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THE LAST TWO DYNASTIES OF THE ŠĀHIS

(An analysis of their history, archaeology, coinage and palaeography)

by

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This Thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University

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Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents my original research.

A. Rehman
'The Hindu Shāhī dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and bearing.'

Albīrūnī
The pre-Muslim rulers of Kābul and Gandhāra were called Śahis — a term which seems to be the Indianised form of the word shāh. The Persian equivalent of shāh is shah, a royal epithet which was also used by the rulers of these areas. The origin of shāh may be traced from the Achaemenian Kshāyatiyānām Kshāyatiya (p.viii).\(^1\)

The earliest use of the word śāhi on the coins goes back to the time of the Kusānas. In subsequent periods it was taken by several rulers as a royal epithet and does not seem to have been used as a distinctive title of any particular dynasty. In the modern accounts of the Śāhis, however, it is specifically used for the last two non-Muslim dynasties of Gandhāra and Kābul (p.viii).

The country of the Śāhis was situated on the main trade route which linked the north-western parts of the sub-continent with Central Asia. Its strategic position on the main gateway to India, its fertile lands in the Panjāb and the Peshāwar valley, its enormous revenues (p. 35) and immense manpower (p. 34) had attracted the covetous eyes of conquerors from across the Hindū Kush from times immemorial (p.xv).

The size of this country varied from time to time (pp.3-4). At times it extended from the borders of Sīstān to Kashmir, and the Hindū Kush mountains to the hills in eastern Panjāb. The districts of Rukhkha and Zābulistān were lost with Ya'qūb's invasion of Kābul in A.D. 870. In the following decade even the Kābul valley remained under Ya'qūb's governor. In the period between 880 to 964 the Kābul valley was held by the Śāhis, but only precariously. In 998-99 the Śāhis made up some territorial losses and extended their kingdom to Lahore in the Panjāb. Towards the end of Jayapāla's reign the Śahi kingdom extended from Lamghān in the north-west to the borders of Kashmir and Multān. The kingdom diminished

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\(^1\) All references are to the text of the present work.
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Abbreviations and the System of Dates

ASI, Report = Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CMI = Coins of Mediaeval India
DPB = Dar Firāmūn Tārīkh-i Baihaqī
Ency. of Islām = Encyclopedia of Islām
EW = East and West
EI = Epigraphia Indica
Guzīda = Tārīkh-i Guzīda
IA = Indian Antiquary
IGI = Imperial Gazetteer of India
JA = Journal Asiatique
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBBAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society
JNSI = Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London
JRASB, JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JIH = Journal of Indian History
MDAFA = Mémoires De La Délégation Archéologique Française En Afghanistan
NC = Numismati Chronicale
N.W.F.P. = North West Frontier Province
RSO = Rivista Degli Studi Orientali
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

The following example explains the system of dates used in this work. 30 (650) = Hijra year 30 (A.D. 650)
Preface

Albīrūnī has done a great service to the early medieval rulers of North West India and Afghanistan by investigating their history. He complains of a serious lack of information and excuses himself for responsibility regarding the accuracy of the stories related to him about them. According to the information available to him the two pre-Muslim dynasties of Gandhāra and Kabul were called 'Shāhī' (Sāhi). He qualifies the dynasties as Turks and Hindus, but he tells nothing about their origin, the duration of their rule, the territorial limits of their kingdom and, except in a few cases, the dates of the individual rulers.

The word 'Shāhī' is also known from Ibn Hauqal² (A.D. 976). Iṣṭakhri (A.D. 951) uses the form Shāh as a title for the pre-Ghaznavid rulers of Kabul.³ The Dewai stone inscription of Bhīma⁴ (c. A.D. 921-64) and the Rājatarahgini⁵ (c. A.D. 1149) have the form Sāhi. The Kabul image (our no.1) and the Hātūn rock (our no.2) inscriptions give the spelling Sāhi.

The precise origin of the word Sāhi or Sāhī is nowhere recorded, but there is no doubt that this is the Indianised form of the Kuśāna title Shao found on the copper coins of Kaniska. The full form of this title, Shao nano shao, occurs on the gold coins of the same king.⁶ The

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4 See infra, p.244.
6 P.L. Gupta, Coins, Delhi 1969, p.29.
Kušānas also used the Greek title Basileas Basileon⁷ of which shaonoshao, according to some writers, is an adaptation. If this be the case, the origin of the word Ṣāhi may be traced from Basileos (sic) Basileon. It seems more likely, however, that shaonoshao is derived from the Persian royal epithet kshāyatiyānām kshāyatiya (‘king of kings’) which occurs in some of the Achaemenian inscriptions.⁸ The present Persian title Shāhan shāh (‘king of kings’) is obviously derived from the same source through the Kušāna adaption of the word.

The Indian equivalent of shaonoshao is rājarāja or rājadirāja⁹ found on the coins of the Scytho-Parthian rulers of the north western parts of the sub-continent. But rājarāja does not seem to have become popular, owing perhaps to the pressure of foreign culture in these areas, as the foreign word shao, which appears in the modified form Ṣāhi on the coins of the Kidāra Kušānas.¹⁰ Since then it was taken by many rulers and apparently meant nothing but a royal epithet.¹¹ It is nowhere used as the distinctive title of a particular dynasty. In modern histories, however, it has come to be applied almost exclusively to the last two dynasties of the Śāhis, whose rule in Afghanistan, Gandhāra and the Panjāb preceded the establishment of the Ghaznavīd empire in these regions.

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⁹ See P.L. Gupta, op.cit., p.23.
¹⁰ Cunningham, op.cit., p.184.
¹¹ Some Ephthalite coins have the legends 'Shahi Jabiwla' and 'Devā-Shahi Khinggila' (Cunningham, op.cit., p.265); the Kura inscription mentions a Śāhi Toramāya. The names Vidyādhara Śāhi and Thakkana Śāhi are known from the Rājatarangini (vii, 913; vi, 230). The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta mentions a devaputra Śāhi Śahānsāhi (D.C. Sircar, op.cit., p.266).
The history of the Eastern branch of the Turk Șāhis, with Kābul and Gandhāra as its centre of power, is very obscure. The Western branch of the family, which ruled in Zābulistān and Rukkhāj under the title 'Rūtbīl', was quite well known to the Muslim historians who have left a record of the main fights between these and the Arab governors of Sīstān. Of the earlier Muslim chronicles, the principal accounts are those of Balādhrī (d. 892), Ya'qūbī (d. 897) and Tabarī (d. 923). Of these again only Balādhrī gives a connected account. Māmūn's invasion of Kābul is mentioned by Azraqī in detail.

The accounts of Balādhrī and Tabarī are in general based on the works of al-Madāinī (d. 830), Ma'amār b. Muthanna (d. between 822 and 826) and Abū Mikhnaf (d. 773). The actual works of these three writers have been lost, but they were considered to be the best authorities on Arabic history and were profusely quoted by later historians. Al-Madāinī is in fact known to have made use of even earlier works including those of the famous biographer of the Prophet, Ibn Isḥāq, who is also said to have written a history of the Caliphs. Al-Madāinī's books on the conquests in Sijistan and Khurasan would have been most useful if they had survived.

Side by side with historical works, the Arabs developed a vast amount of geographical literature dealing with climates, roads, rivers, mountains,
trade, products, exports, etc., of the different parts of the Islamic world. Some geographers undertook lengthy journeys to gather first hand information. While discussing the frontier regions of the Islamic world they also briefly refer to the neighbouring non-Islamic countries. Of these writers the works of Iṣṭaḵhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, Masʿūdī¹⁹ (d. 956) and Maqdisī²⁰ (c. 985) are very useful from the point of view of the country of the Śāhis. The two former describe the country up to the Kābul valley, whereas the two latter include in their discussion Gandhāra as well. Maqdisī gives a vivid description of the Śāhi capital, Waihind (Udabhāṇḍapura) and also mentions some of their provincial cities.²¹ The Hudud al-ʿĀlam,²² an anonymous work of the tenth century, seems to have derived information from these sources.

Of the later Muslim sources the works of Ibn al-Athīr²³ (d. 1233), Ibn Khallikān²⁴ (d. 1282), Qazwīnī²⁵ (c. 1329) and Mir Ḵhwānd²⁶ (d. 1498) are quite important. But only the first named author treats the subject exhaustively; the others, besides being very brief, tend to confuse the Kābul Śāhs with the Ruthūls and vice versa. The Tarikh-i Ẓistān²⁷ gives a connected account of the events in more detail and also emphasises the role of a new power - the Khārījītes - whose turbulent nature hampered

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²¹ See infra, p.17.
²³ Al-Kamil fi l'-Tarikh, 1965 Beirut repr.
²⁴ See infra, p.42, fn.39.
²⁵ Tarikh-i Guzīda, Tehran 1336.
²⁶ Raudat as-Safā, Iran 1339.
the progress of Islam in this region and also to some extent saved the Sahis from an early collapse. The *Tārīkh* gives some new details which are not found in our other sources. But its dates do not always tally with those of the others and may only be used with circumspection. It may be remarked that these Muslim writers belonged to the political rivals of the Sahis and very often tended to glorify their own masters. They treated the history of the Sahis only where it was relevant to their account of their own compatriots.

Some information about the internal conditions of the Turk Sahi kingdom is available from Chinese sources. The *Tang Shu* records several embassies from different parts of the Sahi kingdom. Similarly the reports of Huei Ch'ao (A.D. 726) and Wu K'ong (A.D. 751-90) suggest the existence of more than one kingdom in Gandhāra, Kābul and Zābulistān.

We are not as fortunate, however, regarding the history of the earlier rulers of the dynasty of the Hindu Sahis. The Muslim provinces on the frontiers of the Sahi kingdom at this time were in the process of splintering off from the main body to become independent states. As these states, in their rivalry for political supremacy, clashed with each other, the history of the Sahis from the point of view of the Muslim writers became less and less relevant. Thus the period between Ya'qūb's invasion of Kābul and the establishment of the kingdom of Ghazna, corresponding roughly with the period between the rise of Kallar and the end of Bhīma's reign, is almost blank. We have only a few brief glimpses of the political events of this period. Albīrūnī has fortunately preserved a brief list of the names of the individual rulers, which can be supplemented by other sources. The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* and the *Jawāmi'*

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28 See infra, p.79, fn.96.

29 For references see infra, p.39, fn.20-21.
al-Hikayat (A.D. 1228) mention a conflict between the Muslim governor of Ghazna and the rāi of Kābul in the time of 'Amr b. Laith. The Nājatarahgint mentions a Kashmirian inroad into the Śāhi territory at the end of Lalliya's reign. Alaptigīn's invasion of Kābul and the defeat of its Indian ruler is described in the Tabaqāt-i Naṣīrī (A.D. 1260), the Siyāsat Namah (A.D. 1091-2) and the Majma' al-Ansāb (A.D. 1332).

For the later part of the history of the Hindu Śāhis we have the contemporary accounts of Albirūnī, 'Utbi, Gardīzī and Baihaqi. Unfortunately one of the most important works of Baihaqi, called Tarikh-i Yamīnī, sometimes also confused with 'Utbi's Kitāb al-Yamīnī, has been lost to us. The importance of this work appears from the fact that it was based on original state documents and a diary which the author himself kept. This work was extensively drawn upon by subsequent writers. Ibn al-Athīr's story about the death of Trilocanaḍāla seems to have been taken from this source.

Of the modern writers on the Śāhis the main accounts are those of Prinsep, Cunningham, Thomas, Stein, Smith, Elliot, Vaidya and Ray.

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30 See infra, p.116.
31 See infra, p.108.
34 Of Muhammad b. 'Alī b. 'Alī b. ash-Shaikh Muhammad b. Ḥasan b. Abū Bakr. The text of this source is reproduced by Sa'id Naftī in his Dar Piramān Tarikh-i Baihaqī (here abbreviated as DPB), Tehran 1342, pp.20 ff.
35 For references see infra, bibliography.
36 For references see infra, pp.190-95 and the bibliography at the end of this work.
Most of these writers studied the Śāhīs merely against the evidence of their coins, which was imperfectly understood. Habīb37 and Nāźim,38 while dealing with the history of Māḥmūd of Ghazna also refer to the Śāhīs. Besides this, Nāźim wrote a separate article39 on the same subject and discussed the evidence of the Ādāb al-Ḥarb40 for the first time. But these are only short accounts and do not deal with the history of the Śāhīs comprehensively. Moreover they throw some light on Jayapāla and his successors, whose history is quite well known, but ignore their predecessors.

Two detailed studies have appeared more recently. They were brought to my notice when I had nearly finished my work. Of these, the first, titled The Hindu Śāhīs of Afghanistan And the Punjab (Patna 1972), is written by Professor Yogendra Mishra; and the second, The Shāhīs of Afghanistan and the Punjab (Delhi 1973), by Dr Deena Bandhu Pandey. Mishra's work deals primarily with the Hindu Śāhīs while the Turks have been dismissed in two paragraphs. He has exploited the evidence of the Rājatarangini in great depth but his interpretation of the historical data available from the Muslim sources is far below the mark.41 Moreover numismatics and palaeography not being his forte, he has been unable to utilise the whole range of evidence available to him. Pandey deals with the Turk Śāhīs at some length but he does not seem to have studied, in original Arabic and Persian, the chronicles listed in the bibliography

37 Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī, Delhi 1951.
38 Sultan Māḥmūd of Ghazna, Cambridge 1931.
40 The full title of this work is Ādāb al-Ḥarb waš-Shujā' also called Ādāb al-Mulūk wa Kifāyat al-Mamlūk, Iran 1346. It is a treatise on the art of war, etc., and was composed by Muḥammad b. Manṣūr in the time of Sultān Iltutmish (1210-1236).
41 For details see infra, pp.115-116.
of his work and depended wholly on the English translations. He offers a very brief, and at places incorrect, summary of the Arab attempts to capture Kabul in a separate appendix. Particularly noteworthy are his statements about the 'defeat of Qutaiba' (p.71) and 'Ma'n's marginal success', which cannot be substantiated from history.⁴² He has completely failed to mention Māmūn's invasion of Kābul, which shook the Turk Šāhi kingdom to its roots and paved the way for Kallar's success.⁴³ Moreover his attempt to build up the whole chronological framework merely on the numismatic evidence by taking each title and name for a separate individual has led him to crowd at least five of the Šāhi rulers in the period between A.D. 860 and 870.

Regarding the present work, the data collected from the original sources in Arabic and Persian and from recent commentaries in Pashtū were critically examined, evaluated and sifted. This source material was then utilised to build up a chronological framework by fixing the dates of the beginning and the end of the dynasties and, where possible, of the individual rulers. The details were filled in afterwards. This led to propounding new theories about the origin of the Šāhis. To understand the development of events in the frontier regions, an attempt was made

⁴² For the invasions of Qutaiba and Ma'n and their success, see infra, pp.76 f., 81 f.

⁴³ Pandey's study is full of errors of detail. He refers to Ibrāhim b. Jibrīl as 'Ibrāhim bin Ja'bal' (pp.32, 72); the name of the writer Muḥammad b. Maṅšūr (Muḥammad the son of Maṅšūr) is very often written as 'Mansur' (pp.78, 128, 249); the name Kashmir Smats is written as 'Smats cave' (p.233) (Smat is a Pashtū word and means 'cave'); Sodra is identified with the modern Wazīrābād (p.41) though the former still exists under the same name. Similarly the present writer has not been able to find evidence to substantiate Dr Pandey's statements that 'Amr ibn Laith' came up to Sakavanta in the time of Kamalavarman (p.122), that 'the village of Lahor has more mounds than Hund' (p.123) and that 'Trilochananāla was the first Shahi king to have been put to death by the Muslims' (p.113, fn.207), etc. Having visited both Lahor and Hund several times, Dr Pandey's statement about the size of the mounds at these places seems to be absolutely wrong to the present writer.
at the same time to define the limits of the kingdom at the various stages of the history of the Sāhis. The result of this enquiry are the following eight chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with the ancient geography. The country of the Sāhis was situated on the main trade route linking the north-western parts of the sub-continent with Central Asia. Its strategic position on the main gateway to India, its rich lands in the Panjāb and the Peshāwar valley and its enormous manpower had attracted the covetous eyes of conquerors from across the Hindū Kush from times immemorial. The main regions of the country, the chief cities, roads, rivers, mountains, languages, revenues and population form the subject matter of this chapter.

The problem of the origin of the Sāhis is very complicated. There is no positive evidence to solve the problem once and for all. However, some new theories are set forth in Chapter 2.

To understand the background of the incessant raids of the Sīstān governors who paved the way for the subsequent bigger thrusts into Zābulistān and Kābul, a small chapter (no. 3) is added on the expansion of the Arab rule in Sīstān.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the history of the Turk Sāhis and the Hindu Sāhis separately.

The coinage of the Sāhis is the most involved question of their history. It has attracted the attention of very eminent numismatists in the past and still continues to do so. A vast amount of numismatic literature has appeared on the subject. But most of these writers have failed to put the Sāhi coins in their proper historical perspective, and to study the actual operation of mints and their ownership, which in actual practice determined the quality of the coins. In chapter 6 the

For references see Chapter 6.
evidence of the Śāhi coinage is re-interpreted and new theories and readings of coin legends are given.

The palaeography of coins and inscriptions ascribable to the time of the Śāhis forms the subject matter of Chapter 7. Some new inscriptions of great importance to the history of the Śāhis are discussed for the first time. To understand the individual style and characteristics of each scribe, the inscriptions are discussed and analysed separately. A detailed list of all the inscriptions datable to the Śāhi period is given in a separate appendix.

Chapter 8 deals with the archaeological sites, forts, citadels, temples, and art and architecture of this period. A number of new sites are added to the list of those already known and brief descriptions of their remains are given. Only the more important sites are described in detail. A brief account of the results of a small excavation conducted by the present writer is also included.

The completion of this work owes much to the keen interest, able guidance and fatherly encouragement of my supervisor, Professor A.L. Basham, Head of the Department of Asian Civilizations, The Australian National University. Professor Basham's readiness to help at any time when it was needed and his advice were invaluable to me. I acknowledge a great debt of gratitude to him.

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The author has greatly benefited from discussions with Drs H.H.E. Loofs and S.A.A. Rizvi, both Readers in the Department of Asian Civilizations, A.N.U., and expresses his sincere gratitude to them.
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I am thankful to Professor J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw of the University of Amsterdam for sending me a list of her publications; to Mr Douglas Barrett of the British Museum for arranging to send me photographs of some of the Hindu Śāhi coins; to Professor Sir Harold Bailey for discussing about the reading of the date of the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāla.

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### Transliteration

(The commonly accepted spellings of certain names such as Lahore and Attock are retained).

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CHAPTER 1

Historical Geography

The extant literature dealing with the historical geography of the lands of the Śāhīs is very meagre. The tenth century Arab geographers mention only that part of the country of the Śāhīs which had already passed into Muslim hands. The rest of the country was inaccessible and remained terra incognita till the arrival of Al-Ḥārūn.

HIND

If there was any official name of the Śāhī country it has not come down to us. The areas under the control of the Śāhīs are generally referred to as 'Hind' in the earlier Muslim literature. But the word Hind had a loose meaning and was indiscriminately applied to other parts of the sub-continent as well. Evidently Hind is derived from the name of the river Indus (Sindh), the ancient Sindhus, meaning river or ocean. The earliest inscriptional record of this name goes back to the time of the Achaemenians who counted 'Hindūs' as one of their provinces. As the Achaemenian empire never extended south of the Panjāb and the present province of Sindh, we may well assume that the name 'Hindūs' primarily meant the valley of the Indus river. The pre-Alexandrian Greek name Indos also designated the

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1 Rājaśekhara (c. A.D.880-920) mentions the names of some countries and rivers of Uttarāpatha - the country to the north of Pehoa in the Karnāl district of the Panjāb - in his Kavyamāṭha (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No.1, Baroda 1934). It has been assumed by some scholars that Rājaśekhara wrote a separate work called Bhuvanakosa on world geography. The Bhuvanakosa in question is referred to at the end of the 17th chapter of Kavyamāṭha but it was probably never written (Kavyamāṭha, Introduction, p.xvi).

2 The word 'Hindūstān' was used only by the Persian writers.

3 See S. Sen, Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors, Calcutta 1941, pp.97, 114, 119, 148 and 172. At Persepolis it has the form 'Indus' (ibid., p.93).
Hindutus, too, seems to have understood this word as indicating simply the area of the Indus valley for, according to him, India was marked by a desert (of Rājasthān) in the east.\(^5\)

Alexander's march through the Panjāb and Sindh in 326 B.C., however, broadened the Greek vision which had so far been based on the geographical information derived from the report of Scylax\(^6\) and other Achaemenian sources. India was now described as a country rhomboid in shape and marked by the Indus on the west, the mountains on the north and the sea on the east and south.\(^7\) Thus the name which originally designated just the valley of the Indus river was extended to the whole sub-continent.

With the expansion of Muslim trade into South-east Asia, in the centuries following the rise of Islām, new regions situated close to the sub-continent came to the knowledge of the Arab traders. Consequently the word Hind came to be used in an even wider sense.\(^8\)

If the borders of Hind gradually expanded in the east with the progress of geographical knowledge, they receded in the north-west, due to constant political pressure. Shortly after the middle of the seventh century A.D. the north-western border of Hind included Rukkhāj, Bust, Zamīn Dāwar\(^9\) and

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\(^4\) The first Greek writer to mention this name was Hecataeus of Miletus, a contemporary of Scylax and must have come to know about India through the narrative of the latter (H.G. Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*, Cambridge 1916, pp.19, 20).


\(^6\) Scylax was despatched by Darius (522-486 B.C.) to undertake a voyage through the river Indus.

\(^7\) B. Puri, *India in Classical Greek Writings*, Ahmedabad 1963, p.16.

\(^8\) Among the Indian rulers Ibn Khurraḍādhbih counts 'Balharā, Jāba, the king of Tāfan, the king of Jūr and Gḥāba and Ruhmī, the king of Gāmūn, the king of Zābaj, the king of Nauba, the king of Habsa (sic), the king of the eastern islands and the king of Saqālab'. (*al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, Baghdad repr., pp.16-17).

\(^9\) This may be inferred from Balādhūrī, see infra, pp.55 f.
the areas south of the Hindu Kush mountains. With the consolidation of the power of the Arabs in Sīstān, Bust was soon lost. The rest of the country west of the Lohgar valley was snatched by the Šaffarīd Ya’qūb and even Kābul was temporarily lost in A.D. 870. In the early part of Jayapāla's reign the Lohgar valley was still the north-western border of Hind.

Similarly the Muslim conquest of Sindh and Qīqān (modern Quetta and Fishīn Valley), made a deep dent into the western boundary of Hind. After its conquest by Muḥammad b. Qāsim in A.D. 712-15 Sind was virtually excluded from Hind and some writers even found it necessary to coin a new name for the sub-continent perhaps to emphasise this exclusion. Not knowing that the word Hind was actually a derivative form of 'Sindh' and therefore literally synonymous with it, Ibn Khurradādhbih invented the term 'as-Sind wa'l-Hind' — an unwitting precursor of the present composite form Indo-Pak. By the time of the rise of the Šāhis, it seems, the original meaning of Hind was forgotten and the word had different meanings in different contexts. The word Hind in the phrase 'Jayapāla the king of Hind', for instance, has different geographical connotation from its equivalent in other similar phrases such as 'the countries of Hind' or 'the Thākurs of Hind'.

BOUNDARIES

Proportionate with their strength and weakness or the strength and weakness of their neighbours, the boundaries of the kingdom of the Šāhis changed frequently. Shortly after the middle of the seventh century A.D., the Turk Šāhi kingdom extended from the borders of Sīstān to areas

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11 The areas up to the Sīstān border, which probably ran west of Bust, were under the control of the Rutbīl, the brother of the Kābul Shāh. The Rutbīl is also referred to as 'the king of Sījistān' (Kitāb al-Baldān, E.J. Brill 1892, pp.281, 283) but the term Sījistān was sometimes used in a loose sense for the areas stretching as far as the Oxus and the Indus rivers (Tabari, Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk, vol.i, E.J. Brill 1964, p.2705).
contiguous to Udabhanapura in northern Panjab. The annexation of Swat in about A.D. 745 brought the northern border of the kingdom close to the Hindu Kush mountains. Strangely, the little Buddhist principality of Bamiyan, although situated close to the centre of the power of the Sāhis, seems to have preserved its independence as its ruler, the ash-Shīr, is always referred to as a king in his own right. The principal seat of government under the Turk Sāhis was Kabul, whereas Udabhanapura served as the winter headquarters.

