Sháh Nawáz on the bank of the Biáh." Here
it will be seen what a precious jumble he has made of matters. Again, in the extract
from the Táríkh-i-Mubárak Sháh-i, by the Editor of Elliot's "Historians" after he
had written "Talambá" and "Tulami," a score of times, we have the following:
"Intelligence came that Amír Timúr, King of Khurasán, had attacked Talímín, and was
staying at Multán." To this "Talímín" is a note, saying, "This name is also given
in the Tabakat-i Akbarí, and in Badaúní." It never strikes him that "Tulambá"
is the place, or that he had previously referred to it.
Amir Timur having gained possession of Tulanbah, together with its hisár or fortress, moved from thence, and the next day encamped near a great chádl, kol-i-áb, or lake, near the banks of the Biáh, and near the mauza' of Sháh Nawáž, on or close to which chádl, the Khokhar chief, Nuşrat [brother of Shaikhá, previously mentioned] had fortified himself.

This chádl or lake, so styled, appears to have been what is called in the Panj-áb and Sind, a dhand. There is one still thereabouts, close to the old bed of the Biáh, about thirty miles south-east of Multán, but, at the period of Amir Timur's invasion, it appears to have extended much farther towards the north-east than at present, and was of great extent and considerable depth. Amir Timur was in these parts just at the beginning of the year 801 H. (The year began 12th September, 1393 A. D.); for he crossed the Chin-áb on the 2nd of October of that year (1398 A. D.). All the rivers of this part are at their full in August in the present day; and the above shows what changes have taken place. One would scarcely attempt to bridge the united Jihlam and Chin-áb

247 The town and fortress was surrendered on the 1st of Safar, 801 H., without any opposition whatever. There was, in fact, no one able to oppose him.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (p. 224), that Tulamba must have had a remarkably strong fortress, "as Timur left it untouched, because its siege would have delayed his progress," and Briggs's 'Ferishta' is quoted. On the next page he says, "The old town was plundered and burnt by Timur, and its inhabitants massacred, but the fortress escaped his fury, partly owing to its own strength and partly to the invader's impatience," etc., etc.

The Malfuzat-i-Timúrí says, that the chief people of Tulanbah presented themselves in the Amir's camp before he reached that town, and that the sum of two lakhs of rápis had been fixed as an indemnity for sparing the place; and Sayyids and 'Ulamá were exempted from payment. There was no opposition whatever. Provisions being exceedingly scarce, Amir Timur wished the people to pay the ransom in corn instead of money, but they refused to do so; and a large body of fresh troops having arrived in the mean time, but, unaware that terms had been concluded, and being distressed for want of food, entered the place and began to help themselves. As soon as intimation was brought to Timur of these doings, he says: "I gave orders to the Tawdžís and Saruvals to expel those troops from the town, and commanded that whatever corn they had plundered or property seized, should be taken as an equivalent for so much of the ransom." I think most troops would have acted in just the same manner. No people were massacred, nor was the place burnt, but some of the refractory inhabitants of the parts around, who, after first submitting of their own accord to his grandson, Pir Muhammad the previous year, on his march to Multán, and had acted in a rebellious manner after, and massacred some of his men, were punished. A detachment was sent against them, and they were harried, the men killed, and their families and cattle were brought in, and were distributed among the soldiery. Most European generals and their troops would have acted in much the same fashion and punished the "rebels," I expect, in the fourteenth century, as well as in the nineteenth.

248 See note 192, page 244.
near the point of junction in September even now, or attempt to cross the Rawi with a large army at such a season by fording in that month. The rainy season, too (and now there is no rainy season hereabouts: the monsoon does not extend its influence so far west; and what may have been the climatic changes since Alexander’s time?), just preceding Timur’s arrival, had been very severe; and it was through its severity that the forces of his grandson, Pir Muhammad, then in possession of Multan, had lost so many horses, that, when he presented himself in his grandfather’s camp at Jinjan on the banks of the Biáh, his men were mostly mounted on bullocks, and the rest on foot.

Round about this chál, dhân, or lake were bogs and swamps; and these rendered the stronghold of the Khokhar chief very difficult to approach. The mauza’ of Sháh Nawáz is described, at that period, as a very large village, but I fail to find any traces of it now, but the chál, dhân, or lake, as previously observed, still exists or what remains of it, in the old bed of the Biáh, six miles and a half north-north-east of Tibbah, in Lat. 30° 3’ N. and Long. 71° 45’ E. Up to this point it will be observed, Amir Timúr kept along or near the right or north bank of the Biáh. Some of his nobles and their men had crossed the Biáh in

249 It was still known, apparently, in the last century, when the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad, who proceeded from Hindústán to Kábul on two or three occasions, with despatches from Governor Hastings, to Timúr Sháh, Bándsháh of Kábul, reached that part. The Sayyid crossed over on one occasion from Uboh-har to Bahával-púr, and thence to Multán. Setting out from that city to proceed to the Derah of Ismá’il Khán, he says: “My first stage from Multán was five kuroh in the direction of N. W. to Khan Cháí; the second stage was ten kuroh in the same direction to the Dih-i-Sháh Nawáí, on the banks of the Biáh; the third stage was ten kuroh N. to Sháh-púr; and the fourth another ten kuroh N. W. to Tulanbáh.” This journey was undertaken in H. 1201, which commenced on the 13th of November, 1796, only a few months previous to the time the Sutlaj is said to have “suddenly changed its course.” Neither Khan Cháí, the Dih of Sháh Nawáí, nor Sháh-púr are now to be found. When the Sutlaj changed its course, the Biáh also deserted its old bed, and both rivers uniting, lost their respective names, and became the Hariári and Níli, upwards, and Ghárah lower down, as previously mentioned.

250 During the revolt of the Mirzá’s in Akbar Bándsháh’s reign, in the year 980 H. (1572-73 A. D.), news was received at Láhor, that Ibráhim Husain Mirzá, accompanied by his youngest brother, Ma’úd Mirzá, having been defeated at Nág-áwr (nul. Nagore) by the Bándsháh, was making his way across to the Panj-áb territory; that he had crossed the Sutlaj, and was advancing towards Debál-púr, and plundering the country. The Khán-i-Jahán, Husain Kuli Beg, the Turk-mán, the feudatory of the Súbah of Láhor, with the forces of his province, at once moved against him, and came suddenly upon his camp—he had only about 400 followers along with him—in sight of Tulanbáh, just as Ibráhim Husain Mirzá was returning from hunting (Blochmann, in his printed text of the Akbar Námah, in which names, of places are often incorrect, has “Páltah” (پالقا) instead of Tulanbáh (تلونب). A fight ensued, in
pursuit of the Khokhar chief; and the Amír followed, with the rest of the army, to the river's banks, opposite to a place called جنیج—جنیجیان—جنیجیان and خیامیان—خیامیان, in two other copies of the MS. forty kuroh distant from Multán, where the whole of the forces had congregated. He directed that they should commence crossing the same day. This was the 13th of the month Safar. On the 15th (26th October, 1398), Amír Timúr crossed the Biáh, and his camp was pitched which his followers were overcome and dispersed, and his brother, Ma'zd Mírzá, was captured. Ibráhím Husain Mírzá now sought to re-pass the river Biáh, as he feared an attack from Multán, Husain Kuli Beg having intimated to Sa'íd Khán, the feudatory of Multán, that the Mírzá had entered his province. As the Mírzá had only a few followers with him, and night had set (KeyEvent), and no boat was procurable, he rested on the river's bank until day should appear. A party of fishermen, styled jhúś, and some Balúchís dwelling in that part of the Multán province, fell upon the fugitives in the night, and dangerously wounded the Mírzá in the throat with an arrow, a volley of which they had discharged among the party. He was captured, and taken away to Multán to Sa'íd Khán.

The Ţabakát-i-Akbarí states, that he halted for the night "in order to cross the Ghárah, which is the name of the river formed by the junction of the Sutlaj with the Biáh."

Another writer relates this affair somewhat differently, and states, that Ibráhím Husain Mírzá halted on the banks of the Biáh and the Sutlaj (that is, where the rivers then met again, in the Multán district, after having separated, as subsequently described); that he was set upon and wounded by a low class of Multán peasants styled jhúś, and that he took refuge in the dwelling of a dawei, Shaikh Zakariyá by name, who sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'íd Khán at Multán. This agrees with Abú-l-Faţl.

Faţl, the Sahridi, says, that the Mírzá wanted to cross where the Biáh and Sutlaj unite and are known as Āb-i-Ghárah; while the Akbar Námáh states, that Ibráhím Husain Mírzá was crossing the Sutlaj at Ghárah (see farther on. Ghállú-Ghárah was then a maháll of the Multán sarkár), where the Biáh unites with the Sutlaj, when he was taken prisoner by the fishermen and peasantry.

All this clearly shows that the Biáh still flowed in its old bed, but that the Sutlaj had re-united with the Biáh some miles to the south-west of the gháli, or ghánd, or lake near Sháh Nawáź, mentioned in the account of Amír Timúr's movements, one hundred and eighty years before.

Not "four kos"—eight miles—as in Elliot, but forty, as above. The "Zafar Námáh," referring to this gháli-dá ámb, on the banks of which the Khokhar chief had fortified himself, says, that, "this sheet of water was of great extent, like unto the mind of the pure in spirit, deep, and as the area of the inclination of the most beneficent, broad." The Editor of "Elliot's Historians," in his version of the Zafar Námáh, contained in that work, turns this part into "rúd-khánā-vasám, and, translates it "a strong river fortress!" The original is: رٰدَکُحَنَا وَمَصم and there is not a word about any "rúd-khánā," or "river fortress."

P. de la Croix, in his "History of Timur-Bezo," "surrounds this vast lake with a wall, behind which "Nusret Coukeri retired with 2000 men," and others copy this nonsense.
near the karyah of Jinjan, where he halted for four days and nights. In the mean time," he says, "in the course of two or three days, the whole army, some by means of boats, and some by swimming [their horses], effected the passage of that rolling river without a single accident."

There is no remark made, either by Amīr Timūr himself or by the historian, as to any difficulty in crossing the Rāwī, but here there was some difficulty experienced. Further, we find the Biáh still flowing in its old bed, and that it was a "rolling river," and "was not fordable." This fact is conclusive; and I shall presently show, that no Ghārah, Ghulāms, or Hariārī (miscalled Sutlaj, so low down, by English writers) flowed in this neighbourhood at this time, and that such names were unknown in these immediate parts, at the period here referred to.

Leaving Jinjan, Amīr Timūr marched one stage to the karyah of Sihwāl, or Sihwal; and on the 21st from thence made another stage to Ašwān or Aşuān, where he remained one day. Next day, leaving it, he made another stage to Jhawāl or Jhawal. The people of Debāl-pūr, when the Mirzā, Pir Muhammad, arrived in those parts, had submitted to him, and had been well treated; but, when they found that, through the mortality among his horses, he had been obliged to leave his camp outside, and retire within the walls of Multān, they, like others in the neighbourhood of that place, rose, and in combination with the Ghuláms of Sultān Pirūz Shāh, Musáfir,

Timūr's "Malfūzāt" says, respecting his camp at Janjan: "I directed that the whole army, with the war materials and baggage, should cross the river (Biāh) to Jinjan, and that my pavilion should be erected on a small pushtah (eminence) just outside the place, at the foot of which there was a pleasant garden. When this had been done, I crossed the river, after which I ascended the little eminence, and from it a verdant plain lay stretched out before me."

The names of these places vary a little in different MSS., and in different works. Some have Kinjan instead of Jinjan, 'kh' and 'j' being often changed through the displacement of a point over or under, others Sāhān, and even Sāḥāk. The second name does not vary so much, and is written Sihwal or Sihwāl. The third, likewise, does not vary much, being Ašwān in most MSS., and Aşwāl in one or two. The last is written Jhawāl, Jhawal, and Jawāl. The first reading given in the text above is the most trustworthy; but I fail to trace any of these four places.

Rennell, in his "Memoir on the map of Hindostan," has Jenjian, Schoanal, Asouan, and Johaul respectively (from P. de la Croix's "History of Timur-Bec)," but, since his map was constructed, vast changes have taken place through the alterations in the courses of rivers, especially those of the Rāwī and Biāh; and these places happened to lie in the very tracks of these vast changes, which altered the whole face of the country, and places which before were in one do-ābah were transferred to another. See note 272, page 293.
the Kábūlī, who had been sent to Debálpúr as Dároghah, with 1,000 troops, were all massacred by them. On the approach of Amir Timúr to the aid of his grandson, they abandoned the place with all their belongings, and went off to the hisár of Bhaṭnir.

When Amir Timúr reached Jhawál or Jhawal he gave orders for the main body of his forces to move by way of Debálpúr, in order that, in the vicinity of Dihlí, at the mauża of Samánah, he would re-join it. Then, taking a body of 10,000 cavalry along with him, he turned off towards Ajúḍghán; and making a forced march, and going on all night, on the morning of the 24th, at sunrise, reached that place. Many of the principal people of this town had also gone off to Bhaṭnir, and none remained but a few Sayyids and 'Ulmá, who came forth to receive him. They were well treated, and a Dároghah was left with them that they might not be molested by any other troops passing that way. On the morning of the 25th, after offering up prayers and paying his devotions within the domed building where is the tomb and shrine of the Shaikh, Farid-i-Shakar-Ganj, he set out towards Bhaṭnir. Passing Rúdúnah or Rawdúnah, and proceeding ten kuroh, he reached Khálíq meeting no one on the way.

In the Malfázát-i-Timirí, in "Elliot's Historians," it is said [p. 421], that, "passing by Rúdúnah, I halted at Khálíq Kotali;" but, in the extract from the Timúr-Námah in the same work, the same word or rather letters ḍjyny, are translated: "From thence he started for Bhaṭnir, and crossing the river, he arrived at Khálíq-kotali." This is improved upon in a note to the word 'river,' which is exceedingly amusing to read by one who knows the parts in question. See Vol. III, p. 488 of the above work. If water is here referred to, which I do not think it is, ḍjyny would be the plural of ḍj-n—river.

Referring to the confluence of the "Biáś and Satléj," in his "Ancient Geography of India," Cunningham, quoting "Abul Fazl," says:—"For the distance of 12 kos near Firúzpur the rivers Biáś and Satléj unite, and these again, as they pass on, divide into four streams, the Húr, Hard, Dand, and Núrní," but this turns out to be "Gladwin's translation of the Ayín Akbari." The Ayín-i-Akbari contains nothing of this sort. It says (see also Blochmann's text, page 549): "For about twelve kuroh above Firúz-púr, the Biáś and Sutléj unite, and after that receive [that is the two united] the names—Haríañí, Naññí, and Núnñí, and near Múltán unite with the other four [rivers of the Panj-áb, before mentioned];" but, in a footnote, Blochmann, who had no local knowledge, divides the word Hariáñí, which is so well known, into Har and Hárí, as though two words, which it is not. This Gladwin also seems to have done, but there is not a word of "these again, as they pass on divide into four streams;" this is all Gladwin's own if, in his translation. It is a great pity that translators when they do not understand a passage, should add words of their own, because it misleads: better to merely give a literal translation, and say they do not clearly understand it. An example of this pernicious system is given in note 255, below.

Abú-l-Fazl, as it happens, says, that, "between the Biáś and the Sutléj is a distance of fifty kuroh," See also page 296.
Kotlah where he halted. This place is fifty kuroh \[one copy says fifty-three\] from Bhaṭnir; and three kuroh is a standard for sak. At the fort of Khalis Kotlah Amir Timūr remained until the time of afternoon prayer, then pushed on for the remainder of that day and the whole night, and halted not until he had crossed the chūl or desert tract in one stage. When morning approached, his advanced guard surprised the patrol from the side of Bhaṭnir; and, at breakfast time, Amir Timūr appeared before it.

The historian says, \"the fortress of Bhaṭnir is a very strong place, and one of the most notable of Hindūstān, much out of the high road, and lying away on the right hand. Round about it is chūl (waste)\";

The word as it appears in the different MSS. of the Zafar-Nāmah available—and I have used five copies—are as in the text above, with the exception of one copy which has ḍūra, with a ḍ inserted over, showing, that, in copying the MSS., a letter had been left out. If we suppose that these letters form two words, and that they might form ḍūra, with ḍ inserted over, or even that the latter might be ḍū, with ḍ inserted 'w,' still, that water or a river is not referred to, is evident from the fact, that, throughout the Zafar-Nāmah, when the crossing of a river or water is referred to, the verb used is ḍūra, to cross from one side to another, while here we have ḍūra, to pass by, etc. Moreover, when rivers are referred to, they are called ḍū, as 'Ab-i-Qhin-ā; 'Ab-i-Tulanbah,' etc., and the Biáh is styled ḍū and dává. Further, if the plural form of ḍūra—rūdā—river was meant, we should have ḍuḍah, not ḍūra, rūdānah. From this it is quite clear to me, that the word in question refers to a place, not to rivers or river beds, although, at the present time, some small river channels do intervene between Ajuddhan, on the north side. There is the dry bed of a small river which is known as the Dandā (the diminutive form of Dandā, probably); but, what is here referred to—rūdā—is south-east of Ajuddhan, and between it and Khalis Kotlah. This so called Dandā may possibly refer to what is left of the channel of the minor of the three branches into which the Hariyān, or Nili separated, after the Biáh and Sutlaj, farther north, had united, again to separate, but this junction took place after the time of Amir Timūr's invasion; and, moreover, he had passed south-east of Ajuddhan towards Khalis Kotlah before ḍūra was passed, not crossed. It is quite certain that the great Dandā, or high bank of the last independent channel of the Sutlaj, is not meant in the text above; for, instead of being situated between Ajuddhan and Khalis Kotlah, and west of the latter place, the great Dandā is fourteen miles east of it, and further more, at the period in question, the Sutlaj, in its inclination westwards, had not yet made that new channel for itself, and still flowed in that by Ubūh-har.

\[665\] In the extract given by the Editor from his own translation from the Zafar Nāmah in \"Eliot's Historians,\" we have the following:—\"It is situated far out of the road on the right hand, and is surrounded by the desert of Chol.\" Here he has mistaken the Persian word chūl—a wilderness, uncultivated waste, and unpopulated tract, or containing very few inhabitants, but not necessarily a desert—for a proper name! The Editor continues: \"For fifty or a hundred kos there is no water.\" This sentence is misleading and incorrect, and will not be found in any copy of the
and the inhabitants of the place obtain water from a kol-i-âb or lake, which is filled in the rainy season. It was said that no foreign army had ever reached it; and, on this account, the rebels who had fled from Debal-pûr and Ajûddhàn, and other places, had assembled there. Such a number had reached it, that there was not room for them within; consequently, there were many people, and a vast number of animals and loads of property, left outside. This place, and the territory around, was held by Râo Dûl-chîn, who collected revenue from those parts, and from all who passed that way, either merchants or travellers; and karwâns of traders were not safe from his exactions." Suffice it to say, that the place was nearly carried when the defenders called for quarter, and next day Râo Dûl-chîn came out. After this, however, the people again rose, closed the gates, were again attacked; and when Timûr's troops had gained the walls, they again sued for quarter, which was once more granted. The fugitives from Debal-pûr and Ajûddhàn, and other places, having however gained an entrance, in conjunction with the Bhâtîs, again broke out, and closed the gates. This, as might be expected, raised the ire of Timûr; and the place was stormed and captured. Many of the defenders burnt themselves, along with their women, and other belongings. Of the Debal-pûr fugitives who had been concerned in the massacre of Musâîfîr, the Kâbulî, and his force of 1,000 men, 500 were put to death, and their families made slaves, and the remainder spared, but the defences of the fort and town of Bhâtînûr were levelled with the dust.

Zâfar Nâmâh, nor is such a word as kos to be found throughout the whole work. Compare also pp. 421 and 422 of Elliot's work.

The name is written Dûl-chîn, and those who copy from the Zâfar Nâmâh alter it into Khûl-chîn, but, in Elliot, it is made "Khal-chîn" of.

All these matters are set down against Timûr by history compilers to make him out a monster, but they leave out what caused him to act with stern severity. Here persistent treachery, after being twice forgiven, is shown. I wonder whether in the present enlightened days Skobeloff and Komaroff, and other "divine figures from the north" or west would have acted differently? or even if, during the late Afghân campaign the Afghân "rebels" would not have been served much after the same fashion, if they had acted in the same manner after once surrendering? It would have been very strange if they had not. And yet one writer sets down what he supposes to be "Abûl Fazîl's little knowledge of Bhaṭṭiâns," which knowledge is, however, very great, as the A'în-i-Akbârî shows, to "the depopulation caused by the firebrand of the universe," Timûr." The Qhingis Khân put more people to death after surrendering, at Bukhârâ and Samr-kand alone, than fell in all the wars in which Timûr engaged during his whole lifetime; and yet some, unacquainted with these historical facts, sing the praises of the "great Jângez," without knowing even how to spell his name correctly, and exclaim against "the ruthless tyrant and barbarian, Taimur." Such writers would do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly
Having disposed of this affair, on the 3rd of the month Rabî‘ul Awwal, Amir Timûr with his force marched fourteen kuroh to a place styled the Hûn-i-Âb—The Reservoir of Water—and on the following day reached and passed the fort of Firûzâh [in one copy Firûzkoh—the " Feerozabad " of the maps, not the Hûsâr Firûzâh] and reached the town of Sarastî[68] now Sîrsâ ["Sirsuh " of the maps], on the Ghag-ghar. It was deserted by its inhabitants on his approach. Halting a day there, his next stage of eighteen kuroh took him to near the fort of Fath-âbâd [the "Futtehabad" of the maps]. On the 7th, having passed by the fort of Rajab-pûr [69] he reached the fort of Ahroni, which, showing hostility, was sacked and destroyed, and nothing left to mark it but some heaps of ruins. He moved again on the 8th, and brought up in the open plain near the karyah of Tihwânah [turned into "Tohânuh" in our maps]. There he came into contact with "a large and powerful tribe called Jatân [Jâta] who, for a long period of time, had acquired sway over that part, plundered on the high roads, and way laid karvâns and massacred their people, especially if Musalmâns.660 Some of these had taken shelter among the hills [low, rocky hills] and jangals, the last consisting chiefly of sugar-canes 661 A party sent against them
digest the account of the "Invasion of Islâm by the Mughals" in the "Tabakât-i-Nâsîrî," and then they would know more about these matters. Those who would write history should be strictly just and impartial, and also know something of it from the originals, and not from translations only. See Elliot's "Races of the North-West Provinces of India," Vol. II, pp. 17-19.

[68] Sarastî is the old name of Sîrsâ: Sursuti, not Sarsuti, is the name of a river, the ancient Saraswati, described farther on.

[69] This place is called "Rajabpûr," in the extract from the "Mafûzât," in Elliot's work; and a few pages farther on, in his extract from the "Zafar Nâmâh," it is "Rajabnûr." There is very little doubt that the place called "Rypeen" in the maps, eleven miles and a half to the north-east of Fath-âbâd, is the place referred to, and which lies on the route from Fath-âbâd to Ahroni, the "Aranaunee" of the maps.


[661] This tract appears to have been notable for the cultivation of sugarcane from early times. Suṭán Mas‘ûd, son of Maḥmûd of Ghaznîn, having entered Hind for the purpose of crushing the rebellion of his governor of the province east of the Indus, Aḥmad-i-Nâl-Tigion, in 426 H. (1033-35 A. D.), marched against the fortress of Sarastî [now Sîrsâ], said to have been, at that time, one of the most celebrated strongholds of Hind. It had been invested by his father, Sulṭan Maḥmûd, but he did not succeed in taking it. After having been before it some days, the ruler of that part and stronghold, finding he could not cope with the Musalmâns forces, despatched an agent to Sulṭan Mas‘ûd, offering to pay down a very large sum, and to afterwards pay a certain yearly amount as tribute. These offers were accepted, and hostilities were suspended. This Râjâh, however, in order to raise the sum to be paid at once, seized on a number of Musalmâns merchants and traders, who happened
slew about 200, and returned with a number of captives, and many head of cattle. On the 9th of the month, Amīr Timūr started from Tihwānah, and the families and followers, heavy materials, and booty, were sent off towards Samānah under the Amīr, Sulīmān Shāh; and he, having that same day, passed the Kala' of Mūng [Mūng Alā—turned into “Moonuk” in our maps] halted. Amīr Timūr, in the mean time, made a forced march in order to beat up the quarters of those Jaṅs who had concealed themselves in the jangals in the neighbourhood of Tihwānah. Some 2,000 of them were put to the sword the same day, and many captives, and much cattle, were taken. In the part entered there was a village to be in the place when the investment commenced, and were unable to get away, and sought to extort this money from them. The merchants managed to acquaint Sultān Mas'ūd with their helpless state and the Rājāh’s tyranny; and also informed him of the weakness of the Hindūs and their inability to oppose him, and stating, that, if he remained before the place for five or six days more, the enemy would have to come out and surrender at discretion. The Sultān was not inclined to wait; and when he became acquainted with the Rājāh’s tyranny, he resolved to attack the fortress at once. The country round was remarkable for the extensive growth of sugar-cane; so “he directed that they should fill the ditch with sugar-cane,” and assault the place. This was done, and the stronghold of Sarastī was stormed and captured.

The drowning of Ahmad-i-Nīāl-Tīgin—not “Bīnāl-Tagīn,” as some have written the name—near Mansūrīyah on the Mihrān of Sind, has been already recorded. See note 105, on Bahman-no, page 196.

In the following year Sultān Mas’ūd captured Hānsī, after which he moved against the fort of Sonī-pat, belonging to Deobāl or Debal of Hariānah, as he is called. Several other strongholds are said to have fallen into the hands of the Sultān during this expedition, which had never been assailed by the Musalmāns before. His father had despatched an army against one of these, the name of which is written Narsi—نرسی in three MSS. and تارسی—Tarsi in one—but was stopped on hearing of that Sultān’s decease. Sultān Mas’ūd attacked and captured it. He subsequently, just before his return towards Ghaznīn, compelled the ruler of another part, whose name was Rām, to submit to his supremacy.

Ibn Aṣīr, the Shāmī, has a wonderful account of the capture of this place—Narsi—which, he says, is related by “the most trustworthy chroniclers.” Among other wonders, “the city was,” he asserts, “a day’s journey in length”; that it took the whole army of 100,000 horse, “a night and a day to sack the tāṣūr of the ṣaffārs and jewellers; that no other part of the city was molested”; and that, “in that tāṣūr alone, such a vast amount of gold, silver, and jewels fell into the hands of the captors, that it was found impossible to compute it, and therefore the shares among the soldiery had to be dealt out by measure”!

It is strange, with his “trustworthy chroniclers” not named, that the only two chroniclers who were contemporary with Sultān Mas’ūd, and were in the government employ, Abū-l-Faṣl-i-Baiḥakī, who was his biographer, so to say, and the Gardaizī, should not mention anything of this wondrous place and its booty; while Ibn Aṣīr should have it at his fingers ends, who wrote more than a century and a half after—about thirty years before the “Ṭubākāt-i-Nāṣīrī” was finished—and who was never in Hind or near it in his life.
inhabited by Sayyids, who were well treated, and a Daroghah was left to protect them from molestation. On the 10th, Amír Sulíman Sháh who with the families, etc., was in the neighbourhood of Múng, moved again nearer towards the city of Samánah, and remained there that night. On the 11th he again moved and reached the banks of the Ghag-ghar; and Amír Tímúr, who had set out from Tihwánah to punish the Jats, joined Amír Sulíman Sháh on the banks of that river near to Samánah. Having halted there some days to rest the forces and arrange matters, Amír Tímúr again moved on the 15th, and reached the vicinity of the bridge of Kopilah [or Gopilah—گپل] over the Ghag-ghar as it then flowed. There, the Amírs who had been despatched from the grassy plain—the Jal-gáh—of Dúrín at Kábul on particular services [which, unfortunately, are not mentioned], who had reduced all the places met with on their way, this day effected a junction with the rest of the army. The march was resumed on the 16th; the bridge crossed; and, in a verdant plain beyond it, a great camp was pitched. The troops despatched from the banks of the Bish by way of Debál-púr, here likewise rejoined. On the 17th the whole army moved from the camp near the bridge of Kopilah, and marching a distance of five kuroh, reached the bridge of Bakrán or Bagrán [بگران] over the river Sursútí. On the 19th of the month the army marched from thence and reached the karyah of Kaithal, which is distant from Samánah seventeen kuroh, which is equal to five standard farsakhs and two míl.” Here the army of Amír Tímúr was marshalled in order of battle preparatory to advancing upon Díhlí; and here I shall leave him, after merely giving what the historian of his campaign afterwards says, and in his own exact words, respecting the different rivers of the territory now known (correctly) as “the territory of the Panj-áb.”

He says: “The river flowing through the city of Nagar [Srí-Nagar, which he writes with gh—نغر], they call Ab-i-Dandánah, and Ab-i-Jamad. Above Multán it unites with the Qhin-ào, and both having passed Multán, unite with the Rawah, which passes on the other side of that place, and approach each other. After that, the Ab-i-Biáh reaches them, and all these, near to Uchchh, unite with the Ab-i-Sind, and the whole are then known as Ab-i-Sind, which, on the skirt of the territory of Táthá [Tháthalí], unites with the 'ummnán or ocean.”

According to the tradition current among the people of this part, at the time of my Survey record, Amír Tímúr is said to have crossed

262 That river ran under its walls up to the close of the last century.
263 See my “NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN,” page 669, and compare Elliot here. In the latter’s work the Ghag-ghar is always turned into “Khagar.”
264 I shall refer to the fact noticed here, farther on.
the Chín-áb, that is the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb united, two kuroh south of the Kašbah of Neko-kári, now shortened to Ko-kári, near where the hamlet known as Jasó ke stood, but which has now disappeared. The ferry over it, which appears now to have been abandoned, was known as the Jasó ke Pațan; and there was another at Neko-kári above, likewise, called the Neko-kári or Ko-kári Pațan, the routes from which ferries led by Shor Kot to Tulanbah. The crossing place was, certainly, not far off, but it was nearer four kuroh than two south of Neko-kári.

Thus we find from the foregoing, that, at the time of Amír Timúr's invasion of Hind, the Jihlam and Chín-áb united not far from Shor, or Shor-Kot, which is an ancient site, and was inhabited by Langáh Jațs. It was, in the time of Akbar Bádesháh, a considerable town, the chief place of the makháil of that name, and where the Dároghah was located. It had been in ancient times a large and important walled-town, but it has been in a state of desolation for a long period of time. When I last saw it in 1850, the mound on which the old place stood, was covered with extensive ruins, and surrounded with the remains of a wall of burnt bricks; and it was of sufficient elevation to be prominently seen for several miles round about. I believe it to be the site of the very fortress near, or in the fork between the confluence of the two rivers, more particularly since there is no trace of any other old fortress in the neighbourhood near where the confluence of the two rivers anciently took place. Shor, I may mention, means 'noise,' 'tumult,' 'agitation' or 'commotion of water,' etc., but that is a Persian or Tajzik word, and we might expect to find it called by a Hindi name. I merely mention the coincidence.

Both the historian, it must be remembered, and Amír Timur, himself, always call the Wihat or Bihat or Jihlam river, the Jamad.

This Kašbah, which appears in our maps as "Nes Kokuruh," and "Neskokurah," no two maps being alike, at the time of the Survey referred to above, was peopled by Sayyids; and in a grove of trees, a little to the south-east thereof, is the grave of the Sayyid, 'Abd-ullah-i-Jaháníán, of the Ughách family of Bukhárá Sayyids, apparently; and he is held in such veneration that they would not even use the dead wood of the trees for fire-wood. The defunct was a man of such great neko-kári—that is, benevolence and goodness—that the place was named, after him, the kašbah of the Neko-kári, but which, through constant use became shortened to Ko-kári.

Unless, as is not improbable, the fact of these parts having been under Muhammadan rulers, who used the Tajzik language, certainly for four centuries before the appearance of Amír Timúr in this neighbourhood, if not from the occupation of Multán by the 'Arabs, seven centuries before his time, was the cause of the Hindi name (if it ever had one: the additional "Kot" is comparatively modern) being discontinued. One of the descendants of the 'Arab tribe of Tamímí was still
The old bed of the Chin-áb, or rather the most prominent, and probably most recent, of its former channels, can still be distinctly traced within three miles of Shor-Kot on the east and south to this day. At the period in question, and for sometime after, Shor-Kot was in the Chin-bath Do-ábah, as shown from the movements of the Mughal raiders, who yearly entered these parts up to the year 834 H. (1430-31 A. D.); but, subsequently, on the Chin-áb inclining farther towards the west, like the other three rivers east of it continued to do, it was shut out of that do-ábah and transferred to the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, in which it still continues, and lies some six miles east of the left or east bank of the united Chin-áb and Bihat or Jihlam. These two rivers, at the time of Amir Timúr's invasion, had, for some time, separated from the Ráwf and Biháb, and flowed on the west side of Multán, while the two latter still passed on the east as heretofore. More respecting them, and the great flood which devastated the whole northern Panj-áb territory, between the Chin-áb and the Sutlaj, anterior to the arrival of Timúr in these parts, and the probable changes caused thereby, will be found in the account of the rivers farther on.

Then as to the rivers farther east, let us take into consideration that Amir Timúr's forces, including followers, could not have been less than 80,000 or 100,000 persons, and as many horses; and, while he crossed from Ajudhán to Bhañír with 10,000, the more numerous portion, with the followers, baggage, and heavy materials of the army, crossed direct from Debal-púr to Múng Alá, and all re-assembled on the banks of the Ghag-ghar near Samáníh. In doing this they must have crossed the beds of all the rivers but one tributary to the Hákra or Wahindah, including the old channels of the Sutlaj, whether they contained water or were dry; and it is strange, that, although Amir Timúr must also have crossed the channel of the Sutlaj, whether it in possession of territory on the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-áb when Amir Timúr crossed the Indus. See note 248, page 279, and a note farther on.

There is an old saying, that, "Shor is notorious for tumults, as Chandani-ôt is for the quarrelsome proclivities of its inhabitants."

Cunningham, in his "Ancient Geography of India," identifies Shor Koř as "one of the towns of the Malli." and with "the town of Po-lo-ja visited by Hwen Thsang;" and supposes the tradition current in the neighbourhood of its destruction by "some king from the westward about 1300 years ago," to be the "White Huns." We need not go quite so far back, and may leave the "White Huns" and "Hwen Thsang" for what they are worth.

Like the names of towns and villages, this do-abáh appears in our maps under the incorrect names of "Jech Doab" and "Jech Doob," and, certainly without the meaning of the word being understood, or how written in the original. See note 277, page 296.

See page 291 and note 265.
contained water or not, between Ajuddhan and Khāliṣ Kotlah, the Ghag-ghar is the only river mentioned by name between the Bīālī and Samānah. At the same time, although a chūl or waste tract is mentioned between Khāliṣ Kotlah and Bhaṭnūr, there is no mention of other chūls, neither is there the least allusion to any scarcity of water, and of which such large bodies of troops and animals must have required a considerable quantity. I have estimated the number of Amir Timūr’s forces at a low figure, and have reason to suppose that they were much more numerous; for it cannot be supposed that he would have invaded Hindūstān, intent on reaching Dihlī, at the head of a smaller number. In recent times, say in the last century, it would have been a dangerous experiment, if not an impossible matter, to take such a numerous army in two bodies by these routes. While there is no mention on the part of the historian that the beds of these rivers were passed, or that any rivers had dried up, or were running, at the time—a matter much to be regretted—but as no scarcity is mentioned, and the halting places were merely the ordinary ones, and not specially chosen, we must conclude that there was water in the beds of some of these rivers (including the Ḥakrā), but not sufficiently deep as to require remark in crossing them.

Let us now see what the A’in-i-Akbarī says respecting the Ab-i-Sind and other rivers, and the Do-ābahs and Śūbahs of the Panj-āb territory and parts adjoining it on the east, after which I will give some extracts from the Survey made of these parts about a century since, to which I have before alluded.

“The Śūbah of Lūhor,” he says, “extends from the Sutlaj [not the Ghārah or Harihāri, but higher up: above the present junction of the Bīāh and Sutlaj] to the Ab-i-Sind, a distance of one hundred and eighty kuroh in length, and from Bhimbar to Chaukhandī, a dependency of Sat Garh,

271 The Sayyid, ‘Abd-ullah Shāh, who, with only a small following, when he was despatched to Kābul in 1780-81 by Governor Hastings, found the route from Bīkānīr by Phūgal and Moj Garh to Uchchh, sufficiently difficult. He lost a son, and a number of his people, between Bīkānīr and Uchchh. The Hon’ble Mountstuart Elphinstone also passed by the same halting places on his way to Kābul, but he went to Bahāwal-pūr from Moj Garh.

I hope shortly to give the Sayyid, Ghulām Muḥammad’s account of his father’s mission and his own to Kābul in his own words. See note 249, page 282.

272 Chaukhandī was a mahādīl of the Bakhin-āb Do-ābah of the Multān sarkār of the Multān gābah, and belonged to the Ḥakrā Jāts. It is now an insignificant place, and at this time is in the Bārī Do-ābah, showing how places have been changed from one do-ābah to another, fourteen miles E. N. E. of the town of Huṛappah, and about a mile from the south or left bank of one of the old channels of the Bāwī, three miles and a half from the high bank farther south-east. It appears in the maps as "Chowkundee.” Satū Garh, under the name of "Sutgurrah," and "Shutgurrah,"
eighty-six kuroh in breadth. Six rivers run through it, all coming from
the Koh-i-Shamáli. 1. Sutlaj, the old name of which is Shutlaj [but
in the printed text. See note 205, page 259], the spring-head being
at Khálu. Lúdhiánah, Rá-pá, and Máchú Wárah are on its banks.
At the Gúzar or ferry of Loh [لو] it unites with the Bítáh. 2. Bítáh,
the old name of which is Hipáshá [پیشا], rises at Bítáh Kund, near the
Koh-i-Galú [گل]. Súltán-púr is near this great river. [It now lies
eight miles west of it, and three miles north of Loh or Loh-Wál. 3.
Rávi, the old name of which is Iráwatí [ایرواتی]. It issues from the
Koh i-Bhadrál [بدرال], and the Dár-ul-Mulk of Láhor is on its
banks. 4. Chín-áb, the old name of which is Chándar-Bhágá [چنداربھگا]. Two
rivers rise on the slopes of the Koh-i-Khatwár [سکھشتواڑ], one the Chándar, the other the Bhágá, and having united near Khatwár,
the names become changed to Chándar-Bhágá. It [the united rivers]
passes by Bahlúl-púr, Súdharah, and Hazaráh.874 5. Biháth [پهت], the
old name of which is Bidástá [بدستا]. Its source is a hauz or small
lake in the parganah of Wir in Kasb-mír. It flows through Sír-Nágar,
and Bhirah875 is situated on its bank. 6. Sind. This river is said to
rise between Kasb-mír and Káshghar, some say in Khítá. It passes by
the confines of Suwát [Suwat], Áták Bánáras, and Chau-párah to the
Balúchistán.876

is about thirty miles north-east of Chánkhandí, and between two and three
miles from the south of left bank of the Rávi, near which Chánkhandí lies, and thirteen
miles to the eastward of Fath-púr Ghúghera, “Fattehpoor Guogaira,” of the maps.
Hereabouts, the valley of the Rávi is some thirty-four miles broad, cut up with
several channels, showing the great changes the river has made at different periods.
Khat-púr, the chief place of a maháll, mentioned in the Mughal raids, and the place,
where, at one period, the Rávi used to be forded, was the northernmost part of the
Mútán súbah, and is repeatedly mentioned in history, but that seems to have dis
appeared.

Sath Garh is the place to which Mr. M. L. Damos’s (See the “Journal” for
1881) “mighty Chákár Kínd,” a petty Balúch chief, retired, when he had to leave
the Balúch country. He did not “found” any “kingdom with its capital Sevi
(سی)”, and did not “wage war with Human Chughutta,” as Hamáýún Bádsháh
has been styled by him. More respecting Chákár, the Kínd, will be found farther
on. See also my “Notes on Afghánistán,” etc. page 347.

873 See ante page 278 and note 244.
874 Or Taht-i-Házaráh on the west bank of the Chín-áo, 8½ miles N. N. W. of
Jáll-púr, and 34 miles below Rám-Nágar, in the Chín-bath do-ábáh of Láhor súbah,
with a fort of burnt brick, belonging then to the Khokharas.
875 Also written Bhiráh (بھیراہ) in some copies of the Á’in. This is the
fortress of the Tamníní, Siháb-ud-Dín, Múbárak Sháh, which Amír Timúr captured,
but he calls it Bákrah, as does his descendant, Bábár, who took possession of it before
he succeeded in his designs upon Hindústán. See note 246, page 279.
876 The present age may be called the “Age of Gazetteers,” but, unfortunately,
The Bádsháh named the part between the Sutlaj and the Bláh, Bist-Jálandhar; that between the Bláh and the Ráwi, the Bári [not between the Harihárí, Núrní, or Ghárád, and the Ráwi, it will be observed. This is important, because, even now it is considered to extend from the dried up Bláh to the Ráwi]; that between the Ráwi and Chín-áb, Rachín-áó or Rachín-áb; that between the Chín-áb and Bihat, Chín-

many of them contain much arrant nonsense, old statements re-dished up, and the stories of Dow and Briggs renovated. There is a compilation issued from the "Intelligence Branch of the Quarter-Master General's Department" in India, called the "Peshán Gazetteer," which is called Part III of a "confidential" Gazetteer of Afghanistan, "intended for Political and Military reference."

"Peshán" means 'anterior,' 'antique,' and also 'the afternoon,' but the tract of country which the compilation in question is intended to give information upon chiefly, is that part of the southern Afghanistan called Púshang (which 'Arab writers called Fúshaj), according to their system of writing old Tájik words), through which part we are carrying a Railway (a good part of which, from a recent "Report" has been found useless), and call it in public documents "Bálochistán," because it is in the Afghanistan.

I will give a specimen of the historical information contained in this "Antique" or "Afternoon" Gazetteer, suggested by the above statement of Abá-i-Fazl. It says:—"The Baluch tribes to the west [the Balúchistán is referred to], being the inhabitants best known to Nádir Sháh, that monarch bestowed their name on the country, which properly should be styled Bráhústán, if supremacy and numbers are of any weight." I venture to say that there is no authority for stating that Nádir Sháh gave name to the Balúchistán, which was known by that name centuries before his time.

It will be seen from what Abá-i-Fazl states, that it was the well known name of their country, ages before Nádir Sháh's time, and also before the Bráhúís were known to history. Of course, it is not to be supposed that the above was intended to mislead, but it is misleading nevertheless. It is the outcome of persons writing on subjects respecting which they have no special knowledge, and copying the incorrect statements of others, upon which they have to depend.

The compiler of the "Peshán" Gazetteer, however, is not the only one: there is a "pamphlet"—written for some political purpose apparently, entitled "Our Western Frontier," London, 1887—containing much after the same fashion, by Mr. C E. Biddulph, of the Bombay Uncovenanted Service. At page 8 he assures us that "the terms Afghanistan and Baloochistan, are arbitrary and fictitious;" that "they are terms we have adopted from motives of convenience;" that "the region called by us Baloochistan (p. 13)," is a "term invented by us (p. 15);" and that, "the term Afghanistan is one of European invention (p 16)."

It is very evident that the writer is unacquainted with Abá-i-Fazl, much less with older writers by five or six centuries. When a person sets himself up as a teacher of others respecting the geography, history, and ethnography of a country, he ought, at least, to know something of its past history. The author of the pamphlet in question will find considerable information on this head from the Muhammadan writers in the Fifth Section of my "Notes on Afghanistan and Part of Balúchistán,"
and that between the Bihat and the Sind, Sind-Sagar.\textsuperscript{278} The distance from the Sutlaj to the Biała is fifty \textit{kuroh}; from the Biała to the Rawi, seventeen; from the Rawi to the Qhin-âb, thirty; from the Qhin-âb to the Bihat, twenty; and from the Bihat to the Sind, sixty-eight \textit{kuroh}.”

“The Multan \textit{Súbah},” he says, “before the territory of Thathah [that is middle and lower Sind—Siw-istán or Wicholo, and Thathah or Lár, making five \textit{Sarkárs}] was included, extended from Firúz-púr to Siw-istán [that is, their boundaries: not to those particular places], a distance of four hundred and three \textit{kuroh}, and adjoins the \textit{Sarkár} of Sahrind on the east; Shor on the north; the \textit{Súbah} of Ajmir on the south;\textsuperscript{279} and Kish and Mukrán on the west.\textsuperscript{280}

“The Bihat unites with the Qhin-âb near the \textit{pargana} of Shor,\textsuperscript{281} then running for a distance of twenty-seven \textit{kuroh}, near Zafar-púr,\textsuperscript{282} they unite with the Rawi, and all three become one river. Sixty \textit{kuroh} lower down, near Uchchh, they enter the Sind. For about twelve \textit{kuroh} above, to near Firúz-púr, the Biała and Sutlaj unite, and after that lose their names, and are styled Haríbhírí [],\textsuperscript{283} Dand [\textit{Hevâri} []],\textsuperscript{284} and Núrí [\textit{Nûrî} ]. Near Multán, having united with the other four \textit{rivers}, they flow together.\textsuperscript{285} Every river that enters the Sind [river] acquires the name Sind.”

\textsuperscript{277} Cunningham, in his “\textit{Ancient Geography of India},” page 154, says: “The names of the Doâbs [Do-ábahs?] were invented by Akbar, by combining the names of the including rivers. Thus, \textit{Chaj} is an abbreviation of Chenáb and Jhelam; \textit{Ráchna} of Rawi and Chenáb; and \textit{Bárí} of Biás [there is no river so called except by Europeans] and Rawi.” What Akbar Bâdshâh called them may be seen from Abû-l-Fašl’s statement above. There is no such \textit{do-ábah} as “\textit{Chaj}.” This is a mere mistake for Qhin-hath. This name is obtained, as mentioned in the Survey I have before alluded to, from ‘\textit{ch}’ and ‘\textit{n},’ the first two consonants in Qhin-âb, and ‘\textit{h},’ and ‘\textit{t},’ the last two consonants of Wihat or Bihat (also called the Jhilam)—Qhin-hath, to which compound word a final ‘\textit{h}’ is sometimes added, making it Qhin-hath, as above described. The name Bist-Jhâlandar is obtained in the same manner from ‘\textit{b}’ and ‘\textit{i}’ of Biała, and ‘\textit{s}’ and ‘\textit{t}’ of Sutlaj. In Blochmann’s printed text of the \textit{A‘ín-i-Akbarî}, the ‘\textit{s}’ has been left out.

\textsuperscript{278} Abû-l-Fašl gives his master rather more credit here than he is entitled to.

Sind-Sagar is as old as the time of Ibn Khurdâd-bih and the Mas‘ûdi. See page 210.

\textsuperscript{279} See note 239, page 274.

\textsuperscript{280} After Thathah and its dependencies were included therein. See \textit{A‘ín}.

\textsuperscript{281} Shor, at present, is some twenty-five miles below the place of junction. See page 291, and note 267, and also a note on this subject farther on.

\textsuperscript{282} This place is not now known. The junction must have been a few miles lower down than the present place of meeting.

\textsuperscript{283} Also written Harâbhírí [].

\textsuperscript{284} Or \textit{Dand} as it is sometimes written. See also note 240, page 275.

\textsuperscript{285} I have given his words literally here. See note 230, page 274, and note 254, page 285.
It will be noticed that Abu-1-Fazl mentions, that, after this junction of the Bhâh and Sutlaj, the newly united river is known by these three different names above-mentioned, and that they unite for twelve kuroh only. He says not one word such as can be construed, by the greatest stretch of the imagination, into three rivers, much less four. It will also be observed here that he mentions in rotation where the other four rivers unite, but that he leaves out the name of the place of junction of the Harihāri, Ḍand, or Nûnî (he never uses the name Ghârah here, it will be remarked) with the others, merely mentioning the fact of its uniting with them. It seems strange that he should have omitted to name the place of junction in this case, because Multân is a little over seventy-one miles, as the crow flies, above Uqâbâh.

"At Thathâh," he continues, "the Sind is called Mihrân, and all six rivers, in one stream [sic in text] pass under [the walls of] Bakhar, one portion north, and the other south of the fort. The Sind river every few years goes from south to north, and causes great ruin, consequently, the dwellings are constructed of sticks and rushes." 

See note 250, page 282.

It is so called, by his own account, much higher up than Thathâh; and at the period in question, seven, not six rivers, flowed past Bakhar.

See page 217, note 151.
The Mihrdān of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study.—By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY, Bombay Army (Retired).

(With six Plates.)

Continued from Page 297 of No. IV, 1892.

In the record of the Survey, completed about a century since, the following account is given of the different rivers noticed by Abū-l-Fażl above. It matters little, in regard to the present subject, what course this and the other rivers took within the hills, as there changes in their courses seldom take place; therefore, I shall confine myself chiefly to an account of them after their entry into the more level tracts.

The Sindhu, Nahr-i-Sind, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus.

I need not mention in the present paper what the author of the Survey says respecting the upper course of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, and its source, and shall only notice it here from its junction with the river of Kábul just above Aṭāk Banáras.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ It may not be amiss to mention here what the old European travellers say respecting the Indus and the changes in its channel, as well as of the rivers constituting the Panj Ab, or Panch Nad. What they mention about the places on their banks will be found farther on.

Sir T. Harbert, writing in 1626, says: “The River Indus, called by Pliny Sandus, and Arrian Sinthus, is now called Sindo. After a course of 3,000 miles from
"One kuroh above that place," he says, "the Sind unites with the River of Kābul, called Landay Sînd, or Little Sind or River, by the Afghāns. The Sind contains a whitish deposit, and looks milky in consequence; while the other, from its great clearness and purity, is very blue, and therefore the Tājzīk people of these parts call it the Nīl Āb, or Blue River, or Blue Water. At different points it is called the Aṭak and Nīl Āb indiscriminately. * * * Near Uchohī it unites with the Panj Āb, or Panoḫ Nad, or Five Rivers; and towards the bandar (port) of Lāhri it unites with the ocean."

The Casimirian [Kash-mīrīān] Mountains, part of Caucasus, it empties itself into the Ocean at two great Ostinms. * * * The Rivers Bohat [Bīhāt], Ravore [Rāwi], Damiadee [See the old map, p. 297], Obchan, Woihy or Hydaspe, Ascines, Cophis, Adris, etc., all fall into it." See pages 207, and 229, and note 175.

Manvelaesa, who was in India in 1639, says: "The Persians and Indoethans themselves, having given the name of Panjaḥ [Panj-Āb], i.e., Five Waters, to the River Indus, because it is joyn'd with so many Rivers before it exonerates itself into the Sea. The first is the River Bugal, or Begal [in other places he has Nībal—the Nīl-Āb], whose source is near Kabul; the second is call Chanab, which rises in the Province Quemir, or Cosimir, fifteen days' journey to the North, above Lahor. The third is that of Ravy, or Ravet, which rises not far from Lahor, and runs by it. The two others, viz., the Rivers Via [Bīāh] and Osuid [Bakrā?] have their sources at a vast distance, their confluence being near Bakar [this is an important statement], which lies at an equal distance between Lahor and the Sea. Some Authors have confounded this river with that of Diul [Debat], and placed it 24 degrees on this side the Line. * * * The Province of Tatta is a congeries of many Islands made by the same River. * * * The Province of Attack is seated upon the River Nibal (which falls into the Indus) and is by it divided from the Province of Haca Chan, or Hanji Chan [the Dera'h-jāt of the present day]. * * * The city of Lahor is seated on the River Ravy, one of those that with four more joins its Waters with the Indus." The Jiham he does not mention.

Thovenot, who was in India in 1666, says: "The Moguls have given that Province [Lahor] the name of Panjaḥ, which signifies the five Rivers, because five run in the territory of it. These Rivers have received so many particular names from the Moderns that have spoken of them, that at present it is hard to distinguish them one from another; nay, and most part of these names are confounded, though Pliny distinguished them by the names of Acelines, Cophis, Hydarpes, Zaradras, and Hispalia. Some Moderns call them Behat, Canab [Qhn-Āb], Find [Sind], Ravy, Van [Bīāh]; and others give them other Appellations, which are not the names of [i.e., in use in] the Country, or at least, which are not given them, but in some places of it they run through. However, all these Rivers have their Sources in the Mountains of the North, and make up the Indus, that for a long way, goes by the name of Sinde, into which they fall; and that's the reason why this River is sometimes called Indy, and sometimes Sindy."

See page 296. Abū-1-Faṣl also says "near Uchohī." He likewise says that the rivers of the Panj Āb are six, and include the Āb-i-Sind, which is not correct.
The Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, which we call Indus, has, in the lapse of ages, changed its course very considerably, though not so much perhaps, considering its size, as some of the other rivers presently to be noticed.

Traces of ancient channels are met with every here and there, especially to the immediate westward of Multán, between that place and the present channel of the river, and south of it again, between it and Uchchh, the intervening tracts of country being literally seamed with old channels. The whole of the southern part of the present Muşaffar Garh district of the Panj-āb, as at present constituted, below that part of the Thal or elevated alluvial waste, running down through the southern part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah from north to south, and which terminates a little to the north-west of the town of Muşaffar Garh, in about 30° 10' N. Lat., is low and depressed, and consists entirely of stretches of alluvial soil running parallel to the banks of the two rivers, Sind and Qhin-āb. This extensive tract is seamed with channels, showing, beyond a doubt, that nearly the whole of what now constitutes this district was a river bed.

Respecting this Thal, it is necessary to state that, like the district, it is somewhat in the shape of a triangle, the base on the north being about thirty-five miles in breadth, and the sides about fifty; that it is highest on the west, and that it slopes downwards from the banks of the Indus towards the Qhin-āb, from west to east. The western part of it consists of sandy soil, with sand-hills here and there, which latter increase in number and in elevation as you move eastwards, and run north and south in detached ridges or waves, between which, narrow flats of stiff clayey soil occur, which the people bring under cultivation, and which yield good crops, and finally terminate in the hollow, or valley, in which the Qhin-āb flows.

It must not be supposed, however, that because these ridges of sand-hills increase in height from west to east, that the bed of the Qhin-āb lies highest, for the contrary is the fact. There is a regular slope from the Indus towards the Qhin-āb; while the southern part of the district, from a little above Shahr-i-Sultán, is so depressed that the waters of the Qhin-āb and Indus find their way during the inundations into the very middle of the delta. This difference in the beds

---

291 Also known, in history, as the Čhúl-i-Jaláli. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁN-ISTÁN," etc., page 338.

292 In the hot season of 1754, the Shahr-i-Sultán was swept away by the river, together with the shrine of one of the Buhará Sayyids of the Uchchh family, named Pir-i-'Alam. They were subsequently re-built about two miles from the previous site.
of these rivers was noticed by Wood, in his "Report on the Indus." He says: "The depth of the bed of the Chin-āb is lower than the Indus; for they cut canals from the Indus in July, when both are in flood, and the surplus water flows down into the Chin-āb, proving that although their beds, for a distance of sixty miles, are not more than ten miles asunder [they are fourteen now, at the narrowest part], yet, in their relative level, there is a considerable difference."

Since the Survey, the record of which I have been quoting from, was made, towards the end of the last century, the main stream of the Indus has been pushing westwards considerably, notwithstanding the fact of the land sloping eastwards. At present there is a strip of kaghāhi land, some ten miles in breadth, between the Thal and that river, which fifty years since did not exist.

Four miles south of the ancient town of 'Ali-pūr, as far as the

To judge from the height of this place above the surrounding country, it must be an ancient site, and at one time stood near the confluence of the Chin-āb and its tributaries with the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus. The present town is supposed to have been founded by one of the chiefs of the Nāghar tribe, mis-called Nābars, named 'Ali Khān. Much information respecting this tribe is contained in my "Notes on Afghanistān," etc. 'Ali-pūr lies twenty-five miles north of Ukhāh, thirteen south-westwards of Jalāl-pūr in the Multān district, and a little over seven miles west of the present point of junction of the Ghārah with the Chin-āb and its tributaries forming the present Panhār Nad, or Panj 'Ab.
present junction of the two rivers thirty miles farther south, the whole space between is subject to inundation, that from the Indus extending farthest. When the two rivers rise, they begin to draw near each other, but, at last, the Indus water manages to force its way across towards Jatū-i, and reaches its old channel of the last century, passing by 'All-pur, and meeting the Chin-āb near the village of Pakkah Nā'īq̄, four miles and a quarter farther southwards. This state of things continues from June to September, during which period, all the district to the southwards of those places and beyond, is under water, and the only means of communication is by boats. During this time the inhabitants, washed out of their dwellings, live on small platforms raised on poles, with one or more of which each homestead is provided, called makhān in Hindi, and also māngān, both words being from Sanskrit भाग, and are often not able to leave them for weeks together.

At this time, however, the modern town of Khair-pur, a little over five miles west of Pakkah Nā'īq̄, just midway between the two cold season channels of the rivers, and which is protected all round by a strong band or embankment, becomes an island and a port; for cargoes of grain and other commodities are sent off from thence in large boats down to Sind. Should this band give way at any time the place would probably be washed away.

There is no doubt but that the Indus, in former times, flowed through the middle of the present Muṣaffar Gāhp district, in a direction almost due north and south, but inclining a little eastwards towards Multān and Uq̄eṣ̄; and history confirms the tradition respecting it, as I shall presently show. The tradition extant among the people is, that the river once flowed through the middle of this Thal, but rather nearer towards the Multān side, after which it began to alter its

395 This was the chief place of the mahāl of Jatū-i, one of the twelve constituting the Bakhar Sarkdr of the Multān Sūbāh, and was so called after a Balūch tribe of that name, once very powerful. In the time of Akbar Bādḡ̄̄h̄ they paid revenue to the amount of 2,346,873 dāms; held free grants to the amount of 156,841 dāms; and had to furnish 500 horsemen and 800 foot as militia when called upon. In computing the amount of revenue, forty dāms were equivalent to a répt.

396 The sand hills of the Thal, and several bands or embankments, alone prevent the surplus waters from the Indus sweeping over the whole district, and hence there is a constant danger of such happening, should any of the bands give way.

397 Elliot ("Historians," Vol. II, page 28), in his extracts from the Tārīkh-i-Yamini, where Sultan Maḥmūd is said to cross the Indus [Sīhān in the original, but often applied to a great river] "in the neighbourhood of Mutlān, and march towards the city of Bhātia," he adds in a foot-note—"Literally, 'behind' or 'beyond'—[and Ibn Aṣīr uses the same expression], but the position of Mutlān is such as to render the author's meaning very doubtful." Here the meaning is made quite clear: the river did not flow then as now, as Elliot supposed. See note 349, page 347.
course more to the west; and that the sand hills were produced by the action of wind, blowing the deposits left by the river in its deserted bed into heaps, and into their present shapes. The proof of the correctness of this tradition, which is corroborated by the old 'Arab writers, lies partly in the fact, that, in the middle part of this Thal, and farther towards the east, are villages, still existing, with the addition of the words 'kachōh,' 'belah,' and 'bet' to their names, and that it is literally seamed with the old channels in which the Ab-i-Sind or Indus once flowed. As an example, I may mention a village called Basirah, west of the town of Mużaffar Garh, and now in the middle of this Thal, just midway between the Indus and Ghin-āb as they now flow, and about thirteen miles from each. That village stood on the banks of the Indus in the last century; for, in a deed of sale of this particular village at that period, it is designated Bet Basirah. The Revenue Settlement Records, no doubt, would furnish many more proofs. At Shāh Garh, likewise, which lies but six miles and a half farther south of it, and about the southern and terminating point of the Thal, a long kol-i-āb, ḵhand, or lake, still exists, part of the channel in which the river then flowed.

In former times, as elsewhere mentioned, it united with the rivers of the Panj-āb territory opposite Uţoţhāh, which now is forty miles above the confluence near Miţ-hi dá Koţ; and what now constitutes the 'Alipūr sub-division of the Mużaffar Garh district, then lay on the west, in; stead of the east bank of the Indus; and Jaţū-i, Sit-pūr, and Ghauq-pūr

96 For other information respecting these parts on either side of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, as it flowed in the last century, see my "Notes on Afghanistan," etc., pages 656–660, and 673–676.
99 The present town is situated on an eminence, the remains of older buildings. Here also stands a fine tomb of one of the Nāghar chiefs, called Nāhars by the Sindis. The dome is covered with the usual glazed blue tiles of this part.

The country round about towards the junction of the rivers is covered with low tamarisk ǰangal, and tall, coarse reeds.

One of the "Punjab Gazetteers," in an account of these parts, presents us with some wonderful history—Gazetteer history it may be styled. Therein it is mentioned, that it was in the time of the Langah dynasty that the independent kingdom [sic—much like the kingdom of "the mighty Chāker Rind"] of the Nāhars was established in what is now the 'Alipūr Tahsil [they must have been content with a small "kingdom"]). It was during this dynasty that the Biloches first emerged from the Saliman Mountains [in which they were not located, and from which they did not come at that period, but from Kīgh and Mukrān], and occupied the country on the left bank of the Indus." It also states, that, "of the twenty-six generations of the Nāhar princes, the last is Bakhshān Khān, Jamādar of the 'Alipūr Tahsil." Here he would probably get pay at the rate of twelve or fifteen rūpīs per month—Sic transit gloria Nāharān! See my "Notes on Afghanistan," etc., pages 4 and 648.
in the Baháwul-púr territory, were all three places on the west bank of the river. The Chin-áb and its tributaries, the Jihlam and Ráwí, flowed some miles farther east, the junction being then a few miles east of Shahr-i-Súltán. Just at the close of the last century, the Indus suddenly forsook its channel about twenty miles above Uneh, and took a direction more to the south-south-west towards Mit-hí dâ Koč, thus placing 'Ali-púr, Jaṭá-i, and Siṭ-púr in the Sind-Ságár Do-ábah, in which Uneh was once situated. The Janún Canal (the "Jamoo Canal" of the maps) now runs in this deserted channel, and unites with the Panj Ab or Panáb Nad below Makhan Belah.

Another purdánah, budh, or old channel, of which there are several others in different parts of the district, called the ḡhand of Sháh Gaḥ, can be traced a short distance from the present Kureshí Paṭan or Ferry. It takes a tortuous course among the sand ridges of the Thal, and

The same "authority" states, that "Sitpur was first called Kanjan Mal, then Khúdí Bhír—the hunting seat of Raşa Khúdí," only ber - پیر - signifies an enclosure—the hunting seat, so called—not bhir. There is no mention whatever of Rattá-Mattá, which famous place is situated only four miles and a half from Jaṭá-i. See a subsequent page and note on this subject farther on.

The cause of this change, according to native statements, and which are probably correct in the main, is, that from near Kinjhir, the point where the Indus formerly turned eastwards to unite with the Chin-áb, one of the modern Náhar chiefs of Siṭ-púr, excavated a canal to irrigate some land farther west in the direction of the present course of the river. All at once (at the commencement of the inundation it may be presumed), it suddenly left its old channel and took to the canal, and very soon made a new channel for itself; and in it, with occasional minor changes, it has since flowed, thus showing how easily great changes can be brought about in such a sandy, alluvial tract, and that the feat of Saif-ul-Múlūk near Aror, according to the tradition elsewhere related, and which is said to have caused such mighty changes in Sind, was not so difficult to effect after all.

It will be noticed, that it was at this same period, when the Ab-i-Sind or Indus thus suddenly changed its course, and taking to the abovementioned canal speedily cut a new channel for itself, that the Bih and Sutlaj likewise changed their courses, and united into one river, and that the Chin-áb and Ráwí, instead of uniting as before, a short distance west of Siḏhú ki Sará'e, turned some ten miles farther towards the south-west. All this shows that the same causes produced the same effects—all the rivers were more or less affected. This is said to have happened about the year 1202 H. (1787-88, A. D.).

The place where the Ab-i-Sind or Indus changed its course farther to the west, as noticed above, was near Kinjhir (the "Keenjur" of the maps) on the west, which place lies about twelve miles west of Khán Gaḥ in the Músaffar Gaḥ district.

After the Ab-i-Sind or Indus made this sudden change, the Náwáb of Baháwul-púr, who considered that river his boundary on the west, wherever it might be, annexed the whole of the intervening tract between the old channel and the new to his territory, and managed to hold it up to about the year 1820.
terminates near the old garh or fort of Sháh Garh, north-west of Mużaffar Garh. Another is the Panjihár dhán, which can be traced from a little west of Kinjhír to near the village of Rohilán-Wáli, and from thence for about twelve miles farther to the southwards of Khán Garh. Hereabouts the land lies so low that water finds its way into the middle of this part of the delta, where quite a network of dhánds exist, which for the most part tail on to this one.

Without being aware, apparently, of these facts, it is in the tract I have been thus describing, that the "archaeological experts" venture to identify places as "the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines [Qhin-áb] with the Indus," after the lapse of some twenty-three centuries, when such mighty changes occur in less than one!502

In the same manner as in the tracts north and west of Uqobh, just described, and between it and Miţ-hí dá Koţ, called by us Miţhan Koţ, below those places again, other ancient channels exist, but not of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus only; and it is beyond a doubt, that it and other tributaries of the Mihrán of Sind, have, at different times, flowed over great part of the alluvial plain of Sind between Uqobh and Aror, and farther south, but much nearer towards the hills westwards than has generally been imagined.503

It appears to me that what the old 'Arab writers say respecting the "tributaries, which go to make the Mihrán of Sind," has been overlooked, or not understood. Al-Mas'údí, for example, says (page 206), that, "it comes from the kohistán or mountain tracts of Sind," and adds, that, "with its tributaries, which rise in those countries [lying

501 See farther on where these changes are described.

502 Vast changes have taken place, and have continued to occur down to the present time, in the course of the Sindhú, or Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, above Aták (see my "Notes on AFGHÁNÍSTÁN," page 32), as well as below Kálá Bágh where it issues from the mountain tracts, particularly between the town of the 'Isá Khel Nízárí Afgáns and Míán Wílah. (See "Notes" page 322, and 343, note 9). There is, as already mentioned in note 116, page 207, of this paper, a tradition, that in ancient times, the country round Laka'i of the Marwat Afgáns was a vast lake, as the ancient name Dánd or Dhánd indicates, and was so called long before these Afgáns gained a footing therein. See also a note farther on.

Between the town of the 'Isá Khel Nízárí and the modern Derah of Ismá'il Khán, the course of the Ab-i-Sind appears likewise to have changed considerably; and the Gumul and its tributary, the river of the Jióbah Darah and its affluents, and other streams from the range of Mihtar Sulímán, Koh-i-Síyáh, Tor Ghár, Kálá Roh, or Kálá Páhár, between the Gamlíah or Gambilah and the Súrí River near Káshmúr, mentioned in note 116, above referred to (which now are for the most part dry, or their waters drawn off for irrigation purposes, and which only find their way to the Ab-i-Sind in time of flood, if they reach it at all), once contributed greatly to the volume of the great river, as I shall presently show.
towards the kohistán, bounding it on the west and north he means], it flows on towards Multán." Now from this it is quite clear that none of the five rivers constituting the Panch Nad, or Panj Ab can be meant or referred to here, because the "Mihrán Rúd," or Ab-i-Sind,\(^{806}\) which he is describing, only united with the other great river into which the Panch Nad, or Panj Ab fell, three days' journey, or seventy-one miles as the crow flies, to the southward of Multán [that was, near Uchloh, but, it must be remembered, that Uchloh is never mentioned by these old writers by that name], consequently these tributaries were quite distinct from the Panch Nad, or Panj Ab, and united with the "Mihrán Rúd" or Ab-i-Sind, to the northwards, and rather above Multán.\(^{805}\)

This is further confirmed by the statement of Al-Mas'údî (page 207), that, "the fourth river of the five which go to form the Mihrán Rúd\(^{806}\) comes from the boundary or frontier of Sind towards, or in the direction of, Busû, Ghaznîn, [خبيت [؟]], Ar-Rukhâj, and the territory of Dâwar; and another of these five rivers [the tributaries] comes from Kashmír." This, superficially regarded, might seem to refer to the Bihaṭ or Jihlâm, which does come out of Kashmír, but then again, the Mas'údî refers to a river which had entered and become part of the "Mihrán Rúd," or Ab-i-Sind, before it united with the Panch Nad, or Panj Ab, of which the Bihaṭ was one.\(^{807}\)

\(^{804}\) See note 117, for what is meant by "Mihrán Rúd," and the difference between that name and the "Mihrán of Sind."

Strabo says, in his Fifteenth Book, that it is stated that there are, altogether, fifteen considerable rivers which flow into the Indus. Arrian says the same, who takes the number from Megasthenes: Pliny says there are nineteen. Of course, the united rivers refer to the "Great Mihrán," or "Mihrán of Sind."

\(^{805}\) In the same way that the five rivers constituting the Panch Nad, or Panj Ab, which these Hindu and Persian names signify, the junction of the whole into one stream is known to this day, in the Muṣṣâffar Garh district and vicinity, as the "Sáth Nad," or Seven Rivers; while after the junction of the Râwî with the Ghinnâb and Bihaṭ, farther up, the united waters are known locally as the Trim Ab," or Three Rivers.

\(^{806}\) Because in the Turkish language múr-dân means a river, Tod, in his "Bāja-
s'than" (Vol. I, page 19), supposed that Mihrán is one and the same word. He says: "the 'sweet river,' the Meeta Muran [Hindi and Turkish together!], a Sythic or Tartar name for river, and by which alone the Indus is known from the Panj Nad to the ocean."

To "Panj Nad," he adds a note, that they "are the confluent arms or source of the Indus!"

\(^{807}\) From all this it is clear, that the "tributaries" which go to form the "Mihrán Rúd," Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, refer to rivers uniting with it on either side above the parallel of Multán. There are several of these, but some may have been scarcely worthy of the name of rivers in those remote days, or, since that
Al-Istakhari also says (page 211): "The river of Sind, which is called the Mihrân of Sind, is said to issue from a mountain range in which time, may have changed considerably; while others may have been more important than they are at present. I will mention these rivers in rotation. First: the Harú from the mountain tract of Malâgh, bounding Kâsh-mîr on the east, with a course of some sixty miles, which unites with the Indus on the east near the ancient town of Nil-Ab below Aṭâk. Second: the Kâghzî, or river of Kohât, on the west, with a course of about ninety-five miles. Third: the Sû-hâs, rising in the kohistân of Gharâl, with a course of about one hundred and twenty-four miles, broad and rapid; and though not more than knee-deep in the cold season, is, in the time of inundation, quite impassable. It enters the Indus on the east side, between Makhbaq and Kâlé Bâgh. Fourth: the Kûrmâ’î (vul. "Kurram") from the west, with several important affluents. It has a course of over ninety miles, but its feeders which go to form it, rise still farther to the west. The Kûrmâ’î rises in the mountain range so called, the particulars respecting which will be found in my "Notes on Afghânistân," page 78. Near its junction with the Indus it is joined by two considerable tributaries. This is still an important river, and from proofs remaining, and from what tradition asserts, it was, in former times, a great river. This, I conceive to be, without doubt, one of the five tributaries referred to. Fifth: the Gumul, which rises on the east slopes of the great western range of the Koh-i-Siyâb, or Tor Gâhar, separating the Afghânistân from Zaâbul-istân—the Ghaznî territory under the Turkish sovereigns, including Kandahâr. A few miles west of the great eastern range of the same Koh-i-Siyâb, or Tor Gâhar, it receives from the south-west the river of the Jziob or Jziobâh Darâh (vul. "Zhub"), and farther west again, the Kwandar river, flowing through the Darâh of that name. All these under the name of Gumul now scarcely reach the Indus except in time of flood, but tradition relates that it was, as it must have been, in by-gone times, a river of considerable magnitude. It has a course of about one hundred and eighty miles; while the river of the Jziob and Kwandar Darâhs have, respectively, courses of about one hundred and twenty-five, and sixty-five miles. The Gumul must at one time have sent a great volume of water into the Indus, and is, undoubtedly, one of the "tributaries" referred to by the old 'Arab writers. These are the principal rivers above the parallel of Multân; but there are others, and important ones, lower down, which must be noticed here. Sixth: the Kâhâ Darâh, or rather, the river of the Kâhâ Darâh, which takes its rise in the slopes of the south face of the great range of Mihtar Sulîmân, or Koh-i-Siyâb, which, after a course of between eighty-five and ninety miles, enters the Derâh-jât near Harând, where the waters are drawn off for purposes of irrigation. This river, with its feeders, which come from still farther west, is the most considerable of south-east Afghânistân, and appears in ancient times to have been a perennial stream, and to have contributed a considerable body of water to the Indus. Seventh: the river of the Sûrî Darâh, which rises in the same range, and has a course of some eighty miles. It drains the Shûm plain, but its waters now seldom reach the Indus. It would have entered it between Kin Koṭ and Rûjân near where the Indus bent west and flowed in the "Sînd Hollow." Eighth: the Nârî, which rises among the southern slopes of the same great mountain range north of Siwî of the Parnî Afghâns, which it passes on the west. Lower down, it receives the waters of the Bolân river, once much more considerable than at present, and the Lahri river from the east, passes Bhâg, also called Bhâg-i-Nârî on
the Jihún rises." These old geographers can scarcely be expected to have
known much respecting those tributaries of the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, north
the east side, and runs southwards in two main branches towards Shâdâd-pûr; and
after a course of about one hundred and seventy miles, much of its waters having
been drawn off higher up, it is lost in the dense jangal in the
thirsty soil of the great Ran, or "Sind Hollow," about twelve miles south of Taubbû
("Tumboo," "Tambû;" and "Tambu" of as many different maps), but, in time of
flood, even now, its waters reach the Mângghar lake, one hundred and thirty-four
miles farther south, for it then contains a vast body of water. Ninth: the Ghâr or
Ghaj which rises in the Balûghistân near Kalât-i-Nîghârah (vil. "Khelat"), which,
flowing through the Mûlah Darakh, and making, so to say, the Mûlah Pass, after
receiving some minor tributaries, by the way from the direction of Gand-ábah,
issues from the hills; and, after a course altogether of between one hundred and
fifty and one hundred and sixty miles, is, like the Nârì river, some forty miles
farther to the south-east, lost in the great Ran—the "Sind Hollow"—about twelve
miles north-west of Shâdâd-pûr, but it is generally flooded twice every year. At
such times, the waters of these two rivers, Ghâr and Nârî, meeting the overflow
from the Indus by the old channel I have referred to, causes vast damage, and lays
a great tract of country under water, as related in the text farther on.

This great Ran of Upper Sind, or "Sind Hollow," may be said to form the natural
boundary of the territory of Sind on the north and north-west, from Kashmûr to
Khâfîro Gârî, and the Kahûr range on the west.

That the fourth river of the five referred to by Al-Mas'ûdî, as coming from the
side of Bus, Ghâznîn, Ar-Rukhâj, Dâwar, etc., can refer to the Ghâr and its tribu-
taries, is out of the question, because it is impossible for any other river to be
referred to as coming from the side of Bus; unless the Koja-kh range has been
thrown up since Al-Mas'ûdî wrote, a thing not impossible, and diverted the Lorah,
that is, "the River," which now flows through Pushtang (incorrectly written Peshin
in official documents) to the west side of that great range, into Shôrâ-wâk and
the sandy desert farther south. There are certainly traditions current among
the Afgâns and Tâjikâ of these parts, that that river did find its way eastwards
in bygone times, and that its old bed lay in the part now constituting the Bolân
Pass and defile, and that a great convulsion of nature changed the face of the
country, turned up hills, and diverted rivers. Whether the geological appearances
are sufficient to warrant our placing faith on these traditions I am unaware, but I
believe that all traditions have some foundation of truth.

This may also account for the fact, that such a route as the Bolân is never
once mentioned in any history whatever up to quite recent times; and the route
from Sind, and sometimes from Mûltân also, to Kwaṭâb and Kandahâr, was always
by Siwi and Sangán, about twenty-five miles east of the present Bolân route.

The Gumul river, and its tributaries also, certainly rise in the range, which, in
Al-Mas'ûdî's time, and in all time, formed the eastern boundary of Zâbul-istân.

Farther south again than the Ghâr, in the "kohistân" of Sind, is another im-
portant river bed, the Baran of the maps, which drains a large extent of country,
and, after a course of about ninety miles or more, unites with the Ab-i-Sind, or
Indus, a few miles above Koṭrí. Though now chiefly dependent on rain, it appears
not to have been always so; and it is, together with some lesser river beds or
mountain torrents, as they now are, its tributaries, the rivers referred to by the
of the junction of the river of Kábul and its tributaries with it, seeing that, until comparatively modern times, the tracts through which they flow have been scarcely known to ourselves. The Istakhri immediately after also mentions the "other great river, the Sind Rúd," distinct from the "Mihrán Rúd," or Ab-i-Sind, which former, he says, "is three days' journey or stages [that is, lower down stream] from Multán," and adds, that "the waters of the Sind Rúd [the Rúd-i-Hind wo Sind] of the Masálik wa Mamálík [are sweet and pleasant, even before its junction with the Mihrán].”

Ibn Ḥaukal also mentions (page 216), the junction of the "Mihrán Rúd" with the Sind Rúd and the Jand or Qand Rúd. He subsequently refers (page 218), separately to the Sind Rúd uniting with the "Mihrán Rúd" three days' journey from Multán, that is below or to the southwards of Multán.

Bearing these important facts in mind respecting the tributaries received by the "Mihrán Rúd" or Ab-i-Sind before it reached down as far southwards as Multán, we find, that up to or about the time that Sultán Násir-ud-Dín, Kábá-jah, ruled over the territories of Multán and Sind, from about the parallel of Kin or Kin Koṭ, and between it and Kašmrúr where there is a depression westwards, the "Mihrán Rúd" or Ab-i-Sind, made a more sudden bend towards the west than in more recent times. At the present day, one of its old channels, which is broad and winds considerably, can be traced westwards from near Kašmrúr. It passes Yárú, Kambrí, Kand Koṭ of the Parní Afghán, and Ghang-púr (of Sind: a different place from that mentioned at

Istakhri, who says, "Mukrán is mostly desert waste, and contains but few rivers. Their waters run into the Mihrán [of Sind] on either side of Masúiriyah [the territory dependent on]," and through which that river flowed.

We may consequently assume that "the five rivers which went to form" the Mihrán Rúd or Ab-i-Sind (not the "Mihrán of Sind." See note 117, page 306), according to the Mas'údí, were:—1. The River of Kábul, the Landaey Sin of the Afghán; 2. The Harú; 3. The Sú-hán; 4. The river of Kurma'h (vul. ' Kurrām'); and 5. The Gunnul with its tributaries. We may rest assured that the Náří could not possibly have formed one of the five, because it could not have united with the Mihrán Rúd, or Ab-i-Sind, before it reached Multán, which all are said to have done.

As recently, however, as Akbar Bádelíah's reign, we know that the course of the Náří river was changed by an earthquake, and to such like convulsions of nature all the tracts around are constantly liable, and were often subject.

That the River of Kábul is included among the five rivers of Al-Masúdí there can be little doubt, and particularly since, at this day, after the junction of all the rivers now forming the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, the united stream is locally called the Sáth Nád, or Seven Rivers. See note 305, page 305.

508 See note 293, page 300.
page 302), then, changing from the direction of south-south-west more westwards, it passes north of Jágan, between Shikár-púr and Jacob-ábád, and finally reaches the Sind Hollow of Europeans, presently to be noticed, near Kháíró Garhi—the “Khairagari,” “Khairo Garhi,” and “Khyrah Gurhee,” of as many different maps. This ancient channel was, in comparatively recent times, utilized for what became known as the Begárí Wá-hah, or Canal, the largest in Siro or Upper Sind. In still more recent times another channel appears to have branched off from near Ghaun-púr, above mentioned, more to the southward and westward, which passed near Lár-kánáh, or Lá-r-káno as the Sindás call it, and from thence made a bend more directly south, passing near Khandiáro, and a few miles east of Noh-Sháhráh or Noh-Shàro (the “Nowshera” of the maps), which leaving Siw-istán, the modern Sihwáñ, some sixteen miles or thereabouts on the west, united with the old channel of the river called the Kunbh, which intervened between Siw-istán and the Mihrán of Sind when Muhammad, the son of Kásim, marched from Nírún to attack Bahman-ábád, as related at page 232. This old channel can be traced from the existing mounds and hollows as far down as about eight miles east of Lakhí, near which the rise of the country towards the hills on the west turned it aside, on which it took a more south-easterly course towards Hálah (the “Halla” of the maps), passing between it and Sñhádád-púr towards its former place of junction with the Mihrán of Sind, Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sínd-Ságar, some distance south of Mansáriyah and Bahman-ábád. I may add that the whole of Siro, or Upper Sind, and Wíchólo or Middle Sind, is so cut up with dháns or beds of lakes, and puránáhs, budáhs, dhóros, or deserted channels, many of which have now been utilized as canals, as to show, as previously noticed, that there is scarcely any part of this vast alluvial tract, over which in the course of ages, the Ab-i-Sínd or Indús has not flowed at some time or other, and the Mihrán of Sind, Hakrá, or Wahindah also, but to a much less degree.

After some further changes in Siro or Upper Sind, another channel appears to have branched off from the main stream, which ran in a more southerly direction from the first, towards Lár-kánáh, constituting what is called in our maps “the Western Nára,” and “Narra,” and which channel is still open.

I now come to the most important of the channels, and the oldest of which we have any record, which branched off between Kin Koṭ and Káshmúr in a westerly direction, passing between six and seven miles north of Kumbrí, before mentioned, then within two miles south of “Sanrí” and “Sundree” of the maps, then more towards the north towards the fort of Dil-Murád, to within seven miles of Uçbháh (this
is the third place of that name previously noticed, and which lies im-
mmediately at the skirts of the outer waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, Sor
Ghar, or Rá té Roh, (described in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," pages 5,
and 658), after which it bends southwards at about eleven miles west
of Khán Garh, now called Jacob-ábád, towards Kháiro Garhí and
Shadád-púr. This ancient channel, which is likewise the largest, marks
the boundary of our territory in Upper Sind, and separates it from
Kachholí. It has since been utilized, I believe, for the new "Frontier
Canal," or at least, such was proposed.

From what the historian of Sind, Mír Ma'gúm of Bakhar, says
in his work, we know that as late as his day, the "Mihrán Rúd," or
Ab-i-Sind, made a sharp bend westwards below Ráján (the "Rojhan"
and "Rojhan," etc., of the maps), a few miles above Kin Koţ, and that
the distance from the river to Siwí, (one of the mahálls of the Sarkár of
Bakhar of the Multán Siúbah, in the southern part of the Afghan state
lately annexed), in one direction, that is from the river bank near Ráján
in the direction of Siwí westwards, was then one hundred kuroh, equal
to one hundred and seventy-five miles. It is now only one hundred and
fifty-two miles; while, in the opposite direction, that is towards the
south, in about the direction of Bakhar, the river was, in Mír Ma'gúm's
time, but sixty kuroh distant from Siwí, equal to one hundred and five
miles, but now its nearest point is distant one hundred and thirty-two
miles, just in the position where the other old channel I have referred
to at page 308, which runs from near Káshmúr by Kanḍ Koţ, lies.
This ancient channel or great depression which I now refer to, is what
is called, locally, the Ran or Marsh, the Paṭ or Desert, and "Dasht-i-
Bedáří," by the people, and the "Sind Hollow" by Europeans. The
land slopes down from the banks of the present channel of the Indus
towards the west as far as this depression. For example:—Káshmúr
on the river bank is some eighty feet higher than Khán Garh or Jacob-
ábád, and the latter place is lower by some ninety feet than the bed of
the Indus at Mithri, between Kin Koţ and Káshmúr, twenty-one miles
farther north. There is nothing really to keep back the river until
the country north and west of this great depression begins to rise in
the direction of the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh on the north,
and the Kahtár range 809 (turned into "Kheerthur," in the maps) on the
west; for the country along the right or west bank of the Ab-i-Sind or
Indus continues higher than the level of this great depression down
beyond Mihar on the west, as far down as which the overflow from the
river between Kin Koţ and Káshmúr finds its way; and on some occa-
sions as far down as the Manéghar lake, as I shall presently show.

809 See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," etc., page 658, and note ††.
High mounds, the sites of former towns, and the substantial ruins of others, such as Fath-pur, Uchoh, and Shāh-pur; the fact that the tract of country north of Shikār-pūr, which is now known as the "Frontier District," is cut up, so to say, with dhorahs or old channels, and dhands or hollows, in which water accumulates; and that it is still flooded from the Ab-i-Sind or Indus for twenty miles north of Ghaus-pur; all tend to confirm the statements of former historians, that the northern parts of Sind, as anciently constituted, lying north of Shikār-pūr, and between Rúján and Gand-ábah, contained a number of flourishing towns and villages, and was in a high state of cultivation, and, that the lands lying along the banks of the Ghár or Gháj river used to be some of the most productive in all Sind.

Only fifteen years ago an incident occurred illustrating what I have here stated. The waters of the Indus rose in the month of July some eight or nine feet higher than usual between Kin Koč and Kashmūr, which, flowing in two branches in the direction of about west-south-west, entered the ancient channel in the great depression, the so-called "Sind Hollow," and reached the district of Lar-kānah. The two branches having united at Khāiro Gaphi, forty miles west of Shikār-pūr, were joined by the overflow of rain-water from the Koh-i-Surkh or Rātá Pahár, and the Koh-i-Siyāh or Kálā Pahár ranges, bounding the Kaḥchhī plain on the north, and the water from the Ghár river from the Mūlah Pass. The united waters then continued their course towards the south, passing near the town of Shadād-pūr, and finally entered

310 This place was, in the time of Akbar Bádshāh, the chief town of the Mohādī or sub-district, one of twelve into which the Bakhar Sarkār of the Multān Sūkoh was divided. The inhabitants then were Samijahs, and Zhadījahs; they had 8050 bighas of land under cultivation; were assessed thereon in 477, 858 dāms (equal to just 11.448 rūps and a-half); and had to furnish 200 horsemen and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

311 Dr. R. H. Kennedy, Chief of the Medical Staff of the Bombay Column of the Army of the Indus, crossed part of this great ran or "Sind Hollow," marching from Lar-kānah upwards towards Shadād-pūr, in March, 1899. He says ("Campaign of the Army of the Indus," Vol. I, page 189): "The third march brought us to Shadadpore: the country for the last twenty miles was more like the dry bed of a salt lagoon in an interval between spring tides, than an inland district." On leaving Shadād-pūr, he says: "In less than half an hour we reached the desert; not an expanse of loose heavy sand like the sea beach when dry, as I had expected, but a boundless level plain of indurated clay of a dull dry earthy colour, and showing signs of being sometimes under water. At first a few bushes were apparent here and there, growing gradually more and more distant, until at last not a sign of vegetable life was to be recognised." In another place (Vol. II, page 165) he says: "Betwixt Mehrūn and Baug [Bhág], we crossed a singular ridge of earthy hills, evidently the effect of an earthquake-convulsion; the strata of soil distinctly show-
the Nárah branch of the river and the Manóphar lake. A vast area of country was flooded in the Shikár-púr, Lar-kánah, and Mihar districts; and upwards of five hundred villages, great and small, were flooded, and many substantial buildings swept away.

It therefore may be assumed that it is not beyond the range of possibility, that, some day, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, may leave its present channel and choose a new one, notwithstanding that it has not altered very materially for nearly a century, but a slight obstacle might bring about a great change.\textsuperscript{313}

ing that they must originally have been watery deposits on a level surface bursting upwards and elevated by volcanic action. See note 307, page 305. Two parallel ranges of hills appear here, as at Lukky [Lakhhi]; but these do not exceed four hundred feet in height, and seem entirely composed of the silt of the Indus, or whatever inland sea once flowed over these vast levels: with the exception of these ridges, the whole plain from Daadur [Dhéjdar] to Sukkúr [Sakhar] is one uniform flat of the same character.

Masson, who travelled in Sind some years previous to the annexation of the country, mentions (Vol. II, page 180), that latterly, the inundations of the Indus had increased westerly, and that, near “Derá Ghaihi,” which is nearly forty miles to the southwards of Kháiro Garhí, mentioned above, “is a branch of the Indus,” (page 182).\textsuperscript{313}

We may judge of the vast changes which have taken place in the lapse of many centuries in the tracts lying in and under the south-eastern parts of the range of Mihtar Sulimán, or Koh-i-Siyah, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, and the outer and lower range of Koh-i-Surkh, Sor Ghar, or Bátá Roh, the tracts in which the Mari and Bughčí, and other Balúčis now dwell, in which the Dáwi and Nághár Afgháns previously dwelt, and likewise in the parts still farther west. Al-Idrísí refers to marshy places west of the Ab-i-Sind between Káshmúr and Shárá-sán or Siw-Istán, the modern Sihwán; and the Ará’ísh-i-Mah-fíl, a more modern work, states, that between Bakhar and Siwí, nearly one hundred and fifty miles to the north-north-west, the towns and villages are often laid waste through the Ab-i-Sind flowing from the south towards the north [sic. in Mss.] at intervals of some years. For this distance towards the north and north-west, between Bakhar and Siwí, the half nearest the latter has now few villages to be laid waste; for the country has been for more than two centuries, a howling desert, over which, for four months together, the deadly simám blows, and in the other half, nearest Bakhar, the villages and towns are not numerous; but, in both portions, the ruins of several ancient towns and villages are even still to be traced. These statements contained in the Ará’ísh-i-Mah-fíl, are confirmed by the statements of Mr Ma’súm of Bakhar, one of the historians of Sind, already referred to, who describes the state of that part in his day.

We read in the native historians—the originals I mean—of these parts being in ancient times well cultivated and flourishing, and of numerous gardens, particularly around Siwí of the Párghi Afgháns, now, or very lately, a complete waste. Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún Mughal, would scarcely have selected Siwí as his future place of residence, when under the necessity of evacuating Kandahár, and previous to his conquest of Sind, in preference to Kwätah (vol. “Quetta”) and Kalát-i-Ni-
The Ghár river, previously referred to, appears to have sent another branch into the Ab-i-Sind in recent times, and in a more easterly direction. This old channel, which is broad and deep, can be traced from about fourteen miles to the southward of Kháír Garhi. It runs in the direction of about east-south-east, passing Lar-kánah and the ruins of Mahortah on the north, and after passing them about three miles, it turns sharply to the northward, and unites with the Ab-i-Sind a little over sixteen miles west of Bakhar, and about eight miles higher up than the point where the Western Náraḥ, as it is called by Europeans, branches off from the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus. Some have mistaken this gháráh (vul. "Khelat"), if it had been, and the tracts surrounding it, anything like what they subsequently became, and lately were. After his time, and within two generations, a great change took place. Siwí became so very sickly, that Súltán Máhmód Khán, the fendatory of Bakhar and its dependencies under the Arghún, of which Siwí was a dependent district, had to replace its garrison yearly; for most of the men perished through the badness of the climate and water. Of the badness of the water on the way from the Derah of Gházi Khán to the Shrine of Sakkhi Sarwar, I can, myself, testify. This continued until the time of Akbar Bágásáh, after the death of the above mentioned Súltán Máhmód Khán, when Bakhar and its dependencies became annexed as a Sarkár to the Multán Sábah. Shortly after, a great flood came, accompanied by some volcanic action (See what Dr. R. H. Kennedy states in the preceding note, 311), and the spring-head, the source of this river, which supplied the place, became changed, and the river’s course likewise, and the deleterious nature of the water at the same time. Previous to this change, the river used to flow a distance of fifty kuroh, and its waters collecting in the Sar-Wáh district—about the position of the great ran or "Sind Hollow," already referred to, and once the channel of the Ab-i-Sind, or Indus—used to be drawn off for irrigation purposes, and what remained reached the Manchhar lake, about one hundred and twenty miles farther to the south, in Wigholo or Middle Sind.

Alexander’s march, according to the map given by Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography of India," page 248, is represented as leading straight down from "Uch," which he calls "Alexandria" [see the observations on this subject in note 192, page 244] to "Ubaro" along the Indus, and then by "Aror," to "Mahorta" across the Indus as it at present flows, and from thence down the west bank to "Sehwán," and subsequently, by "Brahmanabad," "Hala," "Kotri," and "Thatha" to "Kuraschi." In another direction Alexander is taken from "Kotri" to "Lonibari ost," just according to the present course of the river, as though it had never changed from his time to this day. Of course, all this is pure imagination, while we know what mighty changes have taken place, even since the time of the Arab conquest of Sind, and that the river has been constantly changing.

The same writer makes "Kraterus" cross the Indus at "Fázilpur," and then takes him by "Kusmurf" and "Khanger" to "Dadar" and "Bagh," and so through the "Bolán defile," and quotes Curtius as his authority for all this, but I fail to find any confirmation of it in the latter’s history after careful search, but I know quite well that none of the places mentioned were then in existence, and that the Indus did not run then as supposed.
old branch of the Ghár for the Nárah; but the latter is a natural branch or offset from the A'b-i-Sind, and not a canal, as some have imagined, but it may have been artificially improved in recent times.

Mahortah, near Lar-kánah, on the Ghár channel, is the site of an ancient fortified town, on a great mound, and, in former times, must have been a place of some importance.

The Nárah, which is navigable, runs in a very tortuous channel, hence its name of Nárah or Snake, like the so-called Eastern Nárah, elsewhere described, but the channel of the one under description winds very much more than its eastern namesake. It pursues a course almost parallel with the A'b-i-Sind, or Indus, and on the northern side falls into, and forms, the Manchbhar lake. Its continuation, known as the Aral, issues from the eastern side of the lake, and unites with the main channel of the A'b-i-Sind below the town of Sihwáñ, the ancient Síwástan, which gave name to the province of which it was the capital.

This Nárah channel is probably the continuation of that in which the diverted branch of the Hakrá, or Mihrán, first flowed, when diverted from the east of Aror.

Farther south again, and within the limits of the old Sárkár of Síw-istán, or Wichólo, or Middle Sind (which has been mistaken for Síwí and its district, more than two hundred and ten miles, as the crow flies, farther north), the A'b-i-Sind, or Indus, was kept within bounds,

318 This is the name, which strange to relate, nearly every English writer manages to mistake for Síwí of the Parní Afgháná, because some stupid or careless map-maker or engraver, in former years, before correct surveys were made, happened to write the name of this well-known province of Wichólo or middle Sind, and its chief town, a little too far north.

Professor Lassen, too, in his "Indische Alterthumskunde," taking his information, apparently, from English writers, makes the usual error of mistaking Síwástan, the modern Síhwáñ, for the hilly tract of country forming the southern boundary of the Afghán state, where the Koh-i-Siyáh, or Sulimán range, or Tor Ghar, or Kálá Roh, or Kálá Pahár, becomes mixed up with the outlying waves of the Koh-i-Surkh, or Sor Ghar, or Ráta Roh, or Rátá Pahár (as they are called in various languages used in this neighbourhood where so many different peoples adjoin each other), around Síwí of the Parní Afgháná, while, at the same time, he calls it correctly, "Sindomána—Síhwan." This ought to have opened his eyes to the fact, that Síwástan or Sindomána, or Síhwáñ, is not Síwí, and never was Síwí.

Cunningham, on the other hand, in his "Ancient Geography of India," says (page 264): "I agree with all previous writers in identifying Sindomána with Sehwán; partly from its similarity of name [I fear "similarity," after this fashion goes too great a way in these "identifications"]... At page 266 he says: "Its present name is said to be a contraction of Sewistán. • • • It seems strange that a notable place like Sehwán should not be noticed by Ptolemy under any recognizable name. • • • I, therefore, reject the reading of Sewistán [the
and prevented from encroaching farther westwards, through the rise of the country in that direction towards the Kahtar range, and also by the rocky nature of the country, the lower skirts of the Lakhdi mountains. This rocky barrier intervened from Siw-istan Haweli, the Sindú-istán, Sharú-sán, and Siw-istán of the old geographers and the A‘ín-i-Akbari—the modern Sihwán—down to within a few miles of Thaṭhah, north and west of which it once flowed.\footnote{814} Even this rocky name is not written “Sewistán,” but Siw-istán as a modern innovation of the Hindus, to connect the place with the name of the god Siva, etc., etc.

It would have been passing strange if Ptolemy had mentioned it under the name of “Sehwán,” since it was not known by the name of Sihwán for ages after Ptolemy. I, however, beg to say, that the name Siw-istán, is perfectly correct. It was so called when the ‘Arabs conquered Sind, and the Qasgh Námah shows that it was so called before that time; while the statements of early Muḥammadan geographers show, that it continued to be so called, and likewise Sharú-sán and Sindú-istán, for the first three centuries of the Muḥammadan era. That such was the fact, every native writer, (including the historians of Sind), from the earliest time that Sind is mentioned in history, shows, as all may see who can read the originals for themselves. The author of the “Ṭabakát-i-Násiri,” who wrote in 1260 A. D., was not a Hindú, yet he calls it Siw-istán and Sindú-istán (pages 532 and 539); and Ibn Batţáh, who likewise, was not a Hindú, calls it Siw-istán. It was still best known by that name in Abú-I-Fazl’s time, and the province also. It is not surprising, therefore, that “Hwan Thang does not notice Sèhwán,” it would have been surprising if he had, because it was not known as Sihwán in his day any more than in Ptolemy’s.

Another modern writer—Tod—in his “Bajas’than” (Vol. II, page 230), on the other hand, mistakes Siw-istán for “Seistan, region of cold—’sei’—cold,” but in what language he does not say, and he places it “on both sides of the Indus.” Sistán is not enough, but it does not lie on both sides of the Indus; but then Tod’s geographical, like his historical statements, are often of the wildest.

The most serious error made respecting Siw-istán is by a Government official. Surgeon-Major O. T. Duke, formerly assistant to the Governor-General’s Agent in Balúqistán, in a very lengthy “Report” to Government on Sistán (which he calls “Sewf”), and other Afghán districts, some three degrees farther north than Siw-istán or Sihwán, (taken, apparently, from some incorrect extract from the A‘ín-i-Akbari) bases all his theories, and even calculates the revenue settlements on this, the chief town of Wicholo or middle Sind, also giving name to a large province, being Síwí in southern Afghánistán which, of course, it is not. See my “Notes on Afghánistán,” page 553, and Erratum.

\footnote{814} There is no doubt whatever that, in comparatively modern times, the main channel of the Ab-i-Sind, leaving the great ran or “Sind Hollow,” took a more directly southern course than at present, from a point a little west of Darbelo. In the account of the campaign against Mirzá Jání Beg, the Tar-khán, the last independent ruler of the territory dependent on Thaṭhah, Mir Ma‘ṣum of Bakhar, who was present in that expedition, says, that “the Ab-i-Sind is six kuroh [about eleven miles] from Siw-istán, or Sihwán, and that Jání Beg arrived in the river from Lár, or lower Sind, with a fleet of Ghurđbs,” thus showing that there must have been plenty of water in that branch, even at that comparatively modern period, namely, 994 H. (1585 A. D.) See pages 112 and 229.
barrier has felt the force of the great river; for the roadway over the Lakhhi range, which existed when the troops going to Kandahar in 1839 passed over it, was soon after washed away, and Shhwán, which was close to the river some years ago, is now three miles or more inland; and three remarkable detached rocks lower down, between Bahman jo Púro and Thaţhah, which forty years ago were eight miles inland, are (or very lately were, for the changes are unceasing) now in the bed of the river.

Thus the Sindhu, Nahr-i-Sind, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, from the time that we possess any authentic records respecting it, was a tributary, along with the other rivers now forming the Panñh Nad, or Panj Ab, of the Hakrá, or Wahindah, which having all united into one great river at the Dosh-i-Ab, as related by the old 'Arab and Sindí writers, formed the Mihrán of Siund, or Sind-Ságar. Lower down than this point of junction it sent off a branch to the westwards which passed Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, on the east, which again united with the main channel above Mansúriyah, and entered the ocean sometimes by one, and sometimes by two principal mouths. The Aror branch having been subsequently diverted, and other changes having taken place, the Ab-i-Sind began to incline more towards the west from near Ghaus-púr, in the great depression referred to at page 304, and by which its surplus waters still find their way towards Aror, and deserted the other tributaries of the Hakrá. It then passed between where Kin Koţ and Kashmúr stand, took a direct westerly course, and cut a new channel for itself in what is now known to us as the Sind Hollow, and found its way south as before described. Then other changes succeeded—for they were constantly taking place more or less—through the Bíaţh and its tributaries, which formed the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, inclining to the westwards, when it joined the Ab-i-Sind, and formed a new Panñh Nad, or Panj Ab, and deserted the Hakrá altogether. This appears to have caused the Ab-i-Sind to alter its course, and, instead of turning so suddenly westwards as before, it inclined more to the south-westwards, leaving the Sind Hollow and cutting a new channel for itself by Kanḍ Kóţ, as before described, passing the present Lar-kánah on the west, and then inclining southwards in the direction of Siw-istán. Other changes succeeding, when near the parallel of Aror, it found its way into the channel into which the western branch of the Hakrá or Mihrán of Sind had been diverted, and began to cut its way through the limestone hills where Rúphi and Bakhar now stand. From thence it passed Darbelah

Mir Ma'şúm also says, that, at that time, there was "a small fort on the river bank at Lahori above Naẓr-púr." The last named place is now sixteen miles east of the river.
or Darbelo, flowed to the southwards, and got into the old channel of the
Kunbh, which flowed between Siw-istán and Bahman-ábad when Mu-
hammad, son of Kásim, marched to attack them, and through the Noh-
Shahrah district of Sind, passing the range of low hills on which the
modern Haidar-ábad stands on the east, and about sixteen miles or more
east of the Mukhahi hills, entered the ocean, at one period to the east
of Debal and at another on the west, a little to the south of Mughal-bír,
which, in comparatively modern times, was near the sea-coast.

The ancient sea-port of Sind, Debal, or Dewal, was well known to
the English traders down to within the last two hundred years; and
this part of the channel was navigable for small sailing ships up to
within a short distance of Thañhah. A vast deal of the delta is of
comparatively recent formation; for the small district dependent on
Bádín was the most southerly part of Sind in Akbar Bádsháh's reign,
and now it is over seventy miles from the southernmost part of the
delta. The river, no doubt, formed several smaller channels therein,
and, in later times, inclined farther west a little below Thañhah, and
formed a new channel, the Bhágár, which still passed near Debal and
was still navigable as far up as Thañhah. Hence, in all probability, the
error and confusion arose, because Debal was known as "the Port of
Thañhah," that it must be Thañhah itself, which had not been founded
until after Debal had gone to comparative decay. It was the first place
in the territory of Sind attacked by the 'Arab leader, Muhammed, son
of Kásim, the Šákiff, early in 93 H. (711 A. D.)

See page 206. Mr. A. W. Hughes, in his "Sind Gazetteer," on the conquest
of Sind, says (p. 24): "Muhammad Kásim [here we have the usual error. See
note 242, page 276] left Shiráž on this expedition in H. 92 (A. D. 711), with
a fine army [the 'fine army' amounted to about 10,000] and would seem (sío.) to
have reached [There is not the shadow of a doubt about it] the seaport of Debal [sup-
poused by some to have been Manora, near Karáchi, but by others Tatta] early in the
following year, which he soon captured." At page 123 of the same "Gazetteer;"
under the heading of "Bambura," he states: "It is stated [by whom not said] that
there are reasons for supposing that this ancient place was known during the eighth
century under the names of Debal, Dewal, or Dawul [!] ; and that it was the first town
that was stormed by the Muslim invader, Muhammad Kásim Sákiff." At page 323,
again, we have: "It is supposed that Bambura may very possibly have been the
Dewal (or Debal) • • • Others, again [who?], have presumed that Tatta was
the ancient Debal, or that even Manora was the place stormed • • • At
page 414, the compiler tells us, under the head of Karáchi, that, "By some writers it
is supposed to occupy the same position, or to be at least in the immediate neighbour-
hood of the ancient seaport of Dewal (or Debal)," etc.

Here it will be seen that we have three different "suppositions," or "it is saids,"
and the like, respecting this one place, and all incorrect, as I shall now show.
See also a deal on this subject in Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India,"
THE WIHAT, BIHAT, OR ANCIENT BDESTÁ.

The Wihat, Bihat, or Bedastá, constituted one of the seven rivers pp. 297 to 302. The opinion of Mr. Crow, who was for many years stationed at Thatha (not "Tatta") is the only one nearly correct.

Abú-l-Fażl was the first to make a blunder on this subject in stating that Thatha was Debal, and, after the same fashion, telling us that Bakhār was "Mansūrah," which it was not: its site is one hundred and twenty-one miles south of Bakhār. These errors are the more unaccountable seeing that he described the ruins of Bahman-ábâd correctly (see note 105), page 196 and must have known that Thatha was not founded for some centuries after the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs. Bambhūrah cannot possibly be Debal of the 'Arabs for the reasons given at page 224, and as also shown in the map from the "Masālik wo Mamālik" at page 218.

Cunningham has also gone astray with regard to the position of Debal or Dewal. In his "Ancient India," p. 279, after "identifying Haidarabad as Niru-kot," he says, "Abulfeda [Abú-l-Fidá?] makes it 25 farsangs from Debal. * * * Lāri bandar I will presently show to have been the most probable position of the ancient Debal."

I may mention, however, en passant, that Bú Bihān says Lāri Bandar—Lobārān—was twelve farsâḥs from Debal. See also Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

At page 297 of his work Cunningham says: "The position of the celebrated port of Debal, the emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, is still unsettled. By Abul Fazl and the later Muḥammadan writers, Debal has been confounded with Thatha; but as Debal was no longer in existence [indeed!] when they wrote, I conclude that they were misled by the name of Debal Thatha, which is frequently applied to Thatha itself. Similarly, Brāhmaṇa, or Brāhmaṇābād, was called Debal Kāṅgra [?], and the famous seaport of Debal was named Debal Sīnd. But Dewal [sic.] or Debal, means simply a temple, and therefore Debal Sīndi means the temple at or near the town of Sīndhi. Burton says that the shawls of Thatha are still called Shāli-i-Debal, but this only proves that Debal was the place where the merchants procured the Thatha shawls."

I may mention, however, that silken cloth or fabric of various colours, brocade, is called débâ in the Persian language, and that débâ-š is its adjective, but the noun is certainly not derived from Debal or Dewal, because débâ is a purely Persian word, and the place was so called on account of its great budh or temple. See page 231.

Cunningham then quotes Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," I. 130, who is understood to say, that "the river Sīndhi" is "only a small branch of the Indus, its appellation is now lost in the country [?] which it so plentifully waters and is called Direelles, or Seven mouths," and he adds: "This statement shows [?] that the branch of the Indus leading up to Lāri bandar was called Debal or the river of Debal, etc. * * * That this was the Piti branch of the Indus I infer from its other name of Sīndhi, which I take to be the same as Sīnthon Osium of Ptolemy, or the second mouth of the river from the west." From this we are supposed to understand that the "Piti" mouth of the Indus existed much the same in Ptolemy's time as now, and that Sīndhi means second!

After saying at page 279, that he is going to "identify" it (Debal) as "Lāri bandar," in another place he tells us, that, "if Debal cannot be identified with either Karâchi or Lāri bandar, it must be looked for somewhere between them."
mentioned in the "Vedic Hymns," as the "Saptah Sindhún, or Sindha-

He should have added something more that Hamilton says, namely, that "The river of Sindy would be hard to be found, were it not for the tomb of a Mahometan Saint, who has a high Tower built over him, called Sindy Tower. It is always kept white to serve as a land mark. This writer, according to his map, places "Duill" (Debal) in Mokran (Mukrán).

There is plenty of proof, however, that neither of the above statements are correct as to its situation, nor the assertion that it was no longer in existence when Abd-1-Fâl wrote.

As late as the time when the Khulâsat-Tawârikh was written, the author of which was an official of the Dihí empire in the time of Aurang-zâb-1 Alam-gir Bâdshâh, and a native of Patâlásh, Debal is said, by him, to be the chief port of Sind; and Karâghi was unknown. I may add that the place on which Karâghi stands is considered really to be part of Mukrán rather than of Sind.

The author above quoted says: "Debal is a great place for pearls and other valuable commodities; and it has salt and iron mines, which pay a considerable revenue to the Government. Near it, at six kuroh distant, is a mine or quarry of yellow stone of great value for building purposes. About 4,000 vessels and boats belong to the port of Debal."

Salt in vast quantities still exists in the Shâh Bandar ta'âtuqah of the Karâghi District or Collectorate.

Wood, too, with all his acumen, fell into the same error, that Thâthah and Dewal, and even Baman-âbâd, were all one.

The earliest notice, probably, that we have respecting the seaports of Sind and the river Indus, from the writings of an Englishman, is contained in a "Tractate written by Nicholas Whithington, who was left in the Mogolls country by Captain Best, a factor, in 1612." He says: "Concerning Sindha, no city is by general report of greater trade in the Indies than Tatta, the chief port, Louri bandar, three days journey from it; a fair road without the river's mouth, clear of worms, which, about Surat, and other places of the Indies, after three or four months' riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder return. In two months hence by water they go to Lâhor, and return in one down. The ports and roads of Sindha are free. * * * Goods may be conveyed by Agrã on camels to Buckor in twenty days, which is on Sindah river, thence in fifteen or sixteen days aboard the ships. One may go as soon from Agrã to Sindha as Surat, but there is more thieving which the Mogoll seeks to prevent."

The distance, in a direct line, is rather greater to Bakhar than to Sdrat, but now, for half the way, the route lies through Jasal-mír and the waterless desert, and would certainly not be preferred to the other to Sdrat. It is evident from this, that, at the period in question, that part was not so waterless as it has become in recent times.

Whithington continues: "The inhabitants of Sindha are mostly Rasboolches, Bâniâns, and Boloches; in Cities and Towns the Governors are Mogolls. * * * The Boloches are of Mahomets religion. They deal much in camels; most of them robbers by land, and on the river, murthering such as they rob. When I was in Sindha, they took a boat with seven Italians, one Portuguese Friar, the rest slain in fight. The last named was ripped open by them for gold."

Next we come to Walter Payton, who accompanied Captain Christopher
Newport in 1612, on the twelfth voyage to India, and who kept a journal. He gives a long account of Balúch treachery on the coast. They sent a boat on shore in which was Sir Thomas Powell, accompanied by two Persian servants of the Persian Ambassador, Sir Robert Shirley, on his way to Iṣfahán. He says: "It was for the purpose of discovering the country, and to seek some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little village, called Tesseque [Jask ?], they spake with camell men, and others of the country people, by whom they understood, that that country was called Getche Maguerona [Kich-Mukrán], and the inhabitants Boloches: all living under the government of one King, named Melicke Meinra, whose chiefes residence was some five or six days' journey from hence, at a port called Guader."

They discovered the intended treachery in time, however, and by a stratagem, managed to reach the ship again. This was on the 19th September, 1612. "The ship," he continues, "was steered for Sind, and came to an anchor at the mouth of the Indus in 24 degrees 38 minutes, in the Mogolls dominions. Variation 16 degrees 45 minutes, in five fathoms, less one foot of water, and in good ground.

**Boats were sent from Diul [Dewal] for conveying the Ambassadors goods and people, 29th September, and the Ambassador left the ship under a salute of 11 guns.**

**Tata, a great citie one days journey from Diul, both cities standing in the Great Mogolls Dominions.**

Lāhrī Bandar is mentioned separately, and was a totally distinct place from Diul or Debal. Bú-Rißán says they were twelve farsakhs, or leagues apart.

Walter Paynton, and Joseph Salbancke [the same who proceeded from Ajmir to Iṣfahán by Kandahár. See the account of his journey in my *Notes on Asfānšūr*, page 547], who were merchants on board, were sent on shore to proceed to Diul in one of the country boats; and the former, in his narrative states, that, "at the time, the ship was riding about four or five miles from the River's mouth from whence they had fifteen miles to the city or town of Diul, where the Ambassador had gone. He stayed in a house in Diul itself, and there they lodged while the party remained there. They went "through the city to the castle, and were received by the Governor, Arah Manewardus [sic in text]." Compare Cunningham's "Ancient India," pages 297—302."

"The Portugueze incited the Governor of Diul against the party, and endeavoured to cut them off. Sir Robert Shirley wished to be allowed to proceed to Tatta, but the Governor would not give permission, so he left, with one Persian servant, without leave, and had by the way to pass a river where he could get no one to take them across, the Governor having prohibited it under pain of death. They made rafts of boards and timbers, and the Ambassador "shipped himself" with his servant to help him in navigating it, and had no sooner put off, than 20 or 30 horsemen came in great haste, despatched by the Governor [the Hindū "Dāś"] to seize them. They were brought back, men swimming to the raft, which Nazr Bēz, the servant, was not able to guide against the tide, and they narrowly escaped drowning. The Ambassador's followers "disdaining this rude dealing, one Master John Ward, shot off his pistol in their faces, and was instantly slain by another shot, and the rest carried away prisoners to Diulsinde [i.e., Dewal on the Sind, by which name others also mention it], being pillaged by the way by the soldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Governor permitted their departure to Tatta, where
legends, the tracts originally occupied by the "Vedic people," were the
they were friendly entertained of the Governour [he] being a Persian. Sir Thomas
Powell and Master Francis Bub were then dead before in Diulsinde. He (Sir
Thomas Shirley) remained at Tatta till fit opportunity for Agra, the way being long
and in danger of thieves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a
strong convoy, for whom he waited also two months.

"The Lady Powell in this place was delivered of a son, but she and it, together
with Master Michael Powell, brother to Sir Thomas, lost their lives in this tedious
expectation, in Boats, for that great man aforesaid. At his (Sir Thomas Shirley's)
coming to Agra, the Mogoli [Jahân-gir Bádsháh] gave him favourable entertainment,
and upon his complaint, sent for the Banian Governour of Diulsinde, to answer at
the Court, promising him his own revenge, if he would stay. But he hasting to
Persia, after many presents from the Mogoli, with a Convoy and necessaries for his
journey, departed for Persia, not having one Englishman with him. Master Richard
Barber, his Apothecary, returned to Surat, and John Heriot dyed at Agra. There
remained with him of his old Followers only his Lady, and her Woman, two Persians,
the old Armenian, and the Chircassian [Circassian]: His Dutch Jeweller came from
Agra to Surat, with Master Edwards." See the map from Purchas, opposite, also
the old map at page 297, which will show where Debal was, and the changes in
the mouths of the Indus.

The above will, I think, conclusively show that Dewal was not Thathah, nor
Láhirí Bandar, and that all three were totally different places, as is distinctly stated
by the native authors of Sind.

Subsequent to this unfortunate affair, and ill-treatment of our people by this
mild Hindú, W. Paynton, then Captain Paynton, mentions "Diul, near the mouth
of the River Indus," as well as "Diú in Gísurat where the Portugese, among other
places, have a very strong castle."

Sir Thomas Herbert left England in 1626, and was also landed at Diul. Paynton
says: "Tutta is one of the most celebrated Marts of India, so encompassed with the
River Indus, that it makes a Peninsula. Loor Bander [Láhirí Bandar] is the Port of
it, but Ships that lie there are subject to the Worm [this is contrary to the state-
ment of Whithington], as at Swatly, Goa," etc.

In the account of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy in 1615, Terry, his Chaplain,
writes: "Tatta, a very fruitful and pleasant country, made so partly by the branch-
ings of the Indus, that spreads itself into various Circlets, and forms many little
Islands up and down. * * * The main Current of this River meets with the
Sea at Sindes [i. e., Dewal, as shown in the previous notices], a place noted for many
curious handcrafts."

Thevenot, who reached Súrat about fifty years after, namely, in 1665–66, says,
respecting the "Province of Sindy, which some call Tatta," that "The chief Town
of this Province is Tatta, and the most Southern Town Diul. It is still called Diul-
Sind, and was heretofore called Dobil [Debal he means]. It lies in the 24th or 25th
degree of Latitude. There are some Orientals that call the Country of Sínde by the
name of the Kingdom of Diul [he is quite correct: it is called the territory of Debal
or Lár]. It is a country of great Traffick, and especially the Town of Tatta, where
the Indian Merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the Inhabitants, who
are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of Arts [and still are]. The Indus makes a
great many little Islands towards Tatta, and these Islands being fruitful and
seven do-abahs, or deltas, extending from the east bank of the Sindhu, or pleasant, make it one of the most commodious Towns of the Indies, though it be exceedingly hot there.

"There is also a great trade at Lourebender [Lahri Bandar], which is three days' journey from Tatta, upon the sea ['Diul' or Debal, according to Paynton, was fifteen miles from 'Tatta'], where there is a better Road for ships, than in any other place in the Indies."

Tavernier, who was in India in the same year as Thevenot, says: "Tatta, is one of the greatest Cities of India, a little above the mouth of the River Indus. * * * The Trade of Tata, which was formerly very great, begins now to decay, because the mouth of the River grows more dangerous, and full of shallows every day more than another, the sand hills having almost choked it up."

It will thus be noted, that a great change was then taking place in the course of the Indus hereabouts; that Thāṭḥah, Debal, and Lāhri Bandar were totally distinct places—"Bambura," as the site of Debal is wholly out of the question—and that such places as "Manora," or "Karāši," were then unknown to fame, although some pretend to identify them, even in the time of the campaign of Alexander of Macedon in these parts. Is it to be supposed that the commanders of English trading vessels, who at the periods I have been quoting, frequented the ports of Sind, and the merchants who were passing up and down between Multān, Bakhar, Thāṭḥah, and Debal, would have been ignorant of Karāši and its port if it had been of any importance, or as good as it was when we first occupied it? About the period in question, what was subsequently called Karāši, was known as Rām Bāgh; and Karāši, as before remarked, was considered rather to belong to Mukrán than to Sind.

Debal or Dewal is said above to have been in 1666, the southernmost town of Sind, and its position is plainly stated in the account of Captain Newport's landing of Sir Robert Shirley and Sir Thomas Powell there, and the melancholy events which befell his party therein. The distance given as fifteen miles from Thāṭḥah by the river, would bring us very near to the Shrine of Pir Patho, at the foot of the Makkahli hills, and near the Bhāgar branch of the Indus, about the period in question, a very great stream; and it will be noticed that Sir Robert Shirley tried to cross "a River" from "Diul" to get to "Tatta" on a raft. I therefore imagine that Debal lay in the vicinity of that Shrine, but a little farther south-westward perhaps. The Bhāgar branch was navigable for vessels of 200 tons as far as Lāhri Bandar two centuries since, which latter place was then some twenty miles distant from its mouth.

In De Witts' Atlas, published at Amsterdam in 1688, in map No. 74, of which a tracing is here inserted, both Debal and Thāṭṭah are situated on the right bank of the Indus, showing that, after Sir Thomas Shirley's time, another change had taken place, which had placed Debal on the same side as Thāṭṭah. It is in Lat. 24° 50' in that map.

It is said, that when our embassy was sent to Sind in 1809, the Shrine of Pir Patho was visited by a party
who sailed thither from Thathah down the Bhagar branch of the river. When Pottinger was in Sind along with that Embassy, the Bhagar branch is said to have been "the chief outlet of the water of the Panjnad and Attock, and was upwards of twenty miles wide at its mouth."

In the year 578 H. (1182-3 A. D.), Debal—or Dibal, as its name is written in the Musalmán histories—was taken possession of, together with its territory lying along the sea-coast, by Sultan Mu'izz-ud-Din, Muhammad, son of Sám, the Shansabání Tajík Sultan of Ghaznín, the same who established the Muhammedan rule over Dihlí, the "Shabudin," and "Shahab-ood-Deen" of Dow and Briggs, and their copyists. Near Debal was Damrílah, both of which places were taken possession of by Sultan Jalál-ud-Din, Mangbarní, the Khwárazm Sháh, when he came into Lower Sind in 621 H. (1224 A. D.). Having gained possession of Siw-istán, the modern Siwán, he marched from thence to Debal; and its ruler, named Qhanísar, whose Musalmán title was Siin-úd-Dín, of the Sumrah tribe, and who was ruler of L är, or the Debal territory (and subject to Sultan Násir-ud-Din, Kábá-jah of Multán and Uchchh, which included all Sind), who is called a Hábsh in the Tabákát-i-Násírí (page 294, which see, also note), fled by sea and escaped. The Sultan from thence detached a force against Nahár-Wáláh, which returned with immense booty. He then founded a Jámí' Masjid at Debal on the ruins of an idol temple, the same, in all probability, which was demolished when the 'Arabs captured the place, and from which it took its name.

At the period in question Thathah was not in existence, neither was it when Ibn Baštah was at Láhi Bandar in 734 H. (1333-4 A. D.). The ruins noticed by him I believe to be those of Damrílah. See note 173, page 224, and note 195, page 255.

There is a deal in Elliot, Vol. I, p. 374, respecting Debal which he "identified" as Karshí, and Manorah as the site of its idol temple, but, as he also "identified" Mánshúriyah and Bahanám-ábád as Haídar-ábád, we may be permitted to ignore its correctness. No allowance whatever is made by writers of the present day for the changes which are hourly taking place in the course of the Indus and its tributaries, and in the formation of its deltas, some of which changes, in rather less than three centuries, I have shown from the extracts previously given.

The author of the well known and valuable history, the Jahán-Árá, Ahmad, son of Muhammad, the Kázwiní, died at Debal in 975 H. (1567 A. D.), on his way to Hindéstán from Irán.

In the reign of Búkí Muhammad Khan of Bálkh, about 1006 H., an Uzbek noble of high rank, Mánşür, the Dád-Khwái, set out on the pilgrimage to Makkah

816 Dr. Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" says, that Prof. Max Müller states ("Chapa," 1-63), that the seven rivers are "the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjáb, and the Sarasváti." This is a mistake; and the Indus appears to have been adopted because he left out the Ghag-ghar, which flows between the Sutlaj and the Sarasváti, but which river, although its ancient name of Drishádwati is given by both the writers named, they do not appear to have been acquainted with its more modern name. It is never once mentioned by that name in Dr. Muir's work.
The following description of the Wiḥat, or Biḥat, is from the Survey record previously quoted.

by the Daḥš-i-Ḵībhāḵ, Mīṅg-Ḵīshāḵ, the Caspian, the Shīrḵwānāt, Gurjistān, and Kurdistan, to Iṣṭānbūl. From thence he proceeded through Rūm, Shām and Misr, and from thence to Makkah. Having performed the ṭaḥār, he returned by sea to the port of Debal, passed through Sind and Multān to Lahore, and from there returned to Balkh.

Having clearly shown that Debal or Dewal was not Ṭaṭḥah, nor "Bambura," nor Lāhri Bandar, nor Karāḵī, and stated that the latter was not founded for centuries after the 'Arāb conquest, I will now show, as near as possible, when it was.

For about one hundred and thirty years after the time Muḥammad, son of Ḵāsim, subdued Sind in 93 H. (711-12 A. D.), it was held by the Tammūmī 'Arabs, who acknowledged the 'Abbāsī Khalifahs as their sovereigns. In 186 H. (803 A.D.), when Hārūn-ar-Ṛṣḥīd assigned the eastern half of the Khīlāfāt to his son, Muḥammad-al-Māmūn, among the territories named is "the territory on the Abi-Sind" or Indus, "including a part of Hind," referring, of course, to Sind and its dependencies, and Multān.

In 205 H. (820-21 A. D.), the same in which Ṭāhir-i-Zāl-Yamanain received the investiture of Khurāsān and its dependent territories from the Khalifah, Al-Māmūn, and to which Sind and Multān also appertained, the Wālī of Sind, Dā'ūd, son of Yazīd, having died, it was conferred upon Bāṣchar, son of the deceased Dā'ūd (Thomas says the coins of the rulers of Maṇšūryah bear the words "Banu Da'ūd"), which he supposed, but erroneously, might refer to the modern Dā'ūd-purthās, but this family was referred to. It will be noticed that Dā'ūd is a favourite name among the Karāmītān of Multān), under the stipulation that he should yearly pay 100,000 dīrāms to the Dār-ul-Khīlāfāt. Subsequently, the Khalifahs, losing power, were obliged to commit distant provinces into the hands of feudatories more powerful than themselves; and in 257 H. (871 A. D.), Ya'kūb, son of Lāiš, the Suffārī, among other parts, held Sind, the local Wālīs being subordinate to him. In 258 H. (872 A. D.), the Wālī of the territory of Sind, Muḥammad, son of Saḥbān died; and in 261 H. (874-75 A. D.), the then Khalifah, Al-Mu'tamīd Bīllah, gave his brother, Abī Aḥmad, the title of Muwaffāḵ Bīllah, and assigned him the government of the whole east, including Sind. In 265 H. (878-79 A. D.), however, the Khalifah, in order to divert 'Umaro, son of Lāiš, who succeeded his brother, Ya'kūb, in that year, from invading 'Irāq, conferred upon him Khurāsān, Fārs, Kirmān, Mukrān, and Sind, as well as Sigiz-stān, which he previously held. It was about this time that the Sumrāhs broke out, and acquired some power in Lār or Lower Sind, and, no doubt, acknowledged the supremacy of the 'Abbāsī Khalifahs and their feudatories. They succeeded in holding power in that part for about one hundred and seventy-eight years, which would bring us to 443 H. (1051-52 A. D.).

Sind, and also Multān, had continued, nominally at least, to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Bānī 'Abbāsī and their feudatories for the time being, until the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tīgīn, who ousted the officials of the 'Abbāsīs, and annexed it; and the Sumrāhs of Lār had to succumb. At this period, the Sumrāhs, who appear to have embraced Muḥammadanism, outwardly at least, had become Karāmītāh, as were the rulers of Multān, and many of their people. This heresy seems to have obtained firm root in these parts, which may partly be accounted for from their communications by sea with Egypt, 'Arabia, and Persia, where it flourished.
This large river issues from the kohistan east and south of Kashmi r, flows through its capital, and after passing under Muṣaffar-ābād is ed, and from refugees from those parts finding it convenient to come by sea into Sind for shelter. Schism had been early sown in Sind, as may be seen from note 199, page 287. Amir Nāṣir-ud-Din-i-Sabuk-Tigin tried to put it down in Khurāsān, and his son and successor, Sultān Maḥmūd, sought to root it out in Multān and Sind, as well as in Zābul-istān. He first moved against the Bhāṭiāh of Ushohb in 896 H. (1005-6 A. D.), as related in note 192, page 244. In the year following, 897 H. (1006-7 A. D.), he determined to attack Multān, because the Wāli thereof, Abū-1-Fath-i-Dā'ūd, son of Naṣr, who hitherto had been subject to the 'Abbāsīs, began to assume independence, and read the Khutbah for himself, besides being guilty of other misdeeds, and making his stronghold the hotbed of heresy in that quarter. The 'Abbāsī Khalīfah had assigned all his claims on Sind and Multān—the Musalmān dominions east of, and on the Ab-i-Sind or Indus—to Sultān Maḥmūd, and he determined to enforce them.

This was the period that Anand-Pāl, son of Jai-Pāl, refused the Sultān a passage through his territory on his way to Multān, and was well punished for his hostility. Abū-1-Fath-i-Dā'ūd, becoming aware of Anand-Pāl’s overthrow, speedily collected his treasures and other movables, loaded them on elephants (some say camels), and sent them off to Saran-Dip [Kachchh Bhuj], and abandoned Multān. The Sultān on reaching that part, becoming aware of the misdeeds of Dā'ūd, devastated his territory, but those of his supporters who remained, having agreed to pay the yearly sum of 20,000 dirams as a capitation tax, treating them as infidels, he accepted it, because the 1-lak Khān was threatening his northern frontier on the Oxus, and his presence there was urgently required.

When he retired, Dā'ūd again appeared, and the jistah tax remained unpaid. In 401 H. (1010-11 A. D.), having disposed of his other affairs, the Sultān determined to finish the affair of Multān and the Karāmījah—or Mulkālidah, as they are also styled, the word applied to the heretics in general—and annex the territory. Multān was captured, the greater number of the Karāmījah taken, of whom some were put to death, some deprived of a hand, and the rest sent to fortresses to be there imprisoned for lifetime, thus making an exemplary example of the heretics. As Multān and its territory was never "ruled by a Sumra dynasty," as asserted in Gazetteer history, no "idol of the Sun was again set up, under the Sumra dynasty."

I may add, that the Mulkālidah of these parts and provinces adjacent, had rendered pilgrimages to Makkah impossible for some time past, infesting the routes, and completely closing them. Repeated complaints were made to the Sultān, and the matter became so serious, that, in 412 H. (1021-22 A. D.), Sultān Maḥmūd had to take efficient steps to remedy it.

The Karāmījah ruler of Multān, above referred to as overthrown by Sultān Maḥmūd, is the same who has been mistaken by Firishtah, and other modern compilers of his class, for an Afgān of the Lodi tribe (in order to make up the "Pathān Dynasties" perhaps), under the name of "Abū-n-Fath Dā'ūd, grandson of Shaikh Hamīd Lodi." There were no Lodis, nor Lodi rulers, there at the time, nor for centuries after. The rulers of Multān were Kuregh of the Bani 'Usmān, descendants of Sām, son of Lodi (Mubārīk Lodi), and were still ruling there when the Sultān marched against it. See pages 189-190. An exhortation was addressed by
joined by the "Nad," or "River," coming from Little, or the Lesser, Tibbat. Subsequently it is joined by the Kīghān-Gangā, and after leaving

the Muktanah, Bahā-ud-Dīn, the chief da'ī, or apostle, of Ḥamsah, one of the leading personages of the sect, at the commencement of the reign of the Sultān's successor, Sultān Mas'ūd, in 423 H. (1032 A. D.), to the Karāmījah of Multān and Sind and Hind, and particularly to a Sumrah, the chief of the tribe probably, whom he addresses as "The Shaikh, the son of Sūmar [Sūmrah, as the word is also written] Rājah Pāl," calling upon him, as though he, too, had been a da'ī, to accomplish the mission wherewith he was charged, of bringing back backsliders to the Karāmījah heresy, and particularly, Dā'ūd, son of Abū-l-Ḥāṣim-Dā'ūd, the heretic ruler of Multān, who had fled from thence, and whose son, Dā'ūd, here referred to, had been thrown into prison by Sultān Maḥmūd, and had been set at liberty by Sultān Mas'ūd, on his recanting his heresy apparently.

The Sumrahs paid obedience to the sovereigns of Ghaznīn, nominally at least, until the reign of the amiable, but weak, Sultān 'Abd-ur-Rāshīd, the affairs of whose kingdom were in great disorder; and, in 443 H. (1051-52 A. D.), taking advantage of the state of affairs, the Sumrahs assembled in the Thar or Thal, the sandy tract between Sind and Kakhkhh, and set up a Sumrah to rule over them independently. His name is not given by the Sindī writers, and it is probable that he was no other than this same Rājah (or rather, Rānā; for that, and also Rā'ī, were the Hindī titles by which the local chiefs were known) Pāl. But whoever he may have been, he is said to have ruled several years, and to have left a son, Bhūngar by name, who, after reigning for a period of fifteen years, died in 461 H. (1068-69 A. D.), in the tenth year of Sultān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn. Eighteen others of this race are said to have followed in succession.

After the fall of the Turk dynasty of Ghaznīn, the Shansabandī Tājīk Ghurīs held Sind and Multān, the former territory nominally perhaps to some degree, from 578 H. (1182-83 A. D.), when Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sám marched against Debal, and possessed himself of all the territory on the sea-coast. See paragraph 15 of this note 315. After his assassination in 602 H. (1205-6 A. D.) by the disciples of the Mulāṣīdah, a name applied, as well as Bājaṇīah, to the Karāmījah, and who may have been, as stated, of the Khokhar tribe of Jaṅa notwithstanding, since the Sumrahs were Karāmījah (See Ṭabakat-i-Nāṣirī," page 485, and note 3), his feudatory of Multān, and Ushohh, the then capital of all Sind, Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kābā-jah, one of the Sultān's four favourite Mamlūks, and a Turk, following the example of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-das, and Malik Kuṯ-ud-Dīn, I-bak, the other Turk feudatories of Ghaznīn and Dihlī (Bahā-ud-Dīn, Ṭughrīl, the fourth of the favourite Mamlūks, had been dead some time), declared himself independent, and assumed the title of Sultān. At this period there were seven petty Rānās in Sind subject to his suzerainty, one of whom was Rānā Sanir, son of Dhamāj, of the tribe of Karijah Sumrah Lohānos, who dwelt at Tunā in the Ṭūpah territory, and another, Sīmān-ud-Dīn, Qanīśar, of Debal, who was the fourteenth of the Sumrah dynasty, and the same who fled, and escaped by sea, from Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mangbarni, when he attacked Debal and Damrīlah, as mentioned in the paragraph above referred to.

In after years it is said, during the reign of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the Khalj Turk, Sultān of Dihlī, the people of Lār or Lower Sind, complained to him of the tyranny and oppression of their chief, Ra'i Dūdah, and that the Sultān, to whom they must have been,
the more hilly tracts, and reaching more open country, another considerable river from the direction of Punčh joins it. After this junction, and from this, subject, despatched a body of troops against him, on which the Sumrah fled from Sind into Kaščnh, and sought the assistance of the Sammaha, who, through the same Dúdah's tyranny, had fled from Sind and found refuge and a home there, and had prospered greatly. They took up the cause of the Sumrah, but the confederates were overthrown by the Sultan's troops; and the Sumrah were so completely broken, that not one of their tribe was left powerful enough to rule in Lár or Lower Sind, the territory subsequently known as Thāfah from its capital of that name. From this period Lár or Lower Sind, again became tributary to the Dihlí sovereigns.

The facts, however, which have been somewhat-obscured and confused, are, that the Sumrah chief and ruler, Amar, turned into 'Umar by the Musalmán writers, and the same who gave name to Amar-Kot, son of Bá'í Dúdah above mentioned, was a great tyrant and oppressor. Among other bad acts, he carried off the wife of an 'Arab chief, 'Umar, the Ṭammímí, the same tribe which, in former times, had been all-powerful in Sind. 'Umar proceeded to the presence of Sultan 'Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk, Sultan of Dihlí, who summoned Amar, Sumrah, to appear before him. He, fearing the consequences if he did not go, went, and was cast into prison, where he languished for a considerable time; and he only regained his liberty through the intercession of powerful friends, and the payment of a heavy fine. This happened about 706 H. (1305-6 A. D.).

In the meantime, the Sammahs remaining in Sind had been prospering, and gaining influence and some power, and had got possession of most of the territory of Lár; but, when the feudatory of Multán and Uñožh, Gházi Malik, afterwards Sultan Ghıyás-ud-Dín, Tughluq Sháh, in the year 720 H. (1220 A. D.), marched to Dihlí tooust the Parwári usurper from the throne, Amar, Sumrah, seized the opportunity and repossessed himself of the territory of Lár, and died after a reign so called, including the time of his imprisonment, of thirty-five years. On this, another Sumrah, named Bhúngar, succeeded, who held possession for another ten years, when another, named Hamír (called Armíl and Abrá by some) succeeded him. Whether these were sons or brothers of Amar is not stated, but the final overthrow of the Sumrah was close at hand.

During the captivity of Amar, Sumrah, a number of the Sammahs had returned from Kaščnh and joined the others in Lár; and the tyranny and oppression of Hamír, Sumrah, becoming unbearable, the Sammahs set up a man, among those who had come back from Kaščnh, named Unár, distinguished for his intelligence and exemplary conduct, who seized Hamír, the Sumrah, and put him to death. He received the title of Jám from his tribe, "which is a title of respectability among these people." This was in 738 H. (began 28th July, 1337 A. D.).

During the time the Sammahas had been subject to the Sumrah, they had founded a town and a fort on the skirts of the Makkahli hills, the first being named Sámfí, also called Saí by some few writers, and the other Thákúr-ábád—the Chief's abode or place of residence, the foundations of which had been laid by their then Thákúr—for by this Hindú title, as well as Rá'í and Ráns, although converts to Islam, they appear at different times to have been styled—but it had been left unfinished, probably because the Sumrah would not permit them to finish it. This they now completed, and also founded a number of other towns and villages. This
flowing between three and four kurok farther southwards, it separates into two branches, which again unite lower down under the fort of fort was subsequently called, or the name changed into, Tughluq-abad, a Turkish, not a Sindhi name; and the author of the Tahtat-ul-Kiram states, that some of the "present defences and erections in the fort of Tughluq-abad, better known as Kalyan Kot," were the work of the Nawab, Murid Khân [a Turk, or Moghal], who was the feudatory of the Thathah province in 1089 H. (1688 A. D.), the thirty-second year of Aurang-zeb-i'-Alam-gir Badshah. This place, miscalled "Kalan Kot" (or "Great Fort," 'kalan' being the Persian for great) by Mr. A. W. Hughes, the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," founded by the Thakur above referred to, he "supposes to have been built about 1421 A. D., during the Samma dynasty," in which supposition he is mistaken, "and is supposed to stand on the site of a still more ancient stronghold." Kalyan, is a Sanskrit word, and Kalyan Kot signifies the Fort of Prosperity, Happiness, or Well-being. The place is now situated on the right bank of the Bhagar channel of the Indus, about three miles south of Thathah, where the ruins may still be seen.

Although the Sammas rose against the Sumrâhs in 734 H. (1333-34 A. D.), and they finally fell four years after, still the Sammas are not accounted among independent rulers of Lower Sind until 743 H. (1342-43 A. D.); and the question naturally arises why it was so. We have merely to turn to the events of the reign of Sultan Muhammad, Tughluq Shâh, for a reply. His empire was, for the greater part of his reign, in a state of chronic rebellion and disorder; and as quickly as he moved in one direction to put down an outbreak, another broke out in a contrary direction. This was the half-mad Sultan who endeavoured to depopulate Dihli, and to transfer the seat of government to Diw-gir (vul. "Deogir") or Daulat-abad in the Dakhan; who proposed to conquer China, when he could not take care of, and hold his own territory; who would confer distant countries and kingdoms, which he did not possess, on his favourites; and who endeavoured to substitute a paper currency instead of gold and silver. It was at this period, when the Dihli empire was in such a state of hopeless disorder, that the Sammas became independent like other petty feudatories in the empire; but the traitor, Malik Tâghi, the mamiâk of one of his principal Amirs, being harbourcd by the Sammas, brought Sultan Muhammad, Tughluq Shâh, against them, to die, in the first month of 752 H. (1351 A. D.), in the neighbourhood of Thathah recently founded, and, subsequently, caused his successor, Sultan Firuz Shâh, to march against it, and to carry off their Jâm and his son captives to Dihli.

The first of the independent Jâms of Lâr or Lower Sind, Unaâr, son of Disar, descended from Jâm Júnâp, son of Lakhah, son of Kâhah, who died after ruling for a period of three years and a half, was succeeded by his brother, Jûnâp, who ruled thirteen years, but some say fourteen. This brings us, for no dates are given, to the year 760 H. (1349-50 A. D.). He was succeeded by his nephew, the son of Jâm Unaâr, with respect to whose name the greatest confusion and discrepancy exists among the native writers generally, but I think I am able to clear up the matter.

I may mention, however, before doing so, that the Moorish traveller, Muhammad, son of Baqâjah, came into Sind early in 734 H., and that he visited Siw-istân, subsequently called Siibwân, Lâhri Bandar, Bakhar, and Uchohî, but he never refers to the Jâms of Lâr or Lower Sind, for a good reason, that this was the very year in which the Sammas rose against the Sumrâhs. This also may be the reason
Jihlam. As at this place is the Sháh Guzr, or Royal Ferry, the river is, at times, called the river of Jihlam, but it does not mean that Jihlam
why he did not visit Debal, which he does not even mention. Tháthah we could not
expect him to refer to, as it was only founded some years after. He left India
again in 743 H., just before the Sammáhs became independent, or about that period.

It was this Jám who, soon after the Sammáhs gained the upper hand in Lár, not
far from Sámú’í, founded a new town as the capital of his territory, which was
named Tháthah; and therefore, the name he became familiarly known by was, the
Jám, the Bání-i-Tháthah—the Founder of Tháthah—as is clearly written, and beyond
a doubt, in several different historians, not of Sind only. These words in the
Persian, in which all the histories of Sind are written, are Bání Tháthah, sometimes, but
rarely, by ignorant scribes, as one word—Bání Tháthah; and, in others, it is written in
various ways, but all tending to show what is meant when the key of solution is
applied, thus:—Bání, Bání Tháthah, Bání Tháthah, Tháthah, Bání Tháthah, and Bání Tháthah and in other ways. This place, which some modern writers have “identified”
as “Debal,” as “Láhori Bandar,” “Kalánkut,” and other places, and to have been
in existence in the time of the Macedonian Alexander’s campaign on the Indus (as
it now flows) another writer says, was only “founded in 900 H. (1495 A. D.), by
the Jám Nígám-ud-Dín, Nandah,” which date is just twenty-seven years before the
total overthrow of the Sammáhs dynasty and conquest of all Upper Sind by Sháh
Beg Káín, the Arghún Mughal!

It may not be amiss to point out here some of the errors made by different
historians of Sind, according to their own showing, which have caused such confusion
respecting the fall of the Sumráhs, and the rise of the Sammáhs to power in
Lár or Lower Sind.

Mir Ma’ájum of Bakhar is one of the chief offenders in this respect. He says,
that Jám Júnah (but whose name is not written جزین , the final ‘n’ being
nasal—Júná) son of علی b. Fává, and in many different ways in different MS. copies of his work—died after thirteen years' reign, in
the time of Sultán ‘Alá-ud-Dín, the Khalj Turk ruler of Dihlí, who reigned from
695 to 717 H. (1295-96 to 1317-18 A. D.), and Tamáchí, his brother—for he makes
him, Júná, and Unár, sons of this doubtful بیانی , etc.—his successor. He also makes
Tamáchí to be taken captive by the troops of Sultán ‘Alá-ud-Dín, actually before
the time of the Sammáhs acquiring superiority over the Sumráhs, and taken togethers with his family to Dihlí, where, after some considerable time not mentioned,
Tamáchí dies; and his son, Kháir-ud-Dín, who, in his infancy, had been taken to
Dihlí with his father, was sent back to rule over Lower Sind. He then makes
Sultán Muhammad Sháh, who reigned from 725 H. (1325 A. D.) to 752 H. (1351
A. D.), come into Sind against this same Kháir-ud-Dín, who would not attend his
summons to appear in his camp; and shortly after the Sultán dies in the vicinity of
Tháthah in 752 H. Thus, between the death of ‘Alá-ud-Dín and of Muhammad
Sháh is a period of twenty-seven years. Mir Ma’ájum merely adds, that, some
years after, he (Kháir-ud-Dín) died. Then a son of his, styled Jám Bání (and in
other ways, as before mentioned) succeeds, against whom Sultán Firúz Sháh, in
773 H. (A. D. 1371-72), no less than twenty-one years after, comes to avenge his
predecessor. This Jám also is carried off to Dihlí, according to the same writer,
where he is kept a prisoner for a considerable time, after which he is released, and
is its proper name. In the Kagh-miri language the river is known as Bedastā (بیدست) ; and as in the Panj-āb territory 'w' (و) is used for

is reinstated in the government of Thatha, and its territory, where he reigns in peace for fifteen years more. The writer gives not a single date until he comes to the thirteenth of the Jams in 858 H. (1454 A. D.)

Now if we turn to his account of the reigns of the Dihli sovereigns, which he gives in much greater detail in another part of his work, we shall not find a word respecting the Jams in 'Alá-ud-Din's reign, but there is in the account of Sultan Muḥammad Sháh's, and in Sultan Firúz's, in the notice of which latter reign he states, that it was against Jám Khairst-Din that that Sultan came, and that he and his family were carried off to Dihli where he died, and that the Sultan sent his son Ghúnah (Júnáṣ?) back to rule in Thatha, but no such name as that of the son is to be found in his account of the Jams. There, he says, that Jám Ḍiyá' was released by Sultan Firúz Sháh, who sent him back to Sind, and that his brother, Jám Tamashí, succeeded him.

Thus it will be seen, that Mir Ma'súm makes one and the same Khairst-Din and his father, Tamashí, to be carried into captivity both by Sultan 'Alá-ud-Din, and by Sultan Firúz Sháh, between the death of the first of which, and the latter's reduction of Thatha, is a period of fifty-six years! In another part of his work he also says, that Jám Ḍiyá', son of Khairst-Din, was carried off by Firúz Sháh, and that his brother, Tamashí, was sent back. He has made one Jám Tamashí into two persons, and "made confusion worse confounded."

One of the greatest errors, probably, in the history of Sind, and respecting the foundation of Thatha, although no date for the latter is given, is contained in the extract from the Tarikh-i-Tarihí contained in Elliot, Vol. 1, pp. 273-75. It is, that Jám Nanda founded Thatha; and immediately after says he was living in 912 H. (1506-7 A. D.), and that he reigned seventy-three years. On the other hand, Mir Ma'súm says, that he came to the Masnad in 866 H. (1461-2 A. D.) in one MS., and in another, in 896 H. (1490-1 A. D.), and reigned forty-eight years. If we take the first date as correct, it brings us to 914 H. (1508-9 A. D.). Thus, according to the Tarikh-i-Tarihí, as in the extract noticed, Thatha was only founded a few years before Sháh Beg Káns first invasion of Sind, and fifteen before the final downfall of the Jams; but we know it was invested in 752 H., and surrendered to Sultan Firúz Sháh in 773 H. The Tarikh-i-Tarihí has confounded Júnáṣ, probably, with Nandab, between whom is a period of nearly two centuries intervening, the first mentioned being the second of the Jams, and Nandab the fifteenth.

Mirzá Ḥsá, the Tar-khan Mughal (for the origin of which term see my "Tabakût-Náṣiri," page 942), who succeeded Mirzá Sháh Husain, the Arghún Mughal, in Sind, became involved in hostilities with Sultan Maḥmúd Káhn, the feudatory of the Bakhar province, in 962 H. (1554-55 A. D.). In the fourth month of 963 H. (March, 1556 A. D.), Mirzá Ḥsá appeared before Bakhar; and, during his absence from Thatha, a body of Farangis (Portuguese), whom he had sent for from Gowah (vol. "Goa") to assist him, reached it. On a Friday, when the people of Thatha were all assembled in the Jami' Masjid, the Farangis entered the city, surrounded the Masjid, and set fire to the city on all sides. They then sacked it, slaying a great number of the inhabitants, and making many captive, besides which, a great number were burnt to death. Before they retired, having poured a dára (com-
and interchangeable with 'b' (پ), the people of that part call it Wihat and Bihat.

"From under the fort of Jihlam the Bihat passes below Jalal-puri-Garchak, and by Bahrah (then close to its bank) and Khush-ab, and within a short distance of the karyah of Chinaturah (کانتر) unites with the Chin-ab, and loses its own name."

In the lower part of the Chin-hath Do-ábah, or delta, between the Bihat or Jihlam and the Chin-ab, there is an extensive tract of table land, or plateau, sloping gradually upwards on either side, at a distance of about three or four miles, or more in some places, from the rivers' banks, and beginning with a low, abrupt ridge, which separates the good lands lying along the banks from the waste in question. It extends from near Nán-Miání on the north, in the Sháh-pür district, down towards the junction of the Bihat and Chin-ab. In about the centre of this plateau there is a range of rugged hills, running in parallel ridges across the Do-ábah. They extend from east to west about twenty-one miles, and from north to south about ten or twelve. Some of their offshoots extend across the Chin-ab, which cuts its way through them, east of the town of Chandaní-oí, or Chandan-oí (vul. "Chuneeot"), part of which stands on them; and some of their minor offshoots, or waves, extend for some twenty miles or more into the Rachin-ab Do-ábah, as far as the Sángalá Tull, or Tallah. They are known as the Kiránah range, and this elevated tract or plateau is named the Kiránah Bár or waste after them.

All along the west bank of the Bihat, which river contains a much lesser volume of water than the Chin-ab, there is a belt or strip of alluvium, as its Hindi name of kachchhi implies, the same word as noticed in note 349, at page 348, and applied in the same way. It extends westwards from the river bank from half a mile to four and five, and, in some few places, as much as ten miles, but the average bustible—napthah or petroleum probably) upon the waters, they set it on fire, dropped down the channel, and departed.

As to the origin of the name Thaṭhah—शाय—Cunningham states, at page 288 of his "Ancient Geography of India," that ṭhaṭha means a 'shore,' a 'bank,' so that Nagar Thatha would mean the city on the bank."

Thaṭ—शाय—Sanskrit शाय, signifies 'a bank,' 'a shore,' and शाय, which is written like the name of the place, and the other mode of writing it—शाय in Hindi, signifies 'sport,' 'fun,' etc. The probability is that the name of the place does not refer to either of the significations mentioned above. There are scores of villages in the Panj-ab with the prefix ṭhaṭhi to their names, and the city in question, was not at all times on either 'a bank' or 'shore.' Thaṭ—शाय—in Hindi, signifying 'a crowd,' 'throng,' 'assemblage,' is the more likely origin of the name of this place.
breadth, roughly speaking, is from three to five, as far as the abrupt edge or steep bank of the Thal, another elevated desert tract, referred to with respect to the course of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, in the Muzaffar Garh district, and its junction with the Chin-áb and tributaries. The Bihat, here and there, approaches close to this Thal, in part of the Sháh-púr district, and also in the upper part of the district of Jhang-i-Siálán, where it may be said to be wearing the bank of the Thal away; but, more towards the south, the kachchhi widens considerably, and, consequently, there is a greater distance between the river and the Thal.

Very little change, comparatively, appears to have taken place in the course of the Bihat, except towards its place of junction with the Chin-áb, which has changed often, and considerably. In former times it ran farther east, and passed nearer to Jhang-i-Siálán than at present. Abú-l-Fażl says, “the Bihat or Wihat unites with the Chin-áb near the pargana’s of Shor,” that is to say, the pargana’h of which Shor or Shor Kot is the chief place. At the present time the junction takes place twenty-six miles north of Shor Kot, and eight miles above the place of junction at the time of the Survey I am quoting. Abú-l-Fażl refers to the time when the Chin-áb flowed some three miles and a half east of that town, where the old channel is still very distinct, and the Bihat flowed past it about the same distance on the west. At that time the junction took place about three miles, or thereabouts, south-south-west of Shor Kot, but the Chin-áb having subsequently changed its course very considerably, ran into the bed of the Bihat, thirty-one miles farther north.

The Khulásat-ut-Tawárikh, written in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Àlam-gír Bádsháh, by an official of the Mughal empire, before alluded to, states, that the Chin-áb, at that period, united with the Jihlam, or Bihat, at, that is to say near to, Jhang-i-Siálán, which now is some thirteen miles above the junction, and the Bihat does not now approach within twenty-six or twenty-seven miles of it on the west.

At the time of the Survey from which I have been quoting, the route from Jhang-i-Siálán towards the Dera'h of Ismá’íl Khán will show some of the changes which have taken place in the course of both the Wihat and the Chin-áb within rather less than a century. It states, that “In going from Jhang-i-Siálán517 you have to proceed nearly three kuroh west, and cross the Chin-áb by boat. This ferry is called the Pațan of Jhang-i-Siálán; and from thence you go two kuroh more to Massan, a large karyah of the Siál tribe, on the bank of the river. From thence going six kuroh more in the direction of south-south-west you

517 That is to say, Jhang of the Siála, or of the Siál tribe, but now, from carelessness or constant use, generally called, in conversation, Jhang-i-Siál.
reach the banks of the Wihat, and cross into the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah by boat. This ferry is known as the Chhautarah Pațan, and the large karyah of Chhautarah is close by the banks on the west side. From this last named place you proceed, through a very sandy tract, six kuroh south-west to Uchchh-i-Gul Imám, a strong fort," etc., etc.

At the present time, Massan, turned into " Mussun" in our maps, is nearly four miles from the Chin-áb, and nearly five east of the Wihat. There is still a very small village known as Chhautarah, but apparently not that referred to here, which has probably disappeared, close to the west bank, and two miles and a half above the junction of the two rivers, just below which is the ferry now known as Trimún Pațan.

Among the belahs or islands in the bed of the Wihat, north of the present Chhautarah, there is one a mile and a quarter in length and nearly as broad, called the Belah of Chhautarah, showing where the large karyah so called once flourished.

In the route leading westwards towards the Dera'h of Guzr Khan still greater changes are to be found. The Survey account says: "In going from Jhang-i Siálán thither by way of the Haweli of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshi [which is about mid-way between Jhang and Shor Kot] you leave the aforementioned Haweli, and having proceeded one kuroh west, reach a large nálah [vul. " nulla"]—a small river, a branch of, or coming from, the Chin-áb, which, flowing between two and three kuroh towards the left hand (south), again unites with it. Except in the rainy season it is fordable knee-deep. From it you go half a kuroh west, and reach the Chin-áb and Wihat, which flow in one channel, and here it is near upon two kuroh in breadth. You have to cross by boat. The place of junction of the two rivers, which is called by the name of Trimún, is about three kuroh higher up on the right hand (north)."

"On the other side of the aforementioned river [the two united] there is also another nálah or channel of great size, which comes from the right hand from the river Wihat, and at the pațan or ferry unites with the Chin-áb. This guzr or ferry, on the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah side, is called the Pațan of 'Ali Kahanná (علي كهانا), and, on the Račhin-áo Do-ábah side, the Pațan of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshi. 'Ali Kahanná is the name of a branch of the Siál tribe, who number between three and four thousand families.

518 It has probably taken the name of the former village of that name. See the large scale Revenue Survey map.
519 See note 325, page 335.
520 The point of junction a short time since was eight miles above 'Ali Kahanná, or two miles higher up than at the period in question, and nearly nine miles below Massan. See also page 335.
"After having crossed the united Chin-áb and Wihat, half a kuroh farther west is another large ndlah, as large as a quarter or more of the channel of the Wihat. It comes from the river from the right hand (north), runs towards the left (south), and abreast of Kot Mapál unites with the Chin-áb. Between this great ndlah and the Chin-áb is a large extent of land some three kuroh in breadth; and its inhabitants are Balúchís of the Almání branch, who pay allegiance to Kabír Khán, Siáí, the ruler of Jhang-i-Siálán, one of the two chiefs of that great tribe. The chief village of these Almánis is called Almání after them. As the large ndlah above referred to is very tortuous, it is known by the name of Uptúth (āFwM)." 531

"Having passed this ndlah, and proceeding half a kuroh more to the westward, you reach 'Alí Kahaná, the name by which several small karyáhs of the Siáls of the branch known by that name are called. From thence you go one kuroh south to Mirán de Bohár, the name of a very large and ancient bohar tree, 532 beneath which are the graves of several people of the Musalmán faith. From thence the route leads one kuroh south-west to Murád dá Kot, a village belonging to the Salbáni branch of the Siál tribe. East and south of this karyáh or village, and of the aforesaid bohar, there is a channel of great depth, which, running to the left hand (south-south-westwards), unites with the Chin-áb. It is stated that this is an ancient channel of the Wihat; and save in the rainy season, 533 it is fordable in some places, but at other times, you have to cross it over bridges. One kuroh

531 The bar—Ficus Indica.

See note 360, page 362, where we are told in the account of the movements of Alexander the Great, that it is said, that "a great banyan tree existed near the confluence of the Hydracotes [Ráuí] with the Acesines [Chin-áb]," and that it "would be worth while to ascertain whether there be one [after two thousand two hundred years and more!], of great size and apparent antiquity." Here is one; but there used to be another near the ferry of Fázíl Sháh, at the place where the two rivers united about half a century or more since, but which is now nearly four miles from the junction, and stood between the two rivers at the takiyah of a Fakir. It was famous for its great age, but not quite twenty-two centuries perhaps, and possessed very large trunks from one root, and hence it was known to the people of that part, by the name of "Áth Múndi," or the "Eight Pillars."

532 The "Nulla Phant" of the latest maps, probably, or what at present remains of it.

533 The writer does not mean to say that there is a rainy season here, unless the seasons have changed since, but merely refers to the period of the rains farther eastwards within the influence of the monsoon. In the Panj-áb, the hot season is the time when the rivers are in flood or inundated, at which period in the parts farther east, the rainy season prevails."
south from Murád dá Kot is Rustam dá Kot; and passing it, and going another kuroh in the same direction you reach Islam-púr. Another two kuroh from thence to the south is Kokári, a large karyah of Sayyids and there is the Mázár (Tomb and Shrine), of Hażrat, ‘Abd-ullah-i-Jaháníán, who is known by the name of Munnawir-i-Jhang 535 and the Uptáh nálah, before mentioned, lies near by on the left hand (south)."