Under the Hindu Sāhis however the position was reversed and Udabhanapura became the main capital. Shortly before the end of Jayapāla's reign Kabul was lost for ever and his kingdom, having somewhat expanded in the south, extended, according to Firishta, from Sirhind to Langhan and from (the borders of) Multān to the Kashmir hills. At the time of Ānandapāla's accession (A.D. 1002), the north-western boundary, having been pushed further in by the Ghaznavid pressure, ran along the river Indus. The eastern boundary of the Sāhi kingdom in the reign of Trilocanapāla (A.D. 1010-21) was brought close to the upper Ganges valley.

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13 'The king of Bāmiyan called Asad of which the Persian form is Shīr accepted Islam at the hands of Muzāhām b. Bīstām in the time of (the Caliph) Maṣūm'. *Kitāb al-Baldān*, p.289.
14 This arrangement was evidenced by Hsuan Tsang in the seventh century and was probably retained by the Turk Sāhis.
15 There is no evidence to prove that the Sāhis had any contact with Kabul after A.D. 988-89.
17 As indicated by the fact that the first battle between Ānandapāla and Sultān Maḥmūd took place on the banks of the river Indus.
18 See infra, p.163f. Trilocanapāla opposed Maḥmūd on the banks of the river Rāḥib and had his base in Bārī (present Bulandshahr).
MAIN DISTRICTS

Rukhkhaj

(Rukhkhaj (Arachosia of the classical writers) was the westernmost district of the Turk Sahis. It occupied the country around Qandahar along the banks of the rivers now known as the Tarnak and the Arghandab. The exact limits of Rukhkhaj are not recorded but Ibn Ḥauqal places it between Balād-i Dāwar and Bālidh. In the tenth century it was a fertile district which brought in good revenue for the treasury by the export of wool, and was for the most part inhabited by weavers. The capital city was known as Banjwāy, the Arabicised form of Panjwāy (i.e. five streams) a name which still survives in the name of a small village. Banjwāy was situated on the Bust-Sibī road at a point where it joined the Ghazna-Banjwāy highway. According to Maqdisī, Banjwāy got its water supply from the neighbouring river. The exact site of this town is not known but it may be looked for in the mounds lying to the west of the road which leads from Qandahār to the present day Panjwāy. One league to the west of Banjwāy was the fortress of Kūhāk (the hillock) in the centre of a town of the same name. Another town, Bakrābād or Tekīnābād, was

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19 Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam (ed. M. Stodeh, Tehran 1340, pp.29, 103) has 'Rukhād' and 'Rukhād'. Maqdisī (Aḥsan at-Taqāṣīm ..., E.J. Brill 1906, p.297) gives the variant 'Rakhd'.


24 Also called 'Be'r Kūhāk' (Yaqūt, Muʾjam al-Baladān, 1965 Tehran repr., Vol.IV, p.331); see also Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, p.104; and Ibn Ḥauqal, p.302.

25 Maqdisī, p.349.

26 Ḩudūd al-ʿĀlam, p.250; and Ibn Ḥauqal, p.305.
situated at one stage from Banjwāy on the Sibī road near a stream which joined the river coming from Qandahār.

The city of Qandahār,²⁷ often spelt as Qunduhār,²⁸ is mentioned only by the earlier chroniclers and does not occur in the itineraries of Ibn Ḥaukal and Iṣṭakhrī. Its exact location is nowhere mentioned, but it is evidently the same as that of the modern city. According to Balādhrī Qandahār was once attacked by 'Abbād b. Ziyād who, proceeding from Sīstān, marched on it after crossing the desert.²⁹ 'Alī b. 'Īsā is said to have reached Qandahār from Kābul by way of Zābulistān. In the early medieval period the city was probably superceded by Banjwāy and was by-passed by the Ghazna-Banjwāy highway on the east. The name Qandahār is sometimes confused with Gandhāra.³⁰

(2) Zamīn Dāwar³¹

Starting from the mountains of Ghūr down to Qandahār, the valley of the river Helmand is called Arḍ ad-Dāwar or Balād ad-Dāwar. Its local name, according to Yaqūt was Zamīn Dāwar which, he says, actually meant Balād ad-Dāwar.³² The Hudūd places Zamīn Dāwar between Ghūr on the one

²⁷ This spelling is given by Ibn Khurradadhbih (p.68).
²⁸ Balādhrī, Kitāb Futūḥ al-Baldān, E.J. Brill 1968, p.434; Ṭabarī, i, p.2705.
²⁹ Balādhrī, p.434.
³⁰ Qandahār was never attacked in boats as wrongly stated by Le Strange (Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 1930 Cambridge repr., p.347) on the authority of Balādhrī. According to Balādhrī (pp.434, 445) Hashām b. 'Amr, the governor of Sindh, having reduced Multān and Qandābī, proceeded to Qandahar in boats. That Qandahār here stands for Gandhāra is made clear by Ya'qūbī (vol.ii, p.419) who says that the boats were in the river Indus (فرالسدر).
³¹ The actual name may have been Zamīn Dawār. Dawār is probably the plural form of Dar (i.e. door or pass). Nearly all the important towns of Zamīn Dawār such as Darghūr, Darghash and Darštall, because of their location in front of the passes, have Dar as the first part of their names. Zamīn Dawār therefore means 'land of the Gates'.
side and Bust on the other.\(^33\) It has been described as a fertile and populous district with numerous villages and guard-posts. The capital of Zamīn Dāwar called Dartal\(^34\) (Dartall) or Tall, situated three marches above Bust on the bank of the river Helmand, was a fine town with a fortress which, in the medieval period, was garrisoned by horse-guards. The mountain Zur, well known to the Arabs as the site of a Hindu temple, stood somewhere in the vicinity of this town.\(^35\) Of the other cities belonging to this district the names of Darghash, Baghnīn and Khwāsh are frequently mentioned. Darghash (or Darghūr) was situated one march upstream from Dartal on the same bank of the river, whereas Baghnīn stood one march to the west of the capital. Another place called Bishlang lay in the southern direction of Baghnīn. Ibn Ḥauqal describes Khwāsh as an unwalled city protected by a castle, but its exact location is not known. Zamīn Dāwar was held by the Turkish tribes among whom lived the tribe of the Khalaj.

(3) Bust

Lying between Zamīn Dāwar and Rukhkaj on the Zaranj-Banjvāy highway, Bust has always been a commercially important place. Maqdisī states that the city of Bust, with its fortress and suburbs, stood one league above the junction of the rivers Helmand and Khardarūy\(^36\) (Arghandāb). At the gate of the city facing the river Helmand was the boat-bridge across which came in the road from Zaranj,\(^37\) the capital city of Sīstān. Early

\(^{33}\) P.103.

\(^{34}\) Ibn Ḥauqal, p.302. For the variant 'Tall' see Isḥakhrī, p.245 and Yāqūt, vol.ii, p.541. The Ḥudūd (pp.43, 103) gives the forms 'Til' and 'Tak'.

\(^{35}\) See infra, p.56.


\(^{37}\) Isḥakhrī, p.244; and Maqdisī, p.304.
in the period of the Arab occupation of Sīstān, Bust was finally annexed. In the tenth century A.D. it was the second largest city in Sīstān and was for the most part populated by merchants who traded with India. The Ḥudūd (p.103) considered it a 'gateway to Hind'. The neighbouring lands of Bust city were quite fertile and dates and grapes were plentifully grown. Its people were brave and warlike and exported dried fruits to other places.\(^{38}\)

The other important towns situated in the neighbourhood of Bust were Fīrūzqand, Sharwān, Rūdhān and Zāliqān. Of these towns Fīrūzqand and Sharwān (Sarwān) stood on the Dāwar road.\(^{39}\) Zāliqān had mud-houses and was mainly inhabited by weavers. The name Zāliqān\(^{40}\) seems to have survived in the form 'Zaleykhan' or 'Zulakhan', a village 10 miles to the south-west of Qandahār.\(^{41}\) The town of Rūdhān lay in the vicinity of Fīrūzqand on the way to Rukkhkāj. It was a pleasant place and, like Kūhak, produced salt.\(^{42}\)

(4) Zābulistān

Zābulistān was the name of the region lying between the Kābul valley and Rukkhkāj. Its chief town was Ghazna or Ghaznīn. The Chinese pilgrim Hsūn Tsang (seventh century) mentions Ghazna as Ho(k)sī(k)na\(^{43}\) (Ghaznik) which was then the capital of the independent kingdom Tsau-Kiue-Ch’a (Zābulistān). If Ga(n)zaka in the region of Paropamisadae, as reported by Ptolemy, is the same as Ghazna, then the earliest mention of the town

\(^{38}\) Ḥudūd, p.103.

\(^{39}\) Ibn Ḥauqal, p.304; and Iṣṭakhrī, p.248.

\(^{40}\) Variously spelt as Zālaqān (Ibn Ḥauqal, p.304), Sālaqān (Iṣṭakhrī, p.248), Talaqān (Maqdisī, p.297), and Jālakān (Ḥudūd, p.103). The form Zāliqān is known from the earlier chroniclers.


\(^{42}\) Ḥudūd, p.104; Iṣṭakhrī, p.248; and Ibn Ḥauqal, p.304.

would go back to the second century A.D. The parallel forms Ghazni and Ghaznin perhaps go back to forms like Ghaznik and Ghaznên. Ištâkhrî and Ibn Ḥauqal mention it as Ghazna. Maqdisî and the Ĥudud have Ghaznin and, according to Yâqût, this is the correct learned form (العجميّات الآشوريّة).

No adequate description of the buildings of Ghazna of the period of the Şâhis has come down to us. Majma' al-Ansâb and Siyâsat Nâmeh mention the city, its gates and a fort of the time when it was captured by Alaptigîn. Maqdisî describes the layout of Ghazna as it was in the days of Sabuktigîn. In the centre of the town was the citadel (Qala', the modern Bâlâ Hisâr) which contained the government house; the town proper (Madîna), protected by a wall with four gates, accommodated most of the markets; the rest of the markets and houses were placed in the suburb (rabaḍ). Ghazna itself was not a very fine place and had few gardens. Nevertheless it enjoyed freedom from noxious insects and had an invigorating climate. In winter it got a lot of snow and it witnessed occasional floods in summer. Among the specialities of Ghazna are

44 A. Bombaci (EW, vol.vii, 1957, pp.255-56) doubts the identification of Ghazna with the places mentioned by Ptolemy and Ĥsuan Tsang.


46 Text given by Sa'id Nafisî in Dar Fîrâmûn Târîkh-i Baihaqî (abbreviated DPB), vol.i, Tehran 1342, p.23.

47 DPB, vol.i, p.213.

48 Maqdisî, p.304. The names of the four gates were as follows: (1) Bâb al-Ĥâmiân, (2) Bâb Sâmân(عَلَّامَانَ), (3) Bâb Gardîz (actually 'Kardan' عَلَّامَانَ, but it seems to be a corrupted form of Gardîz گَرَدْ), (4) Bâb as-Sîr.


50 Baihaqî gives a vivid description of a flood which caused extensive damage to Afghân Shâl, a suburb of Ghazna (Târîkh-i Baihaqî, ed. A.A. Fayyâq, Mashhad 1350, p.340).
mentioned Amīrī apples and Pīl Amrūd (elephant pears). Iṣṭakhrī (p.280) says that no city of this countryside, and none even of those in the neighbourhood of Balkh, was richer in merchants and merchandise than Ghazna, for it was the port (farda) of India.

Maqdisī (p.296) gives a long list of its towns and districts but his description reflects political conditions of the time of Sabuktigin. Of the towns mentioned by him the name of Gardīz still survives. According to the local tradition the founder of Gardīz was a certain Zamar but, on the contrary, the Tarīkh (p.24) says that it was founded by the Kharijite Ḥamza b. 'Abd Allāh in about 181 (797). The Kharijite connections of Gardīz are also corroborated by the Ḥudūd. In the tenth century A.D. this town was situated on the summit of a mound and had a strong fortress with three walls. Yaqūt mentions the names of other towns such as Khalj, Maimand, Balq and 'Alabān. The last mentioned was situated at a distance of two stages from Ghazna on the road to Kābul. The people of this town adhered to the religion of their ancestors; the merchants, scientists and men of literature among them felt a sentimental attachment to the neighbouring Indian kings. Their chiefs had both Arabic and Indian names. The town of Maimand achieved fame in the Ghaznavīd period as the home of al-Maimandi, one of the famous ministers of Sultan Mahmūd. Gardīzi mentions two other forts, Sāmad Kot (Sāmand Kot) and Nāī Lāmān, as situated not far from Ghazna.

51 Tha'ālibī, p.137.
54 P.71. See also Gardīzī, Zain al-Akhbār (ed. A.H. Habībī), Iran 1347, p.139
56 Op.cit., p.204. Nāī Lāmān, the present Qala'-i Nāī, is situated in the north-western part of the province of Ghazna about 18 miles from Qargbāgh. (Zain al-Akbār, fn.7).
(5) Kābulistān

Just as Sindh got its name from the name of the chief geographical feature of that region, the country in the upper basin of the river Kābul (Kubhā of the Rigveda and Kophein and Kopheis of the Greek sources) came to be known as Kābulistān after the name of this river. In Maqdisī's time (c. A.D. 985) it formed part of Ghazna along with Lohgar and Lamghān.57 The name Kābul, as the name of the chief town of this region, became popular only in the tenth century A.D. Hsüan Tsang in the seventh century records Kia-pi-shī58 (Kapiša) and, according to Ya'qūbī (d. A.D. 897), the chief city conquered by 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Samurah was called Jurwās.59 Ištakharī (c. A.D. 951) gives the name Tābān. Nevertheless the name Kābul is also frequently referred to in these sources.

The capital city consisted of a town and a castle. The latter was famous for the strength of its defences and could only be approached by a single road.60 According to Ibn Ḥauqal the Muslim community of Kābul lived in the castle, whereas the Jews and the idolators had separate quarters in the town. Kābul had special significance for the Šāhis whose sovereignty was considered incomplete unless they received investiture in that city.61 According to the Hudūd it had a temple (を使う)62 which may

57 Op.cit., p.304. Maqdisī adds: 'Abū Zaid puts Ghaznīn and Bust in (the district of) Sijistān and there are others who consider these towns as belonging to one and the same district which they name as Kābulistān'.

58 S. Beal, op.cit., vol.iv, p.116. The name Kapiša seems to have survived till the time of Albīrūnī (Fit Taḥqīq Miʿlʾ-l-Hind, Hyderabad edn 1958, p.45).

59 Kitāb al-Baldān, p.291. On the preceding page Jurwās is written as جرفاس which seems to be a copying error.


62 P.104.
be the same as the Sāhi monastery seen earlier by Huei Ch'ao in the eighth century A.D. Situated on the much-frequented highway between Hind and Bukhara, Kābul was the great emporium of the Indian trade. Of the other towns belonging to this district the names of Ghūzak, Khushtshak, Panjhīr, Jaifūr, Junzah, Hupyān, Parwān, and Andarāb are frequently mentioned. The exact positions of Khushtshak and Junzah are not clear. Jaifūr was situated adjacent to Kābul. Parwān and Hupyān were situated towards the side of Panjhīr. Ghūzak was also the name of a pass the river of which joins the Ghūrwand. Panjhīr, well known in the middle ages for its silver mines, is the present Panjshir. The town Andrāb, according to Yāqūt, was a centre for refining the silver ore extracted from the mines of Banjhīr (Panjhīr), and it was through this town that caravans used to enter the Kābul valley (from the side of Tukhāristān).

(6) Lohgar

The Lohgar valley, situated between Ghazna and Kābul, witnessed fierce clashes between the Sāhis on the one side and the Muslims on the other. The main importance of this valley lay in its being strategically placed to control the main entrance to the Kābul valley from the side of Zābulistān. The chief town of this district was probably Sakāwand of which the exact location is not mentioned. Sakāwand was primarily known for its temple and a strong castle. The present village of Sakāwand is situated 12 miles south-west of Bārank Bārak, the modern administrative

64 See Zain al-Akhbār, p.204, fn.2.
65 Maqdisī, p.303; and Yāqūt, vol.1, pp.743-44.
67 This is the present name. Maqdisī has the form 'Lahūkar'.
68 Maqdisī, pp.50, 296; Ibn Ḥauqal, p.329; and Iṣṭakhrī, pp.277, 280.
centre of this valley, and shows some archaeological remains of a fort on
the neighbouring spur which may represent the old site.69 Another town
in the same valley was called Charkh which, on one occasion, became the
battleground between the forces of Jayapāla and Sabuktigīn.70 The town
Ưāsāb,71 from where Ya'qūb had once to retreat because of heavy snow which
blocked his way to Kābul, was probably situated in the Lohgar valley or in
its neighbourhood.

(7) Lamghān

The present day Lamghān is a small tract of country lying along the
northern bank of the river Kābul, bounded on the west and east by the
tributaries Aingar and Kunar, and on the north by the Snowy mountains.
In the later Muslim sources Lamghān is sometimes wrongly spelt as Laqmān
or Laghmān. Hsüan Tsang gives the form Lan-po.72 The district of Lan-po,
according to the same source, was situated 600 li (about 100 miles) to the
east of Kapiśa. The original form of this name is probably the Sanskrit
Lampaka of which Lamghān seems to be an abbreviation formed by the elision
of the labial.73 Albīrūnī gives the form Lambaga and adds that the river
Sāwa flowed through this town before joining the Ghūrwand down stream.74
Another town called Dunpūr was situated opposite to Lamghān on the Kābul
river.

69 The problem of the location of Sakāwand has been recently discussed
in detail by Dr A.D.H. Bivar in a paper, 'The Stations of Al-Biruni
on the Journey from Ghazna to Peshawar', presented on the occasion
of Al-Biruni International Congress, held in 1973 in Pakistan.
71 Tarikh-i Istān (ed. Bahār), Tehran, n.d., p.215. The name Ưāsāb
is probably the corrupted form of Khwāst mentioned by Maqdisī (p.296).
72 S. Beal, op.cit., vol.i, p.127.
73 A. Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India (1963 Indian repr.),
p.37.
74 Fī Tahqāq Maʿlīl-Ḥind, p.215.
(8) Nagarahāra

This is the Na-ki-lo-ho of Hsüan Tsang,75 Nīrahara76 of Albīrūnī and Nangnehar of the present time. Hsüan Tsang describes it as 600 lī (about 100 miles) from east to west and upwards of 250 lī (about 42 miles) from north to south. These measurements, according to Cunningham, correspond closely with the natural boundaries of this district, marked by the Jagdalak pass on the west, the Khaibar pass on the east, the Kabul river on the north and the Safed Kūh on the south.77 The name Nagarahāra is altogether wanting in the accounts of the tenth century Arab geographers. It was in this district that Jayapāla once contested a severe battle with Sabuktīgin on the plains of Kindī. After his victory over the Śāhi, Sabuktīgin built a fort which came to be known as Rabāt-i Kindī. The exact position of this fort is difficult to fix but it may be identified with the present Kindībāgh, situated 10 miles south of the modern town Jalālābād.78

(9) Gandhāra

This is Kien-to-lo of the Chinese pilgrims,79 Gandharva of Rājaśekhara,80 Kāndhār and Gandhār of Albīrūnī81 and al-Qandahār of other Muslim sources. The earlier Muslim writers spell Gandhāra as Qunduhār82 which is exactly the same as the spelling of its namesake in Afghanistan.

76 Fī Taḥqīq Mā li’l-Hind, p.347.
77 The Ancient Geography of India, p.37.
78 A.D.H. Bivar, op.cit.
79 S. Beal, op.cit., vol.ii, p.150.
80 Kāvymūmīmīsa, p.92.
82 Only Ibn Khurraḍādḥibih (p.56) gives the spelling 'al-Qandahār'.
Minorsky has drawn attention to another more or less similar name, Gandhar, a place on the bay of Cambay, which he thinks is the one referred to in the *Hudūd*. This similarity of names has caused some confusion in the modern accounts. Similar confusion must have existed earlier, for Maqdisī (p.60) found it necessary to distinguish Gandhāra from Qandahār by giving the former a composite name: *Qandahār al-Hind*. Rashīd ad-Dīn says that this is the same country which the Mongols called by the name 'Karājāng'.

Gandhāra is often described as forming part of the valley of the Indus river. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih Gandhār was one of the countries of 'Sind'. Mas'ūdī mentions the ruler of Qandahār as one of the kings of 'Sind' and its mountains. According to Albīrūnī the river Indus passed through Gandhāra. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal make no mention of this name.

Only Hsüan Tsang describes the actual limits of Gandhāra. It was 1000 ɨ (about 166 miles) from east to west and 800 ɨ (about 133 miles) from north to south. The area thus marked probably had Lamghān and Jalālābād on the west, the hills of Swāt and Buner on the north, the Indus on the east and the hills of Kālābāgh on the west. But the political boundaries were never fixed and seem to have changed from time to time.

Gandhāra was famous for its (war) elephants. 'Rutting elephants, scorched by the rays of the sun, weary and confused by thirst' and cooling themselves in the Indus are mentioned also in the Hund slab inscription.

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84 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India* (Indian repr.), vol.i, p.73.
85 Elliot, op.cit., vol.i, p.22.
86 S. Beal, op.cit.,
87 A. Cunningham, op.cit., p.41.
88 Rashīd ad-Dīn in Elliot, op.cit., vol.i, p.73.
89 Infra, p.312.
At present the elephants are non-existent in Gandhāra but the numerous tusks and skeletons recently dug up in Peshāwar⁹⁰ stand as an archaeological proof of their once prolific presence.

Shortly before the advent of the Turk Sāhi rule Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo (Pu-ru-shapura) was the capital of Gandhāra.⁹¹ It was 40 li (7 miles) in circuit and stood at a distance of three day's journey from the Indus. Albīrūnī records that he visited this city and mentions its name as Barshāwar.⁹² Probably he could not stay long enough to collect much information and mentions only the way the people of Peshāwar kept the time. 'In some parts of their country', he says 'they have clepsydræ regulated according to the ghaṭi, by which the time of the eight watches are determined. After a watch which lasts seven and a half ghaṭi has elapsed, they beat the drum and blow a winding shell called Șahkha, in Persian spēd-muhra. I have seen this in the town of Parshawar'.⁹³

The absence of Peshāwar from the accounts of the Arab geographers suggests that, shortly after the establishment of the Hindu Sāhi rule, the city was superceded in importance by Udabhāṇḍapura,⁹⁴ which henceforth became the capital. Udabhāṇḍa is spelt Wu-to-kia-han-cha by Hsūn Tsang⁹⁵ and Waihand by the Muslim writers. A. Stein maintained that the correct Sanskrit name was Udakabhāṇḍa and that Wu-to-kia-han-cha and Waihand were its derivative forms.⁹⁶ Udabhāṇḍa literally means 'water pot' and seems

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⁹¹ S. Beal, op.cit.
⁹² Fi Tahqiq Mā li'li-Hind, pp.215, 270. Another variant given in the same work (p.285) is 'Barshaur'.
⁹⁴ The name still survives in the form Hund, at present a small village on the right bank of the river Kābul.
to be a rather strange name for a city. It seems the actual name was Īrdhavabhāṅḍa or, more correctly, Īrdhvabhāṅḍa. Īrdhva means 'elevated' or high; its Persian and Pashtū equivalents are Bālā and Bar respectively as may be noticed in the name Tankāl Bāla or Bar Tankāl (i.e., High Tankāl), the name of a town in the suburbs of Peshāvar. The word bhaṅḍa, at present softened to the form bāṅḍa, is still commonly used in the NWFP as a name for small villages. Udabhāṅḍa therefore means 'high village', a name which it must have acquired before it grew up into a city. Udāhāṅḍa was probably another form of this name.97 In the eleventh century A.D. the people of Gandhāra were also known as Udahāṅḍas.98

According to the Hudūd (p.37) Waihand was a large town and also had a small population of Muslims. It received Hindūstān merchandise such as musk and other precious stuffs. Maqdisī (pp.479-80) extols Waihand for its fine gardens, numerous streams, abundant rainfall, good fruits, tall trees, cheap prices, freedom from pests and general prosperity of its people. On the outskirts of the city, he says, were walnut and almond trees and within it were bananas and the like. The houses were made of wood and dressed stone. But in spite of all the good things that Waihand had, Maqdisī says, the place was terribly hot. The city itself was greater in size than Mangūrā.

On a preceding page (477) Maqdisī mentions Waihand as the provincial capital and enumerates its towns: Vādhān, Bīt·r, Nūj, Lēvār, S·mān and Qūj. Maqdisī's failure to give the precise location of these towns, together with the corrupted forms of their names, makes the problem of their identification extremely difficult. Bīt·r is obviously the same as Bitur, a town situated at the confluence of the rivers Indus and Kābul, as mentioned by Albīrūnī.

l’var may be identified with Lahor near Hund. Qūj may be Gūj – an abbreviated form of Gujrat – and V·dhān, through Vardhān and Vardān, may be connected with Mardan. As to the names Nūj and S·mān I am unable to say anything for the present. In any case they bear no resemblance to the names of any of the present day Gandhāran towns known to me.

(8) Western Gandhāra

Baladhūrī mentions a place called Bannah (written without the article al) as situated between Multān and Kābul99 – an area which may be roughly equated with western Gandhāra. Ibn Khurradādhbih (p.56) also records the name Bannah, but he does not specify its location. In exactly the same form the name Bannah occurs in Yāqūt’s dictionary of place-names.100 Hsūan Tsang however gives the form Fa-la-na which is usually transliterated as Varana.101 That Bannah (modern Bannū) really formed part of the Śahi kingdom may be guessed, but it is not known for certain.102

Another town belonging to this region is named as Mīrand in the contemporary accounts of the Indian campaigns of Mahmūd. But nothing is known about the precise location of this place. The circumstantial evidence however suggests that Mīrand was situated somewhere in western Gandhāra on a route which connected this region with Ghazna. The name appears to be very similar to the present day Mīran or Mīran Shāh situated in the Tochi pass to the west of Bannū.103

99 Futūḥ al-Baldān, p.432.
100 Vol.i, p.747.
103 Infra, pp.143-46.
Muḥammad b. Maṇṣūr mentions a place called Jūjaiḥān which was probably situated on a route linking Gandhāra with Ghazna. Sullān Maḥmūd is said to have used this route for the invasion of Peshāwar. Jūjaiḥān was probably close to Bardarl or Nardari, the Afghan governor of which, according to the Ādāb al-Ḥarb, defected from Jayapāla shortly before Maḥmūd invaded the Śāhi town of Peshāwar. The precise location of Bardarl too is not given.

Balādhrūrī records a very intriguing name at the end of his account of the conquest of Sindh. It is written as al-’Usaifān and is reported to be the name of a country situated between Kashmir (written Qasmīr), Multān and Kābul. The name is mentioned in connection with a story related by a rather inauthentic historical source, a certain Abū Bakr - maula (freed slave) of the tribe of Kuraiz. A son of the king of al-’Usaifān, we are told, fell seriously ill. The king asked the priests of one of the well known temples of his country to beseech the idol to heal his son. The priests retired for a while and then, presenting themselves to the king, assured him that their prayers had been heard by the idol. Meanwhile the patient died. Utterly disappointed by their performance the infuriated king put the priests to the sword, razed their temple to the ground and then accepted Islām. Whatever the truth in this story it is not reported by any of the other Muslim writers and was dropped by Yāqūt, not without reason. That Yāqūt was familiar with the name al-’Usaifān under some other form is certain, for he mentions all the other names from that section of Balādhrūrī’s Futūḥ where this name is found. It seems that the copy of the Futūḥ consulted by him had the correct form and that the form al-’Usaifān is a later corruption. Al-’Usaifān (العمان) when written in Arabic characters

104 Ādāb al-Ḥarb, p.316.
105 P.316.
closely resembles the word al-Qiqān (القیعان), the name of a country frequently mentioned as situated on the Indian frontier.\(^{107}\) According to Yāqūt there were several places called Qīqān and one of them was in Sindh near the border of Khurasān.\(^{108}\) Yāqūt's description fits well with the one given by Baladhūrī as mentioned above.

\((\mathrm{ll})\) Tākeshar, Lauhāwar etc.

Of the important places belonging to these regions the names of Mārigala, Tākeshar, Jailam, Nandana, Sālkot, Lauhāwar, Mandahūkūr, Jālandhar, Nagarkot, Bathinda, J-lawwat, B-lawwat and Bārī are frequently mentioned, but further details are lacking. Most of these names are still on the map. In the time of the Ghaznavīs Mārigala had a fortress and was an important halting station to the east of the Indus. The place is generally referred to in connection with Mas'ūd's capture by his mutinous Turkish troops who raised his brother to the throne.\(^{109}\) Tākeshar, which may be restored as Takkešwara is probably the same as the present Taxila.\(^{110}\) The names Jailam and Jālandhar survive in exactly the same forms. Sālkot, perhaps Siāla Kotta, is no other than the modern Siālkot. Lauhāwar (Lahore) was the name of a country of which the capital city was called Mandahūkūr.\(^{111}\) The villages of Sāmūtla and Qadar Jūr were situated somewhere close to Lahore,\(^{112}\) but their exact positions are not indicated. The place called

107 Elliot (vol.i, p.451) was however inclined to connect al-'Usaifān with 'Yusufzais' or a still earlier name 'Assacani'.

108 Op.cit., vol.iv, p.217. According to this source Qīqān is the plural of Qāq - a word which the Syrians used as the equivalent of al-Ghurāb (meaning distant lands and peoples of black colour).

109 Ṭabaqāt-i Naširī, text in DPB, vol.i, p.222; see also DPB, vol.i, pp.246, 284.

110 Sachau, op.cit., p.320.

111 Fi Tahqīq Ma ḫīl-i-Hind, p.165.

112 Infra, p.329.
Domel, the present day Domeli near Jailam, became well known as the scene of Shahāb ad-Dīn's assassination. The name of the town of Babrahān, mentioned by Albīrūnī as situated between the rivers Sindh and Jailam,\(^{113}\) sounds similar to the present day Burhān on the Attock-Pindi railway line. The place called Naḍīn by 'Utbi is generally identified with Nandān (or Nandana) in the Salt Range.\(^{114}\) Nagarkot (or Nagarakotta), also called Bhīmnagar in the Muslim sources, still survives in the Kangra valley in the eastern Panjāb.\(^{115}\) The place called Bakar (present day Bhakkar) had a fort where the Sultān Mas'ūd was kept prisoner.\(^{116}\) Bathinda still survives under the source name; it was wrongly identified by Firishta with Waihand, the capital of the Śāhis. Jalawwat and Balawwat were perhaps situated to the north-east of Multān\(^{117}\) but their names cannot be traced any more.

The town Bārī in the upper Ganges valley is known to have become Trilocanapāla's base for military operations against Mahmūd towards the end of the former's reign.\(^{118}\)

**ROADS**

The main entrance into Sindh, Albīrūnī says, was through the country of Nimrūz (i.e. Sijistān) whereas the road to Hind proper went through the Kābul valley. This however, he adds, was not the only possible route. 'You may march into India from all directions, supposing you can remove the obstacles in the way'.\(^{119}\) What obstacles Albīrūnī had in mind is not


\(^{114}\) Infra, p.159.

\(^{115}\) Infra, p.153.

\(^{116}\) DPB, vol.1, p.497.


\(^{118}\) Infra, p.165.

known but a little further on he remarks that the north-western border of Hind was inhabited by fierce Hindu tribes. It was probably to overcome this particular obstacle that Sabuktigin had to construct roads which were later used by his son Mahmūd. In fact all the passes in the north-western hills stretching from Bājaur to Bannū were used in the time of the Šāhis but, owing to the meagreness of our sources, they are not explicitly mentioned.

The arterial highway which linked Kābul with Lahore on the one hand and Bust on the other has been described in some detail. It passed through all the big cities of the Šāhis and, at certain points, branched off into different directions to provide access to the smaller towns. Of the main branches, the Zamīn Dāwar road separated at Bust and entered Ghūr through the valley of the Helmand river. The Isfanjāy road, which carried the bulk of the traffic for Balūchistān, bifurcated from the highway in a south-easterly direction at Panjwāy. At Ghazna the highway branched off to Bāmiān, Kābul and Waihand. Kābul was probably the busiest point of the road and was linked up with Central Asia through Bāmiān and Panjhir.

We have the following itineraries for these roads.

(a) The Highway

1. Bust-Panjwāy section

   Bust to Pīrūzqand, 1 marhāla (1 day's journey); thence to Mīghūn, 1; thence to Rabāṭ Kābir, 122 1; thence to Panjwāy, 1.

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120 See Fi Tahqīq Maʿlī l-Hind, p.16.
121 Iṣṭakhrī, p.250; Ibn Hauqal, p.305; Maqdisī, p.349.
122 Maqdisī has Kish (ک) or Kishr which is obviously a corrupted form of Kābir of other sources.
2. Panjway-Ghazna section

Panjway to Tekinābād, 1 marhala; thence to Kharsāna, 1; thence to Rabāt Sarāb, 1; thence to Rabāt Auqal, 1; thence to Jankalābād (or Khinkalābād) 1; thence to the village of Gharam, 1; thence to the village of Khāst, 1; thence to the village of Jūmah, 1; thence to Khābsār, 1; thence to Khashbājī, 1; thence to Rabāt Hazār, 1; thence to Ghazna, 1.

3. Ghazna-Kābul section

No complete itinerary for this section is available. According to Albirūnī Ghazna was 17 farsakhs (about 6 day's journey) distant from Kabul. 128

4. Kābul-Waihand section

Our main guide for this section is Albirūnī, who starts the itinerary from the side of Waihand. Waihand to Peshāwar, 14 farsakhs (about 5 marhals); thence to Dunpūr, 15; thence to Kābul, 12. 129

5. Waihand-Lahore section

Starting from Mandahīkūr to the river Chenāb, 12 farsakhs (4 marhals); thence to Jailam to the west of the river Biyatta, 8; thence to Waihand, 20. 131

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123 Our guides for this section are again Iṣṭakhīrī (p.250), Ibn Ḥauqal (p.306) and Maqdisī (p.350).
124 Maqdisī has 'Bakrābādān'.
125 'Kharsānā' in Maqdisī.
126 This variant is recorded by Maqdisī.
127 Or 'Khāisār' as in Maqdisī.
128 Fī Tahqīq Mā'āthār bi'L-Hind, p.165.
130 For various interpretations of this name see H. Frīdābādī, Ma'āthar Lahore, Lahore 1956, pp.20-23.
131 Albirūnī, op.cit., p.165.
(b) Branch Roads

1. Zamīn Dāwar Road

Starting from Bust to Sarwān, 2 marhālas; thence to Dartal (Dartall), 1; thence to Darḵhash, 1; thence to Ghūr, 1. From Dartal a branch of this road went in a westerly direction to Baghnīn, which stood at a distance of 1 marhāla.

2. Panjwāy-Isfanjāy Road

Panjwāy to Rabāṭ Ḥajriyyah (Rocky fort), 1 marhāla; thence to Rabāṭ Jankī, 1; thence to Rabāṭ Bar, 1; thence to Rabāṭ Isfanjāy, 1.133

3. Ghazna-Bāmiān Road

Starting from Ghazna to Rabāṭ al-Bārad, 1 marhāla; thence to Asnākh, 1; thence to Hans, 1; thence to (the borders of) Bāmiān, 1.134

4. Ghazna-Waihand Road

Ghazna to Gardīz, 1 marhāla; thence to Ugh, 1; thence to Ljān (known for its springs), 1; thence to Waihand, 17.135

5. Sminjān-Parwān Road

Starting from Sminjān (across the Hindu Kush) to Andarabah, 5 marhālas; thence to Kārbāyah, 3; thence to Panjhīr, 1; thence to Parwān,136 2.137

RIVERS

The following rivers of the kingdom of the Sāhis have been briefly noticed in our sources.

132 Iṣṭakhrī, p.252; Ibn Ḥauqal, p.307; see also Maqdisī, p.350.

133 Iṣṭakhrī, p.251; Ibn Ḥauqal, p.306; Maqdisī, p.350. According to the detailed itineraries the distance between Panjwāy and Isfanjāy, as can be seen, is four marhālas. But in other places both Iṣṭakhrī (p.252) and Ibn Ḥauqal (p.307) calculate this distance as 3 marhālas.

134 Maqdisī, p.349. According to Ibn Ḥauqal (p.332) the distance between Bāmiān and Ghazna was 8 marhālas.

135 Maqdisī, p.349.

136 Other variants of this word are Barwān and Farwān.

137 Ibn Ḥauqal, p.327; Maqdisī, p.346.
1. The Helmand

The name is variously written as Hindmand,\textsuperscript{138} Hidamand,\textsuperscript{139} Hirmid\textsuperscript{140} and Hidmand.\textsuperscript{141} This is no doubt the Haetumat of the Avesta, Etymandrus of Arrian and Erymanthus of Polybius. The present day name is Helmand. The river was known to have its source in the mountains of Ghûr.\textsuperscript{142} It flowed past the city of Bust and finally emptied itself into the lake Zarah. In the flood season it carried huge volumes of water, so that it was possible to travel from Bust to Sijistân by boat.\textsuperscript{143} The river Khardarûy, mentioned by Maqdisî, is probably the modern Arghandâb - a tributary of the Helmand. The names of the other tributaries such as Khûd Rûd, Tirîn, Tarnak and Arghûn, which, together with the Helmand, drain the entire south-western Afgânistân, are not mentioned in the sources referring to our period.

2. The Kâbul

The river Kâbul (ancient Kubbâ) is described by Albîrûnî in some detail. It had its source in the mountains bordering the kingdom of Kâyabîsh (Kapîsâ) and was known in the tenth century as Ghûrwand on account of its many branches.\textsuperscript{144} Ghûrwand was joined by a number of affluents such as the river of the pass of Ghûzak, the river of the gorge of Panjhir, the rivers called Sharwat and Sâwa\textsuperscript{145} and the rivers Nûr and Qîrât.\textsuperscript{146} Swelled

\textsuperscript{138} Balâdhûrî, pp.393, 434; I斯塔khîrî, pp.242, 248.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibn Hauqal, p.300. This appears to be closer to the original Avestan form.
\textsuperscript{140} Maqdisî, p.304.
\textsuperscript{141} Qudud, p.103.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibn Hauqal, p.300; Maqdisî, p.329.
\textsuperscript{143} Abû al-Fida, Taqwîm al-Baldân, Paris 1840, p.59.
\textsuperscript{144} Fî Tahtâq Mâ lûl-Hînd, p.215. Albîrûnî’s explanation of the etymology is not clear, for we know of no Persian or Arabic word ghûr meaning ‘a branch’. Can it have some connection with Hindî-Urdû ghûrnâ, ‘to twist’?
\textsuperscript{145} All in Afgânistân.
\textsuperscript{146} Probably the rivers now called Panjkora and Swât.
by the waters of these affluents the Ghurwand looked like a great river opposite the city of Peshawar, where it was called Ma'abar (i.e. crossing) because of a ford near the village of Mahanasa (ماناس) on its eastern bank.\(^{147}\) It fell into the river Sindh near the fort of Bitur (بیئر).

### 3. The Sindh

The river Sindh (ancient Sindhu) originated in the mountains of Unang (عند) in the territory of the Turks. From the time of the Vedic Aryans the Sindhu was a sacred river\(^{148}\) and was still worshipped in the tenth century A.D.\(^{149}\) Albiruni gives a complete list of the countries through which this river was known to have passed before discharging its waters into the sea.\(^{150}\) The list includes the names of 'Sind (سنڌ), Daradha (دناو), Zindutunda (زندتند), Gândhāra (گندھارا), Rūras (روسر), Karūra (کروڑ), Sibapūr (سپور), Indra (ایندر), Marū (مرو), Basāti (بستانی), Saindā (سندی), Kubata (کبتر), Bhaijarwara (بھیجڑوار), Mara (مارا), Marūna (مرونا), Sukūrda (سکورد). The list was taken from a much earlier source\(^{151}\) and, being already out-of-date by the time of Albiruni, did not reflect political conditions of the time of the Śāhis.

Below the town of Arūr (present Rohri) the river Indus had a separate name - Mihrān. The earlier Muslim writers in fact considered Mihrān as the main river and the 'Sindrūdh' was looked upon as a tributary which emptied itself into the former.

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\(^{147}\) Albiruni, op.cit., p.215.


\(^{149}\) Infra, p.312.


\(^{151}\) *The Matsya Purāṇa* (ed. J.D. Akhtar), Delhi 1972, p.327. It says the countries of 'Darada, Urja, Guda, Gândhāra, Aūrasa, Kuhā, Śivapaura, Indrāmaru, Vasati, Santaija, Sindha, Urvākha, Barua, Kulatha, Bhīmaramaka, Sunamukha, and Urdhamaru' form the basin of the Sindhu stream.
4, 5. The Biyatta and the Jandaraha

The river Biyatta (بیت) also called Jailam, from the city of the same name on its western bank, had its origin in the mountains of Haramkot (حرمکوت) - the cold impenetrable regions where the snow never melted. The Biyatta met the river Jandarah (جندرہ) nearly 50 (Arabian) miles above the town of Jharawar (خیبروور) and flowed to the west of Multan.

6. The Biyāh (بیا)

The river Biyāh (Beas) flowed east of Multan and afterwards joined the Biyatta and the Jandaraha.

7, 8. The Irāva (یراو) and the Shatladar (شتلادار)

The river Irāva (Rāvi) was joined by the river Gaj (گج) which came from Nagarkot (نگرکوت) in the mountains of Bahātul (بہائی). The name of the river Shatladar (Sutlaj) is only briefly mentioned by Albīrūnī without giving details as to the course it followed.

The waters of the five rivers (Nos 4-8) mentioned above met below the town of Multan at a place called Panjnad (i.e. five rivers) and their combined flow formed a huge water-course which, during floods, expanded to about 10 farsakhs (3 to 4 miles) and rose high above the level of the plains so that, after the water had subsided, the rubbish carried by it could be found like bird-nests in the highest branches of trees.

MOUNTAINS

The mountains spreading throughout the country of the Sāhīs were described by Albīrūnī as part of the Great Range which, 'like the vertebrae of a pine',

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152 Albīrūnī, op.cit., p.166.
153 Ibid., p.216.
154 Ibid.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.
stretched through the middle latitude of the earth from China to the countries of the Franks and Jalāliqa (Gallicians) in Europe, and which sent its subsidiary ranges into the neighbouring lands, enclosing large tracts of the inhabited plains. No particular name of these ranges of the area of our concern have been recorded in the sources of this period. The mountains marking the north-western border of the kingdom of the Šāhis, the Hindū Kush of the later sources, are mentioned by Ibn Ḥauqal (p.329) as 'the mountains of the gold and silver mines'. The hills of A-лу-no mentioned by Hsüan Tsang as lying in Kapiṣa may be the Aruna range described by Albīrūnī as the source of the river Shailūḍa. The name of another mountain belonging to Kapiṣa, situated to the south-west of the capital, has been restored by Julien as Pilusāra. The range which bounded Kapiṣa on the East, West and South was called Hei-Ling (Black Range). Albīrūnī mentions Bhātul as the name of a mountain which formed the source of the river Gaḍ. The hills of Kashmīr, the Salt Range and the hills bordering the north-western frontier of 'Hind' are clearly referred to in the contemporary sources, but without specifying their names.

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158 This name is first mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta as Hindū Kush (C. Defrémer and Sanguinetti, Voyages D’Ibn Batoutah, vol.iii, Paris 1855, pp.84-85).
161 T. Watters, op.cit., p.129.
162 Ibid., p.123.
163 Part of this mountain was called ‘Kūh-i Bālānāth’ (Nizām ad-Dīn in DPB, vol.1, p.270). The mountain ‘Jūd’ mentioned by Bābar (Urdu trans. by R.A. Nadvi, Lahore 1969, 151) has also been identified with the Salt Range.
The climate of the Śahi kingdom, according to our sources, varied from extreme cold in winter to very hot in summer. The hot summer winds of Sīstān, which virtually sucked the countryside dry, were looked upon as a dreadful natural phenomenon.164

Albīrūnī records tropical rains in summer, called Barshakāl (varsha kāla), in the northern parts of the subcontinent. In the area stretching from the mountains of Kāshmir to Dūnūr in Afghānistān, he notices copious rainfall during two and a half months beginning with the month of Shrāban (Srāvana). In Bhātul in Nāgarkot, he says, the Barshakāl began with the month of Āshād165 (Āṣādha). But this information does not conform to our knowledge of the present day climate, for the monsoon breaks at approximately the same time throughout Pakistān and the adjoining regions.166

AGRICULTURE AND STOCKBREEDING

Our information about the products of the country is scanty. According to Hsūn Tsang Gandhāra had luxuriant crops of cereals, rice and sugar-cane and a profusion of fruits and flowers.167 The sugar-candy of Gandhāra seems to have been quite as well known then as it is today.168 Rice and sugar-cane were also grown in Lamghān. Kābul was par excellence the city of myrobalan (īhīlāj)169 but it was also known for its saffron,

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164 See Yaḥūt, vol.iii, p.41; Ištakhp, pp.241-42.
165 Ibid., p.170.
166 Generally the monsoon breaks in the period from July to September. See Pakistan Geographical Review, vol.4, no.2, 1954, pp.7-17.
167 T. Watters, op.cit., p.199.
168 Ibid., p.201. It seems that the Chinese at this time did not know that sugar was a product of the sugar-cane. Sugar candy therefore was 'hard (or stone) honey' to them. As a result of the information obtained from India the emperor T'ang T'āi Tsung sent a mission to that country to learn this art.
169 MaqdisI, p.304.
cereals and fruits. Zābulistān had prolific vegetation, and grew wheat, saffron and asa-foetida.

The western towns such as Sharwān (Sarwān), Zāliqān and Rudhān are extolled for their abundance of fruits, particularly dates and grapes. Special varieties of pears grown in Qandahār have already been noticed.

On the animals the most frequently mentioned are the sheep, horses, camels, elephants and mules.

**INDUSTRIES**

Carving in wood and stone, though not explicitly mentioned, can be amply evidence in the archaeological remains of the period. Ištakhrī (pp.244-48) and Ibn Ḥauqal (pp.302, 304) mention the cotton and wool industries of Zāliqān (Ṣāliqān) and Rukhkhāj respectively. Silver ore was smelted at Andrāb whereas Panjhir was the centre of the silver mining industry. Salt was produced in Rudhān and Kuhak.

**EXPORTS**

According to Ibn Ḥauqal (p.328) Kābul enjoyed a brisk trade of indigo, the value of which was estimated at one million dinārs ($A25,000) in the time of Sabuktīgīn. From Kābul again cotton cloth of very fine quality was exported to Khurāsān and China. The best variety of myrobalan, which had a high reputation in the concoction of medicines in the middle ages,

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170 T. Watters, op.cit., p.122.
171 Ibid., vol.ii, p.265.
172 Ištakhrī, pp.244-48; Ibn Ḥauqal, pp.302-4; Maqdisī, p.304.
174 Ibid., pp.743-44.
175 Hudūd, p.104.
176 Ibn Ḥauqal, loc.cit.
was called Chebulio (i.e. Kābulī) in Europe. Dried fruits, grapes and dates were exported from Bust and Sharwān. Silver may have been exported from Panjīhīr and Andrāb.