Now let us see how matters stand at present. No great ndlah now exists one kuroh west of the Haweli of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí, and the Chin-áb is but two miles and three quarters, equal to about a kuroh and a half, from that place on the west; but, in the bed of the river are several large belahs or islands, the river bed is about a mile and a half in breadth, and the river flows in two branches. The place of junction of the Wilat and Chin-áb, at present—that is according to the latest survey, but it may have altered, or may have been altering, very considerably this present hot season—which was known as Trimúf, is now nine miles to the north, or more than five kuroh instead of three kuroh, as it was when the Survey above quoted was made, and a little to the north of what is still known by the old name of Trimúf Patán. The ferry which, on one side, was called the 'Alí Kahanná Patán, and, on the other, the Patán of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí, does not now exist at the point indicated, but there is another, about three miles and a quarter north-west of the Haweli of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí (called "Haweli Bahádur Sháh Ferry," and "Haweli Ferry" in the maps 536) and more than three miles and a half north of 'Alí Kahanná, the name of which still remains in the name of a small village a little over four miles due west of the Haweli of Bahádur Sháh, Kureshí, and little more than half a mile from the west bank of the Chin-áb.536 There is also another still smaller village, on the west side of a considerable belah or island nearly three miles in length and half that in breadth, and a mile and three quarters south-east of the other 'Alí Kahanná. According to the

535 Munnawir, the act. part. of the 'Arabic verb II. of نور 'that which illumines or enlightens'—' the illuminer' or 'enlightener,' 'luminary,' etc.
536 This place appears in the Indian Atlas and other maps under the strange name of "Huwali," and the ferry the "Haweli Ferry," such is the careless manner in which names are entered.
536 It was so when the Indian Atlas map of this part was made, but since then further changes have taken place; and according to the large scale map of the Panj-áb Revenue Survey, this place, when the survey for the map was made, instead of being about half a mile distant west from the right or west bank, is now on the east side of a great belah or island in the middle of the river, and on the western-most of the two branches into which this belah separates it. We may assume, therefore, that these rivers are no more subject to changes now than they were twenty-three centuries since.
incorrect mode of writing names of places adopted in our best maps, through the surveyors, generally, being only acquainted with the vernacular colloquially, and inserting the names from ear, this name appears as "Uleekhunwah"; and while in the Revenue Survey map of the Jhang (instead of Jhang) District, the Haweli of Bahádúr Sháh, Kureshi, appears as "Huvali" only; in the map of the Multán Division it actually appears as "Huvalah"; while on the opposite side of the Chin-áb, we find the same word written "Huvelee"! The word, of course, is the 'Arabic حَوْلِي in common use, and signifying, 'a house,' 'a dwelling,' 'mansion,' 'the court-house of a district, public offices,' and the like, but, in these instances, referring to the dwelling-place or shrine of a Muḥammadan saint.

There is no large nálah now from the Bihat on the west bank of the river uniting with the Chin-áb abreast of Koţ Mahpál; and the former river is, at present, nine miles farther north than the point indicated. Murád de Bohár, the very large and ancient tree, with the old graves beneath it, have now disappeared, unless "Huvelee Mohu" of one map, and "Huvelee Mohungir"—both referring to the same place—be meant for it; and of the ancient channel of the Bihat near this venerable tree, and the village of Murád dá Koţ, no trace at present remains, because the Chin-áb since that time has taken to it.525

This river, the Bihat or Wihat, is called the Jamd and Dandánah in the histories of Amír Tímúr’s campaign.

The Chin-áb or Chandar-Bhágá.

The tract of country lying between the Chin-áb and the Ráví, constituting the Rachin-áo or Rachin-áb Do-ábah, especially that portion of it extending from the southern part of the Gujarán-Wálah district, and below that again to the south and south-west, belonging to the two districts of Jhang-i-Siálán and Glughera, now called Montgomery, and forming the lower or south-western part of the Rachin-áo Do-ábah, is quite different from the other Do-ábahs except part of the Chin-hath already described, and the Bárí Do-ábah yet to be noticed. This part is so cut up with old channels of the Chin-áb and the Ráví, that it requires special notice before attempting to describe the Chin-áb and its course. It contains three great tracts of waste land, consisting of three elevated plateaux, namely, the Sándal Bár, the Gondal Bár, and the Ganji Bár (in part), besides a fourth, differing considerably from the others, called the Bár-i-Chin-áb or Chin-áo Bár, lying on either side of that river, as it flows at present.

527 See note 223, page 265, and preceding note 325.
528 See Abú-l-Fażl’s notice of the rivers at page 294.
The Sândal Bár, or central alluvial flat or plateau or elevated waste, lying between the Chin-áb and the Ráwí, which stretches from north-east to south-west, is some forty kuroh in length, and about half that in breadth, embracing all the jangal waste from the cultivated belt along the east or left bank of the Chin-áb, to the cultivated belt along the west or right bank of the Ráwí included in the sub-district dependent on Faríd-ábád on that river." Thus this Bár lies in the lower part of the Gujarán-Wálah district of the Panj-áb, as at present constituted, and the upper part of the Jhang-i-Siálán, and the upper western part of the Ghungherah or Montgomery districts. "On the east it adjoins the Ganji Bár, and on the west, farther down, the Gondal Bár. The country rises gradually upwards from the banks of the Chin-áb towards the edge or ridge of the Sândal Bár, which having reached, the edge or ridge, in the upper part, in the Jhang district, rises somewhat abruptly for some feet, and continues to rise until the central or highest part is reached, which attains a height of between thirty and forty feet or more above the level of the plain below. At first the river runs nearly parallel to it in some places, but, farther south and west, the river flows farther away from it, and at last this Bar dies away towards the Gondal Bár. Water in the Sândal Bár is exceedingly scarce, and the inhabitants, who are of the Bháti tribe, very scanty. In the upper part of this Bár, and within the Jhang district, are the ruins of three ancient cities, Sángalá or Sángalá Tall, Tallah, or Tibbáh, Rasúl, and Asraur; and offshoots from the Kiránah range of hills in the Chin-hath Do-ábah, on part of which the ancient town of Chandani-oţ, also written Chandau-oţ,

It is strange that these ancient sites, Asraur and Rasúl, have not been identified.

The correct name of this ancient town, about three quarters of a mile from the Chin-áb in the last century, is Chandan-oţ or Chandani-oţ, and is derived, according to tradition, from Chandan, the name of the daughter of a petty chief of these parts, and to which is affixed the word oţ (as in Muḥammad-oţ on the Hariári, turned into "Mumdot" in the maps) from the Sanskrit, which word signifies, 'covering,' 'surrounding,' 'shelter,' 'cover,' etc.

The famous Wazír of Aurang-zéb-i-'Alam-gír Bádsháh, Sa'd-ullah Khán, was a native of Chandan-oţ, as was also another mansab-dár of that reign, Wazír Khán.

Khatríus of this part who turn Muḥammadans are, in the idiom of the Panj-áb, styled Paráñcháhs and Kahočháhs.

From constant use, apparently, the name Chandan-oţ or Chandani-oţ, has been shortened into Chání-oţ.

The learned Editor of Elliot's "Historians" (vol. iv, page 232), in the extract from the "Túzak-i-Bábári," where Bábá Bádsháh says: "As I always had the conquest of Hindustán at heart, and as the conquest of Bahrah, Khusháh, Chináb, and Chaniút, among which I now was, had long been in the possession of the Turks," etc., the Editor has a foot-note to "Chaniút," and after telling us that Bahrah at
stands, and through openings in which the Chin-āb at present cuts its way, extends as far as Sángalá, or at least, rocky waves of the same formation, rising to a height of some two hundred feet and more, on the part on which the remains of this old stronghold stands.

“The Rind Balúchís once held part of the Sandal Bār, and bred numerous herds of camels and other cattle, but they were subsequently driven out by the Bharwánah Síáls.

“The Gondal Bār, so called after a tribe of Jaśás of that name, but some account them Bhaṭís, extends from the termination of the Sándal Bār on the south-west, and runs in much the same direction between the Chin-āb on the one side, and to the Rawi, close to Köṭ Kamálíah, on the other. It extends downwards towards Shor Köṭ and the lower part of the Do-ābah. It is about thirty kuroh in length from north-east to south-west, and about twenty in breadth.” When the Survey I have been quoting from was made, this Bār was a dense jangal, in which water was difficult to obtain, and the inhabitants few; but the remains of old wells, and the ruins of ancient buildings, show clearly that, in by-gone times, it must have been in a flourishing condition and well peopled.

“The Ganji Bār is another elevated tract or plateau of waste-land, part of which lies between the old banks of the Rawi and the Bihá. Consequently, it is in both the Rachin-āb and Bárí Do-ābahs, and is about twenty kuroh in length from east to west, and nearly fifteen in breadth from north to south. It extends in one direction towards Búghián Malhíán, to Yúní kí in another; and in another direction approaches near to Asraur, also called Saraur, and to Sháh-Zádah, and in this tract Häťg-ābád, Shaikho-púrah, and other towns are situated. It is called Ganji on account of the denseness of the jangal, and close proximity of the trees to each other. The inhabitants belong to the Bhaṭí tribe. This Bār from its elevated position is the most sterile and arid of the whole of the Ghugherah district lying in the Rachin-āo Do-ābah.

present (sic) lies near Pind Dádan Khán, says: “No Chaniút can be found; perhaps it is Battút, south-east of Attok, by a slight mistake in writing.” Wonderful geographical information this! See note 361, page 366, for one of the reasons mentioned by Bábar Badsháh.

361 In going from Köṭ Kamálíah across to Jhang-i-Siálat, the Gondal Bār and the Sándal Bār have to be crossed.

352 As another specimen of the incorrect manner in which names of places are inserted in our best maps, and become the “official form” of the names, and not the true one, this place appears in the India Atlas map as “Sujáduh.” Sháh-Zádah is an old place, and was in former times the principal town of the district. As it was the head-quarters of the tribe of Hinjarávn, it is also known as Sháh-Zádah-i-Hinjarávn, or Sháh-Zádah of the Hinjarávnas.
“The Bár-i-Chin-áb or Chin-áb Bár differs altogether from the others, and consists of that strip of sterile waste locally called *uṭhár* (اَتْنَار) i.e., 'highland' or 'upland,' which separates the belt of land along the river’s bank subject to inundation, locally known as *ḥefhár* (حِيْضَار) i.e., 'lowland' or 'at the foot of,' and which Chin-áb Bár or *uṭhár* separates the *khádár* or *bet* or *sail-áb* lands along the river from the high flats or plateaux of the other Bárṣ. This Chin-áb Bár extends from the territory of Tárāṣ upwards, down to the junction of the Chin-áb with the Ḫb-i-Sind or Indus, a distance of over two hundred *kuroh*, with a breadth of from four to seven *kuroh* more or less, lying along both banks of the Chin-áb.

“In going from Sháh-Zádah to Jalál-púr-i-Chaddharán on the Chin-áb, two *kuroh* south from the banks of the river, and three *kuroh* after passing Bangar, the Sándal Bár terminates in that direction, and the Ganjí Bár begins.”

These bárṣ differ from the tract on the Sind-Ságár side, locally known as the *Thal*, and the Ḫhúl-i-Jalalí by historians, in this respect, that it is covered with sand-hills, some of considerable elevation, and the bárṣ are not.

The boundaries of these elevated tracts or bárṣ are generally the banks of old channels of the rivers. Thus the Sándal Bár on two sides

Any one would imagine that in these days of “Imperial Gazetteers,” when every petty place almost has one all to itself, an effort would have been made to write the names correctly as they are written by the inhabitants, or, at least, have produced one uniform mode, but “red tape” appears to have prevented it. The upshot is, that in one Gazetteer the names are written one way, in another, in a different manner, and as to the maps, each map has a mode of its own, and different from the Gazetteers!

585 Hindi उठ—*uṭh-* 'high,' 'raised,' 'over-topping,' etc., from which comes उठार—*uṭhár*—'upland,' and the like, and हिँढ़—*ḥefh-* 'low,' 'down,' 'nether,' etc., from which is derived हेथ्नार—*ḥefhár*—'lowland,' etc.

First comes the tract nearest the river banks, the 'lowland' or *ḥefhár*, under the influence of the yearly inundations, after which there is a strip or belt irrigated by means of wells, beyond which again comes the upland or *uṭhár*, the Chin-áb Bár of the Survey record above quoted, the bánjar of other localities, and beyond which floods never rise, in which are depressions here and there, then sandy tracts with occasional sand hills, until the rise or ridge of the bár is reached. There being no rain except on rare occasions, and water for irrigation purposes distant, and no wells at all farther than the verge of the bár, the few villages hereabouts are badly off for that necessary element. At times, when rain does fall, the water pours down from the sides of the Sándal Bár, and this the people endeavour to utilize by conducting it into their lands.

586 See my “Notes on Afghanistan,” etc., page 333.
lies between the left bank of the Chin-āb and the right bank of the Rawi in the upper part of the Jhang district, as does the Gondal Bār, which adjoins it lower down in the direction of Shor Kot, and terminates in that part of the Rachin-āo Do-ābah, in the neighbourhood and in the sub-district of that name, and which is locally known as the Wicchān. After the same manner, the Ganji Bār is bounded by the old right bank of the Rawi. The whole of the Jhang and Ghugh-erah districts, and part of the adjoining districts farther up stream, may be called a great alluvial plateau, the remains of which consist of the Thal in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, and the Sándal, Kirānah, Gondal, and Ganji Bārs on the opposite side, which are more or less elevated, and slope downwards to the alluvial tracts through which the rivers Wihat or Jihlam, Qhin-āb, and Rawi, and some minor tributaries dependent on rain, have cut their way in by-gone times, and, by their fluctuations, have separated it into bārs, as already described. From the ruins of old buildings and ancient wells, every here and there, there can be no doubt, but that, in former times, this great tract supported a numerous population, and was in a flourishing condition. I believe that the convulsion of the elements which brought about the great flood in these very parts, mentioned at page 392, completed the desolation which the Mughals, by their constant inroads commenced, from the time of the first invasion of these parts by those infidels, up to the time of the flood in question.

The Survey record which I have previously quoted says, respecting the Chin-āb and its course, that, "the Chin-āb, or sometimes Chin-āb, is so called because, in former times, most people considered that it came out of Chin [China]." This rapid and impetuous river is also called the Chandar and Chandar-Bhágá, and comes from the eastward. It is said to issue from the kohistán of Pādāl, which is the frontier of the territory of Chin in that direction. Having passed the mountains of Wachhan, a dependency of Kash-mír, it flows three kuroh north of the town of Kish-t-wár, and just thirteen kuroh east of that place unites with the Bhágá, which comes from the Lesser Tibbat, from the kohistán of Mārūn, between fifty and sixty kuroh north of Kish-t-wár. After the junction, the united streams receive the name of Chandar-Bhágá. In the winter season it is crossed by wooden bridges, but at the time of the melting of the snows, when it becomes flooded, these become destroyed, and the river is passed by means of several rope bridges at different places. On issuing from the hills

835 It certainly comes from parts which were dependent on China.
836 I have not considered it necessary to mention all the affluents this river receives during its course into the more level country.
near the kašbah of Akh-núr (آکنور) it separates into several branches; and, after reaching near to Bahdul-púr, which is twelve kuroh south-west, these again unite. Then, passing by the ancient town of Súdhará, Wazir-ábad, Kádir-ábad, and Chandání-oṭ, it unites with the Wi hat or Bi hat at the place previously mentioned in the account of that river, and within twelve kuroh of Jhang-i-Sílán. Between this place and Chandání-oṭ its banks on either side are but thinly inhabited; and they call that part, the Bár-i-Chin-áo or Chin-áb Bár. The water of this river is excellent, but, it is so deep, that it is nowhere fordable.

"North of Kish-t-wár the course of this river is from east to west; but there it makes a sudden bend almost due south, and after flowing in that direction for some distance, as suddenly turns to the westwards, and subsequently south again to Akh-núr. From thence its course is about south-south-west, and this course it pursues for a considerable distance, and then inclines more towards the south-west. It so continues to run until its junction with the Wi hat, when it resumes a south-south-westerly course again, and continues to flow in that direction until it unites with the Ráví. After this it inclines a little more towards the south-west again, until abreast of Multán, when it resumes the previous direction, which it follows until its junction with the Ab-i-Sínd near Uchchh-i-Sharef."

"Although there are several bárdní rivers [that is, dependent on rain], and some perennial streams in the eastern part of this, the Račhí-áb Do-ábah, the principal one is the Deg. This river comes from the vicinity of Sá nbah, and issues from a kol-i-áb or lake. It only obtains the name of Deg some three or four kuroh from its source, previous to which it is called the Basanthur [the "Basantha" of the maps]. The breadth of its bed is about half a kuroh on the average, but, save in time of rains, it is dry in most places. This is in a great measure caused by the cultivators throwing dams across it for irrigation

537 The "Aknur" of the maps.
538 Súdhará is now three miles distant from the river, but the old channel passes close to it.
539 "Quadirabad" of the maps.
540 The place of junction now is about twelve miles, equal to rather less than seven kuroh, and two or three kuroh from the kašbah of Ghaurtarah. See pages 331 and 335.
541 It is in a more flourishing condition now.
542 The directions here mentioned are general, of course. Boileau, in his "Personal Narrative," quoted farther on, says, that the three rivers, Jihlám or Wi hat, Chin-áb, and Ráví, after their junction, are known as the "Trimah" until they unite with the Gharáh near Uchchh.
purposes. It runs about parallel to the course of the Rawi on the west side, at from four to seven and eight kuroh distant from it, and in the neighbourhood of Farid-ábad [in the Ghugherah, now the Montgomery, district] unites with that river. The intermediate space, which is known as Deg Rawi, is exceedingly fruitful."  

Above the junction with the Wihat the banks of the Chin-áb are well defined, and during the annual inundations, except on extraordinary occasions, it does not overflow its banks; but, after the junction of the two rivers, the bed spreads out considerably, so much so, that, a little lower down, it forms several belahs or islands in the sub-district of Shor Kot, which extend as far down as the junction with the Rawi and beyond.

From the junction of the Wihat and Chin-áb, locally called the Do-mel, the Thal, which formed the boundary of the kachchhi or heštár on the Sind-Sagar side, recedes for many miles to the westward; and immediately south of Shor Kot the country appears to sink, or, in other words, to become much depressed. Sand-hills begin to cover it every here and there on either side, but especially on the side of Shor Kot; and there being no high land to impede or keep back the waters in the time of periodical inundations—for the Gondal Bir terminates farther north, and the Bár-i-Chin-áo, is not here to be distinguished at the present day—and the soil being very sandy, the waters find their way far inland. Indeed, the whole of the lower part of the triangle con-

848 In the time of Akbar Bádsháh there were two mahállas or districts named Deg Rawi in the Sábah of Multán, and both in the Multán Sarkár, one on either side of the Deg: one accounted in the Bárí Do-dálah, and the other in the Rachin-áo. The first was styled the "Maunwáši" (plural of Maunša) i-Deg Rawi," which mahálla was assessed at the very low rate of 50,147 dámas in money, but there were only 867 bigahs and 14 biswaahs of land under cultivation; while the other, along with I-raj-púr, formed two mahállas under the name of "I-raj-púr and Deg Rawi." These were assessed in the sum of 23,77,300 dámas in money, but then there were 37,230 bigahs of land under cultivation. The inhabitants were Khánís, who were entered as liable to furnish 200 horsemen, and 2,000 foot as militia.

In the present day, when the Deg overflows its banks, which are below the level of the surrounding country, it inundates the tracts around; but its floods, like the inundations of the Rawi, have decreased from what they used in former times to be, and the channel, from all accounts, appears to have decreased in breadth and increased in depth. The supposition that the Deg ever ran as far as Kot Kamálílah is quite impossible, with the high bank of the Rawi intervening; but its waters in time of floods may have reached as far down as that part. The decrease of water may be attributed to the increase of cultivation farther north, and the consequent demand for more water.

849 Mrl, in Sanskrit, means 'union,' 'association,' 'combination,' etc. Do, of course, means 'two.' See also note 337, page 378.
stituting, at present, the lower extremity of the Raohin-áb Do-ábah is, without doubt, of comparatively recent formation. More respecting this tract will be mentioned in the notice of the river Rawi.

There are several canals from the Chin-áb, in the Raohin-áb Do-ábah in the present Jhang district, some of which are certainly very old, from the fact that their levels are much higher than the present level of its channel; and it is clear that, at a former period, the river must have flowed at a much higher level to have enabled water to reach them. There is one about a mile distant from Shor Kot, on the west, which, even at the period of the greatest inundations, water can scarcely enter. It is styled the Ráni Wá-hah or Ráni’s Canal.

Traces of another ancient canal remain in the middle of the Sándal Bár, near the site of an ancient city, said to have been, in by-gone times, the chief place and seat of government of these parts, called Asraur or Suraur (the “Khangah Asroor” of the maps, meant, probably, for the Khánkáh or Monastery near Asraur). It runs in the direction of south-west for upwards of forty miles, passing about four miles to the southward of the Tall of Sángalá. It is known as the Nannan Wá-hah (the “Nunnuwuah Canal” of the maps), because Wá-hah (vul. “Wah” and “Vah”) means a canal.

The Chin-áb has changed its course very considerably, and its valley, or rather, the tract over which it has flowed at different periods, is thirty miles broad. In by-gone days, at about the point where the Shaikhán Pátan now is, some fourteen miles north-east of Chándání-ot or Chandán-ot, instead of turning more to the westwards as at present, it kept a course more towards the south-south-west, and passed five miles east of Chandán-ot; while now it passes it two miles and a half on the west. Its old bed is very distinct, and runs within a mile of Rajú-á. The whole space between this ancient channel and the present one below Chandán-ot is seamed with other old channels running in the direction of Jhang-i-Síslán, one of which lies within four miles of it on the east. These channels, lower down towards Shor Kot, again unite with the ancient bed.\footnote{Cunningham, in his “Ancient Geography of India,” like all others, traces the movements of Alexander and his Greeks, according to the present courses of the rivers of the Panj-áb, to judge from the maps at pages 104 and 248; but, in some places, his descriptions do not appear to agree with his maps. When we see what great changes have taken place in the courses of these rivers within the short space of one hundred years, what may have occurred in the space of two thousand two hundred? He also traces the travels of Hwen Thsang in the same way, from Shor Kot, according to the present course of the Chin-áb, and along what is known as the Panch Nad, that is, five rivers, or Panj-áb, united into one giving name to the territory. This Panch Nad now extends from the junction of the Ghárah} At one place, a point
east of Shor Kot, there is but seven miles between this area (in which the river flowed when Amir Timur crossed, I one of the old channels of the Rawi. This old channel of it pursued a course to the east of Shor Kot, (in the nearest channel is five, and the most distant, nine of that place east. Running in a direction about south-west bed of the Chin-âb, about seven miles south-south-west and about four miles east of Basti-i-Islâm, united with one of the Rawi some twelve or thirteen miles farther east or eight miles farther north than at present. After the Rawi lost its name; and, at the period in question, it took a much more southerly course than at present, (not Sutlaj: that lost its name on uniting with the Biâh, as did below the junction) and the Chin-âb, thirteen miles above Uchh junction of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, with this Panch Nâ, the crow flies, of about forty-two miles; whereas, in the last century, Nad united with the Indus close to Uchchh on the west, and did it does at present, but was situated much higher up than Uchchh page 219. Uchchh now is, or recently was, nearly eight miles from and over twelve miles below its commencement.

With all this he very properly points out (p. 220), that, "the geography of Multân it is necessary to bear in mind the great change of place in the courses of all the large rivers that flow through and yet, in another place (p. 218) says, that "the site of Alexander" be looked for along the line of the present course of the Sutlaj below Hari-ki-patan. * * * To this point, therefore, the territory or Surâkas, must have extended in the time of Alexander."

He places it, therefore, at a point immediately east of the Sutlaj, and before its junction with the Biâh, for then it is Sutlaj; and at that period, probably, and up to modern times, or in the account of that river farther on, it flowed from thirty or farther east (the distance of the oldest channel we know of its present course of the Hariâr—the united Biâh and Sutlaj in the same course, and Ghârah in the lower. See page 372.

346 There is a great depression or hollow east of the town in the rainy season, becomes filled, and forms a large lake. Authorities supposed that "the materials for the great Bharga or the place stands, "were taken from it." It is much more likely of the ancient channel of the Chin-âb when it united with the town and fort.

The strip of country peculiar to the southern half of the town of Shor Kot, is clearly of recent formation. The soil is light and lies very near the surface. Such parts of it as are not brought is covered with a dense growth of a grass known as sur (Sacch). The tract below Shor Kot is likewise cut up by numerous channels the inundation waters far inland.
Siúhir ki Sarí'e on the west, and between nine and ten miles to the east of Multán, and united with the Biáh about twenty-eight miles south of that place. See note 349, page 347.

Another old channel of the Chin-áb lies a few miles west of the one just noticed, which passed near Bukhári on the west, ran in the direction of south-west, passed Khíwá or Khíwah on the east, within a few miles of Jhang, and within three miles of Mughíáunah also on the east, and lower down united with the old channel just described.

There is yet another old channel of the Chin-áb a few miles west of the present one, and traceable downwards from about Lat. 32°12', which runs almost parallel to the present channel with an interval of from eight to ten miles between at the broadest part, passes within ten miles north-west of Chandan-ot, and runs towards Kot-i-Ysá Sháh and Kádir-púr on the Bihat or Jihlam. There can be no doubt that, at some previous period, the Chin-áb, or a considerable branch from it, ran therein, and united with the Bihat a little to the south of Kádir-púr above mentioned.

The Mughíáni Síáls claim that this place was founded by one of their chiefs who was twelfth in descent from Síáil, their progenitor, and that when he founded it, the Chin-áb flowed to the east of it. In the last century Chandan-ot was dependent on Láhor, and Khíwah on Multán.

As a specimen of the manner in which names are inserted in our maps, I may mention that a part of the first old channel here noticed, appears in one of our maps as the "Boodi N.," and in others as "ancient bed of the Chenab;" the second as the "Boodi N.;" and the third as the "N. Boodhsee." Of course all these three different forms refer to one word, namely, buddhi—भूद्ध—signifying in Hindi, 'old,' 'ancient,' etc.—or 'old or ancient channel.'

A right understanding as to the ancient courses of the rivers of these parts will throw considerable light upon the movements of the Greeks in the Panj-áb territory and Sind.

Curtius says, that, having turned back from the west or right bank of the Hyphasis [Biáh] in consequence of his troops refusing to proceed farther eastwards, as related farther on, Alexander reached and encamped along the Acesines [Chin-áb]. After this he sailed down that river towards the ocean with a thousand vessels, proceeding about four hundred stadia [about forty-eight miles] daily [that is, he probably brought up before dark, as those who even now go by the river routes in these parts generally do], in order to be able to land his forces at convenient places. Then he came to the tract of country where the Hydaspes [Bihat] falls into the Acesines [Chin-áb], from which he fell down the confluence of these rivers into the territory of the Sóbii." He then landed his forces, marched two-hundred and fifty stadia [about thirty miles] into the country [to the east, I presume, but the author does not say which. This would be in the Rachín-áb Do-ábah wherever the confluence may have been], took the capital, after defeating a great army [the undisciplined people of the country or mere rabble] of another nation [tribe?] drawn up on the banks to oppose his landing. He then took a town by
Subsequently, some great convulsion of nature in the parts farther north appears to have caused vast changes in the courses of storm to which they had fled on being defeated; and then another town, which the people set fire to, and perished in the flames, along with their women and children. The castle was not damaged; and Alexander left a garrison in it, after which he went round it by water for it was encompassed by three of the largest rivers of all India except the Ganges, which seemed to lend their streams for its fortification. "The Indus washes it on the north side, and on the south, the Acesines [Othin-āb] unites itself with the Hydaspes [Bihat]. The violent meeting of these rivers makes their waters as turbulent and rough as those of the sea; and, as they carry a great deal of silt, which, by their rapid concourse is very much disturbed, they leave but a narrow channel for boats to pass in," etc. Here the fleet got into great disorder, and sustained much damage, two of the largest vessels were lost; and such was the danger to the fleet, that many prepared to swim for their lives. Here three altars were erected, one for each river.

According to Arrian, and the other authorities quoted in the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," by the Revd. J. Williams, a useful abstract, chiefly drawn from Arrian and Strabo, and also to a less degree from Curtius, Athenaeus, and Plutarch, the fleet consisted of 80 tria-contre, and more than 2,000 river craft of every description; and in eight days [from where he embarked] the fleet arrived near the confluence of the two rivers [the Hydaspes and Acesines: there is no Indus mentioned here]; and their united streams contracted immediately below the point of junction. "The current is sharp and rapid, and strong eddies are formed by the struggling waters that swell in waves and encounter each other, so that the roar of the conflict is audible from a great distance."

See Amir Timūr's account of the junction of the Jamd or Bihat with the Othin-āb at page 279.

Here the vessels ran foul of each other, and losses were sustained, so that the fleet was partly disabled, and two vessels sank. A small promontary on the right bank [west] offered shelter and protection to the partly disabled fleet.

All this took place near and at the junction of the Hydaspes [the Bihat] and the Acesines [the Othin-āb]. What part of the territory of the Panj-āb will agree with these descriptions, according to the present aspect of the country, leaving alone the rivers? Not with Multān, I trow, and with no place south of Chandani-ot or Shor Koṭ; yet Cunningham "identifies" this place of meeting at the time of Alexander, with Multān, as if the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Othin-āb] had ever yet united south of the walls of that place. If Curtius is right as to the Indus also uniting near this castle, the matter is still more complex.

It may be well also to mention here, that it is said, previously, that Alexander built Nicoā on the left [east] bank of the Hydaspes [Bihat]; and in another place, that, "on some part of the river, between Nicoā and the standing camp at the confluence of the Acesines [the Othin-āb and Bihat below their junction] and the Hydaspes [the Rāwi], Alexander had visited a prince by name Sopeithes; and Strabo says, that, in his territory is a mountain [range] composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India. Here, of course, the Namak Sār, Koh-i-Jād, or Salt Range is referred to. Rivers were constantly changing, and the recognition of places lying near them at the period in question depends on where and how they then ran, but mountains do not change so easily."
Panj-áb rivers—the same convulsion, in all probability, did, or happened at the same time as, the great flood recorded in the Esat-ut-Tawárikh, and related farther on—and the other convulsion that tract of territory on the east, tributaries of the Dadúah. At this period the Chin-áb turned more to the eastward, Chándan-ott; passed it on the west side instead of on the previously done; ran for some miles more to the southward, Jhang-i-Sálán also on the west, which it had passed on the east; and some thirteen miles farther south-west, channel of the Bihát or Wihat, and flowed past Shor four miles; entered Kot six miles below Multán; seven miles to the west. It also passed west of Multán, as present; but it then joined the already united Biháh and Ráví six miles below Multán, instead of twenty-eight miles on the east, as it had previously done. Then came changes, which caused the Ráví, presently to be noticed, course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of six miles on the east side, as it had previously done.

Far up the Hydaspea the fleet started we may judge from its having to reach the confluence of that river with the Acesine; for if we distance at, say, one half of that mentioned, the starting point would be considerably above Jihlam of the present day. See note 390.

A subsequent movement from this place of junction will be noticed

Azí, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bári between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.

Abú-l-Fazl, that is, in the Khín-i-Akbarí, places the city of Multán in the Bárí, between the Ráví and the Biháh, but this I believe to be an error of the columns of his work, because as long as the Ráví continued to alter its course, when it deserted the Biháh altogether, took a more easterly course, and united with the Chin-áb once more, but not or twenty miles north-north-east of Multán, instead of

farther on.
Only about a century since, when the Sayyid, Ghulam Muhammad, before referred to, returned from Kâbul by Khusâb, the Dâ'irah of

In Abú-l-Faṣl's time, the Maḥdîls or sub-districts of Adam Wâ-han, Faṭh-pûr, Jalâl-âbâd, Sher Garh, Dunyâ-pûr, Râj-pûr, Kuhroq, Khâ'ê Bûlidî, and Ghallû-Ghârah (گلگهر) of the Multân Surkâr of the Multân Sûbah, were in the Bist-Jhâlandar Do-âbah; that is, between the Sutlaj, as it formerly flowed in a separate channel, and the Biâh before they united into one stream and became the Hariâri, Nûri, Nîlî, or Ghârah, but they are not so now. Multân is still in the Bâri Do-âbah, which extends from the Râwi to the right bank of the dried up Biâh—not, it will be observed, to the banks of the Hariâri, Nîlî, or Ghârah—while the tract between the Bâri Do-âbah and the now river just mentioned, namely, from the left bank of the dry Biâh to the right bank of the Hariâri, Nîlî, or Ghârah, has become known to modern native writers as the Shâmâli Kâchehâli Do-âbah, or north Kâchehâli delta, locally known as the Nîlî Bûr, names not known to Abú-l-Faṣl, because the Biâh, in his day, still flowed in its own bed; and the Maḥdîls above referred to are in this newly formed Do-âbah. The meaning of Kâchehâli is alluvial land of recent formation, subject to the annual inundations, and called hefâr in the Jhang district; and the tracts of this description lying along either bank of the Hariâri, Nîlî, or Ghârah, within the influence of the annual inundations of that river, are known as Chhôti Kâchehâli to this day. See also pages 331 and 384.

Let us see what the old European travellers say, from actual observations, respecting the rivers in the vicinity of Multân, or running near it; and see also page 301.

The earliest who notice Multân are two Englishmen of Captain Nicholas Down- town's Company, who made a journey from India to Persia in 1614. Their remarks on Lâhor are given farther on. "From thence [Lâhor] they pass'd on to Multan, a great and ancient city, seated pretty near the river Indus. When the Potane [i.e., Paṭân or Afghân] Kings maintained their Ground in India, this place was in a very flourishing estate whilst Agra and Lâhor lay both in the greatest obscurity: But now she has little to pretend to, those upstart Rivals have rob'd her of her Trade and Glory, and left her nothing great to lay claim to, but the advantage of her Venerable Antiquity. The place is so poor, that Caravans are obliged to stay hereabouts eight or ten days whether they have business or no, that they may do it a kindness, by spending some of their Money; neither will the Governour let them pass on, till they have rested themselves here for as much time as that comes to."

Next in rotation comes Mandelsloe (see also note 289, page 297), who previously had accompanied the Ambassadors of the Duke of Holstein to the Shâh of Persia, and who was in India in 1639, the same year in which the traitor, 'Alî Mardân Khân, the Zîk Kurd, betrayed Kandahâr to Shâh-i-Jâhân Bâdshâh. See my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTAN," page 605. Mandelsloe says: "The Province of Multán, with its chief city of the same name extends along the River Indus to the East, as the Province of Hâça Chan or Hangi Chan [he refers to the Derah-jâl] has the same River to the West." Here he, or his printer, has reversed matters: for west we must read east.

Thevenot, who comes about twenty-seven years after, in 1666, says: Multân, which comprehends Bucor [Bakhar was a Surkâr of Multân], has to the south the
Sháh Ma'nul
Dá'irah
Leaving the Biah
yet final
or Ferry
of burnt
and then.

This is Multan, a City which is made at Lahor. But in regard carriage is so dear, its traffick either to Multan or at Lahor; and many of the workmen who, at the same period, was travelling in India, says: "Multan has here is a vast quantity of Linnen Calicuts, which was always transported, since that, it is clear evidence of some vast changes in the course of the Indus, and Bahawal-pur, avoiding Multán, he says he "left the proceeded fifteen kuroh from thence to Kot-i-Shuja' Khán, and going another twelve kuroh, he reached the village of small place inhabited by Musalmáns, below which, which, its tributaries, the Jihlam or Wihat and Ráwí, unite with the Ghárah it will be noticed: the Sutlaj and Biah had not united); and the ferry across is called the Múchaki Páta
Having crossed, he halted at Kothah near by, a small fort
ick construction, twenty kuroh distant from Bahawal-pur, Bahawal Khán's possession."

Kothah is the "Kottee" of the maps, now on the Multán es and a half north of Jalál-pur; and within about three
side, six

Province of
the West, m
River that place heretofore a ple
but seeing at
River is spoilt
much lessened
over the Cameles, which
Indies to the Indus
they came and bound
if they expect
The Town
make a a City
extent for the
Moxul was written
Here we have
and the other rivers, its tributaries, to cause merchandize to be sent from Multán and Lahor to Agra in order to reach Surat, instead of sending by vessels on the Biah and the Chin-âb from those two provincial capitals. Here is another proof, that the Biah still flowed in its own bed, and had not changed its course period in question, taken from Purchas at page 321.
miles south-west of it, the junction of the Biáh and Chin-áb then took place, and there the old channel of the Biáh is still to be seen. Now, there is no Biáh running there, and the Ghárah—the Sutlaj and Biáh united—joins the Chin-áb and its tributaries sixteen miles lower down in the direction of south-south-west.

The Koṭ-i-Shujá' Khán, on the west side of the Chin-áb above the junction, here referred to, must not be mistaken for what is, at present, called Shujá'-ábád. The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, says: “There are two Koṭs known as Koṭ-i-Shujá’ Khán; one on the west side of the river, and one on the east [the Shujá'-ábád of the present time], and are distant twenty kuroh from each other.”

Abú-l-Faẓl, in the K'in-i-Akbarí, gives but a very brief notice of the Chin-áb; and what he says respecting it, has been previously recorded at page 294.

The Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh the author of which was a Hindú, mentions, that the Chin-áb, in the books of the Hindús is called Qhandar-Bhágá, and attributes its name to the Qhandar issuing out of Chin [China]. It soon enters Kíwár, celebrated for its saffron. It then receives some tributaries, and gets the name of Qhandar-Bhágá. It falls over high rocks at a place near Jammúna [vol. “Jumoo” and “Jamoo”], forming a magnificent sight, and after that breaks into eighteen branches which again unite, after flowing a distance of twelve kuroh, at the kaşbah of Bahálú-púr. It then flows through the Siál Koṭ district, and below the kaşbah of Súdharah passes onwards towards Wazír-ábád. The wood called sūk (سک) and diyár (دیار), which is well known, is brought down by merchants from the mountain tracts of Qhanbah to Wazír-ábád; and floated as far down as Bakhar and Thaṭhah. The Sháh Guzr or Royal Ferry is at Wazír-ábád. The river then reaches Qhandání-ot, an ancient place, where is the tomb of the Sayyid, Sháh Burhán. From thence it flows on into Jhang-i-Siálán, which was the dwelling place of Hírah, who is celebrated throughout these parts for her love of Ránjah, and, after passing it, the Chin-áb unites with the Wihat or Jihlámas, as already recorded.”

850 Shahámat 'Alí, in his work on Baháwal-púr, says (page xxvii): “From the low and marshy nature of the country south of Múltán, there are few towns or villages in that direction of any distinction, excepting Shujahábád and Kot-i-Shujá [Khán], which are more military posts than towns.”

851 The ancient channel of the Chin-áb which passes Qhandání-ot less than two miles on the east, is twenty-five miles from the present channel near Jhang, and as before mentioned, the whole tract between is more or less seamed with old channels.

852 There is a poem in the Panj-ábí dialect, very popular throughout these parts, on the loves of Hírah and Ránjah.
There is an old and minor branch of the Qhin-āb, which must not be passed over, since it has been mistaken for the ancient channel of the Rawi, whereas the former river passed this minor branch of the Qhin-āb four or five miles farther east. I refer to the Loli Wā-han (لولي واله), "which nahr is supposed by some," according to my Survey record, "to have been originally cut from the Qhin-āb, about ten or twelve kuroh above Multán. In more recent times, after that river altered its former course east of that place to the west side, it has been neglected, and has gone to ruin. It becomes full during the periodical inundations of that river, and passes north of the fortress, close under the walls, on the side on which stands the tomb of the Rukn-i-'Alam, then runs towards the south to Kot-i-Shuja' Khán, and is used for irrigation purposes, or lost in the thirsty soil. Except in the time of the inundations it is nearly dry." A few years since, it was a mere marsh near the north wall of the fortress of Multán, and, probably is so still.

At page 205, Vol. I., of Elliot's "Historians," it is stated, that "Muhammad Kásim's forces, [Muhammad, the conqueror of Sind, was Kásim's son] found no suitable place for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort [of Multán], and sued for mercy. *** He pointed out a place towards the north, on the banks of a river." In a foot note, the learned Editor has, "اب جمو—This can hardly mean the main river." Hardly; for the Loli Wā-han is referred to or a similar small channel.

Cunningham ("Ancient India," page 142) says: "The Ravi formerly surrounded the fortress of Multán, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rains the waters flow to Multán. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress [supposing that Multán is referred to, perhaps?]." See note 348, page 346.

The river "bed" the writer refers to is the Loli Wā-han, so changed in the course of ninety-five years as to be scarcely recognizable, but it was not the Rawi. He appears to have forgotten that there is a canal from the Qhin-āb, passing close to Multán on the west, navigable, and actually called the Sikandar-ābād canal, and, of course, must have been cut by order of Alexander, for have we not his name here?

He also "identifies Atári," about twenty miles W-S-W. of Tulanbah on the high road to Multán, which is really called Atári-Walāh, of recent origin, founded by a Sikh of that family name, near which are the ruins he refers to, as "the city of the Brahmans which made such a stout defence against Alexander. *** Curtius says Alexander went completely round the citadel (of Multán) in a boat, which is probable enough [if the river flowed by it instead of a score miles farther north or south] as its ditch was no doubt capable of being filled at pleasure from the river." Why not have fixed upon Shahr-ghah, near which is the tomb of "Shaikh Abdool Hakeem," of the maps, seven miles and a half west of Tulanbah? It is the site of an ancient city of great size.
In another place the Survey record states, that the Loli Wá-han passed a short distance north of Jahán-gír-ábád; and, that, “in going from thence to Multán, you proceed three kuroh south, and by the way cross this rúd-khánah [river bed] twice; once about half-way, and the second time near the Láhor Gate of Multán by means of a wooden bridge.”

The Ráwí, Ráwah, or AnciEnt Iráwatí.

“The Ráwí, called by the old historians the Ráwah of Láhor or Loháwar, and Iráwatí by the Hindus, issues from the mountain range of Chaubah, the source of which river is sacred to Mahá-díw. *** It

Fortunately, a record exists respecting this branch or cutting from the Chin-áb, mistaken for the old bed of the Ráwí, the bed of which lies much farther east. In mentioning the six gates of the city, the Survey record says: “The Láhorí Darwázah is on the north-west side on the Loli Wá-han; and outside it, over that rúd is a brick bridge [before it was said to be of wood: perhaps there was one of wood as well]. Beyond the gate is a suburb, inhabited by about a thousand Afghán families, and it is styled the Koṭ of Túlí Khán.” This seems to be what is now incorrectly called the “Kiri of the Afgháns,” instead of Giri’át, a Pushto word signifying a halting place of nomad Afgháns. Respecting the Bohár Darwázah, it says, “this is on the west side of the city walls, and there also is a suburb; and the Loli Wá-han passes about a quarter of a kuroh to the west of it. The Darulat Darwázah is on the north-east side of the walls, and the Loli Wá-han passes by near to it. Beyond, on the outside, the mansions of Suljhán and Princes of by-gone times were situated, and the camp for their troops, but they are now in a state of total ruin.” Respecting the four gates of the fortress, the writer says: “The northern one is called the Khizrí Darwázah, and opens on the Loli Wá-han [that is, opposite to, and near it], and is always kept closed. *** Within the Diw Darwázah, on the Loli Wá-han side, is the Tomb and Shrine of the Rukn-i-‘Álam (Pillar of the Universe), the Shaikh, Rukn-ud-Din, son of the Shaikh, Sadr-ud-Din-i-'Arif, who died in 709 H. (1309-10 A.D.), son of the Shaikh, Bahá-ul Ha’ák wa ud-Din, Zakariyá. In the rainy season when the Loli Wá-han, which runs outside the fort walls on the north, becomes full and overflows, the area round the Tomb and Shrine becomes a gathering place for sight-seers. The Loli Wá-han also passes not far from the walls on the side where is the Tomb and Shrine of Bahá-ul Ha’ák; and the Tomb and Shrine of Shams-i-Tabríz is on the other side of the same Loli Wá-han, farther on towards the south.” This was at the period that the Nawwáb, Muṣafar Khán, Sadozí, held the sif of the Multán province from Timúr Sháh Bádsháh, ruler of the Afghán state, for the annual sum of two and a half lakhs of ráps, paid to the Durrání treasury.

For the meaning of Wá-han see a note farther on.

Masson (Vol. I, p. 396) says, “the inundations of the Ráwí river extended to the city, but it is three miles distant, and has what is called a bandar, or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station.” This refers to an old channel close to Sitál ki Méri, noticed by Cunningham. See page 365.

The people of these parts still call it by the ancient names.
passes below Qhanbah where is a wooden bridge, and flows to Bisholif (پسرهلي), where is a boat ferry. Below Sháh-púr it leaves the hills, and here there is a cutting of about a quarter of the volume of water, which is carried on to Láhor and Paṭhán or Paṭán Kot, and to the pargana of Batálah and Patá. The channel of this nahr or cutting is now ruined [through neglect], and the stream having turned away from Bahrám-púr, re-unites with the main river near the city of Láhor. The Ráwí afterwards flows by Faríd-ábád, Sayyid-Wálah, and within a kuroh of Tulanbah; and just half-way between the village of Dándí-Wálah and Sargáni, unites with the Qhin-áb and loses its name. The place of junction is called Trimúḥ.

A channel from this nahr from the Ráwí can be distinctly traced from Sháh-púr, by Gurdás-púr, Batálah ("Buláta" of the maps), and from fourteen to fifteen miles south of Amrit-Sar (vul. "Umrítsur"), and appears in the maps as "Dry N."; while the nahr itself, which is said (in the Survey record), to turn aside from Bahrám-púr (the "Buhrampoor" of the maps) appears as the "Kirn N.," which now unites with the parent stream seventeen miles above, instead of close to Láhor.

What changes are here shown to have taken place during the lapse of even less than a century! Such is a brief notice of the Ráwí from the Survey record I have already quoted.

856 According to Cunningham (page 144), "the name of this place is not derived from the well known Muhammadan Patháns, or Afgháns, but from the Pathán Tribe of Hindu Rajpúts." This is something quite new, and may account for the "Pathán Coins," and the "Pathán Dynasties" of the "Archæological Department," in which have been included Tájís, Turks, Sayyids, Jâta, Hâbâshis, and others, who have ruled in Hind, and formed into one delightful jumble, being styled "Patháns," without there having been a single Pathán among them; and now we must add, it seems, "Hindu Rajpút Patháns" although, I suppose, there are no Musalman "Rajpút Patháns."

This comes from Tod probably, as, at page 288, Vol. II., of his "Rajast'hán," referring to the Langáh Jâfs who once ruled over the territory of Multán (See my "Notes on Afghanistan," etc., page 569) he says that, "The use of the word Pathán by no means precludes their being Hindus." What then does Pathán mean?

The "Past, Pakhto," and "Pukhsto" scholars have to their own satisfaction proved, that the Jñávus of Herodotus are the "Patháns or Afgháns," whose progenitor was only born about the year 576 A. D., but here they are all "identified" as "Hindu Rajpúts."

This, however, is nothing to the discovery of another philosopher, only lately come to light, namely, that "the name Afghán [only the people call themselves Pushtánah] is connected with the Aśvaca of the Mahâbhrata!" This is well worthy of insertion in a Gazetteer or a Cyclopaedia, or such like "popular" reading. See note 27, page 164.
Abú-l-Fázl merely mentions the ancient name of the Ráwi, and that it issues from the mountain range of Bhadrál or Bhadré, and that the Dár-ul-Mulk, Láhor, is situated on its banks.\(^{547}\)

\(^{547}\) Láhor was visited in 1603 by John Mildenhall, a merchant of London, who set out in 1599 from Isfahán by Yazd, Kirmán, Sijís-stán, and Kandahár. He reached "Lahor," as he styles it, from "Candahar," but, unfortunately, no particulars respecting this part of his journey are in existence that I am aware of.

Two Englishmen of Captain Downton's company, however, reached it in 1614. In the extract from the account of their travels it is stated: "But none made more of the trade of this famous city than the Portugals did (as long as they had the Wit to keep friends with the Great Mogul). For all the Merchandize they dealt for with the Foreigners, or Indians, at Lahor, was here embarked upon the spot, and so down the Ravee (into the Indus) away for Persia, Ormús, and those parts," etc., etc. * * * In the time of the Potans [Pațán or Afghán] kings it (Lahor) was but a trudging village.

This matter of Portuguense trade is entered into more fully by Messrs. Richard Steele and John Crowther, two Merchants in the service of the East Indian Society, who went from Ajmir to Isfahán in the years 1614–1615. They reached Multán on the 22nd May, 1614. They say: "Lahor stands on the Rieur Indus or Sind [See page 301, and note 349, page 347], and from this place came the Treasure of the Portugála Trade when they had peace, as being the center of all Indian Trañique. And here they embarked the same down the Rieur for Tutta, whence they were transferred for Ormrus and Persia. The Merchants also passing that way betwixt Persia and Indía, pay'd them freight. They did likewise drive a great Trade vp this Rieur for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of Indía therewith. At this present the Merchants of Indía assemble at Lahor, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and ionye themselves in Carans to passe the Mountains of Candahár into Persia, by which way is generally reportted to passe twelve or fourteen thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarcely pass'd three thousand, the rest going by way of Ormús. These Merchants are put to great charges betwixt Lahor and Spahan (besides great cold in Winter and heat in Summer, and the badness of the way, spending six or seven months betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon every Camel's lading to stand them in one hundred and twentie or one hundred and thirtie Rupíás. Persia is that way furnishd with Pepper and Spices from Masulipatán over land."

This merchandize went from Multán by the Sanghar Pass, and by Tal, Tsořáli and Pushtang to Kandahár by the route described for the first time, other than by those two merchants, by me in my "NOTES ON AFGHANISTÁN," etc., page 547. See also my account therein of the Powandh Afgán Tribes, page 483.

Thevenot says: "Lahor is the Metropolis of a Kingdom, built upon one of the five Rivers that descend from the mountains of the North to swell the River Indus; and give the name of Penjáb to all the Region which they water. This River at this time flows not within a league of the Town [now it is just one mile], being subject to change in its Channel, and many times does very great mischief to the adjoining Fields, through the rapid deluges which it makes. The City is large, and extends itself above a league in length. But the greatest part of the Houses, which are higher than those of Agra and Delí, fall to ruins, by reason of the excessive rains that have overflowed a great number of them."
The Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh states, that, at the period that work was written in 1107 H. (1695 A. D.), the Ḥawī united with the Qhīn-āb close to Sarā’i-Sīghū or Sīghū kī Sarā’ (the “Serraise Siddhoo” of the maps), twenty kūroh from Multān. At the present time the Sarā’e in question is less than a mile from the south bank of the ṫawī, and from it the river turns northwards and westwards, then south-west, winding considerably, and unites with the Qhīn-āb eleven miles west of that place.858

The climate of these parts seems to have changed considerably since Therv- not wrote. He was there in 1665-66.

Tavernier, who was in these parts about the same years, says of the “Province of Lahors,” that, “The chief Town is not now upon the Ravy as it was for a long time, because that River having a very flat Channel, has fallen off from it above a quarter of a league. • • • This hath been a very pretty Town when the Kings kept their Courts in it. • • • I have already said, that the great walk of Trees (which begins at Agra) reaches as far as Lahor, though the two Towns be distant from one another one hundred and fifty Leagues, the lovely Alley is very pleasant.”

This “lovely alley” was the work of Sułṭān Šer Šhāh, Sor, the Afghan or Paṭān Sulṭān of the Dihil empire, who is said to have had a daily postal service between Nīl-āb and Agra, and that trees were planted on both sides of the way all along this route.

858 When the Prince, Muḥammad-i-Dārā-Shukoh, eldest son of Šhāh-i-Jahān Bādshāh, was preparing at Lāhor for his expedition against Kandahār in 1653, two battering guns of great calibre for those days, were specially cast at Lāhor, one of which carried a ball of 90 lbs., and the other a shot of 64 lbs. These, together with a third great gun, brought from Šhāh-Jahān-ábād, after twenty days’ labour occupied in removing them from the citadel of Lāhor to the banks of the Rāwī and shipping them on board vessels, were sent down that river to Multān.

The Prince’s army amounted to 104,000 men, including 70,000 cavalry, and 5,000 artillery men, accompanied by 36 guns and mortars, and 60 great war elephants. The heavy guns, ten in all, including the three above mentioned, were sent down the Ab-i-Sind, and by Dādhar, and Shāl (Kvāstah, vul. “Quetta”) to Kandahār, and, in consequence, only arrived there towards the termination of the investment, and failure of the expedition.

I gave a brief summary of this affair, and the march by the Sangar Pass, a route wholly unknown to modern writers, by Chatsah, Tal, Tsotlāf, and by the Svādghar’ or Tabak-sar (both words being of one and the same meaning, the first being Fuz’īto and the latter Tājīk) into Fushang (vul. “Fāshīn”), in my “Norex on AFGHANISTĀN,” etc., page 21, in September, 1878. This was the first time that this route was described by any European author, and the first time the route of this great army was made known; and only one native writer knew correctly the composition of the force, or the route taken by it both in going and returning, and he accompanied it. A recent reviewer, in the ‘Athensum,’ for July 26th, 1890, referring to my “Norex,” says: “It was Major Raverty who several years ago brought to the notice of the Indian Government the existence of the direct route by which Prince Muhammad Dara-Shukoh led his formidable army of over 100,000 men from Multan to Candahar, an identification which quite
When the Sayyid, Ghulâm Muḥammad, referred to at page 348, was returning to Kābul from India in 1787, he had to give up the idea of going from Multān by way of Lāyyā, because a large force of Sikhs had invaded that part. He, therefore, had to proceed by Mankerah. His route throws light on the state of the parts near the confluence of the Qhīn-āb, Bihāt, and Rāwī. He set out from Multān for Khān Qhāl, distant five kos (this is what is called the kaphk-hah kos, just a mile and a half) north-eastwards; then to the Deh-i-Shāh Nawāz, on the banks of the Bihāt (not the dry Bihāt) ten kos in the same general direction; then ten kos north to Shāh-pūr; and thence to Tulanbah, between north and east, another ten kos. From Tulanbah he went fifteen kos north-west, and reached Sārwān. He distinctly states that this stage brought him into the tract between the Qhīn-āb and the Bihāt, on the edge or margin of the great desert waste—the Thal—and that another stage, in the same general direction took him to Mahārān (possibly, what is now styled "Gurh Maharaja" in our maps), through the sandy desert. Another two stages brought him to Mankerah.

About the time of the 'Arab conquest by Muḥammad, the son of Kāsim, the Rāwī united with the Bihāt east of Multān. It has always been remarkable for its erratic course, especially below Lāhor, and from thence to its junction with the Qhīn-āb, notwithstanding that it runs in a deep bed. Tavernier however, quoted in the preceding note 357, says its channel is very flat. It is so irregular and uncertain, that it is impossible to tell one year where its channel may be the next. On one side, its left high bank can be traced from some twelve miles above Lāhor, running in a south-westerly direction and winding considerably, by the Sarā'e-i-Noh-Shahrah, and close to it, and between Wāndari, which lies twelve miles east of Sayyid-Walāh, and Hinjarāūn, so called after revolutionized the theories of Anglo-Indian strategists." I find, however, that there are actually some who would like to take the credit of the discovery to themselves, and, probably, if I live long enough, I shall find some one claiming to have made the discovery, just as the Siāh-pōsh Kāfira of the Kāfīrīstān have been "discovered" over and over again, since I gave an account of them in the "Journal" for 1859.

Since I wrote about this route, it has been surveyed, and part of the Kandahār force returning to India followed it—the detachment under the command of Sir M. Biddulph, K. C. B. I shall probably give the account of the expedition in full shortly, but more respecting the route will be found in a subsequent Section of my "Notes," page 546, which see, further researches having thrown additional light upon it. In that same Section of my "Notes," I also pointed out a direct road to Kandahār from the Derah-jāt farther north, by which a line of Railway might easily be carried, and that road is now I find, being surveyed. Better late than never.
a tribe of Hindú Jaṭs, down to within a couple of miles of Sath Gaṛh, on the south. Continuing to run from thence with a very tortuous

This place in Blochmann's printed text is Sad-Kharrah, but, correctly, as above, was the chief place of a mahādīl of that name in the Deblā-pūr sarkār of the Multān pūbhā, which sarkār contained four Do-ābahs, and the Berān-i-Panah Nād, or Extra Panj Ab. At the time Abū-l-Faṣl wrote his A'īn-i-Akbarī, there were 59,449 bigāhs of land under cultivation, the revenue amounted to 8,551,230 dāms, and free grants existed to the amount of 20,972 dāms. The inhabitants of the mahādīl were Balūghis and Khar'Jaṭs, who were assessed as able to furnish 300 horsemen, and 4000 foot for militia purposes.

At the time of the Survey I have been quoting from in this paper, Sath Gaṛh is mentioned as lying just midway between Fath-pūr, Ghughera, and Sher Gaṛh, near the dry channel of the Rāwi, and as being, in former times, the chief place of a sub-district, but now, for the most part, in ruins, and in the possession of a Sikh named Wāsir Singh, who also held Hurappah.

Though of little consequence in other ways, it is somewhat so in an historical point of view.

Colonel Maqgregor in his "Gazetteer," and Mr. A. W. Hughes of the Bombay Unconvenanted Service, the compiler of "a Gazetteer of Sind," and another of "Balochistan," quote a wonderful history of the Balūghis from a "Report" by Mr. R. Bruce, C. S., respecting a petty chief of a section of the Rind clan of that people, named Chākār. According to this "history," after the Balūghis had settled in Kalāt and Kāghōhī, a feud arose between Chākār, and Rāhmān, a Līshārī chief of the same race. "They collected their armies," says the "Report," a battle ensued and the Rinds were defeated with the loss of 700 killed. On this, Mīr Chākār "sent for assistance to Sūltān Shāh Hāsūn, King of Persia, who sent an army under the command of Zamī to his aid."

Unfortunately, such a Shāh of Persia never existed, and such a leader as "Zamī" is unknown to fame. They have managed to mix up here the name of the Langāh Jaṭ ruler of Multān, Shāh Husain.

Then comes a still more wonderful piece of history, that, "After Mīr Chākār had committed the country to the care of his lieutenants, it appears that he, with a number of his followers, joined the standard of Hamdān Shāh in his attempts to recover the kingdom of Hindīstān, and went with him to Dehī. Other reports say that he took Dehī from Hamdān Shāh, and afterwards tendered his submission."

Subsequent to Hamdān Bādgāhī's return from Persia, after obtaining aid from Shāh Thambāsīh, his defeating his brother, Mīrzā Kāmrān, and his final advance from beyond the Indus into Hindīstān for the recovery of his empire, the "Report" informs us, that "he had a large army," and that "it is very probable that he may have returned through the Bolān Pass, and been joined by the Rinds under Mīr Chākār."

I do not think there is any "History of India," however poor, that does not clearly show that the Bādgāhī did not return by the Bolān Pass; and, certainly, he was not joined on the way by "the Rind army," nor Chākār's "lieutenants."

Added to this "history," we have some Balūgh Ballads translated by Mr. L. M. Dames, C.S., which appeared in the "Journal" for 1880; and from these more "history" of the same kind is adduced. There Chākār "is said to have founded a kingdom [like "the kingdom of the Nāhara," the "Sitpur kingdom"] with its capital
course, in the same general direction as before, its bank in some places
much more defined than in others, it runs close to Hurappah on the
Seh (Sibi), and to have waged war with Humdā Chughattād;" for Chākār was "a
godlike man," and chief of the "lofty Ghulām Bolāk Rinds."

Mr. Dames adds that "it is difficult to say how far any part of Chākār's adven-
tures are historical;" and he quotes "Brigg's Ferishta," and "Erskino's Babar" to
show that "the irruption of the Baloches into the Panjāb, about 1520 A. D., was
probably caused by the pressure on them of the Turks or [sic.] Mughals who were
then under the Arghūns invading Kachhī and Sīnd."

More "history" of this kind is given in "Griffin's Panjaub Chiefs." The Panj-
āb Government "invited" all the chiefs of tribes to send in an account of their
ancestors, and descent of their tribes; and the result is contained in that work.
It can be imagined how the chiefs drew the long bow, what glowing accounts they
gave, and what noble or royal descent they gave themselves and their tribes.

Fortunately for historical truth, I can show "how far Chākār's adventures are
historical," and also the nature of the "history" adduced respecting that "god-like
man."

Mīrzā Shāh Husain, the Arghūn Mughal, son of Shāh Beg Khān, the conqueror
of Sind, determined, at the instigation, it is said, of Bābar Bābdhāb, to make war
on the Langāh Jaṭ ruler of Multān, but before doing so, he determined to coerce the
refractory Bālōchis in the northern and western part of his territory, around Siwī
and parts adjacent. With a body of 1,000 cavalry, he made a forced march from
Bakhar by way of Chatar and Lahī, and came upon the Rinds and Bughtīs, over-
threw them, made many captives, reduced them to submission, and brought back
their head men with him to Bakhar. This was in 930 H. (1523-24 A. D.).

He then set out on his expedition against Multān in 931 H. (1524-25 A. D.);
and a force composed of Langāh Jaṭs, Rinda, Dūdāţs, and other Bālōchis, Chāndiyāhs,
Nāghars, and others, to the number of about 80,000 men, awaited him on the
banks of the Ghārāh to dispute his crossing. Sultān Māhmūd, Langāh, had only
made one march from Multān to join this army, when he suddenly died, said to
have been poisoned by his son-in-law, the Shāikh, Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Bokharī, while
some say he was poisoned by a house-hold slave, named Lashkar Khān, and this
great army melted away.

The Langāh Jaṭs, whom such "history" writers will persist in turning into
Afghāns, now set up the young son of Sultān Māhmūd; and came to an accommodation
with Mīrzā Shāh Husain, "by ceding to him all the Multān territory south of
the Ghārāh, which river was to be the new boundary."

Soon after this, in 933 H. (1526-27 A. D.), the affairs of Multān became utterly
disordered: the chiefs of the late Sultān refused to submit to the young ruler, he
being a mere puppet in the hands of the Shāikh, and they invited Mīrzā Shāh
Husain to take possession of Multān. He set out in the same year; and on the
15th of Rabī'-uš-Sānī, 933 H. (January, 1527 A.D.), captured Multān, in which the
supporters of the Shāikh and the young Sultān had shut themselves up. The place
was completely sacked, numbers of those found within were put to the sword,
and the remainder enslaved. The Wazir Shāikh and the Sultān were cast into
prison, and there they died, the latter after a nominal reign of one year and eight
months; and the Langāh Jaṭ dynasty, which arose out of a fraud, terminated at the
end of twenty-seven years.
south; and between this its left high bank and the right high bank of
the Bih, but six miles of elevated plateau or dhaiy (subsequently to

For some time previously they had lost all their territory north of the Rawi.
Jam Bâyazid, the Sammah, a member of the ruling family of Sind ousted by the
Argûns, who had taken shelter in the Langâh territory, and had become its Wazir,
rebelled and retired to Shor Ko, and appropriated that part (equivalent to the pre-
sent Jhang district or nearly so), and tendered fealty to Danlat Khán, Lodí, governor
of the Lâhor province on the part of the Afghân Sulân, Sikandar, Lodí, of Dihlî.

From the period of the usurpation of the Langâh Jats over Multán, numbers
of Balûgâs had come thither from the farthest parts of the Balûghistân, from
Kich and Mukrân, and took service with them, receiving large grants of land in
liet of pay, and among these was Malik Surbrâ, the Dûdâ'î Hût. About the period
that Jâm Bâyazid rebelled, a feud having arisen between one division of the Rinds
of which Ghâkar was the head, and other Balûgâs, in which the Rinds came worst
off, Ghâkar, finding the neighbourhood of Siwî too hot for him—not the fortified
town of that name, but lands dependent on it—left it, and came with his two sons,
Allah-Dâd and Shâh-Dâd (the latter is said to have first introduced the Sh'âh doctrine
into Multân), to seek service with the Langâhs, but finding no chance of employ-
ment there, he went to Shor Ko, to Jâm Bâyazid, who took him into his service, and
out of his sief, assigned him a jd-gîr in lieu of pay. This jd-gîr was at Sath Gârh
on the Rawî, and there he took up his residence with his people. See note 361,
page 366.

After Humâyûn Bâdshâh had to abandon his kingdom, and retired to Lâhor
in 947 H. (1540-41 A.D.), followed by Sher Khân, of the Sor sub-division of the
Afghân tribe of Lodí, who had assumed the sovereignty and title of Sher Shâh,
the Bâdshâh retired into Sind. Sher Shâh while in the Panj-âb selected the site
for the fortress of Rahtâs, which was “To be a spike in the breast of the Gakhâr
tribe”; and shortly after, in 949-950 H. (1542-43 A.D.), he left the Karlânî Nîzâf
Afghân, Haibat Khân, as governor of the whole Panj-âb, and directed him to free
the territory from the rebel Balûgâs. Fatb Khân, Hût, who had possessed himself of
Ko, Kabûlah during the distracted state of the country after the downfall of the
Langâhs, raided the Lakhlí Jangal district, and devastated all the country round,
and as far east as Pânî-paţ; to free Multân territory altogether from the Balûgâs,
who had seized upon it, and re-people the desolated city of Multân, whose inhabi-
tants had now entirely deserted it.

Immediately on receipt of these orders, Haibat Khân, Nîzâf, sent for the Wakîl
of Ghâkar, the Bînd; for now he held his jd-gîr from the Afghân governor of the
Panj-âb, to which government he owed military service, and said to him: “Go
thou to Malik Ghâkar, the Bînd, and intimate to him that I shall be coming into
his district immediately, and let him see that the men of his jd-gîr are ready for
my inspection.” The author from whom I take this extract (confirmed by other
writers), 'Abbâs, Sarwâñî, in his “Târikh-i-Sher Shâh-i,” says: “I heard from the
lips of Fatb Khân, Kambû, that, when the Wakîl presented himself to Ghâkar he
was dumb-founded; for as yet, no preparation had been made for the purpose, or
the reception of the Khân. On the second day after, news came that Haibat Khân
had arrived within twelve kuroh of Sath Gârh. Ghâkar now became alarmed, and
said: ‘I have not mustered my followers, nor made preparations for it. What shall
I do!’ and he was in a great way. Next morning a soont of Ghâkar’s came in, and
be noticed in the account of the last-named river), intervenes. From Hurappah it passes close to Ohybawatnī on the south, thirteen miles

intimated that the Kān had arrived; and all Ohyākar could do was to ride forth to receive him, in a very disturbed state of mind. As soon as Haibat Khān perceived him, he said: 'I will not inspect your followers now, but will do so at Debāl-pār,' his object being, lest Fath Khān, the Hāt Bālūch, should, in case he delayed at Sath Garh, take himself off; and so Ohyākar, to his great relief, was dismissed.' Haibat Khān continued his march to the Pāk Pattan of the Khūb-i-'Alam, the Shaikh, Farīd-i-Ganj-i-Shakar; but Fath Khān, alarmed, had fled [Ohyākar, doubtless, informed him in time], but Haibat Khān pursued him, and came up with him near Fath-pūr of Kuhro [about twenty miles east of Kuhro]. He had no chance of escape from Haibat Khān, as he had his family, and those of his followers, with him. He therefore threw himself into the mud-built fort there, and sought shelter therein. It was immediately surrounded; and after he had held out for a day or two, Fath Khān got the Shaikh Ibrāhīm, the descendant of Shaikh Farīd, to intercede for him; and he came out and presented himself before Haibat Khān. The latter told the Shaikh, that he was himself only a servant of the Shāh, and that whatever his commands might be he must carry them out, so Fath Khān was allowed to return to the fort pending the orders of Sher Shāh. He shortly after managed to escape, however; for one night, chiefly through the efforts of a faith-ful follower, Mando by name, Fath Khān, at the head of 300 men, made a sudden rush upon the guards, overpowered them, and got off. The Afghāns on entering the place, found that they had butchered nearly all the women and children before they left. Bakhshū, the Langān, afterwards captured Mando, and brought him bound to Haibat Khān, and shortly after, Fath Khān was taken. Haibat Khān proceeded to Multān, having collected the remaining inhabitants, who had long before dispersed to various places, and set about re-peopling and repairing the place. Fath Khān, Hūt, and Mando, by command of Sher Shāh, were hanged.

For these distinguished services Sher Shāh conferred upon Haibat Khān the title of Maadm-i-'Ālā, 'Azam Humāydūn—that is "The Occupant of the Exalted Seat [of Dignity], the most August," a title which had been conferred twice before by the Afghān sovereigns on their nobles. He was also assigned a scarlet tent, which only the family of the sovereigns had hitherto been permitted to use." This was in 950 H. (1543-44 A.D.)

Sher Shāh directed the 'Azam Humāydūn not to make any alterations in the assessments, but to observe the rules and usages of the Langāhs, and to take the revenue in kind. The latter, leaving Fath Jang Khān, Kanbū (or Kambū: it is correct both ways, the person referred to above) in charge of the Multān province, returned to Lābor. Fath Khān, Kanbū, brought it into a flourishing condition once more, and founded therein a town which he named Sher Garh."

This place is still in existence, situated close to the right high bank of the Bīfā, some twenty miles to the south-eastwards of Sath Garh. These people under the "official name" of Kambohs, still hold a good deal of land in that locality.

That "god-like man," the "mighty Chakar Bīn," the founder of "the kingdom of the lofty Gulām Bolāk Bīnās," disappears from the scene; but he continued to hold his jāh-gir at Sath Garh, and there died, and was buried. The Bīnās, latterly, were much bullied by the Siāls. See page 388. There are more than "traces of Biloches" throughout the whole Panjāb, particularly in the southern half of it.
and a half beyond which it makes a sudden bend to the northwards, then back again to a south-westerly direction, and runs towards Tulanbah, which it passes five miles to the south. From thence it runs in the direction of Multán as far as the point near which it used to unite with the Qhin-áb, when that river passed on the east side of that city to join the Biáh, and which is about fifteen miles nearly due south of Sídhú kí Sará'e. In the space between this left high bank and the present channel, between Qhirawtní and Tulanbah, are the remains of two or three other old channels in which it has flowed at different times, but now partly obliterated.

On the opposite side, in the present Raohin-áb Do-ábah, its extreme high bank can be distinctly traced beginning from about twenty-nine miles to the westwards of Láhor, running in the direction of about south-south-west along the skirt of the Sándal Bár, farther west of which again is a part of the same Bár, extending from five to fourteen miles in breadth from west to east, and some eighteen miles from north-east to south-west, covered every here and there with mounds and hillocks, the sites of former towns and villages, and, in some places, with depressions. Patches of the same hard substance that composes the Qhir-áng Zamín, described farther on, also crop up here and there. These patches are described as "beds of kankar," but the formation is, apparently, just the same as that of the Qhir-áng Zamín alluded to above.

Passing onwards from this in a direct line towards Ghugherah and

It will thus be seen, that out of Haibat Khán, the 'Azam Hamáyún (which last word, in this, as well as in the Badsháh's title, means august, fortunate, etc.) the writers have produced "Humáu Choughutta," and "Hamáyún Sháh" meaning of course Násir-ud-Din, Munich, Hamáyún Badsháh [he was a Barlas Mughal by descent, one of the uláses of Chaghátá Khán], with whom "the mighty Chákár made war," and even "took Delhi, from him," but kindly restored it! How he "made war" upon the 'Azam Hamáyún, Haibat Khán, I have already shown above. As to "Hamáyún Sháh having very probably returned" to Hindústán "from Persia through the Bolan pass, and been joined by Chákár Rind, and other Biloches," any History of India, even "Ferishta," or "Briggs" would show, was totally incorrect. Hamáyún Badsháh left Sínd in August, 1543; in January, 1546, he returned from Persia, and recovered Kandahár; and it was not until eleven years and a half after that, that he set out from Kabul for Já'a Shán-f, then by a raft on the river of Kábul to Pe'háwar, crossed the Indus at Níl-Áb, and marched straight on Láhor, and from thence through the Jalmandar Do-Ábah, and Samánah, to Díhlí.

As to Chákár, the Rind, building the fort of "Seví (Síbi) and making it his capital," is on a par with his capture of Díhlí. "A little history," like "a little learning," is "a dangerous thing." See my "Notes on Afghánístán," etc., page 589, note 7, and page 591, note 3.
Fath-pûr, it runs a little over eight miles to the westwards of Farid-ábîd, and nearly five west of Sayyid-Wálah; and about seven miles or thereabouts north-west of the first-named place, the Deg river runs in its channel. Hereabouts the bank is not so well defined, but, about four miles and a half west of Ghugherâh, it becomes well defined again, and approaches within a mile and a half of Koṭ Kamâliâh on the

Cunningham (Ancient India, page 226) "identifies" this place, as "the first city captured by Alexander on his march from the junction of the Hydaspes (Jhilam) and the Akesines (Chenab)", but he does not tell us where the junction then was; and he also suggests a connection between the name Kamâliâ and the Malli. He also provides a place for "Harapa" (Hurappâh) as "most probably, the city against which Perdikkas was detached because of the mention of marshes," but there are, or were, plenty of marshes round about, and near Multân, and also near Shor Koṭ, and scores of other places. In the time of Sultan Bahram Shâh of Ghazânî, Muhammad Bahlim, the governor of these parts—the Panj-áb—having rebelled, the Sultan marched against him in 512 H. (1118-19 A.D.) and defeated him on the confines of Multân, "the Almighty having rewarded Muhammad Bahlim for his base ingratitude, and he, and his ten (some say two) sons, together with their horses and arms, on the day of the battle, sank in a morass, so that no trace of him and them remained." It does not follow, however, that Hurappâh was the place.

With regard to Kamâliâh, or Koṭ Kamâliâh, I may mention that kamâl is not Greek, but an 'Arabic word, and that the name of this place is derived from the Musulmán name of its founder, Kamâl-ud-Dîn, a Khâr'î chief. He may have founded it on an older site, and a town may possibly have been in existence there in the time of Alexander's campaign, but there is a vast difference between probability and "identification." How many times has the Râwi changed its course since that time?

The direction taken by Alexander against the Malli, and the situation of their territory, as described by the historians of his campaigns, depends entirely upon where the Hydaspes [Râwi] united with the Acesines [Qhin-âb] at that period. Where the junction took place shortly before the appearance of the 'Arabs in Sind and Multân has been already related. See also note 192, page 244.

The Malli are said to have occupied the country between the lower part of the courses of the Hydaspes and Acesines, and also the district beyond the Hydaspes. What plainer description can be desired to show that the lower part of what in comparatively modern days was called the Raśhîn-âb Do-âbah, in part of the Sándal Bâr, the Goudal Bâr, and part of the Ganji Bâr adjoining it in the Bârî Do-âbah is meant, even according to the most ancient courses of the rivers that we know of. That the greater part of the tract in question was above the place of junction of the two rivers is clear, because it is stated, that the troops were landed below the confluence of the Hydaspes [Bihat] and Acesines [Qhin-âb] on the right [west] bank of the latter, that is, in the Sind-Sâgar Do-âbah, and were directed to march down stream, on that side, at certain intervals of time, in divisions, to the point of junction of the Acesines [Qhin-âb] with the Hydaspes [Râwi]; and the fleet was ordered to be conducted thither also. In the time of the 'Arabs, this junction took place about twenty miles north-east of Multân, but in Alexander's day it probably took place, to judge from the most ancient channels, much higher up, and between Sitgûhî kî Sarâ'e and Shor Koṭ, but nearer to the latter place.
north, and then makes a sudden bend to the north-west as far as 30°52' N. L. to within sixteen miles of Shor Koṭ, and within fourteen miles of

Alexander, himself, however, before they set out, advanced laterally from the left [east] bank of the Acesines [Chin-āb], that is, into the Rachin-āb Do-ābah, and encamped near a small stream which skirted the western edge of the desert [bār?] that intervened between the upper settlements of the Malli upon the Hydrantes [Bāwī], and came to a halt for a short time. This stream, no doubt, refers to one of those nahrs, or old canals, as they are supposed to be, still to be traced in the present Jhang district. After marching the remainder of that day and all night, at dawn, he arrived before the Malli strong hold, the march across the desert [bār?] having exceeded twenty-five miles. He was still in the Rachin-āb Do-ābah, but it is not said in what direction his march lay, but, it may have been in a south-easterly direction, or even more towards the east from the context, and the time it subsequently took to convey him to the confluence of the two rivers, after he was wounded, and that depends on where that confluence was. The distance mentioned, if he marched south-east from the ancient bed of the Chin-āb, would have brought him to the northwards of where Kot Kamalā stands, if not to within four or five miles west of Samandar, on the road from Mughānāh to Ghugharāh. Wherever it was, the people were taken by surprise, and their city and fortress stormed.

Curtius differs here from the other writers. He says the people had determined to make a vigorous defence, and had chosen a commander out of the Oxydrace; that he was an expert soldier, and had pitched his camp at the foot of a mountain, causing fires to be lighted to a great distance, that his army [the undisciplined inhabitants] might appear more numerous, and kept up cries and uncouth howlings, etc; and that as soon as it was light, Alexander moved to attack them in battle array, but, the barbarians for some reason fled to the mountains, pursued by Alexander, but to no purpose, except capturing their baggage.

Where is there a mountain to be found within ninety miles of either of these places, or even a hill nearer than the Kirānah Hills and their off-shoots, at Qandāni-ūt, and near Sāngalā Tall?