PEOPLES

The Chinese sources designate the common people living in Kābul, Zābulistān and Gandhāra as Hu and the ruling class as T’u Chüeh or Turks. The meaning of the word Hu is uncertain but it probably meant the barbarians living to the west of the Chinese empire. The presence of Turks is abundantly evidenced in the Muslim sources. The Turks living in the western provinces of the kingdom of the Sāḥīs are generally designated as Ghuūz, Khalaj and Bishlang. The tribes living in the hills on the western frontiers of India are mentioned by Albīrūnī under the name al-Afghāniyya. The predatory tribes called al-Qufs, of which the Balūs (Balūch) were in the forefront, lived near the borders of Sīstān and Rukkhkha and may have formed an element of the population of these areas. The people called Gakhars (or Khokhars) formed a very significant force in the armies of the Sāḥīs. Before the expansion of the Afghān tribes into the plains of Peshāwar the area was probably inhabited by the ancestors of the modern Gujars who were dispossessed of

177 Le Strange, op.cit., p.349, fn.1. Ibn Baitār in his Dictionary of Drugs (trans. by J. Sontheimer, i, 163; ii, 572) has two articles on myrobalan.

178 Ibn Ḫauqal, p.304.


180 See infra, p.37 f.

181 Infra, p.41 f. See also Ibn Ḫauqal, p.307.


183 Maqdisī, pp.488-89.

184 Infra, p.40.
the fertile lands and driven into the inaccessible hilly regions where they can still be found.185 The mention of a certain Sahasyarāja in the Dewal inscription implies the presence of the Sahasis in the area.186

LANGUAGES

The literary language, as evidenced in the stone inscriptions and the Bakhshālf manuscript, was Sanskrit. Some inscriptions however, particularly in the western provinces of the Śāhis, show that Tukhārian was also used.187 According to Hsūan Tsang the spoken language of Zābulistān differed from those of other countries,188 but the language of Kapiša was very much like that of Tukhāristān.189 Maqdisī (pp.334-35) gives some information about the language of Sīstān and Bust, but it seems that he was actually describing the barbarous manner in which the Muslim inhabitants pronounced Arabic. The language of Bannū is described as having little resemblance to that of mid-India.190 There is no reason why Pashtū should not have been spoken in this region at the time but it is not explicitly mentioned. The language of the peoples living in the Peshāwar valley was probably the one from which the Hindko of the present day has descended.

185 This is implied from the fact that Gujar, the language of the Gujars, is akin to Hindko, the language spoken in Peshāwar and the Hazāra district of NWFP. The Gujars in the past must have remained in close contact with these areas.


187 Infra, p.232 f.


189 Ibid., vol.i, p.123.

190 Ibid., vol.ii, p.262.
WRITING

In the time of the Turk Śāhīs the predominant script was an improved form of Brāhmi but the Bactrian cursive form of writing was also used side by side with it. Towards the end of their rule, however, the Brāhmi developed into the Śāradā script, which remained in vogue throughout the period of the Hindu Śāhīs, who dropped the use of the Bactrian cursive.191

RELIGIONS

At the time of the visit of Hsiian Tsang Buddhism was on the decline in Gandhāra and the 'deva-temples' were being built in increasing numbers.192 But the reports of subsequent Chinese travellers show that Buddhism was still the religion of the ruling class in the eighth century A.D. Huei Cha'o vividly describes how the king of Gandhāra, the royal ladies, the princes and the nobles all founded monasteries and made donations to the Buddhist Church. Twice a year, he says, the king used to organise a church assembly where he offered objects of his personal use, his wives, elephants and horses as donations. The wives and elephants, however, were bought back after the priests had put a price on them.193 Buddhism seems to have continued till the thirteenth century A.D. but it steadily kept losing adherents.194

The Hindu Śāhīs were definitely Saivites, as is shown by the inscriptive records of their time.195 The Afghān tribes were still Hindus in the first half of the eleventh century A.D.196

191 For full details see the chapter of this work on palaeography.
194 See G. Tucci, Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley, Calcutta 1940, p.9-12.
195 See infra, p.312.
196 Albīrūnī, op.cit., p.158. The word Afghān is not mentioned but it is clearly implied.
We have no reference to any fire temples in the area. A small minority of the Jews and Muslims is also referred to as living in the capital cities, Kâbul and Waihand, before the conquest of these places by the Muslim armies. There is no reference to Christians or Manichaeans living in this area at the time.197

POPULATION

No precise figures of the total population of the period of the Śāhis are available. Any estimate of the total population of the early medieval times stemming from calculation based on the figures of the modern census reports would be no more than a wild guess. Nor is the present rate of growth applicable to ancient times, for obvious reasons.

The total population of Afghānistān in 1901 was estimated at about 5 millions.198 In 1967 the population had risen to about 16 millions,199 an increase of about 11 millions. According to these figures the population of Afghānistān tripled in the period of 66 years. In 1901 the population of NWFP was estimated at about 4 millions. During the ten years ending 1901 the population in the British districts of NWFP rose from 1,857,504 to 2,041,493 – an increase of 1,183,989 (i.e. 9.9 per cent). From 1881 to 1901 the increase is calculated at 30.2 per cent.200 The story of the Panjāb is not very different. The total population of the Panjāb in 1901 was 24,754,737. During the ten years ending 1891 the population rose from 21,136,177 to 23,272,623 – an increase of 2,136,456 souls (i.e. 10.1 per


200 Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.XIX, 1908, p.162.
cent). From 1881 to 1901 the increase is calculated at the rate of 17 per cent.\textsuperscript{201}

Judging by this phenomenal rate of growth the number of people living in Afghanistān, NWFP and the Panjab would be very low in the year A.D. 1000 and before. But this rate of growth owes much to the modern amenities of life and cannot be taken to reflect conditions of earlier times. It seems therefore that the figures estimated before the introduction of western innovations are more useful for our purpose and may also be applicable to medieval period. The total population in the period of the Šāhīs may be estimated at about 5 millions for Afghanistān and 3 to 4 millions for NWFP. The population of the Panjab was over 21 millions in 1881, after thirty years of peace and the introduction of some rudimentary social services. According to our estimate it was somewhat lower in less settled times. A total number of 16 to 17 millions for this area would be an approximate guess.

REVENUES

The total national income is difficult to assess at a time when barter trade was so much the way of life. Ibn Ḥauqal\textsuperscript{202} has however preserved the following details of the revenues collected in the time of Sabuktigīn from different parts of the country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Dinar</th>
<th>Dirham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rukkhkaj and Sīstān (annually)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust and surroundings</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazna and Kābul</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>300,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,700,000</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>($A75,000)</td>
<td>($A42,500)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{201} Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol.XX, 1908, p.280.

\textsuperscript{202} P.308. See also Maqdisī (p.340) who gives different figures.
The total income from these districts amounted to $A117,500. We have no record for the revenues of NWFP and the Panjāb. But, if population figures are any guide, the total sum collected from these areas in the time of the Šāhis, would be four times as much as from Afghānistān.

DRESS AND MARRIAGE

The dress of the people of Gandhāra and Kapiṣa consisted of cotton outer garments, trousers and shoes.203 Huei Ch'ao noticed no difference between the clothing of men and women. The men shaved their beards and heads, a custom still followed by some tribesmen, but the women let their hair grow long.204

According to Firishta the tribes living along the banks of the Nilāb (i.e. the Indus below Attock) up to the mountains of Siwālik practised polyandry. When a wife was visited by one of her husbands, he says, she left a mark at the door which warned the other husbands to wait till the signal was taken away.205 According to Hsüan Tsang the people of Kapiṣa 'married in a miscellaneous manner'.206

204 Ibid.
205 Firishta (Briggs), vol.1, p.104.
CHAPTER 2

The Origin of the Šāhīs

(a) Turk Šāhīs

The origin of the Turk Šāhīs is still obscure. Al-Bīrūnī records them as of Turkish origin,¹ but he gives no further details on the subject, and we are left to make up our own mind as to the actual meaning of the word 'Turk'. The word is certainly surrounded with ambiguity. Gibb maintains 'the Arabic records are misleading by their use of the word Turk for all the non-Persian peoples of the east. They give the impression (due perhaps to circumstances of the time in which the chief histories were composed) that the opponents of the Arabs in Transoxiana were the historical Turks'.² According to V. Minorsky the use of the term 'Turk' in early Muslim literature is loose, so that even the Tibetans are considered as Turks.³ Marquart expresses the same opinion when he points out the anachronism by which the Arabs designated the Ephthalites as Turks.⁴ The same confusion surrounds the Chinese word T'ū Chūeh.

The presence of 'Turks' as the ruling power in the area stretching from Sīstān to Gandhāra in the centuries preceding the rise of the Hindu Šāhīs is well attested by the accounts of Arab chroniclers as well as by the itineraries of Chinese travellers. Many examples can be cited to uphold the truth of this statement. Ahnaf b. Qais, a commander of Ibn ʿĀmar, the governor of Baṣrah in A.D. 649-659, was despatched by the

⁴ J. Marquart, Ėranāhār in Gesellschaft Der Wissenschaften Zur Göttingen, Berlin 1901, p.239, fn.6.
latter to fight the Hayāṭila\(^5\) (or Turks) in Kūhistān,\(^6\) near modern Herāt. Another commander\(^7\) of Ibn 'Āmar, fighting on the Hind frontier, was killed by the Turks in Qīqān\(^8\) (modern Quetta and Pishīn Valley). In Qīqān again Muhallab — the famous ancestor of the Muhallabi chiefs of Khurāsān — encountered eighteen Turkish horsemen in 44 (664).\(^9\) The poet Yazīd b. Rib'ī was blamed for distracting the attention of 'Abbād b. Ziyād, the governor of Sīstān in 59 (678), and thus preventing him from fighting with the Turks.\(^10\) During the parallel caliphate of Ibn Zubair (A.D. 682-692) 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor of Sīstān, had to fight a difficult battle with the ruler of Zābulistān, Rutbīl, whose armies consisted of Turks.\(^11\) Against the Rutbīl again, 'Ubaid Allāh, the new governor of Sīstān, marched in 78 (697), but the Turkish armies of the former for a while kept retreating before him.\(^12\) In the year 80 (699) when Ḥajjāj, the Umayyad governor of Basrah, despatched Ibn al-Ash'ath to avenge a former defeat, the Rutbīl was known as the king of the Turks.\(^13\) During the caliphate of Maḥṣūr (A.D. 754-75) Ma'n b. Zāida received from the Rutbīl the usual tribute, comprising camels, Turkish felts (تَغَاب) and slaves.\(^14\) In the

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5 Hayāṭila (عَطْلإ) the plural of Haital (عَطْل), is the Arabic form of 'Ephthalites.' According to one tradition the Hayāṭila met by Ahnāf were Turks. See Balādhurī, p. 403.

6 Written as Qūhistān in Arabic. Kūhistān is the Persian form.


8 Balādhurī, p. 433; and Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p. 437.

9 Balādhurī, p. 432; and Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p. 446.

10 Ṭabarî, ii, p. 190.


12 Ṭabarî, ii, pp. 1036-37.

13 Ibid., pp. 1042, 1103, 1132; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p. 485.

14 Balādhurī, p. 401. Ma'n was Maḥṣūr's governor of Sīstān.
time of the Caliph Hārūn (A.D. 786-809), Ṣadaqah b. 'Uthmān fought with the Turks, who had gathered in large numbers in Rukhkaj. Soon after this event the Arabs had to send another expedition to Rukhkaj to disperse the Turkish hordes. At the beginning of the ninth century A.D. the Kābul Shāh is recorded to have sent an annual tribute of 2000 Oghuz (Turks) slaves to the governor of Khurāsān, 'Abd Allah b. Tāhir. The Rutbīl is said to have had bodyguards enlisted from the local Turks, at-Turk ad-Dāwarī. The Tang Shu records a mixed population of the T'u Chūeh and the people of Ki-pin (Kapiša) in Zābulistān. Huei Ch'ao has unequivocally noted the T'u Chūeh domination over Gandhāra, Kapiša and Zābulistān. Wu K'ong records to have seen some monasteries in Gandhāra known after the names of the T'u Chūeh king and his wife. With this evidence at hand it is not difficult to say that the Turks were playing a dominant role in this area from approximately the middle of the seventh century A.D. onwards.

Frequently mentioned in this context are the Khalaj and Ghuzz Turks, who, as Mas'ūdī says, lived in Bust, Biṣṭām and Sīstān. According to Iṣṭakhrī the Khalaj of Zamān Dāwar had kept their customs, external appearance

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15 Tārikh-i Sīstān, p.152 f. Ṣadaqah was the son of 'Uthmān b. 'Amāra b. Khazīma al-Mazanī, the governor of Sīstān in 172 (788).
16 Ibid., p.154.
19 E. Chavannes, Documents sur le Tou-Kiue (Turks) Occidentaux, Péterson 1900, p.160 f.
and language up to his own time.23 Again Mas'ūdī informs us that there were many languages and people in Zābulistān and that one group might go back to the descendants of Jafeth b. Nūh, traditionally the ancestor of the Turks.24 Ya'qūb b. Laith, the Ṣaffārīd king of Sīstān, is said to have killed many Khalaj and Turks.25 The Khalaj were later subdued by Sabuktīghīn, when he won a victory over Jayapāla.26 Subsequently they formed an important element in the armies of the Ghaznavids, Ghūrīs and Khwārazmshāhs.27 Maqdisī records that the Turks of Bust and Ghazna used to send tribute to the Sāmānīs of Bukhārā.26 The name Khalaj probably survives in the modern name Ghilzai.29 The famous Khalīf dynasty of the Delhi Sultāns had its ancestors from the Khalaj.30

The early history of the Khalaj tribe is shrouded in mystery. Ibn Khurradādhbih places them to the west of the Oxus31 but he does not specify any particular place. İstākhri and Ibn Ḥauqal, who are more explicit on the subject, say: 'The Khalaj are a class of Turks who in the days of old came to the country stretching between India and the districts of Sijistān, behind Ghūr. They are cattle breeders of Turkish appearance,

26 Ibn al-Athīr, viii, p.687.
27 C.E. Bosworth, op.cit., p.36.
28 Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm fi Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm, E.J. Brill 1906, p.337.
31 Ibn Khurradādhbih, op.cit., p.31.
dress and language'.

Mas'ūdī speaks of the Turkish tribes 'Ghūz and Kharlaj living towards Gharsh (Garchistān) and Bust in (the region) adjoining Sijistān'.

If Iṣṭakhrī and Mas'ūdī place the Khalaj on the middle course of the Helmand (i.e. Zamīn Dāwar), the author of the Ḩudūd al-ʿĀlam (A.D. 982) locates them in the region of Ghazna and the adjoining districts. He speaks of their wealth in sheep and describes their habit of wandering over the pasture-lands. He adds that 'the same tribe is numerous in Balkh, Tukhāristān, Bust and Gūzgānān'.

If Iṣṭakhrī was the locus classicus on the Khalaj and was fully acquainted with the fact that they were not fresh settlers in Zamīn Dāwar and that they came there in the days of old, Khwārazmī's statement shows that he knew the particular ethnic group from which the Khalaj had descended. 'The Hayāṭila are a tribe of men', he says 'who had enjoyed grandeur and possessed the country of Tukhāristān; the Turks called Khalaj and Kānīja are their remnants'.

The evidence of Iṣṭakhrī and Khwārazmī put together would take the history of the Khalaj several centuries back, perhaps to the time of the White Huns. The continued existence of the Ephthalite principalities to the north of the Hindu Kush mountains till the arrival of the Muslims in

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32 Iṣṭakhrī, op.cit., p.345; and Ibn Ḥauqal, op.cit., p.302.
35 The name is misspelt in the MS as and it is probable that the author has mixed up the Khallukh (Qarluq) with Khalaj (Khalaj).
36 Mafāṭīḥ al-ʿUlūm (ed. G. van Vloten), E.J., Brill 1968, pp.119-20. The other variants in this passage are and . But the similarity of Khallukh (Qarluq) and Khalaj is a source of endless confusion in Arabic script.
that area is fairly well known. There is no reason why the Ephthalites to the south of the Hindu Kush should have passed out of history without any particular threat. Frye and Sayili rightly maintain that the Ephthalites were Turks and that the Khalaj, and presumably some other Turks who were incorporated into the Muslim domain, were descendants of the Ephthalites. It may well be argued, therefore, that the word Turk (plural: Atrak), as used by the Arab chroniclers in the early Islamic period, meant Turkish speaking Ephthalites, or a mixed population. The expression 'Turk Sahis' may also be understood in the light of this information.

Which particular tribe of the Khalaj, the descendants of the Ephthalites, the Turk Sahis belonged to is not easy to say. Ibn Khallikān's reference to a Turkish tribe called Darārī, which lived on the frontier regions of Sīstān (i.e. Rukhkha and Zamīn Dāwar) and was governed by a king named Rutbīl, who was eventually attacked and killed by Ya'qūb b. Laith, adds more to the existing confusion. No tribe or clan of the name Darārī is reported by our geographers among the Turkish tribes enumerated by them. Ibn al-Athīr, however, has a useful clue. Referring to the same event, he


40 Ibn Khurradadhbih (op.cit., p.31) enumerates the following tribes: 'The Toĉuĉghuz whose country is the most extensive among the Turks, and borders on China, Tibet, and the Kharluh; the Kimāk (or Kaimāk), the Ghuzz, the Jafr, the Bajanāk, the Turkish (Turgish), the Adhkish, the Kifshāk, the Khirkhīz, where musk is found, the Kharluh and the Khalaj, and these (latter) are on this side of the river (Oxus)'.

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says that Ya'qūb conquered 'the Khalaj, Zābul and other (lands) but I do not know the year in which it happened'. The year (A.D. 868) is of course known from other sources; the importance of Ibn al-Athīr's information, when it is read in the light of Ibn Khallikān's statement, is that it reveals the fact that the Rutbils belonged to the Khalaj tribe. We have more to say on this subject, but first we deal with the word 'Darārī'.

The exact implication of the words at-Turk ad-Darārī (Darārī Turk) may only have been known to Ibn Khallikān. A. Cunningham, who sought to find in the Rutbils a descendant of the Kidāras or 'little Kushāns', suggested that the word Darārī should be emended to Kidārī. Another possibility is that Darārī is a corruption of the word Durānī or Durrānī (دیر) due to a small scribal error, which is a common phenomenon in Arabic manuscripts. In this case, however, we shall have to assume that the word Durānī was known to Ibn Khallikān, who lived as early as the thirteenth century A.D. But the origin of the Durānis still lies in obscurity and the proposed identification may not be pressed any further.

Elliot connected Darārī with Darra (دار) (i.e. hill pass) and interpreted it as an allusion to the inhabitants of the hill passes. It seems however that the expression at-Turk ad-Darārī (دار(texture:1) (یک:setup:1) is a

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41 Ibn al-Athīr, vii, p.326. In the ninth century the Khalaj seem to have already spread from Zamin Dāwar to Rukhkaj, which became a favourite battleground between the Turks and the Arab governors of Sīstān. See infra, p.84. According to Ibn al-Athīr's narration Ya'qūb killed the king of Rukhkaj.


43 Mason (Travels in Balochistan, 1842, vol.1, p.xiii) connects the Durānis through Abdālī or Aydālī, as the Durānis were known in India, with the Ephthalites. A. Cunningham (Coins of the Indo-Soythians, Sakas and Kushans, Indian repr., Varanasi 1971, p.74) also expresses a similar view.

44 Elliot and Dowson, The History of India, Indian repr., vol.ii, p.413. The Persian form of this word meaning 'the inhabitants of the hill passes' is however Darra and its Pashtū equivalent is Dara-wāl but not Darārī.
corrupted form of at-Turk ad-Dāwarī (اضطرک al-bawāری). The slight mistake involved in the spelling of Dāwarī could have easily entered into the text through negligence in copying. The Turks living in Zamīn Dāwar are occasionally referred to as Dāwarī Turks (at-Turk ad-Dāwarī). The Rutbīl had his bodyguards from the local Turks, i.e., at-Turk ad-Dāwarī. The Tārīkh-i Sīstān (p.407) mentions a fort called Qala'-i Dāwarī.

Jūzjānī also refers to Ya'qūb's invasion of Rukhkhāj, but the name of the king (i.e. of the Rutbīl) is recorded as 'Lakan the Lak'. What the 'Lak' here stands for is not known. Perhaps it refers to the family of the Rutbīl. Raverty, without specifying his grounds, interprets 'Lak' as the name of a sept of nomad Kurds who, he adds, have been erroneously taken for Afghāns. But in view of the Turkish origin of the Rutbīls of whom 'Laken the Lak' was the last representative in Rukhkhāj, we would prefer to suggest a Turkish origin for the Laks. The word Lak as a family name is quite well known in the north-western hilly regions of Pakistan. In the Dera Ismā'īl Khān district of the N.W.F.P. there is a town called Lakī. There are quite a few Lak settlements in the Sargodhā (old Shāhpūr) district of the Panjāb. There is a Lak pass near Quetta. A certain Nāṣir Lak was Sultān Maḥmūd's governor of Kūhistān. Lak may also be seen in the name of the last Turk Șāhi ruler, Lakatūrmān (Lak + Turmān).

45 Cf. C.E. Bosworth, op.cit., p.36.
48 A town called Lak is situated near Bhalwāl. The Laks in Multān claim Punwār origin and kinship with the Langāns. They were originally ousted from the Chenāb by the Sikhs. See D. Ibbetson, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-west Frontier Province, Lahore 1914, vol.iii, p.19.
Nothing is known about the origin and spread of the Laks in this area. In the Panjab, where they are known as notorious cattle-lifters, they speak a western Punjabi dialect, whereas in the N.W.F.P. their language seems to be akin to Pashtū. They may be the remnants of the Turkish hordes which from time to time pushed down the north-western passes into the sub-continent, but it needs much further research to establish their true identity. If the name 'Lakan the Lak' is properly recorded by Jūzjānī and has come down to us in its real form, then here we have an indication of the ancestral family or clan of the Rutbils.

Albirūnī's statement that the Turk Śahiis originated in Tibet does not find support in the known evidence. The Tibetans, recorded as Tubbat (قَبّ) by the Muslim geographers, are invariably referred to as living beyond the Oxus. About A.D. 722 they were repulsed from Gilgit (little P'o lū) by the local king Mo-chin-mang. During the reign of Mo-chin-mang's successor, who married a Tibetan princess, they increased their influence in Gilgit once again. But we do not hear of them ever reaching as far as the Kabul Valley.

The Dates of the Origin and End of the Turk Śahi Rule

The date of the visit of Hsiian Tsang (A.D. 644) on the one hand and that of Huei Ch'ao (A.D. 726) on the other mark the two ends of the chronological bracket for the rise of the Turk Śahiis. According to Hsūan

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50 *Pī Tahqīq Mā l’-il-Hind*, p.348.


Tsang the king of Kia-pi-shi (Kapiša) was a Kṣatriya who had extended his rule to Gandhāra and other neighbouring countries. Hsüan Tsang is admirably borne out by Huei Ch'ao who says that Gandhāra was formerly under the control of Ki-pin (Kabul). As the power of the T'u Chüeh (of Gandhāra) increased, he adds, he killed the king of Ki-pin and declared himself ruler of that country. Thereafter the Turks continued to play a dominant role in this area, as all our sources agree. Thus we must necessarily place the rise of the Turks between A.D. 644 and A.D. 726. This broad bracket can easily be narrowed down.

In about A.D. 680, the Rutbīl (the ruler of Zābulistān) was a brother of the Kābul Shāh. In A.D. 726, the ruler of Zābulistān (i.e. the Rutbīl) was a nephew of the Kābul Shāh. Obviously the Kābul Shāhs and the Rutbīls belonged to the same family. As noticed above, the new Kābul Shāh in A.D. 726 was a T'u Chüeh. It follows therefore that the Rutbīls and the Kābul Shāhs belonged to the same T'u Chüeh family. As the last of the Rutbīls was taken prisoner by Ya'qūb during his invasion of Kābul, it is obvious that the T'u Chüeh family continued to rule, at least in parts of Zābulistān, as late as the date of this event (i.e. 870), though there is some evidence to show that the Kābul branch of the family was overthrown a couple of decades earlier. Albīrūnī tells us that this revolution was brought about by Kallar, the ancestor of the Hindu Sāhīs, who succeeded the Turk Sāhīs at Kābul. We must therefore

55 S. Beals, op.cit., p.117.
56 W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.445.
57 Ṭabarī, i, pp.2705-6.
58 W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.448.
59 See infra, p.103.
60 Fi Tahqiq Ma l'Il-Hind, p.350.
assume that the Rutbils and their relations, the rulers of Kabul, were the Turk Šāhis of Albırûnî.

The history of this Turkish family can be traced back to at least A.D. 666, when a Rutbîl is for the first time mentioned in the Arabic chronicles. The date of Barhatîgîn, who, according to Albırûnî, was the founder of the Turk Šāhi dynasty, must therefore fall about A.D. 666. It would seem that Barhatîgîn and the first Rutbîl were brothers. The dynastic change mentioned by Huei Ch'ao appears to have taken place long before his visit, but he came to know of it only when he was in Gandhāra in A.D. 726, and at that time he mentioned it in the account of his journey. Thus the date of the beginning of the rule of the Turk Šāhis may be placed around A.D. 666 or slightly earlier.

Huei Ch'ao's narration suggests that this Turkish family started its rule from Gandhāra. Reading this together with Ibn Khallikân's information that the Rutbils belonged to a tribe of Dāwarî Turks, we conclude that the base of the family was in Zamīn Dāwar but, before rising into prominence, it had already migrated to or established its rule in Gandhāra.

The date of the end of the Kabul branch of this dynasty, about A.D. 843, can be inferred from inscriptive records of the period of the Hindu Šāhīs.

(b) Hindu Šāhīs

Nothing is known about the ethnological background of the Hindu Šāhīs. The local sources known so far do not give us even the slightest clue; and whatever is known from foreign sources is far too little to give a reliably

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61 The exact date is not recorded, but it is easy to work it out. The Rutbîl appears for the first time just after the dismissal of Ibn Samurah. Tabari (ii, p.73) tells us that Ibn Samurah was dismissed by Ziyâd who proceeded to his headquarters at Baṣrah in the year 55 (666). Ziyâd allowed Ibn Samurah to remain in office for a few months and replaced him with ar-Rabî' (Balâdhurî, p.397).
true picture. Of the earlier Muslim writers only Mas'ūdī has something to say on the subject. 'The King of Kandahār (Gandhāra), who is one of the kings of Sind and its mountains', he says 'is called Hahaj; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country. From his dominions comes the river Raǐd, one of the five rivers which form the Mihrān of Sind. Kandahār (Gandhāra) is called the country of the Rahbut (Rājpūt)'.

The word transliterated by Elliot as 'Hahaj' (हाहाज) is given without vowel marks and can be read in many different ways: ḥāj, ḥahāj, Ch’hach, Chahaoh etc. A. Cunningham however accepts Elliot's reading and connects it with Janjū'a (जन्जुआ), the name of a well known tribe of the Salt Range.

The history of the Janjū'as is sometimes traced back to the Juan-juan of the Chinese sources. In A.D. 540 the Juan-juan ruled the eastern part of the Steppes from the Chinese frontier in the east to Turfan in Chinese Turkistān and a line running roughly north from that point to the western tip of Lake Baikal in the west. The country to the west of their dominions as far as the Aral Sea, and including parts of Afgānistān and north-eastern Iran as well as most of Russian Turkistān, was ruled by the Ephthalites. About A.D. 552 however the Juan-juan empire was destroyed by the Turks.

Being driven out of their homeland, the Juan-juan could have gradually made their way into the Salt Range to become the ancestors of the modern

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62 Elliot, op.cit., vol.i, p.22.
63 CMI, p.56; Ibid; Later Indo-Scythians, 1962 Indian repr., p.190. The word Janjū'a is spelt differently in the A’in-i Akbār and the Ma’āsir as Jānūka (जानुका). The spelling Janjū’a is the current local form and has been correctly adopted in the Urdu translation of Tuzuk-i Bābār (trans. Rashīd Akhtar Nadvi, Lahore 1969, p.157).
64 For a brief description see D. Ibbetson, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province, vol.ii, Lahore 1914, p.353.
66 Ibid.
Janjū'as, but, if this is the case, it is extremely surprising that they did not leave any vestiges along the route by which they travelled. It would be instructive to compare them in this case with other Turkish groups which can be traced through Afghānistān right back to their place of origin. No doubt the history of sixth century Panjāb is not well documented, but it is hard to believe that the Juan-juan, starting from the borders of China, could have pushed through the proud tribal boundaries and kingdoms in an incredibly short period and yet did not leave any remains or records behind them. Moreover, should the present day Janjū'as be descended from foreign elements from areas as distant as Turfan, they must show some influence of Mongoloid facial features. But we will be utterly disappointed if we look for anything of this sort among them. Even the strictly democratic structure of the Janjū'a tribes could not have allowed their leaders to rise to the status of despotic rulers.

A. Cunningham suggests that Jayapāla and his descendants belonged to the Janjū'a tribe. Cunningham's suggestion is however based on Elliot's reading of the word  which, as already noticed, can be read, probably more accurately, as J'haj, which seems to be an Arabicised form of the word Chach or Chhach. Chhach at present is the name of the strip of land of some 20 miles by 10 miles along the Indus north-east of Attock69 and just close to Udabhandapura, the Śāhi capital. In the early medieval

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67 H. Khan, 'An Interpretation of Al-Biruni's Account of the Hindu Shahiyas of Kabul', paper presented on the occasion of Al-Biruni International Congress in Pakistan, 1973. On the contrary however see W. Samolin (East Turkestan Down to the Twelfth Century, London 1964, p.55) who says that the Juan-juan, after their defeat, took refuge at Ch'ang-an, the capital of the Western Wei. They were pursued by the Turks who arrived before the capital with a powerful force and demanded that the Chinese deliver the fugitives over to them. The ruler of the Juan-juan and three thousand of his followers were turned over to the Turks who decapitated them outside the city.

68 The Juan-juan are said to be of Mongol stock. Cf. René Grousset, The Empire of the Steppes (tran. by Naomi Walford), New Jersey 1970, p.80.

period it probably covered a comparatively larger area. In the western plains of the Panjāb, the name Chhāchī is indiscriminately applied to everyone belonging to the northern highlands. Chach, the well known king of Sind about A.D. 641, may also have originally belonged to the same area. Mas'ūdī must have heard this name while he was in Multān and seems to have preferred to use this common designation rather than the actual name of the ruler of Gandhāra; otherwise there is no reason why he should have failed to mention the name of the Śāhi king Bhīma, his own contemporary.

The Chhach plains and the neighbouring areas were at that time occupied by the Gakhar tribe which, as Firishta tells us, formed a very significant part of the Śāhi armies. As everyone else from the northern highlands, the Gakhars must have been called Chhāchī in Multān.

Considering Mas'ūdī's statement against this background it would seem that the Chhāchī (actually Jhāj) king of Gandhāra mentioned by him must have been a Gakhar or closely related to this tribe. The Hindu Śāhis therefore had their origin in the Gakhars, who, even long after the demise of this royal house, could not indeed reconcile themselves to the Muslim rule. In the year 580 (1184) they besieged the fort of Siālkot in co-operation with Khusro Malik, the last Ghaznavid sultan of Lahore. When the Ghūrid sultan Shahāb ud-Dīn was occupied in Khurāsān they gathered in great numbers once again and marched on Lahore. In 602 (1206) the Gakhars

70 Firishta (Briggs' trans.), vol.i, p.104. See also A. Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, p.94. The origin of the Gakhars is not known. For a brief description of their history see D. Ibbetson, op.cit., pp.274-77; and A. Cunningham, Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas and Kushans, 1971 Indian repr., pp.63-4. Cunningham assumes that the Gakhars are descended from the Kidāra Kuśāgas.

71 Ibid., p.27.

72 Ibid., p.89. 'Ibrat Nāmeh of Muftī 'Alī ad-Dīn (Lahore 1961), vol.i, p.130, has Khokhar instead of Gakhar.

73 Firishta, op.cit., p.103.
assassinated Shahāb ad-Dīn at Domel (present Domelī) while he was on his way back to Ghazna.74 About 644 (1247) the sultān Nāṣīr ad-Dīn Mahmūd is said to have taken a severe revenge on the Ghakārs for their continual incursions and for their having led the Mongols through their country into Hindūstān.75 Deeming their offences too great to be pardoned the sultān carried several thousands of them into captivity. In the year 743 (1342), Malik Ḥaider, a chief of the Gakharṣ, invaded Panjāb and killed the viceroy of Lahore.76 Having defeated the king of Kashmir, Jasrat Gakhar in 824 (1421) attempted to capture the throne of Delhi.77 Many other similar examples can be cited. The Gakhārs were not in fact completely subjugated till the arrival of the Sikhs.

Mas'ūdī's statement that Gandhāra was a country of the Rājpūts implies that its ruler belonged to the Kṣatriya class. But on the contrary we learn from Albīrūnī, who finished his work long after Mas'ūdī, that Kallar, the founder of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty, was a Brahman. Albīrūnī's information on the earlier reigns of this dynasty is, however, defective, as he has himself acknowledged. Mas'ūdī is clearly borne out by Kalhana, who tells us that Bhīma had family relationship with the Kṣatriya rulers of Kashmir.78 The name of Bhīma's father, Kamalavarman, also suggests that he was not a Brahman.79 It seems therefore that the concept of Kallar's Brahman origin

74 Ibn al-Athīr, xii, pp.212-3.
75 Firishta, op.cit., p.130.
76 Ibid., p.245.
77 Ibid., pp.299, 318.
78 Rajatarāṅgīnī, VI, 176-78; and Ibid., VII, 103. Kalhana's reference (VIII, 3230) to numerous Kṣatriyas who lived in Kashmir but traced their origin to the royal family of Udabhāṇapura also supports Mas'ūdī's information.
79 EI, vol.XXI, p.299. In the Hund slab inscription Bhīma is said to be of 'terrible valor' which hardly seems to be a suitable epithet for a Brahman. See infra, p.313.
was a popular rumour, perhaps spread around to justify his usurpation of power, or that Kallar's descendants, compelled by the demands and obligations of their high office, could not strictly follow the rules and regulations of the priestly class.

The Dates of the Origin and End of the Hindu Śāhi Rule

The exact date of the origin of the rule of this dynasty is not recorded. According to our computation however it comes to about A.D. 843. The end of their rule in A.D. 1026 is known from Albīrūnī. A little known scion of this dynasty seems to have continued to rule somewhat longer in the Siwalik hills like a petty chieftain.

80 See infra, p.318.
The Expansion of Arab Rule into Sīstān

The conquest of Sīstān by the Muslims is not directly related to the history of the Śāhis but it has some bearing on it. In the years to follow, Sīstān became a launching pad for operations into the country of the Śāhis. Without this base, situated right on the Śāhi frontiers, the history of Arab–Śāhi relations would have been very different. We shall therefore briefly recapitulate the main events which led to the establishment of this base.

Although Sīstān felt the first shocks of Arab expansion in the reign of the Caliph 'Umar (A.D. 634-44), they made no real progress till the arrival of Ibn 'Āmar as the governor of Baṣrah – the headquarters for military operations in eastern Īrān. On his way to Khurasān in the year 30 (650), the youthful governor detached a force to Sīstān under Rabī' for the practical purpose of opening up the Qandahār – Kābul – Tukhāristān route of communications, considered to be vitally important for further inroads into Central Asia. After crossing the desert Rabī' marched on Zāliq and captured the dihāqān (governor), who is said to have bought back his freedom with an enormous amount of gold and silver.

This was the first great success for Arab arms on this frontier. Encouraged
by the results of his first raid, Rabī' pushed on to Karkūyah, a small village situated at a distance of five miles from Zāliq, and took control of it without fighting. He then secured guides for Zaranj, the capital city, and reached Zūst in its neighbourhood. The people of Zūst made a bold sortie on him and killed a number of the Muslims, but they could not hold their ground as the Muslim army wheeled round and delivered a determined attack on their rank and file. After a gruesome battle the Sīstānīs suffered defeat and fled. The hard-won battle apprised Rabī' of the danger of marching straight on the capital without clearing the towns from where the enemy could stab him in the back. He therefore turned to Nashrūdh and won a well-contested victory.

The next town, Sharwād, fared no better before him. Having thus cleared many of the country towns and thus cut off the supply-line of the capital city, Rabī' now proceeded to Zaranj. On the outskirts of the city, he was opposed by the people, whom he soon forced to retreat to the safety of the city walls. As the Zaranjites retreated he promptly moved ahead and invested the city. Finding no way out, the satrap of Zaranj sued for peace and capitulated on terms.

Tall, wide-mouthed and distinctively marked with a dark complexion, Rabī' had an awe-inspiring personality which could send chilling waves of terror into the heart of the viewer at the very first sight. Being conscious of the impact of his personality upon the enemy, he cleverly manoeuvred to take full advantage of it while negotiating the terms of the treaty. Taking his seat on one corpse while reclining on another,
he instructed his commanders to be seated in a similar way\(^{11}\) at the time of the reception of Abarwiz,\(^{12}\) the satrap of Zaranj. As Abarwiz arrived to settle the terms, he felt terror at the sight of them. The horror-struck satrap quickly agreed to send 1,000 slaves, each carrying a gold cup.\(^{13}\) Rabī' entered the city victoriously. From Zaranj he marched to Qarnīn,\(^{14}\) a town famous for being the place of Rustum's stables, and took it after fighting a battle. After this successful campaign, he returned to Zaranj and stayed there for two years, when he was recalled by Ibn 'Āmar.

The immediate successor of Rabī', a man from the tribe of Ḥārith b. Ka'b, proved an utter failure and, soon after taking charge, was thrown out of Zaranj.\(^{15}\) Sīstān was lost and had to be reconquered. The next governor, Ibn Samurah,\(^{16}\) however, proved up to the task. On reaching the Sīstān capital in 33 (653), he is said to have besieged the satrap in his palace on a festival day and forced him to conclude peace. The satrap agreed to pay an indemnity of 2,000,000 dirhams, apart from the delivery of a body of 2,000 slaves.\(^{17}\) Ibn Samurah moved on with lightning speed and established his authority over the area between Zaranj and Kishsh and over 'that part of the region of the road of ar-Rukhkha, which is between it and the province of ad-Dāwar'.\(^{18}\) On

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\(^{11}\) Ibid.

\(^{12}\) Loc. cit. According to the Tarīkh (pp. 81-2) the satrap of Zaranj was known as Irān b. Rustum b. Azādkhū b. Bakhtīār.

\(^{13}\) Baladhurī, p. 394.

\(^{14}\) Tarīkh-i Sīstān, p. 83. Baladhurī (p. 394) gives al-Qaryatain which is obviously a copying mistake for al-Qarnīn, the well known birthplace of Ya'qūb b. Leith.

\(^{15}\) Baladhurī, p. 394.

\(^{16}\) Full name: 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Samurah b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd ash-Šams.

\(^{17}\) Baladhurī, p. 394.

reaching Dāwar, he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of Zūr, where there was a famous Hindu temple, but then decided to come to terms on the offer of 32,000,000 dirhams. As he entered victoriously into the sacred precincts of the temple, also called Zūr or Zūn, he noticed an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes. The zealous Muslim at once cut off the hands of the idol with one stroke and plucked the eyes out of their sockets but then returned everything to the priest, remarking that he 'only wanted to demonstrate how powerless was his idol to do either good or evil'.

The brilliant successes of Ibn Samurah had a demoralising effect on the neighbouring cities, of which at least two - Zābul and Bust - are said to have submitted by agreement. After this quick round of victories Ibn Samurah retired to Zaranj and remained there until the downfall of the Caliph 'Uthmān, when, placing Sīstān in the hands of 'Umair b. Aḥmar al-Yashkurī, he withdrew to Baṣrah to join his chief. 'Umair was, however, soon expelled by the people of Zaranj, who rose in open rebellion once again. Everything was lost in Sīstān for the second time.

In the period of five years following the tragic death of 'Uthmān, the Arab world plunged into civil war and had little time and leisure to pay attention to the needs of the defence of the outlying provinces such

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19 Balādhurī (p.394) states that everyone of Ibn Samurah's 8,000 troops received 4,000 dirhams.
20 Other variants of this name are دامین. See also P. Daffinà, Rivista Degli Studi Orientali, vol.XXXVII, 1962, pp.279-81; and G. Gnoli, op.cit., pp.121-2.
21 Balādhurī, p.394.
22 Ibid.
23 'Uthmān was eventually murdered in 36 (656).
24 Balādhurī, p.395.
as Sīstān. Zaranj became an easy victim to the bandit armies of Ḥasaka and 'Umrān who reached there in search of riches in the year 36 (656). For a while the bandits tightened their hold over the Sīstān capital and killed 'Abd ar-Rahmān, the governor despatched by the Caliph 'Alī. They gave in, however, under the greater pressure of the new governor, Rib'ī, who, soon after his arrival, took control of the city and restored law and order.

As the Caliph Mu'āwiya (A.D. 661-80) consolidated his position at Damascus, Ibn Samurah was once again placed in charge of Sīstān. With the arrival of this veteran general in 43 (663-64) began fresh triumphs of the Muslim forces operating in the area. He raided the country, whose people had apostatised, and subdued it either by force, or by making treaties with its people, advancing as far as Kābul. In 44 (664-65) Ibn Samurah marched into Kābul through Merv and invested the city for some months, pelting stones with catapults until a breach was made in the defensive wall. The Kābul Shāh put up a tough resistance and successfully repulsed a night attack of the Arabs led by 'Abbād b. al-Huṣain. At dawn the defenders made a brave sortie and brought elephants

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25 Full name: Ḥasaka b. 'Attāb al-Ḥabatī.
26 Full name: 'Umrān b. al-Fāṣil al-Burjumī.
27 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p.264. The satrap of Zaranj made peace out of fear of them and let the bandits enter the city.
28 Full name: 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Jaz' at-Tāfī. The Tarākh (p.85) wrongly states that 'Abd ar-Rahmān went to join 'Alī.
29 Balādhurī, p.395.
30 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p.436.
31 Murgotten, op.cit., p.146.
33 Balādhurī, p.396.
in the forefront. After some hard fighting, however, they were forced to retreat to the safety of the city walls. Unfortunately an elephant, badly injured in the fight, dropped dead in the gateway and obstructed it, so that the defenders could not close the gate. The opportunity was seized upon by the Muslims who rushed in through the open doors and occupied the city. Ibn Samurah despatched 'Uma'ir and Muhallab to his chief with the news of the victory. A treaty seems to have been concluded but the terms are not known.

From Kabul Ibn Samurah marched to Khwāsh and then to Qūzān and Bust which he took by force. He then proceeded to Razān and Khushshak, which capitulated without much struggle. At Rukhhāj he won a victory and marched to Zābulistān, whose people had violated the agreement. After this brilliant round of victories he returned to Kabul but had to face a rebellion, as the Kābulīs, in open infringement of the treaty earlier entered into, came out to oppose him. Once again, however, Kābul fell to the irresistible Ibn Samurah. Baladhurī does not give us many details about the second invasion of Kābul, but Tarjuma-i Futūḥat.

34 Ibid.
35 Full name: 'Uma'ir b. 'Ubaid Ullah b. Ma'mar.
36 Full name: Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah.
37 Baladhurī, p.396.
38 Situated on the river of the same name at a distance of about one day's march from Zaranj to the east (Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge 1930, p.342).
39 Situation not clear. The Tārīkh (p.85) does not mention this name and says that, from Khwāsh, Ibn Samurah went to Bust.
40 Baladhurī, p.397.
41 Also called al-Futūḥ written by Abū Muhammad Aḥmad b. A'thām Kūfī (died in A.D. 926). Kūfī does not explicitly mention to have described the second invasion, but, judged from his details which do not agree with those of the earlier invasion as recorded by Baladhurī, it seems to be the case.
contains a vivid description of it. 'When 'Abd ar-Rahmān (Ibn Samurah) came in sight of Kābul’, it reads, 'the ruler of the place, who was lame, was in the city. He came out and fought several engagements with the Muslims, but retreated into the city, and came forth no more. 'Abd ar-Rahmān besieged it, and remained seated before it, fighting with the garrison for a whole year. He and his soldiers had to endure many hardships during the siege, but at length they carried the place by assault; and when they entered it, they put the fighting men to the sword and made the women and children prisoners. Kābul Shāh was taken captive, and brought before 'Abd ar-Rahmān; but when he was ordered to be beheaded he turned Muhammadan, and repeated the creed. 'Abd ar-Rahmān treated him with honour and kindness. The plunder and the captives which had been taken in Kābul, Zaranj and Sijistān, was collected, and a fifth portion was set apart and sent to 'Abd Ullah b. 'Āmar, with a report of the conquest of Sijistān and Kābul’. 42

During the siege of Kābul, as it was prolonged rather unexpectedly, Ibn Samurah despatched one of his lieutenants, Muhallab b. Abī Šufrah, most probably to ward off any danger of being attacked from the rear by the ruler of Zābulistān. 43 Muhallab, quite enterprisingly, went as far as 'Banna' and al-Ahwāz – towns between Multān and Kābul, on the Indian frontier. 44 He then proceeded to Qīqān (modern Quetta, Pishīn valley), where he was attacked by eighteen Turkish horsemen. The expedition of

42 Elliot and Dawson, The History of India (Indian repr.), vol.ii, p.414.
43 Firishta (op.cit., p.2) links up this event with the first invasion of Kābul and says that at this time Muhallab proceeded in the direction of India, but this is extremely doubtful, as we know from Abū Mikhnaf (a.157/773) that Muhallab personally took part in the battle and that after the victory he was sent to Ibn 'Āmar in Baṣrah with the booty (Balādhurī, p.396).
44 Balādhurī, p.432. Ibn al-Āthīr (iii, p.446) has 'Sind' instead of India. Firishta (Briggs, vol.i, p.2) makes Muhallab penetrate as far as Multān. For the location of these sites, see supra, p.
Muhallab was quite successful in so far as it held in check any further regrouping of Zābulī troops who could jeopardise Ibn Samurah's siege of Kabul. It follows, therefore, that the expedition was not a kind of 'raid', as Caroe has assumed,45 but a tactical manoeuvre to scatter the enemy forces who could have dangerously threatened the rear of the Muslim army operating in Kabul. Ibn Samurah was relieved of his duties in 45 (666) and went back home, but his military exploits in the area stretching from Sīstān to Kabul changed the course of subsequent history. On the one hand the power of the local rulers of Kabul and Zābulistān was completely shattered and, on the other, Sīstān grew up as a powerful base for further attacks on the neighbouring territories.

CHAPTER 4

The Turk Sahis
(c. A.D. 666-843)

The Turkish dynasty known to Albīrūnī as 'ash-Šāhiyya of Kābul' and called Türk Šahi in the modern accounts remained in power for approximately 177 years. The date of the beginning of the rule of the Turk Sahis, about A.D. 666, has been discussed above (pp.45-47). The date of the end of the rule of the Kābul branch of this family, about A.D. 843, can be inferred from the inscriptive records of the time of the Hindu Sahis. The rule of the western branch of the Turk Sahis, the Rutbils of our sources - generally described as the rulers of Rukhkhaţ and the adjoining areas - lasted a little longer than this, till the rise of Ya'qūb b. Laith. The last of the Rutbils mentioned in history, a fugitive in Kābul or Zābulistān, was captured in A.D. 870. The political history of the Turk Sahis is inextricably interlocked with the history of the Muslim governors of Sīstān, as may be seen from the following narration.

Towards the end of their rule the areas around Ghazna seem to have broken away from the kingdom of the Rutbils or, alternatively, the new rulers of Gardiz called Khārijites in the Muslim sources had settled deep into the Şahi territory in the form of small independent communities. Nothing is known about how the Khārijites managed to get there by bypassing

1 Generally written as 'Turki Şahi'. But, on the analogy of the term 'Hindu Şahi', we prefer the form Türk Şahi. For the title Şahi, see supra, p.vii, Preface.

2 Albīrūnī's information about the rule of this dynasty extending over sixty generations was a rough estimate of time reckoned from the date of the famous Kanisţa. But the estimate seems to have completely ignored the dynastic changes which took place since that date.

3 Infra, p.318.

4 Infra, p.46.
Ghazna which was probably still in the hands of the Sāhis. Traditionally they were the enemies of the Sīstān governors but they never seem to have softened their attitude towards the infidel Sāhis either.