According to Arrian and the other accounts, the most important places were evacuated, and the inhabitants fled for refuge to the dense jangals beyond the Hydrantes [in the Ganji Bār, in the Bārī Do-ābah, dense jangals still exist]. After a short repose the Greeks continued their advance and reached the Hydrantes, while the Malli were still crossing [into the Bārī Do-ābah]. Their rear guard was cut up, but the main body of the Malli took refuge in a strong fortified city, which was stormed by a part of the forces sent against it. Then Alexander crossed to the left bank [east], and thus entered the Bārī Do-ābah once more. The first occasion was when his troops mutinied, and reached a Brāhman town, which was also captured.

Curtius says, that the city was the city of the Oxydrace, and Strabo says, it was the city of the Sydrace. The Malli evacuated all the chief cities [what a number of cities!] lying on the left [east] bank of the river Hydrantes; and Alexander re-crossed to the right [west] bank [back into the Rachin-āb Do-ābah again] they, the Malli, having concentrated all their forces there. Autumn was far advanced, so the river was low, and having re-crossed it, he attacked them. They were overthrown, and fled for shelter to a neighbouring fortress. It being late in
one of the ancient channels of the Chin-āb. It then turns abruptly from north towards the south for seven miles, and then turns west the day, the attack upon it was deferred till the following day. This was the place where Alexander was so badly wounded in storming it. Where this fortress might have been I cannot say, but it was in the Rachīn-āb Do-ābah, not far from the then banks of the Hydramotes [Rāwī], and somewhere to the northward of Kot Kamāliāh, or between that place and Samandar, or even farther north near the old channel of the river shown in the general map, No 1.

Masson considers "Tūlāmba" to have been "the capital of the Malli, which could not be Mūltān"; and respecting this last remark there cannot be the shadow of a doubt: Mūltān was too far south, as the other subsequent operations show. Masson also, contrary to others, considers "Kamāliā" was the site of the fortress where Alexander nearly lost his life; and he dwells upon the marsh near it as a proof. This, however, is neither proof nor clue; for there are marshes in several other places in these parts: the distance given of the length of the march is the best. Masson also identified "Haripah" [Hurappah] as Sāngalā, in which, of course, he was totally wrong; for Sāngalā Tall lies eighty-four miles to the northwards of Hurappah, but, as regards Kot Kamāliāh, he is certainly in the right neighbourhood, although too far south perhaps.

Vincent ("Voyage of Nearchus") says, that "the fortress where Alexander was wounded, was not the Malli capital [not "Moultan," as he writes it]; for it is certainly on the north of the Hydramotes as Moultan is on the south." But, in another place, he spoils his, by chance, correct statement, by adding, that "the Caspirī on the Rhuadis ought to be Moultan on the Ravee," etc.

After stating all I have noticed above, the Author of the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," like others who have written since, supposes, that "the Malli are represented by the modern inhabitants of Moultan, and Outch of the Oxydracs;" as he says the former [i. e., "Moultan"]; is on the left bank of the Acesines [Chin-āb], with the cognate city of Mulban [sic] between the Hydramotes [Rāwī] and Hyphasis [Biāh], and Outch lower down, not far from the confluence of the Hyphasis and Acesines. Here he has been guided, it will be seen, by the courses of the rivers as they now flow, and as those places are now situated, but it was not so then; and he has mistaken the Ghāraḥ for the Hyphasis, which referred to the Biāh alone. The descriptions given by the Greek writers clearly show, that all these operations took place in the Rachīn-āb Do-ābah, between the Chin-āb and the Rāwī, in whatever direction they may have flowed at that period, and chiefly on the banks of the latter, eighty miles north-east of Mūltān, and nearly double that distance north-north-east of Uchchh.

We next come to the descent of the Hydramotes [Rāwī]. As soon as Alexander could be removed, he was taken down the Hydramotes to the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chin-āb] where was the standing camp, and where the vessels of his fleet were directed to assemble. At the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, and perhaps for a considerable time previously, the confluence was about twenty miles to the north-east of Mūltān.

It occupied four days to convey Alexander down the river Hydramotes to its confluence with the Acesines; and there the grand army and fleet had already arrived. While his wounds were healing, new vessels were being built. Near the confluence was a large banyan tree, below which according to Aristobulus, fifty
again, its bank well defined, with a slope of some forty degrees, the ground here and there covered with hillocks, to within fifteen miles north of Tulanbah, and runs in the same westerly direction, the bank becoming less distinct, towards the former bed of the Chin-āb near Siḥdū kī Sarā’e on the north, where they used to unite. Subsequently, when the Rāwī deserted the Bišāh to unite with the Chin-āb, the united streams then passed on the west side of Mulțān instead of on the east; but, even now, the Rāwī shows a liking for this old channel—the most

horsemen could at the same time be shaded from the sun; and Onesicritus, as quoted by Strabo, mentions trees at the confluence in question, with their boughs bent downwards, of a size that four hundred horsemen might take shelter at midday beneath the shade of a single tree. The author of the "Life" above noticed, says: "It might be worth while ascertaining, as connected with the age of this species of tree, whether there be one of great size and apparent antiquity in this vicinity." I have before noticed the great Bohār or Banyan tree near one of the old confluences of the Hydaspes and Acesines, but not of the latter with the Hydraotes, at page 334. After this, Alexander sailed down the three united rivers to their junction with the Indus, where he was joined by some vessels built at other places on the latter river. This mention here of the confluence with the Indus shows, that Curtius' statement of the Indus being the third river uniting at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines near the fortress there, to be an error. Here (at the confluence of the Indus and the three united rivers, the Hyphasis, Acesines, and Hydraotes) Alexander ordered a city to be built, and naval docks to be constructed, as it was a spot, in his estimation, well calculated to become the site of a powerful city, but, as the upshot shows, he could not have chosen one worse. See page 299. After this we are told that he came down to the country of the Soghdi, which name, the author of the "Life" supposes, "they derived like their northern namesakes, from the great vale occupied by them," but he does not tell us why the Tajik word सुखान—sukhd—should be used in a Hindū country in preference to a Sanskrit word, such, for example, as शुक्म—sukhm or sukhd, meaning 'salubrious,' 'pleasant,' etc. The former word means 'a depression where rain water collects,' and 'the name of a city in a great depression near Samr-ḵand.' Tod says (Rajast'han : Vol. I, p. 98), that, "the Soghdi country is Dhat in the desert," and that, "the Sodas are the Soghdi." Cunningham, on the other hand, says (p. 254), "The Soghdi or Sodre, I would identify with the people of Seorai," the actual position of which he says, "is unknown." "Siw-rā'ī or Siw-rāhi is well known: a maḥdil of the Mulțān sarkār, and lies about five miles above Sabzal Kot N-N-E. "The elephants had been repeatedly ferried across as the nature of the country favoured their movements. [The Indus must have been a smaller river then in comparison with what it afterwards became to have enabled this to be done] "They were now transferred," it is said, "to the right [west] bank of that river for the last time; and Craterus, with them, advanced through the country of the Arachosi and Dranga," of whom Arrian makes the Indus the eastern limit.

Here, it will be noticed, that the Hypanis [Bišāh] and the Hakrá or Wahindah which latter great river as certainly existed at that period as the others, have been passed over without the least notice whatever.
ancient that we know of, except that in which it flowed when *Qačh* attacked Multán, and afterward Muḥammad, the 'Arab commander—and in flood-time some of its water still finds its way into it, or did, at least, a few years since.

The change last mentioned appears to have taken place at the time of, or to have been brought about through the effects of, the great flood which devastated the northern part of the Panj-āb territory, which will be again noticed; and this appears to have been the course of the river when Amīr Timūr crossed the *Qhīn-āb* below its confluence with the Bihat near *Shor Koṭ*, and the Rāwī opposite Tulanbān on the north, and encamped before it. From thence he passed on to the

861 Some additional light is thrown on the courses of the rivers of the Panj-āb in the accounts of the raids of Mīr 'Alī Beg, the *Maghal*, from the direction of Kābul.

During the disturbed state of the Dīhlī kingdom subsequent to the death of Khīţ Khān, when his son, Sultān Mubārak Shāh, succeeded, *Shor* or *Shor Koṭ* played a conspicuous part from its situation.

Sultān Mubārak Shāh, succeeded his father in the fifth month of 824 H. (June, 1421 A.D.), and withdrew allegiance from Sultān Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, Bahādur Khān, son of Amīr Timūr, the Gūrgān, which his father had faithfully observed from the time Amīr Timūr conferred upon him the territory of Multān and Debal-pūr, and had never assumed the title of Sultān, which his son now took.

This act soon began to bear fruit. In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.), the Mīr, 'Alī Beg, son of Dānīš-Manṣhāh, a descendant of Chaghatāī Khān, son of the Chingiz Khān, who was the Nā'īb or Deputy of the Mīrzā Saiyūrgh-timīsh, son of Sultān Shāh Rukh, who had been made the feudatory of Kābul, Zābul, and the territories bordering on both sides of the *Kb-i-Sind* or Indus, with Sultān Shāh Rukh’s sanction, threatened an invasion of Siw-istān and Bakhar of Sind, but it did not come about. This Mīrzā Saiyūrgh-timīsh is the personage respecting whom, Mr. J. Dowson, the Editor of Elliot’s “Indian Historians,” has made such a sad error. He styles him Vol. IV., p. 59) "Shaikh 'Ali, lieutenant of the prince the son of Sar-'atmash." Another writer calls him "Sayyurgutmish."

Sultān Mubārak Shāh, on this, directed Malik Maḥmūd, son of the 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the then feudatory of Lāhor, to put the defences of Multān, which had become greatly dilapidated, consequent on the repeated Mughal invasions during many years, in order; and he rebuilt the fortifications anew from the foundations.

In 833 H. (1429-30 A.D.), during the time that Jasraṭ, son of Shaikhā, the Khokhar, which latter had died some short time before, was in rebellion, and keeping the whole of the eastern Panj-āb and adjacent parts in disorder, the Sayyid, Salīm, feudatory of Tabarhindah [in Elliot, IV, 68, the editor inserts “Sirhind,” to let us know, perhaps, that they are both one and the same place, which they are not], and an old and trusted servant of Khīţ Khān for thirty years, who had amassed great wealth, died. On this, Folād, a Turk slave of the Sayyid, seized all his property—insitigated by one of the late Sayyid’s sons, who were at the Dīhlī court, it is said—and also upon Tabarhindah for himself. A force was sent against him; and, after some time, being reduced to straits, Folād sought aid from Mīr 'Alī Beg, the
banks of the
his troops by
dition.

Mughal Deputy
Baiyur Timish-
Tân," pages 364,
he, with Sultân
834 H. (Feb. 1432
country he pas-
On this, Sultân
been
Beg Sayyid Sa-
in the latter
the month of Diz-
and plundering
chief place of
that period, sin-
captive. The
Hasan), the for-
cept him, and re-

On this, Mir 'Ali Beg fell back on Khat-pûr; and just at this time the 'Imád-ul-
moved out of Multân to inter-
marched to Tulanbah.

On his approx-
ed Malik Sultân
became Sultân of
sovereignty any-
towards Jân-pûr,
in which Mir 'Ali Beg was victorious, and Malik Sultân Shâh was defeated and
slain, and his troops routed. Mir 'Ali Beg then pushed on towards Multân, and
appeared before the fort of Ramašân (3rd month) 834 H. (June, 1431 A.D.), and the next day attacked one
of the gateways of the fort. Fighting went on daily in and around the suburbs until
the 26th of the following month, when the place was relieved by a force from Dihlî, which
attacked Mir 'Ali Beg and defeated him. He then withdrew to a fortified position, which he had enclosed with a mud wall for his troops and
baggage: but, unable to hold that, he was obliged to retire across the Jihlâm [the
Chináb and Jihlâm united], and, in so doing, he lost a great number of his officers
and men drowned, killed, or taken prisoners; and with his brother's son, Mir

Biáh, and crossed it by means of boats, and some of
swimming, as already related in the account of his expe-

Shâh Rukh's permission, set out from Kábul in the fifth month of
32 A.D.) towards Tabarhindah, plundering and devastating all the

Mubârak Shâh's general, Islâm Khân, who, with his forces, had

Folád therein, had to raise the investment; and Folád paid Mir 'Ali

of tangahs for his aid. Taking his family and effects along with him

Salim's wealth, probably), Folád proceeded along with Mir 'Ali

forces, had


to Tabarhindah, plundering and devastating all the

country passed through until he arrived within ten kuroh of that stronghold.

On this, Mir 'Ali Beg fell back on Khat-pûr; and just at this time the 'Imád-ul-Mulk despatched

the northernmost of the mahâls of the Multân sâlah or province at

accompanied on his return to Kábul.

the country passed through; and the people of Khat-pûr [the

the Jihlâm (which the Târikh-i-

Mubârak Shâh-i-

Chináb, but

to which, in the extract from that work in Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 70,

Mr. Dowson puts

and Firishta copies

the country as he

Multân. This he

Mir 'Ali Beg was victorious, and Malik Sultân Shâh was defeated and

soldiers of the Patân or Afghan race who exercised

here], at the head of his available troops, and followed himself,

a place I cannot now find. There an obstinate battle took place,

the fort of Ramašân

26th of the

month 834 H. (June,

and the next day attacked one

of the gateways of the fort.

Jihlâm [the

Chináb and Jihlâm

united], and, in so doing, he lost a great number of his officers

and men drowned, killed, or taken prisoners; and with his brother's son, Mir
Since that again the Ráwi once more altered its course; and there can be no doubt whatever, that the old channel parallel to the present Múaffar, and a mere remnant of his forces, he succeeded in reaching Shor. The history (Táríkh-i-Álif) adds, that, "such a disaster had never before befallen any army under any reign."

These movements tend to prove what I have noticed before (see page 279) that, at the period of Amír Timúr's invasion, and at the period here referred to, the junction of the Whhat or Jihlám and the Ghín-áb took place near to Shor or Shor Kot. See also page 331.

Mír Múaffar was left to hold Shor, while Mír 'Álí Beg returned to Kabul, and the 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who had followed in pursuit, invested Mír Múaffar therein on the 4th of Zi-Ka'dah (the eleventh month), 834 H. (August, 1431 A.D.) ; but he was just after removed from the government of the Multán province, and Khâir-ul-Dín Khán, Khâfî, succeeded him there. Great disorders arose in this part in consequence, and Jašrat, the Khokhar, again broke out. The result was, that Mír 'Álí Beg, in the following year, 835 H. (1431-32 A.D.), again appeared upon the scene, and advanced by way of Shor, then in his nephew's hands, and invaded the provinces of Multán and Láhor. All the country west of the Jihlám, and great part of that west of the Ghín-áb, at this period, was outside the Díhil territory, and was more or less subject to the Mughals, as all west of the Biáh was when the "Tabákat-i-Násírī" was written, and as shown by the number of Turkish names still existing in those parts. Mír 'Álí Beg carried his raids as far east as Sahirînd [which is not Tabárhindah. "Sírídís," also, is not the correct name of the former place]. Facing about, he again retired westwards, making the people of Khat-pûr captive, and those of the villages along the banks of the Jihlám; and on the 17th of Ráb-ul-Awwal (the third month), 835 H. (Dec. 1431 A.D.), again reached Tultanbâh. There, by oaths and promises, he gained over the people, and then broke his agreement, and destroyed the fortress there, which was a very strong place (See note 246, page 279, and following note 247), and massacred many of its people.

Folád, the Turk, previously referred to, who when Mír 'Álí Beg retired defeated to Kabul had returned to Tabárhindah, now issued therefrom, invaded the territory of Bál-e Firdâs, the Ma'hín, one of the great Zamin-dârs of those parts, and slew him.

At this period Bohí, also called Bôhi, was a ferry over the Biáh, the Satlaj not having yet united with it, even temporarily.

Sultán Mubárak Sháh, consequently, had now to deal with Jašrat, the Khokhar, Mír 'Álí Beg, and Folád, the Turk. In Jamád-ul-Awwal (the fifth month) of 835 H. (Feb., 1432 A.D.), he moved towards the Panj-áb to suppress these outbreaks. On his reaching Samáníah, Mír 'Álí Beg beat a retreat, and retired to the Koh-i-Jád—the Salt Range—but the rebellion of Jašrat became still more formidable than before. This induced Mír 'Álí Beg to return in 836 H. (1432-33 A.D.), which he did by way of Shor once more. On this occasion he plundered and devastated the whole country along the line of the Biáh (accounting for the numerous ruined places therewithout), sacked Láhor, and left 12,000 cavalry there to keep possession. He then plundered Sâ-Wal, and took Debâl-pûr. Again Sultán Mubárak Sháh advanced by forced marches and entered the Panj-áb to encounter him, and reached Debâl-pûr. From thence he moved to the Báiwi, upon
left bank on the south, which extends from a little south of Sayyid-Walah down to within six miles west of Hurappah, where it approaches close to the present channel, is, as its name clearly indicates, namely Súkh Ráwah, the "Dry" or "Dried up Ráwah or Ráwí," for it is known by both names. That old channel adjoining Siddú kí Sara'é on the west, and which, under the same name, runs down to within about three miles east of Multán, is not part of the old channel referred to above, but a more recent one: that in which it flowed when the Qin-áb united with it near Siddú kí Sara'é in 1695, and which it appears to have flowed in before it finally abandoned the Biah to unite with the Qin-áb.

After that again, having met with some considerable obstruction above Tulanbah, as its singularly winding course, and its sharp turns—south, west, and north again—indicate, or some other cause, it betook itself to that remarkable part of its present channel, known locally as

which Mir 'Ali Beg speedily retired towards Shor, followed closely by the Sultan, who crossed the main branch [sic] of the river Réwí, and appeared before it. Mir 'Ali Beg again retired towards Kábn, still leaving Mir Muqaffar, his nephew, to hold it. He held out for a month, when, finding he could not do so much longer, terms were agreed upon, that Mir Muqaffar should send his daughter as a bride for the Sultan's son, together with many valuable presents, and that the troops left by Mir 'Ali Beg at Láhor should evacuate that place. This effected, the Sultan set out to visit the tombs and shrines at Multán, and then returned to Dihli. Shor, and the tracts to the north and west, still remained in the hands of the Mughals, until the time of the Langú Jat rulers of Multán, the second of whom, Sultan Husain, after much fighting, wrested the fortress of Shor out of the hands of Gházi Khán son of Saiyú Khán, and also the town of Chándání-ot, held by Málik Máchhi, the Khokhar, for the same Mughal Khán. The territory of Shor was then conferred on Jám Báyázid, of the family of the Sammah rulers of Sind, as before related. Sultan Husain's wife was Báyázid's mother by a former husband. See pages 279—281, and 291.

This, and the other old channel mentioned after, appear in our maps as "Sookhrawa N," from which one would scarcely recognize the meaning.

Cunningham says, in his work ("Ancient India," p. 223), that "the old town of Tulanba, is said to have been deserted as late as one hundred and fifty years ago, through changes in the course of the Ravi." At page 225, however, he says it was deserted "three hundred years ago," having told us on the previous page, that "the old town was plundered and burnt by Timur, and its inhabitants massacred." The preceding note 361 will show who destroyed the fortress and massacred the inhabitants. The place appears to have been in a flourishing condition when Mir 'Ali Beg attacked it.

Sháhámat 'Alí states, that "the present old fort of Tulanba is of comparatively modern construction, and was built to restrain the wild tribes of the Ganji Bár."
the Sidhú or Sidh Ná'e, which runs in almost a straight line for some twelve miles, and without a turn, to near Sidhú ki Sará'e, where it united with the Chin-áb. After that again, when the Chin-áb inclined more to the west, passed Chandani-o't and Shor Ko't on the west instead of the east side, the Ráwí, to rejoin it, made a fresh effort, and by a very tortuous course reached the depressed sandy tract near which the present junction takes place.

The land through which this Sidh Ná'e runs declines a little on the north or right bank the whole way, and is bounded within a short distance of the bank by a date forest, while a belt of higher land fringes it on the south or left bank, but it soon melts into the lower tract adjoining it.

This is a mere general outline of the principal and greatest changes which have taken place since the time of the Arabs. I will not go back to "Alexander" and "Hweng Thsang"—for there is no doubt that the Ráwí, even more than some of the other rivers constituting the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, has changed more or less from one side

The Rawi in its last change before forsaking the Biah altogether, appears to have met with some considerable obstruction in its course westwards near Bakrā and Lāl Kāthbiyah, as its winding struggles and turnings show, but more particularly north of Tulanbah, upon which, and in order to reach the depressed tracts towards the Chin-áb, it betook itself, naturally, to the first depressed outlet in its way. This happened to be a canal which a former administrator, or farmer of the revenue, had cut to facilitate the irrigation of a part not within the influence of the annual inundations. This was carried towards the Sará'e of Sidhú, to near a point called Rām Chontarah, where the Hindús have a place of devotion, about two miles and a half east of Sidhú's Sará'e, and a little west of which it reached the Chin-áb again, which ran south-westwards towards the Biah, but a little nearer to Multán on the east side than it had previously done.

No traces of excavation having remained in after years to show that it had once been a canal, deepened and widened by the action of the river—for it would have been strange, if any signs had remained after a few inundations—and the fact of its being so straight, and running through some of the more elevated land in that locality, the Hindús (who greatly predominated over the Musalmán population in former times), at once attributed it to one of their deities, while the Musalmáns, more correctly attributed it to some Muḥammadán ruler of bygone times. It does not seem to have struck any one that the same Sidhú, who founded a Sará'e, round which a little town sprung up, could also have had a canal excavated to bring water to it, and without the aid of demons, but such is the fact.

The Ab-i-Sind or Indus changed its course through a canal being in its way.

See note 301, page 303.

Date trees flourish along the Sidh Ná'e, and near and around the villages on the Chin-áb and the Ghárāh, in the Multán district, but, strange to say, are not found on the Ráwí and villages thereabouts. The natives ascribe the introduction of the date palm to the 'Arabes, and beyond the parts they reached it is not supposed to be found.
to the other and back again time after time; and thus to attempt to "identify" places along its present banks with others supposed to have existed more than twenty-two centuries ago, is so absurd as to require no further comment. Towards the lower part of its course, from the proofs still existing, it has flowed, at different times, over a tract of country from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth.

After passing Siāhū ki Sarā'ī the Rawi turns to the northwards, and soon after towards the west, and finds its way by a very tortuous course into the depressed tract of country mentioned in the account of the Qhin-āb, and in which the junction of the two rivers now takes place. At the present time there is a dense forest of jand trees (a species of Acacia) in this depression, which forest extends for a considerable distance southwards into the Bāri Do-ābah in the Multān district; but only for a short distance, comparatively, in the opposite one, into the Račhīn-āb Do-ābah of the district of Jhang. In the whole of this depression, which is seamed with old channels of the rivers, more or less distinct, water collects from the uthār or uplands on the Jhang side; and the waters of the Qhin-āb, at the period of inundation, spread out for some miles below Shor Koṭ; while the lands within the influence of the inundation on the right bank of the Rawi, are separated by a bank of considerable height from their uthār or uplands for some distance, and which is cut up by the twisting and twining of the river in its very irregular course. Below this high bank again is an extensive stretch of hethār or lowland, or bet as it is also called hereabouts, and of rough surface, being intersected by some of the old, deserted channels of the Rawi, as the term buddh 'old,' 'ancient,' applied to them, indicate.\textsuperscript{567}

When the river overflows its banks, from as far up as Qhīchhawatnī, some fifty miles up stream, a vast tract is flooded; and the waters find their way as far as Jalāl-pūr in one direction, and as far down as Aḥmad-pūr of the Sīāls in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah on the other, and finally into the Kanḍī-Wāl ḍhānd or lake, fourteen miles lower down under the high bank of the Thal, and seven miles from the right or west bank of the Qhin-āb.\textsuperscript{568}

\textsuperscript{567} Along the course of the Rawi, as in the case of other rivers of this part, are numerous creeks or inlets, in some few of which, at times, a branch of the stream flows. They are rather numerous in this river; but, for the most part, are on a higher level than the cold season level of the stream, consequently, they are only filled by the rising of the waters. Afterwards, when the inundations subside, these retain some water, thus forming lakes or ḍhānds, here known as tudhs. See note 345, page 348.

\textsuperscript{568} At times, in the cold season, now-a-days, the river becomes dry, or nearly so near Qhīchhawatnī. This appears to be caused through drawing off a great deal of water for irrigation purposes, by means of the Bāri Do-ābah Canal.
Abú-l-Fazl, in the A‘ín-i-Akbarí, says very little about this river, but mentions that its old name was Bipáshá (بی پاشہ). The Khulását-ut-Tawáríkh says, "It passes Hindan; and, after flowing beyond the villages dependent on Núr-púr, enters into the plain country of the Panj-áb. It then passes by Káño Wá-han (کانو وحان), where is the royal ferry, flows by Rahuláh; and below the town of Gobind-Wál and the bounds of Dih-Wál, near the mauza' of Loh (لو) unites with the Sutlaj, after which it runs past Firúz-púr and Muḥammad-ot. Between this and Debál-púr, the united streams again separate into three branches, one of which is but a minor one. One of the two main branches turns towards the south, and is again known as the Sutlaj; while the other, which continues its course towards Debál-púr, retains the name of Bíáh. The intermediate or minor branch, known as the Dándah, passes by Kábúlah [a little to the north of it], Khá’e Búlidhí, and north of Fath-púr, Kuhrof, and Lodhrán, towards Jalál-púr, when it again unites with the other two, and near which, after having flowed apart for near one hundred kursí, the two main branches again unite into one stream, and receive the name of Ghallú-

---

869 It was probably out of this word that the Greeks made their name of "Hyphasis." The traditions current in the northern Panj-áb mention, what history confirms, that, until within comparatively recent times, the rivers Bíáh and Sutlaj ran separately as far down as the extremity of the Multán province. Another tradition mentions that near the extremity of the Siwálik hills, in the sub-district of Do-súhah ("Doosooyuh" of the maps) of the Hothýár-púr district, where a high, rocky ridge juts out into the plain, which ridge is known as mandót, the river Bíáh, in ancient times, flowed immediately under. 870 When Bábári Bádáshá crossed the Bíáh in 932 H. (November, 1525 A.D.) on his advance towards Mal-ot, also called Bhojpúr Mal-ot, it flowed close to Káño Wá-han, where its high bank is well defined still, but the Bíáh now flows nearly five miles farther east. Káño Wá-han is some thirteen miles to the north-westwards of the ancient town of Do-súhah. It appears in our maps as "Kanhwan"! For the meaning of Wá-han see a note on the subject farther on. 871 This place appears in the maps and Gazetteers as "Mundot" and "Mamdot." The termination is the same as that in the name of Chándan-ot or Chándání-ot on the Chín-áb. The Hindi, منادی—of—signifying "protection," "shelter," "covering" and the like, was, in this instance, affixed to a Musálimán's name. In Abú-l-Fazl' time, Muḥammad-ot belonged to the Khokhars (always mistaken for "Gickers, "Gikkurs," and so on) and Bhatís, hence the compound word; and it was the chief place giving name to one of the mukállahs of the Berún-i-Panj Nád district of the Debál-púr sarkár of the Multán súhah, as were, likewise, 'Alam-púr, Jalál-ábád Firúz-púr, Lakhwhi Kábúlah, etc.

---

872 See page 296.
Ghārah\textsuperscript{373} (گلرگہ), which, in the tracts peopled by the Balūchis, joins the river containing the united Rāwi, Chin-āb, and What, Bihat, or Jihlam, when the whole are known by the name of Sind—the Ab-i-Sind or River of Sind."

This is a very important statement, referring, as it does, to the state of these rivers written by a native Hindū revenue official of the Panj-āb under the Mughal Government, just a century anterior to the Survey from which I have been quoting, and to which I shall presently return. This statement respecting the minor branch accounts for the existence of that considerable channel which may be traced from some twelve miles south of Debal-pūr, and, a little to the north of Ḥawelī,\textsuperscript{374} downwards by Kabūlah, and Mailā of the Multān district, and which passes west of Fath-pūr,\textsuperscript{375} north of Kuhror, and by Lohdrān. This statement also throws light on the rather obscurely expressed passage in Abī-l-Fazl respecting the three names which he says the Bihā and Sutlaj were known by when they united, and so continued to flow for twelve kuroh to near Firūz-pūr.\textsuperscript{376} No other writer than the author of the Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh gives such information respecting this intermediate branch, which is Abī-l-Fazl's Dānd;\textsuperscript{377} indeed, no others notice it.

My Survey record, just referred to, states, that "The river Bihā rises in the kohistān of Bhūtānt (بہوگند), and issues from a lake called Bihā Kund. After flowing through a difficult mountain tract, and winding considerably, it comes from the eastward, and passes under Naddūn, the chief town and seat of government of that part. Then running in a general direction of about north-west, winding among the hills of the northern Panj-āb, and passing beyond the villages depen-

\textsuperscript{373} According to Mackeson, in his account of the voyage down the Sutlaj with Captain C. M. Wade in 1832-33, Ghallū is the name of a tribe of Jats, who dwell along the course of the Ghārah between Bahāwal-pūr and Mīthān Koṭ in the present day.

\textsuperscript{374} The "Huvels" of the maps. This is the identical word noticed at page 335, note 325, where it is written "Huvali" in the maps. See also note 223, page 265 where it appears as "Habeli."

\textsuperscript{375} This place was the chief town of a mahāll of the sarkār of the Multān pūb, and like Kuhror, the people were Joyahs, but are miscalled Jūnaha in Blochmann's printed text of Abī-l-Fazl. Those of the first named mahāll were rated at 500 horsemen and 5,000 foot, and the latter at 100 horsemen and 2,000 foot, for militia purposes. The Sayyid-zādah Khizr Khān, afterwards ruler of Dihlī, held Fath-pūr at the outset of his career.

\textsuperscript{376} Consequent on this, the Firūz-pūr mahāll was in the Berūn-i-Panbh Nad, or Extra Panj Āb division of the Debal-pūr sarkār.

\textsuperscript{377} See note 254, page 285.
dent on Núr-púr, it separates into several channels, issues from the hill tracts into the open country, and turns towards the south-west. It soon after bends more towards the south, then towards the south-west again, passes under Káno-Wá-han, near the hunting-grounds of the ancient rulers of Hind, and by Rahilah, Jalal-ábád, Bairo-Wáł, and Fath-ábád, and near the karyah of Loh or Loh-Wáł, unites with the Sutlaj, when the united waters obtain the name of Maqhhú-Wáh (मक्खु) and Hariári. It is stated, that, in olden times, opposite the above-named karyah, at a period when the Sutlaj flowed much farther eastwards in its old bed, the Biádh separated into two branches, one of which having flowed past Kašúr, Kabúlah, Khá'e, and the Hujrah of Sháh Muqím,²⁷³ passed at a distance of one kuroh north and west of the fort of Debál-púr, and much lower down again united with the Hariári. This branch still retained the name of Biádh. The other branch, flowing towards the south, united with the Sutlaj,²⁷⁹ which

²⁷³ At the time of my Survey record being made, the last deserted channel of the Biádh passed close on the north side of the Hujrah of Sháh Muqím, which it says, “flowed on to Debál-púr, and was the source of the prosperity, and once flourishing state of this tract of country, but which became ruined and depopulated when it deserted this channel and united with the Sutlaj.”

In the last century, the town surrounding the above-mentioned Hujrah was of considerable size, with a bázár. In the midst is the hujrah, closet, or cell, of the venerated Sayyid, Sháh Muqím, giving name to the place. It is surrounded by an enclosure built of kiln-burnt bricks with a high dome over the cell. This place appears in the maps as “Hoojra,” and in the Gazetteers as “Hujrah,” which, of course, are meaningless as well as incorrect.

Farther south, adjoining the káubah, is the shrine and tomb of another Musalmán saint, Lál Bahlúl, with a brick-built dome over.

²⁷⁹ The Táríkh-i-Yamíní, in the account of Sultán Mahmúd’s expedition against Kinnauj, mentions all the rivers correctly, and the Biáh and Sutladar separately.

In the map appended to Professor Lassen’s “Indische Alterthumskunde,” the Biáh and Sutlaj are made to run in ancient times precisely as they now flow. The Ghag-ghar is certainly made to run into, or rather its course is marked to, the “Sindhu” close to Míthán Koṭ, while the Hakrá, under the name of “ancient course of the Sindhu,” which it never was, is made to leave the present channel just opposite Shikár-púr, to flow east of Alor and also of “Brahmanabad,” but the names Míhrán of Sind, Hakrá, Wahindah, or Qhitang, are never mentioned, nor does Debál or Dewal appear in his map, and yet all modern sites almost are “recognized,” or “identified” by him for ancient ones. The whole tract of country extending from Bhaṭnír to “Amarakota” is styled “Marunáthála (Marunábhúmi),” and U’cheh appears as “Uk.”

The errors, however, are the rule, not the exception. The Sutlaj has always been considered to represent the “Hyphasis,” or “Zakhrus” or “Zadadrus” of the Greeks, and the Biáh (vul. “Bias”) to be the “Hyphasis” of the same people; nevertheless, Dr. Phillip Smith, in his “Ancient History,” Vol. II, page 76, tells us,
then flowed in its last independent channel. At the present time the Biáh, or main branch, is closed, and dried up entirely, and, in consequence, the tracts of country around and dependent on Débal-púr are reduced to a state of desolation."

that Alexander crossed "the Hydaspas (Jeloum)—meant for the Jihlm perhaps—the Acesines (Chenab), the Hydruotes (Ravee), and "the Hypasia (Sutlej), the last of the five rivers." So, it will be noticed, that he has but four after all, having left out the Biáh altogether, one of the principle of the Panj Æb or Five Rivers, and that he turns the Hyphasis, which others consider to be the Biáh—and correctly so, no doubt—into the Sutlaj. This error seems to have been brought about through following the courses of the rivers as shown in the maps of the present day, and finding no running river called "Bias" in the direction required. because the map-makers will style the Hariári or Ghäráh by the name of "Sutlej," whereas it is the combined Biáh and Sutlaj that formed the Hariári or Ghäráh, he at once adopted the "Sutlej." He subsequently traces all Alexander's movements to the mouth of the Indus according to the present courses of the rivers, as represented in modern maps.

He further tells us, that, "Doab signifies the space between each two rivers of the Punjab." However, I need scarcely tell those who have been in the East, that do-dábah in the Persian language, for it is a Persian word, means the delta between two rivers wherever they may be. He also supposes, that "Lahore" represents "Sangala" of the Greeks, in which he is also wrong. See note 390, page 390.

380 Débal-púr, not "Dipalpur," in ancient times, was a place of considerable size, and the seat of government of the northern Panj-áb territory, after Lahor had been sacked by the Mughals as related in the "Tabákat-i-Náširi," page 1138, and it did not again become the capital for a considerable time. The author of the Survey record, who visited it towards the close of the last century, states, that, "from the time the Biáh deserted it, it has gone to total decay and ruin. It has a fortress or citadel of considerable size and strength, built of kiln-burnt bricks, which is lofty and imposing viewed from a distance. It can be seen for some three kuroh. It is now in the possession of Jalál-nd-Dín Khán, an Afgán inhabitant of K-úr [of the Danlatzi branch of the 'Umarzi Khweshkí Afgáns]. He holds the first with a small following amounting to one hundred horse and foot. The space between the four walls constitutes his territory; and, with the exception of a few bícáhá of land at the foot of the walls, and tolls received from merchants and traders, he has no other revenue or means of support. Although Bhagwant Singh, and Wazir Singh, and other Sikhs, have each, at the head of numerous followers, at different times, invested him therein, they have had to retire without gaining their object.

"The dry bed of the Biáh lies one kuroh distant on the right hand (north-west), and the Hariári flows away on the left (south-east) distant about nine kuroh or little more. On the way from the Huirah of Sháh Mu'kím a great jangoal of pláté trees has to be traversed."

He relates the legend of the transmigration of Lalu-jas Rá'e, the Agwánt on Precursor of the Hing-liú Bhawáni, and that he has a temple there I need not enter into its details, but I hope this "Agwánt" will not be mistaken for an Afgán.
The old bed which the Biáh last flowed in as an independent river is sufficiently apparent; while others still more ancient, have, during the course of ages, as might be expected, become less defined, and some worn out or changed, consequent on the opening of canals or utilizing parts of the old beds for them. The breadth of country over which it has at different times flowed, now in one part, now in another, extends in most places from eight to ten miles, and, in some, to twelve.\textsuperscript{331}

The physical features of the tract of country lying between the rivers Rawi, and the Harišri, Nilī, or Gharārah, which names the Biáh and Sutlaj took, after their final junction, and about midway between which the old bed of the Biáh runs, is so peculiar that, before I proceed further in my account, I had better attempt to describe it.

I have before mentioned, that a plateau of some elevation—an elevated waste—separates the valley of the Rawi from that of the

Cunningham considers, from the old coins found hereabouts, that this town was in existence “in the time of the Indo-Scythians,” and is “inclined to identify it with the Diadala of Ptolemy [it certainly has the letter d in it, enough perhaps for identification], which was on the Sutlaj to the south of Labokla and Amakatās,” etc.; but, as he had previously “suggested the identity of Diadala with “Dehlī,” we may easily dismiss it, more especially since Debál-pūr never yet lay on the banks of the Sutlaj, which never approached nearer to it than at present. He probably meant the Biáh, and so it still remains.

In the time of Akbar Bādqāh, Debál-pūr was the chief town of one of the three sarkāvā of the Multān gābah, and the places dependent on it lay in three doábāh—“the Bist Jālandhar, Bārī, and Ročjin-āb Do-ābāh,” and another division styled, Berūn-i-Pančh Nad, or outside the Panj Āb or Five Rivers, or Extra Panj Āb—and consisted altogether of twenty-nine mahāll (paraganas or sub-districts). The town and mahāll are styled in the A’in-i-Akbarī, “Debál-pūr Lakhī, with a fortress of burnt brick.” The lands dependent on the mahāll extended to 242, 344 biyāhs and 11 bisūnahs under cultivation, assessed at 13,514,059 dāms, equal to 3 lakhs, and 37,851 rūpīs, and 19 dāms; while the whole sarkār yielded 129, 334, 153 dāms, equal to 32 lakhs, and 33,353 rūpīs, and 32 dāms. Out of the revenue of the Debál-pūr mahāll, 499,535 dāms, equal to 12,488 rūpīs and a fraction, were free grants. The people were Jāts, Khokhars (not Gakhārs), Kisūs, and Bhaṭis; and they were liable to furnish, according to their tenures, 500 horsemen, and 7,000 foot for militia duties.

Great quantities of rice used to be produced here up to the time that the Biáh deserted its channel to unite with the Sutlaj at the close of the last century, and date palms flourished exceedingly. After the river deserted it, all went to ruin and decay.

\textsuperscript{331} I had occasion, early in October, 1855, to cross from Tulanbāh by Mīān ki Pānki to Lūḏhan, and, of course, had to cross the old bed or rather beds of the Biáh. When I passed close to the high bank on the south, one of the beds was very broad, level as a bowling-green, covered with rich sward, and studded with fine, and handsome trees. I never saw anything in India that put me so much in mind of an English park scene as this did.
Biáh (if such extensive tracts, here and there depressed, in which these rivers have flowed from time to time, can be called valleys), and this elevated tract extends from about twenty-one miles in breadth between Kashúr and Láhor, but decreases in one place, lower down, to about eight miles, but it soon increases again to about seventeen miles in breadth.

This elevated plateau, which consists of a stiff, clayey surface, was capable of irrigation, and therefore of cultivation, by means of wells, of which there are numerous remains still to be seen, on the northern and Biáh sides, and some to say a century since the interim, capable of irrigation, and therefore of cultivation, by means of wells. On the south or Biáh side, where the plateau rises abruptly from feet or more, but it slopes abruptly, where it rises and in some places, where it is about half of what it is on the other, and in some places, is abruptly from the plain, the height is about ten feet, places only five. The many and various signs of prosperity, in the shape of mounds covered with fragments of bricks and pottery, the sites of towns, villages, and fortified places, clearly show that this, now totally waste, tract of country, was once in a flourishing state, and supported a considerable population. This tract forms part

This elevated tract effectually prevented the Biáh from following the other rivers in their inclination westwards, and hence it took a totally opposite course, and inclined eastwards and met the Sutlaj half way. See the heights of different places around given in note 387, next page.

Volcanic action, and physical alterations have, in many places farther west, changed the exempt from similar changes. I have mentioned the great flood in the northern part of the Panjáb territory; and this very part here noticed, from its geological evidence of some such change in by-gone days. See note 307, page 306.

This tract is locally known as the dhaiyá, signifying in Hindi, 'declivity,' 'slope,' 'fall,' etc. Combined with fekar, 'rising ground,' the compound word dhaiyá-fekar—is used as an adjective to signify 'desolation,' 'ruin,' waste,' etc. The crest of this dhaiyá forms great part of the Ganji Bár previously noticed. In other districts it is also known as dhab and ndkb. Hence the absurdity of attempting to "fix" upon modern places as ancient sites, and "identifying" them with places mentioned by the Greeks. Numerous ancient wells remain scattered over the Ganji Bár, as well as in other now completely waste tracts in the Bárí Do-ábah, in the Ghugherah or Montgomery, and the Multán districts, but the water, at present, lies a considerable distance below the interior brickwork.
of what is locally called the Ganji Bár, which latter word, in Hindi, signifies 'edge,' 'margin,' 'verge,' etc., but the people of these parts apply that term to uncultivated wastes generally, beyond the reach of water.

As in the elevated plateau called the Sándal Bár in the Raohin-áb Do-ábah, already described, this stiff, clayey surface overlies a sub-stratum, in the shape of a high, and rather barren strip of land beyond the influence of the yearly inundations, but capable of cultivation if irrigated artificially. This is called bánghar in this part of the Bár Do-ábah, rohi on the Sutlaj, and uthár or upland in the Raohin-áb Do-ábah. After this again comes another belt, the last, known as hefhár or 'lowland' in the Raohin-áb Do-ábah, and "bet," "khádar," and "sail-ábí" in other parts, as in the following diagram of the Raohin-áb Do-ábah.

The hefhár or 'lowland' of the Chin-áb, is called bet on the Rawí, and khádar on the banks of the Sutlaj. Another name in the Persian language applicable to all, and generally used in official documents, is sail-ábí, that is, subject to the annual inundations. Then again, the uthár or 'upland' tract or belt on the Chin-áb is known as bánghar on the Rawí and Sutlaj. The inundations never pass beyond its bank inland. These belts are again subdivided or distinguished locally by other names referring to the capabilities of these higher tracts for cultivation purposes. In some places, as near Shor Kot in the Jhang district, where several old channels of the Chin-áb and Rawí exist, the uthár belt is wanting altogether, or lies at a considerable distance farther inland, but really, there is no high land hereabouts to stay the flood waters.

These diagrams, of course, are not drawn to scale; they are merely intended to give some idea of the features of the tracts between the rivers, and make my explanations clearer.

A comparison of the heights of some of the places in these remarkable tracts between the Chin-áb and Rawí, and between the Rawí and the high bank of the Biáh, and the Hariári, Níî, or Ghárah, constituting nearly the lower halves of the Raohin-áb Do-ábah, the Bárí Do-ábah, and Ghotoí Kachchhi, will illustrate these diagrams.

For example, if we run a line from, say, Chhandan-oút or Chhandán-oút eastwards towards the Hariári in the direction of Firúz-púr, we find that, while Chhandan-oút is 831 feet above the sea level, the banks of the Hariári, near the point indicated, are just 200 feet lower. Going southwards, Jhang, which is just 570 feet above the sea, is 261 feet lower than Chhandan-oút, but 80 feet higher than Gughherah, which is but 490; while Debal-púr, near the ancient channel of the Biáh, is 20 feet higher than Gughherah, but 60 feet lower than Jhang, 321 feet lower than Chhandan-oút, and 120 feet lower than the banks of the Hariári parallel to Firúz-púr. Going
In some places, the slope of this high, central plateau or bár, marking the old high banks of the Rawi and Biáh, and constituting the greater part of what was, and still is, known as the Bárí Do-ábah, the tract of country between the two rivers referred to, is gradual from the high bank of the Biáh towards the present course of the Rawi; and below, towards the place of junction of that river with the Chin-áb, it melts imperceptibly into the lowland or hehíhár below the junction in the western part of the Multán district, as in the diagram beneath.

\[\text{Rawi} \quad \text{hetár} \quad \text{uthár} \quad \text{dhaiya} \quad \text{Ganji Bár} \]

\[\text{High bank of Biháh} \quad \text{Debal-púr} \quad \text{Pák Pattan} \quad \text{Saújí} \]

Farther south again, Shor Kot is 10 feet lower than Jhang, 70 feet higher than Ghugherah, 60 feet higher than Montgomery, about 55 feet higher than Harappah, and 50 feet higher than Debal-púr.

Then again, if we draw another line across from Shor Kót to Ajúdhán or the Pák Pattan, we find that that place, which at present is seven miles west of the Hariári, Nili, or Ghárah, is 56 feet higher than Shor Kót, and 106 feet higher than Debal-púr farther north, 126 feet higher than Ghugherah, and 116 feet higher than Montgomery; while Ghugherah, Montgomery, and Debal-púr are respectively, 70, 60, and 50 feet lower than Shor Kót.

Still farther south, Sidhú ki Sará’e is 170 feet lower than Shor Kót, 100 feet lower than Ghugherah, 80 feet lower than Debal-púr, 226 feet lower than the Pák Pattan, and 440 feet lower than Chhandan-ot; while Multán is 88 feet above Sidhú ki Sará’e, which latter is 98 feet lower than Ghugherah, and 214 feet lower than the Pák Pattan.

Going towards the southern extremity of the Bárí Do-ábah, Multán, near the Ghárah, is just 2 feet lower than Multán, but it is 10 feet lower than Sidhú ki Sará’e on the Rawi; while Shujá'-ábád and Lohrán, distant about six or seven miles respectively from the Chin-áb and Ghárah, are both on the same level, being 380 feet above the sea, but 20 feet lower than Mailá, and 22 feet lower than Multán. Shujá'-ábád and Lohrán, consequently, are the lowest of all the places mentioned; and the difference between them and Chhandan-ot, the highest of all, is 451 feet. It will also be noticed that the country round Ghugherah near the Rawi is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues along the valley of the Rawi to its present junction with the Chin-áb. The general slope of the tract of country herein embraced is southwards and south-westwards from Chhandan-ot, and the greatest fall is from thence to Shujá'-ábád on one side, and from the Pák Pattan to Lohdráín on the other.

983 This refers only to the tract of country between the banks of the Biáh and the Rawi, which is also called Mánjah higher up. The lands on either side of the Hariári, Nili, or Ghárah, extending about five or six miles along either bank, is known as Šhoťí Kachchhi, which, in the last century, extended down as far as Uchchú.
The high bank of the Biah is well-defined all the way down, especially from Jalál-ábad and Fat'h-ábad, above the present point of junction of the Biah and Sutlaj near Harí ke Paṭan; but, on the southern, right, or Hariári, Nili, or Ghárah side, after their junction, and thus forming that river, the plateau, from the high bank of the dry Biah, is much more abrupt, especially on the north-east side, some eighteen miles east of Sayyid-Wálah\(^3\) in the direction of Láhor. From thence it is well defined all the way downwards as far as the supposed position of the mauza\(^4\) of Sháh Nawáz, referred to in the account of Amír Timúr's campaign, about seven miles north-east of Dín Muḥammad ká Tibbah (vol. “Tibba” and “Tibbee”—The mound or knoll of Dín Muḥammad—which name was still known towards the close of the last century, before the Biah and Sutlaj each deserted their own beds to unite midway and form this new river, the Hariári or Nili, as it is called in the upper part of its course, and Ghallú-Ghárah and Ghárah in the lower part, in the Múltán district and the Baháwal-púr territory.

The breadth of this high central plateau or bār, from the two high banks, varies from about twenty-seven miles north of Kašur, where it commences, towards Láhor, to seventeen miles between Noh-sharárah Sará’e and Chúnhián lower down; while below that again, near Sath Gárh, in some few places, it is not more than eight, but the average is about ten miles. It soon, however, begins to increase in breadth again; and immediately south of Hurappah,\(^5\) which it is close to on the south,

\( ^3 \) At present, Sayyid-Wálah is only a little over a mile from the right or north bank of the Ráwi.

\( ^5 \) When my Survey record was written, the Ráwi passed much nearer to Sayyid-Wálah than at present. Great changes also have occurred between Hinjárán and Chúnhián (“Choonian” of the maps), some large villages that then existed having now disappeared. Hurappah was then described as still a large town; and the Ráwi ran much closer to Kót Kamáliah than at the present day. That river flowed then between seven or eight miles east and south from Bhachchuki (the “Bhoochoke” of the maps), while now it is only between two and three miles from it. At the same period it flowed within two miles of Khá’e (the “Khaye” of the maps), but now it is a little nearer.

Cunningham, full of Alexander and Hwen Thsang, identifies “Harapa” (writing the name from ear) as, “another city of the Malli, into which a great body of Indians had fled for safety,” and the chief reason for it seems because of “the mention of marshes,” which “shows it must have been near the Rávi,” but there are plenty of marshes elsewhere. Another reason given is “because the city of the Malli must have been beyond Kót Kamália [not mentioned by the Greeks: it is a Muslimán name] that is to the east or south of it. It is situated on the opposite high bank of the Rávi.”

Alexander Burnes on his route to Láhor went “to visit a ruined city,” four miles inland from the Ráwi, and to “inspect the ruins of an ancient city, called
it is twelve miles broad, and still lower down, south of Tulanbah, it is above seventeen; and this continues about the average breadth until it

Harapa." He does not "identify" it as existing in the time of the Greek invasion, but states that the prevalent tradition among the people generally is, that it was destroyed thirteen hundred years ago, at the same time as Shor Koṭ. From 1835, less 1300 years, would bring us to about 535 A.D., about the time that the Turks, including the Tattārs, and Mughals, the Indo-Scythians and Gete of Europeans, began to make inroads into different parts of southern Asia. See my "Translation of the Tabakât-i-Nâṣirî," note 2, page 869.

Masson ("Travels," i—453), on the other hand, "identifies" "Haripa," as he writes Hürapah, as "Sangala," "for," he says, "every condition of Arrian's Sangala are here fulfilled—the brick fortress, with a lake, or rather swamp [see note 393, page 885, for a great lake in the Bāri Do-ābah], at the north-eastern angle; the mound protected by a triple row of chariots, and defended by the Kathi's," etc., etc.

As an instance of a great mistake, "Arrian's conditions" notwithstanding, and which shows likewise how "doctors disagree," I may mention that the Tull of Sāngalā happens to lie just eighty miles farther north than Hürapah, and, that it is also in the Račhin-āb Do-ābah, while Hürapah is in the Bāri Do-ābah. Dr. Phillip Smith ("Ancient History") "identified" Lāhor as "Sangala," see note 376, page 374. Masson adds, that, "the identification of Sangala gives a point from which we may safely [truly! as I have shewn] calculate upon the site of the celebrated altars of Alexander, which in all probability were in the neighbourhood of Pāk Pattan, on the Satlej, two marches from Haripah, Alexander having there gained the high road into India, which was afterwards followed by Tairûr."

Now that we know the exact position of Sāngalā, it is amusing to read of these "identifications;" and were we to be guided by him according to the distance of "the altars," from "Haripa" by a similar distance from Sāngalā, we should have to look for them along the present banks of the Rāwī, or at the farthest, at the nearest points of the banks of the Bīhā instead of the "Satlaj," which, less than five hundred years ago, flowed upwards of sixty miles farther east than the Bīhā. The only wonder is that these altars have not yet been "identified."

Cunningham, on the other hand, tells us ("Ancient India," p. 217) that, "the famous spot on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis [which refers to the Bīhā only]," where "Alexander halted and wept," must have been somewhere in the low ground between the Satlaj and the Bias [sic], at a short distance above the old junction opposite Kasur and Bazipūr [six miles south-east of Firúz-pūr]. For 20 miles above this point the courses of the two rivers ran almost parallel, and within a few miles of each other, from the earliest times [!] down to 1796, when the Satlaj suddenly changed its course, etc., etc. I may mention, however, that from the bed of the Bīhā to the last old bed of the Sutlaj is about thirty-six miles on the average. In another place, he says this change in the Sutlaj took place in 1790; and, in another place, that "the altars must be looked for along the line of the present course [!] of the Satlaj, at a few miles below Hari-ki-patan." Hari ke Pātān is twenty-five miles north-east of Bāzīd-pūr, and thirty-three miles east of Kasur.

Why these "altars" must be looked for on the banks of the Satlaj, seeing that Alexander never crossed the Bīhā, the writer does not tell us?

Between the "Pāk Pattan" near where "the altars" may be looked for
melts into the plain towards the Chín-āb, in the south-west extremity of the Multán district.

"safely," according to one authority, and "Hari-ki-pattan, below which along the line of the present course of the Satlej the altars must have been," according to the other authority, is only ninety-four miles as the crow flies!

Now respecting these altars, Curtius states that Alexander having constructed his fleet on the Hydaspes [Bihat] he, in eight days, sailed down and reached the confluence of that river with the Acesines [Chín-āb], after stating in another place, that, for the convenience of his troops, he went about 400 stadia daily. This would be rather less than 50 miles, consequently, in eight days he would have gone some 400 miles. But let us see how great a distance he must have been from the lowest possible point that we know of for the junction of the Bihat with the Chín-āb. According to that computation he must have set out from the alpine Panj-āb, some 50 miles above the present town of Jihlam, and certainly, a part where timber could easily and conveniently have been obtained.

Having reached the confluence of the two rivers—about which more in its proper place—Alexander is said to have crossed the Hydaspes [really, as the context shows, the united rivers, close to the confluence], and to have passed through tracts of desert [waste, not necessarily desert], and came to the river Hydraotès [the Rāwī], which he likewise crossed, and reached the river Hyphasis [the right bank of the Bihā]. This, too, he proposed to cross, "which undertaking," Curtius says, "was difficult, not only by reason of its great breadth, but also on account of the many rocks that lay scattered up and down it."

Is there a single rock to be found in the whole bed of the Bihā, or anywhere in the vicinity of that river for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more "above the Pāk Pattan," or for an hundred miles above "Kasūr and Bazīpur?" Except the Kirānah hills, there is neither a rock nor a stone from one end to the other, save near the hills to the north.

On the west bank of the Hyphasis (in the Bārī Do-āb) Alexander's troops mutinied and refused to cross or to proceed farther. He directed that twelve altars of square stone should be erected, to remain as monuments of his expedition; and in order to deceive and impose on people hereafter, ordered beds to be left there of much larger size than the ordinary stature of men, and the fortifications to be increased accordingly.

Where was stone to be found for this purpose between the Pāk Pattan and Kasūr? He might, however, have obtained stone from the hills, but he could not put rocks in the river bed.

Then Curtius says, that, this having been done, he marched back by the same way as he came, and encamped along the river Acesines.

In the "Life of Alexander the Great," previously quoted, it is stated, that "The Acesines (the modern Chun-āb) was then crossed, but the channel, as described by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, was nearly a mile broad. * * * Alexander then led his army across the Hydraotès (the modern Iravati or Ravee), and heard that a warlike nation, called Cathaianas had roused two other independent tribes to arms, and were preparing to receive him under the walls of a strong city called Sāngalā." Sāngalā, however, lies in the middle of the Rughin-āb Do-āb at present, that is, a considerable distance before reaching the Hydraotès. The Macedonians arrived before Sāngalā on the evening of the third day after crossing the
On the south or Biáh side, the rise of this central plateau, as already noticed, is about forty feet, while on the north or Rawí side it

Hydraotes [Acesines?]. They captured it, and Alexander was informed, "that India beyond the Hyphasis—the modern Bezah, or perhaps the united streams of the Bezah and Sutlej—[here the writer supposes they had united 2216 years ago instead of less than 100], was very fertile, etc. "He prepared to cross the Hyphasis," but as above stated his troops refused to do so. "On the banks of the Hyphasis he erected twelve towers in the shape of gigantic altars. Alexander then returned from the Hyphasis [which was not crossed], recrossed the Hydraotes [Rawi] and Acesines [Chin-áb], and arrived on the banks of the Hydaspes [Bihat] again. See note 379, page 374.

Strabo agrees with the others that the Hypanis, the Hyphasis of the others [Biáh], was not crossed, and adds, that Alexander kept much nearer the hills during his march from the Hydaspes, consequently, there would be no need to seek for these altars, if they existed now, "between the Satlej and Bias opposite Kasúr and Bazidpur," nor "in the neighbourhood of Pák Pattan, two marches from Harípah." From what Strabo says they would have been situated some fifty miles or more above Kasúr; and to crown the whole, the Hyphasis [Biáh] as late as the time of the 'Arab conquest of Sind, was separated by a tract of country some ninety-two miles in breadth from the Zaradrus, Hesudrus, or Satadr [Sutlej], and even in the last century, the distance between them was an average of thirty-eight miles. See page 388.

Dr. (now, Sir) William Smith, LL.D., in his "Classical Dictionary," after telling us that "Alexander penetrated as far as the Hyphasis, which was the furthest point he reached," assures us that this river is the "Garra." The Gharah, Hariari, or Níl, did not then exist; and a century has not yet elapsed since the Biáh and Sutlej permanently uniting, formed what is known as the Gharah in the lower half of its course, and Hariari and Níl in the upper half. These two rivers had certainly united, temporarily, within the last four hundred years; but, after flowing together for a short distance, again separated, and again united after flowing apart for one hundred and seventy-five miles or more. The "Hyphasis" which Alexander reached, and beyond which he did not pass, nor any of his troops, was the Biáh alone. Having fallen into one error, the writer, naturally, falls into others. Under the heading of "Zaradrus," he informs us, that it is the "Sutlej," which falls into the Hyphasis (Gharra)," here written with 'gh' under the previous heading it was 'g.' Thus he makes the Gharah and Sutlej two distinct rivers; but, if we turn to the heading "Hyphasis," we are told that the Hyphasis or Hypanis or Hyphasis, is "the Beas, and Gharra, a river of India"—one river! The Sutlej, which eleven centuries after Alexander's time was flowing eighty miles or more to the east of the Biáh, is the "Zaradrus," "Zudaru," or "Hesudrus," and this the Greeks did not reach.

The Survey record which I have been quoting from elsewhere, records a curious fact. On the route from Láhor to Núr-púr, thirty-three miles and a half from the former, and two miles north of Ujñálá, and less than a mile from the north or right bank of the Kirn Nálah, and four miles and a half from the left bank of the Rawí, there stood in the last century a tallah or mound, which is described as "about one hundred cubits in height, and which can be seen from a distance of two and three kuróh. On the summit thereof is a large tomb or something of the
is only about twenty, and the Rawi, at present, flows about sixteen miles from it farther north; but, from Qíchawahatī as far as about twelve miles lower down, the Rawi flows close under the high bank.

On the opposite or Biāh side, the Hariārī, Nīlī, or Ghārah (always miscalled Sutlaj), has not yet approached this plateau nearer than twenty-three miles, and that only at one point, some twelve miles west of Lūḍhan in the Multān district, and about four miles south of Karam-pūr, where it makes a sudden bend from west towards the south.

On the south side of the plateau, and between it and the southernmost of the old channels of the Biāh, and between that again and the banks of the Hariārī, Nīlī, or Ghārah, and the tract of country which is locally called the Nīlī Bār, is quite different from that on the other side through which the Rawī has at different times flowed, known as the Rawī Bār. This tract is but slightly elevated above the banks of the Hariārī, Nīlī, or Ghārah; and, in the south-western part of the Multān district, the ridge of the Qbit Dhū’ān, subsequently noticed, appears to have prevented the above mentioned river from approaching nearer to the bed of the Biāh in that direction; for, near Karam-pūr, as before stated, it seems to have made an effort in that direction, but, finding an obstacle, it turned suddenly from west to the south-south-east, and then to the south-west, and west again.

This tract, the Nīlī Bār, bears evidence of comparatively recent formation, and the action of water; for, a few feet below the surface, deep beds of sand are found, and consequently, wells are with difficulty sunk, and when sunk are very liable to fall in; yet, it seems strange to those unacquainted with the past history of these parts, that this very tract of now dreary waste, without signs of vegetation, should contain so many remains of towns, forts, and villages, water-courses, and canals. They are most numerous perhaps along the old bed of the Biāh and the parts around Koṭ Kamāliāh in the Ghugherah or Montgomery district. As already mentioned, there is no land fit for cultivation, or very little, except a belt or fringe of khādar or sail-dhī land along the banks of the Hariārī, Nīlī, or Ghārah, which, as the term indicates, is under the influence of the periodical inundations, and which is also known locally as kañchhī, presently to be explained, or kind, about twelve cubits in length, and three or four in breadth; and the tradition handed down respecting it is, that this is the resting-place in the sleep of death of one of the companions of “Sikandar-i-Ẓā-1-Karanain” [as Oriental writers call Alexander the Macedonian]. The Rawī at the time of the Survey flowed at much the same distance from it as now.

591 These remains are locally known under the name or term of khoṭa—कृष्ण—signifying, in Hindi, ‘defective,’ ‘faulty,’ ‘ruinous,’ etc.
what can be artificially irrigated by means of canals or cuts from that river. This belt or fringe in many places does not exceed three miles in breadth from the banks, but in some places it is four or five. In the parts around Ajúdghán or the Pák Pattan much less land is fit for tillage, it is the most elevated part of the tract around, and is covered with dense jangal; but, in the south-west corner of the Do-ábah, in the Multán district, along the banks of the Chináb, this strip of cultivation may extend to six or seven miles on the average from the river's bank.

Thus an extensive tract of waste land, extending some twenty miles or more in breadth in the Ghugherah district, intervenes between the high ridge of the elevated plateau marking the northern-most point the Bíaáh ever reached, and the belt or fringe of cultivation before alluded to. On the northern half of this waste, nearest the high plateau, traversed by old channels of the Bíaáh, water collects every here and there in its hollows in rainy seasons, and these collections of water are called dhoras. The other or southern half is also intersected in several places with numerous old channels of minor branches or offshoots from the Bíaáh, but all inclining towards the old bed of the river in the lowest part of this waste, towards the south-west extremity of the Multán district, in the direction of the point where, at one time, the united Bíaáh and Ráwí were joined by the united Chináb and Bihat.

392 Since the Pák Pattan stands just 516 feet above the sea, and 106 feet above the level of Debál-púr, and the banks of the Haríári, Nílí, or Ghéráh, twelve miles above and below the Pák Pattan, are respectively, 548 and 520 feet only above the sea, that is, an average of 82 feet lower than the Pák Pattan, how is it possible that Debál-púr could have stood on the bank of the Sutlej, as Cunningham asserts, or for the Pák Pattan “to have been for ages the ferry over the Sutlej,” which has never approached it nearer than at the present day?

393 From the heights given in the preceding note 392, it will be observed, that around Ghugherah the country is considerably depressed, and that this depression continues to increase down as far as the junction of the Ráwí with the Chináb.

Towards the close of the last century, in going from Sher Garh to Hinjaráún across the high plateau between the Bíaáh and the Ráwí which slopes towards the latter, just mid way, and near the present line of Railway between Multán and Lahor, there was a great dhorah or lake, called the Pálti, which extended five kuroh in length from east to west, with a breadth of one kuroh. It was generally dry except in and after rainy seasons. This great lake, therefore, lay just in the middle of the plateau. There were no inhabitants between Sher Garh and Hinjaráún, but there was a dense jangal, and scarcity of water. It was much the same farther north-west to Wándír and Salábat Pinch, now a mile from the left bank of the Ráwí, and seven miles east of Sayyid-Wálah.
The "Bárání Rúds," now so called, that is, dependent on rain for water, namely the Párhah and its branch, called the Dahará, and the Sohág—the still minor ones are not of much importance to the present subject—are merely offshoots from the Bíaḥ, which separated from its left bank and flowed south and south-westwards. As long as the Bíaḥ continued to flow in the channel which passed close by Debál-púr, these bárání rúds continued to flow also, and their waters were the source of prosperity to the country through which they passed. Now, except after rainy seasons, they contain no water until the period of the inundations, when the overflow from the Hariárió or Nílí reaches them, and they become filled. At the period of the Survey quoted here, the channel of the Sohág passed within three miles and a half of Ajúḏḏán, but now it is over five miles north of it.

What is known as the Súkh Ná'e (the "Sookhnye N." of the maps) is, to all appearances, the old channel of the intermediate branch of the three, into which, after uniting and forming the Hariárió or Nílí, the Bíaḥ and Sutláj again separated "to unite one hundred kuwoh further down and form the Ghárah," as already noticed. It is called by Abú-l-Faţl, and the author of the Khulásatu-t-Tawáríkh, as well as in the Survey record, the Dárḍaḥ, and which, lower down, in the Multán district, is represented by the "N. Bhuttyaree Nullah" of the maps, and is there separated from the old bed of the Bíaḥ by the plateau of waste known as Qhit Dhu'ánt (جبه ذو هوان) 894—the "Flat or Supine Bank" or "Rising Ground." It will be noticed that these "rúds" are now more numerous on the south or left side of the old bed of the Bíaḥ, and between its extreme high bank on the right or north, and the present channel of the Hariárió, Nílí, or Ghárah, as the country, which gives evidence of its comparatively recent formation, slopes down towards the last named river, which has no high bank whatever like the others to the westwards.895 Indeed, the whole extent of country between the high banks of the Ráwí as well as the Bíaḥ, lying on either side of the central ridge or plateau of the Ganjí Bár of the Báří Do-ábah and the present channel of the Ráwí, and the dry channel of the Bíaḥ, is cut up for miles by old channels more or less defined or much obliterated; and the ruins of brick-built buildings, and sites of ruined and abandoned villages, scattered over the whole of the present desolate tracts, show that they must have been once in a flourishing condition, and supported a considerable number of people.

894 From Hindi āhit 'flat,' 'supine,' 'prostrate,' and dhu 'á or dhu 'á 'a bank,' 'mound,' 'rising ground,' 'declivity,' and the like. This plateau or bank appear in one of the best survey maps as "the wilderness of Qhit Duen."

895 See preceding page, note 392.
The "Old Bias Nalla," so called, is without doubt, the remains of the channel of that second branch into which the Biśh in bygone times separated into two branches near the karyah of Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál, as already noticed, long before it had any connection with the Sutlaj; and not long ago water found its way into it. 396

With respect to the two perennial hill streams in the present Jalhandar Do-ábah, which are "supposed to be all one with the upper and lower Sóhág, and the Khán-Wáh canal," I may mention, that, of the streams in that Do-ábah in the last century, when the Survey was made, there were two principal ones, the one named Káli Wa’in or Ba’ín, and the other Dhauli Wa’in or Ba’ín. 397 The latter issuing from the hills of the Siwálkh, and running southwards, passed Sárí’-i-Dakhaní on the south, and, opposite Jalál-ábád in the present Firúz-púr district, three miles south of Dhram Kót, united with the Sutlaj, which since that time has changed its course.

The other is called the Dhauli Wa’in or Ba’ín, which issues from a kól-i-áb or lake west of the ancient town of Do-súháh, 398 and which lake is some six or seven kuroh in circumference, and very deep. It passes Yahyá Nagar on the north, where there is a masonry bridge of burnt

396 See following note 399.

397 In the maps, the lower part of the Káli Wa’in or Ba’ín is styled the "Kálnah River," but, a little higher up it appears as the "Veyn Nuddee"; and the Dhauli Wa’in or Ba’ín, is called "Beyn Nuddee." It was thought, probably, that one river was called the "Veyn" and the other the "Beyn." In the Gazetteers, on the contrary, they are styled the "Káli Ben," and the "Sufed Ben," saíd being merely the Persian of the Hindi name.

Dhauli is from the Sanskrit वेण-'white'—and Ba’ín or Wa’ín is probably from वें—'channel,' 'gully,' 'pipe,' etc., in the same language.

The Dhauli Wa’in or Ba’ín appears to have passed rather nearer to Jalhandar in former times than at present. When Jāsrāth, son of Shaikhá, the Khokhar, rebelled in 524 H. (1421 A.D.), among other doings was to invest Jalhandar; and Zirák Khán, the feudatory, was obliged to shut himself up therein. Jāsrāth took up his position on the banks of the Sarásti, as the Dhauli Wa’in or Ba’ín was then called; and Zirák Khán had to make terms with the rebel, and evacuate the place. After this, Sul’tán Mubárák Sháh had to move against him, as already related. Láhor, at this time, was a heap of ruins; and the Sul’tán on this occasion repaired its citadel, and the walls of the town.

398 Spelt in the original دوسوئه, but Abú-l-Faṣl, in the K’in-i-Akbári, spells it دوسوعه—Deso-ah. It appears in our maps as "Dusooyuh," and "Dusohuh" and in other ways, no two maps being alike, and all wrong!

According to tradition, this place was founded only five thousand years ago, and was the capital of Rájah Bharata of the Mahá-bhárata, in whose service the five Pándavas continued during their thirteen years of banishment while the Kurus were all powerful.
bricks; then to the north of Sultân-pûr, under which place it is also spanned by a brick bridge, and about eleven kuroh farther to the south-west unites with the Bíâh." At this period the Sutlaj passed close to Pindouri, two miles and a half north of Dharam Kot, and which former place is now five miles south of the Sutlaj.

That these two streams had any connection with the "two Sohágs" or the "Khánwah canal," is very improbable. The Káli Ba'ín or Wa'ín may possibly have had some connection with the Katorah canal, or that canal, rather, with the Káli Wa'ín. 899

At a period long anterior to the two accounts of the Bíâh as it flowed just one hundred and two hundred years ago respectively, as mentioned at pages 372 and 373, it was separated from the Sutlaj by a tract of country some sixty-five miles or more in breadth, and the latter river was still a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah. The Bíâh also still flowed through the Sarkâr of Debál-pûr, in the direction of about south-west, to within some twenty-eight miles south-east of the city of Multán; 400 and three or four miles or thereabouts north-west of Din Muhammad kâ Tibbah, and between that village and the Qhak of the Makhdûm-i-Rashîd (the "Mukhdoom Rusheed" of the maps), was joined by the united Wihat, Qhin-âb, and Râwi. 401 It then continued its course more towards the south, passing between Lohráp and Jalâl-pûr, in the south-west corner of the Multán district, but nearer to the former place. From thence it ran to Bâbiyâh (or Pâbiyâh—the Pubberwallâ)" of some of the maps, but it has dis-

899 According to my Survey record, "in going from Debál-pûr towards Kâsûr, after passing Shâm Kôt, half a kuroh north of that place you come to the channel called the Khán-Wâ-hâh, in which, in former times, a stream of water from the Dârys-e Bíâh ran, which passed by Debál-pûr on the south towards the south-west. It was also known as the Bíâh, and now its channel is deserted, and dried up." It was never yet called "Ghâra," except in Gazetteers.

At the present time, instead of being half a kuroh north of Shâm Kôt, the channel is nearly a kuroh, or about a mile and a half, south of Shâm Kôt; and in the several routes across the Do-âbah from Debál-pûr in different directions, there is not one word about any "Kutora Canal," thus showing that it must have been opened since. It may have been some minor channel utilized as a canal.

400 The nearest point of the most recent channel in which the Bíâh flowed, is just eighteen miles south of Multán; and to this point a new canal has been brought from the northwards from the Qhin-âb, which passes close to Sîtalkî Mârî. See note 354, page 352.

401 The country heretofore for many miles northwards of the ghâk (farm or estate of Makhdûm-i-Rashîd and Din Muhammad kâ Tibbah, as far as the termination of the high left bank of the Râwî, and the right high bank of the dry Bíâh, bears undoubted signs of the violent action of water, and shows whereabouts these rivers once united. See Sikah or Us-Sikah of Multan, page 244 and note 192.
appeared from more recent ones), about twenty-nine miles to the eastward of Uchchh, and was situated on its left or south bank, and which place, known as the fort of Bābiyāh, is mentioned in the Qhāh Nāmah, and by the old historians of Sind. After reaching this point, the Biāh, and the other rivers which had united with it, forming the Rūd-i-Sind wo Hind of the old Muḥammadan writers, made a bend a little more to the westward, and united with the Hakrā or Wahindah lower down, about ninety-eight miles farther to the south-south-west, at a place between Baghlah and Šāhīb Gaṛh in the present Bahāwal-pūr State, which place of junction was known in the early times of the writers just referred to, as the Dosh-i-Ab, signifying the “Meeting Place of Waters,” as already recorded.

The Sutlaj flowing in an independent channel, one of those presently to be described, was still a tributary of the Hakrā or Wahindah, and united with it some twenty-five miles above the Dosh-i-Ab, where the other more western rivers joined it.

After this period again, and probably a considerable time after Uchchh was invested by the Mughal Nū-ίn, Mangūtah, and about the time of the great flood in the northern parts of the Panj-āb territory, other great changes took place. The Chin-āb, which previously

402 Boileau mentions this place in his “Personal Narrative.” He says: “Pabarwalī is among the chief towns of the Daooodputrahs.” In another place he says, that, in “going from Khanpur to Bahawulpur, Dilawar is 24 kos, then Mithra 12 kos, after which is Puburwalee 12 kos, and Bahawulpur 12 kos.”

These two names (written differently) both refer to one and the same place, which, I believe, identical with the site of the fort of Pabiāh referred to above, or very near it.

Boileau subsequently mentions a “Powarwala.” He says: “Left Bahawulpur 8 kos E. S. E. over a bad road to the little village of Powarwala, and from thence to Mojgur [Moj Gaṛh] 16 kos.” This can hardly refer to the former place, which he says, was then a considerable town.

Crofton, in his “Plan for the Sirhind Canal,” has Babberwala, 13½ miles about S. W. of Bahāwul-pūr, and near the high bank of the “Sutlaj.” He rightly refers to the old channel of the Sutlaj as it now remains, not to the channel of the Ghārāh, which has no high bank. The whole tract of country for many miles heresabout is of recent formation. See page 386. In former times, likewise, the Biāh took a more direct southerly course after the junction with it of the Chin āb and Rawi east of Maltān.

The place referred to by Crofton is the same as that referred to by Boileau under the name of “Powarwala,” and seems much too far south to be the site of Pabiāh above referred to. See note 192, page 244.

403 What brought about this flood noticed at page 392, is not stated, but it is highly probable that some volcanic action was at work, and this may account for the formation of these Bāṛ and the Thāi, the raised plateaux which I have been describing, and the geological formation of which indicates something of the kind.
flowed in the old channel by Bhatían di Pindi, and some miles east of Qhandan-o't or Qhandani-o't (vul. "Chuneeot"), Khewah, Jhang-i-Sialán, and Shor Kot, as mentioned in the account of that river, changed its course much farther towards the west, passed those places (or the positions where they now stand) on the west instead of the east, and continuing its course in nearly the same direction, flowed into the low-lying ground, a short distance on the west side of Multán. The Ráwi on being deserted by the Qin-áb, became also affected thereby, and although it still continued to unite with the Biáh, it altered its course likewise, but not considerably, to a more westerly direction, nearer Multán, where its old bed, under the name of Súkh Ráwah or Ráwi or "Dried up Ráwah" channel, still exists, as mentioned in the notice of that river. The Biáh, on the other hand, also affected from the same causes as had affected the others, and on account of the Ráwi passing nearer to Multán than before—within about three or four miles, and hence that side of the city is still known as faraf Ráwi, or 'Ráwi Side' to this day—instead of running towards the south to unite with the Hakrá or Wahindah, it took a direction more to the westward—about south-west—and was joined by the Qin-áb and its tributary the What or Jhilam ten miles north-west of Jaláí-púr, and three miles and a half west of Koṭlí, in the south-west corner of the Bári Do-ábah in the Multán district; and the united waters soon after fell into the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, a short distance west of Uchchh. From thence, the Ab-i-Sind kept a more southerly course on its way to the place of junction at the Dosh-i-Ab, already noticed, and respecting which further particulars will be found in the notice of the Hakrá or Wahindah.

These changes were not confined to these two Do-ábahs, we may be certain, and, doubtless, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus and its tributaries farther west were affected likewise, and, probably, the Hakrá also in the opposite direction. See note 307, page 305.

404 Abá-i-Fażl, likewise, states in the A’in-i-Akbarí, that, in the reign of Akbar Bádaháh, the Ab-i-Sind united with the rivers of the Panj-áb, near Uchchh, on the west.

It was just the same in the time of Sultán Násir-ud-Dín, Kábá-jah, ruler of Multán, Uchchh, and Sind, and also at the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, already noticed. The following tradition respecting it, contained in the Life of the famous Afghan saint, the Shaikh, Yabhá-i-Kábír, the Bakhtýár Sherání Afghán. "It is related that the Shaikh, Yabhá-i-Kábír, came to Uchchh from the Afghanístán at the time that the celebrated saint of that place, the Makhdím-i-Jaháníán, was at the height of his fame and veneration for sanctity. On this occasion, it is said, that, when the "rainy season" came round, the Daryá-e Sind, had put forth great violence, in such wise that it reached close up to the city of Uchchh, and swept away several houses. As the people were filled with fear and dismay in consequence, they assembled together, and came to the
Before I give any account of the Sutlaj, the ancient Satadru, it is necessary that I should relate what is stated in the Khulásat-ut-presence of the saint, the Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán, and besought him, saying: "Ah Makhdúm! the Ab-i-Sind has risen so high as to threaten to overwhelm us. Let it not happen, that, with such a sanctified person as yourself among us, we should be swallowed up." The Makhdúm replied: "Whatever may be the will of Almighty God, that we must bow to: and whatever He may be pleased to do, that He will perform, and we have no reason to say "why" or "wherefore."

"This happened on the night of a Friday (our Thursday night: the night is reckoned first in eastern countries, and the day last); and the Makhdúm advised them, saying: "Return to your homes and pray devoutly to God, and supplicate Him, that He would vouchsafe to direct you in your sleep what you should do." When the morning came round, they came to him again, and began to relate what their dreams had been. The Makhdúm said: "I have seen the blessed Prophet in my sleep, and he thus directed me, saying: 'Ah Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán! in a certain place there is a large brick which Mihtar Khwájah Khír baxed for a certain Záhid (Recluse) in the time of Mihtar Músá—on whom be peace!—who used to perform his ablutions on the bank of the Ab-i-Sind, in order that by standing thereon the Záhid's feet might not be soiled by the dirt, and his mind thereby become distracted every time he performed his ablutions. That brick lies buried in a certain place: let it be brought from thence and given to the Khwájah, Yahyá-i-Kábrí, and let him, with his own hands, place it on the bank of the Ab-i-Sind, and Almighty God will cause the river to recede, and no injury will be sustained from it by Úchchh to the end of time.'"

"The Makhdúm having taken the people along with him to the place indicated, set them to excavate; and the brick was found and placed before him. He then requested the Khwájah, Yahyá-i-Kábrí, to take it, saying: "With thine own hands place this brick on the bank of the Ab-i-Sind." He replied: "Oh Makhdúm! let it not be that some other and more worthy Yahyá was intended; for it does not appear that the blessed Muhammad indicated me, his servant, who is not worthy to carry out his command." The Makhdúm answered, saying: "The Blessed Prophet indicated thee to me, saying: 'He is a Rohelah, who has come from the Koh-i-Sulímán, and speaks the Pushto tongue.'" On this, the Khwájah, Yahyá-i-Kábrí, ejaculated "Bi-smil'láh!" took up the brick, and placed it on the spot indicated by the blessed Prophet, and Almighty God caused the Ab-i-Sind to recede; and, Please God! the river will not pass beyond that brick, and no injury will be sustained therefrom by Úchchh to the end of the world."

405 Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" (vol. 1, p. 417) relating the Vedic traditions or legends, says, that this river, which is called the "dreadful Satadru (Satlej), which was full of alligators, etc., derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhman, the Sage, Vásisthá, who on hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvámitra, in the early contests between the Bráhmans and Kahatíriyas, threw himself into it."

In another place (vol. 2, p. 417) it is called "The dreadful Satadru (Satlej) which was full of alligators," etc., and "derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Bráhman brilliant as fire."
Tawárikh, and in that chronicle only, respecting the great flood in the Panj-áb territory. The author was a native of the part adjacent to the tract of country affected by it, and possessed the necessary local knowledge to describe it. The exact year in which this flood took place is not fixed, but it was a long time before the invasion of Hindústán by Amír Timúr. In all probability it happened a short time before Sultán Firúz Sháh commenced opening canals; and the vast changes which this flood appears to have caused, may have been the reason of his bringing canals to his newly founded Firúzah Ḥisár and parts adjacent.

Some great physical disturbance in the mountains bounding the Panj-áb territory on the north "caused the whole of the country of the northern part of that tract to be flooded, in such wise, that the whole extent of country between the rivers Sutlaj and Chin-áb, was overwhelmed and completely swept by this flood, and the whole face of the country changed." The remains of the ancient channels of these rivers, and of the Ráwí and Biáh, which flowed between them, tend to prove this; and the flood appears to have swept along in a south-westerly direction. "When it subsided, the country affected by it, for a long time lay waste and uninhabited, but, subsequently, by degrees, it began to be repopled. As the Mughals from the direction of Balkh and Kábul made incursions into the Panj-áb territory nearly every year, the country did not soon recover: it continued in a state of ruin, and so remained, paying little or no revenue, until the time of Sultán Bahlúl, the Lodí Afghan, and first Pațán who ruled in Hindústán, who made Tattár Khán feudatory of the Láhor province, at which time Rá’e Rám-Diw, the Bhaṭi, farmed the whole Panj-áb [the Láhor province is most likely meant, but such are the author’s words] for nine lakhs of tangahs.406 This Rám-Diw subsequently became a Mussulmán, and this greatly conduced to his rise. In the year 887 H., and 1522 of Bikramájít [1488 A. D.], he, with Tattár Khán’s sanction, founded Paṭiala, the site of which, at that period, was a jangal waste. The first place selected was a pushțah or mound; but the omens regarding this site not being deemed propitious, it was abandoned, and another pushțah chosen, the same on which Paṭialah now stands. The word paṭíaḷah means dunbılāh [signifying ‘after,’ ‘behind,’ etc.], referring to the subsequent selection of its site.”

Others say its name is "Satadru, of the hundred channels," and others again, "Satadru, of the hundred bellies."

These terms may have been applied to it on account of its repeatedly forming new channels.

406 Of silver, equal to about four ṭákhs and a half of rúpţs. See Thomas’s "Pathan Coins," p. 369.
I may mention that the author, as well as being a native of Patīlah, was also a revenue official of the Mughal Empire in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i. 'Alam-gir Bādshāh.

It may be noticed here in connection with this great flood, that Amīr Timūr having reached Bharah on the Jihlam, and defeated the Ŧammīmī, 407 Mubārak Shāh, which place, as the crow flies, is about two hundred and fifty-six miles from Samānah by Lāhor, instead of taking the direct route, he marched towards Multān, one hundred and seventy-six miles in a direct line, or thirty-two miles farther from Samānah than Bharah is. True, his grandson, the Mīrzā, Pir Muḥammad, was at Multān, and wanted help in the shape of horses to enable him to move, but he might have joined his grandfather at Lāhor by Debāl-pūr as easily perhaps as joining him on the Bhāh, or the Amīr might have detached a portion of his army to his assistance; for Amīr Timūr did not go to Multān 408 from Tulambah, but marched to the Bhāh direct. It will be noticed that his grandson also came into the Panj-āb by a southern route, as did Taramshīrīn Khān, to whom Amīr Timūr refers with respect to bridging the united Bhāt or Jihlam and Chin-āb by means of boats. I imagine that the choice of a more southern route, in preference to the direct one by Lāhor, by Amīr Timūr and the others, was, in some way, connected with the desolate state of the Lāhor territory, or northern Panj-āb, occasioned by this great flood, mentioned by the author I have quoted, and for the reasons he gives.

We know from the historian of Amīr Timūr’s campaign, that the Chin-āb passed on the west side of Multān at that time, but what had become of the Sutlaj is not so clear. It is certain that the Rāwī still united with the Bhāh, and passed Multān as heretofore on the east, and that the Bhāh still flowed in its old bed. It is also very evident, that, if Amīr Timūr had had to cross the Sutlaj in going from Ajūdhdhan (afterwards called the Pāk Pattan) to Bhātnair we should have heard of it, especially if it contained its usual volume of water, or its previous volume; for it was unfordable as far up as Lūdhīnāh and Tihārah 409 during the operations against Jasrāth, the Khokhar, in 825 H. (1422 A. D.), 410 until the cold season set in, but it was still unfordable farther

407 The Bānī Ŧammīmī, were powerful in Sind from the time of the ’Arab conquest, several of its members, being governors under the Khalifahs. Mubārak Shāh was one of that ’Arab tribe, still independent some seven centuries later. See note 315, page 324.

408 Moreover, he does not appear to have cared for Multān, for he left no troops to occupy it, and seems simply to have abandoned it to any one who might choose to seize it.

409 Then on the bank of the Sutlaj.

410 See pago 278.
down stream. Amir Timur crossed from Ajuddhan to last day of October, 1398 A.D., shortly after the inundations, and when all the rivers are still high, this troops across in boats, while some swam their makes no mention whatever of any river, or chan between Khališ Kotlah and the Ghag-ghar at Bhaṭ; is not a word respecting the Sutlaj, either in the Timur's expedition, or in Ibn Batūtah's travels. It possible for Amir Timur to have reached Bhaṭnir without having to cross the Sutlaj, yet, as before rem once referred to; and Ibn Batūtah mentions no river Ajuddhan and Uboh-har, but says that that place

411 Not so high, of course, as during the inundations, the usual cold season levels.

413 Pir-i-Khalis of the present time, the "Peer Khalispage 285.

Cunningham in his "Ancient India," pp. 218-219, as "for many centuries the principal ferry of the Satlej," and point the great conquerors Mahmud and Timur, and the great crossed the Satlej." I have stated above that in Ibn Batūtah mention whatever of any Sutlaj; and no river is mentioned Uboh-har; and neither in any history of Mahmud of Ghaznī will such a word as "Satlej" be found, nor Sutlaj either.

In another place, lower down, he says: "the fort is said to have been captured by Sabuktugīn in A.H. 367, or an expedition into the Panjab, and again in A.H. 472, or A. Ghaznavi * * * The present name of Pak-pattan is of a date." See note 330, page 375, and note 420, page 398.

There is no record in early history to show that Sultān "captured" Ajuddhan, because the whole of the Panjāb territ Hakrā, and in which Ajuddhan lay, had been subject to the same seventy years before 472 H. The Tarikh-i-Alfī, quoting that the place (mistaken by Firdūstāb for Ajuddhan) was called one hundred farangs, equal to three hundred miles and more, capital of his dominions in Hind; and that, after obtaining p another stronghold, named Uman was reduced. This the extreme border of Hind, on a high mound, on one side of and near which vessels could be seen passing to and from was a jungal so dense as to exclude the light of day. At the there was scarcely standing room for the troops to attack that the distance here given will suit is near the sea coast, bhaiyāh (vul. "Cambay"), on the coast of Kathiawār.

Sultān Ibrāhīm is also stated to have captured Udah-p "peopled by the descendants of Khurāsānīs transported thither Afrāsīyāb, near which was a reservoir of vast extent, and which were so dense, that the Hindū Rajahs deemed it una...
and cultivation, and yet does not say what river this water came from.
It was, however, the Sutlaj, which then flowed in the Ubob-har channel
and was a tributary of the Hakrá. It was shortly after Amir Timúr's
time that the Sutlaj formed a new channel for itself, now represented
by the great dánḍah or high bank, between the Ubob-har channel and
the present Hariári or Nili. After that again, the rivers Biáh and
Sutlaj, by uniting at Loh, Loh-Wál, or Lohi-Wál,414 above Firúz-púr,
formed the Hariári, Núrní, or Nili, as described by Abú-l-Fažl. This
junction was temporary, however, for they again separated a few miles
east of Debál-púr, and, on this occasion, separated into three branches
the Biáh returning to its old bed again, and the Sutlaj bending south-
wards regaining its former channel likewise, and each regaining there
former names. The third branch, was smaller and insignificant, compared
with the other two, and, under the name of Dánḍah passed between
Ajúdghán and Kháíj Kotlah, almost parallel with the Biáh until about
midway between Lohdráñ and Jalál-púr in the Multán district. Having
thus flowed apart for about one hundred kurol, the Biáh and Sutlaj
again united—415—the Dánḍah had previously united with the latter a
little farther up stream—and losing their names once more, formed the
Ghállú-Gháráh or Gháráh, and finally united with the Sindhú or Ab-i-
Sind near Uchchh-i-Sharíf. The intermediate channel is represented

414 Cunningham ("Ancient India," page 210, etc.), says, that, "for centuries
before the present confluence of the Bhas and Sutlej, the point of junction was
just above Bhao ki Patan, between Kasur and Firuzpur. This junction is mentioned
by Janhar, A.D. 1555," etc. This is a mistake: neither in Stewart's translation
of the work of Johar, the Ewer-bearer of Humáyún Bábásháh, nor in the original, is
there a word about Bhao ki Patan. The word is بَلو (see page 372), which some have
mistaken for بَلو—without a point thus—بَلو. All that Johar says (I quote Stewart's
translation here, because it is that which Cunningham follows) is (page 112): "The
chiefs that had been sent to Jallindhar having crossed the Sutlej, and passed
through Machwareh [this is how Stewart writes مچھی ورہ], entered the district
of Sirhind [Sahirind he means];" and on the next page, that, "Information having
been brought to the king that Omer Khán Ghicker [Ghakur], having collected a
very large force at Firuzpur [Firúz-púr], which is situated at the junction of the
Beyáh and Sutlej rivers." There is nothing more except, that, "about this time
the Afgháns marked out a ford across the Sutlej opposite the town of Machwareh
• • • But Byram Khán crossed the river by the very ford the Afgháns had marked
out • • • Accordingly the king crossed the Sutlej at Machwareh, and joined the
army at Sirhind," etc.

Now "Booh," as it appears in the maps, and is what has been mistaken by
Cunningham for Bhao, is twenty-three miles above Máchhi Wárah, and a couple of
miles north-west of Hari ke Patan; a few miles north-east of which, higher up still
the confluence took place in 1874. See note 244, page 278.

415 See page 372.
now by what is called the Sukh Nā‘e or “Dry Stream,” which flowed a little west of Lohdrā, but subsequently shifted nearer towards Jalāl-pūr, a short distance farther west. The channel called “Nulla Biās” in the maps, a little east of Lúdhiān, appears to have been connected with it.

The surface of the country south of the banks of the Sutlaj—I refer to it before its junction with the Biāh—is a dead flat, and throughout the Firūz-pūr district, and farther south into Sind, without a hillock of any kind until the sand hills of the registán or sandy desert are reached, with the exception of a few dreary looking sand hills to the south and south west, the remains probably of some high bank or dāndah of ancient times. It also slopes towards the south and south-west, but more so in the latter direction, through which part the Hariári, Machhú-Wáh, Nilí, or Ghárah now flows, from about 727 feet above sea-level at Dullo-Wálah to 545 feet near Pir-i-Kháliś; 340 at the junction of the Ghárah with the Chin-áb; and 335 at the junction of the Panch Nad or Panjáb with the Ab-i-Sind or Indus.

The following is the Survey record account of the Sutlaj, as it flowed in the last century, and its subsequent junction with the Biāh.

“The Sutlaj, properly called Sutláj (سلطان), but, from constant use, Sutlaj (سلطان), flows out of the Kohistán of Bhūtan (بھوتن), and from the kōḥ of Sir Khānḍ and Kahlūr, the chief place of which is Biláś-pūr. One bank lies in Hindústán, and the other in the Panjáb territory. After issuing from the hills it separates into two branches; and, having passed below Makho-Wál and Kirát-pūr, the branches again unite near Rúḥ-paṛ (“Rooper,” “Ropar,” and “Roopúr” of the maps and Gazetteers). After this, it passes under Bahlúl-pūr (“Bhilolpoor” of the maps), Máchhí-Wáḥ, Lúduiānāh, and Tihárah, and near the village of Loh-Wál (لہو وہل), or Lohí-Wál (لوہی وہل), a dependency of Haibat-pūr Paṭi, unites with the Biāh. Both rivers then lose their names, and the united streams are known as the Machhú-Wáḥ (صیما وہ) and Hariári [Abú-l-Faql’s “Harihári.”] They again separate into two branches, and after flowing separately for about one hundred

416 This is not the Sukh Nā‘e referred to at page 386. “Dry Channel,” as the words mean in the original, are applicable to any dried up channel or water course, hence, if not explained, so many similarly styled might cause confusion.

417 From this it appears that the Sukh Nā‘e and Sukh Biāh, had already ceased to be perennial streams. We must not presume, however, to assume that those two branches flowed precisely then as now, because the river, as now constituted, never runs exactly in the same course two years following, for the change is constant. There are the remains of an old branch still known as the Hariári, but nearly obliterated, which ran south to the Sutlaj when it flowed in what is now known as the Dāndah, as mentioned at page 372. It is again noticed farther on.
kuroh they re-unite. In the part where this fresh junction takes place, in the rainy season, on occasion of the slightest swell, the river overflows its banks, and the waters spread out for a distance of several kuroh on either side—for the banks are low and consist of soft, alluvial earth—fertilizing the country thereby. In this part the united stream is known to the people as the Ghallú-Ghárah, or Ghárah, and Nilí; and the tract of country along its banks on either side is known as the Qhhoṭi Kachchhi. Continuing its course, and having passed Uchohh-i-Sharif, just below it, it unites with the Ab-i-Sind."

Such was the united river towards the close of the last century, yet what changes have we here, to judge from the present?

Without noticing the turns and windings of the Sutlaj in former times north of its present channel more than I have done, which are

418 The author of the article on the "Lost River" in the "Calcutta Review," previously noticed, states (page 13), that "in the Ain-i-Akbari, the united Sutlej and Biyás is said (A. D. 1596) to flow in four streams, which meet near Multán. Of the names given Har, Hari, Nurnai, and Dhund, the latter is the only one known at present."

This is a great mistake: the A'in-i-Akbari contains nothing of this kind, as may be seen from the original text. The writer must have seen some statement of this kind, in Gladwin's translation perhaps; for the account in the original coincides precisely with what I have mentioned at page 296, that the united river is known by those three names, not that there are three rivers, much less four.

Perhaps Rennell obtained his four streams from the same source. See page 405.

The "Calcutta Review" writer also states, that, "the two rivers Sutlej and Biyás did not meet (in Arrian and Strabo's days) until they reached the Rann of Kach." I do not think any of these names will be found mentioned by the writers referred to.

419 Kachchh—not "Kach"—means silt or alluvium thrown up and left by water, and rivers, after inundations. The name of the level tract north and northwest of Shikár-púr, and the territory on the sea coast, called Kachchh and Kachchh-Bhuj, is derived from the same word, referring to their original formation. The banks of a river where such deposits are left, are called; and "both banks of the Ghárah and Hariári or Nilí, for a distance of about eighty kuroh or more in length," according to the Survey record above referred to, "with a breadth of from five to six kuroh, is called Qhhoṭi Kachchhi. The cultivation of this tract depends on the inundations of the river. On the southern bank is some small extent of jangal, and beyond, the chul or desert. On the northern bank, beyond the kachchh of the Nili Bár, the jangal is so dense that a horseman cannot get through it, and even a man on foot penetrates it with great difficulty. Each beshah (forest) has a separate name, one of which is Nekálí Kánd; and in time of necessity, the people, who are Jats, take shelter in them." In the Sanskrit, खख ख means 'bush,' 'copse' and the like. See note 360, page 363. The northern side of this alluvial tract is also known as the Shamáli Kachchhí Doábh.
not material to the present subject, its old bed— that is to say, the
channel last abandoned before it had anything to do with the Biáh, and
when it was a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah—can be distinctly
traced downwards to Sind by its distinct and well marked high bank
or danáh, from Tihárah to Dharm Koñ, Koñ-i-Isá Kháñ, where it bends
towards the south-west, passing near Moodí (" Moodki " of the maps)
on the east, then by Farid Koñ, north and west of Makhtí-sar, close
to Ráta Khírah on the west, Bag-sar, about mid-way between Uboh-
har and Fágil ká, thirteen miles south-south-east of Baháwal Gárh, and
twenty-three miles south of Ajúdhán or Patton-i-Panj-áb, or the Pák

420 Cunningham (" Ancient India," page 217) inform us that "Debalpur was
the capital of the northern Panjáb," and he indentifies it " with the Daidala of
Ptolemy which was on the " Sutléj [sic] to the south of Labokla and Amaktaís, or
Lahor and Ambakápl." In one of his Arch. Rep. p. 140, he had “ identified Daidala
with Dehlí."

I beg to observe that Debál-púr never yet stood on the banks of the Sutlaj, nor
anything near it. The Sutlaj has repeatedly inclined from east to west, but never
yet from west to east. It never approached farther west than where it united with
the Biáh, when, losing their respective names they became the Machhú-Wáh,
Hariári, Níl, or Ghárah (in the lower half of its course). That river even now, in
no place is less than eighteen miles from Debál-púr, and that is to the south-east.
In another place he says: "It seems highly probable, therefore, that he [Perdikkas] despatched by Alexander to the east of the Ravi, may have carried the Greek arms
to Ajúdhán on the banks of the Sutléj, from which his march would have been
along the course of that river by Ludhan, Mainse, Kahor, and Lodhrán to Alexan-
der's camp at Uchh."

Only, the Sutlaj never yet flowed by Ajúdhán (see following note 421),
which is not on the Sutlaj's banks and never was; and it is only since the end
of the last century, when the Biáh and Sutlaj by uniting formed a new river,
referred to above, that the Sutlaj approached within twenty-four miles of Ajú-
dhán, and only a century or two before was more than forty miles east of it.
When the Biáh and Sutlaj, after temporarily uniting at Loh Wál, formed the
Hariári or Núrú of Abú-l-Fazl, as mentioned at page 372, and separated into three
branches, the lesser, and middle stream of the three, flowed some miles past
Ajúdhán on the east, and is represented by the Sákhkh Ná'e. The other two were
the Biáh, which continued to flow in its own channel, while the Sutlaj turned south
and re-entered its old channel represented by the danáh or high bank. All this,
however, happened in very recent times. The " carrying of the Greek arms to
Ajúdhán," and " Alexander's camp at Uchh " depends upon whether these places
existed twenty-three centuries ago, and certainly the rivers did not flow then as
now, nor anything like it. The latest great change in the courses of these two
rivers, as before noticed, took place near the close of the last century; and at page
217 of his book, Cunningham says himself, that " the Satléj suddenly changed its
course in 1796," but, at page 221, he says " in 1790." It was not the Sutlaj only,
for the Biáh did the same.

However, there is one great obstruction to the " Greek arms," being " carried
to Ajúdhán " and Debál-púr also, as may be seen in note 390, page 381. All ancient
Pattan.\footnote{431} From thence to within four miles south-south-east of Mubarak-pur, about two miles and a half south of the Got of writers agree, I believe, that the Hyphasis represents the Biáh, and the Sutlaj the Zaradrus, Hesudrus, or Satadru, even by Cunningham's own statements. As Alexander's troops mutinied on the banks of the Hyphasis, and refused to cross, and he had to turn back without crossing it, how could the "Greek arms" have been "carried to Ajudhan," which was a considerable distance east and beyond that river? I suppose it is not intended to assert that the Biáh and Sutlaj then united at "Bhao ki patan?" See also note 345, page 343, and preceding note 418, page 397.

\footnote{431} In the Hindi dialect there are two words, which in the Arabic character in which Urdu is written, are something alike, but, in pronunciation and in signification they are very different, namely, pafan and pattan. The former means a ferry and the latter a town. Out of these words a sad mistake has been made in consequence of not knowing the difference, and jumping at conclusions.

Cunningham in his "Ancient India," page 219, states, that "Ajudhan, or Pák Pattan" was for centuries the principal ferry of the Sutlaj;" and is "recognized as one of the towns of the people"—says one of the Panjab Gazetteers—"variously mentioned by Alexander's historians as Ohydrake [sic], Sydrakse, Sudrakse, Surakousse and Hydarkse," and then it adds: "It is from this Farid-ud-din, familiarly and better known as Bâba Farid, that the name Pák Pattan, or "ferry of the pure one," is ascribed." Then, in another place, after all this, it is stated, that, "it is from a ferry over the Bukarat-naílá that Pák Pattan derives its name," and which náílá is said to pass "close to Pák Pattan." In another place in the same "Gazetteer," we find the following: "The truth of the story is doubtful. The name may have been changed to Pák Pattan on account of a ferry over the Bishdratwa, but the town was known as Ajudhan in Tamerlane's time. In the Afn-i-Akbarí it is called simply pattan or "the ferry." • • • In fact Pák Pattan means simply the "holy pattan." Such is a specimen of "Gazetteer" history.

It so happens that the place is called the Pattan-i-Panj-áb, as well as the Pák Pattan, its old name, that is to say its original name, being Ajúdáhán. It is mentioned in the Afn-i-Akbarí as the chief town of one of the mahállás of the Debal-púr sarkár of the Múltán súbah, and one of ten then situated in the Bís Jalhandar Do-ábah of that sarkár, that is, between the Biáh and the Sutlaj when they flowed separately, but not when united into one. This is explained in the account of the rivers at page 372.

It is not called the Pák Pattan or the Pattan-i-Panj-áb on account of any ferry whatever, much less a ferry over the Sutlaj, because the Sutlaj never yet flowed nearer to it than it does at present; while in the last century, it was twenty-four miles east of it, and before that again, it was upwards of forty miles, and in the time of the Shaikh still farther off. Pattan as I have said before means 'a town,' and pafan 'a ferry,' and in the Afn-i-Akbarí it is the former word, and not explained as "the ferry;" and, in the Akbar Námah, it is called the Pattan-i-Panj-áb, but Blochmann, who had no local knowledge, also mistook "पातन" for "पाटन". The place is mentioned by several historians as "the Pák Pattan" or "Holy Town," on account of its having been the residence and burial place of the Sultán-uz-Zahidán, Faríd-ul-Millat wa ud-Din, Ganji-Shakar, those being his Musalmán designations, not
Ká'im Kháń, the Ra'ís, and at about the same distance south of Kháir-púr in the Baháwal-púr state, where it makes a sharp bend towards the south for about twelve or thirteen miles, and indicating the course it once took in the direction of Moj Gárh towards the Hakrá or Wahindah. After this it turns nearly due west again, and reaches within about three or four miles of the town of Baháwal-púr. From this point again it makes a sharp bend to the south, showing another direction which it formerly took towards the Hakrá in the direction of Dín Gárh or Trehárá, where the action of water is plainly indicated in the direction of that place, situated on the south bank of the last named river channel. After a few more bends of minor importance, it reaches within about six miles south of Aḥmád-púr, where the land slopes gradually from the banks of the present Gháráh, near its junction with the Chin-áb, towards the channel of the Hakrá, after which the old Sutláj channel runs in a south-westerly direction towards Kháir Gárh, Derali, Chaudará, Pirúzah, Kháń-púr, Koṭ-i-Sambal (I wonder this has not been "identified" as the capital of the dominions of Sambus), and Noh-Shahrah, which places it passes within from eight to three miles or less on the east. After this, the traces of this last bed in which

his simple name, viz., "The Sultán of Recluses, the Incomparable or Unique of the Faith and of Religion, the Hoard of Sugar, i.e., Eloquence." His father's names were Jalál-ud-Dín Sulimán, who was descended from Farrúkh Sháh (a Sayyid not a King), Kábuli, and the saint himself was brought up at Kúţub-Wál, a dependency of Multán. According to all chroniclers the saint died on Saturday, the 5th of Muḥarram, 668 H. (4th September, 1269 A. D.), just ten years after the "Tabáţát-i-Nāširī" was completed by its author.

Ajúddhán or "the Pák Pattan," from the time the Sikhs became predominant in these parts, went rapidly to ruin. At the time of the Survey near the close of the last century, it is thus described:—

"Ajúddhán is an ancient place situated on a high mound, in such wise that it is visible for a distance of two or three kúroh. Before the arrival of the Sultán-uz-Záhidán, it was the abode of Jogís and other Hindú recluses. After the saint had been buried there, it became known as the Pák Pattan—Holy Town—and the shrine is situated near the south side of the parapet, consisting of a high domed building, a large masjíd, and a rest-house for travellers. The interior domed building over the tomb itself is about three times the stature of a man in height, and has two entrances. Within are two tombs, one that of the saint, and the other that of his eldest son, buried near on the west side of his father. The entrance on the south side is called the Bihistí Darwázah, which is only opened on the 6th of Muḥarram [the day following the anniversary of his death], in the evening, which is the time for making offerings at the shrine, and is kept open for three watches. A vast concourse of people assemble from far and near, and pass through this Bihistí entrance; and whoever does so, it is said, on that person the fire of hell has no effect." The writer observes, in the MS., that "such is exceedingly easy for the Almighty to effect, if He would but do so."
the Sutlaj flowed independently to unite with the Hakrā becomes mixed up with the channels of that river, the whole country for several miles between Khán-pùr and Khair Garh being seamed with channels and banks formed by the action of water. Indeed, a space of some forty miles to within a short distance of Fath Garh or Nowá Koţ farther east, and farther south-west into Sind, is literally covered with these traces of the rivers Sutlaj and Hakrā until they again unite so to say, between Khán-pùr and Khair Garh; and the dry channel of the latter river, which appears in the maps as the "broad, dry bed of the Rainea Nullah or Wahind," becomes, near Baghlah and Sáhib Garh, more distinctly defined, and near which, at the Došt-i-Ab, or "Meeting Place of Waters," in ancient times, the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind (which it had joined above Uphoh), united with the Hakrā, and the Mihrán of Sind was formed.

"Likewise, from the eastward of the Burj-i-Bakhho Ját (the "Pk Boorj," and "Bicha Boorj" of the maps, apparently) on the way to Hinđon, another old bed exists, which is also said to have once been the bed of the Sutlaj; while at Ráhún, farther north, close to which place it formerly ran, and now four miles north of the present channel, there is a large lake three or four kuroh in length, which, it is stated by the people of these parts, was once part of the old bed of the Sutlaj."

"The erection of this domed chamber and entrance is ascribed to the saint, Niğám-ud-Dîn, Alymad, the Budá‘ání, and it is said, that he repeated the whole of the Kur‘án over every brick of which it was built. Close to the Bihishti entrance, on the east side, there are about 2,000 or 3,000 bricks, which were left after the completion of the dome, and these were subsequently used in the erection of a sort of ghahiftera [a raised platform or seat] about the height of a man. The east entrance to the shrine is kept open at all times for people to pass to and fro. It is stated, that, when Sultan Ghiyás-ud-Dîn, Tughlaq Sháh, made a pilgrimage to the shrine, he was desirous of removing the domed building over the tomb, and, erecting another, but the saint having appeared to him in a dream forbidding it, he desisted, and, instead, erected another lofty one of bricks and mortar, near by on the east side. In that building eleven descendants of the saint are buried, who succeeded to his prayer-carpet. The above-mentioned Bádsháh, likewise, founded a large masjid on the west side of the shrine of the saint; and between it and the masjid, there is a small chamber or cell roofed with wood, containing two tombs and a rest-house for travellers to the south, adjoining the walls of the fort. All these buildings can be seen from the south for a distance of three or four kuroh.

"The shrine of Hasrat, Sháh Badr, who was the son-in-law, and disciple of the saint, the Shaikh, the Faríd-ul-Millat-wa-nd-Dîn, is situated adjoining the Shahidi Darwázah, and is covered with a brick-built dome. Formerly, the town was not enclosed within walls, but in the year 1190 H. (1776 A. D.), Pir Subáhn, erected a wall all round of kiln-burnt brick, in which were five gateways, and three
This was the old channel of the river when it united with the Biáh at Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál, and its right or northern bank is well defined. After passing close under Ráhún it winds considerably, runs close under Filûr, and opposite Áli-Wál the river now flows close to this old bank; but the old bank here turns suddenly towards the north for some seven miles, then westwards by Mahúd-púr and Sháh Koṭ to Loh-Wál or Lohí-Wál ("Loheean" of the maps), where the junction with the Biáh formerly took place, and then turns south-west towards the other old channel, previously described, by Tiháraḥ, Dharm Koṭ and Jiráh.

Thus it will be seen, that, before the junction with the Biáh, the Sutlaj hereabouts had flowed at different times between these two banks over a tract of country considerably depressed, in some places ten or twelve miles broad, and sixteen in its broadest parts, and which

posterns. The south gate, adjoining the Khán-káh of the saint, is named the Darwáza-i-Manj-i-Dárýá [that is, literally, towards the river wave or surge—the inundation side—from whence it could be seen, probably—but it did not follow that the Hariári or Nílī ever reached within many miles of it], and opens on high ground; the Sháhidí Darwázhá on the south-east side, on level ground; the Láhori Darwázhá on the east side, also on level ground; the Móri Darwázhá on the north-west, at the angle of the wall, opening on a height; and the Ráhímán Darwázhá on the west side, on high ground. This gate is also known as the Multáni Darwázhá. A short distance outside this gateway to the west, there are a few ancient buildings, and it is said that these formed the property of the saint, and are now in ruins. A little farther west again is the shrine of 'Azíz, Makkáh-i [that is, of Makkah] who, it is asserted, was one of the companions of the prophet, Múhammad, who was here buried. It is a grave plastered over with mud mortar, but, is enclosed within brick walls; and south of it is a large masjíd, founded by Sultán Ghíyáś-ud-Dín, Taqíláq Shíh.” In another place it is stated, that, “To the north of the hijr there is a great lake, three or four kuroh long and nearly as broad. The place was completely ruined by the famine of 1197 H. (A. D. 1783.)”

This Sultán, before he came to the throne, as Ghází Malik, held the sif of Debál-púr, to which Ajúdhan belonged. He came to the throne of Delhi in 720 H. (1320 A. D.). The town was then known as “the Pák Pattan,” (this is a little before “the reign of Akbar”), as well as Ajúdhan. Ábú-l-Faqr, in the Akbár Námah, states, that, in 979 H. (1571-72 A. D.), while at Ajmír, Akbar Bádsháh determined to proceed to Nág-áwár and the adjacent parts, and from thence to go and visit the shrine of the Shaikh Faríd, at the Pattan-i-Panjáb. He accordingly went; and on the way thither, at the Tal-wándí of 'Alá-ud-Dín, near the river, which in this tract of country they call the Hariári, he hunted the wild ass in the zabr and the regisrán, that is, the open uncultivated country—the wilderness, so to say—and the sandy desert. He killed thirteen wild asses; and was, at times, distressed for want of water. If this Tal-wándí could be correctly identified, which at this lapse of time would be very difficult, it would throw some light upon his ronte, and also on the course of the river Sutlaj at that period. See note 236, page 273.
depression is about twenty-five feet below the level of this part of the district.

In the space between these high banks there is another old channel, running in this great depression near the southern high bank here referred to, which runs a little north of west from near Tihárah, and with a very winding course for some twenty-six miles. It then bends more towards the south-west, passes close to Firúz-púr, and from thence on to within about two miles and a half of Khá’e, and almost parallel to the present course of the Hariári or Nílî, but about five miles east of it, down to within seven and a half miles of Fázil ká, when it unites with the present channel. The northern part of this channel in the Firúz-púr district, is what is referred to by Mr. E. L. Brandeth, C. S., in his Settlement Report of that district, dated 1854, under the name of “Sukha Nai” —Súkhá Ná’e—Dry Channel—but the lower part, where it turns to the south-west from Firúz-púr, and passes between Bázid-púr and Khá’e, is what he also refers to, as far as the Firúz-púr district extends, as “a still lower danda marking a later river course.” The ancient channel of the Sutlaj farther east he distinguishes from this one, as the “great danda,” which is “very strongly marked” in the Firúz-púr district.

This “lower” or lesser “danda” evidently marks the later channel in which the united streams flowed after their first junction, when they became the Machhú-Wáh, Hariári, or Nílî, and when, after running in one channel for about twelve kuroh or twenty-one miles, they again separated, as previously described, the Bihá returning to its old channel and retaining its old name; while the other turned southwards into the low sandy tract between the ancient bed of the Sutlaj and the present Hariári or Nílî, and cut this intermediate channel, which retained the latter names. The soil along this intermediate bank or lower dánáh, is sandy, and covered with sand hillocks. It will also be noticed that part of this intermediate channel

433 Mr. Brandeth says: “There is a curious old channel, called the Sukha Nai, or “dry channel,” between the new and the old beds of the river [Sutlaj], which has its origin near Tihárah, whence it runs in a very serpentine course along the whole length of the district to near Mandot. Notwithstanding its winding course, the banks of the channel are so regularly formed as to have induced many to think it entirely artificial [just like the Sihá or Sídhú Ná’e mentioned at page 370]. More probably, however, it was originally a natural water-course, afterwards shaped into a canal. Its breadth is 100 feet, and its depth 7 or 8 feet. As recently as forty years ago, it is stated that some little water flowed into it, but since then it has remained quite dry.”

Parts of this old channel have since been utilized for inundation canals.

435 The whole tract of country around, near the present place of junction of the Bihá and Sutlaj, is seamed with old channels of the latter river, and abandoned
was, in one part, intersected by the present river, and that it branches off from it towards the south, about fifteen miles south of Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan, between Ialuh ká and Ghawi kí, and which branch, even in the maps which miscall the river the Sutlaj, still appears as the “Hariāri.” It runs almost parallel to the present river for about thirty-two miles or more, passing within one mile of Kásim ká on the south, and down to near Muhár and Jhindú ká Shahr, where it inclines towards the south in the direction of Mubárák-púr, and its traces are lost in the remains of the old channel of the Sutlaj or great dandah.

We learn from the Memoirs of that extraordinary man, George Thomas, that the Sutlaj in his time [1798] “flowed towards the south from near Firúz-púr, in the channel called the Danda or high bank of the Sutlaj;” and I fully believe, that the intermediate channel above noticed, and mentioned by Mr. Brandeth as a “lower danda,” is what is referred to in his “Memoirs.”

Towards the close of the last century, the river ceased to flow in this channel, consequent on both the Biáh and Sutlaj finally uniting at Harí ke Pațán, abandoning altogether their former channels, and forming the Hariári, Níl, or Ghárah as it at present flows. In this instance, the action of the Biáh was contrary to that of all the other rivers of this part, which, in the course of ages, had inclined from east to west. The Biáh, however, could not do as the others had done, because the country from its right high bank, which rises in places, some forty feet above the tract over which it had flowed from time to time, slopes gradually down towards the channel of the now united Biáh and Sutlaj; and the fact that, around Ajúḍḍhan or the Pák Pattan, the country is some thirty feet or more above the bed of the united rivers, this, together with the gradual rise of the country towards the west, prevented, in the same manner, the Sutlaj from inclining farther westwards.

sites show how often, from its continual changes, the inhabitants have had to abandon their homes and move elsewhere.

The sandy soil and hillocks along the banks of the rivers of these parts are known by the general term of sothrah.

All the old sites lying along the course of the dry channel of the Sutlaj, the “great dandah” described at page 398, which passes by Makhti-sar, are situated on mounds.

484 It is about fifteen miles east of Luḍhan, and nine miles north of Mubárák-púr. The “Jhidu ka Sheher” of the maps.

485 According to the map given in the Memoirs of George Thomas, the channel referred to therein, is still farther east than the Uboh-har channel, but the mistake is apparent.

486 If the Sutlaj had inclined westwards farther upstream, then it might have cut a channel for itself in much lower ground, and have found its way into the
Another old channel of the Sutlaj requires to be noticed here, which runs still farther east than this āndāh. It commences a little to the west of Rūh-pār, from whence it takes a south-westerly course, passes within a short distance of “Chumkour” (six miles east of Bahūl-pūr) and “Kuhralla” of the maps, and disappears after a distance of twenty-five miles. Of this ancient channel of the Sutlaj, either the “Eastern Nyewal,” or the “Dulwali Nyewal” of the maps, is the continuation. More on this subject will be found in the account of the Hakrā or Wahindah farther on.

Rennell, in his “Memoir of a Map of Hindooostan,” published in 1793, gives a map of the “countries between Delhi and Candahar;” and he makes the Hariārī, under the name of “Kerāh” (he meant the Ghārāh, no doubt) turn southwards between Firūz-pūr and Khār, which, after passing close to Ajūddhan (which it never did) on the east, fifteen miles beyond it, throws off a branch more to the westward which re-unites with the Biāh. Lower down still, another branch (making four instead of three), which is made to unite with the previous one near Kot Ḍabūlah; while the Sutlaj under the name of “Dena” (for āndāh) is made to bend more towards the west below Ajūddhan. This likewise, south of Multān, is made to unite again old bed of the Biāh. Indeed, there is a tradition that it did make the attempt near Firūz-pūr, but, meeting with some obstruction, turned aside again. There is no doubt but that water might be again brought into the bed of the old Biāh, by a cut higher up stream.

Cunningham (“Ancient India”) makes the “old Bias” pass some sixteen miles west of Debal-pūr, but the extreme right high bank, beyond which it was physically impossible it could pass, is nowhere more than eleven miles north-west of Debal-pūr; and the old bed, that is, the old bed now traceable, and the last in it which flowed independently before uniting with the Sultaj in the last century, is less than five miles distant from Debal-pūr. He places the old bed in the middle of the tract of country between his Hyphasis, and Zaradrus, or Heudrus, or Satadrus; for he has all these names, while the most recent channel of the Sultaj before its junction with the Biāh, called the “Danda” in our maps, and which I have described previously, is called the “old Sutlaj.” I should call it the “young” Sutlaj, because it is the most recent, and after its junction with the Biāh it was no more the Sultaj. I conceive that in whatever channel it might have flowed it was still the “Zaradrus, or Heudrus, or Satadrus,” since it would not change its name with taking to a new channel as long as it flowed independently. See last paragraph of note 420, p. 308, note 390, page 381, and note 345, page 348.

Alexander’s march is traced, in Cunningham’s work, by “Kot Kamālia, Tulanba, and Multan;” and from thence downwards, his route is made to follow the banks of the rivers as they at present flow; as likewise Hwen Thsang’s route from Shor Kot along the banks of the Chīn-āb, as it at present flows, by “Multan, Uch, and Mithan-kot,” as though they had never altered for twenty-two centuries, and so on into Sind to Karāchī.
with the Biáh, and to form one river under the name of "Galongara" or "Setleje" (here making the usual mistake), which afterwards unites with the "Indus or Sinde," at "Veh," a place not known (at present certainly, and I cannot imagine from whence he obtained it), which he places a short distance north-west of Sit-púr, and thirty-five miles below Uchh; while the Chin-áb and its tributaries, forming the Panch Nad or Panj-áb, are made to run close under the walls of Multán on the west side, which it never did. He had heard of the facts respecting the different rivers as they then flowed, and which I have been here relating, but, unfortunately, he possessed not the local knowledge necessary, neither had he the benefit of actual surveys to go by, nor history to guide him, except the History of Timúr contained in P. de la Croix’s work, and therefore, he is deserving of much credit for what he was able to accomplish from reports. The high bank or danḏah, marking the last independent channel of the Sutlaj appears in his map as the "Chalescouteli Hills," but they are only made to commence a little east of Ajúḏḏáhán, and are carried down towards Sind. Of course he derived this also from P. de la Croix, who says, that Amir Timúr "crossed the river Dena, and encamped on the hill of Chalescouteli," ten miles distant from Adjoudan." Then, aware of the existence of the well-defined high bank or great danḏah, Rennell, at once appears to have converted it into the "Chalescouteli" range of hills, because Khálíṣ Koṯláh, the Pir-i-Khálîṣ of the present time, lay in that direction. The danḏah is eighteen miles south-east of Ajúḏḏáhán, but P. de la Croix, in his extracts from the Zafúr Námah, makes a kuroh a mile only, while it is equal to a mile and three quarters.

Lower down again than the Firúz-púr district, both in the Ghugherah or Montgomery, and Multán districts, the Mähhu-Wáḥ, Hariári, Nílí, or Gháráh has no high or defined bank, like that represented by the danḏah or high bank of the Sutlaj, and the whole tract of country, extending from the banks of the Hariári, Nílí, or Gháráh to the commencement of the high plateau marking the extreme point reached by the Biáh before it deserted its old channel, rises but very slightly, and is of comparative recent formation.

Of late years this river has set against the extreme southern point of the Ghugherah district, and the inundations have decreased considerably. This last, however, may be caused by the opening of new canals and utilizing old ones, and a greater expenditure of water for irrigation purposes, consequent on a settled government. The bank on one side is abrupt in many places, but it is not more than from ten

---

423 See page 285.
to twelve feet above the cold weather level of the stream, which overflows its banks during the inundation season. In the lower part of its course, in many places in the Multán district, the bank is still lower, and the bed is full of quicksands. Sometimes, after inundations, it leaves a deposit of sand upon such land as its waters have covered, thereby spoiling them, and leaving such tracts a desert; and this it has done, upon all occasions, in every part it has deserted from time to time in its inclination from east to west, as shown by its old channels farther east, presently to be described.

Just to show some of the changes in the course of the Sutlaj, and, also of the Hariári, Níli, or Gháráh (when the Biáh and the Sutlaj lost their former names after uniting), in less than a century, I will give a few extracts, as illustrations, from the Survey record. At that period—when the Survey was made—in going from Jiráh (the "Zeera" of the maps) towards Debál-púr by way of Bázid-púr, six miles south-eastwards of Firúz-púr, "the Sutlaj," it states, "lies about half a kuroh on the right hand (that is, north-west), and the kášba of Firúz-púr about four kuroh, also on the right hand. The Sutlaj having passed from Bázid-púr another three or four kuroh to the north-north-west, unites with the Biáh, and receives the name of Maqúbú-Wáh and Hariári.

"In going from the same Jiráh, by Gádi-Wálah, Phíro ki, 'Al-ípúr and Bhák or Bahák, having proceeded four kuroh to the north-north-west, the road winding considerably, and through much jangal, you reach the Sutlaj, and crossing it by boat from the point called Patán-i-Burhán to the other side, half a kuroh from the bank, is Mullá-Wálah, in the Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah. * * * Previous to the time of this Survey the Sutlaj used to flow north of Mullá-Wálah; and the south bank of the river the people call the Dandá or Dandah."

Mullá-Wálah is the "Moolanwala" of the maps, which is now thrown out of the Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah, and is fourteen miles from the nearest point in it. It forms part of the Jiráh district of Firúz-púr at present, but, at the time here referred to, it lay in the Bist-Jalhandar Do-ábah, and Firúz-púr lay Berún-i-Punčh Nád, as it is termed, that is, without the area of the five rivers—extra Panj-áb—as it is at present.

Again: "In going from Baháwal-púr to the Goṭ of Ká'im Khán, Ra'íís, leaving Baháwal-púr, you go one kuroh north-east and reach the Kadíhi river or Khán-Wá-han,339 which, coming from the right

339 The term Wá-han or Wá-hah, is derived from the Sanskrit वाह, 'run, 'flow,' 'glide,' etc., and is the common termination to names of water-cuts, canals, and streams utilized as such, both in the Panj-áb and in Sínd, but the word is invariably
hand, and passing near Ucheh, unites with the Ghárah. From the Kadhhi two kuroh in the same direction is Ratání ["Rotani" of the large scale Revenue Survey map], and the Nili daryá [river] lies three kuroh on the left hand. The Sutlaj and Bhiah united in one channel, the people of this part call Hariári, Nili, and lower down, Ghárah and Ghallú-Ghárah. From Ratání you go another three kuroh to Múhi-Wál ki Ţathí and thence three kuroh more in the same direction to Bhakhi ká Dherá ["Bhakidera" of the maps]. After this, going another three kuroh in the same direction as before, you reach the Kadhhi or Khán-Wáhan again. * * * Passing by Ichrání, you come to Khair-púr, a large kaşbah, the place of residence of 'Umar Khán, Kahrání, the Dá'úd-pútrah, who pays allegiance to Baháwal Khán. The Nili or Hariári lies five kuroh from it on the left hand, and the Rúd-i-Kadhhi or Khán-Wá-han passes on the west side, under the walls of the kaşbah." Then, going by Ahmad Sháh, now Aḩmad-púr, another village belonging to 'Umar Khán, and by Shaikh-Wá-han, where is the famous shrine, the Goţ-i-Ká'im Khán, Ra'ís, is reached, where resides, Ká'im Khán, the Ra'ís. The Kadhhi Rúd or Khán-Wá-han passes close by the kaşbah on the east side; while the daryá [the Nili or Ghárah] lies four kuroh distant on the left hand (west)." Then, in going from the Goţ in question to Multán by way of Mailsí, the Survey account says: "going four kuroh north-west, you reach the Hariári or Ghárah, and pass by boat to the other side, and in going, the Kadhhi or Khán-Wá-han is crossed two or three times. Having crossed the Ghárah by boat, you proceed six kuroh west, inclining north-west [W. N. W.], and Mailsí is reached, passing by many villages, and through much jargal, by the way. From thence you go fifteen kuroh [allowing for windings: it is really twenty-two miles as the crow flies] to Núr Muḩammad ká Tibbah ["Tibba" of the maps], passing by the way two or three small villages, and through much jargal. Half way the channel of a great river is reached, which is that of the Bhiah, which once flowed therein; and from the time it left its channel near Kasúr and the neighbourhood of Debal-púr, and united with the Sutlaj [see pages 372 and 374], this channel became dry. In the time of the inundation, in the rainy season, it still flows, and opposite Baháwal-púr unites with the Ghárah," etc.

written 'Wah' in the maps and some Gazetteers, as if the word meant 'bravo,' 'well done,' and the like, which is Persian, and Wá-háh is not. The "Sind Gazetteer," however, says "Wah" means a canal!

430 It is now only two miles and a half, or about a kuroh and a half.

431 At present it flows seven miles and a half west of it, and ten miles and a half north.
With respect to the course of the Ghárah lower down, the routes between Uchchh and the Derah of Gházá Khán show great changes there likewise, and also in the course of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. “Setting out from Uchchh, and proceeding one kuroh west, you reach the Ghárah, which you have to cross by boat, and having so done, you go four kuroh a little to the north of west, and reach the Chin-áb. After this you proceed six kuroh farther in the same direction, and reach the banks of the Ab-i-Sind and cross by boat, after which another kuroh takes you to Sit-púr, a large village on the banks of the Ab-i-Sind. The people here generally call all these three rivers Ab-i-Sind, the whole of which, six or seven kuroh to the right hand (north) having united, again separate.”

At the present time, the Ghárah is eleven miles north of Uchchh, where the Chin-áb and its tributaries unite with it, and form the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, which flows forty-two miles as the crow flies, in the direction of south-west before it unites with the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. Sit-púr is now three miles or more west of the Panj-Ab, and the Sind flows eighteen miles west of Sit-púr.

Likewise, at the time this Survey was made, in going from Rattá or Rattá-Mattá (the “Kot Ratta” of the maps—about two miles and a half from the east bank of the main channel of the Indus in 1871, and thirty-two miles south of the Derah of Gházá Khán) to Uchchh, you went from thence to ‘Ali-púr, then on the bank (lab) of the Indus. It is now fifteen miles east of the Indus, and a few years since it was ten miles and a half only. Rasúl-púr, and Ghaus-púr (not that referred to at page 308) were also on the banks of the Indus, but the latter, according to the map of 1859, was nine miles from the east bank, and by the 1871 map, it was seven and a half. Jātú-í, when this Survey was made, was close to the bank of the Indus, and in 1871, it was five and a half miles from the main channel; but, at this point, the river, at the latter date, flowed in five channels, and the smallest of the five, was within a mile and a quarter of that place; and four miles and a half farther west, on the same map is marked “old Puttun.”

Consequently, when this Survey was made, the Ab-i-Sind or Indus flowed from Rattá-Mattá in a direction a little to the east of south, close by that place, and downwards by Jātú-í, ‘Ali-púr, and Sit-púr on the east, as previously stated at page 303. A glance at a late map will thus show what vast changes have occurred in the course of less than a single century, which changes are always going on.

452 It is now six miles and a half west of Uchchh, or lately was.
453 See page 349, confirming this account.
454 See also my Notes on Afghánistán, etc., page 664, and foot-notes.
The bend in the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind just below "Keenjur" of the maps, fourteen miles south-south-west of the Derah of Gházi Khán, will show the direction in which it flowed at that period.

It now remains to notice the still more ancient channels of the Satadru or Sutlaj, which appear in our maps as "Nyewal N.," of which there are three, not two only, as mentioned in the Calcutta Review paper on the "Lost River," and the map appended thereto; and also in the map appended to Mr. R. D. Oldham's article on the same subject in the Society's "Journal," Part II of 1886. The middle one of these three channels appears in our maps as the "Dulwali Nyewal" because it passes by "Dulwali" of the same maps, probably. There can be no doubt, however, that the Sutlaj, in ancient times, and at different periods, flowed in these three ancient channels. The whole country west of Rúh-par, near which the waters of the Sutlaj issue from the hills, where changes are less likely to occur than in sandy, level plains, as far nearly as Lúdhiánah west, is more or less seamed with channels, some larger than others, although they are, from being partially utilized as canals, and the effects of rain, and other causes, being gradually obliterated, and some are already nearly so. It is evident, that the river, hereabouts, in endeavouring to find its way to the southwards and south-westwards, has flowed over every part of it almost, from Rúh-par to Firúz-púr.

One of these old main channels, that of the western Na'e Wali, can be distinctly traced a mile or thereabouts east of Ghám-kaur, which is a little over eight miles south-west from Rúh-par, and six miles east of Bahlúl-púr. The direction of its course points from near Rúh-par, and from thence in a south-westerly direction by Ghám-kaur. It then passes east of Kakaralah, and from thence by Akhárah, three miles south-south-east of Jagráon. From that point it can be traced, more or less distinct, and in a few places nearly obliterated, in the same south-westerly direction, to some three miles south of Maháráj, and from

435 The meaning of this compound word is not very clear, Wál or Wál-ah, or Wá-lí means 'a stream,' 'river' 'running water,' also 'the false appearance of water in a sandy waterless desert tract—mirage.' The meaning ascribed to ná'e is 'a tube,' 'passage,' 'canal,' 'channel,' 'water-course,' but from what is mentioned at page 447, it seems to be used in the same sense as náhr, which means, 'a rivulet,' 'a river' 'running water.'

Mackeson, in his "Journal of Captain C. M. Wade's voyage from Lodiana to Mithankot by the river Satlaj in 1832-33," states, that, "at Jane-gill, 12 miles below Hari-ke, the united streams of the Beás and Satlaj, are called Ghara, but known to the natives by the name of Nai."

436 "Builolpoor" of the maps.

437 "Mohraj" and "Mohrajpur" of different Survey maps, and about sixteen miles to the north-eastwards of Bhañíndah.
thence about four miles north-west of Bhatinda and on towards Mal-oṭ, three miles east of which the channel becomes very distinct again. From Mal-oṭ, which is a short distance to the north of its right bank, it continues to run to Uboh-har, which is close to its south or left bank. At present, higher up, a canal is to be brought into this channel from the Sahrind canal system, if it is not actually running at this time.

The direction of the central of the three old channels, called “Nyewal N.” and “Dubwali N.” in the maps, takes a course somewhat more to the south-south-west than that just noticed; but, although its channel is not quite so distinct upwards, it also comes from the direction of Rūh-par and Cham-kaur, at which former point, or near it, it branched off, and can be traced into Budhūr, just thirty miles to the north-eastwards of Bhatinda, nearly thirty-two miles above Dab-Walī, and some thirty-eight miles in the direction of south-south-west from Akhūrah. It passes close to Dab-Walī on the north, and Fath-pūr on the south, and subsequently bends towards the west, and unites with the channel passing Mal-oṭ and Uboh-har.

The third or easternmost of these old channels evidently came from the same direction as the other two, as the slope of the country which declines from north-east to south-west, and the direction of the channel show. At present it is not very distinct, for the reason pre-

433 Bhatinda, which is a very ancient place, I believe to be the identical place referred to, the idol temple of which “split asunder on the night that Sultān Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigā was born,” and not Uhand on the west bank of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus above Atak, miscalled “Ohind.” It will be remembered that the Hakrā is also called the Wahind and Wahinda, and the temple is called “the But-Khānah of Wahind.” See Ṭabakāt-i-Nāṣīrī, p. 76, and note 2.

The Tarfkh-i-Yamni, in the account of Sultān Maḥmūd’s victory over “Brahman-Pāl, son of Anand Pāl,” states, that they met on the banks of the “Wahind river”; and, in another place, it is related in the account of the capture of Kal-Chand’s stronghold, which seems to refer to one of the old ruined fortresses on the banks of the Hakrā or Wahinda, between Bhatnīr and Wahinda, that “a foaming river flowed on the other side of the fortress,” and that “the infidels, in attempting to cross it,” were drowned in great numbers. See page 415.

439 “Budhanr” of the maps, to the north-eastwards of Bhatinda, not the place about eighteen miles east of Bhatinda.

440 In his “Ancient Geography of India” (p. 144), Cunningham, referring to the “district of Satadra”—the “She-to-ta-lo or Satadra, described by the Chinese pilgrim as having a large river on its western boundary”—says: “the position of Satadra will correspond almost exactly with the large city of Sarhind or frontier of Hind.”

“Sarhind,” however, is not the correct name of this place, neither is “Sīrhind.” It is Sahrind and that does not mean “frontier of Hind.”
viously mentioned, until within about seven or eight miles north-west of the fort of Bhiki, where it runs nearly parallel to the central or Dab-Wáli channel with an interval of from eight to ten miles between them, to within nine miles north-east of Bhatnir. Here it becomes less distinct, but it united with the Ghag-ghar near the fortress of Bhatnir on the north side, and subsequently with the Hakrá or Wahindah twenty-one miles farther to the south-west. Into this channel, likewise, a canal has been brought from near Rúh-par: in fact, these canals, it may be said, or their proposed extensions, will run all the way, or nearly so, in these ancient channels of the Sutlaj. 441

The channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah, after this junction, is clear and distinct, and has been already described; but, the channel of the united Uboh-har and Dab-Wáli branches, which unite near Karár-Wálah, about twenty-nine miles below Uboh-har in the direction of south-west, and nearly eleven miles north-west of Gañës Garh, is, in some places, not quite so distinctly apparent, but can still be traced to

Then, because this "large river" does not appear at present, although the position corresponded "almost exactly" with his "Sarhind," Hání is thought of, by applying "a correction" of only 110 miles; but this, too, not being quite satisfactory, he adds: "as it was bounded on the west by a great river which cannot be the Satloj or Satadrá, it is quite impossible that Hání can be the place intended, as it is upwards of 130 miles distant from the nearest river.

There is nothing in what the Chinese pilgrim says to prevent Sahrind being the place referred to, because, when the Sutlaj or Satadrá flowed in the oldest channel that we know of, which I have here pointed out, it flowed not more than seventeen or eighteen miles west of Sahrind; and the Sutlaj or Satadrá is said to have formed the boundary between the territory of the Panjáb and Hindustán.

Hání now is certainly distant from any great river, but at the period of the Chinese pilgrim, and long after his time, the Chitang, which, with the Saraswati or Saraswatí, formed the Hakrá or Wahindah, was a great river, and flowed within a few miles of Hání; and the Ghag-ghar, also a great river in those days, and the Saraswati or Saraswatí by no means a small river, both flowed within twenty-three miles of Hání.

In one of his Archæological Reports, Cunningham says, that, "Satadrá or Sirhind in the plains formed part of the states of the Rajput Kings of Kangra," which Mr. Barnes, the Settlement Officer of that district, discredits.

The Editor of Elliot's Indian Historians (Vol. IV. p. 519) tells us, that, "Tabarhindá is an old name for Sirhind," in which I beg most distinctly to differ from him.

441 The ancient channel's of nearly all these tributaries of the Hakrá, mentioned herein, have been, or are being, utilized as canals, sometimes without its being generally known what rivers once flowed in them. Very shortly, therefore, all the ancient traces of them will be obliterated or altogether lost. See note 496, page 442 where some of the causes of the decrease in the volume of the Ghag-ghar are mentioned.
within twenty-four miles of Walh-har on the Hakrä, and beyond, in the Baháwal-púr territory. The direction of its course shows that it united with the latter, or main river, a little to the north of Márút, lower down stream, near which, at the time the Survey quoted from was made, it could be distinctly traced, as mentioned at page 423. North and west of Márút the channel of the Hakrä is very broad and distinct.

The facts I have here related, and the extracts I have given, show clearly, that in each of these three Nā'e Wálí channels the Sutlaj once flowed; and, that it has, in the course of ages, deserted one channel after another as it got silted up, covering the country between with a sandy deposit, in inclining from east to west, a distance altogether of some eighty-five miles now intervening between its easternmost channel, and that in which it, along with the Biáh, under the new names of Hariári, Níli, and Ghárah, now flows. The three channels above described, are, unquestionably, older than that of the great Đándah or Đándá, and the easternmost of the three is the oldest.

If we merely take into consideration the heights of the different places above the sea level from Rúh-pář to Firúz-púr from east to west, we shall find the reason why the Sutlaj took a course nearly due west from Rúh-pář by Lúdhiánáh, and Dharm-Kót, and to the north of Firúz-púr, where it united with the Biáh in the last century. While Rúh-pář is 900 feet above the sea, Lúdhiánáh is 806, "Dallowala," west of Dharm-Kót, 727, and north of Firúz-púr 650. On the other hand, if we take the levels from along the parallel of 75° E. Longitude, which cuts across the ancient channels in which the Sutlaj formerly flowed, we shall find, that, as we go south, the country gradually rises from 700 feet at Mogah (I here give the map names for facility of reference, but they are all written in the same peculiarly incorrect way) to 759 at Darnoli of one map, and Duroolee of another, a rise of 42 feet. After this again the country gradually declines, and at Alkawala of one map and Ulkawala of another, it is 737 above the sea, at Ahmadwala 729, at Thuna, seven miles to the south-west of Bhaitináh, 703, at

443 The Sutlaj held, and the Ghárah, or Níli, or Hariári, through it, still holds, a great deal of sand in suspension, much more than the other rivers of these parts. See note 423, pages 403-406, and first paragraph of note 446, page 415.

445 I do not know what the correct origin of this name may be, unless it is derived from the word 져, which means 'a pool' and the like; and it is from this, probably, that the word, written  зр and  зр, used in the Panj-áb territory and in Sind, comes, by which names the long, and narrow pools of water left in the channels of old rivers after inundations, are known; but the people on the banks of the old channel of the Sutlaj, in the Firúz-púr district, apply this name to any high bank of a river.
Sarwa of one map, and Sarwa of another, immediately south of the so-called “Dulwali Nyewal,” 722, at Peeplee of one map, and Pipli of another 717, but another Table gives it at 692), and at Gorkhawali 679. From this point going farther south the country begins gradually to rise again, and at Choor Tibi, on the south bank of the Ghûwá river, called the “War N.” in the maps (See page 442), it is 721 feet, but again sinks towards the channel of the Ghag-ghar to 704 feet a little south of Firúz-ábád; while at Sirsá, nine miles and a quarter farther towards the north-west, it is 762 feet.

Continuing southwards on the same parallel, at Gidaranwala the height is 679 feet, and after that the elevation increases, until at Moria, nearly as far south as the parallel of Nizánir, the height above the sea is 1,080 feet; while on the same parallel westwards it declines from 1,080 feet to the depression in which the Hafrá channel lies, and then rises again to 231 at Kand Kot, a little west of the Indus.

Now let us examine the heights along the left bank of the united Sutlaj and Biáh—the present Haríaí, Nili, or Ghárah. At Frúz-pûr, as before stated, the elevation is 650 feet; and at Fažil ká it lessens to 585, at Pir-i-Kháliš (Amir Timúr’s Kháliš Kotlah) it is 548, while at Thuna, seventy-three miles farther east, the height, as stated above, is 703, or a difference of more than two feet to the mile from east to west. At Goṭ-i-Ká-im Káhn, the Ra’ís, it is 434 feet, at Baháwal-pûr 375; and from thence to the banks of the Panch Nad, near the junction with the Indus, the height is 337 feet above the sea.

Such being the facts, as each of the successive channels of the Sutlaj became silted up, it could do no other than betake itself to lower ground, and being unable to incline east, it took to the west; and in the course of ages, has now, by its last change towards the close of the last century, when it deserted the Ěanḍáh channel, its last independent one, reached the lowest level of the country; 444 for west of the present channel of the Haríaí, Nili, or Ghárah, the ground begins to rise again, and the right high bank of the Biáh to intervene; hence that river, when it deserted its old channel, could not

444 The only points where the Haríaí, Nili, or Ghárah is now at all likely to incline farther westwards, are north-west of Kásim ká, which is 492 feet above the sea, where it might enter the most depressed of the old channels of the Biáh or its minor branches in case of any extraordinary flood; or lower down, ten miles north-east of Mailá in the Multán district; or twelve miles and a half north-north-west of the Goṭ of Ká-im Káhn, the Ra’ís, in the Ghugherah or Montgomery district, the country opposite lying somewhat lower at these points than others: indeed, within the last ten years, it has set against the southern part of the last named district north-west of Kásim ká.
flow west for the same reason, and, consequently, it turned east, and so met the Sutlaj, and formed the new river.\textsuperscript{445}

The same causes that led the Sutlaj at Rūh-paṛ to alter its course by degrees from south-south-west and south-west, to due west, in all likelihood, affected the Ghag-ghar, Sursuti, and Qhitang more or less; and, at last, when the Sutlaj left the westernmost or Uboh-har branch of the so-called "Nyewal N." channels (which it certainly had not done up to the time of Ibn Baṭūṭah's journey to Dihlī, and which was still flowing when Amīr Timūr, the Gūrgān, marched from Pir-i-Khālīṣ to Bhaṭnīr), and took to that called the Dāndah in the present day, the waters of the Hakrā, lower down, beyond the junction of the united Ghag-ghar and Sursuti, also failed. By degrees, the Qhitang likewise, lessened by the canal of Sulṭān Firūz Šāh,—and other minor cuttings probably, or from the same causes that led the Sutlaj to abandon its older channels—failed, except in time of floods, in reaching much beyond Bhāḍārā, and consequently, that feeder of the Hakrā could barely reach Bhaṭnīr. Likewise, the waters of the united Ghag-ghar and Sursuti alone, were not sufficient in volume (after the Sutlaj deserted it), to feed the Hakrā, and it ceased to be a perennial river; but, up to the last century, it contained some water, and up to the present time (before the channel was utilized as a canal), in the rainy season, water still flowed in its channel as far down as Mārūṭ and Moj Gaṛh and beyond. Indeed, in some years during the present century, after copious rainy seasons, its waters have reached Lār or Lower Sind, and almost to the ocean.

On the other hand, as long as the Sutlaj continued to flow in an independent channel, its volume was sufficient to reach the channel of the Hakrā, between Khāir Gaṛh and Śāhib Gaṛh, to which latter place its last independent channel can be traced, but, below that it gets mixed up with the old channels of the Hakrā. It can be traced upwards from thence; and the farther one goes up the more distinct it becomes.\textsuperscript{446} As long as this junction continued, the Hakrā was of

\textsuperscript{445} According to the Geologist, Lyall, all rivers on being silted up betake themselves to the next lower level; and here, between Pir-i-Khālīṣ and Ajūḍḍhān the ground is lower than that of the last independent channel of the Sutlaj—the "great dāndah." This will be found to be the case with respect to all the old channels I have described, the easternmost, which is the oldest, being the highest of all.

\textsuperscript{446} "It has been observed of all large rivers, and been particularly mentioned by the same Geologist, that the silt with which their waters are charged is deposited during the season of overflow most abundantly near the edge of the stream, and in proportionally smaller quantity at a greater distance from it. It thus forms a natural glacis, the crest of which is on the river, and the slope falls away gradu-
sufficient volume, with its other tributaries, to reach Lár or Lower Sind, under the names of Sankrá or Sankrāh and Sind-Ságar, as well as Hakrá or Wahindah.

The channel of what is now called the Nárah (vul. “Narra”), which is said to be only well defined, or rather, “to commence” near Fákir-ábád, is merely the remains of the westernmost and lesser of the two branches, the Rá’ín or Rá’íni branch—the “Rá’íni Nálah” of the present day—into which the Hakrá separated between Kandhárah or Kandháro and Wanjh-rúţ after it had united with its then tributaries at Došh-i-Ab, and formed the “Mihrán of Sind” or “Great Mihrán.” This branch was diverted from Aror by the excavation of the commencement of a new channel, and the raising of a dyke at the same time, some twenty-six miles above that place on the east; for after this branch had been diverted, and had cut its way to the westward of the limestone range of hills where Bakhar and Rúrhi afterwards rose, and subsequently, through the Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind deserting the Hakrá, and other changes noticed in another place, it ceased to flow from the Hakrá altogether. The waters of the latter, however, including the Sutlaj, lower down, near Kandhárah or Kandháro and Wanjh-rúţ, again separated into two branches, one, the western and minor branch, finding its ally towards the boundary of the valley. That the Indus is not an exception to this rule will be seen on reference to the Cross Section (No. 1) across the valley at Sükkur, and the Profile (No. 2) showing the relative heights of the Bhawulpoor road and of a line nearly parallel to it, ten miles inland. A continuation of this process would gradually raise the level of the river-bed, until, during some extraordinary flood, it should burst its natural embankment and take to one of the lower tracts, to be, in its turn, raised and deserted. In the meantime the cross section of the valley would present the general features of a raised central channel with a depression on each side.

“On the east bank of the Sutlaj, from Rooper [Rúh-paɾ] to near Bhawulpoor, a depression of this nature is met with, and is believed to extend in a course parallel to that of the Garra [Ghárā] and Indus to Subzulcoto [Sabzal Koɾ], from the vicinity of which it has been traced to the head of the Eastern Narra, about eleven miles east of Roroo [Rúrhi]. It receives water from the river by direct overflow and innumerable canals, and its drainage, though variably interrupted, is the source of the Narra supply.” “Report on the upper portion of the Eastern Narra,” Bombay Government Records, 1857.

This last part is not quite exact. Near Sayyidah, the Nárah unites with the main channel of the Hakró, called Hakro by the people of Sind, and their waters still unite in time of floods.

After the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind deserted the Hakrá for good, the name “Mihrán of Sind” or “Great Mihrán,” applied to the whole of the rivers after their junction at Došh-i-Ab, fell into disuse, and the names Hakrá, Wahindah, and Sankrah were again generally applied.

At this period, no river separated Bakhar from Rúrhi, as in after times, as will be explained farther on; and those places then did not exist.
way into the diverted channel of the Ra’īn or Ra’īnī— the Ra’īnī Nālah of the present day—which, near Sayyidah, some eighty-five miles lower down stream, united with the main branch again, as the Ra’in branch had previously done. These channels still exist, and water still finds its way into them, but, the so-called Nārah “river,” on the other hand, merely arises from the overflow from the Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, which, considerably higher up, near Ghaus-pūr, during the time of the inundations, finds its way by the ancient channel of the united Ab-i-Sind or Sindhu, and the Sind Rūd, or Rūd-i-Sind wo Hind of the Musalmān travellers, also known as the Pančh Nad or Panj Ab, and now consisting of a great depression only, into the ancient channel of the diverted Ra’in branch of the Hakrā, which, before it was diverted, had flowed past Aror on the east.

Except in the season of inundation, this main branch is a mere series of lakes or chands, most of which, however, are of considerable size, and some as much as three miles and more in length, and half that extent in breadth.

It must also be remembered, that we continually read of the “rainy season” in the Multān province, up to, and in the time of Amir Timūr’s invasion of Hindūstān; but there is no rainy season now as in the parts farther east, and has not been for a long period of years, the influence of the monsoon not being felt so far westwards in the present day. These climatic changes must also have had effect on some of the rivers of this part. Between the time of Amir Timūr's invasion in 801 H. (1398 A. D.), and the reign of Akbar Bādshāh, a period of some two hundred years, great changes must have taken place in the courses of many of the rivers, to judge from the notice of them in the A‘īn-i-Akbari, finished in 1004 H. (1595-96 A. D.), and from the accounts of the English merchants, already narrated, who visited these western parts of the Mughal Empire in the following reign; and such being the case, other changes must have taken place during these intervals of time.

Thus it will be seen that in the course of ages, the Sutlaj, and all the other rivers west of it, including the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, some to a greater extent than others, have gradually deserted their old channels, as a glance at the map No. 1, will show, and moved westwards from

*449 This is evidently the river referred to by Al-Mas‘ūdī at page 207; for the letters j, ḫ, and ω, are somewhat similar in MSS., and if the point of the latter letter should be left out, as is constantly, and I may say, commonly done by scribes, the latter is likely to be mistaken for j and ḫ. See also note 114 to the page above-mentioned.

*460 See page 282.
the causes mentioned in the preceding note, 446, with the sole exception of the Biáh, which, on account of the high plateau forming its extreme right or west bank, had to betake itself in the contrary direction, when it united with the Sutlaj and formed the Harírí, Níl or Ghárah; and that the alterations in the course of the Sutlaj—" the Satádra of the Hundred Bellies or Channels"—have been far greater than in those of all the others. There has been, likewise, during the same period of time, great changes in the courses of the Ghag-ghar and the Sursúti and their tributaries, as will be shown in the notice of them farther on.

**The Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, and the Chitang.**

The Survey record says, with reference to this river, that "One of the principal tributaries of the Hakrá, and the easternmost, is the Chitang,"\(^461\) which is (now) dependent on rain, that is to say,

\(^{461}\) Both Cunningham and the "Calcutta Review" writer make this name "Chitránag," whereas there is no 'r' nor long 'a' in the word, which is written چترنگ. Chitránag is the name by which the hard, smooth portions of the soil of a part of the present desert tract is known, which extends for many miles together, as will be noticed in its proper place.

It was, within two miles of the present south bank of the Chitang, between Thání-sar and Karnál, thirteen miles south of the former and ten north of the latter, that the two battles took place between Sultán Muhammad, son of Sám, the Shausabání Tájík Sultán of Ghaznín and Rá'e Pithorá, in the last of which the latter was overthrown, and killed in the act of flying. These battles were fought near A'zim-ábád-i-Taláwari or Taráwari—'i' and 'r' being interchangeable—otherwise Tará'ín Garh, the " Turnoree" of the maps, nearer which, in ancient times, the Sursúti or Saraswati may have flowed, and its course has changed considerably in the lapse of ages. See also Tabákát-i-Nášír, page 608 and note 8. Dow calls it "Sirawri on the banks of the Sirswity," while Briggs, by way of improving it, turns it into "Naráín on the banks of the Soorswity," by turning 't' into 'n' —as for J. Mr. J. Dowson, Elliot's editor ("Indian Historians," vol. II, p. 295) also makes it Naráín after the same fashion, as though such a word was contained in the text of the Tabákát-i-Nášír, which it is not, and in a foot note adds, that, "according to Gen. Cunningham, the battle-field of Naráín is on the banks of the Ráháí river;" but, as there was no battle of "Naráí," compilers of Indian history, according to the inaccurate manner so captivating to the English reader of "popular works," and the pernicious system of copying from each other, instead of seeing for themselves (if capable of so doing), stick to "Naráín." This seems, indeed, to be a favourite name, for Sultán Maḥmúd, the Turk Sultán of Ghaznín (p. 449 of the same vol.) is brought to another "Naráín," but this one is supposed to be "Anhal-wāra, the capital of Gujarát."

Wilford, who notices this river Chitang, also makes the mistake of confounding its name with that of the Chitrángh and Caggár [the Ghag-ghar he means]," but the Ghag-ghar was merely a tributary of the Hakrá or Wahindah,
its waters arise from the torrents flowing from the Siwálik range of hills north of Sádhúrâh. It runs, with many turns and bends, in a general direction of south-west, like all the rivers west of it, as far as the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus. It passes within half a kuroh of Lādâvá on the west, and about nine kuroh west of Kârâl towards Jîndh, a little more than five kuroh north-east of which, at Dahtrat, the waters of Sultán Firûz Shâh’s canal from the direction of Safídîn, farther east, unites with it. Here it winds considerably, passes close to Jîndh on the west side, then on to Ramrá, which it passes on the south and west.

and is totally distinct from the Chitang. He also says that the Chitrangh passes to the westwards of Thânâ-sar [Thâni-sar is meant], and, that although its waters are absorbed by the sands; yet the vestiges of its ancient bed may be traced as far as Baccâr [Bakhar] on the Indus.” From this it will be seen that he mistakes the Ghâg-ghâr for the Hâkrâ, of which it was merely a tributary.

It must also be remembered, that what has appeared in our maps as “the old Chautang nâla,” as the Chitang has been incorrectly styled, has been now utilized and called the “West Jamna Canal.”

Ibn Âsîr, the Shânî, who relates some wonderful Indian history, says, that Sultân Mu’izz-ud-Dîn, Muḥammad-i-Sâm, whom he, too, will style “Shihâb-ud-Dîn (his previous title before he came to the throne of Ghaznî), having entered Hind and passed Multân, he proceeded to Uchchh. “At this time,” he says, “the greatest of the Hájîm (rulers) of Hind was a woman, whose sway extended over all the Râjâhs, on account of the importance of her family, to which the greatest of the rulers of that country had belonged.

“The Sultân’s army consisted of Ghûrîs, Khalj Turks, and Khurâsânîs, but he was overthrown; and being severely wounded by a champion of Hind with his mace, fell senseless to the ground, and, in the flight which ensued was passed by unrecognized. In the middle of the night his ghulâms returned to the field of battle to search for him, and, having found him, took it by turns to carry him on their shoulders; and after having gone all night in this manner, on foot, by morning they reached the city of Uchchh.”

Then he says, that “on his safety being known, his dispersed troops rallied round him again, and his brother sent a fresh army to his assistance,” not knowing, apparently, or at least, not noticing, what events transpired in the meantime, a period of nearly a year and a half; and, that Shihâb-ud-Dîn, Muḥammad, turning his face towards Hind on this occasion with a fresh army, the people of Hind mustered a far greater force than before, so much so, that there was no sahrâ (plain or open space) which could contain them. Shihâb-ud-Dîn, filled with fear in consequence, had recourse to stratagem and deceit. He sent an agent to the Malikah (female sovereign) of Hind with promises of marriage; but, as she was aware of the deception he had previously practised on the wife of the Râjâh of Uchchh. [See Tubakât-i-Nâsîrî, note, page 450], she would not give ear to his offers in the least, and her reply was ‘Fight, or return to Ghaznî, and let that suffice.’ He then tried another ruse, which was, that he might have time to send a messenger to his elder brother [his suzerain]. Knowing the position which Shihâb-ud-Dîn held with respect to his elder brother, and the situation in which he now was, and conceiving that he did not desire to fight, she consented, and gave the requisite time
From thence it runs to Nárnol or Nármor, which it passes near to on the east side, and runs to Hání, which having passed on the east and south, it turns to the westward, and runs in a direction a little to the north of west, winding considerably, to the Firúzah Hisár, founded by the Sultán abovenamed. Passing close under its walls on the south side, it continues to run in the same direction to a point two kuroh and a half from that Hisár, to a place called Mátarsaum, where another channel branches off to Bhádará. From thence it runs to Chhíini, about nine kuroh still farther west, where it turns south-westwards, winding considerably, to Bhádará, rather more than a kuroh south-south-west of which the old channel from Mátarsaum again unites with it. Half way between, another old channel runs westwards, and again unites with it about two kuroh and a half farther down stream.

to enable him to receive a reply from his brother, the Sultán of Ghúr; and each of the hostile forces betook themselves to their respective positions.