The founder of the Turk Sāhi dynasty was a certain Barhatigīn, variously interpreted as Burtizena,5 Pharatassa or Phraates6 and Bōritigīn.7 According to the apocryphal history Barhatigīn rose to power through a clever stratagem.8 He made secret arrangements with his companions to remain close to a certain cave called War and also to persuade others to stay there. He himself entered the cave which was difficult of access. Why this cave was particularly selected for this occasion in a mountainous country which had many other similar caves is not mentioned. Perhaps the place was reputed to be the abode of supernatural powers and thus suited the plans of Barhatigīn, who wanted to give an impression of having divine support. Water was available in the cave and, as we are told, Barhatigīn took enough food with him to last for a few days. After some days he put on his Turkish dress - a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boots and arms - and crept out of the cave in the presence of the people, who, unaware of the fact that he had entered the cave only a few days ago, were completely thunderstruck and looked upon him as being of miraculous origin. Thus the trick worked with wonderful success and shortly afterwards Barhatigīn worked his way to the throne.

Although the story had obviously been much disfigured and corrupted by the time it was recorded by Albīrūnī, it seems to have some foundation

7 Emel Esin, *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol.xvi, no.1, 1972, pp.14-36. E. Esin thinks that Bōritigīn means 'wolf Tegin' and that it can be connected with the name of the 'Bōri Turks'.
8 Pi Tahqīq Ma‘āli‘l-Hind, pp.348-49.
in history. We have seen above (p.47) that Barhatigīn, as the ruler of Gandhāra, was already a power in the politics of the area, and did not stand in need of entering the cave to obtain strength and influence through stratagem. It seems that the insurmountable difficulties which he managed to overcome in turning the tables on Kapīṣa, the erstwhile overlord of Gandhāra, stunned the vanquished into believing that he had some sort of supernatural support. To the credulous and weak Barhatigīn was destined to rule not so much through his own efforts as through divine assistance.

That Barhatigīn solicited divine favour to overcome his enemies may not be true, but he was probably lucky to find himself at a turning point of history. At the start he was evidently no more than one of the several petty chieftains who succeeded to the once mighty Ephthalite empire. While the kingdoms of Kābul and Zābulistān were pounded by the repeated attacks of the Arab governors of Sīstān, Barhatigīn was conveniently sheltered behind the rugged hills of the Khaibar pass and thus he was able to build up his strength. As a result of the large scale demoralising effect caused by the Muslim attacks, the political atmosphere of these countries suited adventurism. Barhatigīn, as a watchful observer, must have known that he could give the coup de grâce to Kapīṣa before the noon of any day.

We have mentioned above (pp.57-60) how Ibn Samurah attacked Kābul twice in a short period of time. As the Arab general withdrew, Barhatigīn stepped into his footsteps and attacked Kābul. According to the evidence of Huei Ch'ao, the ruler of Kapīṣa (who in fact may be Ko-chieh-chih of the Tang-Shu or Khīṅgāla of the Kābul image inscription) was killed and the T'u Chūeh ruler (i.e. Barhatigīn) proclaimed himself the king of

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9 After their defeat about A.D. 530 the Hūna power sharply declined in India. Although they retained their hold on Kashmir and parts of the North-West, they were soon fragmented into small states and lost their individuality.
Kābul. Barhatiḡīn then seems to have extended his rule to Zābulisṭān and appointed his brother as its first governor, under the title Rutbīl (i.e. Sāmanta).

What actually prompted Barhatiḡīn to invade Kābul is not known. Perhaps Ko-ḵiẖ-ḵiẖ's humiliating defeat and his acceptance of Islām at the hands of Ibn Sāmurah were the immediate causes. As the new Kābul Shāh it was therefore incumbent upon Barhatiḡīn to ameliorate the situation by throwing off the yoke of the Muslim hegemony. Balāḏūrī informs us that the Kābul Shāh drove all the Muslims out of the city and that the Rutbīl gained control of the areas as far as Rukhkhaǰ and Bust. The new Turkish king, it seems, had grand designs in view.

But the arrival of Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārathī, a veteran Arab general, as the next governor of Sīstān shattered his aspirations. Soon after his arrival in the year 47 (667-68), Rabi' marched forth to meet the enemy at Bust. In the ensuing battle the Rutbīl suffered defeat and fled to Rukhkhaǰ pursued hot on the heels by the troops of Rabi'. The next action took place at Rukhkhaǰ, but the Rutbīl was again put to flight. With success greeting him at every stage, Rabi' continued his advance and subdued the chief city (i.e. Dartal) of ad-Dawar. In the year 51 (671-72) Rabi' was transferred to Khurāsān and 'Ubaid Allāh b. Abl Bakrah took his place in Sīstān. 'Ubaid Allāh followed up the campaign vigorously and

10 W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.445.  
11 For the meaning of this word see infra, p.180.  
12 Supra, p.59.  
13 Futūḥ al-Baldān, p.397.  
14 Balāḏūrī, op.cit., p.397.  
15 Ibid. According to the Tarīḵ-i Sīstān (p.91) the Rutbīl fled 'to the land of the Hindus'.  
16 Balāḏūrī, p.397.  
17 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p.489; and Tarīḵ-i Sīstān, p.92.
reached as far as Razān, where he was contacted by the Rutbīl, who solicited peace in return for 1,200,000 dirhams. Of the total sum 200,000 dirhams were later remitted on the request of the Rutbīl, and a treaty was concluded on the payment of 1,000,000 dirhams. 'Ubaid Allāh personally went to Baṣrah to get the approval of Ziyād, the Governor-general of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate. According to the Tārīkh a son of the Rutbīl was also sent to Baṣrah, where he met the Governor-general and was honoured with a robe (Khil'at). 'Ubaid Allāh stayed in Sīstān till the death of Ziyād in the year 532 (672-73).

THE BATTLE OF QANDAHĀR

Balādhurī gives us no details about the reign of the next governor - 'Abbād b. Ziyād - but the Tārīkh (p.95) says that, soon after his arrival, 'Abbād placed Sīstān in the charge of a deputy and himself proceeded to Qandahār and Kābul at the head of a strong force. His desire to go as far as Kābul however could not be realised, for on his way he was engaged by the Sāhi forces somewhere near Qandahār. It turned out to be a fierce battle, in which 'Abbād personally took active part and, after some hard fighting, carried the day. Why 'Abbād had to resort to arms when the Rutbīl had already entered into an agreement with his predecessor is difficult to say. The agreement, it would seem, had no provision for a lasting peace and each governor had to take up arms to exact tribute from the Sāhis of Kābul and Zābulistān. The payment of tribute was in fact

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18 This place is not mentioned by any of the Arab geographers and may be the corrupted form of the name Rudhān situated near Bust.

19 Balādhurī, p.397. According to the Tārīkh (p.94) 'Ubaid marched to Bust, Rukkhāj and Kābul and after a fight made peace. The Rutbīl agreed to pay 2 million dirhams.

20 Balādhurī, p.397.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p.493.
never regular and largely depended on the relative strength of the Rutbils and the Arab governors of Sistan. 'Abbād stayed in Sistan till the date of the Caliph Mu'āwiya in the year 60 (680).

ZĀBULISTĀN BREAKS AWAY FROM KĀBUL

The Caliph Yazīd, who succeeded Mu'āwiya, appointed Salm b. Ziyād in the government of Khurāsān. Salm in turn placed the charge of Sistan in the hands of his brother Yazīd b. Ziyād in about 61 (680-81). Tabarī has here a curious but very confused paragraph which gives us an insight into the internal relations of Kābul and Zābulistān. Sometime in the reign of Mu'āwiya (correctly Yazīd), we are told, the Rutbīl fled from his brother, the Kābul Shāh, and approached Salm at Āmul with a request for help. Evidently the mutual relations of the Kābul Shāh and the Rutbīl had deteriorated to the lowest ebb before they took the form of an armed conflict.

The actual cause of this conflict is not known. But the fact that the Rutbīl had to beg the help of the Muslims, his deadliest enemies, suggests that he felt an equally serious threat from the side of the Kābul Shāh, his own brother. It seems that the Kābul Shāh (Barhatīgīn), apprehensive of the Rutbīl's influence and hold over Zābulistān and the adjoining areas, arbitrarily decided to remove the latter from the government of Rukkhkaj.

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23 Tūrīkhi Sīstān, p.97.
24 Baladhurī, p.397.
25 Tabarī, i, p.2706.
26 Tabarī, loc.cit. Salm is said to have consulted Mu'āwiya on the subject but it is well known from other sources that Mu'āwiya died before the appointment of Salm in the government of Khurāsān. Obviously there is some chronological confusion in the tradition. Nor is there any place of the name Āmul in Sīstān. Marquart (op.cit., p.38) restores this name to Zābul. For Āmul in Khurāsān see Barthold, "Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion", 1958 London repr., pp.76, 82.
27 According to Tabarī the Rutbīl was chased out of these areas by the Shāh. Marquart, Erānsāhr, p.38.
This was presumably resented by the Rutbīl, who openly revolted and with the help of Salm established himself in Zābulistān as an independent ruler. Thus was established the new dynasty of Rukhkhāj and Zābulistān, of which all the members were known as the Rutbīls.  

THE IMPRISONMENT AND RELEASE OF ABŪ 'UBAIDAH

At the time of the death of the Caliph Yazīd in A.D. 683 or a little earlier, the Kābul Shāh treacherously broke the compact and imprisoned a certain Abū 'Ubaidah.  The circumstances which led to Abū 'Ubaidah's imprisonment are not known. Perhaps he went to Kābul to collect annual tribute on behalf of Yazīd, the governor of Sīstān and was detained there by the Shāh; or perhaps Abū 'Ubaidah was captured during an unsuccessful raid on the Sāhi territory, which he may have led in person. In any case this was startling news for Yazīd, who immediately collected his troops and proceeded against the contumacious Sāhi. He was met by the enemy forces at the battlefield of Junzah. In the ensuing battle the Muslim army was completely routed; Yazīd and many of his chiefs lay dead on the battlefield. Although Yazīd's adventure ended in disastrous defeat, Abū 'Ubaidah was later ransomed for 500,000 dirhams by another Arab chief called Ṭalḥah who, on his return from Kābul, got the governorship of Sīstān.

28 See also infra, p.180.
29 Balādhrī, p.397.
30 This name is not reported by the geographers. It may be the corruption of Ghazna pronounced Jazna (ژزنا) by the Arabs. See Yāqūt, vol.iii, p.796). Junza is also mentioned by Tabarī, ii, p.488.
31 Balādhrī, p.398; Tabarī, ii, p.488; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.97. According to Tarikh-i Sīstān (p.100) Abū 'Ubaidah was captured in this battle. This, coming from a less reliable source, is evidently incorrect.
32 Balādhrī, p.398.
During Ṭalḥah's term of governorship the western frontier of the Ṣāḥi kingdom remained quiet. The city of Bust seems to have been annexed to Sīstān, for on one occasion Ṭalḥah had to go there to put the affairs of that place into order. By the end of Ṭalḥah's governorship, Kābul and Zābulistān were virtually independent of the Arab overlordship. Sīstān, the launching pad of Muslim attacks, became riddled by feuds of the factious Arab tribes. Political conditions in other provinces of the Caliphate were no better. The three-cornered strife between the Umayyad Caliphs of Damascus, the Zubairīds of Arabia and 'Irāq, and the Khārijites, had its repercussions on Sīstān and ultimately on the Ṣāḥi kingdoms.

THE ṢĀḤIS LAUNCH AN OFFENSIVE

The unsettled political conditions in the Muslim world presented the Ṣāḥis with an opportunity to launch an offensive against the Arabs of Sīstān. In preparation, the Rūtbīl enlisted the active support of Turkish armies and also aided and abetted the opposite factions of Zaranj in their struggle to take control of the city. The subsequent events indicate that the Rūtbīl was already either in or in the vicinity of Zaranj when 'Abd al-'Azīz came to restore order in Sīstān in about A.D. 684-85. The new governor was compelled to stop in the capital city because of the fear of

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33 Tarikh-i Sistan, p.398.
34 With the death of Ibn Zubair in A.D. 691, the Umayyads became firmly entrenched in power but the Khārijite menace continued for a long time.
35 Tarikh-i Sistan, p.105. Evidently the Turks of Zamīn Dāwar are meant.
36 Baladhūrī, p.398. The main contestants in the struggle for power were the Banū Yashkur and the Muṣarītes of Sīstān.
38 This date is not explicitly mentioned in our sources but it can be easily worked out. 'Abd al-'Azīz was sent to Sīstān by al-Qubā' (Baladhūrī, p.398) who was appointed governor of Baṣrah in 65 (684-85) (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.210).
the Rutbil's reprisals. And when he eventually came to measure swords with the Sāhis, his success seemed to be in jeopardy. Demoralised by the superior numbers of their enemies and by the strength they demonstrated in the actual fight, the Muslim troops were just on the point of fleeing from the battlefield when 'Abd al-'Azīz and Abū 'Afrā' 'Umair al-Māzan retrieved the situation by delivering a powerful combined attack. The Rutbil was killed by Abū 'Afrā' and the Sāhi troops were soon put to rout; a great number of Turks lay dead on the battleground. The victorious general is then said to have marched on to Zābul and Kābul and brought these places under his control.

Even after this success of Muslim arms, conditions in Zaranj did not improve for some time. The political strife in the Caliphate was, however, coming to an end. 'Abd Allāh, the Zubairīd claimant for the Caliph's office, was killed in A.D. 691, and 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad Caliph, set about consolidating his position. 'Abd al-Malik gave the government of Khurāsān to Umayyah b. 'Abd Allāh, who placed Sīstān in the charge of his son 'Abd Allāh in the year 74 (693-94).

The great offensive was over but the war did not end there. The Rutbil was succeeded by his son, whose name is not known but who is designated by Baladhuri (p.399) as Rutbil II. As 'Abd Allāh proceeded against him and reached as far as Bust, he was overcome by fear of the Muslims, and consented to pay 1 million dirhams to make peace with the

39 Baladhuri (Murgottens trans.), p.149.
40 Tarikh-i Sistān, p.105.
41 This form of the name is recorded by Baladhuri (p.398). The Tarikh (p.106) gives the name 'Umar b. Shāh al-'Aṭī.
42 Tarikh-i Sistān, p.106. Elliot (vol.ii, p.416) puts this battle slightly earlier. Majumdar (JIH, vol.x, pt.1, 1931, relevant part repr. in Dacca University Supplement, no.xv, p.18) wrongly assumes that 'Abd al-'Azīz did not go beyond Zaranj. 'Abd al-'Azīz stayed in Sīstān till the death of Muṣā'ab (Tarikh, p.107) who was killed in the year 71 (690-91) (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.323).
43 Baladhuri, p.399.
Arab commander. But the negotiations fell through as the exorbitant demands of 'Abd Allāh increased further.\textsuperscript{44} As the Rutbīl refused to comply with the new demands, hostilities were resumed and 'Abd Allāh proceeded to fulfil his desire by force. The Rutbīl cleverly withdrew before him until the Arab had penetrated deep into enemy country. Then the Rutbīl suddenly appeared and encircled 'Abd Allāh by blocking the mountain passes and cutting off his retreat and supply line.\textsuperscript{45} To extricate himself from the difficult position the Arab general was obliged to conclude a treaty on the following terms:

1. The Rutbīl agreed to pay a sum of 300,000 dirhams;
2. 'Abd Allāh gave a written pledge that he would not raid the Şāhi territory or burn or lay waste as long as he was in charge of Sīstān.\textsuperscript{46}

The treaty was however disapproved of by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and consequently led to the dismissal of 'Abd Allāh from the governorship of Sīstān.\textsuperscript{47}

\textbf{'UBAID ALLĀH'S DEBACLE}

In the year 78 (697-98) Sīstān was attached to the dominions of Ḫajjāj, the Governor-general of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate, who despatched 'Ubaid Allāh to take charge of the government of Sīstān.\textsuperscript{48}

The accounts of Balādhurī, Ibn al-Athīr and the \textit{Tārīkh} differ in detail as to the arrival of 'Ubaid Allāh in Zaranj. According to Balādhurī, the

\textsuperscript{44} According to Balādhurī (p.399) 'Abd Allāh wanted his tent to be filled with gold.

\textsuperscript{45} Balādhurī, p.399.

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid. The \textit{Tārīkh} (p.107) wrongly gives an opposite account.

\textsuperscript{47} Balādhurī, p.399.

\textsuperscript{48} Ṭabarī, ii, p.1035; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.448.
new governor lost his way and fell sick,⁴⁹ but this is extremely unlikely in view of the fact that 'Ubayd Allāh, as an ex-governor of Sīstān, was thoroughly familiar with the routes and topography of that province.⁵⁰ It is likely therefore that Balādhurī has tried to hide an ugly fact which the Tarīkh has openly exposed. 'Ubayd Allāh was in fact opposed by the Khārijites, who gave him a tough battle which resulted in the death of many of his men.⁵¹ Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr also say that, after his arrival in Sīstān, 'Ubayd Allāh spent the rest of that year in inaction;⁵² perhaps he was licking the wounds he received.

The Khārijite resurgence in Sīstān, though entirely unconnected with the Sāhīs, worked in the interest of the latter by holding the activities of the Muslim government officials in check. The Sīstān governors, thereafter, had more often to waste their energy in putting down the Khārijite revolts than utilising it against the Sāhīs who, on perceiving this weakness, either slowed down or partly withheld the payment of tribute.⁵³ 'Ubayd Allāh therefore received orders in the year 79 (698-99)⁵⁴ to invade the country of the Rutbīl and not to return until he had either completely subjugated or devastated the whole land, pulling down his forts and enslaving his children.⁵⁵ In compliance with these orders, he marched

⁴⁹ Balādhurī (Murgotten's trans.), p.150.
⁵⁰ Muhallab made a special point of 'Ubayd Allāh's familiarity with Sīstān in recommending his name for the governorship of that place (see Ṭabarī, ii, p.1033 ff.).
⁵¹ Tarīkh-i Sīstān, pp.110-11. Further details of this event have been mixed by the Tarīkh.
⁵² Ṭabarī, ii, p.1033; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.450.
⁵³ Ṭabarī, ii, p.1036; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.450.
⁵⁵ Ṭabarī, ii, p.1036; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.450.
on from Rukhkhaj and encamped in the vicinity of Kabul.\footnote{Baladhuri, p.399. According to the \textit{Tarih} (p.111) the battle took place at Bust.} As 'Ubaid Allah proceeded, the Turkish armies of the Rutbîl artfully retreated, leaving the country open to the invader till he went far into it.\footnote{Baladhuri, p.399.}

'Ubaid Allah soon discovered the folly of being imprudently adventurous, when he found himself encircled. The enemy blocked the mountain passes against him and the Rutbîl also joined them.\footnote{Tabari, p.1037.} Exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, the Arab condescended to purchase the liberation of himself and his followers for a ransom of 500,000 \footnote{Ibid. Tabari (ii, p.1037) and Ibn al-Athîr (iv, p.450) have 700,000 \textit{dirhams}.} and pledged himself to send three of his sons as hostages, and not to raid the Rutbîl's country as long as he was the governor of Sîstân.\footnote{Baladhuri, p.399.} However a commander of 'Ubaid Allah, Shuraiq b. Hâni - the chief of the army of Küfâ - disdained to avail himself of this ignominious compromise and bravely perished by the sword of the enemy.\footnote{Baladhuri, p.399.} Having deposited the stipulated sum in the hands of the Rutbîl's agents, 'Ubaid Allah withdrew without molestation. But many of his troops perished of thirst and hunger on their way back. On reaching Bust, 'Ubaid Allah himself died of grief at the disaster which he had brought upon his men.\footnote{Baladhuri, p.399.} So thorough was the dessication and so pitiable the condition of the survivors of the Muslim army that it came to be known...
as the *Jaîsh al-Fanâr* 63 (the 'Doomed Army'). Perhaps the only other comparable incident occurred in 1842 when the Afghans, using the same tactics, brought a similar disaster upon the British army. 64

THE EXPEDITION OF IBN AL-ASH'ATH: THE SĀHIS CONCLUDE A NEW TREATY

To wipe off the disgrace brought about by 'Ubaid Allāh's lack of military understanding, Ḥajjāj sought the permission of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik to enable him to undertake preparations for marshalling a grand army. 65 Having been permitted to go ahead, he enrolled a body of 20,000 men from Kūfa and the same number from Bāṣra and equipped them splendidly with arms. 66 Thus in the year 80 (699-700), 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad, generally called Ibn al-Ash'ath, was despatched at the head of 40,000 men, the famous 'Peacock Army' of the Muslim historians, 67 to open hostilities against the Sāhīs. On reaching Sīstān, Ibn al-Ash'ath united his troops with those of the province and marched without delay into the territories of the Rutbīl.

Conceiving that he might with equal effect put into practice the manoeuvre which he had so successfully employed against the predecessor of Ibn al-Ash'ath, the Rutbīl continued to retire before the invader into the interior of the country. But the cautious Arab general, amply instructed by the results of the earlier unfortunate campaigns, established posts at proper intervals as he proceeded, and garrisoned them with

63 Tarīkh-i Sīstān, p.111. In his report to the Caliph, Ḥajjāj vividly describes the ruined state of this army (see Ṭabarī, ii, p.1038).
65 Ṭabarī, ii, pp.1038, 1042f.
66 Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.454. According to Ṭabarī (ii, p.1046) the total cost of the preparation of this army amounted to 1 million *dirhams*.
67 Ṭabarī, ii, p.1046; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.456; and Tarīkh-i Sīstān, p.112.
soldiers on whose valour and experience he could safely rely. With these precautions he foiled the designs of his adversary.

Having subjugated a great portion of the country of the enemy, Ibn al-Ash'ath returned to Sistān laden with spoil, but incurred the displeasure of Ḥajjāj by not remaining there long enough to consolidate the conquests. Upbraided with faintheartedness, he was ordered peremptorily to fight on or relinquish the charge of the army. The letter which conveyed this imperious mandate was communicated by Ibn al-Ash'ath to his principal commanders, who expressed their abhorrence of the conduct of Ḥajjāj and immediately resolved to unite with the disgruntled general in open revolt.

To patch up his quarrel with the Šāhis, Ibn al-Ash'ath promptly negotiated a treaty in which it was agreed that:

1) The Rutbīl would be absolved from every species of tribute for ever in case Ibn al-Ash'ath succeeded in his revolt against the Caliph.

2) In the case of failure the Rutbīl would offer him asylum in his own country.

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69 According to the Ţarīkh (p.113) Ibn al-Ash'ath went as far as Bust.

70 Raudat as-Safā, vol.iii, p.281. According to Ya'qūbī (ii, p.331) Ibn al-Ash'ath retired to Bust because of the fear of being encircled in the enemy country. But the Ţarīkh (p.114) gives an altogether different reason. According to this source, Ḥajjāj, on receiving the news of Ibn al-Ash'ath's victories, instructed him to kill a certain 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmar, an influential chief of Sistān, and then move on to 'Hind and Sind'. The general agreed to move further but refused to take the life of an innocent man. When reprimanded for disobedience, he revolted.

71 Ya'qūbī, ii, p.332; Ţabarī, ii, p.1055; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.462.

72 Ţabarī, loc.cit.
After some vicissitudes of fortune, however, the rebel general was signally defeated in the year 83 (702-03) and fled to Sistan to seek the protection of his ally. At Bust, he was first offered a warm reception by the commandant of that place, who afterwards changed his mind and treacherously seized the fugitive to deliver him up to Ḥajjāj. The Rutbīl, being apprised of this ignominious behaviour of the commandant, hastened at the head of his troops to intervene. Having surrounded the city, he sent a threatening letter to the renegade commandant and demanded the release of Ibn al-Ash'ath. 'Should I come to know', he wrote 'that just as much as a hair of Ibn al-Ash'ath's head is injured, I would not quit this place before getting you and your garrison impaled before the gates of Bust, and enslaving your family and distributing your wealth among my soldiers'. By these threats the Rutbīl succeeded in intimidating the traitor. Ibn al-Ash'ath, being released in safety, departed in company with his saviour, from whom he continued to experience generous treatment for some time. After a while however the Rutbīl gave way under the diplomatic pressure of Ḥajjāj and delivered up his guest in return for a treaty of peace. According to the terms of this treaty Ḥajjāj agreed not to make war on the country of the Rutbīl for a period of seven years, during which the Ṣāḥi would also be exempted from paying any tribute.