Between the two hosts was a river, "the passage of which was everywhere impossible, save by means of a bridge or by boats"; and yet the historian says, that "wherever a passage was possible the place was carefully guarded by the Hindú forces. At this juncture one of the people of Hind came to Shiháb-ud-Din, and told him that he knew a place where the river was fordable, and would conduct him across in such wise that the Hindús would be entirely unaware of it until he should fall upon them. Shiháb-ud-Din doubted at first whether or not some treachery was intended; but, as some of the people of Usháh and Múltán became security for the man, Shiháb-ud-Din despatched Amir Husain, son of Kharmil, Ghúrí [the same who was previously governor of Síál Koṭ and afterwards Malik of Hirát. See Ṭabaḵát-i-Náširí, pages 463 and 475], at the head of a strong body of troops along with the man, to cross at the place he should point out, and then fall upon the encampment of the Malikah. It so happened that the man guided Amir Husain across the river in such a manner that he came upon the Hindús entirely unawares, until he had surrounded them. On this, Shiháb-ud-Din, having obtained intimation of the success of the movement, mounted and crossed over likewise, which he was now easily enabled to do, the Hindús having abandoned the ferries [which he said before did not exist] and decamped. Shiháb-ud-Din reached the camp of the Hindús, and made such slaughter among them that but few escaped, and the Malikah likewise perished. Such a vast amount of booty fell into the hands of the people of Islám as could not be computed; and Shiháb-ud-Din acquired away over the whole of the country of Hind, and all the contiguous Bárjás became submissive, and agreed to pay tribute and taxes. Shiháb-ud-Din's slave, Kńth-ud-Dín, F-bak, was sent to take possession of Dílí and exercise the rule over that territory; and Muḥammad, son of Bákht-yár [see "Ṭabaḵát-i-Náširí," page 548, and Appendix C. xiii.], with a large force of Khálj [Turks], was sent to the farthest part of Hind, in such wise that they penetrated into the borders of the territory of Chín [China], and captured some places which no Musalmáns had hitherto reached." Here we have the events of some twenty-nine years in as many lines, and not a word about Rá'í Pithorá. Such is the account contained in Ibn Aṣir, the Shámi historian; but this Malikah or female ruler is quite new, and was unknown to the native writers.
Bhadara is an ancient place, and still a large kasbah, under the sway of the Rajah of Bikanir. The river passes close under its walls on the north and east; and in rainy seasons, when it overflows its banks, which hereabouts varies in breadth from half a kuroh to two kuroh or more, it causes great damage, so much so, that, respecting it, there are two very old sayings, the first in particular, which is Hindi, is:

"When the Chitang begins to leap [come down with violence], it brings destruction to Bhadara."

The other, in Persian, is as follows:

"At all times the Chitang is the cause of Bhadara's desolation."

About another kuroh or little more south-west of Bhadara the Chitang again resumes a westerly course, and passes close under No-har on the south, six kuroh farther west of which it turns to the west-north-west, winding considerably in several places. Then passing close by the walls of the large village of Gandehli [658] on the south side, it makes a sharp bend to the north, and flows on to Raot-sar, distant about four kuroh, and situated on its southern or left bank. It then bends to the south-west for about three kuroh, and, after that, suddenly turns to the north-west, where another channel, on the south or left hand, appears to have separated from it, with an interval of about three kuroh and a half between them. This re-unites with the main channel a little over seven kuroh farther north-west, and runs towards the west once more for nearly six kuroh, when the junction of the Hakra or Wahindah with the channel of the Ghag-ghar takes place; and here the bed is of considerable breadth. Many small villages are situated near the banks of the Chitang all the way along, and the sites of many more are scattered about every here and there.

"Continuing to run in a south-westerly course, and winding considerably as before, it passes immediately north of Súdar-har [سُدرہ] or Súrat Gař, where it runs west again for a little over six kuroh, to Ulwánah, one kuroh south of which it bends towards the south-west again, passes north of Suhán Kót,463 in ancient times a fortress of great size, but now completely gone to ruin, distant seven kuroh and a half from Súdar-har or Súrat Gař, and near the southern bank. From Suhán Kót it runs by Jal-Mathúrá,464 the name of a great and lofty khák-res

458 “Gandehli” of the maps.
463 Incorrectly called “Sehwan Kót” in the maps.
464 “Matoola” of the maps, and, of course, incorrect.
or mound, visible from a distance of three or four kuroh, distant from
the first named place a little over seven kuroh, and situated on the
northern bank. From thence running by Joeyr-i-Balúcháán, so called
from a joeyr or lake dependent on rain in its bed, at the distance of
another seven kuroh, the Manggú-Wálah joeyr or lake in the river bed,
also dependent on rain, is reached, and three kuroh more to Chúhar-
har, a large village of Musalmans, with a fort built of unburnt bricks,
a lake, and several wells. North-west of it, distant rather less than
two kuroh, is Ðubh-li, distant six kuroh south-south-west from Bhatnir.
This is a large village and in the seasons of inundation the Ghag-ghar
reaches it [at the present time, Ðhub-li is two miles and a half from
the channel of the river]. Chúhar-har is situated in the Chitr-áng
Zamin, and being on the border of the Bikánir and Baháwal-púr states,
it sometimes pays allegiance to the Rájah of the former, and some-
times to Baháwal Kháán. The bed of the Chítang from thence runs for
another seven kuroh to Walh-har (مَالْہ ہار) in the Baháwal-púr territory,
which is a fort constructed of kiln burnt bricks, situated close to its
northern bank, and a place of some antiquity. Here its bed becomes very
broad again."

Before tracing the channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah farther, it
is necessary to describe one important and peculiar feature of this great
desert tract, extending from Bhatnir on the north, down into Sind on
the south, and between Bikánir and Jasan-mír on the east, and the
valley of the Mihrán of Sind on the west. One of the main feeders
of the Hakrá was the Chítang river, already described; and the hard
ground which everywhere crops up in this great desert tract, and rings
under the hoofs of a horse passing over it, is called Chitr-áng (چیترانگ).

465 It is now on its south bank, or south side of its channel.
466 Now also known as Sar-dár Garh. The writer on the "Lost River" in the
"Calcutta Review" refers to this place, apparently, under the name of "Bullur," and
says that "near here is the junction of the eastern and western arms of the Sotra
or Hakrá." The Náí Wál is merely the name of one of the ancient channels of the
Sutlaj, which, like the Chítang, Ghag-ghar, and others, was a tributary of the
Hakrá. As I understand the words Náí Wál, they merely signify the new or
recent channel or stream, referring to the change in the course of the Sutlaj.
Tod says, that "Scogurh" was the former name of Bullur, which was "one
of the most ancient cities of the desert [⁰¹]," and "like Phoolra, is a Johya posses-
sion."

In this name 'b' and 'w,' as in others, are interchangeable, and it might be
called and written Balh-har, but not "Bullur." The usual mode of pronouncing
the name is as above. When this and other places here mentioned were in the
height of their prosperity, the country was not "a desert;" for a city in a desert
would not be inhabited.
but which some recent writers confound with the name of the river Chitang (چترانگ), between which two words there is no affinity whatever.

Under the head of Jasal-mir, the author of the Survey says: This Zamin-i-Chitr-āng is a waterless waste or wilderness wherein the mirage prevails, extending from Bhātīrī down into Jasal-mir for a distance of some two hundred kuroh in length, with a breadth of about twenty-five kuroh, and which crops up in other directions on both sides of which are vast deserts of sand. Here, as before stated, the mirage prevails; and great lakes and trees appear to view, only to vanish when one approaches them. By digging in this Chitr-āng, water is obtainable, but it lies very deep, and, after all, is brackish. But few wells are sunk in these parts on account of the excess of sand, which appears like unto a vast sea. Snakes and scorpions abound; and the only trees are the pilū [Salvador Persica], and the sānjī [red jujube or ber]. The pilū grows to a large size; and the other, which in Hindūstān they call boxh-i-sānjī, attains to about the height of a man."

In another place he says: "The surface of the ground of this tract is, for the most part, bare and even [and its surface is clear of any growth], and such ground or land they style in this locality 'Zamin-i Chitr-āng.' In former times, according to all the traditions of these parts, a great river used to flow out of the Siwālik mountains, and running through these parts used to unite with the Sind darya, and which was known as the Chitang, and, lower down, as the Hakrā; and, from the time this river became obstructed, this tract of country ceased to be cultivated and to be inhabited."

"This vast tract has been called Chitr-āng on account of its hardness, and the flatness of its surface. It is also stated that part of it is the old channel of the Ghag-ghar, which runs through Sahrīnīd, and which used to unite with the Hakrā. In short, at the present time, the first-mentioned river does not flow much beyond Bhātīrī, Moj Garh Mārūt, Phūrā, Chūhrīhū or Chūhr-hū, Sūdār-bar, etc., are places situated in this Chitr-āng. The inhabitants of this part do not dwell in masonry houses, but in huts or shanties; and their wealth consists of a great number of cattle of different kinds."

I have said that this Chitr-āng Zamin crops up every here and there, but it seems to prevail chiefly where the channels of these dried up rivers occur, and in parts over which their waters appear to have flowed or to have spread. For example: "In going from Nikānīr

457 The Rād-i-Sind wo Hind. See the extracts from the old 'Arab travellers, at pages 211 to 218

458 Tod notices this Chitr-āng Zamin, but, under a wrong name, and under the supposition that it was temporary, instead of which it is permanent. He says:
to Bhatnir by Mohan Garh, this Chitr-ang commences about eleven miles south of Sudarhar, also styled Surat Garh in the present day, and terminates some miles to the north-wards of that mud-built fort. The channel of the Hakra intervenes in this space. In proceeding from the Got of Kaim Khan, Ra'is between Khair-pur and Mubarak-pur, in the direction of Bikainir, you first go to Marut. For the first ten kuroh on this route you proceed through sandy desert, but after that the Chitr-ang commences, and extends all the way to Marut, crossing by the way the old channels of the Sutlaj and Hakra, a short distance from the south or left bank of which last named river bed Marut stands, and beyond which for some distance farther the Chitr-ang extends.

"In going from Bikainir to Ajuddhan, fifty kuroh north is Chuharhar, and from thence thirty-five kuroh farther is Adimir, also called Ajmiri, after a Musalmán Jaṭ tribe; and for forty kuroh the route lies"

"Chittram—considerable tracts of low, hard, flat, formed by the lodgment of water after rains." In a foot-note he says: "the name is literally 'The picture' from the circumstance of such spots almost constantly presenting the mirage, here termed chitrām," Vol. II, 329.

In Hindi, chetd is a picture or painting, from Sanskrit चित 'to paint,' 'draw,' but the derivation of Chitr-ang might more probably be from the Hindi chefta—'deception,' 'miracle,' etc. See also page 321, where it also crops up.

"About six and a half kuroh.

"Got, in the language of Sind, Multan, and Jaisal-mir, signifies literally, a station or halting place, but is now applied to a village; and in our maps, such is the confusion of tongues because a uniform, and correct system is not adopted, and an "official" system devised instead by some one who know nothing of the matter, and was probably ignorant of the vernacular, that this word appears as "Gort Kaimrais"—"Gorth Kaim Raases," and "Gorts Kaim-rais," in as many different maps.

In the same manner respecting the rather common name of Ghous-pur (from the 'Arabic word ghaus applied to a class of Muhammadian saints), two places of which name lie only a few miles from each other south-west of Bahawal-pur. Actually, the names are written "Ghospoor," "Khospur," "Gaospoor," "Ghouspoor" and "Ghouspoor" in as many different maps; and yet it is treason almost to venture to point such absurd blunders out lest the "susceptibilities" of those who make them "should be hurted." It is just the same with other names; for example, the new station in Southern Afghanistán called by the Pushto name of Tal, which is a verdant tract and well cultivated, and another west of Kohat of the same name, where water never fails and cultivation is abundant, but the map makers and Gazetteer compilers will make it "Thal," the Hindi name for a sandy, water-less desert, used in the Panj-âb and Sind, and by the Baluchi's dwelling on their borders, because the compilers in question thought the words were all one; and so Thal—a sandy, waterless desert—has become the "official" names of these two green and verdant Afghan towns, while the Government is studiously kept in ignorance of such blunders.
over this Chitr-áng, and the last five kuroh is over the sandy desert, the old channels of the Hakrá and Ná'e Wáli or Ná'e Wál intervening.

"In going from No-har, between Bhaññir and Bhádará, on the way to Bikánir, this Chitr-áng Zamin commences near to No-har, which is situated on the north bank of the Chitang, and extends a considerable distance farther south. In another direction, in going from Jasal-mir towards Bikánir, this Chitr-áng extends all the way to Bikam-púr, the road leading across the channels of the two old feeders of the Hakrá, which take their rise near Poh-kurn, east of Jasal-mir, and noticed at page 451.

"Then again, fifteen kuroh west-north-west from Walh-har, on the west bank of the Hakrá, eastwards [about fifty-eight miles] of Moj Gařh, is a place called Farid-sar, where, as the last part of the name indicates, is "a large lake of brackish water; and on going from thence five kuroh in the same direction, the Chitr-áng Zamin terminates, and the Registán or sandy desert again commences. Hereabouts the sar-áb or mirage greatly prevails; and many are the káfalás, that, thinking they were going towards water, have perished in following after it. This Chitr-áng Zamin, as before stated, is bare and even, over which the phantasms or shadows of jal-gáhs [grassy plains] hover to deceive. Three kuroh north-north-east from this place (Farid-sar) is Mubárak-púr." This Chitr-áng also occurs in other places near the last independent channel of the Sutlaj.

"By another route by Máhi-Wálah Bungá, and Farid-sar above-mentioned, and ten kuroh north from the last named place, is Táj-i-Sarwar, commonly called Táj Sarwar; and on the way to the first named place the Chitr-áng Zamin commences near the deserted channel of the Sutlaj, and Mubárak-púr lies away distant on the left hand.

"In going from Bikánir to Baháwal-púr by Púgal, a mud-built fort under the Rájah of Birsil-púr, towards Moj Gařh in the territory of Baháwal-púr, the Chitr-áng Zamin commences about half way [near the present frontiers of Bikánir and Baháwal-púr], and the sandy desert ceases. Between Moj Gařh and Baháwal-púr again, the road lies over the Chitr-áng, but, in some places the sandy desert intervenes." This route, it must be noted, crosses the old channel of the Hakrá, and the ancient channel of the Sutlaj between Moj Gařh and Baháwal-púr.

---

456 * There is another place of this name, it must be remembered. Names ending in 'har' I believe to refer to towns or places where there were ferries or crossing places. See note 455, page 429.

457 * Tod writes this word "Sirr," but Sar (Sans. सर ) is correct. He says: "Sirrs are temporary salt lakes or marshes formed by the collection of waters from the sand hills, and which are easily dammed up to prevent escape." Vol. II p. 280.
The Chitr-áng again occurs at Diláwar or Diráwar to the southwards of Uchha-h-i-Sharif, near the north or right bank of the present channel of the Hakrá, and extends south-eastwards by Ghaus Garh (now, also called Rukn-púr), in the old bed of the Hakrá, towards Birsíl-púr, beyond the frontier of Baháwal-púr, in the Bikánír state. Nearly the whole distance between Diláwar to within a few miles of Birsíl-púr, a distance altogether of about fifty-six miles, is perfectly seamed with channels, plainly indicating that the Hakrá at different periods has flowed over nearly every part of it. It is clear, that at one epoch, the river took a more southerly course by Márút, Moj Garh,458 Diráwal, Qhání-sar or Tibbáh Qhání-sar,460 Ghaus Garh, Khán Garh, Wanjh-rút (the “Beejnot” of the maps), and No-har or Islám Garh, into the territory of Jasał-mír, and confirms the traditions prevalent respecting it. It then continued onwards towards Dhúndhár, and from thence towards Anar Kóč in Sind. Subsequently, altering its course more to the westwards from near Márút, it ran towards Trihárah or Din Garh, and from thence towards Diráwal and Khair Garh, as will presently be more fully noticed.

The Survey from which I have been quoting, does not, I regret to say, trace the old bed of the Hakrá farther than Walb-har, not

458 Boilean, quoted farther on, also notices this Chitr-áng Zamín in his “Personal Narrative,” but does not mention it by name. In going from Baháwal-púr towards Ghaus Garh, he says: “Leave Baháwal-púr and proceed eight kos E. S.E. over a bad road to the little village of Poharwála. Hard ground for the first kos and half. Two kos low sand hills: last four over hard ground interspersed with light sand drifts and bushes. Then sixteen kos S.E. to Moğjur: tolerably hard path: the fort on firm ground, with low, sandy eminences around, but at a considerable distance; built of brick with very lofty walls about fifty feet high with a seven foot parapet: mosque with a high dome on the east side: the body of the place about one hundred and ten yards or half a furlong square with bastions: well supplied with water.”

“Left Moğjur, and not going to Poogal as Elphinstone did, march twelve kos S. by W. to Trochawalee over a tolerably hard path.” He then went to “Rukhan-poor or Ghausghar, fourteen kos, the path over sandy ground, with occasional hard plains called dahar.” He then went on to Birsíl-púr in Jasał-mír.

Elphinstone, who crossed from Bikánír to Baháwal-púr, says:—“From Poogal for the first ten or twelve miles sand, but after we reached the hard clay. Poogal to Bahawalpur flat, hard clay, which sounded under our horses’ feet like a board, and occasionally some small hills of sand formed by the sand blowing over the clay. The clay is destitute of vegetation.”

460 This is a very ancient site, and is mentioned in the Ghaus Námah. Jai Sepha son of Rá’e Dáhir, retired to this place, on the advance of the ‘Arab forces against Bahman-ábád. It lies about twenty-eight miles south-east of Diráwal, and about twenty miles west-north-west from Ghaus Garh or Rukn-púr. See note 189, page 240, para. 5.
having been carried farther towards the frontier of Sind, although it gives several routes which crosses it by various places still on, or once on its banks.

Continuing to run in much the same direction as before, and winding considerably, the bed of the Hākrā, at present, passes by Phūlā, a kasbah and masonry fort, with lofty walls, and surrounded by a ditch. It was formerly of considerable importance, but now much decayed, once situated on its bank, but, at this day, about a mile and a quarter distant from it on the south. In the bed, about three miles to the north-wards of Phūlā, are the ruins of an old place called Tehri. After making a short bend to the north-west, from the tomb of Imām Shāh, now in its present bed, it again bends towards the south-west, and runs towards Mārūţ, distant from the south bank a mile and a half. Here the bed is from four to five miles in breadth. Mārūţ, it will be remembered, is mentioned by Mangūtah, the Mughal leader, in the account of the investment of Uchbāh; and up to this day, after heavy rains, water still runs in the Hakṛā bed to within three or four miles of Mārūţ, which, at the time the Survey was made from which I have given these extracts, was a small town with a fort constructed of burnt bricks, standing on a khāk-rez or artificial mound about feet in height. The drifting sands since that time have encroached so much towards the west as to reach near to the top of the walls; and the town, which then carried on a considerable trade in grain, has now gone to decay, and there is no cultivation. A number of routes branch off from this place in every direction, and also the most ancient channel that we know of, more towards the south.

After passing Mārūţ—a little east of which, one of the ancient channels of the Sutlaj can be distinctly traced, and which river bed, appearing in our maps as the "Nyewal," and "Western Naiwal,"

460 Masson, who passed it in 1826, says, that, "Pularah," as he calls it, "has an antique and picturesque appearance, particularly from the northern side, where the walls are washed by a large expanse of water in which is an island studded with trees." This expanse of water was, of course, in the channel of the Hakṛā.

461 That is to say, forty years since, about the time of the annexation of the Panjāb.

462 At least it could be distinctly traced in 1849-50, at which time, in going from Mārūţ to Bahāwal-pūr, you reached it about seven miles from the first named place, and there the channel was more than a mile and a half broad. It was subsequent to this being the point of junction, that the Sutlaj again moved farther westwards, between this old channel and the present Ghārah, which channel is referred to at page 400, which passes east of Bāg-sar, Mubārak-pūr, Kḥair-pūr, Bahāwal-pūr, down as far as Noh-shahrah, below which it united with the Hakṛā, as already mentioned at the page referred to.
formerly united with the Hakrā a few miles lower down—the bed of the Hakrā continues to run in much the same direction as before for just eight miles, when it bends to the south, and afterwards to the west, to Mol Gaṛh, or Moj Gaṛh as it is also called, a masonry fort, situated close to the southern bank; and immediately east of it, the bed is some four miles in breadth. Continuing in about the same direction as before, towards the west-south-west, the channel contracts again, and passes the fort of Din Gaṛh or Tríhárah, situated rather more than a mile from the south bank. Here the channel widens again, and near the ruins of an old fort called Báráh, close to the northern bank, and for many miles away to the southward, the action of water is plainly visible over the face of the whole country. Soon after passing Din Gaṛh the channel becomes still broader, takes a south-westerly course, passes the ruins of the Báráh fort above referred to, and reaches Diráwar or Diláwar, which is close to the southern bank. This place, also called Diráwat, a vitiated form of the first name, is a fortress of great strength from its situation, where the Nawábs of Baháwal-púr used to keep their treasures, as it was considered impregnable, but it was captured by Timúr Sháḥ, the Sadozí Durrání Bádgháh, in the last century, as Mirzá Sháh Husain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, had taken it from the Lángáh Jaṭs of Múltán in 1525 A. D.

Here between Din Gaṛh or Tríhárah, and Diráwar or Diláwar, a vast change takes place in the Hakrā bed. The channel becomes indistinct, because the whole country round, from actual survey, is filled with innumerable long banks and channels, some of the former being from two to four miles in length, and one, and sometimes more in breadth. They chiefly run parallel to the hitherto distinctly defined channel, namely, south-west, down as far as Baghlá and Sáhib Gaṛh, towards the frontier of Upper Sind, a distance of one hundred and eight miles, after which, the channel becomes distinct again. Some of these banks and channels, but not running in such long, unbroken lengths, run to the south in the direction of the ancient channel referred to under, and stretch away beyond Tibbah Cháni-sar, Ghauṅ Gaṛh or Rukn-púr.

This place, together with several others lying along the course of the Hakrā, which separated the territories of Sind and Múltán from Bikánír and Jassámir, still belonged to the Bhāṭí tribe in the middle of the last century. Tod says, "Derawal" was the capital of the Bhāṭís—that of this part, probably—and taken from them by Mubárák Khán, the lámúl-pútraḥ. He then adds that it was "the chief town of Khádál" belonging to the Bhāṭís.

The name is sometimes written Dhiráwal, but the above appears to be the most correct mode of writing it.
Khán Garḥ, Wanjh-rút,⁴⁶⁴ and No-har or Islám Garḥ,⁴⁶⁵ towards the boundary of Bikánir as shown in the map, No. 1, a distance of upwards of one hundred and ten miles to the southward of Din Garḥ, where the action of water first begins to show itself.

From thence these channels—for the whole country round is seamed with them—run southwards towards Dhúndhár, through the western part of the Jasal-mir territory, some miles west of the town of that name, and immediately west of Dhúndhár, in the direction of Amar Koṭ in Sind, showing, unmistakeably, that at some remote period, and as asserted in all the traditions current in these parts, the Hakrá or Wahindah flowed through the Jasal-mir country (on the west side), into Sind.

The next to the oldest bed of the Sutlaj approaches nearer to the bed of the Hakrá north of Din Garḥ than in any other part of its course above this point. At Moj Garḥ or Mol Garḥ,⁴⁶⁶ it is twenty-five miles distant on the north, while at Dín Garḥ, only thirteen miles farther

⁴⁶⁴ Called, formerly, Wanjh-rút of Multán, it being then included within the boundary of the Multán province and territory dependent on it. In 625 H. (1227 A. D.), the district or territory of Wanjh-rút was the fief of Malik Táj-ud-dín, Sanjar-i-Gajzlak Khán, a mamláq or slave of Sulţán I-yal-timish of Dihi. Its site is described farther on. See also Tabakát-i-Násíři page 723.

⁴⁶⁵ No-har or Islám Garḥ is also an ancient place. It was visited by Lient. A. H. E. Boileau of the Hon’ble Company’s Bengal Engineers in 1835, referred to previously. He says: “Halted at Nothur or Islamghur, an ancient possession of the Bhatee family [Bhashi tribe?]. The fort is a very ancient structure built of small bricks, the area about 80 yards square, with very lofty ramparts 30 to 50 feet high. It is disadvantageously situated in a deep basin half a mile or three quarters of a mile in diameter, surrounded by sand hills from 50 to 80 feet high.”

Of course, when it was built, and for centuries after, these sand hills did not exist, nor would such a place have been of any use in a howling wilderness.

⁴⁶⁶ Moj Garḥ is the stronghold whither the Dá’úd-pútrahas always sent their women in times of danger. This place, together with Máṟút, Trihárāh, Phúrā, and Rakn-púr, were taken from the Bikánir Bájah about one hundred and thirty years ago by the Dá’úd-pútrahas, who were new comers in those parts, together with Diráwāl or Dirárāw, Islám Garḥ, and Din Garḥ, from the Bájah of Jasal-mir. Shahámat ‘Alí says that Din Garḥ was built by the first Baháwal Khán, which I think is an error; for, in some places he contradicts his own statements.
south-west, it is but fifteen miles distant; and the face of the country
between indicates plainly the action of water towards Din Garh and
beyond. Farther south-west, this old channel of the Sutlaj approaches
still nearer to that of the Hakrá, as will presently be shown.

Near the ruins of the fort of Khair Garh, thirty-six miles and a half
below Diláwar or Diráwar, in the midst of the long, narrow banks and
channels before referred to, the old bed of the Sutlaj, which is distant
only nine miles farther west, becomes less distinctly defined, and banks
and channels from it, extending for many miles, become mixed up with
those of the Hakrá, until, near the forts of Baghlá and Šáhíb Garh,
twenty-four miles lower down than Khair Garh, their traces merge into
one, showing very clearly that they once united hereabouts at the Dosh-
i-Āb, or Waters' Meet, before noticed. Near Baghlá, the channel of the
Hakrá again becomes clearly defined, and that fort, as well as Šáhíb
Garh, lies close to its right or western bank, the channel here being
nearly two miles in breadth. Six miles lower down, the channel bends
a little more towards the south, and afterwards resumes its general
course of south-west; and under the name of " Rainee Nullah " 467 in
our various maps, but known to the natives as the Wahind, Wahin-
dah, or Hakrá, and being from four to five miles from bank to bank, it
Kanḍhárah (the Kanḍháro of the Siudís), Liárah, and Khán Garh, all
three forts being on its eastern or left bank, into Upper Sind. Here I
will, for the present, leave it, and turn back towards the old beds of
other rivers, which in by-gone times were its tributaries, and which,
even now, during the rainy season, contribute some water to it.

The Sursutí, the Ancient Saraswáti.

Next in rotation to the Qhitang on the west is the Sursutí, 463 the
ancient Saraswáti, which, like the first named river, rises in the

467 Styled " Nullah," perhaps, because, in some places, the channel or river bed
is some four or five miles broad; and never less, I believe, up to this point at least,
than a mile broad.

463 The " Soorsuttee Nud " of the maps. The tract of country lying on either
side of the banks of the Sursutí or Saraswáti, extending from Tháni-sar to Sowán,
six miles N. N. W. of Kaithal, and embracing a circuit of about sixty kuroh, is the
most sacred part of Hind from the Hindú point of view, and was known as Bramhá-
warta, or the abode of the gods. Herein, likewise, the Pandú and the Kuroh met
in battle, hence it is known as Kur-Khet or Kúr-Khet, and Kúr-Chhátar. Abú-I-
Faśl says that this battle, the subject of the Mahá-Bharata, took place just 4831
years before the last year of Akbar Báqshál's reign, which would be just 6721 years
ago, or only 827 years before the world was created according to the chronology of
our Bible, a mere trifle in Hindú chronology. This sacred part of the Hindús con-
tains upwards of three hundred and sixty places of worship or devotion, and the
most sacred of them all are Tháni-sar and Pehú́.á.
Siwálik range, and arises from the overflow of waters in the hills between Nákhn and Saqhúra. From ancient times, a peculiarity of this river is, that a few miles from its source, it disappears for a time from the surface in its sandy bed, and again appears. This it does two or three times in the present day, and, during this temporary disappearance, is supposed to unite with the Chitang, until after re-appearing at last at Barah Kherah, it flows on uninterruptedly. Its course, lower down, has undergone vast changes during the lapse of centuries, and in modern times was also known as the Sákh Sutí (سركه سنی). In the last century when the Survey I have been quoting was made, it passed half a kuroh north and west of Mustafá-ábád, two kuroh east of Babain, north of Thání-sar, and south of Pehúá; for in going from thence to Kaithal by Gumthailá, you crossed the Sursutí from Pehúá over a masonry bridge. It then took a course more directly towards the south-west than it does at present; and its old bed can be distinctly traced from Pehúá to Furis Májrá, and within four kuroh of Tihwánah down to Ban-

Lassen says, "Those who dwell in Kurukshetra south [sic] of the Sarasváti and north of the Drishadváti [which is entirely out of the sacred part], dwell in heaven." The doctors disagree, however, here. Muir, in his "Sanskrit Texts" (II, 338), says, that the Hindús attach no idea of sanctity to the Panjab; on the contrary, the Sarasváti is the western boundary of the pure land, governed by Brahminical laws."

Here he is somewhat mistaken, because the "Drishadváti" flows West of the Sarasváti, and the sacred tract lay between the two rivers. This statement of Muir here, even by his own account, is wrong. There he says: "It would appear that the narrow tract called Brahmalávetta between the Sarasváti and the Drishadváti, alluded to in the classical passage in Manus II, 17-24, must have been for a considerable time the seat of the most distinguished Indian priests and sages."

According to the Hindús legends, the Sarasváti was the one only river which flowed on pure from the mountains to the sea, in which case it could not have joined the Chitang or the Ghag-ghar, nor have been a tributary to the Hákra, which it was, or at least, along with the Chitang formed it. Some, however, consider the passage to be entirely allegorical, and that the Sarasváti being the goddess of sacrifice, with her libations, the saumudra (the sea) is merely typical of the vesse destined to receive the libations.

According to the same writer (p. 399), (quoting Manus II, 17-24), "The tract fashioned by the gods which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasváti and Drishadváti, is called Brahmalávetta."
húrah, a little more than eight kuroh south-south-west of Tíhwánah. It passed Banhúrah a kuroh and a half on the east, where the channel becomes indistinct, but north of Qhíhini, on the north bank of the present channel of the Qhitang. About twenty-eight miles in the same direction from Banhúrah, where it becomes indistinct, it can be again plainly traced until its junction with the Qhitang a short distance west of Bhádará, where the united streams formed and received the name of Hakrá. The Ghag-ghar was never called Sursuti, and only those unaware of these facts could have imagined that it was so. These rivers, the Qhitang and the Sursuti had no connection in former times with the Ghag-ghar, until they united with it upwards of twenty miles south-west of Bhañtir.

At the close of the last century, when this Survey was made, when the Sursuti became flooded, the cultivators of Kaithál, which belonged to the Mándar Afghán (a colony of that division of the Khás’his settled here from the time of the Afghán rulers), used to cut the band or dyke of the river at Pehú’á, and bring water to their lands round about Kaithál. "A little to the north-west of Harnolah, on the route from Kaithál by Agúnd to Samánah," the Survey says, "the great river Sursuti is crossed, which, on ordinary occasions, contains but little water, and shortly afterwards two other branches of it have to be passed." Now there is but one channel; but two large lakes, about two miles or more farther west, indicate where these branches formerly flowed.

Another old channel of the Sursuti can be traced between that just described and the present main channel, which runs within just two miles and a quarter of Tíhwánah, and is lost again eleven miles and a half south of the last named place. It branches off three miles and a

475 "Buhoonah" of the maps.

476 Cunningham, in the maps to his "Ancient India," numbers V and VI, indicates correctly the course of the Hakrá or Wahindah, but, in the first map calls it the "Nudras Fl.," and in the second, the "Sotra or Chitrang R.;" and he does not indicate the Ná’í Wálí branches—the old Sutlej beds—merely the Qhitang, which he, like some others, incorrectly calls "Chitráng" (which refers to a part of the great desert already explained), and the Háriári or Ghárah under the usual incorrect name of "Satlej." The names "Sotra," "Sodrah," and "Sothaur," as the name is written in different maps, and by different English writers, is applied by them to the Ghag-ghar not to the Qhitang at all. See page 439, and note 439, and note 423, page 408, para. 2.

In a recent "Settlement Report of the Hissar District," we are told, that, in the days of "Shams Shíruz the Ghaggar was called the Saraswati." It may have been so at "Shírás," but it was never so called in Hind, because they are totally different rivers. See note 218, page 264.
half east of the present (or late) point of junction with the Ghag-ghar mentioned in the next paragraph.

At the present time, the Sursutí unites with the Ghag-ghar near Rasúlah, twenty miles north-east of Téhwánah, and fourteen miles and a half west-north-west of Kaithal, or eight miles or so west of the course it formerly took to unite with the Ghag-ghar.

Another change in the courses of the rivers of these parts is indicated by that of the Márkanádah, which formerly, after reaching Thaská from the direction of Sháh-ábád, ran west to Kuhrán, and, after passing one kuroh south if it, united with the Ghag-ghar. At the present time it turns off before reaching Thaská, runs to the south, and unites with the Sursutí about two kuroh or three miles and a half east of Pehu'á.

The Ghag-ghar, the Ancient Drishadwatí.

I now come to the Ghag-ghar, and its tributaries. The course of the Ghag-ghar*77* river has probably changed oftener than that of any other of these parts; and its shiftings, no doubt, had a deal to do with the drying up of the Hakrá. The author of the Survey says, "the Ghag-ghar is now a rain-formed river [that is, dependent on rain], and very famous in the parts through which it flows. Its exact source has not been determined, but it comes from Kahlúr; and it is related, that, having flowed past Bhañnír, in by-gone times, it used

477* This river is styled "Cuggur" by Dow and Briggs, although there is no such letter as c in the Persian, in which Firíshthab's history is written, nor is there in Sanskrit or Hindi. Elphinstone, who quotes Briggs, makes the matter still worse by writing it, in his "History of India," "Cízar;" and Rennell writes it "Cagga."

The word in the original form is जग्ग, the second 'g' being doubled.

In the "Memoirs of George Thomas" it is stated (p. 164) with respect to the course of the "Cuggur," as the author of the "Memoirs" styles the Ghag-ghar, that, "during Mr. Thomas's residence at Batnir, he could perceive little vestige of what is called the antient bed of this river, but from the scanty information he procured, it appeared to him that the river, tho' it formerly ran along the south side of the fort, its channel had been choked up by vast quantities of earth forced down from the mountains, and according to the prevailing opinion of the natives, tho' now lost in the sands, west of the city, it formerly extended as far as the Sutlej which it joined in the vicinity of Ferozpore."

The author of the "Memoirs" appears to have reversed Thomas's meaning, since in the map to the "Memoirs," the Sutlej is made to run southwards from near Firúz-púr into the Hakrá, which it once did, but from a point a long way to the east of Firúz-púr.

In another place it is stated, that the country of the Bhañís "extends along the banks of the Cuggur from the town of Futtahbad to that of Batnir. The soil is uncommonly productive, which arises in a great measure from the immense body
to unite with the Sind on the frontiers of Jasal-mîr, but, for a long period it has become obstructed and blocked up." The writer here, of course, refers to the Ghag-ghar and Hakrâ united, and when the Ghag-ghar was not entirely dependent on rain. This river arises from the overflow of water in the rainy season from the Siwâlik range near Pinjor, on the north and west of the tract wherein the Chitang and Sursuti take their rise. It then ran towards the south, passed east of Mûni Májrâ and west of Râm Gârh, then turned south-west, and reached the kâsbâh or bâzár town of Banhûr, below the walls of which it flowed. So far, the changes in its course do not seem to have been very great; but, about four or five miles above Banhûr, another rain-fed river, the Unbâhalâ (اودبلا), now branches off to the south-west towards Anbâlah, which river will be presently noticed.

From Banhûr the Ghag-ghar ran more to the south-south-west, and passed about two miles, or a little over, west of Mughul Sarâ'e; and crossed the present line of railway near a place which still preserves its name, namely Ghag-ghar Sarâ'e, about eight miles and a half to the north-westwards of Anbâlah.

Now it passes less than two miles west of that place.

From Ghag-ghar Sarâ'e it ran away in a direction about south-west passing near Châppar and Fath-pûr on the east, and midway between the latter place and Bhunâreî, winding considerably in some places; then turning a little more westerly, it ran on towards Samânâh, and washed some of the buildings of that place on the east side. The Survey account says, in proof of this, that, "in going from Banhûr to Pañjâlah by way of Râm-pûr, Madan-pûr, Ujráwar, and Kheri, the

of water descending from the mountains during the rainy season, thus causing the banks of the river to overflow to an extent of several miles.

At page 7 of the article on the "Lost River" in the "Calcutta Review," the writer says, that, "the old river bed now [sic] known as the Gâggar, in which flows the stream of that name, according to tradition, was originally the bed of the Satlej." The tradition so called must have been misunderstood: the so called "Eastern Nyewal" must have been meant; and the "old river bed now known as the Gâggar," that is the Ghag-ghar, is as old as the hills.

473 See page 450.
479 See note 485, page 438.
480 "Boonoor" of the maps. See following note 485, page 438.
481 The merchants, Steel and Crowther, quoted in note 357, page 354, who passed the Ghag-ghar two hundred and seventy-five years ago - in 1614-15 A. D. - mention it as follows: "Mogul Serâ or Gaggar, on the route from Shahabad to Sunam."
482 This word continually occurs in the names of places in these parts, generally in conjunction with another word, sometimes following, sometimes preceding. It means a village, from Sanskrit केरा. Another form of the word is Kherâ. In
Ghag-ghar had to be crossed in two places by the way. In this neighbourhood, and farther north, it used, in former times, to cause great destruction from overflowing its banks, but now, save and except a contemptible channel, nothing else remains.

"At that period, likewise, the route between Anbálah and Samánah, three kuroh distant from Kuhrám, used to become so flooded from the overflow of the Ghag-ghar, that it became entirely closed."

The distance between Kuhrám and Samánah is seventeen miles, and there were then as now, many villages between. Now, the Ghag-ghar flows four or five miles farther eastward, and after passing within four miles or more of Kuhrám, flows towards the south-west, and unites with a river which appears in our maps as the "Konsilla N." or "Puttealuh river," but, at the period in question, it was not known.

In going from Puriyalah to Kuhrám by Fath-pur, Sunnúr, and Bhunarefí, the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed between Fath-pur and Bhunarefí; but, now, it flows more than two miles and a half on the other or south side of the last-named place.

Proceeding from Agúnd to Samánah by way of Ujhh and Sehún our maps it is sometimes "Kherah," sometimes "Khere," and "Kheree;" and, in some places, all three variations of the word, after this fashion, will be found written almost adjoining each other. See note 230, page 269, and note 455, page 424

455 I may mention that Hánsí, Samánah, Sunn, Kuhrám, and Sarásti, or Sirást of the present time, particularly Hánsí and its dependencies, were some of the most important fiefs of the Dihli kingdom, as may be gathered from the "Tabakát-i-Náširí." This fact also shows that they must have been far more flourishing at that period than they were in the time of Akbar Badsháh. In former times there was no scarcity of water, and then these parts were in very prosperous condition, and contained a far greater number of inhabitants, as the numerous ruined sites confirm.

Ibn Bajúlah says Sarásti, when he went thither from Uboh-har, was a large city, and abounded with rice, which people carried to Dihli for sale. Hánsí, his next stage, he says, was a fine, well, and closely built city, with extensive fortifications. Then he went on to Mas'úd-áábád.

In the time of the last Shamsiá Shán of Dihli, Hánsí was held by the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, afterwards Sulíán Ghiyás-úd-Din, Bulban. It was a very ancient and strong place, and was captured in 427 H. (1035-36 A.D.), by Sulíán Mas'úd, the Martyr. This was one hundred years or more before the time of "Rae Pithaura," who, we are told, "is supposed to have founded it."

In the last century it was totally depopulated and ruined. On the north side of the city and adjoining it was a high tall or mound, and on its summit the remains of a strong fortress also in ruins. Within the fortress is the shrine of Shaikh Jamáí, Hánaswí, who was one of the orthodox disciples, and the successor of that Sulíán-nz-Záhidín, Shaikh Farid, the saint of Ajúddhan, and on the saint's day is visited by thousands of people. To the north of the fort there is a great lake some three or four kuroh in length, and nearly as broad. The cause of the desolation of this place
Májrá, two miles and a half north-east of Agúnd and Marqúbi, two branches of the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed; but now, there is but one branch. Likewise, in going from Agúnd to Sunámaal westwards by Ujjh andNanherá, a distance of four miles and a quarter, in the time of the Survey, the Ghag-ghar was crossed mid-way between these two places; but now, even the "Old Ghuggur Núd" of the maps is crossed less than a mile west of Ujjh, and the present channel is a little over a mile and half east of Nanherá.

is said to have been the great famine of the year 1179H. (1782-83 A.D.) It was the capital of George Thomas's short lived principality.

"When this place went to decay, merchants and traders began to take up their quarters in the karyáh of Nangálí (نانگلی) (the "Mingalee," "Mangalee," and "Buleeláalee" of as many different maps), and made it thereby the envy of the other towns of this part. It is five kuruhs to the south-east of Hánsí."

Sultán Masa'úd had captured Sarustí, the modern Sirsá, in the year 425 H. (1033-34 A.D.); and in 427 H. (1035-36 A.D.), he moved against HÁnsí, having, when very ill, vowed he would undertake a holy war against the infidels, if he recovered. HÁnsí was a fortress of vast strength, and considered impregnable by the Hindu. In six days, however, one of the bastions was thrown down, leaving, a practicable breach, and the Musulman troops rushed in and captured it. This was in the beginning of the year 428 H. (it began 24th October, 1036 A.D.); and a great deal of booty fell into their hands.

After this Sultán Masa'úd moved against the fortress of Soní-paṭ (north of the city of Díhilí), which was the stronghold and residence of Deobál (Deva-Pálá, probably) of Harínánah. On the Sultán's approach, Deobál retired to the jangald with his numerous forces, leaving the garrison to defend the place. It was captured, however, and sacked, and its idol-temples given to the flames. A spy having brought information of Deobál's whereabouts, he was surprised by the Musulman troops, defeated, and put to flight.

After this the Sultán left his son, Abú-l-Mujallá-i-Majúd, governor of Láhor and his territories farther east.

Soon after Sultán, Abú-ul-Fath-i-Mandúd, had avenged the assassination of his father, Sultán Masa'úd, in 433H. (1041-42 A.D.), and he had himself been worsted by Sultán Alb-Arašáín, the Saljúk, in his endeavours to recover Khurásán from the Saljúks, the Musulmáns of the territory of Láhor and its dependencies,—who in Sultán Masa'úd's reign, had crushed the rebellion of their then governor, 'Abd-ul-Nías-Tigín, who, as elsewhere related, was drowned in the Mihrán of Sind near Manşúriyah, but had thrown off their allegiance to Sultán Mandúd—found themselves about to be attacked by three of the most powerful of the Rájahs of Hind, who had combined to recover Láhor and its territory from the Muhammadans, who now marched to Láhor and invested it. The ringleaders in this act of disloyalty, now thought it advisable to renew their allegiance, which secured to Sultán Mandúd the services of all the Musulmán soldiery in that province; and two of the Rájahs, out of fear of Sultán Mandúd, determined to relinquish this enterprise against Láhor, and retired into their own territories again. But one more rash than the others, named Deobál of Harínánah, stayed behind for a
At present," says my Survey account, "the channel having passed by Chapar, Fath-púr, and between the latter place and Bhunaréri, about a kuroh farther south-west, the tributaries of the Ghag-ghar [presently to be noticed], unite with it, after which it is also known as the Panch Nadi, and lower down towards Tihwánah as the Gájí Wá-háh as well. From this place of junction, the Ghag-ghar or Panch Nádí short time, thinking, that if the Musalmáns ventured out, he might be able to overthrow them. They considering themselves now strong enough, did so, encountered him, overthrew him with great slaughter, and put him to flight, killing great numbers in the pursuit. Do-bál fled, and shut himself up in a strong fortress which he possessed, and in it he was invested by the victors. The name of the place is not mentioned, but is said to have been small, although very strong; and the Rájah had brought thither along with him such a number of followers, that famine began to stare them in the face. He had, therefore, to sue for terms, but the Musalmáns would agree to nothing short of his surrendering up all his fortified places to them, and he was obliged to comply. He obtained quarter; but the property and wealth contained in these strongholds, which was very great, fell into the hands of the people of Islám, and 5,000 persons of that faith, obtained as captives by the Rájah, Do-bál of Hariánah, who, in pomp and power exceeded all the other Malikas of Hind, were, incorporated with the Muḥammadan army.

This Rájah appears to be the same as the one referred to in Sultán Maś'úd’s time, but the names are differently written, the first mentioned being plainly Diobál, probably Dio-pál—and the other without points, which may be Do-bál, or Do-pál, or even Do-tál, or Do-yál. If one and the same Rájah is not referred to, the latter must be the son, or the successor of the former, but they probably refer to one and the same person.

After finishing this affair, the Musalmáns marched against the other Rájah, who was named Mat Mári. He sallied forth from his stronghold to encounter them; and although they did not amount to more than a tenth of the number he brought against them, they defeated and slew him, with the loss of some 5,000 men killed, and a vast amount of booty fell into their hands. The rest of the neighbouring Malikas of Hind, having become aware of this disaster, agreed to pay tax and tribute; and thus they saved themselves from the swords of the people of Islám. Sultán Mánúd died on the 20th Rajab, 441H. (about the end of January, 1050 A.D.), at which time his son, Abú-l-Kásim-i-Muḥammad, held the government of Láhor and its dependencies.

Tihwánah, in Akbar Bádsháh’s reign (written “Tohánah” in Blochmann’s text) was a maháll of the sarkár of Híjár Fúrúzah, and had a fort of kiln-burnt brick. Its revenue amounted to 4,694,354 dáms, with free grants amounting altogether to 150,880 dáms. The people were Afgháns of the Nóhángí or Lúhání tribe, who had to furnish 400 horsemen, and 3,000 foot for militia purposes. It is probable that some Afgháns have been located in these parts ever since the time of Sultán Ghíyás-ud-dín, Balíban, who was the first of the great fondatories of the Dehlí kingdom who took Afgháns into pay. But this was not “in the sixth century A.D. in the time of Anang Pál Tuur Rája of Dehlí," as some tell us. It is said, in history, to have been founded by Rájah Tihwán Pál son of Abí Pál.
takes a more south-westerly course, and winding in several places by the way, reaches Samánah on the east side close to the walls of the place. 435 It then takes a course nearly south towards Nanherá and Bádsháh-púr; separates into three channels east of Nanherá, two of which pass between that place and Sehín Májrá farther east [about two kuroh north of Agúnd], and the third east of Sehún Májrá; after which they take a more south-westerly course again, and, subsequently, more towards the south-west, and reuniting, and bending and winding considerably, pass towards Múng Álá.”

Now, the Ghag-ghar is, at its nearest point, six miles or more from Samánah to the south-east. At the period in question the Ghag-ghar flowed within six miles and a half of Pašíláh; now it is distant between eleven and twelve miles east and south-east of that city. At the same period, it passed eight miles west of Anbálah, while now it is but two.

At the time of this Survey likewise, after passing the Suwétí on the way from Bádsháh-púr, above referred to, on the road to Múng Álá, a little over twelve kuroh towards the south-west by way of Duhandál, Rá’e Dhiráná, and Dúdíán, you cross the Ghag-ghar twice.”

Now, the Suwétí or Chhé-héy runs three miles east of Rá’e Dhiráná, and a mile and half east of Dúdíán, and unites with the Ghag-ghar two miles and a half south-east of Múng Álá; while an old channel of the river, called the “Old Ghuggur Núd” in the maps, is nine miles and a half east of Rá’e Dhiráná, and the present channel two miles and a half still farther east. The Sursúti now unites with the Ghag-ghar seventeen miles and a quarter to the north-eastwards of Múng Álá; but, when this Survey was made, it flowed some six or seven miles

435 When Bábár Bádsháh invaded Hindústán, the Ghag-ghar flowed under the walls of Samánah, and from thence to Sunám. He says, in his Tuzúk, that, “Marching from Sáhrá hind towards Anbálah, “we alighted on the banks of the river of Banúr [Banhúr—foreigners always drop the ‘h’ in Hindú words] and Sannúr. In Hindústán, apart from the daryás (great rivers) there is one running stream, and this they call the Ab-i-Gagar (Ghag-ghar). Chhat (the ‘Chuth’ of the maps), likewise, is situated on the bank of this river.” The Bádsháh set out, up stream, to view the country, and says, that, “three or four kuroh higher up than where this river issues forth, there is another stream, its tributary, which issues from a wide, open darah, which contains a volume sufficient to turn four or five water-mills.” It was such a pleasant spot that he gave directions to form a garden there on its banks. Then he says: “This stream having entered the plains and flowed for a distance of a kuroh or two, unites with the river Gagar (Ghag-ghar), the point at which the latter issues [from the hills] being three or four kuroh lower down. In the rainy season, a great volume of water comes from this channel, and unites with the Gagar (Ghag-ghar), which flows on to Samánah and Sunám.” Compare “Elliot’s Historians” (Vol. IV, page 249) here, containing the Editor’s version of “Tuzak-i-Bábári.” It is a dangerous practice to leave out what is not understood,
farther east than its present place of junction with the Ghag-ghar, and its old bed can be distinctly traced. At the period in question it did not unite with the Ghag-ghar at all, but passing Tihwánah about six miles and a half on the east, ran away towards the south-south-west, and united with the Chitang a little west of Bhádará; and the two rivers then lost their name, and the united channels were known as the Hakrá or Wahindah, as already stated.496

"In going from Kaithal towards Múng Alá by Sher Garh and Gulá-har, the Ghag-ghar passes the latter place close under its walls. Five kuroh farther down is Manñohi, and the river passes north of it," but now, it is close to it on the west; and beyond Makodar, some four miles lower down, and about three miles and a half south-east of Múng Alá, the Suweti or Ghhú-hey unites with the Ghag-ghar, which then separates into two branches as before mentioned.

In going from Múng Alá to Fath-ábád, at the same period, in the direction of south-west, you first went "two kuroh and a half south-south-west to Handhah,437 on the bank of the Ghag-ghar, and in the Jamál-púr parganah; and, after that, four kuroh farther in the same direction to Háidar-Wálah on the other side of the river; and half-way between those two places the Ghag-ghar had to be crossed. From thence you had to go five kuroh to Shukr-púr,438 which was also on the banks of the Ghag-ghar, which ran close by it on the right hand (north)." Now, you have to cross one channel of that river from Múng Alá to reach Handhah; and both it and Háidar-Wálah are close to the bank of another channel, and Shukr-púr is at present some two miles from the banks of the Ghag-ghar. Moreover, in 1821, when Captain John Colvin of the Honourable Company's Engineers surveyed these rivers, the present southern-most of the two

without mentioning it. On this occasion the Bádeháh's son, Humáyún, was despatched from the right wing of his army to Hisár Firúzah, some ninety miles S. S. W., against the Afgán troops there, but from Mr. Dowson's version it would appear that Humáyún was with his father all the time. Hisár Firúzah, the revenue of which was estimated at a karor (of tangahs?) was sacked, and was afterwards conferred upon Humáyún, together with a karor in money.

Ghhat (mis-called "Chuth" in the maps) was a mahdil of the sakár of Sahriding in Akbar Bádeháh's reign; its revenue amounted to 750,944 dáms, and free grants computed at 49,860 dáms; the people were Afgáns and Báj-púts; and they had to furnish 650 horsemen, and 1100 foot for militia purposes.

496 See page 422, and compare the "Calcutta Review" article which makes it no to the Ghag-ghar instead.

437 Turned into "Handee" in the maps.

438 This is the place called "Shikohpoor" in the maps, and not that called "Shukoorpoor," twelve miles south-west of Múng Alá.
channels passing between Mung Alah and Tihwánah, was lost (or, at least, is not marked in his map), a mile and a half south-west of Handhah. Lower down again, in going from Mung Alah by Tihwánah to Bar-Waláh nearly due south, it was necessary to go two kuroh and a half in that direction to Ram-púr, and to pass the Ghag-ghar, which flowed under its walls. Now, you have to cross two channels, and the second one nearly a mile before reaching Ram-púr. Jamál-púr, an ancient place, likewise, was then one kuroh east of the Ghag-ghar, but now it is two miles and a half distant from its southern-most channel.

For some miles north of Tihwánah in Hariánah, where the Ghag-ghar separates into two branches, and from thence westwards towards Sirsa, the villages and lands lying along the banks of the northern channel are known by the general name of Sot-har or Sotá-har, so called from the Sanskrit तिरहः sot or sota signifying, 'a spring,' 'a stream ' 'a river,' but the river Ghag-ghar is not called by that name save in the sense of 'the river.' These sot-har lands are very productive and yield two harvests yearly, the autumnal one being rice. Sarsútí or Sirsa produced much rice in Ibn Baťútah's time (see page 264). On the other hand, the villages lying along the banks of the southern channel are known as the Dabán villages, on account of the abundance of a species of grass known in Hindi as ḍáb (a sacrificial grass—poa annosuroides) growing along its banks.

In the Firúz-púr district the broad belt of sandy soil covered with hillocks, of from two to three miles in breadth, lying along one of the old channels of the Satlaj, is called "sot-har" or "sot-hara." See note 477, page 432, and note 433, page 403.

Hariánah, especially its western and southern parts about Fatb-ábád, the Firúzah Hisár, Tohsham, and Bhawání, the parts nearest to Bikanír and Jasal-mír, is called Bánjar - بانجار - or Banjar - بانجار - from Sanskrit बन्जार in which there is go 'g,' but the word has become vitiated, and this part is called Bángar by those who do not know the derivation of the word. The term means 'lying waste,' 'dry,' 'arid,' 'thirsty,' etc. These parts contain sand hills, and are subject to violent dust storms, so violent, indeed, that very often after one of these storms, the seed sown by the cultivator is covered and spoiled. In some places villages have been abandoned on account of the wells becoming filled up from the same cause.

From fifteen to twenty-five miles towards the south from Suhání (the "Sewanee" of the maps) and the Bikanír border, in place of sand hills there are some bare rocky hills, which rise like islands from the sandy tract, but they do not rise to any great height, the highest not exceeding eight hundred feet or thereabouts. The town of Tohsham stands on the northern skirt of the highest of these. They appear to be the hills referred to by Ibn Baťútah on his way from Ubóh-har to Dhiblí. See page 264.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient India," (page 247), says: "the country of which Bikan [?] the capital was originally called Bógar des—the land of the Bágri or Warriors, whose leader was Bágri Rao. If so, it would be "Bógar des, not "Bógar des;" but it will be seen that he has merely "identified" the word báñjar, or rather the vulgar form bángar, above referred to, for "a warrior" (we are not told when the "leader, Bágri Rao," flourished), and that the "Bágri warriors" are sand hills. "Hariánah," herein referred to, the Survey record states,
"To the south of Múng Alá," according to my Survey account, "is the river called the Ghú-hêy (جہاى شی). Some say it is the Patiâlah river, which passes one kuroh west of Samânâh, and unites with the Ghag-ghar, and, that in the district and neighbourhood of Samânâh, they call it the Suwêtî; but, according to the most trustworthy accounts, it is the Ghag-ghar, the waters of which, through the closing of the band or dyke of Jamâl-púr in this same district, spread out [in that direction]."

The closing of this band or dyke appears to have tended to the formation of the present southern-most of the two channels into which the Ghag-ghar now separates east of Múng Alá; for, at the time of the Survey here quoted, "the Ghag-ghar," it is stated, "flows towards the west in one channel, and winding considerably, to Rutiah, situated close to its south bank, and Kulotah, close by on the north." 490

"is a dependency of Dihli, and they likewise call it Bânjar, that is to say Khâghk [signifying, in Persian, and used in the Urdu dialect], dry, arid, etc., (see preceding note 489)," but harî, from which the name is supposed to be derived, is from Sanskrit, and that signifies 'green,' etc. Harânâh extends in length from Bahádur Gâr to the Firûzâh Hisâr more than one hundred kuroh in length, and in breadth, from the river Ghag-ghar to Mewât, about the same distance. It contains excess of sandy waste and uncultivated tracts and jangal. It is not usual to build fortifications, forts, or walled towns, or villages, but around each inhabited place they set up branches of thorns to about twice the height of a man, dig a ditch around it, and consider this sufficient. In defending such places these people manifest great bravery.

"The inhabitants are Jâts, Gèjars, Rânghrs, Asoôns, Háns, and Afghâns. The latter began to settle here during the rule of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, Balban, the Ilbâr Türk ruler of Dèhil, who was the first to entertain Afghâns in his pay, and, subsequently, during the time of Afghân rulers. On account of the difficult nature of the country these tribes have become rebellious to the authority of any ruler [that was when the author wrote, about a century ago], and are a source of trouble and difficulty on account of their lawlessness and excesses. * * * Without a force of cavalry, this territory cannot be brought under control [See following note 498]. Jîndh, Hánâi, Hisâr Firúzâh or the Firûzâh Hisâr, Agrohâh, Fâth-âbâd, Jamâl-púr, Tîhânâh, Kaithal, Miham, Bhawânî, Chirkhî, Dádri, Bîrî, Nângalî, Khârkhedâ, Jâj-har Rohtak, Kohânâh, Bainsâ, etc., are its principal towns. Hisâr Firûzâh, Hánâi, Agrohâh, Fâth-âbâd, Jamâl-púr, Tîhânâh, and some other places in that direction, are in a state of ruin and desolation through the rapine of the Sikhs, and the tyranny and lawlessness of the Bhaâsia."

490 At the present time (that is, when the "Indian Atlas" map was made) the Ghú-hêy passes two miles and a half east of Múng Alá, and unites with the Ghag-ghar at the same distance south-east of that place, and just two miles west of Makoð ("Mukodur" of the maps), immediately north of which the Ghag-ghar flowed, and still flows.

491 It now passes south of it.
From thence it runs to Duṇḍhál, a little before reaching which, it turns to the south-westwards, and runs on towards Sirsá, which it passes a little over four kuroh on the west, and close under the walls of Jhorur and Dhunor, situated on the right or north bank. Hereabouts the bed becomes very broad, and the waters to spread out for nearly a kuroh or more farther eastwards. The channel passes within a short distance—about a quarter of a kuroh—south of the ancient Firúz-ábád; and water is to be found for a long way farther west to near Bhiráj kí Tibbi, and considerable quantities of wheat are cultivated. From Firúz-ábád westwards the channel becomes very broad, and runs a little to the north of west to Bhiráj kí Tibbi, which lies close to the south bank, a little north of which the channel of the Chuwwá from the north-westwards joins it; and the united channel runs to Bhañnír, distant six kuroh from the afore-mentioned Tibbi, and passes under the walls of that ancient fortress on the north side."

The Ghag-ghar appears to have changed but little hereabouts for some thirty years; for, at the time of Captain John Colvin's Survey, the channel was found to be much the same as noted in my Survey record, but, at the present time, after passing Zaffar-ábád, close to its south bank, and thirteen miles south-east of ancient Fath-ábád, there are several large dhánads or lakes of standing water. Seven miles west of the first-named place, this southern-most of the two channels becomes well defined, and runs nearly due west, passing under the walls of the ancient town and fort of Sirsá on the south, and unites with the

498 "Doodhal" of the maps.
499 Now, the other, or southern channel, unites some distance farther south.

Water is to be found in the Ghag-ghar in several places between Múng Aliá and Firúz-ábád.

494 All the villages of this part, nearly, and the old ones in particular, are situated on mounds, hence the constant use of the Hindi words tibbah and tibbi, signifying a 'mound,' 'height,' 'rising ground;' and this fact indicates anything but scarcity of water.

495 Called the "War N." in the maps, immediately north of Sirsá; but, above Sunám it appears as the "Choeea Nud," as though a totally different river!
496 But it may have changed and re-changed its course several times in the interim.

In days gone by, it flowed without interruption from the hills, but, in more recent times, a good deal of its water was drawn off for irrigation purposes. At the present time, the greater portion is drawn off for that purpose; but, even now, when the river is in flood, the current is too dangerous for boats. Except on rare occasions, it is fordable everywhere almost.
497 The A'in-i-Akbarí says that near Sirsá is a kol-i-áb or lake, the name of which is Bhádará. This seems to have disappeared.
northern channel two miles and a half east of Firuz-abad. From thence the united channels take a course more towards the west-south-west, towards Bhiraj ki Tibbi and Bhaunir, as abovementioned; and it still passes, as in times gone by, close under the walls of the old fortress on the north side.

From Bhaunir, in former times, as at present, the channel took a south-westerly course; but, according to my Survey information, it passed at the period referred to, "close under the village of Faath Garh or Beghor on the west." Near to Dubh-li, the chief town and residence of the Wali of Bhaunir, two kuroh west-north-west of Faath Garh, there are kolabs, dhunds, or lakes, which are filled in the rainy season when the Ghag-ghar is flooded, the river at such times, even now, reaching this point which is between five and six kuroh south-west of Bhaunir. From the afore-mentioned Faath Garh it passed also close to the village known as Bhara Mal ki Bhaunra, also on the east bank, immediately west of which the channel of the Hakra passed close to the said Bhaunra on the south, which is just twenty-three miles and a half from Bhaunir. At, and near the point of junction, there were numerous long, narrow banks with dry channels between, the effect of changes in the courses of the two rivers caused by inundations.

At the present time the bed of the Ghag-ghar runs a little more west from Faath Garh than previously; and the junction with the Hakra channel is now more than two miles farther east than Bhara Mal ke Bhaunra.

The Survey record states, that:—"Bhaunir, which constitutes part of the tracts inhabited by the Bhati tribe, and styled the Bhati country, contains about 40,000 families of this tribe. It is about sixty kuroh in length from east to west, and about twenty kuroh in breadth. The part lying along the banks of the Ghag-ghar and Chitang rivers, reached by the inundations from them, is very productive; but, on the north-west and south, Bhaunir adjoins the sandy, arid, uncultivated desert tracts, called the Chulistan, and which the Bhatis term the Thal."

499 In the time of the glorious East India Company, when India was happy and contented, but a time which, to her cost, she is not likely ever to see again, and the rupi was worth two shillings and three pence, Skinner's Horse, soon after their formation, were stationed on this, the then eastern frontier. See note 614 page 449.

Dubh-li appears in our maps as "Dabli" and "Dhubli." See page 410.

Bhaunra, in Sanskrit, means "a cavern," "a vault," etc.

501 A most amusing mistake has been made respecting the Bhatis, and by Gladwin, I believe, originally, in his translation, such as it is, of the A'in-i-Akbari; and from that day to this the blunder has been carefully handed down by different writers, just like the "Pathan Dynasties," and the 'Ghickers' and 'Ghukkurs,' etc., for the Khokhars.
TRIBUTARIES OF THE GHAG-GHAR.

I must now refer, as briefly as possible, to the chief tributaries of the Ghag-ghar as they flowed about ninety years since.

"The Markanda, which is a perennial stream, rises a little to the west of Nahun, where it is known under the name of Jurá Páni, and passes a little west of Rasúl-púr, which is just two kuroh north of Sađhúrá, after passing which it loses the name of Jurá Páni and is known as the Markanda. It flows in the direction of about south-west, and reaches Sháh-ábád, which it passes close by on the north; and here it is known by the name of Makrá as well as Markanda. From thence it runs on to Thaska, which it passes close to on the north, and thence by Ismá-il-púr, Ghaprá, and Bibi-púr, which two latter places lie on the north bank. From the latter place it runs south of Májrá one kuroh from Kuhram, to reach which place, from the southward, the Markanda has to be crossed to Májrá. From Sháh-ábád to this point the course is a little to the south of west, after which it bends more towards the south-west, and unites with the Ghag-ghar a little to the west of Agúnd."

At the present time, the Markanda turns towards the south immediately east of Thaska, and unites with the Sursuti instead of the Ghag-ghar, rather less than four miles north-east of Pehú, twenty-three miles and a half farther east than its former place of junction with the latter river.

In the account of the "Country of the Bhatties" by W. Hamilton, in his "Hindustan," Vol. I., p. 523, he says: "The Bhatties were originally shepherds. Various tribes of them are found in the Punjab, and they are also scattered over the high grounds [!] to east of the Indies, from the sea to Ooch. In the Institutes of Acher [the A'in-i-Akbari] these tribes are by Abul Fazil named Ashambatty."

Abú-l-Faṣl in the "A'in-i-Akbari," referring to the people inhabiting the Thaṭṭah province dependent on Multán, says, that, "they are لازحشام بپتلاي وجزکان as akshám-i-Bhatti wo jas-i-mdn." He of course referred to the various sections or sub-tribes of the Bhatis, akshám being the plural of the 'Arabio word حشام — hajam — and the person who originally made this absurd error, mistook the two words "akhshám-i-Bhatti (here again the Persian ixázat was not understood. See note 94 page 276), for Asham-batty, leaving out the 'h' of one word and 'h' of the other. Akshám, literally, means 'fraternity,' 'bands,' 'bodies,' 'followers,' 'attendants, servants,' etc., but is used to indicate, not as regards the Bhatis only, 'clans,' 'septs,' 'tribes,' etc.

908 There is no mention whatever of any river "Begunuh" which now, according to the maps, unites with the Markanda two miles and a half south-west of Paplúthá, and this shows what great changes have taken place hereabouts in less than a century. This "Begunuh" river of the maps, is the "Begná" of the Gazetteers. It appears to be considered right that the two should differ — variety is charming!
"In going from Muṣṭafá-ábád to Anbálah, two kuroh west of Dhin you reach and cross the Márkandá; and, in going from Thání-sar by Thaska to Paṭílálah, that tributary of the Ghag-ghar has to be crossed north-west of the latter place. Also, in going from Kuhram to Pehú'á on the Sursuti, the Márkandá is crossed one kuroh south of Kuhram."

Now all is changed: the Márkandá does not reach within twelve miles and a half of Kuhram, and has deserted the Ghag-ghar altogether. It turns south-south-west just before reaching Thaska, and now unites with the Sursuti three miles and a half north-east of Pehú'á.

At the same period, the Márkandá was but a kuroh and a half from the Sursuti in going from Thání-sar to Paṭílálah. The Survey record says: "You leave Thání-sar and go half a kuroh west and reach the Sursuti; and another kuroh and a half brings you to the Márkandá. After crossing it, and going another half a kuroh, Hīşálah ("Hussaluh" of the maps) is reached, lying on the right hand. Proceeding two kuroh farther in the direction of north-west, inclining north, you reach Bağárā, where the Thání-sar parganah ends. Another two kuroh, in much the same direction as before, and you reach Sil Pání, in the Kuhram parganah. From thence two kuroh more brings you to Dunyá Májrá on the right-hand side of the road. South of it is a small river channel dependent on rain, which comes from the right hand and flows towards the left, called the Wulindá, and from thence, after going another kuroh and a half west, inclining north-west, Thaska is reached."

Here again are great changes. The Márkandá now does not come nearer than within eleven miles of Thání-sar; and two small river beds intervene between that place and the Márkandá, which, at present, passes close under Thaska on the south. The bed in which it now flows is evidently that in which the Wulindá then flowed, and to which it must subsequently have taken.503

Another tributary of the Ghag-ghar, called the Unbhlá (عبيلة), conveying the overflow of water from the hills south-west of Náhún, and between the Márkandá and the Ghag-ghar, has next to be mentioned. "It passes two kuroh north-north-west of Maḥrírá (محررة)504 on the road from Sháh-ábád to Anbálah, and about three kuroh and a half from the former place, and subsequently unites with the Márkandá.

503 The Márkandá, from the nature of its stream and channel leaves much rich deposit after overflowing its banks, and in this deposit the sugar-cane flourishes exceedingly, as it also did on the banks of the Ghag-ghar in ancient times, when Sultan Maṣ'úd filled its ditch with sugar-cane to enable the troops to storm the walls of Sarasti or Sirá. See note 261, page 288.

504 "Mowruh" of the maps.
The Tilūhí (تُلُوَّح), a river dependent on rain, arises from the overflow of water in the hills a little south of Nāhún. Its course is towards the south-west, and it passes close to Saḍhūrā on the west side; and a considerable distance lower down unites with the Pānch Nādi, as the Ghag-ghar is also called after other tributaries unite with it. Now, this rain-dependent river unites with the channel of the Mārkandā six miles and a half south-west of Saḍhūrā.

The next tributary westward, the Unbhla (عُنْبَل), rises in the hills west of Pinjor, a little to the west of the Ghag-ghar, passes west of Banhūr, and from thence runs towards Rāj-pūrah, about mid-way between Anbālah and Sahriād, and passes the last-named place about one kuroh distant on the west side. In going to Sahrind from Rāj-pūrah you cross it by a brick masonry bridge, but it is now in a dilapidated condition.

Where it unites with the Ghag-ghar is not said, but it seems to have united with the Suwetī (سُوْیَتی) or Chū-hey (چہ و ہی) a few miles between Sannūr and Paṭialah; and it now unites with a river called the "Puttealawalee river" in the maps, but which, at the time of this Survey, does not appear to have been in existence.

The next tributary is the Gumhtala (گوْمہ تَلَ). "It comes from the hills south of Pinjor, and a little to the east of where the Ghag-ghar rises. It takes a southerly course, and passes west of Anbālah. After leaving that place on the road to Sahrind, after passing the kol-i-áb [lake] outside Anbālah, one kuroh and a half north-west is that deep rain-dependent river, the Gumhtailā; and you cross it by a masonry bridge of brick, called the Pul-i-Rāj Garh, now dilapidated. Rāj Garh itself lies half a kuroh north on a khāk-res or artificial mound. This river unites with the Ghag-ghar between seven and eight kuroh farther to the south-west."

Here a vast change has occurred. The Gumhtalā is no longer known; and the Ghag-ghar, since the period in question, has deserted its former bed a little below Chhāt; and instead of flowing by Banhūr, it has entered, and flows in the old bed of the Gumhtalā to within

505 At the present time, its waters (or a river of the same name) unite with the Ghag-ghar north of Agūnd. It is the "Oonbla" of the maps.
506 This is the "Landra," and "Patiāla rau" of the Gazetteers, and the "Konsilla N." of the maps, south of Paṭialah; and the "Puttealwale Riv." of the maps, north of that place, is a mere tributary of the so-called "Konsilla." See page 449.
about four miles to the northward of Anbálah; and then, having left it again, has kept nearer to Anbálah, within two miles and a half of which the Ghag-ghar now flows.

To continue the Survey account: "After passing the Gumhtala over the Pul-i-Ráj Gárh, one kuroh and a half farther north-west, and one kuroh south-east of Mughal Sará’e, and before reaching the Ghag-ghar from Anbálah, is the Bhág Ná’e (بهاغ نهر ) or Bhág Nahr (پہاچ تالی)." It comes from the north-eastwards, but the exact place where it rises is unknown to the writer. Some say that it runs in a channel which was excavated by a former Badshíh to conduct water to the Firúzah Hisár. After flowing in a southerly direction for some distance, it passes west of Kami and Gahnür, and from thence to Kuhram, among the buildings of which town it passes on the west side. It then takes a course more to the south-west, and unites with the Ghag-ghar away in the direction of Samánah, near where the other tributaries unite with it, after which the Ghag-ghar is known as the Panoh Nadí as well as Ghag-ghar.

"Another tributary is the Khánd [کہاند] ; but, respecting the place where it actually takes its rise, the writer has no satisfactory information. In going from Kaisúr (کسسرو), south-west of Agúnd, to Bádsháh-púr, crossing by the way three channels or branches of the Ghag-ghar, here called Ná’e Wá-li and Gájí Wá-hah, and a little west of that place (Bádsháh-púr), you reach the rain-dependent river, the Khánd. It comes from the right hand (north-east) and passes to the left (south-west), and unites with the Ghag-ghar some few kuroh lower down; and the Suwética river runs nearly parallel to its channel about two kuroh farther west."

This Khánd river seems to have been of minor importance; and, at present, all traces of it have, apparently, disappeared.

"Lastly comes the Chuwwá, a perennial stream, which rises in the Siwalik range like the others, but directly north of Anbálah.

507 In another route it is said, in the Survey account, that, "on the road from Thaská to Patiálah after passing Ballá (بال), the "Ballur" of the maps, six miles south-east of Patiálah, the Ghag-ghar is joined by another tributary known as the Bágh-Ná’e."

508 "Ghunnoor" of the maps, six miles and a half S. W. of Anbálah. The correct mode of spelling the name, according to the people is as above.

Now the Ghag-ghar passes those two places about two miles on the east, instead of between three and four miles on the west, as in the time of the Survey.

509 "Kusoor" of the maps.

510 In another place the writer says: "at Tihwánah it is called the Gájí-Wá-hah." He means, that, there it is also called the Gájí Wá-hah, etc.
It passes east of Sahrind, and is spanned by a masonry bridge of brick near that place. It then runs almost due south to Patiálah, winding considerably, and passing close to that city on the east and south, flows towards Samánah by Mayan and Khírì, and passes Samánah one kuroh on the west. It then separates into two branches, one of which taking a more southerly course, flows two kuroh west of the Khánq at Bádsháli-púr, and then runs towards Múng Alá, and east of it unites with the Ghag-ghar. The other branch runs from near Samánah towards the west-south-west in the direction of Sunám, under the walls of which it passes on the east side, and is expended in the irrigation of lands beyond, or lost in the thirsty soil, about four kuroh east-south-east of Bhiki. This last branch is considered as the Chuwwá proper, and is not known as the Suweti after branching off below Samánah, that name being applied to the other branch only. In former times this Chuwwá turned towards the south after passing Sunám, and ran a kuroh or more north of Bohah, again bent southwards and passed Fath, after which it ran westwards once more for some distance, and then again turned towards the south-west, passed east of Gúdah, and finally united with the Ghag-ghar immediately west of Bhiráj ki Tibbi."

"In going from Sahrind to Anbálah, or to Patiálah, you have to cross the Chuwwá by the bridge before mentioned; and, in going from Patiálah eastward to Sannúr, you issue from the Dihlí gate of that city and pass the river by the brick-built bridge. Proceeding from Patiálah to Samánah by Mayan, Khírì, and Dhanan Thál, you keep along the Chuwwá.*** In going towards Samánah by Suh-laun (سیلنگ ), a kuroh and a half nearly south from Patiálah, you go along the Chuwwá, and Mayan, before mentioned, is two kuroh farther down stream. In going from Patiálah to Sahrind by Múl-púr (مل پر ), you cross the Chuwwá two kuroh before reaching that place; and, after going another six kuroh farther, cross the bridge over the Chuwwá and enter Sahrind."

Here too, vast changes have taken place in the course of less than a century. Now, the Chuwwá (called "Choeea Nūd" in the maps), runs from Sahrind by Manéér-púr, which it was twenty miles distant from before, to Sunám, and nearly encircles it; and another river (called "Choa N." in the maps)513 comes from mid-way between

511 It passes it now on the east side. See note 485, page 438.
512 This Sanskrit word here means 'dry or firm ground.' In the Panjáb territory and Sind, however, the word is used to signify a ‘sandy, waterless desert.’ See note 455,* page 424.
513 One is styled "Choeea" and the other "Choa" in the maps, by way of distinction, perhaps, but the word is Chuwwá, nevertheless.
Sahriind and Patiálah, and does not reach within five miles and a half of Patiálah on the west; passes two miles and a half west of Samánah, and eight miles west of Bádsháh-púr; runs towards the south, and unites with the Ghag-ghar two miles and a half south-east of Múng Alá. Another new river from the north, which runs eight miles and a half east of Sahriind, and seven and a half west of Raj-púr (which, north of Patiálah, appears in the maps as the "Pátícalaunwalee Riv.") and which is joined by the Unbhalá five miles north of Patiálah, is the only river which at present passes near that city, and immediately north of which it appears to run in the old bed of the Chuwá, which used to flow close under the walls of both Sahriind and Patiálah on the east. It is entered in the maps, below the latter city, as the "Konsilla N."; and passes four miles east of Samánah (the old Chuwá passed one mile west of it), and unites with the Ghag-ghar, which formerly ran under its walls on the east; but, the nearest point at which it approaches that place now is six miles farther east.

To continue the Survey account.

"North of the Ghag-ghar, after the Sursútí and other tributaries unite with it, and between it and the Chuwá proper, is a tract of country, often mentioned in history, and known as the Lakhí Jangal. It is nearly thirty kúrah in length, and somewhat less in breadth, consisting of excess of sandy tracts; and there is great paucity of water. Its name is said to be derived from Lakhí, son of Júndhárah, who belonged to the Bháti tribe. During one of the invasions of Hind by Sultán Maḥmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigin, he became a convert to Islám, and acquired the title of Ráñá—Ráñá Lakhí. He obtained a number of 'Arab horses; " and with a considerable following of the Bháti tribe, who paid obedience to him, he was induced to take up his residence in this daškí, and was there established for the purpose of holding in check and harassing the Hindú idol-worshippers of the country

It might have been expected that the horses of Sind would have been good ones, from the infusion of 'Arab blood. The 'Arab conquerors must have brought numbers of horses into the country from time to time, and we might naturally have expected to find the breed of Sind horses good, but the contrary is the case: the horse of Sind is a miserable animal, whereas those of the Lakhí jangal or Lakh-Wál, and Haríánah, generally, are good.

The "Memoirs of George Thomas" states (page 132), that, "adjoining the province of Beykaneer is the district called the Lucky jungle, so much, and so deservedly celebrated for the fertility of its pasture lands, and for a breed of excellent horses of the highest estimation in India. The Lucky jungle is comprised within the district of Batinda, forming a circle of 24 kosses of the country each way. On the 'N.' it is bounded by the country of Roy Kelaun, E. by the province of Haríánah, S. by Batiner, and W. by the great desert."
around. These Bhātīs, in time, peopled three hundred and sixty villages; and they bred thousands of excellent horses, which traders used to take and dispose of in distant countries, and so continued for ages to do. At the present time, through the tyranny and violence of the Sikhs, this tract of country has fallen into a state of complete desolation. * * * In going from Pātiālah to Sunām, and from thence by Bhīki to Bhulāḍā from the last named place, you proceed seven kuroh, crossing the channel of the Chuwvá by the way, and reach Lakhhi-Wál, in ancient times a large town, but now it is completely desolate.615 The tract of country dependent on, or appertaining to it, is called the Lakhhi Jangal; and Ajānak and Sayyidi-Wálah, are Bhātī villages therein. From Sayyidi-Wálah one kuroh and a half distant, is Aorta, and from it another two kuroh is the afore-mentioned Lakhhi-Wál.

"In another direction, in going from Jindh to Bhaṭīndah, after crossing the Ghag-ghar, seven kuroh and a half to the north-westwards of Mūng Alá, you reach Sangat-pūrah; and from thence go on another three kuroh to Hariá-o, which is a large village of the Bhātīs in the Lakhhi Jangal, and in the Sunām parganah. Another two kuroh in the same direction is Phulhará, from which, two kuroh west, is Bahádará on the Chuwvá."