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74 Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.485.
75 Ibid.
76 Ṭabarī, ii, p.1103. This account is given by Abū Mikhnaf. See also the different reports of al-Madāʾinī and Maʾmar b. Muthanna in the same place.
77 Maʾmar b. Muthanna gives ten years (Ṭabarī, ii, p.1135).
78 Abū Mikhnaf (Ṭabarī, ii, pp.1132-34).
Thereafter, it was stipulated that the Rutbīl would pay annually 900,000 dirhams in kind.\textsuperscript{79}

**QUTAIBA'S INVASION**

Ḥājjāj stood by the letter and spirit of the treaty and on one occasion, on receiving a complaint from the Rutbīl about the harsh conduct of a Sīstān governor, promptly dismissed the latter from office.\textsuperscript{80} However trouble started once more as the stipulated period of time came to an end. Seemingly the payment of tribute in kind did not work, as the component items were valued differently by the two parties. To put an end to this confusion 'Amrū b. Muslim, the governor of Sīstān and a brother of the famous Qutaiba, demanded tribute in coined money.\textsuperscript{81} The Rutbīl however, referring to the relevant terms of the treaty, informed 'Amrū of his inability to do more than what was stipulated. The Rutbīl's reply was communicated by 'Amrū to Qutaiba who proceeded to Sīstān to put the new demand into effect by force.\textsuperscript{82}

On receiving the news of Qutaiba's arrival the Rutbīl opened negotiations and skillfully defused the highly explosive situation. 'I am not in the least lacking in obedience', he said, 'then what has prompted you to break the peace treaty rather arbitrarily?'\textsuperscript{83} Qutaiba understood the justifiable position of the Sāhi and decided not to deal harshly with him. Contenting himself with accepting tribute in kind, he

\textsuperscript{79} Balādhurī, p.400; and Ma'mar b. Muthanna (Ṭabarî, ii, p.1135).

\textsuperscript{80} Balādhurī, loc.cit.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid. Ya'qūbī (ii, p.343) says that Qutaiba was instructed by Ḥājjāj to march to Sīstān.

\textsuperscript{83} Ya'qūbī, loc.cit.; see also Balādhurī, loc.cit.
returned without forcing the new demand through.\textsuperscript{84} On his way back he removed his brother from the government of Sistān.\textsuperscript{85} The irresistible danger was thus cleverly averted and the Ṣāḥis soon stopped paying tribute even in kind.

\textbf{THE ṢĀḤIS UNDER A LOOSE ARAB CONTROL}

The death of Ḥajjāj in A.D. 714 let loose the discontented elements in the bordering regions of the eastern Caliphate. The Kharājītides once again raised their heads and assumed a dangerously threatening attitude towards the Umayyad governors of Sistān. In about A.D. 725 Bashar al-Ḥawāri, a commandant of the Sistān army, was assassinated by a group of the Kharājītide resurgents.\textsuperscript{86} Soon after that Yazīd b. al-Gharīf, the governor of Sistān, was murdered in his camp by a similar group.\textsuperscript{87} In A.D. 734 the Kharājītides were still a strong force which necessitated the change of a Sistān governor. Political instability reached its highest pitch about 126 (743-44), when the whole population of Sistān split up into two antagonistic groups because of the tug of war between the Arab tribes of Banī Tamīm and Banī Bakr b. Wā'il.\textsuperscript{88} Battles took place nearly

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{84} Baladhurī, p.400. Qutaiba told his officers to accept the terms because Sistān was a notoriously inauspicious frontier. For similar remarks see Ya'qūbī, ii, p.343 and \textit{Raudat aq-Šafā}, vol.iii, p.281.
\bibitem{85} The \textit{Tārīkh} (pp.119-20) gives more details on this point. According to this source Qutaiba's first governor of Sistān was 'Abd ar-Rabb. After the detachment of Sistān from Khurāsān, however, 'Abd ar-Rabb was dismissed and his place was taken by Ash'ath b. Bashar al-Yarībī', who made peace with the Rutbīl. But this action was disapproved of by Ḥajjāj who dismissed Ash'ath and once again attached Sistān to Khurāsān. Qutaiba, the governor of Khurāsān, gave the charge of Sistān to his brother 'Amrū, who, on reaching Sistān, opened hostilities with the Rutbīl. The latter eventually agreed to pay 800,000 dirhams.
\bibitem{86} \textit{Tārīkh-i Sistān}, p.126.
\bibitem{87} Ya'qūbī, ii, p.383.
\bibitem{88} \textit{Tārīkh-i Sistān}, p.131.
\end{thebibliography}
every day and the Umayyad governor fled from Sīstān for fear of his life. Although it is not explicitly mentioned, it is not unlikely that the Ṣāḥis had a hidden hand in promoting these dissensions. In any case the situation bordering on lawlessness in the enemy country was to their own benefit, and the subsequent events reveal that they did not fail to take advantage of it.

As internal political convulsions caused by the Kharijites and other dissident groups weakened Sīstān, the Rutbīl stopped the payment of tribute except for a paltry gift.89 The subsequent efforts on the part of Sīstān governors to coerce Zābulistān into submission yielded little or not fruit.90 Thus Yazīd b. Gharīf, who took the charge of Sīstān in 107 (725-26), despatched his emissary - a certain Balāl b. Abī Kabasha - to Rutbīl, most probably with a view to demanding tribute, but his mission failed and the Ṣāḥī refused to show obedience to his commands.91 In order perhaps to retaliate for this insult, Yazīd set about preparing an army and appointed Bashar as the commander of the vanguard. But, as noticed above, Bashar fell victim to the Kharijites violence. In the year 108 (726-27) Asfāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kalbī, the then governor of Sīstān, proceeded to wage war with the Rutbīl. He stayed at Bust for a while and, in the following year, marched into the Ṣāḥī country. After some fierce battles, the Rutbīl cleverly repeated the old trick and took control of the passes and roads. The encircled Muslim army had to fight its way back, a feat which was accomplished at the cost of many lives.92

89 Balādhurī, pp.400-01.
90 See Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Baldān, pp.283-84.
91 Tarikh-i Sīstān, p.126.
92 Ibid.
A great number of the Muslims were killed and Sawār b. al-Ash'ar,93 one of their chiefs, fell into the hands of the enemy and was made prisoner. Aṣfāḥ himself received head injuries and died on reaching Sīstān.94 We hear of no other attempt to gain control of the Šāhi kingdom till about A.D. 768.

INTERNAL TROUBLES OF THE ŠĀHIS

As the external threat diminished, internal tensions between Kābul and Zābulistān built up quickly. Since the separation of Zābulistān from the main Šāhi kingdom the internal frictions indeed never died out and were only occasionally submerged under the fear of the common threat from Sīstān.

According to the Chinese sources Kābul and Zābulistān were still two separate states in the early part of the eighth century A.D.95 Thus in A.D. 719 Kapiṣa is recorded to have despatched books containing sūtras on astronomy, along with some secret but very important prescriptions, and mysterious drugs and other products of the country, to the Chinese court.96 We are not told the intention behind this move, but it is easy to guess from what the Chinese emperor did in return. A mandate was issued which authorised the king of Kapiṣa to act as Ka-lo-ta-chih-t'e-k'in (= 'Tigīn of Arokhaj').97 Whether Kapiṣa actually overran Zābulistan to reach as far as Rukkhkaj is not known. The title probably indicated a

93 Sawār later on became the governor of Sīstān (Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.132), but how his release was effected is not known.
94 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.126.
95 According to Huei Ch'ao (W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.448) the ruler of Zābulistān, although a nephew of the king of Kapiṣa, was not subordinate to his uncle.
theoretical claim and was used only to revive the old dispute with the Rutbīl.

The Rutbīl on his part was not sitting idle either. In 710-11 Zābulistān is recorded to have sent its envoy to the Chinese court to 'pay homage and tribute', before bringing Kapiṣa under its control.\(^98\) That Zābulistān could have actually extended its control to the Kābul valley is not unlikely but it is more probable that the move was designed simply to counteract Kapiṣa's claim on Rukkkhaj. It met with success: in A.D. 720 the Chinese emperor conferred the title of king upon Tche-kiu'-eul who was formerly hie-li-fa (= ilteber = Rutbīl) of 'Arokhaj'.\(^99\) In the period between A.D. 742-55 the king of Zābulistān is said to have paid several visits to the Chinese court,\(^100\) perhaps in gratitude.

For sometime after the visit of Hsūan Tsang, Gandhāra goes entirely out of the picture. But its history, of course, did not stop. At the time of Huei Ch'ao's visit the countries of Gandhāra, Lampāka, and Kapiṣa had been united under one rule.\(^101\) The king had two capitals: in summer he used to live in Kapiṣa, whereas in winter he moved to Gandhāra. The king of Kapiṣa in A.D. 739 had already grown old and was therefore seeking permission of the Emperor of China to abdicate in favour of his son named Po-lin-ki-po, or Po-fu-chun.\(^102\) In A.D. 745 the Emperor conferred the kingship of both Wu-chang (Swāt) and Kapiṣa upon Po-fu-chun. He was also honoured with the title Tso-Hsiao-wei-Chiang-Chiūn ('the brave general

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\(^{98}\) Chavannes, op.cit., p.161.

\(^{99}\) Ibid., p.161.

\(^{100}\) N.C. Sen, op.cit., p.13.

\(^{101}\) W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.446.

\(^{102}\) Chavannes, op.cit., p.132; and N.C. Sen, op.cit., p.13.
guarding the left'). Kapiša sent its last envoy in A.D. 758-59. After this date we have nothing to learn from the Tang-Shu.

Some information, however, can be gleaned from the report of Wu-K'ong, who passed through Gandhāra soon after the middle of the eighth century A.D. Wu K'ong mentioned kings with Turkish names as having founded certain monasteries. The ruling king, Jou-l'o-li, he says, was known to be a descendant of Kaniska. But Wu K'ong seems to have erroneously confused the Turks with the Kuśānas. Perhaps the Chinese pilgrim recorded, without investigating the historicity of the matter, the claim of the ruling house to be descended from the famous Kaniska.

THE ŚĀHIS UNDER RENEWED PRESSURE

With the establishment of the Abbasid rule in the middle of the eighth century there ended a long interval of chaos and political instability in the Caliphate. The Caliphs made renewed efforts to restore law and order and win back their lost territories. Consequently, the western borders of Zābulistān suffered once more from the rapacious raids of the successive Sīstān governors.

In the year 151 (769), Ma'n b. Zā'ida as-Shaibānī took charge of Sīstān in the capacity of governor. Ma'n immediately contacted the Rutbīl and instructed him to send tribute, in compliance with the terms of the treaty he had formerly entered into with Ḥajjāj. The Rutbīl despatched 'camels, Turkish tents, and slaves, reckoning each at double its value'.

105 Tbid., pp.356f.
106 Balādhwī, p.401; Tarīkh-i Sīstān, pp.143-44. According to the latter source Ma'n sent Yazīd b. Mazyad in advance and himself followed him. The Rutbīl offered him presents which did not come up to his expectations.
107 Balādhwī, p.401.
The Sahi chief was perfectly within his rights to interpret the terms of the treaty as it suited his own convenience, but the clever move to put double value rather than the actual price on each item of the tribute articles, was taken as an affront by Ma'n, who, infuriated by the trick being played upon him, marched into Rukkhkhaj. On his arrival, he discovered that the Rutbil had already withdrawn to Zabulistan to spend the summer. Ma'n reduced Rukkhkhaj and secured 30,000 captives. A lieutenant of the Rutbil, named Mawand, asked for safe conduct to be taken to the Caliph Manṣūr. Ma'n granted the request and sent him off to Baghdad accompanied by a large bodyguard, consisting of Sahi troops. The Caliph treated him generously and granted him and his chiefs valuable pensions. As the winter was approaching, Ma'n withdrew to Bust, but soon fell victim to a Kharijite plot. The murderers were punished by the next governor, Yazīd b. Mazyad, but his harshness earned him universal hatred and eventually led to his dismissal.

In the following six to seven years, Sistān once more lapsed into confusion, murders and rebellions, easing thereby a great deal of the tension on the Sahi borders. The Kharijites gathered strength and challenged the government troops everywhere. As the situation got nearly out of control Yazīd was despatched once again to restore law and order in Sistān. In about 160 (777) he sent his son Fayyāḍ to Bust, perhaps

108 Balādhūrī, p.401.
109 Ibid.
110 Tarikh-i Sistān, p.144.
111 According to the Tarikh (p.144), 'Māwaid' (Mawand) was the son-in-law of the Rutbil.
112 Balādhūrī, loc.cit.
113 Balādhūrī, pp.401-02.
114 See Tarikh-i Sistān, pp.149-50.
in order to renew hostilities with the Šāhis. But Yazīd could not stay
long in Sīstān and was transferred in the following year.

Ya'qūbī has here recorded an isolated incident which could have
happened at any time in the reign of the Caliph al-Mahdī (A.D. 775-85).
It is stated that Mahdī wrote letters to different kings inviting them to
tender their submission to his authority. Among those who complied with
his orders are mentioned Khinkhil the Shāh of Kābul, Rūtbīl, referred to
by Ya'qūbī as the malik of Sījistān, and ash-Shīr the malik of Bāmīān.115

The restoration of peace in Sīstān brought the usual threat to the
peace of the Šāhis. Early in the year 169 (785) Tamīm b. Sa'īd, the then
governor of Sīstān, marched to Rukhkhaj and engaged the Rutbīl in battle.
The narration of the Tārīkh (p.151) suggests that Tamīm achieved some
measure of success. A brother of the Rutbīl was taken prisoner and
despached to Irāq. Tamīm was, however, replaced in the same year by
Kathīr b. Sālam, who was known only for his piety and was unable to keep
the situation under control; he fled to Bagdad the following year for
fear of his life.116

In the following years the Sīstān frontier became less dangerous and
a new threat appeared from the north of Kābul. According to Ibn al-Athīr
when the Caliph ar-Rashīd appointed Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath the
governor of Khurāsān in the year 171 (787) the latter sent his son al-
'Abbās towards Kābul. Al-'Abbās fought the people of Kābul and, having
reduced them, marched on to Sānahār117 (Shāh bahār = Śahi vihāra). The
city of Ghūrwand, situated to the north of Kābul, was conquered, according

115 Ya'qūbī, ii, p.479.
116 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, pp.152.
117 Ibn al-Athīr, vi, p.114. The word Sānahār mentioned by Ya'qūbī
Kitāb al-Baldān, p.290) as 'Naubahār', the place of idols, is
evidently the Śahi vihāra of Huei Ch'ao's report (W. Fuchs, op.cit.,
p.448).
to Ya'qūbī, in 176 (792) at the time when Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak got the governorship of Khūrāsān.118

In the year 172 (788) fighting again flared up in Rukhkhaį, which seems to have become a popular battleground for the armies of the Rutbīl and those of the Sīstān governors. This time the immediate cause was a concentration of Turkish troops in that area,119 gathered perhaps by the Rutbīl either to put up a strong defence against the incessant Arab raids or to intervene in the turbulent affairs of Sīstān. With a view to disperse this concentration Ṣadaqah, the son of 'Uthmān b. 'Amāra b. Khazīma al-Mazani - the governor of Sīstān, proceeded with an army of regulars and was joined by a group of volunteers led by Maṭrāf b. Samurah al-Qādī.120 In a battle that took place somewhere in Rukhkhaį a great number of Turks were put to the sword. After the victory Ṣadaqah retired to Bust, but he was soon ordered to proceed against the Khārijites, who had recently increased their plundering raids in the area lying between Bust and Zaranj.121

Meanwhile the Turks regrouped their ranks and once again assumed a threatening attitude. In the year 179 (795-96) the new governor of Sīstān, Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl, proceeded to Bust to give them battle. The expedition met with success and Ibrāhīm, according to the Ṭārīkh, marched on to Kābul. He returned to Sīstān laden with spoils.122

After this, Kābul was again visited by a Muslim governor but from a different direction. 'Alī b. Īsā, who succeeded Faḍl b. Yaḥyā in the

118 Kitāb al-Baldān, pp.289-90. There is some confusion about the name of the leader of this expedition. Ya'qūbī first names al-Ḥasan b. Faḍl b. Yaḥyā and then Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl as the leader.
119 Ṭārīkh-i Sīstān, p.152.
120 Ibid.
121 Ibid., p.153.
122 Ibid., p.154.
governorship of Khurāsān, reached Kābul in pursuit of the Khārijite ʿamza
ash-Shārī and killed him in battle.123 In Sīstān however ʿAlī was less
fortunate and was routed by the Khārijites.

MĀMŪN’S INVASION OF KĀBUL

Encouraged by the weakness of the Caliphate at the time of the civil
war between Māmūn and Āmīn, the Kābul Shāh laid claim to some of the
adjoining areas of Khurāsān.124 Similar claims were made by other
neighbouring princes, to the utter disappointment of Māmūn, who felt
obliged to consult his minister, Faḍl b. Sahl, on the subject.125
Political expediency compelled Māmūn to pacify the Shāh for the time being,
but he never actually forgot the Shāh's invidious attempt to exploit his
difficulties. By the year 199 (814-15), as Māmūn victoriously emerged
from the struggle, he seized upon the earliest opportunity to punish the
Shāh, whose name is recorded as 'Maharab Patī Dūmī'126 but in fact may be
Spalapatideva. The ensuing battle seems to have taken place somewhere in
the Kābul valley, but its actual location is nowhere mentioned. The Šāhi
was utterly defeated and, having presented himself and his followers to
the Caliph at Merv, he professed Islām.127 The spoils carried away by the
Muslims included a crown and a throne of the Ispahbadh Kābul Shāh.128

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123 Yaʿqūbī, Kitāb al-Baladān, p.305. See also Tārīkh-i Sīstān (p.155-56)
which gives different details.
124 Ṭabarī, iii, p.815.
125 Ibid.
126 See Azraqī, Akhbār-i Makka, edited by Wustenfield, Leipzig, 1858.
The relevant portions of this work are also reproduced by M.A. Ghafoor in Ancient Pakistan, vol.ii, 1965-66, pp.4-12. For more details see infra, p.187.
127 Balādhurī, p.402.
128 According to Azraqī these items were sent to Mecca to be hung in the
sanctuary. The inscriptions preserved by him were copied from the
crown and the throne of the Shāh.
The cities of Kabul and Qandahār were annexed to Khurāsān and a postal service was established between Bāmīān and Qandahār. For the first time the Caliph sent his own wālīs to rule over these cities. What actually happened to the Iṣpahbadh Kabul Shāh and the Rutbīl is not known. Perhaps they were reinstated in their kingdoms under the general supervision of Muslim officers deputed by the Caliph. The amount of tribute was doubled.

Encouraged by the astounding success they had achieved at Kabul, the troops of Māmūn pushed on to Gandhāra, perhaps in pursuit of the Kashmīr army which had come to the help of the Śāhi, but was now fleeing. The involvement of Kashmīr in the fighting may be gathered from Azraqī's statement that the Abbasid flag was carried as far as Kashmīr and Tibet. It is also suggested by a passage in the Rājatarahgīnī, which contains references to a certain 'Mummuni' who was vanquished by Lalitāditya three times in battle. If 'Mummuni' of the Rājatarahgīnī is the same as Māmūn, the Abassid Caliph (A.D. 813-33), then Kalhana would seem to have confused events which actually took place after the reign of Lalitāditya with those of his time. Be this as it may, we know from Azraqī that the black flag of the Caliph was hoisted on the Indus river.

With his economy wrecked by the payment of double tribute and his army ruined by the disastrous defeat, the convert Śāhi must have received an almost unbearable shock. Probably he did not long survive this humiliation. The exact date of his death is not known but, knowing that

129 Azraqī, loc.cit.
130 Baladhurī, p.402.
131 Rājatarahgīnī, iv, 167.
132 A. Stein (Kalhana's Rājatarahgīnī, 1961 repr., vol.1, p.137), thinks that he is not.
we have to accommodate Lagatūrmān, the last of the Turk Šāhis of Kābul, whose reign ended about A.D. 843, we may assume that he died about A.D. 820.

END OF THE KĀBUL BRANCH OF THE TURK ŠĀHIS

Spalapatideva (or 'Mahrab') was presumably succeeded by Lagatūrmān, who is mentioned by Albirūnī as the last king of the Turkish dynasty of Kābul.133 The word is variously read as 'Katormān' or 'Laktūzamān' by Elliot134 and 'Al-Kitormān' by Cunningham.135 In the lithographed text of Albirūnī's work it is clearly written as Lagatūrmān (لاگتورمان). It is not clear whether the word stands for a proper name or title. In any case it strongly suggests the Ephthalite name Toramāna.

Lagatūrmān seems to have continued paying tribute to the governors of Khurāsān. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih the Kābul Shāh, in the time of 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir's governorship of Khurāsān (A.D. 828-45), paid annual tribute amounting to 1,500,000 dirhams plus 2,000 slaves.136

Lagatūrmān ascended the throne of Kābul at the most difficult time. The country was groaning under the economic burden caused by the payment of tribute, which was presumably being regularly sent through the Caliph's own officers. The doors of Zābulistān were now wide open for the Khārijite adventurers, who, apart from carrying on their usual depredation and looting, settled in the form of communities deep in the Rutbīl's country.137 Perhaps the situation did not substantially change till about the time of the death of Māmūn.138

133 Pit Tahqīq Mā li‘l-Hind, p.350.
137 See supra, p.10.
138 Majumdar (op.cit., p.22) wrongly believes that the Kābul Shāh 'regained independence and apostatized immediately after' Māmūn's invasion. He
Of all the Turk Śāhi kings, Lagatūrmān no doubt wore the most insecure crown. Besides, as we are told by Albīrūnī, the Śāhi king had bad manners and worse behaviour, on account of which the people complained of him greatly to the Brahman minister, Kallar. Taking advantage of this opportunity Kallar overthrew his master and put him in jail to correct his manners. But later on he changed his mind and usurped the government. What happened to Lagatūrmān in jail is not known.

The revolution brought about by Kallar affected only Gandhāra and Kabul; Zābulistān continued to be ruled by the Rutbils for some time longer. On the basis of the information of the Hund slab inscription, the end of the Kabul branch of the Turk Śāhis may be placed about A.D. 843.

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138 continued.

quotes Murgotten’s translation of Tabarī, p.155, but the relevant passage wrongly translated by Murgotten as 'He stayed there' has been corrected by Hitti (JAOS, vol.46, 1926, p.282) as 'the conditions ran smooth i.e. there was no trouble after that'. In any case the passage in question does not suggest revolt.

139 FT Tahlīq Mā li’l-Hind, p.350.
CHAPTER 5

The Hindu Śāhis

The Turk Śāhis were succeeded by another dynasty, known to Albīrūnī as *as-Shāhīyyat al-Hindiyya,* i.e. the Hindu Śāhis. The term Hindu Śāhi was in no way the official name and was coined by Albīrūnī for the practical purpose of distinguishing the two dynasties.

Albīrūnī further gives a list of the names of the individual rulers of this dynasty but the list does not seem to be exhaustive; some of the names known from coins and the *Rājatarāṅgīṇī,* for instance, have not been mentioned. That this indeed is the case may also be known from the following description. The total duration of this dynasty, according to our computation, was about 183 years. Albīrūnī's list gives the names of only eight kings, of whom the last three are known to have covered 25 years of that period. The latter statement, as we shall see below, is certain. Thus, if Albīrūnī's list is exhaustive, we have five kings ruling for 158 years, an average of 32 years for each ruler, which, though not impossible, seems to be appreciably too long.