Other ancient tributaries of the Hakra or Wahindah coming from a totally different direction, must not be passed over, and which confirm the traditions respecting these parts. Jasal-mír, in by-gone times, was in a far more fertile and populous condition than it has since become,616 and contains the remains of some very old cities or towns.

615 In the year 657 H. (1259 A.D.), during the reign of Sulṭán Nāṣir-ud-Din, Maḥmùd Shāh, Malik Badr-ud-Din, Sunkār-i-Ṣúfí, entitled, Nūrāt Khán, held charge of the city of Tabarhindah, which is said to be the former name of Bhāṭīndah, and Sunām, Jajh-har, and Lakh-Wál, together with the then frontier parts of the Dihlí kingdom, as far as the ferries over the river Biáh. See my "Tabākát-i-Nāṣírî," page 788.

616 See the extract from Bū-Ṭiḥān at page 219, and also page 261, where mention is made of Nūrāt Khán, son of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Din, the Khalj Turk sovereign of Dihlí, who was directed, in 697 H. (1297-98 A.D.), to march the army under his command from Bakhar in Sind to Jasal-mír to take part in the campaign against Gujarāt.

Lient. A. H. E. Boilean, of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Engineers, in his "Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rajwara," in 1835, acquired some valuable information respecting the Hakra, and these its once perennial tributaries. He says: "That this country was not always so desolate may, however, be inferred from the tradition that Bikumpoor once stood on the bank of a river which was drank dry by a divinity taking up the water in the hollow of his hand: this exploit could not easily have been performed since the days of the royal hero who gave his name to the fort, the Raja Beer Bikrumajeet,
Its eastern part is still traversed by two river beds, now entirely dependent on rain, which take their rise in the low range of hills to the south-east of the town of Jasal-mir, a little to the east-wards of Poh-karn (the “Pokurn” and “Pokurun” of the maps). These run in the direction of north-north-west, and unite with the Hakrá channel. These were once perennial tributaries of the Hakrá, and at present even, the waters, when they are at their full, still reach the old channel of that river. These two rivers are known to the people of the country under the name of Hakrá. The water contained in these, together with other water in the bed of the Hakrá, now go to form extensive

about whose era it is said to have been founded; and there are really within its precincts a couple of mundurs or pagodas that appear almost old enough to have been coeval with the great Bikrum who flourished about nineteen hundred years ago. The fort of Birsilpoor, of which an account has already been given, being only seventeen hundred years old, modestly claims a less antiquity than the above, and is said to have been built as a half-way house or resting place in the dreary track between Bikrumpoor and Poogul.

“Should there be any foundation for the above tradition, it may have arisen from one of these three causes; either that the small stream running north-westwards between Pohkurn and Jesulmer, instead of losing itself in the marsh near Mohungurh and Bulana, may have found its way through the low lands at Nok into the neighbourhood of Bikrnumps; or, secondly, the river Kagur [the Ghag-ghar he means] that waters part of Huriana may have continued its westerly course to the valley of the Indus [here he, of course, refers to the Hakrá of which the Ghag-ghar was one of the principal tributaries], being possibly in those distant ages unchoked by the sand-drifts that have been accumulating for centuries to the west of Fatehabad and Buhadra: or, lastly, the bed of the Sutluj and Ghara [sic] may at some remote era have had a much more easterly position [see page 417 of this]; for it seems to be admitted that the channel of the great river Sind has itself shifted from the same quarter, perhaps at a comparatively recent date; for instead of running as formerly from below Dora Ghazee Khan to near Ooch, it now flows more than twenty miles to the westwards of this city.”

Tod also says: “The same traditions assert that these regions [Bikámir, etc.], were not always either arid or desolate,” and that its deterioration dates “from the drying up of the Hakrá river, which came from the Panjab [!] and flowed through the heart of this country and emptied itself into the Indus between Rory Bekker and Ootch • • • It ran eastward [referring to the “Sankra”] parallel with the Indus • • • This catastrophe [the drying up of the Hakrá] took place in the reign of the Soka prince Hamir.” Vol. II.

From this, however, it will be seen that he has mistaken the Sutlaj for the Hakrá, which latter is his “Sankra,” and which was one of the names it bore, and still bears after entering Sind.

The same writer also observes, that, “History affords no evidence of Alexander’s passage of the Gharah,” which is quite correct; for no such river existed until the Búth and Sutlaj finally united their waters in the last century. See note 390, page 380.
rans, the name given in these parts, as well as in Sind and the southern parts of the Panj-áb, to marshes or marshy ground. Some of these rans or marshes are very extensive, one of them, near the very ancient and deserted city of Hardah, is seven or eight miles in length, and from two to two and a half miles in breadth. There are others near Mohan Garh, Gàthorah (Boileau's "Gutaroo"), Khabah or Khabo, and some other places. The water found in these marshy places is quite sweet, with the exception of that in the rau of Gàthorah, and perhaps one or two others, which are salt.

After the waters of these two river beds under notice subside, the land which had been flooded on either of their banks when the waters were at their height, are brought under cultivation, and yield good returns. The beds, in some places, contain a great deal of jangal, and trees here and there, and also some extent of grass land, in which the Bhafti Rájah of Jasal-mír pastures his horses and brood mares.

The town of Jasal-mír is very ancient, its foundation being attributed to the great Rájah, Sálbáhan [Sáliwánah]. The people have reservoirs of stone attached to their dwellings for storing rain water, that element being very scarce. Most travellers have found water in the wells of this part and of Bikánír only at very great depths; but, in the bed of the Hákra, in many places, excellent water is said to be obtainable within a foot or thereabouts of the surface.617

617 Tod's explorer, confirms the finding of water here, but confounds the bed of the Ghag-ghar with that of the Hákra, of which the former was a tributary. Tod says: "Abu Birkat in going from Shahgarh to Korialloh [which, in his map, is written "Kharroh," on the extreme north-west boundary of Jasal-mír, and to the northward of Gàthorah mentioned in the previous note], notices the important fact of crossing the dry bed of the Cuggur [as he spells Ghag-ghar] five kos west of Korialloh, and finding water plentifully by digging in its bed."

The Khároh here mentioned lies close to the western boundary of Jasal-mír towards Sind, on the route from Khar-púr Dehr ke to Jasal-mír. One of the most ancient channels of the Hákra or Wahindah, which comes from the direction of No-har or Islám Koț, passes near Khároh, and some eighteen miles west of Sháh Garh, on its way towards the main channel of the Hákra near Khiprah or Kirho, by Koț Jiboh ("Jeeboh" of the maps), there unites with the Hákra channel about midway between Bahman-ábíd and Amar Koț. Between Sháh Garh and Khiprah several small dhands or lakes still remain in this old channel, now nearly obliterated.

This place, Khároh, appears to be the same as is referred to in the legend of "The Seven Headless Prophets," related by Burton respecting the prophecy that the waters of the Hákra shall again run in its ancient channel. The verse is:—

"Karo [Kháro?] Kabaro's walls shall view
Fierce combat raging half a day;
The Mirmieli shall routed be,
Then, Sciude! once more be blithe and gay."
To the west of Jasal-mir, about half way between it and the channel of the Hakrá, which formed in ancient times the boundary between Sind, Multán, and Jasal-mir, the face of the country changes considerably, and habitations there are none, with the exception of a few huts here and there. Scarcely anything but sand hills, and loose, shifting sand of a reddish yellow colour, meet the view. Some of these sand hills are over fifty feet in height, the sides of which nearest the wind, or rather the sides mostly acted on by the wind, are almost perpendicular; while in some places tibbahs or mounds are to be found, some of considerable elevation and area, the surfaces of which are free from sand, and are covered with grass, and sometimes have a few stunted trees and shrubs upon them, and sometimes a pool or well,

"Mirmichi," he says, "has no precise meaning." The verse respecting the Dyke of Aror and the Hakro, has been given farther on.

We have some valuable information respecting the state of the country between Multán and Jasal-mir and beyond, the part through which the two rivers, rising near Poh-karn once flowed on their way to unite with the channel of the Hakrá, which passed by No-har on the west frontier of the Jasal-mir state, in the account of Sultan Mahmúd's march from Multán by Jasal-mir towards Somnáth.

"The Sultan set out from Ghaznín in Shá'bán, 416 H. (towards the end of September, 1025 A. D.) ; and was joined by 30,000 cavalry from Turkistán, volunteers, who of their own accord came to serve in this campaign against the infidels and their notorious idol, entirely at their own expense, without pay or allowances of any kind." The Sultan reached Multán on the 15th of Ramação, the following month. "As a waste tract of country had to be crossed, he commanded that each person should carry water and forage sufficient for several days' consumption, by way of precaution; and also had 20,000 camels laden with water and forage. In short, after the army had passed that waste tract, it reached, situated on the border or edge thereof, the fortress of Jasal-mir, and the city [shábr] situated near it. This city was taken and sacked, but the Sultan did not allow himself to be detained by the fortress, wishing to husband the energies of his troops for the more important matter. They likewise passed by the way several other places, which were filled with fighting men, well provided with all the implements of war, but such was the fear inspired by the appearance of this army in their country, that all the fortified places were given up without fighting. These were left uninjured, and only the idol-temples were destroyed, and the country cleared of infidels, who were in the habit of molesting all travellers who chanced to pass that way, in such wise, that it used to be avoided." The Sultan's route appears to have been nearly due south, passing between where Disá (Deesa) and Palhan-púr now stand, and between Anhal Wáráh and the modern Almád-abád, and from thence near Júnah Garh on the east.

"In the last month of the year, Zí-Ḥijjah (about the end of January, 1026 A. D.), the walls of Somnáth appeared in view;" but, into this I need not enter here: I hope to do so soon, if time permit. The Sultan returned from Somnáth by way of Mansáriyah, as already related, in note 105, page 196. See note 232, page 271 on the wonderful "Mahárája Manjulika" and "Bhim Deva" of the "Tarikh-i-Sorath."
and seem to have been sites of towns. As one continues to proceed westwards these sand hills begin to decrease, until at last only the ordinary sand hills, or waves of sand peculiar to these parts, remain.

The ancient town or city of Khabah or Khabo, before referred to, to the south-westwards of Jasal-mîr, on the route to Mithraho (also pronounced, at times, Mitharo) and Khâir-pûr in Upper Sind, must once have been a place of great size and importance. It is said to have contained some eleven or twelve thousand houses, mostly constructed of hewn stone, many of which houses were of great size, and ornamented with stone carvings, the remains of which, still to be seen, attest the truth of the statements respecting it. There are also the remains of what must once have been two large huts or idol-temples, ornamented with stone carvings. When the Jasal-mîr territory comes to be regularly surveyed, I apprehend that some interesting and valuable discoveries will be made, which will tend to throw some light upon the ancient state of these parts, once fertilized by the waters of the Hakrâ or Wahindah and its tributaries; for, from the traditions and histories of the past, there can be no possible doubt, that these parts were once flourishing and populous, and contained several important towns and cities, the names of which have now been lost.

I have not deemed it necessary to the subject to mention the still smaller tributaries of any of these rivers, only such as refer to the main subject.

I must now return to the Hakrâ or Wahindah again from where I left off on its entering Sind at page 422.

I have already mentioned that it passes Šâhib Gaâr and Kandhârah or Kandhâro. It passed the latter place three miles to the westward, and close to Khân Gaâr of Bahâwal-pûr on the eastside, into the Rûrhi district of upper Sind; but, although the channel appears in our maps of the Bahâwal-pûr territory as the "Dry Bed of Rainee Nullah called Wahind," it is only called by its correct names of Hakrâ or Wahindah in one: the rest have "Old Bed of Rr. Wundu," or "Wundun." 518

518 This is called by all sorts of names. The "Gazetteer of Sind," page 4, says: "The deserted course of a large river now known as the Rên Nâla still exists in the Bahâwalpûr territory and the Rorhi district, and this joining the Nâra [this is contrary to fact: the Nâra unites with the channel of the Hakrâ or Wahindah], may very probably have emptied itself into the sea by what is now called the Kori mouth of the Indus."

When the "Report on the Eastern Narra," before referred to, was being drawn up in 1852, little was known respecting the course of the Hakrâ, or possibly of its existence beyond the northern border of Sind, although Lieut. Fife of the Bombay Engineers, in his valuable "Report" (page 40) mentioned, that, "from Choondawa
At a place called Jangan ten miles below Khán Gařh above referred to, the channel of the Hakrā, the old Mihrán of Sind, turns towards the south for some miles, and then returns to the general course of south-west again, and becomes less marked than before, but distinctly traceable. This part is full of banks, and is seamed with channels of greater or less depth, indicating the action of water, plainly showing, that, hereabouts, it has changed its course from east to west, and from one side of its channel, more or less, several times.

Indeed, between Wanjh-rút and Dín Gařh or Triháräh, one hundred and twenty miles to the north-east, and between Khán Gařh to within a few miles of Birsil-púr in the territory of Jasal-mír, a tract just one hundred and thirty-two miles in breadth, is perfectly seamed with channels and high banks caused by the action of water, through the shiftings of the course of the Hakrā and its tributary, the Sutlaj, on one side, and the tributaries from the side of Jasal-mír, referred to at pages 425 and 434, on the other, in the progress of the Hakrā towards the ocean, under the process described in the first paragraph of note 446, page 415. It, however, continues to run in the same general direction from Jangan for some distance farther, and then bends south-westwards, then south for a few miles, then south-west again, in which direction it runs as far down as Mitharo or Mitráho, forty-eight miles east-south-east of Rúʀhi, when it bends westwards for a little over sixteen miles, and then meets the channel of its old western branch, which flowed about ten miles still farther west before it was diverted from the direction of Aror by a dyke erected about twenty-six miles to the east of that place. The present channel, or the remains of this western or diverted branch, is the Ráʼin or Rāʼíní, which appears in our maps as “Dry bed of the Raine Nullah.”

to Nowakote the Narra is termed Hakrā in this part of the country,” and, that it “skirts the foot of the Thurr [the district of the Thar or Thál and Párkar is meant].” Also, that “the Hakrā continues to skirt the foot of the Thurr for about thirty miles, after which it joins the Poomán [Puránáh] below Wangá Bazar.” He also mentions the numerous ruins of masjids near the villages, “which latter are all, apparently, of modern construction.”

This last statement is hardly correct; for some of them are, unquestionably, of ancient date. All along the course of the Hakrā or Wabindah from Márút to the sea, are the remains of numbers of towns formerly of considerable importance, but which have gone to decay through the change in the course of that river. The large scale Revenue Survey maps will show what a number there are.

519 See note 563, page 482.

520 See page 483.

521 The “Mitarhoe,” “Mitrahoo,” “Mitrahu,” and “Mitrao,” of as many different maps.
Having united with this branch, the channel of the Hakrā continues to run in a south-south-westerly direction, until about five miles south of a small village, the “Saida” of the maps, but correctly Sayyidah, the lower portion of the channel of its western branch, which passed Aror on the east and then turned south before it was diverted from that old capital of Sind, unites with the main channel again. In this old western channel coming from the northwards from Aror, the overflow from the Āb-i-Sind or Indus now finds its way, which having entered the great depression near Ghaus-pūr, the remains of the ancient channel of the united Sindhu or Āb-i-Sind, and the Sind Rūd or Rūd-i-Sind wo Hind of the Arab writers, or Pančh Nad or Panj Āb, finds it way, lower down, into this old channel of the diverted branch of the Hakrā or Wahindah, and this water is, from the winding course it takes, locally styled the Nārah or Snake, the “Nara” and “Nara” of the maps and Gazetteers.

It will be noticed that the range of limestone hills, to which I have previously referred, rise a little north of Sakhar of the present day, passes on to Rūphi, and, a little beyond it, begins to bend more towards the south, and that on the eastern skirts thereof Aror or Alor was situated, and there its ruins may still be seen. This range extends thirty-eight miles to the south of Rūphi (Dijī Kot, formerly called Aḥmad-ābād, is situated on its western skirt), and farther down, is succeeded by sand hills, some of considerable elevation, which stretch away seventy-four miles farther south, lessening in height by degrees. This range, and these sand hills south of it, separate the present Nārah channel or old bed of the diverted branch of the Hakrā, as already described; and those sand hills separate the united channels from what may be for convenience termed the present valley of the Indus. On the opposite or east bank, the sand hills of the thal or thar run in a direction from about north-north-west to south-south-west, and the channel of the Hakrā runs between them. According to the account of the old Arab writers already quoted (pages 207-214), the Rud-i-Sind wo Hind or Sind Rūd, also called Pančh Nad and Panj Āb, having united with the Āb-i-Sind below Multān, still lower down, near the borders of the territory of Sind dependent on Aror, united with the Hakrā or Wahindah at a place called Dosh-i-Āb or “Meeting Place of Waters,” and formed the great river which was known as the Mihrān of Sind and the Great Mihrān. About thirty-six miles lower down, this river again separated into two branches, the easternmost being the main branch, and the other, that which flowed past Aror on

528 This place is said to have been a stronghold of the Sumrāhs in ancient times. It stands, probably, where a Sumrāh stronghold once stood.
the east, as already mentioned. These re-uniting below the present Sayyidah, flowed in a slower current a little to the west of south, for a distance of about forty-eight miles as the crow flies; and just forty miles above Mansúriyah, near which latter place was " old Bahman-ábád" (not meaning, of course, that there were two Bahman-ábáds, but Bahman-nih, or Bahman-no, or Bahman-ábád, and Mansúriyah, or, as they were then styled, "Bahman-no—Mansúriyah"), they again separated into two branches. This place of separation one author (Al-Istakhari) states, was near Kalari, which was one day's journey from Mansúriyah. Kalari was two days' journey from Anári, which was four days' journey from Aror, which was three days' journey from Basmid, which was situated at about two days' journey from Multán ; but the Masálik wa Mamálík, and Ibn Ḥauḳal make the distance from Anári to Kalari four days' journey instead of three. Al-Idrísí calls the distance from Kalari on the west bank, to Mansúriyah "a hard day's ride of forty mil (miles)." One of these branches, the easternmost or main branch, flowed in a southerly direction as before, and passed under the walls of Mansúriyah (and near Bahman-ábád), which was situated on the west side, subsequently taking a more easterly course—about south-south-east—for some distance, and then resuming its almost direct southerly course to Wángah; and this channel is represented by the Puránah Dhoro, or as the Sindís call it, the Puráño Dhoro, or Ancient Channel, to this day.

583 See note 578, page 502.

584 Kalari, or whatever may be the correct word, was without doubt, near the point of separation of the Mihrán of Sind into two branches, just forty miles above Mansúriyah. Al-Idrísí says it lay on the west bank, and it was apparently situated some miles above the low lying and now marshy tract near to Jakráo, which latter place is just twenty-seven miles above Bahman-ábád and Mansúriyah. See page 213, and note 138.

585 From Mansúriyah to Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, if the words دور،الدوم of the old writers be meant for it, is just six stages of twenty miles each.

586 In Hindi, the word دُهَر—dhári—means 'deep,' also 'deep water,' and another signification assigned to it is 'a marsh,' or 'morass.' The Sindi Dhoro is probably derived from the first meanings.

Mr. W. A. Hughes, the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," says (page 2) : "Local tradition affirms that a portion of the Rann was once a highly cultivated tract, known by the name of Satra [See Wilford in note, 553 page 477], a branch of the river Indus [he mistakes the Hakrá for the Indus] then reaching it, but that it disappeared altogether when either the Sindians or a convulsion of nature diverted the waters from it." He is so very careful as to or, but he could not have understood the tradition properly. Immediately after he says: "To this day, the upper part of the Kori mouth of the Indus [the Kohrá] mouth of the Hakrá is
The other, or westernmost of the two channels which separated near Kalari, made a bend towards the north-east, and then gradually referred to really] on which are situated the towns of Wangah and Bahim-ki-Bazar, is called Purán, or ancient stream \[puránah, not purdn, means anything ancient, and is the right word here\], and the time doubtless was when the Indus \[never : the Hakrá here again is mistaken for the Indus\] by a more easterly channel than the present, supplied sufficient water to make a portion at least of the Rann fertile and productive."

It will be seen that the writer has mistaken the tract altogether. The great ran or marsh of Kachchh was once an estuary.

When he comes to page 137, however, we have several "ancient streams," not one only. Referring to the channel of the Hakrá, which he here calls the "Nara," he says: "Another striking feature of this valley \[which part of the country, he says, is little known\] is, that along its whole length you can trace the dry bed of a large river. This main stream I take to have been the Eastern Nárá, which flowing past Umarkot and through \[1\] Kachh, found an outlet into the Gulf of Kachh, or perhaps at Lahor [he is not quite certain about it seemingly], and in modern times lost itself in the vast lagoon the Rann. This main stream threw off in its course several branches, the Dhuras or Puráns, etc., etc.

At page 267 he says: "The Kori mouth of the Indus, separating Sind from Kachh, once formed, it is supposed, the lower part of either the Fuléli river or the eastern Nárá;" and farther on, at page 729, he writes: "The Kori or eastern branch of the Indus, separating Sind from Kachh, once formed the lower part of the Fuléli, and it also received the waters of a large branch thrown off by the main river during the inundations near Bakkur." This is what he previously styled "the eastern Nárá."

In another place (page 844), respecting the district of "Párkar," he again mistakes the Hakrá for the Indus. He says: "In many parts of this Political Superintendancy numerous beds of rivers long dried up are found intersecting the arid tract of the Thar \[the thal or thar, 'l' and 'r' being interchangeable, signifying 'desert'\]; and these would seem to show \[What a delightful air of uncertainty pervades his statements!] that the waters of the Indus, or some of its branches, once flowed through it, fertilizing what is now a wilderness, and finding their way to the sea by either one of the eastern mouths, or through the Rann, or great salt marsh of Kachh."

On the very next page, reverting to the same subject, he says: "There being no torrents, floods, canals, or rivers in the Thar and Párkar proper, the water system comprises, in the first place, the Eastern Nárá, previously described as being a natural channel, and most probably at some remote period the outlet to the sea of the waters of some great river like the Indus, together with its branches the Thar, Chor, and Umarkot." Were there ever such contradictions and suppositions about one river? I may add that there are no rivers called by such names.

MacMurdie was much more correct in his suppositions half a century before, but then he was not a compiler. He says, under "Thull or Dhat, and Catch," as he spells the words: "I have been informed that there are streams of water throughout this tract during the rains, some of which descending from the hills in Marwar, empty themselves into the desert, where they are lost, or find a drain in the ran \[ran\] north of Catch. Others on the west border are branches of the Pooran [the
bent round again in the form almost of a half circle or bow towards Siw-istán, but did not approach nearer to it than about twenty-two miles, and, in after times, within about sixteen. The channel of this branch, I believe to be represented by the present Mir Wá-hah or Mir's Canal, it having been utilized as such, and which now flows just seventeen miles east of Sihwán, the Siw-istán of former days. This branch, after passing east of that place, performing its half circle course, again bent towards the south-east, and re-united with the main branch about twelve miles below Mansúriyah, and reached the ocean by one month, known as the Khorá‘í—the "Kori" of the maps and Gazetteers—separating Sind from Kał̀h. It is not to be supposed that there was no change whatever in the direction of the channels; for every inundation made some change probably, as in the case of the channels of the rivers of the Panj Ab territory and Sind at the present day, but no radical change occurred for some time. Subsequently, but in comparatively modern times, I think, because the Mihrán of Sind passed near Mansúriyah when Aḥmad-i-Níál-Tígin was drowned therein in the reign of Sultán Máś‘úd of Ghaznín (see page 196, note 105), the main branch, from the point of junction near Kalarí, took a course more to the east of south, and ran towards Amar Kot of the Sodahs, between which two places occur those numerous great dhands or lakes mentioned farther on. It then passed from ten to fifteen miles or more

puránah dhrah above referred to], which, to this day, receives water from the Garrah or Sutlodge [the usual error: he really refers to the Hákra of which the Sutlaj was once a tributary], by a channel known by the name of Narri [the Nárá of Hughes]. I have heard of the Nargulee [?] and the Hagra [Hákra] on the west, and the Lóni in the east," etc., etc.

Cunningham, in his "Ancient India" (page 251), also mistakes the channel of the Hákra for the "old bed" of the Indus. He says: "The old bed of the Indus still exists under the name of Nâra, and its course has been surveyed, etc. * * * The most easterly channel, which retains the name Nâra runs to the S. E. by Kípra and Umrkot."

He, however, reverses matters, and makes the Puránah Dhrah run into the Indus, from S. E. to N. W., instead of into the channel of the Hákra as it does do. He says: "The most westerly [!] channel, which is named Purána or the "Old River," flows to the south-south-west, past the ruins of Brahmanabad and Nasirpur to Haidarabad, below which it divides into two branches * * * one turns S. W. and falls into the present river 15 miles below Haidarabad and above Jarak. The other called the Guni turns S. E. and joins the Nára above Runaka Bazar," etc., etc.

Dr. J. Burnes, in his account of Sind, says (page 21), that, previous to the year 1768, the Puránah emptied itself into the sea by passing Lákhpát and Kotasír; and no doubt he is right.

547 This was the distance when Mir Mu‘á‘ím of Bakhaí wrote, about the year 1600 A.D.
on the west of Amar Kot, much as the channel still remains, which, from the place of junction, some forty miles above the sites of Mansūriyah and Bahman-âbâd, the place of separation is not yet effaced, and indicates its having occurred, as near as possible, as described by the old 'Arab writers, the place of separation above Togachh being just forty miles. West of this, above Jakráo, is a great dhand or lake; and that branch gets no farther south towards Mansúriyah than Mithráo ("Mithrau" and "Mithrow" of the maps—a different place from that mentioned at page 454)—about seventeen miles; and hence it is the Puránah Dhorah or Ancient Channel. Indeed, from near Mithráo, above which the Puránah Dhorah branches off, down to near Bakhar, fourteen miles south-south-east, there is still an extensive tract of ran or swampy ground some two or three miles in breadth, and extending east and west about ten, in which is a short channel from the Puránah Dhorah which unites with the present channel above Bakhar (but "Bukar" in the maps), twenty-six miles north-east of Bahman-âbâd. In the season of inundation a large tract of country, from eighteen to twenty miles in breadth, from Mithráo to the present Hakra channel westwards, is under water.

Just beyond Togachh, where the channel of the Puránah Dhorah and the present Hakrá channel now separate, those numerous dands or dhandâs (3[3] or 3[3]), or long, narrow lakes commence, amounting to some four hundred or more, with high banks between them. These run nearly at right angles to the old channel, but parallel to the run of the great sand hills of the thal, thar, or desert, on the left or east bank, showing that, at some period, not very long ago, the river must have been of great breadth here, and have contained a large volume of water. Some of these dhandâs or lakes are from four to five miles in length from east to west, and from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, and some of them are of considerable depth. The great lake near Amar Kot has been mentioned elsewhere.

There are also a number of places where there were ferries over the Hakrá. There was one near Bakhar, and another at Khiprah, or Khipro, as the Sindís call it, lower down; and there are nine in all in the Thal, Thar, or Párkar district. Of course such ferries do not refer to the crossing places in the channel of a dried up river, but to a river in which, more or less, water ran, and shows, that at no very distant

633 In the "Report on the Eastern Narra," page 34, the Commissioner of Sind writes, that, "Authentic history and tradition concur in stating that but a few generations ago, there was more cultivation and greater population on the banks of the Narra [the Hakra is meant] than exists now on those of the present Indus." See also what Ibn-i-Khurdâd-bih says of this part in ancient times, at page 195.
period, a constant stream of some sort flowed therein, and of some depth. The wording of the treaty entered into by Nádir Sháh and Muhammad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihli, tends to indicate, that, even at this period, 1152 H. (1739 A.D.), the river had not altogether ceased to flow. ²⁵²

Even of late years, its waters, from as far northwards as the Baháwal-púr territory, have occasionally reached the ocean or very near it. In 1826 a flood from the river reached Lakh Paṭ. In 1833 a flood passed down as far as Wángah Bázár; and, in 1843, Major W. Baker of the Engineers, Superintendent of Canals in Sind, saw, near the head of the channel of the Nárah branch, the marks of flood which had risen eighteen feet, and to which, the Rá‘ín or Rá‘íní branch of the Hakrá or Wahindah contributed a considerable portion. The Puránah Dhórah appears to have once flowed between its present channel and the one now called the "Eastern Nara" by English writers; for the remains of it still exist. There can be little doubt, but that it shifted constantly from one side to another; and as most of these channels have not been subject to regular inundations for some centuries past, and only obtain a comparatively small portion of water when the rivers farther north overflow, they have not been subjected to violent changes.

There can be no doubt, that the subsequent diversion of one of the branches of the Mihrán of Sind—the Rá‘ín or Rá‘íní—which united into one great river at Dosh-i-Ab, must, in some measure, have upset almost the whole river system of Sind so to say, and that that diversion caused, not immediately perhaps, the stream farther to the south to forsake the puránah or ancient channel for the present existing channel by Amar Kót, and was the cause of the other, which ran towards Siw-ístán, and which again united with the other branch some distance below Mánbkáriyah, ceasing to flow altogether. ²⁵³

²⁵² The water in these dhónds or lakes is the water of the Hakrá in reality, which finds its way down in time of extensive floods from as far upwards as the middle of the Baháwal-púr territory, but some also comes from the overflow of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, which finds its way by the great depression, the old channel of the Panbh Nad when it was a tributary of the Hakrá, into the present Nárah channel lower down, but this is not much.

²⁵³ Alexander, having left the confluence of the three united rivers, Hyphasis, Acesines, and Hydronotes, with the Indus, as related in the previous note 361, page 366, sails down the Indus, according to the Greek writers—but according to the courses of the rivers in ancient times, down the Hakrá or Wahindah, after the junction of the Panbh Nad or Panj Ab rivers, including the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, with it at Dosh-i-Ab—to the dominions of Musícanus, which, according to Strabo, "was the most southerly part of India as described by Onesicritus, who minutely describes
In proof of what I have advanced, let us look at the two channels of the Hakrā or Wahindah in their present or recent state.

It." The author of the "Life and Actions of Alexander the Great," previously quoted, not knowing anything of the existence of the Hakrā and its tributaries, supposes it to suit the well watered plains between the lower course of the Aral, the Arabis of Ptolemy [the author should have added "and the Arabis of Arrian," which is supposed to be the Pūralī river in Mukrán, ninety miles west of the Aral] and the Indus," a part, which, of course, he knew nothing about. I shall not follow his other statements, and would merely remark, that Alexander must have sailed down the Mihrán of Sind; for the writer just alluded to, says, "he was now approaching the upper end of the delta of the Indus [Mihrán] where the river divides into two streams." This cannot refer to the separation of the great river below the Dosh-i-Āb into two branches and below which Wanjh-rút stood (See page 497), one of which passed Aror on the east, from what is stated after, but to the position of Kālārī, where the Mihrán separated into two branches about forty miles above Bahman-ābād. It is stated further, that, "the river enters the sea by two channels of unequal size, more than one hundred miles apart from each other. The enclosed space was named Pattalonē by the Greeks, from the city of Pattala, situated within the delta below the point of division," which the learned author supposes was "at no great distance from modern Hyderabad," and which he, not knowing how or when Ḥaidar-ābād was built, supposes may be "the same cities, as some modern Hyderabad might easily have imposed his own name on the ancient Pattala [!] *** Here Hephæestion was ordered to build a citadel, and construct docks and a harbour at Pattala, while Alexander himself sailed down the right [west] branch to the ocean." He is then said to have returned to Pattala, and, subsequently, to have sailed down the left or eastern branch, and reached an extensive lake, and an estuary, to the ocean, and "was satisfied that the western branch [? eastern, apparently, from the context, and what the other writers say] was better calculated for navigation than the eastern [western ?]." See the extract from the Balāzari, page 256.

To judge from the courses of the Mihrán as it existed some fourteen centuries ago, Bahman-nih or Bahman-ābād lay below the point of separation of the river into two branches, and about the position in which Pattala is said to have stood; and the lake reached in going down the left or east channel, that which existed at the time of the 'Arab conquest, and the estuary at the Shākarah or Sagārah mouth, some twelve miles wide, the Shāgarah inlet or estuary. At the time of the Greeks, the last named mouth must have been at least fifty miles above Badin, and the western branch not much to the south, if so far south as the Makhahli hills near Thaṭhah. The whole of the Shāh Bandar district of Sind may be said to be of comparatively recent formation.

Strabo, quoting Aristobulus, says "Pattalenē was formed by the two branches of the Indus [Mihrán of Sind], and that the two branches are distant 1,000 stadia from each other [at their greatest distance ?] *** he reckons each side of the included island [or bet], which is of triangular shape, at 2,000 stadia, and the breadth of the river, where it separated into two mouths, at about 200 stadia. He calls the island delta." These distances must be greatly exaggerated — doubled at least.
After the so called Nárah channel unites with the main channel of the Hakrá below Sayyidah, and the rocky hills on the west side of its valley terminate and the sand hills commence, the bed of the Hakrá begins to increase in breadth; and while the Nárah channel at Şáliḥ Páñ is (or was; for the opening of the canal may have caused some change), three hundred feet broad, at Janjhú’í, about twenty-eight miles below its junction with the main channel of the Hakrá, the breadth in some places is from two to three thousand feet, but the depth decreases in proportion. At about eighty-two miles below Aror, and forty-four below the point of junction of the Rá’ín or Rá’íni (the present Nárah channel) with the main branch of the Hakrá (just forty miles above the site of Bahman-ábád and Mañšúriyah), clearing the sand hills which kept it within bounds on the west side, the channel again separates into two. One turns to the south-south-westwards, and the other about south-south-east. The former, which is generally dry, and is very deep in proportion, is that which, in bygone times, flowed by the walls of Mañšúriyah and Mañfúzah—hence its name "Puránah Dhorah" or ancient channel of the Mihrán of Sind, or Great Mihrán, as well as Hakrá, Wahindah, Sind-Ságar, or Sankrah. It is

The account of Curtius is, that after Alexander left the confluence of the three rivers of the Panch Nád or Panj Ab with the Indus, after sailing down four days from that point, he disembarked, and sent Craterus "to march the army at no great distance from the river on which he was to sail." Then embarking again, Alexander came down stream, but how far is not said, into the territory of the Malli [another of the same name!] and Sabrace. • • • After sailing on another four days, he reaches another territory, where he built a city [one would imagine the materials were carried in their pockets: it takes time to build cities and find the materials, even if built of mud mortar], which he ordered should be called Alexandria. He then enters the country of the Musicani, subdues the country, puts a garrison into their capital, and from thence marches against the Pusti, another people of India. Their strong city is taken after the third day. He then enters the territory of king Sabus. Then another four days sail [twelve days in all: the distances each day must have been small] brought him to a city which led into the dominions of king Sambus. The city of his people was attacked, and Ptolemy wounded. Subsequently, Alexander marched into the province called Parthalia [Pattalénô of the other writers], whose king “fled to the mountains.” There are no mountains near: the lime-stone hills near Aror are probably meant. Here he made choice of guides [pilots?] who knew the river, and sailed down to an island [bet] that stood almost in the middle of the channel [no doubt Bakhar, some will say, but see the island or bet of the Chach Námah, in note 187, page 234], but the guides got away. He had only proceeded 4/0 stadia, however, [about 50 miles from where he took his "guides"], when "the pilots told him, that they began to be sensible of their near approach to the ocean. On the third day it was perceived that the sea began to mingle its waters with that of the river." Curtius’ description of the approach to the sea-coast is clear and interesting.
quite distinct a little way north-east of Mir-pûr. The other passes by Pathayah and Bakhar, both of which are notable places, as I shall presently show: indeed, there are numerous ruins, the remains of ancient towns, of greater or lesser size, still remaining along the courses of these old channels; and tradition affirms that this tract was once the most flourishing part of Sind, and its soil is still most productive where water is available. Pathayah and Bakhar are, respectively, thirteen and twenty miles below this point of separation of the two channels, and on the banks of the main one or Hakrâ, which now runs towards Amar Koṭ of the Sodabs; but, fifteen miles above that ancient place, it bends or turns more towards the south, and after running in that direction for about eighteen miles, and passing thirteen miles and a half west of Amar Koṭ, begins to bend more towards the south-south-west again; and as far as this and beyond, it is still known as the Hakrô, as the people of Sind pronounce it.

At Nowah Koṭ, a little over fifty-one miles south-south-west from Amar Koṭ, and eighty-two south-east of Ḩaidar-ābâd, it again

The “Report on the Eastern Narra” says (p. 6), that “There are villages all the way [down] on either side, especially below Saya [?]; and there are sand-hills to within four or five miles of Mithrow. The river runs in several smaller channels—sometimes in one only—from Saydum down to between Mithrow and Bakhar, where some old channels occur.”

South of Bahman-ābâd, between Amar Koṭ and Khiprah, the ruins of several ancient towns are said to exist, including one known as Koṭ Rattá near the banks of the Hakrâ, as well as others lower down towards the ancient mouth of the river, including the ruins of ancient Badîn. Hereabouts are several branches from the main channel, clearly defined, but now dry, which intersect the country for fifteen or twenty miles westwards, and run nearly parallel to the main channel.

Amar Koṭ, as is well-known (or ought to be) was the birth-place of Jalâl-ud-Dîn, Muhammad Akbar Bâdhâh, when his father, Humâyûn Bâdhâh, in great distress and misery, was returning to Sind from Jasal-mîr, having gone thither by Dirâwar and Bikanîr, on his way to Mâl Diw of Jodhpûr, who had promised him aid, and then deceived him. Finding he was liable to be attacked by overwhelming numbers, he, with his small following, turned off towards Jasal-mîr, and from thence towards Amar Koṭ, the party being nearly starved for want of grain. Having reached Amar Koṭ, its chief, Rânâ Bîr-sîl, treated him with great consideration, and gave up his outer fort to the Bâdhâh’s consort, whom he had married in Sind; and in that fort she gave birth to Akbar on the night of Sunday (our Saturday night—the night precedes the day in eastern computation), the 5th of Rajab, 949 H. (night of October 4th, 1542 A.D.). One of the “Panjab Gazetteers” actually tells us that “Malot” in the Hoûây-rûpûr district was the place of his birth!

Mr. Hughes in his Sind Gazetteer, of course, mentions the fact of his birth at "Umarkot," but then he adds a rare piece of history, to the effect that, “It was through this town that Akbar, when emperor, marched in A.D. 1591 to conquer Sind—an expedition, which, as history relates, was successful.” Only Gazetteer "history" would relate such: Akbar Bâdhâh was never in Amar Koṭ nor in Sind
separates into two channels, the westernmost of which is the largest;
and just twenty miles below Nowah Kot, the ancient channel before
referred to, the Puráno Dhoro of the people of Sind, but "Pooran River"
of one map, "Phooran N. or R." of another, "Phurraun R." of a third,
"Puran R." of a fourth, and "Dhora Pooran" of a fifth, unites with it,
and no further separation takes place until it enters the great ran,
marsh, or morass of Kačchh; and at times, the waters therefrom, in
periods of flood above, even now find their way into the sea by Lakh
Paṭ and the Kohrâ'i mouth referred to by the 'Arab writers.

On the east bank of the channel of the Râ'în or Râ'înî, in which
the Nârah now flows, from near Aror downwards, the sand hills of the
thal or thar or sandy desert on the east, run up close to the banks of the
river, and continue to skirt the channel of the Hakrâ, after the Râ'în
channel again unites with the main one, down as far as Amar Kot,
which is situated on the high bank. The bed here is very broad and
marshy, and here also is the Samarâh lake, or great dhand running
parallel to the old channel of the river.531 It is some fifteen miles in
length, and from four to five in breadth; and on the west side of Amar
Kot are other minor channels into which the river separated in its way
to the ocean. Continuing downwards from near Amar Koṭ by Nowah
Kot, eighteen miles below it, and four south of Wângah, or Wângah
Bâzâr as it is also styled, the Purânâh channel again joins the main one.
Thus the united channel continues to run in the general direction of
about south-south-west, until within six miles of Rânâ ke Bâzâr—the
"Rahna ki Bâzâr" of the maps—where it bends a little more south-
wards, and enters the great ran or morass of Kačchh; and the overflow
after his birth; and it was the Khán-i-Khánán, Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Râhîm, who annexed
Sind, and he came by Multán and Bakhar.

531 What may be the real origin of this name I am unaware, but 'samar' and
'sumur,' in 'Arabic, mean 'a small lake,' but this appears to have been a large one.
See preceding note 530, page 461.

This is doubtless the lake of Shâkarah, or a part of it, referred to in the Châch
Námâh respecting the movements of Muhammad, son of Kásim, the 'Arab con-
queroor of Sind, and by the Balâzârî in his account of the naval action there between
the 'Arabs and Jai Sehna, son of Râ'î Dâhir.

The "Report on the Eastern Narra," states (page 40), that, "Between Ding
and Choondawah the sand-hills recede eastward to Omerkote, forming a kind of bay,
across which the river takes a direct course vid Trimmoo. • • • During high
floods the whole country from Omerkote to Soomara, a distance of eighteen miles,
is sometimes under water.

"From Choondawah to Nowakote the Narra, or the "Hakra," as it is termed
in this part of the country [and its correct name], skirts the foot of the Tharr-
• • • Near Nowakote the channel is very large and deep."
from that channel, in time of flood in Upper Sind, passes north of the
Bandar or Port of Lakhsh Pat to the sea.

Such is the Mihrán of Sind or Great Mihrán, Hakrá, Wahindah, or
Bahindah, Wáhind-Ságár, Sind-Ságár, or Sankrah, from its source to
the sea, and which as late as Nádir Sháh’s time was considered the
boundary between Sind and Hind.155

It is necessary to mention, that there are a number of old channels—
indeed traces of them are every where met with — between the chan-
nel of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sindh, or Indus as it runs at present, and the
channels of the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá, one of which passes close to
Shadád-púr on the west, and runs towards Bahman-ábád and Mangúriyah.
It may be said, in fact, that, at different times, the Mihrán of Sind or
Hakrá has flowed over a great part of Sind, as far west as Shadad-púr,
and this is fully indicated from the many vestiges of ancient towns

155 Bahman evidently thought the same when he founded Bahman-níh or
Bahman-ábád.

The substance of the treaty between Nádir Sháh and Muḥammad Sháh,
Báŋsháh of Dílhi, mentioning the Sankrah, Sind-Ságár, or Hakrá, as referred to at
page 401, I am able here to give. It is to this effect in the Tárikh of Ní‘mat Khá,
‘Alí: “The Government of Hindústán agrees to cede to the Sháh of Irán of the
Turk-máníyah dynasty, the whole territory of the west, from, and including
Peşháwar, the Bangas’hát, the Dár-ul-Mulk of Kábúl, Ghazníh, and the Koháistán,
the dwelling-place of the Afghan tribes [ here it will be noticed that “the Afghan-
istán,” as described in my “Notes,” page 453, which see, is clearly meant ], the
Hazírâh-ját, the fortress of Bakhar, and Sakhar, Hamíd-ábád, and the whole of
the district of the Derah-ját, and the place styled Chaukí-i-Sokhtah, and other places
belonging to the subah of Thatásh, the Husábah of Budhan [ Budín ? ], the parganah of
Haran, the parganah of Bihá-Wálí Kandah, and the other remaining parganahs be-
longing to Peşháwar, together with the adjoining parganahs of Kábúl, from the
boundary of Aṭásk, and the Nálah of Sankrah, THE EXTREMITY OF THE RIVER SIND-
Ságár, which unites with the great ocean; and that the officials of Hindústán from
henceforth shall not exercise any authority therein. And the Báŋsháh of Hindú-
stán, on his part, agrees to cede those territories, and from that date considers,
that those territories here named are out of his charge and jurisdiction, and that they
shall not, after that before-mentioned date, be accounted as comprised within or
belonging to the empire of Hindústán;” and further, “that documents to this
effect had been given to be a proof of the same.” This was dated the 29th of
Šáfar, 1152 H. (26th May, 1739 A.D.). Multán was not included as Tod asserts.

By this treaty the whole territory comprised within the subah of Thatásh, as
constituted in Akbar Báŋsháh’s reign, and the southern part of the Bakhar sarkár
of the Multán subah east of the Indus, and the whole of the territory on the west
side of the Indus, were lost to the Dílhi empire; and only what constitutes the
Baháwal-púr state now, and the territory of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, were left
to it.

Writers of “Reports to Government” on “Perom, Panjnad,” etc., and compilers
of Gazetteers, would do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest these facts.
still remaining on the banks of the old channels. These ancient channels, however, by utilizing them as canals for irrigation purposes, and the yearly inundations of the Indus, are becoming fast obliterated; and this may be some plea for my venturing to record here the little information which I possessed respecting the Hakrá, and the other rivers herein mentioned, which were its tributaries.

The other channels between the present channel of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, and the Puránah Dhorák, or Ancient Channel of the Mihrán of Sind, or Hakrá, immediately north and west of Shadád-púr, including that of the Loháno Dhorá of the Sindís, are the remains of channels formed after that branch of the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá, which near Kalári branched off to the north-west and then west towards Siw-istán, and subsequently re-united with the main branch which flowed past Bahman-no—Mansáriyah on the east. Those farther north, and extending eastwards of the present channel of the Sindhu, or Ab-i-Sind, between Sihwán and the lime-stone hills and sand bluffs running south from Rúrhi, and bounding the valley of the Hakrá, as it may be termed, on the west, after the junction of the Náráh or old western channel just below Sayyidah, are the remains of the channels in which the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus flowed from time to time, in its continual movements towards the west, after it had finally deserted the Mihrán of Sind or Hakrá subsequent to receiving the waters of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, which likewise deserted it, as noticed farther on. The Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind took some considerable time to gain its present course, especially west and south-west between Bakhar and Sihtah. From near Kándiára and Darbelo south and east, down towards Sakrand and Shadád-púr, its most ancient channels now existing run nearly the whole way between these places, as a glance at the map of Sind shows, but are still more clearly to be seen in the maps of the Revenue Survey. Among these old channels, probably, is that in which the river so repeatedly mentioned by the 'Arabs, the Kumbh, flowed, which passed between Siw-istán, the modern Sihwán, and the western branch of the Mihrán of Sind, and into which the Ab-i-Sind or Sindhu may have found its way during its repeated changes. These movements extended over a considerable length of time; for, in the time of Mírzá Jání Beg, the last of the Tar-Khán Mughal rulers of the Thaţáhah territory, which included Wóholo or Middle, and Lár or Lower Sind (999 H.—1590-91 A.D.), the river was still running six kuroh or about ten miles and a half east of Siw-istán or Sihwán. 587

586 See note 545, page 473.

587 The compiler of the Gazetteer of Sind says (p. 286), that "among the largest canals of the Jerruck Deputy Collectorate is the Baghár or Bhaghiár."
To the recent formation of the lower part of the delta of the Indus I have already alluded; and if we draw a line from near Karâchí to about twenty miles above Lakhk Pat, we shall be able to judge how far it extended in the time of Akbar Badshâh, when Badîn and its dependent lands constituted the extremity of Sind in that direction, all to the south of such line having been formed since.\footnote{539} To have a correct conception of how far it extended when the 'Arabs landed in Sind, we should draw the line from a few miles south of Pir Patho and Badîn towards Wângah, or even much farther north-east towards Nowâ Koç.

\footnote{539} It is supposed, and with very good reason, that great part of the delta between Thâtah and Karâchí south, has been formed since the Ab-i-Sind or Indus

---

\* \* \* The Baghâr or Bhaghîr (meaning the destroyer) is the western branch of the Indus, diverging a little south of the town of Thatta. \* \* \* It is said to have been in A.D. 1699 a very great stream, navigable as far as Labori Bunder (then the principal port of Sind, and at the close of the last century, the seat of the English factory) 20 miles from the mouth, for vessels of 200 tons; afterwards it resolved itself into four branches." See the account of Debal or Dewal, note 315, page 317.

Del Hoste, writing in 1839, says "the Hajamree month had only then been in existence two years, and is now the main branch of the Indus."

Burton (Scinde: p. 168) says: "now the Ar or Bhâgar is the western outlet of the Indus."

Ar, in Hindi, means 'prevention,' 'hinderance,' 'stoppage,' 'stop,' etc., and such a word as "Baghâr" or "Bhaghîr" as Hughes writes it, and "Bâgâr" as Postans renders it, I have not found; but Bigâr is intelligible, from Hindi bigârâ, 'to spoil,' 'damage,' etc.

Hughes in his Gazetteer says (page 768) in confirmation of this, that there are "Traditions of a town of great size called Samma Sumro having once existed a little south of the present village of Shah-Kapur [the "Shahkupoor" of the Indian Atlas map], in Mirpur Batoro talûka. Also a town called Rohri in Jâli talûka, and supposed to have flourished about two centuries ago. Remains of forts are also in some places to be seen, but, owing to the peculiar and erratic course of the Indus towards the sea, and the consequent changeable nature of its various branches, there is no district which is likely to show less remains of antiquity than that of Shâhbandar."

These two places in Shâh Bandar district must have gone to ruin long before "about two centuries ago," otherwise they would have been mentioned in the accounts of Lâr, Thâtah, or Lower Sind. Batorâ, the Bato of the Sindis, was the chief town of one of the eleven mahâdis or sub-districts of the sarkâr or district of Thâtah, in Akbar Badshâh’s reign.

Hughes also says (p. 767), that "the extensive flood, which occurred in Sind about 1819, the year of the earthquake in Kachchh, caused great changes in the lower part of the Indus, and tended to hasten the fall of Shâh Bandar, by withdrawing the water from the branch on which it stood. Before this Shâh Bandar was the naval station of the rulers of Sind; and since that time, still greater changes have taken place, and they are still going on."
The identification hereabouts of places mentioned in Alexander's expedition, is even more illusive than farther upwards, according to the present courses of the rivers.589

Thus, from all that I have here adduced, the following are the results of my investigations; and from them, as far as tradition affirms,
deserted the channel which passed by Naṣr-pûr, and took a more westerly course. There is little doubt, indeed, but that great part of the Shâh Bandar district of Sind, as at present constituted, and the southern part of the Jarak district likewise, are of comparatively recent formation. See note 187, page 234 from the Ghâch Nâmâh on the Bet.

Sultân Firdâs Shâh, the Khalî Turk Sultân of Dîhlî, is said to have founded Naṣr-pûr on the then bank of the Ab-i-Sînd, a different place from the fort near Naṣir-pûr, on the Sankrah or Haḵrâ. See note 173, page 224, note 555, page 479, and note 576, page 500.

It is stated, likewise, that after the annexation of the Ṭhaṭâhah territory above referred to, the Khân-i-Khánân, Mîrzâ Abd-ur-Rahîm, desired to have a look at the great ocean before he returned to the Court at Agrah, and that he set out from his camp at Ṭhaṭâhah for that purpose, and proceeding southwards two easy stages of about fifteen miles each, he obtained the sight he desired. The place from which he obtained a view of the ocean is called "Mughal-Bîn,"—the Mughal's view in—consequence, to this day, bîn being the Persian for 'seeing,' 'view,' 'sight,' 'glimpse,' etc., from the verb didân- 'to see,' 'to view,' etc. The place appears in the maps as "Mughalbîn," "Mogulbeen," etc. It is now nearly fifty miles from the sea.

589 With regard to the "identifications" of places, in Sind in particular, Postans very pertinently remarks on the building of cities and docks, that "though there may be every reason to imagine that he, whose whole life was a study how to acquire posthumous fame, was most anxious to leave some splendid monuments, which should attest to after ages the magnitude of his deeds on the immediate scenes of their enacting, he could not have found the two indispensables of a stable spot on which to erect them, or any sufficient lasting materials for his purpose: thus it is that throughout Sindh the most diligent and well directed antiquarian research has altogether failed to discover one single reminiscence of verified classical antiquity, or to incontestably fix one locality as that described by Alexander's historians." In another place he says, "to have trusted to such records in Sindh [and in great part of the Panj Ab also] would have been to have written history in sand." Indeed, all practical men who have dwelt in these parts, and surveyed these rivers, declare that identification is a farce.

As regards the lower deltas, where people expect to find places in the same situation on the Indus and near its mouths as they were ages ago, the following extract from Dr. Lord's "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus," may be useful. He says, "The river discharges 300 cubic feet of mud in every second of time; or a "quantity which in seven months would suffice to form an island 42 miles long, "27 miles broad, and 40 feet deep; which [taking the depth of the sea along "the coast at about five fathoms], would consequently be elevated 10 feet above "the surface of the water. Any person who chooses to run out this calculation to "hundreds and thousands of years will be able to satisfy himself that much may be "done by causes at present in action towards manufacturing deltas,"
and history confirms, the state of the seven rivers — the Saptah Sindhá-wah of the Sanskrit writings—between the Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, and the Sindhu, Nahr-i-Mihrán, or Ab-i-Sind, the Indus of Europeans, the whole of which united formed the "Mihrán of Sind," or "Great Mihrán," as some of the old writers style it, may be divided or classed under five great transitions or changes. I may assume, however, that it will be fully understood, that changes more or less, to a greater or lesser degree, took place then as now, during, and after, every annual inundation of these rivers; and that the beds or channels of the majority of them, in inclining westwards, were being gradually silted up, owing to the nature of the soil through which they flowed being, for the most part, alluvial, from causes well known to geologists, and particularly so with regard to the Sutlaj, but which latter river having reached a certain point where the tract of country on the west rose so considerably as to prevent its waters from surmounting the obstacle, this inclination westwards has been prevented, and, in all probability, finally stopped.

I will not go back so far as the Macedonian Alexander's time, because we have no definite or trustworthy information respecting the courses, or even the numbers of all the rivers and their tributaries of the parts now known as the territory of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, and of the parts immediately to the east. But we learn from Aristobulus, as quoted by Strabo, that the country was subject to the shocks of earthquakes, that the soil was loose and hollow by excess of moisture, and easily split into fissures, whence even the courses of the rivers became altered. He also states, that, on one occasion, when he was despatched into the country upon some business, he saw a tract of land deserted, which contained more than a thousand cities (towns and cities?) with their dependent villages. "The cause of this was, that the Indus, having abandoned its proper channel, was diverted into another, on the left hand [east], much deeper, and precipitated itself into it like a cataract, so that it no longer watered the country by the usual inundation on the right hand, from which it had receded, and this was elevated above the level, not only of the new channel which the river had formed, but above that of the inundation."

We also know from Indian sources, that the Sutlaj or Satadru — the Hesudrus or Zaradrus of the Greeks — long after Alexander's time, flowed in the easternmost of its ancient channels shown in the map No. 6. All the Greek accounts respecting these parts, are more or less, mere surmise and speculation; and when we find enthusiasts "identifying" towns, fortresses, and the rivers also, as they now flow, we can value such identifications accordingly.
The first reliable information that we possess, dates from about or shortly before, the time of the invasion of Sind by the Arabs— one thousand and thirty-nine years subsequent to the invasion of these parts by the Greeks—and when we find such changes occurring between 712 A. D. and 1890 A. D., a period of 1188 years, we may be sure that the previous 1038 years had not been without proportionate changes also.

At, or about the time of, the Arab invasion, the Hakrā or Wahindah, of which the Chitang, Sursūtī, Ghag-ghar, and Sutlaj, and their smaller feeders, were tributaries, flowed in two channels from near Mārūṭ, one of which channels, the easternmost, flowed about south-south-west by Ghauḍ Gahr, or Rukan-pūr of after years, Khān Gahr (there are several places of this name, but this one lies on the south-eastern border of the Bahāwal-pūr state, near the western frontier of Jasal-mir), Wanjb-rūṭ (the Bijnoot of the maps), and No-har or Islām Gahr, skirting the Jasal-mir state on the west, and from thence down as far as Mitharo or Mitraho, on the south-east frontier of Sind as at present constituted, and from thence reached the ran or marsh of Kaḥbuh, which it helped to form, by way of Amar Kot of the Sodahs.

The westernmost branch or channel of the Hakrā or Wahindah passed from Mārūṭ more to the south-westwards, through the present Bahāwal-pūr state, into Sind, very nearly as indicated by the present existing channel, as shown in the general map, No. 1. Subsequently, through some change in the courses of its tributaries, probably, the eastern branch from Mārūṭ deserted its old channel on the Jasal-mir border, and the Hakrā then lost the tributaries it previously received from the direction of Poh-karn, east of the town of Jasal-mir, altogether, leaving that part a sandy waste, and the beds of those tributaries ceasing to be perennial, became run or marshes. This great change is indicated by existing proofs, and accounts for all the channels still remaining after so many centuries, more or less prominent, over a space of some seventy-six miles from east to west, as already recorded.

Where the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, Nil-āb, or Indus at that period

540 There are two places called Wanjb-rūṭ. This is different from that described at page 497, but were included, apparently, in the same district.

541 Tradition affirms, that in the Bikānīr territory, the waters of the Hakrā or Wahindah used to spread out into a great lake, near a place called Kak. Shāhamat 'All, in his account of the Bahāwal-pūr state, says, that Bahāwal-pūr stands on an ancient site which was called Kak. This great lake may have existed south and east of that place, for the country is seamed with channels and banks, but the position of Bahāwal-pūr is too far to the north-west to be the part indicated.

542 That is, from the east bank of the Hakrā channel, eastwards. See also pages 456 and 479.

543 It will be noticed that I do not call the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, "the
united with the Hakrá is not so clear, but, shortly after, we find from the earliest 'Arab writers, that four of the five rivers forming the Panch Nad or Panj Ab flowed within two farsangs (six miles) of Multán on the east, and passed from thence southwards towards U'chehj (but which place is not mentioned by that name by the 'Arab writers), which it also passed close by on the west side, and lower down again, three days' journey below Multán, in the direction of Aror or Alor, the ancient capital of Sind, united with the Sind Rád, or Rúd-i-Sind to Hind (the Bihat, Chin-áb, Ráwi, and Biáli), and formed the Panch Nad or Panj Ab. Still lower down again, between Baghlah and Śāhib Mihrán," for the reason elsewhere explained. See note 124, page 211, and note 548, page 475.

With respect to crossing the Ab-i-Sind or Indus—the Afak or Forbidden River—daily by Bráhmans, Wilford (As. Res. Vol. VI, p. 536) says: "Those of Multán jocularly say, that its true bed [from constant shiftings] is not ascertained, so they may cross it with impunity."

In ancient times, the Nil Ab, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, took a more direct southerly course after issuing from the hills below Kálá Bágh, and, lower down, ran much closer to Multán. It was subject to changes in its course upwards as much as downwards below that place. Here is an illustration in point, from which we may see what has happened in the course of a very few years in the upper part of the Sind-Ságur Do-ábah, and we may judge what the changes may have been lower down in the course of ages.

In his "Year on the Punjab Frontier," Edwardes says: "The Indus has for many years been gradually taking a more westerly course in its passage to the Sutlej. [He here makes it a tributary of the Sutlej, by which he means what was the Sutlej and Biáh, but now, since the junction of the two, the Gháráh or Harári], and nowhere perhaps so markedly as at Esankhey [this shows how far north these changes commence]. Year after year it has encroached on the western bank, and in removing from the Sindh Ságur [Do-ábah, perhaps?] has increased its breadth of terra firma. The alluvium thus thrown up has in process of time created on the left, or eastern bank, a low but highly fertile tract called Kuchee [kachchhī]—this is the word, signifying 'raw,' 'new,' 'recent,' and applied to alluvium. The word occurs in Kachchh Bih, Kachchhī north and west of Jacob-ábád in Sind, Chhothah Kachchh on the banks of the Harári or Gháráh, and the term has even extended to the alluvium thrown up on the banks of rivers cultivated by Afgháns on the side of India, 'khe']. At Meanwaltee, the point where you leave the Sindh Ságur Doab to cross over to Esaukheyl, the alluvial tract just spoken of is about 12 miles broad when the river is at its lowest. In other words, the Indus has already moved 12 miles from that part of the Sindh Ságur [Do-ábah?]; and though in seasons of its utmost flood the river still reaches its former bank, and permits the villagers on the old high ground to fill pitchers from the waters with which Kuchee [Kachchhī] is then overspread, yet, in ordinary times, the original Doab of Sindh Ságur is now no longer discernable from the ferries of Esaukheyl."

The country of the 'Usá Kheī clan of the Názá Afgháns is here meant. More respecting the changes of rivers in this part will be found in my "Notes on Afghánistán," etc., Section Four, particularly at pages 340, 341, 370, 371 and 400.
Garh, about seventy-six miles south-south-west of Uqba'h, at Dosh-i-Ab—*dosh* is a Tájífik word signifying ‘a place of meeting’—the Waters Meet—this Panjnad united with the Hakrá and its tributaries, and formed the Mihrán of Sind. From thence the great river continued its course in much the same direction as before, for about thirty-six miles more; and then, between Kanḏhárah or Kanḏháro (*‘Kundairah’* of the maps) and Wanjhrút, just sixty-four miles north-north-east of Aror, separated into two channels, one of which, the lesser in volume, passing Wanjhrút a little to the north, flowed more westwards towards Aror, which it passed about two miles or less on the east. Rebutted by the rocky range of hills, at the eastern foot of which, and into the plain eastward, where the city lay, it turned to the south, and united with the main river thirty-seven miles lower down. After the separation above noticed, the main stream, keeping more towards the south than before, near the present village of Sayyidah, the “Saida” of the maps, was again joined by the other branch from Aror. From thence, where the valley opens out considerably, it continued to flow in much the same south-south-westerly direction as before, until at a point forty-eight miles as the crow flies, lower down, where the country becomes almost a dead level towards the south, and also towards the west, it again separated into two channels, the main branch flowing in much the same direction as before, but becoming more tortuous in its course, passed near Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih on the east. The other branch turning more towards the west into the flat open tract I have before noticed, passed between Bahman-ábád and Siw-istán, about mid-way, then beuding southwards, and subsequently south-eastwards, re-united with the main river some miles north-east of Badín, and fell into the sea by one mouth near Shákará, about two days’ journey from Debal or Dewal, the ancient sea-port of Sind, on the east, where the river was chiefly known as the Hakrá, Wahind Ságar, or Sind-Ságar, as well as Mihrán of Sind and Great Mihrán.

Subsequent to the conquest of Sind and Multán by the *Arabs,* Edwardes continues: “When Ranjit Singh first came that way—probably when he went to Lukkee in Murwut—he opened a way through the jungle [*the alluvial tract he mentioned had become covered with a high *jangal* of reeds, tiger grass, and tamarisk*] for his army by putting four elephants abreast. * * * In one part of Esaukheylo the Indus has within the last few years cut off a considerable slice, and made an adjacent island of it. The zamindars [*zamindárs*—landowners] clung to their land with the usual tenacity, and actually established two villages on the island. Occasionally the Indus rose and overwhelmed the island, when both colonies took boat and retired to the mother country, Esaukheylo, but emigrated again as soon as ever the island re-appeared.”

545 The Balázarí, who wrote in 270 H (883-84 A.D.), states, that when the
a change came, the first important one to be noted. The Hakra or Wa-
bindah continued to flow much as before, and to unite into one stream
near Sayyadah, just forty miles above Bahman-ābād, the western
branch flowing towards the northwards, and then north-west, to-
towards Siw-istān, but somewhat nearer to it than before, then
bent south and south-east again to re-unite with the main river,
but not so far towards the south as before: at one period falling
into the sea near Debal : at another about two days' journey from it
eastwards, as it had previously done. At another period it separated
into two branches about twelve mīl (miles) below Manṣūriyah—for that
had now been built—on the west side, six miles from Bahman-ābād, and
from Mahfūzah on the opposite or east side, and fell into the sea near
the town of Shākara, two days' journey east of Debal, by one month, and,
subsequently, by two, one nearer Debal than before; but the other,
known as the mouth of the Great Mihrān, was the Shākara channel
separating Kachbāh from Sind. At another intermediate period, the
distance between the mouth of the Great Mihrān and the port of Debal
was but six mīl (miles) : at another, after the junction with the Bā'īn
branch below Aror near Sayyidah, the river began to flow through the
middle of Sind, that is a little more to the westward than before, and
with a slower current, spreading out in that part which I have men-
tioned as almost a dead level westwards and southwards, and forming

'Arab leader, 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, advanced from Nīrān to operate against
Siw-istān and Bahman-ābād, a river ran east of Nīrān and Siw-istān, parallel or
nearly so, to the Mihrān. Muḥammad, having crossed that river, which appears to
have been fordable, reached the west bank of the Mihrān, and having crossed it to the
east side by a bridge of boats, moved towards Bahman-ābād. The first-men-
tioned river was not the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, but the river called the Kumbh in the
Qaḥ Nāmah, which enters into much greater detail. See the extracts from that

546 Mr. R. D. Oldham, in a paper on the subject of the changes in the courses
of the Panj-āb Rivers, says, that "It would be impossible for the Indus flowing in
the Narrā to send a branch past Hermetelia or Brahman-ābād [only it is not
Brahman-ābād, but Bahman-ābād or Bahman-ābād] unless water was gifted with the
power of flowing up-hill in the time of Alexander the Great," etc.

As the bed of the Hakra lies much higher than Bahman-ābād all the way down
from Khān Garh and Khair-pūr Dehr ko, and lower than its western branch,
which passed Aror on the east, in which the overflow waters from the river Indus
as it now flows find their way, there would be no necessity whatever for water to
"flow up-hill," and which the Mitrāho Canal does not do. At the period in question,
where the Hakra or Mihrān of Sind separated into two branches, some forty miles
above Bahman-ābād and Manṣūriyah, the country was almost a dead level, especi-
ally from east to west, but inclined slightly towards the south.

547 The Balāzārī states, that Manṣūriyah was founded on one side of the estuary
or lake facing Hind, and Mahfūzah on the opposite side. See note 553, page 477.
several islands, until it reached Mansúriyah; while, lower down, it united and formed one great river. One writer states, that at this period, between the country of Mukrán, that is from the Kahtar range west of Siw-istán (Karáchi, it may be noticed, was considered, down almost to the present century, to belong to Mukrán) and Mansúriyah, the waters of the Mihrán of Sind formed great lakes, one of which, without doubt, is the existing Lake Manchhar.

At this period the place of junction of the Wihat, Bilat, or Jihlam with the Chín-áb was about midway between Chándauñ-ot, now in the Rachín-áb Do-abah, and Sá'e-Wál in the Chín-hath Do-abah, in about 31°51' N. Lat., and 72°23' E. Long. In their downward progress the united rivers, under the name of Chín-áb, passed from some four to fourteen miles (according to the shifting of their courses from time to time from east to west and back again, from one side to the other of the broad tract seamed with its channels), and from four to eight miles east of Jhang-i-Siálan. On the other hand, the Ráwah or Rawí, which also flowed, at different periods, from one side to the other of a tract of country, in some parts from twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth: at times on one side, at times on the other, and taking a more southerly course than at present, about eight miles east of Sath Garh, about the same distance east of Harappah, and five miles east of Tulan-bah, united with the Chín-áb within a few miles of Multán on the east, the district immediately adjoining the city on that side being still known as Taraf-i-Rávi, or the Rávi Side or Quarter, to this day.

These three united rivers, known as the Trim Ao or Trim Ab, then flowing in a direction a little to the west of south, united with the Biáh about twenty-eight miles lower down than Multán, and formed what the Arab writers name the Sind Búd, or Búd-i-Sind wo Hind, which the

548 Al-Mas'údí, who wrote in 300 H. (914-42 A.D.), says, that the river Mihrán of Sind [See note 543, page 471] flows on towards Multán and beyond, and receives the name of Mihrán. * * * * Another of the five rivers which go to form the Mihrán of Sind is called Hátil [See page 207]. When all have passed Multán they unite about three days' journey below the city of Multán, and above Mansúriyah, and unite into one stream at Dosh-i-áb [with the Hakrá or Wahindah], which flows towards Aldor or Alor, which lies on its west bank, and belongs to Mansúriyah, whereas [at Dosh-i-Ab] it receives the name of Mihrán. * * * * The Mihrán goes to Mansúriyah." See note 124, page 211.

If the ancient capital of Sind is here referred to under the name of Aldor or Alor, as it seems to be, it was within the limits of the tract dependent on Bahman-ábád or Bahman-nih, which territory was afterwards known as Mansúriyah.

Al-Mas'údí, it will be observed, does not notice any third great river. The Istakhari also states, that "the Sind Búd, is about three stages from Multán, and that its waters are pleasant before it unites with the Mihrán," and does not refer
Istakhari says is three stages from Multán, and that its waters are sweet before it unites with the Mihrán, here referring to the Ab-i-Sind, by some also called the Nahr-i-Mihráu. This Sind Rúd then taking a course a little more to the south-south-west than before, flowed near by Uchchh on the east side, Multán and that place being then in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and united with the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, Nil Ab, or Indus, which, up to this period, kept a more direct southerly course after issuing from the hilly tract near Kálá or Kará Bág, down to the vicinity of Multán and Uchchh; and the united five rivers then constituted the Panch Nad or Panj Ab. Continuing to flow much in the same direction as before, and passing close to, and between Ghauq-púr, Jauchh-Wá-han, and Ma’ú, and east of Bhati Wá-han, Siw-rá’i, and Mir-púr—by the old channel, now the great depression, by which, at the present time, the Náráh, so called, receives part of its waters—this Panch Nad or Panj Ab united with the Hakrá or Wahindah at Dosh-i-Ab, much as it had hitherto done. By degrees, however, through the erratic changes in the course of the Sutlaj, which had hitherto flowed in the easternmost channel that we know of, west of Qamkaur and Bhaṭindah, and whose previous junction with the Hakrá or Wahindah, consisting of the Ghag-ghar and its tributaries, including the Sursúṭi and the Qhitang, took place near Walh-har, but which now began to incline towards the west and form a new channel for itself, the junction of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus with the Hakrá began to take place a little lower down, between Sáḥib Garb and Kándhárah or Kándháro, but nearer to the former.

This junction, as previously noticed in the account of the state of the rivers about the time of the 'Arab conquest, of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, the Jand Rúd, and the Hakrá (the three great rivers mentioned in the Masálik wa Mamálik, and by Ibn Ḥauḵal) did not long continue, but, as before, again separated into two streams or branches, but to flow much in the same directions as before, the westernmost one, the Rá’ín or Rá’íní, towards Aror, and the main one towards the place of junction farther south near where Sayyidah now stands. At this period these branches of the great river were navigable for vessels, or rather large boats, from the ocean upwards beyond Aror, Uchchh, and Multán, and the tradition of the Musalmán merchant, Saif-уль-Mulúk tends to confirm it.

Below Sayyidah the course of the great river, the Mihrán of Sind, to a third great river, but this fact does not show that it did not exist. It is, however, distinctly mentioned soon after, as will presently be shown.

See page 301.
See page 488.
as it was called below Aror, was much as before described. It again separated into two main branches between thirty-nine and forty miles above Bahman-ābīd and Mansūriyāh, encircling a large portion of its territory, and again united below those places, flowed towards Wānghā, and discharged its waters into the sea by the Shākarā channel and the Kohrā’i inlet or estuary, then, not far from the town of Badin, of the present day. When in flood, such redundant water as could not pass readily into the sea by the ordinary channel, spread out, and along with the overflow from other rivers farther east, including the Loni, from Sanskrit lon — salt—the “Loonee” and “Loony” of the maps,

According to the Tārīkh-i-Tahirī, but see preceding note 548, page 475, and note 304, page 305.

See note 168, page 223.

Tod, in the map to his “Rajast'han,” actually makes the lower part of the Hakra close to its junction with the sea, to be the Loony R., and places it a long way west of Lakhh-Pat and west of the Ran; whereas the Loni flowed into the Ran, or was lost in it at its eastern extremity. Here, doubtless, was the “Loni Bari ost” of Ptolemy.

The writer on the “Lost River,” in the “Calcutta Review” (p. 18.), makes “the embouchure of the Indus, Sutlej, and the Luni form the rams of Kach”; and adds, that, “all traditions of tribes bordering thereon, say that it was anciently an estuary.” In another place he makes it, the “estuary of the Sutlej” only.

It certainly was an estuary, but of the Hakra, Sind-Sāgar, or Great Mihrān of Sind, of which the Sutlej, four degrees farther north, as well as the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, which thereabouts united with the Hakra, were tributaries.

The same writer recognizes this estuary at the mouth of the Hakra as “Arrian’s great lake, at the mouth of the eastern arm of the Indus”; also that it is “the lake of Sāgara in which according to the Chuch Nāma the fleet of Muhammad Kasim Iay”; also “the lake Ash Sharki upon which Al-Biladuri says the fleet of Jaishya son of Dahir, king of Sind, was destroyed by the Arab army under Junaid.” This is from Elliot.

The Samarrah lake west of Amar Koṭ is more probably the remains of that lake or very near it, since changed, and the “estuary” led to it.

See page 67, where the naval battle is mentioned by the Balāgarī, and note 530, page 481, also note 534, page 465.

Wilford, who possessed a vast deal of information respecting these parts, though some of it is speculative and the names generally written from ear only, says: (As. Eca. 6—225) The Sigértis of the Greeks is from Hindee Seher Des, the country of Seher or Sehr. * * * Lehri or Lehrādi bunder so called because it is in the country of Lehrā [Lār], while another part, on the eastern branch is called Sehrī or Sehrdhī-bunder, from the same cause [that is in the country of Sehr], but now is always called Bustah-bunder. Its entrance is broad. * * * A salt water lake or bay was called Saronis by the Greeks, and Eirinos by Arrian in the Periplus.

This lake communicates with the sea through two mouths, the largest of which is close to Bustah-bunder. The other to the east is small. East of it is Lac-pat Bundur in Cach'ha [Saurāshtra or Sorāth commences at Lakhh-pat]. It owes its origin to king Lac-pati, the grandfather of the present Raja of Cach'ha.”
contributed to form the great ran or marsh between Kachheh and Sind, which previously had been a broad estuary, bay, or inlet of the ocean, but which now had begun to fill up.

It must not be supposed that this great river and its tributaries kept to a single channel only in their courses through alluvial tracts of country. There were, no doubt, then as now, in all the rivers, minor channels branching off on either side at greater or lesser distances, and flowing for greater or lesser distances, again to unite with the main channel, and again to branch off. What I have described here are the general courses of the main rivers.

Up to this period (about 335 H. = 946 A.D.) Rúghí and Bakhar, now on the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, were unknown: there is no record in history of their existence; for, up to this time, no water from the Mihrán of Sind, the united Hákraf, Sind Rúd, and Ab-i-Sind or Indus, passed near their sites. The waters from the eastern and southern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulimán on the west, and from the Hard and Suhán rivers on the east, as far down as Rúján, flowed to the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus; while such streams as the Nári and Lehri, coming from the range of Mihtar Sulimán and the Koh-i-Surkh or Rátá Rob, bounding the Afghan state (or what recently belonged to the Afghan state, and on that account christened "British Balochistan" probably) on the south, and those from the north-west, namely, the Bolán river, and the Ghár or Gháj, (some of which appear to have contained a greater volume of water than in after years), flowing southwards by Khaíro Garhi, and Shadád-púr, must have fallen into the channel called in our maps the Western Narra; and these waters in some parts, evidently, formed the lakes, previously referred to, between Múkrán and the territory of Mansúriyah, including the Lake Manočhír, in which the waters collected. From this lake they again issued by an outlet

Tod (Vol. I., p. 17) says, with respect to "Eirinos," that, the word is a corruption of Run or Run; and in a note says, "Most probably a corruption of 'arashya' a desert; and so the Greek mode of writing is more correct than the present." This is a wonderful statement, truly.

It is strange that, in the detailed account of the operations of the 'Arab commander, Muhámmad, against Siw-istán, contained in the Ghách Namáh, there is no mention whatever of any lake near it, although another is mentioned lower down stream. All that is said is, that, "in former times the Ab-i-Sind did not flow on or from the north side of that place," but that it did at the time of the 'Arab who is relating the circumstance. Ammiánus Marcellinus tells us (363 A.D.), that, in that part of Gedrosia which on its right touches the frontier of India, are several rivers of which the greatest is the Artabús, and that there, "the Barbitani mountains end, and from their lowest parts rise several rivers which fall into the Indus, losing their own names in the greatness of that superior stream." See note 186, page 383, and page 475.
running in the direction of about south-south-east to the tract in which Naṣr-pūr was afterwards founded, and flowing from thence, by some of the channels the remains of which still exist in that direction, towards Wángah, they united with the Puránah channel. Subsequently, perhaps, they found their way by forming a new channel lower down, the Gúnī channel of the present time, or a still older one, and fell into the sea by the Kohrá'ī inlet, along with the Mihrán of Sind or Hakra.

This was the state of the rivers forming the Great Mihrán, or Mihrán of Sind, at the time of, and for about two hundred and thirty or forty years after, the conquest of Sind, when the Istakhari wrote, and for a short time after the "Masálik wa Mamálik" was written, and Ibn Ḥanḵal came into Sind and obtained the materials for his "Aṣḫāl-

The Bolán river during the past year (1890-91) has given proof of what it had previously been. I stated in my "NOTES ON AFGHÁNISTÁN," that it was liable to become greatly flooded, when it swept every thing before it. This was sometime before a line of Railway was thought of; and during this last year, the correctness of my statement has been fully proved, and at a great cost to the State. I hope I shall not, from this fact "hurt any one's susceptibilities," which is the most important thing, it appears, after all, to be thought of in these days, but only persons who make mistakes are supposed to possess any "susceptibilities."

In the Noh-shahrah district of the Ḥaidar-ábád Collectorate of Sind as at present constituted. The Tuḥfát-ul-Kirám says it was founded "on the banks of the Ab-i-Sind" by Súltán Firúz Sháh, the Khalj Turk sovereign of Díhilí; and that he also built a fort near Naṣir-pūr, which was called by the latter name, on the banks of the Sanákarah [the Hakra or Wahindah], on his way from Guzaráth against Ṭhāthah, when the Jáms were reduced to subjection." Consequently, Naṣr-pūr and Naṣir-pūr are totally distinct places, and far apart from each other.

Postans ("Personal Observations on Sindh," p. 161) says that "Naṣir-pūr [Naṣr-pūr is the correct name] is alluded to by geographers as one of the most beautiful cities of Sind; but it declined in consequence of the desertion of the main stream. The learned D'Anville considers this to be the Mansúrá of the Arabs, and a city of great importance." See note 173, page 224.

The writer in the "Calcutta Review" calls the eastern branch of the "Indus" the "Dhóra Púran, which meets the Nárân," but, in this case where did the Puránah Dhóra come from if not from the Hakra?

Seven paragraphs after, the same writer says, that "although much inferior in size to the Indus, the Hakra must have been of vast importance," etc. It will be seen from this that he confuses the Hakra with the afterwards formed, and modern Nárân, the origin of which has been shown, and vice versa, and does not appear to have known that the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, at the period mentioned in the text above, was a mere tributary of the Hakra, which was a great river—the Great Mihrán as it is called by the 'Arab writers. There is no authority, I believe, in history, to show that the Indus was so great a river as the Hakra, in those early days.
ul-Bilád. But long before Bú-Rihán-al-Beráni finished his "Taḥkīk-ul-Hind" (about 422 H. = 1030-31 A.D.), a great change had taken place, although not so much as he, or rather Raḥid-ud-Dín, who quotes him, would lead us to believe. Be this as it may, the statement, that "the river Bihaṭ and the Chandrá [Chin-āb] flow west of Multáń," and that all five rivers, viz., Ab-i-Sind or Indus, Bihaṭ, Chin-āb, Bihā, and Iráwsh or Ráwi, thus reversing facts, "unite with the Sutladr or Sutlaj below Multán at a place [sic] called Panch Nad—which for a place is an impossible name—is incorrect. It is clearly shown from various statements in history, that the Sutlaj continued for a long period after his time, and subsequent to the investment of Uchchāh two centuries after, to be a tributary of the Hakrā, at the time that the Panch Nad or Five Rivers used to unite with the Hakrā, at Dosh-i-Ab."  

The second transition was when the course of the western branch of the Mihrán or Hakrā, with which all the other tributaries had previously united, namely the Rá'ìn branch, or the branch which flowed in the Rá'ìn or Rá'ini channel, was diverted, by whatever means accomplished, and directed more to the westward from near Kandháharah or Kandháro, and out a new channel for itself much farther to the westward than the gap in the lime-stone hills where Bakhar and Rú'hi were afterwards founded. I say much farther westwards, because, if it had only been diverted into about its present course, Alor or Aror need not

547 Always mistaken for "Tárīkh-ul-Hind," even by its translator. See note 79 page 186.

548 The only other construction that can be put on this statement is, that by the Sutlaj he meant the Hakrā or Wahindah, with which the Sutlaj united some miles lower down than the Panch Nad, for the Hakrā or Wahindah is never mentioned by Bú-Rihán separately. If this assumption is correct his place called Panch Nad, would refer to the Dosh-i-Ab. The Istakhari, who visited Sind and Multán about the period that the diversion of the branch of the Hakrā is supposed to have taken place, says: "there is a river of Sind called the Mihrán. It passes the borders of Samand [سمند] of the old 'Arab map] and Aror from the neighbourhood of Multán, and then flows on to Mansúriyah," etc. He says nothing of any recent change, which he could not have failed to have heard of had it occurred before his time, causing, as it did, the ruin of the ancient capital, and other vast changes. It is evident, therefore, that this diversion of the river took place subsequent to his travels in this part. The inscription, and the date contained therein, in the shrine of Khwágah ká Thán near Bakhar, noticed farther on, does not refer to the date the stream was diverted westwards, but to the period, when the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, being joined by the Sind Rád or Panch Nad, which had deserted the Hakrā, gained fresh power, and found its way into the channel of the diverted branch of the Hakrā, and then, changing its course, began to cut its way through a depression in the lime-stone hills near where Rú'hi and Bakhar were afterwards founded.
have gone to ruin in consequence; for then, instead of the river flowing about a mile or mile and a half east of that city, if we go by the present channel of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, it had only left it to pass four miles and a half on its west; for the river is now only six miles from the ancient channel, and water could have been conducted to it without difficulty.669 There can be no doubt, therefore, that the diverted channel must have taken a course much farther west of Aror than at present, and probably ran towards the depression called the Sind Hollow,660 or certainly into some other channel to the north and west of where Shikarpur now stands, before it bent towards the south again, and entered the then channel of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus, between Ruhi and Sihwah of the present day.661

669 After the branch of the river had been diverted, according to the tradition, Dilshad directed his people to turn the river into its old channel, but it could not be done. If the face of the country had been then as now, and the river as close as at present, this could easily have been effected—and, in fact, it has recently been done—for now the bed of the Indus is twenty feet higher than the bed of the old river. See following note 562.

660 Hughes, in his "Gazetteer of Sind" says (p. 770): "The Jacobabad and Brigg's wai canals in Koshmor taluks were formerly used chiefly to fill what is called "the Sind Hollow," an old bed of the Indus traversing the Koshmor and Thal taluks. * * * They are now closed up. The tract between the Sind Hollow and the river Indus is much cut up with dhawds (flood hollows) and dhoras (old river channels)." See the extract from Dr. Kennedy's work given in note 311, page 311.

661 See page 457. A short time after the Istakhar's account, just referred to, we find the Masalik wa Mamalik giving the names of three great rivers, the Mihran, the Sind Radd, that is what was also called the Panch Nad, three days' journey from Multan, and the Jand Radd or Samand Radd, which that work states united with the Mihran Radd, that is the Ab-i-Sind (see notes 504, page 395, and 548, page 475), below the junction of the Sind Radd; and that Basmid or Samid, Jandar, and Multan, are all on the east side of the Radd-i-Multan, which Ibn Haukal calls the Mihran Radd (the Ab-i-Sind), and all three places are said to be each one farsakd or league from the river Mihran (the Ab-i-Sind). Ibn Haukal says more, namely, that the junction of the Mihran Radd (Ab-i-Sind) and Sind Radd (Panch Nad) takes place below Multan and above Basmid, and yet, soon after says, that Basmid has two walls, one on each side of the Mihran (Ab-i-Sind), from which, just before he said it was a farsakd distant. I believe Ghazn-pur to stand on or near the site of Basmid.

Bā-Rihān, whose account follows the above-mentioned works after an interval of between eighty and ninety years—he finished his work in 422 H. (1031 A.D.), but he never passed farther east or south than Lāhor and Multān—says, that "Alor or Aror is situated on the Mihrān, which passes on the west of that town." If this is correct, it shows that when he wrote, the western branch of the Hākrā had then been diverted from Aror, for before that event happened, the river passed it on the east. The word 'west,' I may mention, is not contained in the recently printed text of Bā-Rihān's work.
Whether the tradition respecting the Musalmán merchant, Saif-ul-Mulúk, and his causing the diversion of the river from near Aror, be true or not—but I believe all traditions contain more or less truth—it is certain that, after all, it was not such a difficult task to accomplish;\(^{662}\) and, in connexion with this tradition, we have the place of abode of the merchant, and the tombs of his two sons still pointed out near Multán, and they are still existing, or were so, at least, in the last century. Another curious coincidence, which does not appear to have been taken into consideration along with this tradition and the existence of these tombs is, that the supposed remains of the dyke raised by the Musalmán merchant, or a dyke remaining at the very same place, was existing a few years ago,\(^{663}\) the situation of which lay about twenty-six miles east

\(^{662}\) Referring to the danger of diverting the course of the Indus, by cutting the canal noticed under, Captain W. Baker, Superintendent of Canals in Sind, wrote, that "there would be reason for apprehension lest the channel of supply, excavated as it would be through a soft soil, should be so widened and deepened by the action of the torrent as to drain off more water than could be spared from the Indus, or, perhaps, transfer the main stream of the river, with its fertilizing effects, from its present to one of its ancient channels. * * * There is no permanency in the bed of the Indus, which is always cutting one or other of its banks and throwing up shoals on the opposite one."

Lieut.-Colonel W. Scott, the Superintending Engineer, also wrote: "At present the water is mere overflow, and runs so gently over the surface as to cause no danger, but let a body of water, 10 or 12 feet deep, pass through the same country, even if the ground was hard below (which it is not—it is merely hour-glass sand) and I should certainly expect the cut to increase far beyond our power of control. "See" Report on the Eastern Narra," pages 4 and 27.

\(^{663}\) About the same time, the then Collector of Haidar-ábád, in a letter dated 31st October, 1850, wrote to the Commissioner of Sind on the existence of a band or dyke which prevented the water from entering the lower part of the channel, and at the same time submitted a sketch of the country, where the band was said to exist, by a native of Sind, who was formerly a revenue official under Mir Šúb-dár, one of the Amirs of Sind, and respecting which, the Collector, Captain Bathbone, observed that it was "perfectly accurate after the fashion that all native papers of the kind are, totally destitute of all proportion." He continues: "It appears from this, and the report of my informant, that the Narra branches off from the Indus near the village of Ghosepoor [还想-пу́р] which is built on the site of an ancient city [Basmid of the old writers], and lies in the territory of Bhawal Khan. The bed of the Narra is said there to be in places a hundred and twenty miles broad."

The Collector of Shikár-púr, however, after examining what was considered the right locality, wrote, that the band or dyke referred to by Captain Bathbone lay close to the village of Birha, and that it was formed of earth and brushwood closely rammed together, 600 feet in length, 38 feet broad at the top, and with a height of 23 feet, the highest water mark in its rear being 15 feet, and the breadth of the ravine [old channel?] below the band, about 200 feet. "I could discover," he says,
of Aror, and about eight miles north-west of the Râ'în channel, the “Rainee N.” of the maps, and twenty miles in the same direction from the old channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah, close to Mitharo or Mitraho, and about fifty-four miles below the point where, as I have previously described, the Hakrá separated into two channels after having, farther up stream, been joined by the tributaries constituting the Panch Nad or Five Rivers. The “island” mentioned to the Collector of Haidar-ábád by the native Revenue official, refers to the tongue of land which now exists, but greatly changed in the course of years, lying between the two channels entered in the Indian Atlas map as the “Ghoorelehwah” [Ghúri ke Wá-hah? — The connection of this vitiated name with that of Fath Muḥammad, Ghúri, of the native official, will be noticed], and the “Rainee N.” The first branches off a little north of “Retee” [retí — ‘sand’] of the map, and passes east of Khair-pûr Dehr ke; and the second branches off a little north of Wanjh-rút, the “Winjrote” of the same map, which it passes on the west, both channels running about south-south-west, and the tongue of land in question lies between. Two miles east of this latter channel, the main channel of the Hakrá or Wahindah, miscalled, “the old bed of the River Wundun” in the same map, branches off.

The native official likewise stated, as reported by the Collector of Haidar-ábád, that “the bed of the Narra,” as he called it, at Ghaus-pûr in

“no band one koss long and with a breadth of 40 gus, as described by the Collector of Haidarabad. * * * In the first place, the waters, a portion of which the band confines, are those of the Gotekee or minor leht, and it in no way interferes with the flow of the Ahmedpoor or principal one, which used to find its ingress into the Narra chiefly by the Rainee channel,” etc. He then adds, that “the causes of obstruction to the khoonum leht [Kohan, old; lef, ‘overflow’ or ‘flood’] from Ahmedpoor, I am credibly informed, lie in the construction along the banks of the Indus, within Bhawul Khan’s territory, of extensive embankments, whereby the khoonum Leht is prevented from encroaching into the adjacent tracts,” etc., etc.

The band near Bihra [Bhirá], however, was not considered to be the one referred to by the native revenue official; for the Commissioner of Sind subsequently wrote, that “it is still doubtful whether the obstruction is an artificial band, or a change in the course of the Indus.”

Here they were, so to say, all right, and yet all wrong. The band referred to by the native official was situated about twenty miles farther east than Bhirá, as described above. The “Khoonum Leht,” here mentioned, flowed for some distance in the depression which was once the channel of the Panch Nad when it united with the Hakrá at Dėsh-i-Kh, but altered in the course of ages of inundations.

I here append a facsimile of the map or sketch of the native official, with a correct tracing of the country he refers to from actual survey, from which it will be seen that, barring his drawing, it is correct as to the bed of the Hakrá and Panch Nad near Ghaus-pûr, and the direction in which the band was said to lie.
the Bahawal-púr territory (thirteen miles south-south-east of Míthán Kot, and about forty-one south-west of Uohoh) was, "in places, about a hundred and twenty miles broad," and, that "in that part the name it is known by is "Toorkurse," only taking "the name of Narra much lower down." Now it will be seen from my general map No. 1, and confirmed by the one-inch to the mile Survey map of the Bahawal-púr state, that a vast tract of country extending from Ghaus-púr, above mentioned, to near Birsil-púr east-south-east, one hundred and ten miles in breadth, and about one hundred and forty in length, is literally seamed with banks and channels showing the action of the Panôh Nad (including the Ab-i-Sind or Indus) and the Hakrá, at different times, in effecting their junction; and the subsequent changes in the channel of the latter, caused after, or about the time, of their final separation, and through changes brought about by the Sutlaj betaking itself to a new channel, which caused a change in its place of junction with the Hakrá.

From all that has been adduced, it is evident that a band or dyke had been in existence in the locality indicated from by-gone times, and repaired or renewed from time to time as required; and the situation ascribed to it quite agrees with the traditionary account.

664 It will be well to give the traditions respecting the diversion of this branch of the river by means of a band or dyke, as I have not related it in the separate notice of the river.

"Saif-ul-Mulúk is the name of a great and rich Musalmán merchant, who in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijrat brought about the ruin of Alor. The tract of country then dependent on it, was ruled by a Rájah—for the power of the Musalmáns had waxed weak in these parts at that time—who was called Dilú Bá'e, who was a great tyrant, and deflowerer of maidens. The merchant arrived near Alor with his merchandize, which was of great value, laden in vessels on the river which was then navigable from a great distance upwards, down to the great ocean (Muhammad, son of Kásim, gave directions respecting the navigation. See note 189, page 243); and he had also along with him a beautiful hand-maid named Badi'-ul-Jamáli. Not content with plundering the merchant of a considerable portion of his goods, the Rájah also demanded that the hand-maid should be given up to him. Finding what a tyrant he had to deal with, the merchant resolved, with God's help, to make a bold endeavour to escape from him. He asked to be allowed three days' grace—some say eight days—after which he would comply with the demands made upon him, and deliver up the damsel. In the meantime, by means of his wealth, having got together a number of artizans and numerous labourers, he set to work day and night to raise a great band or dyke, up stream, above Alor, and by making a new channel, to divert the waters of the Hakrá or Wahind farther westwards towards Bakhar [it does not mean from this that Bakhar was then in existence, but to the place where it was afterwards founded as may be seen from the reference to Siw-istán. Perhaps the merchant, who was a dweller not far from the confluence of some of the principal rivers, had witnessed how easily a change might be effected in such a level tract of silt and sand]. This diversion
Burton ("Scinde:") Vol. I, p. 202), who saw a good deal of Sind when employed in the Survey, says, "the province is a sloping surface

he effected; and on awaking in the morning of the day on which the days of grace expired, instead of a broad and deep river running near Alor, what did the tyrant discover, but its bed full of mud, and some muddy water. The river had left it, and was running towards Siw-istán and the Lakhkí mountains, and the merchant and his vessels had been wafted thereon far beyond his reach, and Alor ruined.

The diverted river, lower down, betaking itself to the nearest depression, got, in all probability, into the channel of the Kumbh of the Ghach Námah.

According to another slightly different version, the merchant was on his way to Makkah; and after his return from thence, by another route, he took up his residence near the ḥāb of Rattá, which is said to have been at one time a great city, and there he was buried. It is added, that, by this hand-maid, Badi-ul-Jamál, he had two sons, one Rattá, the other Mattá, and that the tombs of all three are at this place, known as Rattá-Mattá to this day, after his two sons.

The Tārikh-i-Tahiri contains this tradition with a slight variation. It says: "Below the city of Alor, or Aror [that is, that the city stood higher than the river, which was at a little distance from it on the east] the river constituting the Panj Aab flowed, which is likewise called Hakrā, Wahindah, and Wahán, indiscriminately, which sends its waters into the great sea. Dilá Rá'e governed the territory between Alor and Muhammad Tur, * * * From the merchants who brought their merchandize by the river from Hind, on their way to the port of Dewal, he levied one half as toll." Then the demand is made by the Rájah for the possession of the merchant's hand-maid; and the merchant obtains three days' grace, and the author continues: "During this period he collected a number of skilled men, who, in the piercing of mountains, exceeded the renowned Fhrád, and were able to close a breach in a rampart like that of the Sadd-i-Sikandar (or Alexander's Wall). He bestowed on these men whatever they desired, gold, gems, valuable cloths, and the like, his object being to throw up a strong embankment on the river above Alor, and divert the waters in the direction of Bakhar. Night after night these strong workmen laboured to excavate a fresh channel and throw up an embankment, and thereby turned the river aside towards Sihwán and the Lakhkí Hills, and with such force, that the merchant, through God's mercy, was speedily carried away beyond the reach of the tyrannical Rájah." The latter is said to have commanded his people to turn the river back again into its old channel, but was told by all, that now that the water had flowed elsewhere, it could not be done. It did not strike them possibly to remove the band or dyke, but, perhaps that would then have been useless, the river having cut a new channel for itself.

I may mention here that this tradition is universal in these parts up to the present time; and, in the reign of Akbar Bádshah, descendants of this very merchant are represented as being then living. After Bakhar and its dependencies, in 982 H. (1574-76 A.D.), fell into the possession of the Bádsháh, after the death of Sultan Mahmúd Khán (who held it independently after the fall of the Arghán power in Sind), consequent on the disputes which had arisen between the officials sent from the court to take possession, "it was determined in 983 H. (1575-76 A.D.) to make the Nawráh, Taráín Muhammad Khán, jāṭr-dár of Bakhar; and, in the first month of that year, Muhammad Tahír Khán, son of Sháh Muhammad, a descendant
of silt and sand, through which the Indus cuts its varying way with a facility that passes description. The erection of even a few feet of brickwork built up in the bed of the Indus as it still flows, might divert the stream into another channel, cause the decline and downfall of a metropolis and twenty towns, convert a region of gardens into a silt of Saif-ul-Muluk, and two other officers, on the part of Tarsun Muhammad Khán, entered Bârphí, and sent a copy of the imperial mandate to Kísâ Khán, then holding the government, and residing in the fort of Bakhar." It appears that Tarsun Muḥammad had subsequently left Muḥammad Ṭāhir in charge, because, when Tarsun Muḥammad Khán came to Nâg-awr, where the Bádshâh then was, when he was subsequently dismissed to proceed to Bakhar, some of the ministers of the Bádshâh represented, that "it was not expedient that a descendant of Saif-ul-Muluk should be left in charge of a frontier province."

Râtî or Râtî-Mattâ is described at the close of the last century, in the Survey record I have been quoting herein, as "a large kąbah or market-town three kuroh (a little over five miles) north-wards of Jâtâ-i (which was the chief town of one of the twelve mahâlls or sub-districts of the Bakhar sâbâr of the Multân sâbâh in the time of Akbar Bádshâh), and here is the tomb and shrine of Saif-ul-Mulûk, who is famous among all people."

According to the tradition, it is predicted that the Hakrá is to burst the band or dyke of Saif-ul-Mulûk, become a perennial river once more, and empty itself into the sea. Burton, in his humourous relation of the legend of the "Seven Headless Prophets," in his work on "Scinde," gives the prophecy as follows:—

"Dyke of Aror be burst, and flow
Hakro perennial to the main:
Swim ye fish, ye lillies grow
Where Sammahs plough the sultry plain."

He adds: "Now the band or embankment of Aror had, hundreds of years before the time of Jam Tamachi [third of the Sammah Jâms of Sind], been thrown across the Indus [he is mistaken here: the band was across the Hakrá, as the verse mentions] by the masonic prowess of an honourable husband," etc., etc.

The same prophecy appears, as related by a devotee of the "Mamoi" sect, in the "Gazetter of Sind," but was not properly understood. It is:—

"When broken shall be the bandh of Aror,
And the water shall flow over Hakrah,
Where will be the fishing of the Sammah?"

This does not apply to any village called "Hakrah," but to the river, thus:—

"The band or embankment of Aror shall be broken, and the water shall flow [once more] in the channel of the Hakrá; and then where will the Sammahs' fishing be?" Meaning that it would be spoiled.

I am unaware whether the two stones set up by Mír Mu'şûm of Bakhar in the bed of the diverted branch of the river, are still in existence. or whether, if they are, any inscription is legible; for he is said to have cut an inscription on them. If we could find an inscription we might obtain further information on this interesting subject. See also note 517, page 452.
desert, and transfer plenty and population to what a month before was a glaring waste. As regards the ancient course of the Lower Indus in its true state has been the speculation, the theorization, the dissertation, the argument, and the contradiction upon this much vexed subject. But listen to the voice of reason, as proceeding from one Dr. Lord," etc., etc. See Dr. Lord's "Memoir on the Plain of the Indus," also the statement of the Greek, Aristobulus, quoted at pages 469 and 470.

Postans, too, in his "Personal Observations on Sindh," says (page 18) respecting the Indus: "At Sakkur, Rori, below Hyderabad, and at Jerruk, rocky barriers interrupt on the western bank its progress at those particular spots, but elsewhere it has full liberty to choose its constantly changing course, through an under soil so light and friable, that it cannot withstand the action of such a mighty rush of water even for one hour. • • • The noise of the falling banks of the Indus, when heard upon the stream during a calm night, resembles the constant discharge of distant artillery."

Such I have myself heard many times, as all must have who have passed up and down the great river. I have often in the course of a single day, seen many acres of land, trees and all, suddenly fall into the river with a great roar, and such I have witnessed several times in one and the same day.

It is very certain that what the merchant is said to have done in ancient times, would, if now carried out, be sufficient to divert the course of the present Indus, consequently, the feat ascribed to Saif-UL-MULUK, with the means of paying for the labour, say, of a thousand men during the space of three days and nights, was not impracticable. To have commenced the excavation of a new channel above Aror, and to have erected an embankment with the earth excavated, strengthened with brushwood, and the like, was as feasible then as now. The portion of a new channel once opened, the river, on being let into it, would soon cut a channel for itself, or take to the first depression it met with in its course; and, in this instance, it made its way some distance to the westward of the lime-stone hills at first, and, subsequently, near to them, but still to the westward of where RURHI and Bakhar were subsequently founded, namely a little west of Sakhar of modern days. In course of time, the Panji AB or PANCHE NAD having ceased to be a tributary of the Hakra or Wahindah at DOUSH-I-AB, in inclining westwards lower down, got into the channel of the diverted or RA'IN branch of the Hakra; while the main river itself, through the loss of the Sind RUD or PANJ AB or PANCEH NAD, was not able to supply it, or to a very small degree; and when the Hakra subsequently ceased to be a perennial stream, the RA'IN, or diverted branch of that river, only received
water from the overflow of this newly-founded Pano Nad from the direction of Ghauz-pur.\footnote{565} The Pano Nad having thus got into the lower part of the diverted Ra' in channel, soon enlarged it, and inclining towards a gap in the lime-stone range, flowed through it between the high ground on the east on which Rughi was afterwards built, and the peninsula on which the town and fortress of Bakhar were founded. Neither of these two places were known, or ever referred to, in history in the time of the Turk Sultans of Ghaznigh. Mithilah\footnote{566} (the Mithilo

\footnote{565} See note 581, page 503.

\footnote{566} Mithilah or Mithilo was one of the twelve mahdils of the Bakhar Sarkar of the Multan Subah, and the place here mentioned was its chief town. This was one of the six fortresses of Sind, mentioned elsewhere, standing on mounds, the heights or extent of which mounds were increased in the reign preceding that of Ghaznigh. It is now a small town on an eminence; and in the neighbourhood are, or were, the remains of many ancient buildings, and groves of enormous pipal trees, called in the Panjab territory, boher—the ficus religiosa of botanists. See note page 246.

Another of these six fortresses was Siw-rahi or Siw-rahi, the ruins of which were still existing some fifteen years ago. After the conquest of Sind by the 'Arabs it still continued to be a place of strength and importance; and, in the reign of Akbar Bazagh was the chief place of a mahdil of that name in the Beruni-Pano Nad district of the Multan Subah. The site indicates that it was once a place of importance and strength; and it lies about five miles north-east of Sabals Kot, and three miles from a station on the line of Railway, called Walih-har. The mound on which the town of Siw-rahi stood is about three quarters of a mile round about, and rises about thirty feet above the surrounding country; and it is said that some three hundred or more wells belonging to it, faced with masonry, but in a dilapidated condition, could still be seen in the jangals surrounding it. The remains of the fortress, which adjoins it, is about a quarter of a mile in circumference, and the walls rise to the height of about fifty feet. The bricks found here are of the same description as those found at Wanjh-rut, described farther on, together with fragments of stone carvings, heads, and other ornaments. Here likewise have been found numbers of pottery balls, similar to those discovered at Bahman-abid, of considerable size, as large, in fact, as a man's head. These were the missiles discharged from the ancient war engines called manjanss, balistas, or battering rams, such as were used by the 'Arabs under Muhammad, son of Ksaim, the conqueror of Sind.

I regret to find that this place, like Wanjh-rut, and many others I fear, has been invaded by Railway Vandal, who have been pulling down the walls of the place for "ballast," as they term it. It is a pity that there was no "Act for the preservation of Ancient Buildings" in "Young Egypt" as there is in Old Egypt, so that Railway excavators might not be allowed to demolish the most ancient buildings to put money in their own pockets. There is one thing, however, to be noted, and that is, that this line of Railway appears to have been carried, for part of the way at least, through the depressions formerly the channels of the rivers herein described; and in case of a sudden or extraordinary change in the courses of the Indus or its tributaries, such as have taken place in bygone times, there is a chance that a good portion of it would be washed away. See note 554, page 479.
of the Sindis), only thirty-seven miles to the north-eastwards of these places, which was captured by Abú-I-Hasan, the general of Sultán Man-
dúd in 440 H. (1047-48 A.D.), appears to have been the strongest, and
most important place in that immediate locality. If Bakhar had been in
existence, the importance of its position must have been such as to
render it impossible to pass it by without notice of any kind. But
these places—Bakhar and Ráḥí—are never mentioned, even up to
573 H. (1177-78 A.D.), when Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Din, Muḥammad-i-Sám,
sovereign of Ghasni invaded Guzarát by way of Uchchh, nor even in
578 H. (1182-3 A.D.), when he marched into Lower Sind from Multán,
and annexed Debal and the territory on the sea coast. If these places
existed at the time, which I do not believe they did, they were of no
account. In fact, Bakhar is not mentioned in history until the time of
Malik Nāṣir-ud-Din, Kābā-jāh, 602-625 H. (1205-6-1227 A.D.), at which
time it had grown into a strong fortress, but it was on a peninsula west
of the river, and not an island, as I shall show. It may have been
fortified by the Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Din, Aetamur (Ai-Timur,) who held
Uchchh and its dependencies, which included Sind, under the above named
Sultán, and was the first feudatory of that territory after its subjugation
by him. This Malik was killed at the time of the Sultán's defeat at
Andkhūd in 601 H. (1204 A.D.), and Malik (afterwards Sultán) Nāṣir-
ud-Din Kābā-jāh, was made feudatory in his stead.

The fortress of Bakhar and its town continued to be situated on a

It will be noticed that this ancient place, as well as Matbilah, Ubárah, Bhaṭī
Wa-han, Ma'ūh, Jachch Wa-han, Rám-kali, Ghauz-pur, and several others, all lie
between the great depression in which the waters forming the Nárah now flow,
which, in ancient times, was the channel of the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, and the Rúd-i-
Sind wo Hind of the Muḥammadan travellers, and the channel of the Hákra of
which they were tributaries. The whole of this tract contains, or did contain,
numerous vestiges of the remains of ancient fortified towns; and every here and
there the soil was strewed over with the fragments of kiln-burnt bricks and other
pottery.

See the amusing piece of "history" contained in the "Gazetteer of Sind,"
respecting this part "1400 years ago," page 677.

Siw-rá'ī or Siw-ráh has been "identified" by Cunningham in his "Ancient
India." He says (page 254) : "The Sogdi or Sodro, I would identify with the
people of Seorai," the actual position of which, he says "is unknown!" See also
note 361, page 366.

If it did exist, the new channel flowing past it tended to make it a place
of importance.

Burton ("Scinde" Vol. II, p. 250) says, "The channel [present] could not
have existed in Alexander's day without attracting the attention of his historians.
The Moslems connect the change, by tradition, with a time subsequent to their
conquest of Scinde."
peninsula for some considerable time after this period, for some two
centuries probably, but in the course of time, consequent on the in-
creased volume which the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, now included
in the Ab-i-Sind, had acquired, presently to be noticed, the force
of the current washed away all the softer portions of the rocky strata
on which the fortress stood, on the west side, by forming a second
channel, leaving it an island, but larger than at present, and separated
from the town. 665 The action of the current still continuing, in the
course of years the other small islands near it were formed, one of

Eastwick (p. 29) referring to the same subject, says, nothing can be made of
Arrian's account. Certainly not by attempting to trace the movements of Alex-
der according to the present courses of the rivers of these parts, but it may be
different if the movements are traced according to the ancient courses of the rivers
as I have here explained them. See also note 590, page 461.

665 With reference to Rūphī more particularly, Captain G. E. Westmacott, of the
57th Bengal N. I. (in "the Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1841), who wrote on the
spot, says, "Boree, or more correctly Lohree [I have already given the derivation
of the word and the vernacular form of writing it in note 121, page 209], the ancient
Lohurkote [?], is a town of considerable antiquity, and is said to have been founded
[this is of course local tradition, not history] with Bukur about the middle of the
seventh century of the Hijerat." He is here quite wrong, and did not know that
the fortress of Bakhar was invested and captured in 625 H., or twenty-five years
before the middle of the seventh century of the H. He is just a century too late.
He, however, gives some interesting particulars which tend to corroborate what I
have mentioned respecting the action of the river. He says: "The strata of the
rock is horizontal, and exhibits marks everywhere of the action of the river, which
must have risen formerly at least fifty feet above its present level in season of
floods, and washed the foundations of the houses. In the sandy bays, creeks, and
hollows abandoned by the stream, date and peepul trees grow luxuriously, and rocks
worn by the water, and shattered and broken into gigantic masses, were submerged
at no very remote period. Along the base of the hills, on both banks of the river,
the land bears the appearance of having been under water [when the Panj Ab poured
through the gap]. The remains of a stone and brick wall, or quarry, built evidently,
to oppose the encroachments of the river, runs along the edge of the precipitous
ridge which supports the town, and under it is an extensive cavern." The buttresses
are evidence that the river has worn away a great deal, or they would never have
decided to build dwellings in such a position.

Burton ("Soinde," Vol. II — 250) also remarks, very pertinently: "In ancient
days, when the Indus—say geographers—washed round the entire shoulder of the
Sukkur Hills, it was, you may be sure, bleak and barren enough. Presently the
stream shifted its course to the present channel, "cutting away the looser strata of
the limestone ridge, and leaving the harder masses, one of which forms the island,
and others the hills on the Sukkur side of the river. Bakkur, with the most which
nature thus threw round it, and the least assistance of the mason's art, in days
when howitzers and mines were unknown, must have been a kind of Gibraltar.
See previous note 567.
which, Khwájah Khír's island, on which is the Khwájah ká Thán, history distinctly shows was part of the main land on the Ruñí side up to nearly two centuries and a half after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs.

What I have here stated is corroborated by a singular coincidence, which will enable us to arrive at the approximate period when the Ab-i-Sínd, Panj Ab, or Panch Nad had already cut a channel between Ruñí and Bakhar, thus separating them from each other. In the little island of Khwájah Khír,669 above-mentioned, there is a masjid whose

669 Khír or Elias, sometimes confused with the Prophet, Elias, and said to have been the Wazír of Ká-Kubád, the ruler of K-rán Zamín, is stated to have discovered and to have drunk of the fountain of the water of life, and consequently, will not die until the sound of the last trump at the judgment day. Khwájah Khír, for this reason, is also called the Zindáh or Living Pir; and it is out of this that the compiler of the "Gazetteer of Sind," when referring to this island, makes out the shrine to be worshipped by the Hindús as a river god under the name of Jíndá Pir. This is after the fashion of turning every masjid, or place of stúdah into a "masjid." Khwájah Khír is also accounted, in consequence, the patron saint of the waters or rivers, hence Muñammadans of Hind are in the habit of offering him oblations of lamps and flowers, placed on little rafts, and launched upon rivers, particularly on Thursday evenings (the Friday evening of Musalmáns, as the night precedes the day) in the fifth solar month, August. It is at this time that the festival of the haj or raft is held, when a raft is launched upon the waters in honour of Khwájah Khír.

The legend respecting the island of Khwájah Khír or Khwájah ká Thán is, that a shepherd named Bájí, whose hut was situated where one of the quarters of the town of Ruñí now stands, observed one night a bright flame burning at some distance from him; and under the supposition that some travellers passing that way had kindled a fire, he despatched his wife thither to obtain a light. She went, but the light vanished as often as she attempted to approach it. She then returned and related what she had seen to her husband, but Bájí, thinking she was frightened, did not credit what she told him, and went himself to procure a light. He found, however, that what she had told him was true; and he concluded that it must be some miraculous manifestation. Filled with awe, he thereupon erected a takiyah, fhdán, or devotee's station there, turned devotees, and gave himself up to the care of the spot. Shortly after, the river is said to have changed its course, and to have encircled the ground on which the fhdán of the Khwájah stands.

This island lies a little north of Bakhar, but the channel separating it from the fortress is narrow and not difficult to cross.

With regard to the date, 341 H., which is undoubtedly correct respecting the shrine of Khwájah Khír, it is certain that the branch of the Haká was diverted from near Aror sometime before this date; and, in all probability, the river had shifted from the westward of the present Sukhá more to the east, and had begun to cut its way between the present Ruñí and Bakhar, before the island of Khwájah Khír was detached from the main land. From all accounts I believe this branch was diverted, and this great change took place about the year 335 H. (945-947 A.D.).
appearance bears evidence of its antiquity, and in the masjid is an inscription, of which the following is a literal rendering:—

"Know, that when this fabric was raised, Khiḍr's waters encompassed it round about, This pleasing hemisticch Khiḍr wrote:— In the 'Court of God' the date is found."

This, according to the abjad system, gives the date 341 H. (952-53 A.D.), which is just two hundred and forty-eight years after the conquest of Sind, and two years previous to the death (but some say it happened in that year) of 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūh, seventh of the Sāmānī rulers, who was killed through falling from his horse whilst playing the game of Chāngān or Polo, when the sway of the Khilāfāt over Sind was merely nominal, and part of it and Māltān were in the possession of Kārāmīţāh rulers, subsequently expelled by Sultān Māḥmūd of Ghanīn.

Such a place as Sakhar is not mentioned in history down to the time of the Sayyid, Mīr Mā'ṣūm, styled Bahkarī, because he was a native of the Bahkār district, and one of the historians of Sind. He was an official under the Mughal government in the reign of Akbar Bāḏgāh, and, after twenty years' service, was allowed to retire to a jāgīr conferred upon him in that same district in 999 H. (1590-91 A.D.). In relating events of the year 416 H. (1025-26 A.D.) he certainly mentions Bahkar, and shortly after Sakhar, but this certainly refers more to what afterwards became known by those names, in the same way as he refers to Thathah which was not founded for centuries after that period, and as he himself relates; and moreover, histories written before his time do not once refer to them. In proof of this, he does not seem either to refer to Sakhar as a new town, but to what had previously been known as Bakhar, as if, after the Pančh Nād or Panj Āb, as the river is here styled down to modern times as well as Āb-i-Sind, had cut for itself another and second channel, and severed the fortress from the main land, the severed town had become Sakhar.570 What the

570 Another fact worthy of notice is, that the channel which separates Sakhar from Bakhar is not more than one quarter of the breadth of that separating Bakhar from Rūphī, where the river flowed from the first, when it found its way through the gap in the rocky hills. The breadth of the former channel is about 100 yards and the latter 400. Neither was the depth of water so great in the former as in the latter; and, lately, the former channel has been widened, in order to lessen the violence of the current in the larger channel.

Eastwick says, that just by the place where Clibborn's house stood, "The river is exceedingly deep, and a whirlpool is formed by the opposition which the remains
meanings of the words may be I cannot say, but it is evident that there is some connection between Sakh-ar and Bakh-ar, or as occasionally written, Bhak-ar, but not correctly I think. Mir Ma'süm is stated in history to have died and been buried “at Bakhar;” and his tomb still remained in 1848 (and is still there probably, if not desecrated by Railway Vandals), at the foot of the lofty manår or tower of his own raising, in the Sakhar Cantonment, in what is known as “old Sakhar," and near which is a great mound, said to mark the site of the kot of the former Rájahs of this part of Sind.

From this it is evident, that what was known as “old Sakhar," was really the remains of the town of Bakhar, separated from the fortress when the Panj Ab or Panoab Nad, formed the second channel. We are told, as far back as the time of Sultan Násir-ud-Din, Ķábá-jah, that when hard pressed on the investment of Bakhar by the Wazir of Sultan Shams-ud-Din, I-yal-timish, his rival, in 625 H. (1228 A.D.), Ķábá-jah had to evacuate the city or town, and retired to the fortress.

of an ancient building makes to the headlong waters. When the river is low this building can be distinctly seen, and is another proof, and one far more irrefutable than the inscription of Khwájah Khişr, that the stream migrated hither from Alúr.”

In another place he says, that Sakhar “contains no trace of Hindú architecture or worship.”

Mir Ma'süm founded many buildings, both here and at Báphí, indeed, the founding of masjids and religious buildings, may be said to have been his hobby; and, moreover “he ornamented them with his own designs in stone; for, in making chronograms and cutting inscriptions, he had no equal. and also in the elegance of his letters. When he accompanied the embassy to Persia, at every prominent stage, all the way from Hind to Tabríz and Isfahán, he recorded the fact on the masjids and other buildings. The inscriptions over the gateway of the fort of Agrá are his work, and also those of the Jámí Masjid of Fath-púr, and other places.”

Respecting one notable inscription I shall have something to say hereafter.

Mir Ma'süm also set up two stones in the bed of the diverted channel of the Háká or Mihrán of Sind, near Aror, to mark the former course of the stream, with an inscription to that effect. He also left behind him many foundations for pious and charitable purposes.

Eastwick mentions a small domed building, which, in his time, formed part of the Agency at Sakhar, built by Mir Ma'süm, with the date 1008 H. thereon, and another, opposite it, with the date 1006 H.

When Sultan Jalá-ul-Din, Mang-barní, the Khwárazm Sháh (the hero who crossed the Indus on his charger, fully armed, in the face of the whole Mughal host, in the rapid part of the river between Nil Ab and Kálá or Kará Bágh), had escaped from the toils of the Mughals, he shortly after entered Ȓábá-jah’s territory of Mullú and Ȏchchh, which then comprised Sind as well, on his way into Irák by Lower Sind, Mukrán, and Kirmá. One of his Amirs made a night attack on the camp of Ȓábá-jah, who was hostile, which was pitched near Ȏchchh on the banks of the Ab-i-Sind, a farák (three miles) from that place, and overthrew him. Ȓábá-jah
If Bakhar had then been an island, and he had the control of the vessels on the river as stated, he might have defied all the efforts of the enemy as long as food lasted; while, if it had been at all like what it was when Mírzá Sháh Húsain, son of Sháh Bég Khán, Arghún, re-built it anew, there was not standing room for an enemy's force, however small, at the foot of the walls, and from which position only a few men could attack it, at a time when artillery was not in use. The breadth of the fortress and the island of Khwájah Khír together is but five hundred and two yards.

I may also add, that Sakhar is not noticed in the A'in-i-Akbarí, although Bakhar, Rúrhi, and Aror are. The chief place of the mahdil or sub-district of the Bakhar sarkáir of the súbah of Multán, to which it belonged, was Bakhar itself. It is also quite certain that when Húná-yún Bádsháh, Akbar Bádsháh's father, invested the place for some two years, there were not so many islands existing as there are now.

effected his escape by getting on board a vessel, and made for his strongholds of Akar and Bakar, as Bakhíd-ud-Dún, in the Jámí'-ut-Tawáríkh, writes the names, which, he says, were on two jácrahs, which word means both peninsula and island, in the Kh-i-Sind. The Jahán-Kushá'e however, says, that Akar and Bakar were two fortresses on one island or peninsula.

It will not be amiss now to give some extracts from a few old travellers respecting Bakhar, Sakhar, and Rúrhi or Lúrhi, and also show a few of the wild theories entertained by some modern "authorities" on the subject.

Ibn Bajájah is the first eastern traveller that we know of who visited Bakhar, the place not having been in existence in the time of the still older ones. He was in Sind in 794 H. (1333-34 A.D.), just a century and a quarter after the death of Káb-jah, and sixty-seven years before Amir Timúr invaded India. All he says is that "Bakar," as he writes it, is a handsome city, divided by an arm of the Sind river." From thence he went on to Uchchah and Multán.

In the time of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, about eight or ten years only after the death of Mír Ma'á'ún of Bakhar, Mr. Joseph Salbanke, who made a journey from India through Persia and Turkey in 1609, in the fourth year of that monarch, says: "Reures is a town consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deal also in merchandize, as cotton cloth, indico, and other commoditie, and are a peacable people to deal withall.

"Buckar stands towards Lahor, where we received kind entertainment of the Governour. Sword blades are very good chaffer in this towne: my-selfe having experience, who might have had ten pounds sterling for my sword, the blade being worth a noble in England. Close by this citie of Buckar runneth the River Damiadès [See the old map, page 297, also that at page 321], which within eight days journey runneth into the Ríver of Synæ, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the countreys of Guadel and Guzerat. On the Ríver passe Barkes of fortie and fiftie Tunes, by means whereof, there is traffique into diverse parts of India." "Bucker is situated on an Iland [sic. he appears to have mistaken Sakhar for Bakkar and vice vered, as what follows clearly indicates] in the Ríver, and consisteth most of Weauer and Diers,
Mr Ma'sûm states, in his History, that when Sháh Beg Kháñ, the Arghún Mughal conqueror of Sind, first went to inspect Bakhar, after which serve the country round about. At Sucker we stayed [in the town: not in the fortress, certainly] four and twenty days for a safe convoy to Candahar, and passed to Candahar in twenty days," etc., etc. See my "Notes on Afghanistan" etc., note 7, page 674.

Another traveller, Nicholas Whithington, "left in the Mogol country by Captain Best, a factor, in 1612," in the "Tractate" written by the former, states, that "Goods may be conveyed from Agra on camels to Buckor in twenty days, which is on Sinda River, thence in fifteen days aboard the ships."

If we can place implicit faith in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, we shall find, that Bakhar town joined the main land in his time. He says respecting the province [sarkdr] of Bakhar, that, "the chief city, which is called Buckar Suckar [according to this the names were not used singly then] lies upon the River Sindse or Indus * * * Haagichan, the kingdom [] of the Baloaches, to the west of Tata and Buckar, confines west upon the kingdom of Lar, subject to Shabas [Sháh 'Abbás]. Indus windeth itself into the eastern side of it: it has no renowned City."

From these different statements it appears that Sakhar, or old Sakbar, really formed part of the shahr, baladah, or city, or town of Bakhar, when the latter joined the main land, as I have before demonstrated from the situation of Mr Ma'sûm's tomb.

The "river Damisdès" of Salbanke, can only refer to the A-b-i-Sind or Indus, when it flowed in one of the old channels between Diji Köf and the present channel referred to at page 458, and the Sindy," of course, is the Hakra.

Mandelsloe says, that "Bachar or Bukar, lies on both sides of the River Indus."

He was in these parts in 1639.

Now let us see what wild theories have been entertained respecting Bakhar, and its neighbourhood, centuries before it became an island, and even centuries before any river passed near it.

Vincent, from whom others copy, in his "Navigation of the Ancients," goes back to Ptolemy. He says, "The author (Ptolemy) means Bekher [as Dr. Vincent spells it] for the site of the tribe of Sogdi or Sábracæ," but Vincent himself says: "I take Binágamma for Bekher. * * * Craterus was detached into Arachosia and Drangiana from the island of the Sogdi, but he appears to have again rejoined the main body." Then again, referring to Purchas, he says, "Bekher is equivalent to the capital Mansura and the island. Suokor or Sunkar is a town on the island."

I am sure Purchas never made such a statement that "Mansura was the capital, or that Bakhar was Mansúriyah. While the writer knows all about Ptolemy, he does not appear to have known who founded Mansúriyah or when, he seems to know nothing of Bahman-ábád or Bahman- nib, nor of Alor the ancient capital of Sind.

Tod (p. 334) says, "The island of Buk'har [in other places he styles it "Rory Bekher"]—perhaps they were quite different places in his imagination] on the Indus, is a place celebrated in Alexander's voyage." He also supposes that "Sangra" is "a stream branching from the Indus," and that it branches off at Dura, seven miles north of "Buk'har," and that it must be the Sanka [sic] of Nader Sháh's treaty with Muhammad Sháh Bádháh. Such nonsense as the above may be allowed to
he had reduced Thathah, and all Upper Sind had been ceded to him, it was then an island. On his approaching it from Ghândú kâ, he was met by the governor he had sent thither previously, at the kasbah of Shaker (as it is written in two out of three copies of his work consulted, and Sakar in the third); and it was just after this, that the Sayyids of Bakhar voluntarily left it, and were assigned places of residence in the kasbah of Râghi.

When Shâh Beg Khán, subsequently, in consultation with his son, Mirzá Shâh Hûsain, resolved to repair and add to the fortifications of Bakhar, the old fort of Aror, and other buildings there, were demolished for the sake of the kiln burnt bricks to furnish materials for the purpose, together with numerous buildings, which, in former days, had been erected by the Turks and Samaâhs. The fortifications then added to and repaired were still standing in 1007 H. (1598-99 A.D.).

Mir Ma'zûm likewise states in his History, that Humâyûn Bádshâh received the envoy of Mirzá Shâh Hûsain, the Arghún Mughal ruler of Sind, "at the baladah of Bakhar," which must have been on the main land even then, because the Bádshâh never set foot in the fortress. When we read in that History of the garrison making sallies on Humâyûn Bádshâh's investing forces, and that all that he required was siege materials to effect its capture, the conviction will again present itself, that the fortress of Bakhar must have still been connected, in some way, with the main land, as a great number of vessels, which the Bádshâh did not possess, would have been required to carry on a siege, as well as to convey siege materials.

rest on its own merits, except to notice that the author of the "Gazetteer of Sind" tells us, that "Bakhar district must not be confused with the island of Bukkur [sic]," thus pretending that there is a distinction between the two names which does not, and never did, exist. The same writer also refers to a singular "sanad" granted to the Saiyads of Bakhar [sic] in A.D. 1711, by the Emperor Jehándar Shah, still in existence [what a long time has elapsed!] as showing his connection with the Government of Sind. How wonderful! It did not occur to the writer that the Mughal Empire of Dehlí included Sind, and was de facto included in it, until the disaffection of the Kalhorahs in 1126 H. (1714 A.D.). Had he studied the history—the true history—of these parts, he would have found that Sind continued to constitute a part of the Mughal Empire until ceded to Nâdir Shâh by treaty in May, 1739. See also page 677 for one of the rich specimens of Gazetteer History contained in that work.

Postans ("Personal Observations") says, that Sakar "is better known to the natives as Chipri bunder;" and Elliot ("Indian Historians," Vol. I, p. 521), following Postans, says: "Sakar or Sakhar, is better known to the natives as "Chipribandar," which would imply that it was, in part at least, artificial." Of the derivation of "Chipri" I am unaware.
But I am anticipating, and must return to the discussion of the state of the rivers at other epochs.

The western branch of the Hakrā was thus diverted from the vicinity of Aror more to the westward, and that branch only; for we know from the personal knowledge of a contemporary historian, the author of the TABAKAT-Î-NASİRÎ, that in 624 H. (1227 A.D.), Wanjh-rūt on the Hakrā was a flourishing place, and the chief town of a district, extending eastwards to the Bikānîr border. When the author reached Uchchh from Khurâsân in the above year, having come down to that place from Ghazni by way of Banâîn in the Koh-i-Jûd or Salt Range, by boat on the Bihât, he was made Kâzi of the forces under Sultan Nâsir-ud-Dîn, Kâbâ-jâh’s son, ’Âlâ-ud-Dîn, Mu’hâmmad-i-Bahrâm Shâh, and Principal of the Firûzî College at Uchchh. At this period the camp was pitched before the gate of the kasbah of Ahrâwat (حضرموت-Î- Uhar-ot, possibly); and the whole of Kâbâ-jâh’s fleet, and boats, on which the baggage and followers of his army were embarked, were moored in front. Soon after, the author went over to the winning side—to the enemy’s camp—as soon as the Dilhî forces appeared; and the first of the great feudatories to whom he presented himself was Malik Tâj-ud-Dîn, Sanjâr-î-Gajjiyak Khan, a personage, he says, “of sufficiently formidable aspect, and his form of magnitude,” who then held the district of Wanjh-rūt of Multân; and after Uchchh and Bakhar fell, he was placed in charge of the territories dependent on them, which included the greater part of upper Sind. The district of Wanjh-rūt depended on the Hakrā; and that river continued to flow past the town, and through the district dependent on it, after the western branch was diverted from Aror, and to flow much as it had previously done towards Mansûriyâh. This state of things continued up to, and for some seventy or eighty years after the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals in 643 H. (1245 A.D.).

Wanjh-rūt, improperly called “Bijnoot” and “Vijnôt” by those who did not know the correct name of this place, was still in existence a few years since. It stood, in ancient times, before the Hakrā or Wahiudah ceased to flow, on the east side of that branch of the great river which passed Aror on the east, and was afterwards diverted, as already related, about twenty miles lower down. Its situation was in the do-âbah or delta between that branch and the main channel, about forty miles below the junction of the rivers, forming the Mihrân of Sind, at Dozh-i-Ab, on the south-west, and is now rather less than eight miles east, inclining slightly south-east, from the present Khair-pûr Dehri ke. The changes in the river caused it to go to decay centuries since, although Siw-râhi or Siw-râi, which was, probably, a more
ancient place, was still the chief place of a mahdil of the Berún-i-Panch Nad division of the sarkár of Multán in the time of Akbar Bādsháh.

At the period I refer to, a few years since, the site of Wanjh-rút comprehended a collection of mounds of a blackish colour, ranging from twelve to twenty feet in height, consisting of the remains of pottery, fragments of charcoal, and great bricks, such as have been found at Bahman-ábád and in ruined sites higher up, along the banks of the rivers, and at Bahrám ke on the Ghárah, and in the ancient towns of Hindústán. These bricks range in size from fifteen to eighteen inches long, from nine to twelve broad, and from five to six thick. The site extends for about half a mile in length and half that in breadth, and is about a mile and a half in circumference. The base thereof has been silted up to some four or five feet in height by alluvial deposits, caused by the changes in the old channel of the river, and the action of water during the lapse of centuries. There are also a number of mounds beyond the site, marking where suburbs probably stood. In the centre of the place there are the remains of a Hindú temple of some kind, built chiefly of sand-stone, the nearest point from which such is now obtainable is Jusal-mir. Only a few fragments of stone carvings remain which can tend to the identification of the style and date of the building. Some very small silver and copper coins have also been found, but the figures thereon were too defaced to make anything of them, and also beads, and fragments of other ornaments. The natives for years have been carrying away the stones and bricks for building purposes; but now, I am told, the Railway Vandals have appeared, and have been demolishing the site as fast as possible, and other ancient remains, for "ballast" for a Railway! See note 41, page 169, note 464, page 429, and "Notes on Afghanistan," etc., page 669.

The next or third transition was caused by the great flood, which overwhelmed the whole of the northern parts of the territory of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, as already described at page 392, which occurred between the time of the investment of Uchchh by the Mughals, and the invasion of Hind by Amir Timúr, that is, between 643 H. and 801 H., about the years 720 to 725 H. (1320 to 1324 A.D.). It was at this period that the Biḥat or Jihlám and Qhin-áb, having altered their courses considerably, united a short distance—a few miles—below Shor or Shor Kót, whereby that place became placed in the fork between the two rivers, and in the Qhin-hath Do-ábah. That fort is, doubtless, that which Amir Timúr refers to in his account of the passage of the united rivers below the junction, and the surging and uproar caused by the meeting of the waters, (see page 279); for the Tajzík word shor, signi-
fying 'disturbance,' 'tumult,' 'uproar,' and the like, was probably the origin of the subsequently named, Shor or Shor Kot.

By this change in their courses, the two united rivers above-named moved some fourteen or fifteen miles farther westwards than before, and abandoned the Rawi altogether; and instead of passing Multan on the east side, and which had been previously in the Sind-Sagar Do-ábah, they passed it on the west side, and thus placed it in the Rachin-áb Do-ábah, but Ushchh was thereby placed in the Bist Jalhandaar Do-ábah. The united Bihat and Chin-áb now united with the Biáh—with which the Rawi still united 674 on the east side of Multan, but much lower down than before—a little to the north of Jalal-pur in the south-west corner of the Multan district as now constituted, about forty miles below that city, and some thirty miles above Ushchh. The united Rawi and Biáh had consequently run between twenty-five and thirty miles to the south-westwards to unite with the Chin-áb and Wihat; and, soon after, a little lower down, these four united with the Ab-i-Sind or Indus thus forming a new Panch Nad or Panj Ab near Ushchh on the west, and deserting the Hakra for good.

It was at this period, I believe, if it had not previously done so, that the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind threw off a branch farther westwards, between Rúján and Kashmúr, 576 which flowed in the channel which

573 When Abú-i-Fażl wrote the A'in-i-Akbarí, Ushchh, through other changes, had been thrust out of the Do-ábahs entirely, and became Berú-i-Panch Nad, or Extra Panj Ab, or outside the do-ábahs embraced between these rivers; and Ushchh was still thus situated when the A'in-i-Akbarí was completed; while Multan, through a change in the Rawi, was then in the Bari Do-ábah as at present.

574 Before this, the Rawi had united with the Chin-áb before the junction with the Biáh, and nearer to Multan on the east, which part is still known as Jaraf'i-Rawi.

575 Ibn Batútah makes some remarkable observations in confirmation of this. Respecting the Ab-i-Sind, he says, that he came down the river, and on the 1st of Muharram, 734 H. (11th September, 1333 A.D.), reached the junction forming the Panj Ab. Then he says, that "here commences the territory of the Sultan of Hind and Sind; and from thence it is necessary, that a description in writing should be sent of persons arriving on the frontier, to the Amir of the province of Sind stationed at Multan." From the junction he proceeded to Jaftá-i [in the original Mss. consulted written جنتابي or جنتابي for جنتابي], in which are located a people called al-Sámirah [Sumrāḥ?], who have been dwelling in that part from the period of the conquest of Sind in the time of Amir Hajjáj. From thence he went to Siw-istán, and makes no mention of Bakhar in going thither, but, coming from Sind on his way to Multán, he came to Bakhar, which he says is "a handsome city (or town) divided by an arm of the Ab-i-Sind. Where was the other arm or arms, or main channel? and how did he reach Siw-istán without passing Bakhar, as he appears to have done? I conceive that he went down by the channel flowing farther west; but, if not, he certainly refers to another arm or channel of the Ab-i-Sind,
passed more directly westwards towards Sháh-púr and Ùchh, in
the part known at present as Kachchh, and west and south of Khán
Garh (now Jacob-ábád), and from thence towards Kaíro Garh and
Shádád-púr, receiving between these two places the waters of the
streams from the hills on the north, north-west, and west, which hitherto
had made their way towards the Manchhar lake, and the Lakhhi range
of mountains. Then issuing from the lake, and bending more towards
the south-south-east towards Naṣr-púr, and near that place deserting
its former channel running in the direction of Badin—one of those
intervening between the Puránah Dhórah or Old Channel and the
present channel of the Indus—the stream turned to the southwards
to unite with the sea not far beyond Shákhar-púr, where the remains of
an ancient town still exist.\footnote{576} Other, but minor channels, running
southwards or branching off from the main channel, there must have
been then as now, and these I need scarcely refer to here, save to one
larger than the others which passed east of the town of Jarak, and
from thence towards Sámūá-Nagar, before Thátháh was founded, about
740 H. (1339-40 A.D.).\footnote{577}

Thus did the river called the Sind Rád or Rád-i-Sind to Hind,
which, when the old 'Aráb geographers and chroniclers wrote, consisted
of the Wihat, Qín-áb, Ráwí, and Biáh, desert the Hákra or Wáhindah
altogether, but the Sútlaí—which then flowed in the Ubóh-hár channel,
and has been incorrectly called “the Western Nyewal”—and the Ghag-
and that certainly flowed in the Sind Hollow, or some distance west of Bakhar.
From the latter place he went on to Multán by Ùchh, which, he says, was on
the Æb-i-Sind.

The ruins of several ancient towns are said to exist in this neighbourhood.
There is a mound at a place called “Kakeyja,” in one map, and “Kakej” in
another, thirty miles south-east of Jarak. Another ruined site is at “Kabámán”
of the maps, twenty-four miles south-east of Jarak; a third at “Shah Toorail,”
nine miles north-north-east of Badin, and rather less than two miles from the recent
west bank of the Gúní branch of the Indus; and a fourth collection of ruins at
“Nindimanee,” five miles east of Muḥabbat Dero. These I believe to have been
in the southernmost parts of the Bet or delta mentioned in the operations of the
Arab leader Muḥammad, son of Kásim. See note 187, page 234, and note 538,
page 468.

Close to where the Fulailí and Gúní branches of the Indus used to unite, the
ruins of large buildings and fragments of broken bricks and pottery covered the
ground for miles.

Mír Maš̄úm says, in his History, that when Sháh Beg Khán attacked Thátháh
the first time on the 11th Muharram, 926 H. (2nd January, 1520 A.D.), he came from
the northward by the Lakhhi Hills, and took up his position on the banks of the
Khán Wá-háh, three kuroh (about five miles and a quarter) north of the city; and,
that in those days, it was the main branch of the river, but there was water to the
south likewise, in another channel.
ghar and its tributaries, along with the Chitang, continued to unite with the Hakrá as before.

The movement to the westward of Multán of the Wihat and Chínáb appears to have affected the Nil Ab, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus likewise, and their junction with it tended to its inclining farther westwards to near 'Ali-púr and Sit-púr downwards, forming a new channel for itself, but a considerable distance above the point where it had before united with the Hakrá, thus deserting altogether its former channel by Ghaung-púr in which it flowed to unite with the Hakrá at Dough-i-Ab; while, lower down than that point, this new Pançh Nad or Panj Ab, entered and appropriated the channel of the western or Rá-in or Rá-iní branch of the Hakrá, a little above Bakhar, and then nearly dry in consequence of this desertion of the main stream above the point of separation of the Hakrá branch, and passed on towards Rúrhí and Bakhar.

In the meantime, between this great transition (brought about mostly, if not entirely, by the great flood in the northern part of the Panj Ab territory) and the preceding one, the delta between the sea-port of Debal, and the principal mouth of the Great Mihrán or Hakrá, Wahindah, or Sind-Ságar, below Badin, had been gradually increasing from the deposits washed down; and, at the same time, the territory of Kachohh or Kachohh Bhuj, as its name, signifying ‘new, ‘crude,’ ‘newly-formed,’ ‘alluvial,’ etc., which hitherto consisted of several rocky heights lying along the sea-coast with a ran or vast marshy tract on the other side, was being gradually increased by these deposits from the Hakrá and what had been brought down by the Loni river and its affluents.

The river Sutlaj which for a long period of time—since the last great change or transition—had flowed in the channel by Uboh-har (the “Western Nyewal” of the maps) still continued to be a tributary of the Hakrá, but, affected by the same causes that had led it previously to alter its course westwards from its older channels, caused it now to take a course still more to the westwards on leaving the hills near Rúhpaṛ, and then to bend to the south-west again, and to form a new channel for itself about midway between the Uboh-har channel and that of the present Hariári, Nili, or Ghárah, which, instead of uniting with the Hakrá near Máruś as before, flowed in this new channel some sixteen miles or more to the westwards of that place, and with a tortuous course, to a point or position near which the present town of Baháwal-púr stands, and which is said to occupy the site of an ancient city. Passing east of it, it bent towards the south-west again; and some twenty-two miles south-south-east of Ghaung-púr, and between Khán-púr and Khair Garh, about thirty-five miles below Diláwar or Diráwar,
united with the Hakrá, instead of higher up stream as it had formerly done. 573

Having lost such a large volume of water through the desertion of the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, the Hakrá had, with some difficulty, continued up to this period to be a perennial stream, and on this account, when it (including its tributary the Sutlaq) 572 reached near to Kanjhárah or Kanjháro and Wanjh-rát, near where the Hakrá, as long as the Panch Nad continued to unite with it at Dosh-i-Ab, sent off the branch towards Aror (which had subsequently been diverted towards the lime-stone range, which at first it passed on the north and west), it now, likewise, separated into two channels, the western-most or minor of the two, entered the channel of the Rá’in or Rá’ini or old diverted channel, and struggled on towards Aror. 530 During seasons of inundation, the overflow waters from the Panch Nad or Panj Ab, as far north as Ghaug-púr above which the ancient junction used to be,

572 This is the period referred to in the Tárikh-i-Táhirí, which says, that “That part of Sind which is now flourishing [when written in 1621 A.D.] was a mere waste at the period of the Sumrah’s, between 700 H. (1300 A.D.) and 843 H. (1439 A.D.), owing to the decrease of the Ab-i-Sind, namely the Panj Ab [including the Ab-i-Sind], which from Bakhar [as it is therein spelt] downwards, is called the Bah mín [the old Panch Nad as before described]. No water flowed towards those then waste parts. * * * The chief town of the Sumrāhs was Muḥammad Tūr.” The writer refers here to the period when the Sammah tribe was in a flourishing condition; and it must not be supposed that by the Panj Ab or the Sind that the Ab-i-Sind or Indus is referred to, because he immediately adds respecting it, the diversion of the stream passing Aror on the east, and relates the tradition already narrated at page 484, namely, “Below the city of Aror [the city was built chiefly on the skirt of the rocky hills, but its suburbs probably extended some distance farther east] the river of the Panj Ab flowed, which was likewise called by the names of Hakrá, Wāhindah, and Wā-han, and other names, for it changes almost at every village it passes. After fertilizing the country the river unites with the ocean.”

The dates given by the Tárikh-i-Táhirí above, are totally wrong even by its own statements, otherwise, when did the Sammahs come into power? The Sumrah’s acquired power in Lár, Debal, or Lower Sind about 261 H. (874-75 A.D.), and in 738 H. (1337-38 A.D.) they fell, and the Sammahs rose. Their power lasted, independently from 752 H. (1351 A.D.) to 927 H. (1520 A.D.), when the rule of the Sammahs was subverted by the Arghún Mughals. See the latter part of note 315, page 317.

579 The Hakrá having lost its last chief tributary in losing the Sutlaq—for the Ghag-ghar, and its tributaries, could not alone, except in time of floods, reach much beyond the points where in former periods the other rivers used to add their waters to it—it from that time, may be said to have ceased to flow.

530 This seems to be what Salbanke refers to as the river Damiaedee, or very much like it. Since he visited Bakhar, no doubt many changes, that we know not of, may have taken place. See note 572, page 403.
found their way into the old channel, which still remains in the form of a great depression; and this overflow, uniting with such water as continued to run in the old diverted channel east of Aror, subsequently united with the main channel of the Hakrá near Sayyidah. This second or minor branch is what appears in our maps as the "River Nará," and "Western Narra," locally called Nárah—Snake or Snake-like—from its tortuous course.

Such was the general state of the rivers from near the period of Amír Timúr's invasion of Hindústán, until about the period of Bábár Bádsháh's invasion of the country of the Panj Āb in 1525 H. (1519 A.D.).

The fifth great change or transition occurred when the Sutlaj, the

581 By this depression the "Khoonun Leht" of the Collector of Shikár-pür referred to in note 563, page 482, finds its way into the old channel. In his "Report on the Indus," Wood says, respecting that portion of its course between Mithán Kót and Bakhar—Ghau-púr, mentioned above, lies nearly due east from the first-named place—that, "neither on the east or west banks of this division is there an outer bank, and the consequence is, that the country here is largely inundated. In the Misaray districts [he refers to the tracts west of Mithán Kót, inhabited by the Masári Bálúchis], the floods of 1837 fell twenty miles back from the river [this overflow was towards the old channel I have before alluded to between Rúján and Káshmúr]; but, in ordinary seasons, twelve is the more usual measure of the width. On the opposite bank [the Ghau-púr side], the inundation about Subzakot reaches to the edge of the desert [that is to the channel of the Hakrá.]

A little above Mithán Kót, he says, that "in the month of May, the breadth of the Indus was 698 yards, while the Chenab or Panjáb was 1776 yards, and almost twice as deep—all canals cut from the Sind [Indus], and surplus waters pour into the Chenab."

If we draw a line from Multán westwards towards the Derah of Ghází Khán, and then from those places down to Ghau-púr, 107 miles south of the former and 86 of the latter, and near which is said to be the site of an ancient city, which I believe to have been Basmíd, we shall find what a great depression exists in the part where the Síndhu or Ab-i-Sind and the Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind or Pánch Nad had formerly flowed. Multán is 402 feet above the sea, Basráh 409, and the Derah of Ghází Khán 440 feet; while Baháwal-púr is 375 feet, 'Ālí-púr 387, and Ghau-púr but 295. In this depression the Síndhu or Ab-i-Sind, and the Sind Rúd or Rúd-i-Sind wo Hind, flowed when they were tributaries of the Hakrá or Wahindah, and the country all along the east side of the present course of the Indus as far down as Bákhar and Aror, with the exception of around Káshmúr on the opposite side, where another depression turns westwards towards the Sind Hollow—indeed it constitutes a portion of it—is higher than on the west side, but slopes towards Bákhar; but, on the other hand, there is another depression westwards, which begins about forty-two miles north-north-west of Bákhar, which runs away towards Shikár-púr which it passes on the north and west, runs down towards Mehar, and meets the depression from the direction of Shádád-púr and Kháiro Garh where the "Sind-Hollow" depression turns southwards. See note 575, page 499.
most erratic of all the rivers in this part, instead of flowing in a south-
westerly direction on leaving the hills near Rúh-para by Qhán-
kaur, and running by Faríd Koṭ, Maktá-sar, and Bágh-sar, towards Bahá-
wal-púr to unite with the Hakrá, as it had previously done, turned
sharply towards the west on issuing from the hills, then turned more
towards the north-west, near Lúdhiánah, towards Fil-úr, and united
temporarily with the river Biáh at Loh-Wál or Lohi-Wál, when the
united streams lost their respective names and became known as the
Harfári, Núrní, or Nilí. This united stream after flowing for about
twenty-one miles, again began to separate between Káshúr and Debál-
púr, and, soon after, separated into three, instead of into two streams,
as they had previously been. The Biáh, it must be remembered, con-
tinued to flow in its own independent channel, which it had never left
within the range of history, except to change, as it probably did, from
one side to the other and back again in the space constituting its bed,
which hereabouts is from eighteen to twenty miles broad; and on this
fresh separation it still continued to flow in it as before under its own
name. The middle branch of the three, above referred to, was of minor
importance with respect to the other two, and was then known as the
Dándah, which ran almost parallel to the Biáh, by Mailsí and Lodh-
raţ towards Jalál-púr. The third turned more to the south on separ-
ating, passed Ajúdžhan, or the Pák Pattan, or Holy Town, ten or
twelve miles on the east and south, and regained its name of Sutlaj.
These three branches having flowed apart for just one hundred kuţá,
or one hundred and seventy-five miles, again converged towards
each other, the Sutlaj passing near Baháwal-púr on the north, re-united
with the middle branch or Dándah, and then with the Biáh once more,
about five miles to the westward of Jalál-púr above-mentioned, and
formed the Ghalbá Ghárah or Ghárah, all three branches thus losing
their old names for this new one.

Thus the Dándah and Sutlaj having re-united with the Biáh and
become the Ghárah, with a considerable volume of water, pushed
farther westwards from the place of junction, and met the united Bihat,
Qhín-áb, and Ráwi. They thus formed a fresh Panch Nad or Panj

632 The meaning assigned to Dándah by the people of this part has been pre-
viously mentioned.

633 The middle branch did not flow apart quite so far, as it united with the
Sutlaj before it again united with the Biáh, as already stated.

634 Some persons have supposed that Ghárah means 'mud,' 'silt,' etc., but
such is not the case, this word is written گُر, while gará گر means
'mud,' 'earth mixed as mortar,' or 'earth prepared for potters.' See also note 73,
page 183.
Ab, without the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus being included as it had hitherto been; and such was the general state of these rivers as known to Abú-I-Fażl when he wrote the A'in-i-Akbarí, but this formation of the Ghárah had taken place nearly a century before he finished his work; for when Mirzá Sháh Ḥusain, the son of Sháh Beg Kháń, the Arghún Mughal, overcame the Langáh Jaṭ ruler of Multán in 931 H. (1525 A.D.), he made the Ghárah the boundary between their respective territories.

By this fresh movement in the courses of the rivers, Uchchh was removed from the Bist Jalhandar Do-ábah into the tract known as Berán-i-Pančh Nad, that is, outside the Five Rivers. The united streams flowing in one channel under the name of Pančh Nad or Panj Ab for about eighteen or twenty miles, or much more, allowing for the windings, and subject to minor changes more or less every year, united with the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus a little below Sít-púr and Uchchh; and by this junction the Pančh Nad then extended almost as far above Uchchh as the Pančh Nad of the present day extends in the opposite direction below that place.

Such was the general state of the rivers, as here described, up to about ten years before the close of the last century, or just one hundred years since.

The fifth, and so far, last great transition, up to the present time, began towards the close of the last century, when the Biáh, at last, deserted its ancient channel for the first time since it is heard of in history; and this was occasioned, apparently, through the Sutlaj again altering its course still farther westwards. On issuing from the hills of the Siwalik, instead of passing close to Lúdhíánah, it left it between seven and eight miles on the north by Fi-lúr and 'Ali Wál (the scene of General Sir Harry Smith's brilliant victory over the Sikhs), and from thence keeping to the northwards of west, united with the Biáh at Harí ke Paţán, or Hari's Ford, some fifteen or sixteen miles farther west than before. On this the Biáh deserted its channel, and instead of inclining westwards—as all the other rivers had more or less done, but the Sutlaj to the greatest extent—it took a totally contrary direction to the east, deserting the channel it had flowed in for

585 This was the first occasion that any of the waters of the Sutlaj formed part of the Pančh Nad or Panj Ab, except, when as a tributary of the Hákra, it united with that river lower down near Kháń-púr and Kháń Garh, and it had never reached so far west before, "within the range of history."

586 See page 302.

587 The earthquake of 1819 appears to have caused considerable change near the sea coast, but whether its effects were felt more towards the north it is impossible to say, as there are no particulars available.

M. 3
upwards of a thousand years, and combined with the Sutlaj, between the last independent channel that that river had flowed in before it deserted the Hakrā altogether—the "Great Dhandah" of the Revenue Settlement Reports—but rather nearer to the latter old channel. Both the Biāh and Sutlaj thus lost their old names entirely, and again became known by the names they had borne some two hundred and seventy-five years before, as has been previously explained (and as they had flowed when Abū-l-Faḍl wrote), namely, Hariārī, Nūrnī or

588 See page 504.

589 Nothing will show the extent of the changes effected by these alterations of the rivers more than Abū-l-Faḍl's description of the sarkārs or sub-provinces of Multān and Bakhar (or Bhakkar, as he writes it) of the Multān sūbah or province. At the time he wrote, certain mauza's, or villages and their lands, dependent on the Kuber mahdīl or district, lay then in the Bist-Jahandar Do-ābah, that is, between the Biāh and the Sutlaj, when they flowed independently. Multān itself was in the Bāri Do-ābah as now, but the mahdīl of Uchchh, Ubārah, Bhaṭī-Wā-hān of the Bhaṭīs, Jamshīr of the Bhulūdi and Dūdā-i, of the Balūch tribes of these names, Diwarāwal of the Dehr (Dīrāwar of the present time), and Siw-rā'ī or Siw-rāh of the Dehr, the mauza's of Fath-pūr, the mauza's of Kuber, Mahdūl [?] of Ghāzi-pūr, Raprī, Rāj-pūr, and Dūd Khān (the names of which seem to have been changed subsequently, and the people of which are not mentioned), Ma'ūḥ (Ma'ūn Mubārāk of the present time), Mārūt of the Bhaṭīs, twenty-one miles N.E. of Mauj Gaṛh, and Mhand or Mahanḍ, and Siṭ-pūr, were all Berūn-i-Panch Nad. Of these Dūdā'ī, Fath-pūr, Siṭ-pūr, and probably Jamshīr, lay west of the Ab-i-Sind or Indus. Up to the last great change in the last century, Siṭ-pūr, and some of the others, probably under altered names, still lay west of that river, and Berūn-i-Panch Nad; while now, Siṭ-pūr is in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah east of the Indus, and in the Muṣafar Gaṛh district as at present constituted.

Uchchh, Ubārah, Bhaṭī Wā-hān, Siw-rā'ī or Siw-rāh, Ma'ūḥ or Ma'dī, Mārūt, and the others, still remain Berūn-i-Panch Nad, but, on the east side of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus.

Then again, the mahdīl of Jatū-ī, then Berūn-i-Panch Nad, and belonging to the Bakhar sarkār of the Multān sūbah, was, like Siṭ-pūr, west of the Ab-i-Sind before the last great change, but now, Jatū-ī is also in the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah, and east of the river.

Māṭhīlah mahdīl of Bakhar sarkār still remains east of the Ab-i-Sind; and also the other mahdīl of that sarkār, of which, on that side also, were Alor or Arō, "with its fort," and Bakhar, with its "strong fortress."

Māṭhīlah appears in Blochmann's text of the A'in-i-Akbarī, as Māṭ, instead of Māṭī, and many other names are incorrectly printed. In the printed text of the Akbar Nāmah the word is written Māṭīlah and Māṭhīlah.

Wade and Mackeson passed down the Hariārī, Nīlī, or Ghārah in 1832-33 [they, too, call it by the incorrect name of "Sutlaj"] and they state, that "Chakra [Ghārah] four kos N.W. of Ghauṣ-pūr," was ten minutes ride from the Indus, and: Mīthān Kōṭ was three miles beyond (or west) of its then right bank. The place where they crossed from "Chakra" was then almost immediately below its junction with the Panch Nad, the newly formed Panch Nad referred to in the text above.
Nili, as far down as the vicinity of Ajúqdhan or the Pák Pattan, and Ghallá Ghárah and Ghárah below, as far down as the junction with the other rivers, as described at page 372. In this new channel, subject, of course, to the yearly fluctuations, minor so far, caused by the yearly inundations, the newly formed river flows at the present day.

From the period of the fourth to the last transition here noted, the Qhin-áb, above its junction with the Bihat, also altered its course, but not to any great extent. It used then to pass near Massan on the east, and so continued for sometime; but, during late years it has passed about midway between that place and Jhang-i-Siállán; and the junction with the Bihat, at the period referred to, took place just ten miles lower down than at the present time, and both rivers (united) have, since then, worked a little more to the westward. Near their junction with the Rawi, however, the change has been greater. In 1695 the rivers united a little to the north-west of Siqhú kí Sará’té; but near the close of the last century, when the Biháh and Sutlaj united; the junction of the Rawi with the Bihat and Qhin-áb took place midway between Dandá Wálah and Sargáí, not so far west as at present.

The junction of the new river thus formed by this union of the Biháh and Sutlaj, likewise caused a change in the course of the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus. When the Survey was completed from the record of which I have herein largely quoted, the latter river passed close to Ja tú-í, 'Ali-púr, and Sít-púr on the east; and it is since that period that it began to incline farther westwards from a point about fifteen miles below the Derah of Ghází Khán, abandoning the channel by Ja tú-í, 'Ali-púr, and Sít-púr, and united with the new Panch Nad or Panj Ab between Rájan-púr and Míthí dá Koṭ, about thirty-four miles south-west of Uchchah, and which it had not previously done within the range of history. During inundations its redundant waters still found their way into its ancient channel by which it used to unite with the Hakrá, now become a great depression only; but, lower down than Qhan-gl-púr, in that part of the depression east of Ahmad-púr, passing Siw-ráhi, Sabzal Koṭ and Ubárah, and from thence into the Rá’in channel, this overflow formed the river, which from its tortuous course (when flowing), is locally styled the Nárah, or Snake, or Snake-like.

Thus, while the once mighty river, namely, the Hakrá, or Wahindah, forming the “Mihrán of Sind,” or “Sind-Ságar,” which received as its

They also say, that “Panjnad pours its waters into the larger stream between Gum-bheer and Muhar, the latter village being close to the eastward of their confluence.” Míthán Koṭ was also then completely surrounded by water during the period of the inundation. “MS.” Report.
tributaries the waters of all the rivers from the Qhitang to the Sindhu or Ab-i-Sind, through the loss of most of its tributaries, and the failure of others, ceased to flow—although even now, in time of great floods above, its waters have occasionally reached the ocean—the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, now become a mighty river by the accession of five of those tributaries, flowed towards the south-westwards, changing at times and forming new channels to be again abandoned, ever changing more or less. It may be said without exaggeration, that there is little of the vast, sloping, alluvial tract of Sind, below the parallel of Uchchh, and extending from Birsil-púr of Jasal-mír to Shadád-púr of Upper Sind, a space of four geographical degrees in breadth, that the Hakrā or Wahindah and the Sindhu, Ab-i-Sind, or Indus, have not, at different epochs, within about the last fifteen hundred years, flowed over; for the whole extent is literally seamed with their channels of lesser or greater age, in all and in every direction.690

690 It seems that the new Railway—the Southern Panjab Railway—will run for great part of its way, close and parallel to the old channels of the Ghag-ghar and the Hakrā, and will stand a great chance of being flooded. We may also be sure, if steps have not been taken to prevent it, that all old sites will be destroyed for “ballast.” A sharp eye should also be kept on the finding of antiquities and hidden treasure in such places.