From the many fights which occurred on the western border of the Kābul valley during the early reigns of this dynasty, it seems that the Hindu Śāhis made some efforts to win back Zābulistān, which, however, they could not recover. To compensate for the territorial losses they suffered in the north-west at the hands of the Muslims of Ghazna, they expanded further into the Panjāb, which in the following years became

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1 *Fi Tahqīq Mā li’l-Hind,* p.351.
2 The following names are mentioned: Kallar, Sāmand, Kamalū, Bhīm, Jaipāl, Anandpāl, Tarojanpāl (Trilocanapāla) and Bhimpāl.
3 Such as Khudarayaka, Lalliya and Vakka.
4 Supra, p.52.
their stronghold. Having failed, however, to stem the tide from this position, they withdrew into the Siwalik Hills. Here their fortune declined rapidly. Shorn of most of their country and wealth, they first dwindled into petty chieftains and then disappeared from the pages of history. Some of the Sāhis migrated to Kashmir, where they continued to enjoy the favours of that country for some time. Kalhaṇa in his time knew of many Kṣatriyas who lived in Kashmir and claimed descent from the Sāhis.

Both Albirūnī and Kalhaṇa passionately admire the grandeur and noble sentiments of the Sāhi kings who 'never slackened in the ardent desire of doing good and right'.

Our data for the history of this dynasty is inseparably woven into the accounts of the rulers of Ghazna. Except for the well known brief passage of Albirūnī, they are nowhere treated directly in the Muslim sources. Since we know a little more about them than we do about the earlier Sāhi dynasty, we treat the history of this period reign by reign.

1. KALLAR
(c. A.D. 843-850)

Kallar, the founder of the Hindu Sāhi dynasty, is known only from Albirūnī's list. The precise circumstances which led to his rise are

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5 Infra, p.139 f.
6 Infra, p.322 ff.
7 Rājatarahgīṇī, viii, 3230.
9 Rājatarahgīṇī, vii, 66-69.
10 According to Cunningham (CMI, p.58) this name may be a scribal error for the names Kalaśa and Kalhaṇa, well known in the Kashmir chronicle. In view of the absence of short vowels in the Arabic script, the possibility of this name representing a derivative of the Sanskrit kula, 'family' should not be overlooked.
still shrouded in mystery. Alābīrūnī's information that Kallar by accident found hidden treasures which gave him influence and power seems to be meaningful, though of course in Hindu India there are many examples of Brahmans becoming important ministers and a few of them actually becoming kings. We must assume that Kallar began as a poor Brahman earning his living by the performance of rituals or teaching, and suddenly became rich and influential, to work his way up in the power structure of the country. No doubt the story of his discovery of hidden treasure was a popular rumour to account for his meteoric rise.

Whether he was really so unbelievably lucky as to find hidden treasures may be open to question, but in the aftermath of the Kābul Shāh's crippling defeat at the hands of Māmūn, which weakened the power of the king, as we have already seen, there was an opportunity which could be grasped by an unscrupulously ambitious minister, such as Kallar was, to get rich by unconventional means. Using his much-needed wealth to achieve political ends, according to Alābīrūnī, he first gradually deprived the king of his powers and then, under the pretext of reforming the manners of his royal protégé, threw him into prison. There is no information that Lagatūrmān was ever released and he may have died in prison.

If there was any opposition from other quarters to Kallar's usurpation of power, it has not been reported. His riches may have enabled him to buy his opponents' acquiescence in his rule. As a fair comment on his successful manipulation of the situation one may suggest that, in the manner of a learned Brahman, it was his subtlety and adroitness par excellence and not brute force which won him the throne of Kābul, apparently without shedding a single drop of blood. The precise date of his accession is not recorded but, on the evidence of the dates of the inscriptional

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records of the period of the Hindu Sāhis, it may be placed about A.D. 843.12

Kallar (कल्लर) has sometimes been wrongly identified with Lalliya (لالية) referred to by Kalhana.13 Some superficial resemblance between the two names when written in Arabic characters is no doubt there, but the evidence of the Rajatarāhghiṇī cannot be chronologically reconciled with that of Albirūnī, and thus renders the identification untenable.14 Nor does this identification solve any crucial problems of the history of the Sāhis to encourage us to firmly adhere to it.

According to Cunningham Kallar had the designation Spalapati15 - a name or title known from the coins of the period of the Sāhis. Y. Mishra however goes a step further and identifies Spalapati, Vakka and Sāmanta - all known from coins - with Kallar.16 The words Spalapati, Vakka and Sāmanta are taken by him to denote different aspects of Kallar's authority. Knowing his position as a usurper, we are told, Kallar was fearful of assuming royal power in his own name and therefore preferred to rule in the capacity of war-lord (Spalapati), lord (Vakka) and feudatory (Sāmanta)17 as long as his master was still alive in prison. But the hypothesis is primarily based on the identification of Sāmanta with Spalapati which, as we shall see below, cannot be upheld any longer.18 Moreover, the evidence

12 Infra, p.309 f.
15 CMI, p.58.
16 The Hindu Sāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab, Patna 1972, pp.19 ff.
17 Ibid.
18 Infra, p.187.
of Azraqī and Albīrūnī shows that Iṣpahbād/Spalapati was the title specifically taken by the Kabul-Shāhs and not by their feudatories. It is difficult to understand in the light of this information how Kallar could have shown his feudatory position in relation to his master by adopting the royal title of the latter. It is logical therefore to think that Kallar never had these titles, nor did he interfere with the established currency of the country, which continued as it had been in the time of his predecessor.

The old house of the Kabul-Shāhs founded by Barhatigīn had family relations with the Rūbīls of Rukkhkhaj and Zābulistān. Its overthrow by Kallar must have affected the mutual relations of Kabul and Zābulistān. We have no further details to enable us to accurately build up the history of this period, but the main trend of the subsequent events show that the two Hindu kingdoms never drew closer together after the date of Kallar's successful coup. The dynastic change at Kabul therefore dangerously weakened the cause of the Śāhis by driving them into two hostile camps at a time when unity and co-operation were the crying needs. Presumably this division among the Śāhis made their conquest by Ya'qūb much easier.

Nothing is known about the main events of Kallar's period of rule. The foundation of some places in the Panjāb bearing the name Kallar and Kalrī has been mistakenly attributed to Kallar, the Śāhi king of Kabul.

19 Azraqī's work called Akhbār Makka bears no date. On the basis of internal evidence however Wustenfield (op.cit., pp.10-25) dates it to about 244 (858). If this is correct, Azraqī was a contemporary source.

20 Ft Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind, p.471; and supra, p.85.

21 Supra, p.46.

22 D.B. Pandey, The Hindu Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Panjāb, Delhi 1973, p.81 f. See also Y. Mishra (op.cit., p.12 f) who seems to be rather inconsistent on this point. On page 11 of his work cited here he maintains that the word Kallar is a misreading of Lalliya, but shortly afterwards (p.15) he says that the places called Kallar and Kalrī are named after Kallar. If Lalliya was the correct form these places should have been obviously known after this name and not Kallar.
The word *kallar* in the dialects of Western Panjabi actually means salinity or saline, and is specially used with reference to the saline soil which seriously affects the local agriculture. It is also used to mean a ruined monument, mound or derelict place which, because of the nature of the soil in most areas of the Panjab, quickly develops a thick layer of *kallar* on top. It is therefore probable that these places are named for this reason, than after Kallar, the Śahi ruler. Indeed, there are numerous places in the Panjab which bear the name Kallar, all of which could hardly have been founded by the same ruler.

We do not know the precise limits of Kallar's kingdom. It may have extended from the Hindū Kush mountains to the river Jailam in the Panjab. The south-western boundary of the kingdom is in fact not clearly known. But a clue may be taken from the fact that the Salt Range became a stronghold of the Śahis during the later reigns of this dynasty. It may have been included in the Śahi kingdom even at this early stage. Lahore was probably a separate state at this time because in the reign of Jayapāla the rājā of this place is said to have attacked Nandana and Taxila which were the Śahi territories.23 Albīrūnī's statement that the pedigree of the Turk Śahis existed in Nagarkot24 suggests that their kingdom extended at least to that point in the south. As the immediate successor of the Turk Śahis in Kābul and the Panjab, Kallar may also have extended his kingdom to Nagarkot.

The date of Kallar's death is not recorded. Considering that he had to gradually pass through various stages of ascendancy - first as a minister and then as a usurper - one may assume that by the time of Lagatūrmān's dethronement Kallar was quite an old man, and thus he may have died about A.D. 850.

23 See infra, p.139.
24 *Fi Tahqīq Ma li'-l-Hind*, p.349.
2. SÄMANTADEVA
(c. A.D. 850-870)

Sämand, the successor of Kallar, is the second Hindu Sähi king in Albirûnî's list. The word Sämand was probably used as a title and not as the proper name. The title may also be recognised in the place called 'Sämang Kot' (Sämanta Kota) mentioned by Gardîzî. Sämand has been correctly identified with Sämanta of the Hindu Sähi coins, though it would be wrong to assume that all the coins with the legend Śrī Sämantadeva were struck by him. Presumably he ascended the throne of Kābul around A.D. 850, after the death of Kallar, who may have been his father though the precise nature of their relationship is nowhere recorded.

Unfortunately we have no details of the life of Sämand to enable us to put him into proper historical perspective. Some writers doubt even his existence. Sämand in Albirûnî's list, says D.W. Macdowall, is probably a name falsely inferred from the existence of so many coins bearing the legend Śrī Sämantadeva. But the argument is not wholly convincing. Had it been really the case, one wonders why Albirûnî did not similarly falsely infer the name of Vakkadeva from the latter's equally abundant coins, and include him in his list.

E. Thomas describes Sämanta as the greatest of the earlier Hindu Sähis. The numismatic evidence suggests that he was looked upon as a

25 For more details see infra, pp.187, 192, 196.
26 Zain al-Akhbār, p.204.
27 Supra, p.94.
28 We have assumed this relationship on the analogy of father-son succession known from the cases of most other Sähi kings.
model by the succeeding generations of the Śāhis, for the pattern of the silver coins set by him was followed throughout the period of this dynasty. By changing the legend Spalapatideva into Śāmantadeva he seems to have initiated the process of Indianisation of the traditions which Kallar inherited from the earlier Śāhis but had no time, or otherwise found it inexpedient, to change in his life-time. He seems to have adhered to the old practice of the Kābul Śāhis of not using their names on the coins.

End of the Western Branch of the Turk Śāhis

Zābulistān and Rukkhkhañ, as we have earlier seen, continued to be in the hands of the Rutbīls, the western branch of the house of the Turk Śāhis. It is not known whether Śāmanta ever attempted to heal the wounds, caused by Kallar's revolution, between the Hindu Śāhis of Kābul and the Turk Śāhis of Zābulistān. His innovation in the coinage of the country, if it was aimed at removing the vestiges of the old house at all, may have been looked upon by the Rutbīls as an act of further alienation. No wonder the Kābul Śāh hereafter never came to the help of the Rutbīls when his help was most needed.

This weakness of the Śāhis was not lost sight of by the Khārijite adventurers, who, as revealed by the bilingual Arabic-Sanskrit inscriptions from the Tochi valley situated east of Ghazna on the Pākistānī side of the Pāk-Afghan border, penetrated deep into the Rutbīl's territories and made their own settlements. One of these records dated 243 (857) mentions the construction of a tank by a certain Hayy b. 'Ammār. We know about 'Ammār from the Tārīkh: he was a Khārijite who

31 Cf. supra, p.93.
revolted against Šāliḥ b. Naṣr, the self-appointed ruler of Bust. Salīḥ's force moved under the command of his chiefs Kathīr b. Raqād, Ya'qūb b. Laith and Darham b. Naṣr and routed the resurgents in 238 (852) near Kish (or Kishsh). 'Ammār fled before them for fear of his life. Later on he joined forces with Ibrāhīm al-Qūsī, the Tāhirīd governor of Sīstān, but fared no better. In 247 (861) he still wielded considerable power and was appealed to by Ya'qūb, the Šaffārid who by this time had emerged as the undisputed ruler of Sīstān, to cease raiding the latter's territories. Ḥayy was probably a son of this 'Ammār. The Khārijite origin of 'Ammār lends further support to this view. In about 252 (867) the Khārijites had a strong base at Gardīz, not very far from the Tochī valley.

In the wake of the Khārijite depredations rose a bigger storm which finally engulfed the Turk Šāhīs of Rukkkha,J and inflicted severe blows upon the Hindu Šāhīs of Kābul. In the van of this storm was Ya'qūb b. Laith, a coppersmith (Šaffār) of Qarnīn, whose high spirits revolted at this peaceful occupation and forced him to resort to highway robbery. About 232 (846) he joined forces with Šāliḥ b. Naṣr (or Naṣr) against Bashar b. Sulaimān, an upstart of Bust, who had driven al-Qūsī's son, Ahmad, out of the city. Bashar was killed and Šāliḥ became the undisputed master of Bust and the surrounding areas. He then proceeded to Zaranj

34 Tarīkh-i Sīstān, pp.196-97. Iṣṭakhrī (p.246) and Ibn Ḥauqal (p.303) report this name as 'Raqqāq'.
35 Tarīkh-i Sīstān, p.197.
36 Tarīkh-i Sīstān, pp.202-03. 'Ammār was killed in 251 (865).
38 Gardīzī, Zain al-Akhbār, p.139.
39 Tarīkh-i Sīstān, p.192.
in company with Ya'qūb and took control of the city through a clever stratagem. This brilliant success however heralded Šāliḥ's downfall. The Sistān troops led by Ya'qūb and Sarbātak split off from the main force when Šāliḥ ordered the plundering of al-Qūšī's palace and wanted to remove the treasures to Bust. In the fierce battle that followed Šāliḥ's army, consisting mainly of the people of Bust, was completely routed but he himself escaped and went underground. The Sistān army on its return raised a certain Darham b. Naqr to the leadership in 244 (858).

Getting suspicious of Ya'qūb's growing influence and power, however, Darham secretly manoeuvred to put an end to the life of his erstwhile companion. But Ya'qūb saw through the plot. In the conflict that followed Darham was defeated and thrown into prison. In the year 247 (861) the people Sistān paid homage (bai'at) to Ya'qūb, who became undisputedly the most powerful man in the region. An attempt on the part of Muḥammad b. Tāhir, the ruler of Khurāsān, who sent his general Ibrāhīm b. Ilyās b. Asad to reduce Ya'qūb into obedience, similarly failed. On the contrary, Ya'qūb was given by Muḥammad b. Tāhir the patent (manshūr) to rule over Sistān, Kābul, Kirmān and Fārs.

In the year 249 (863) Ya'qūb marched upon Bust where Šāliḥ had recently established his power, probably with the help of the Rutbīl. Šāliḥ's nerves however failed him; on hearing the news of the march he

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40 Ṭārīkh-i Sistān, p.198.

41 We have here given the account of the Ṭārīkh-i Sistān (pp.199-200). Others give different reasons for the downfall of Darham. According to Ibn al-Athīr (vol.vii, p.185), Darham was treacherously seized by the Tāhirī governor of Herāt and sent to Baghdaḍ as a prisoner. He was released sometime later but, instead of going back to Sistān, he entered the service of the Caliph. See also De Slane, Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, vol.IV, London 1871, p.304; Ṭārīkh-i Guzīda, Tehran 1339, pp.370-71; and Raudfat aṣ-Ṣafā, vol.iv, p.11.

42 Ṭārīkh-i Sistān, pp.208-09.
fled to take refuge with the Rutbīl. Ya'qūb took control of the city without fighting, but had soon to withdraw to Sīstān to suppress a Khārijite revolt.43

At the close of 249 (864) Ya'qūb once more proceeded to Bust to put an end to the menace caused by Šāliḥ, who had moved to Rukhkhāj at the head of a huge army. On this occasion Šāliḥ had the active support of the Rutbīl, who had come with greater preparations, bringing his 30,000 troops44 and numerous elephants45 in the field. Ya'qūb advanced to Panjwāy and then marched on to Tegin Ābād (Tekīnābād), where he faced huge hordes of the enemy.46 But for his personal dash and intrepidity the success of the Saffārīd in the ensuing battle would have been in jeopardy. Realising his weakness in the face of heavy odds, he took a body of fifty picked horse and dashed through the enemy lines to make a special target of the position of the Rutbīl.47 If the Rutbīl had not been ludicrously exposed, Ya'qūb's small force would have suffered serious casualties, but the foolhardy courage of their general bore fruit. The Rutbīl, named 'Lakan the Lak'48 or 'Kbtīr',49 and three other princes having the same title were killed and their army took to flight, leaving 6,000 dead on the battlefield. A large number of the Šāhīs, including

43 Ibid., p.205.
44 Tārīkh-i Gūzīda, p.371. This source has confused the Rutbīl with the Kābul Shāh.
45 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.205.
46 Gārdīzī, op.cit., p.139.
47 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.205. According to the Tārīkh-i Gūzīda, however, the Rutbīl was treacherously murdered by Ya'qūb when they met to conclude a treaty. See also Tabaqāt-i Nāsīrī (Raverty's trans.), 1970 Indian repr., vol.1, p.317.
48 Tabaqāt-i Nāsīrī (Raverty's trans.), p.318.
Aharpatī, a brother of the Rutbīl, fell into Ya'qūb's hands and were taken prisoner. The rest of the family members of the deceased king professed Islām and were soon set free, except for a certain 'Kbr' (or Kīr) who was kept in imprisonment at Bust. The spoils captured by the victor comprised 4,000 horses, a silver throne and the Rutbīl's treasures, besides numerous camels, mules and elephants.

Ṣāliḥ fled towards Hind; but he was overtaken and captured by a cavalry detachment and brought to Ya'qūb, who despatched him to Sīstān to be thrown into prison. Having appointed a certain Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥajar, a son of the Rutbīl's uncle, in the government of Rukhkhaḵ, Ya'qūb returned to Sīstān. By this time, it seems, some of the Rutbīls had already professed Islām or had accepted Muslim names.

A short while after his return, however, Ya'qūb heard the news of Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥajar's rebellion. In the last month of 252 (867), he was again on the march. He advanced as far as Kūhaz (Kūhak), the headquarters of Ṣāliḥ, but his march was so carefully camouflaged that the enemy did not have a clue of it, till he put the fort under siege. After a few days' hard fighting Ṣāliḥ realised that he could not hold his ground and committed suicide. His body was thrown out of the fort by his comrades in the hope of getting better treatment from Ya'qūb. Demoralised and broken, the rest of the garrison surrendered. Ṣāliḥ's body was taken.

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50 Actually Ṣaḥrpātī (Tārīḵ-i Sīstān, p.206). The name is given without nuqtas. We reconstruct it Aharpatī, 'Lord of the Day', since this was a recognised title of the Sun-god, and might well be adopted as a proper name or cognomen, especially in a region where the Iranian solar cult was so influential.

51 Written as Ṣāliḥ (Tārīḵ-i Sīstān, p.215). Bahār reads it 'ḡīr' and G. Scarcia (op.cit.) thinks that 'Kbr' is another variant of the name 'Kbtīr'. But 'Kbtīr' is known to have been killed in battle.

52 Tārīḵ-i Sīstān, p.205.

53 Ibid., p.206.

54 Ibid., p.208.
to Bust and buried there. Ya'qūb put the command of Kohaz in the hands of a trustworthy officer and returned.55

Having stayed in Sīstān for a short while Ya'qūb proceeded to Ghazna and reduced that city. He then marched on Gardīz, the Khārijite stronghold. Abū Mansūr Aflāḥ b. Muḥammad b. Khāqān, the ruler of Gardīz, offered tough resistance but, after the dreadful carnage that followed, he submitted and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 dirhams.56 The areas stretching from Ghazna to Rukhkhaī were annexed to Sīstān for the first time.

In the year 255 (868-69) 'Kbr' (or Kīr), the son of the late Rutbīl, escaped from Bust and, after collecting a large body of troops, captured Rukhkhaī.57 Towards the end of the same year, Ya'qūb marched to Rukhkhaī, but he could not catch the son of the Rutbīl who made his way to Kābul. He chased the fugitive Sāhī to a place called Hāsāb, but a heavy snowfall blocked his way and he was forced to relinquish the pursuit.58 On his way back he punished the Khalaj and other Turkish tribes, evidently because of their collaboration with the Rutbīl. A great number of their troops were killed and their cattle driven to Sīstān.59

Ya'qūb's Invasion of Kābul

In the following year Ya'qūb made another attempt to get hold of the 'son of the Rutbīl'. There is some confusion about the route by which he travelled and also about the sequence of the events that followed. The evidence of the Tārīkh on this point is completely at variance with that

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55 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, loc.cit.
56 Gardīzī, op.cit., p.139
57 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.215.
58 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.215.
of other Muslim historians. According to this source the first target of Ya'qūb's military operations was Zābulistān. 60 As he reached there, we are told, the 'son of the Rutbi' took his position in the fort of Nāf Lāmān, but could not hold his ground for long and surrendered. Ya'qūb then marched to Balkh, the Tārīkh says, by way of Bāmiān. Whether Bāmiān was reached through the main Kābul valley or through Ghūr or by way of Herāt - the comparatively easy but considerably longer route - is not mentioned. The Herāt route is however more likely, for the power of the Hindu Śāhīs of Kābul had not yet been broken and more battles would have certainly taken place had Ya'qūb chosen to pass through the enemy country. Thus the main Kābul valley, according to this source, seems to have been by-passed. But the Tārīkh contradicts itself on the same page when, with reference to an earlier event, it mentions Ya'qūb's presents for the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (A.D. 870-92), which, apart from other highly valuable objects, also included idols said to have been brought by the former from Kābul. That the presents were sent to the Caliph and also that they included idols, is undoubtedly true and is known from many other sources. 61 But how Ya'qūb managed to get the idols from Kābul without raiding that place seems to have been known only to the author of the Tārīkh; the accounts of Gardīzī, Ibn al-Athīr and the Raufat aṣ-Ṣafā make it clear that the Tārīkh has confused the sequence of events. According to the former, Ya'qūb marched into the Kābul valley from Balkh, 62 and not from Zābulistān. He first took Bāmiān, which he probably reached by way of Herāt, and then marched on Balkh where he ruined (the temple) Naushād. 63 On his way back from Balkh, he attacked Kābul. Whether the

60 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.216.
62 Gardīzī, op.cit., p.139; and Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.
63 Gardīzī, op.cit., p.139.
word Kābul here stands for the city in particular or for the Kābul valley in general, is not clearly stated. The sequence of events, however, suggests that the latter was probably the case. In any case it is well known that Ya'qūb reached as far into the Kābul valley as Panjhir and struck coins at that place. The Kābul Shāh, whose name is not mentioned, but who could have been scarcely anyone other than Sāmanta, was subjugated.64 It was probably at this time that the Rutbīl fled to the fort of Nāī Lāmān and, as the Tārīkh says, was overpowered and taken prisoner.65

The precise location of Nāī Lāmān is, however, nowhere clearly mentioned. Nāī is referred to by Baihaqī and Gardīzī in their accounts of the history of the Ghaznavīs; it became notoriously reputed for being the place where the poet Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān was imprisoned. It seems that there were more than one place which had the name Nāī. It has been suggested, on the basis of the evidence of the Tārīkh, that the place of our particular concern was situated somewhere in Zābulistān.68 If this is really the case, then we must assume that Ya'qūb marched his troops right across the Kābul valley, which he entered from the north. Starting from Panjhir, the place he is known to have visited, he must

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64 See Gardīzī, op.cit., loc.cit. See also Ahmad 'All Kohzād, Dā Afgānistān Pakhwānī Tārīkh, vol.ii, Kābul 1339, p.566-74; and ibid., Bālā Hisār Kābul, vol.i, Kābul 1336, p.17.
65 Ibn al-Athīr, vol.vii, p.247. Gardīzī refers to a certain 'Pirūz' (Pirūz) who was captured by Ya'qūb during this campaign. M. Nāzīm took 'Pirūz' for a place name but A. Habībī (Zain al-Akhbār, p.139) suggests that it could have been the name of a person. Mas'ūdī (Murūj, vol.4, p.173) refers to a certain Pirūz b. Kank as the ruler of Zābulistān. If this is correct the name Kir may be a clerical mistake for Pirūz.
66 Tārīkh-i Baihaqī (ed. Dr 'Alī Akbar Fayyāq), Mashhad 1350, pp.558, 737.
67 Zain al-Akhbār, p.204.
68 A. Habībī, Zain al-Akhbār, p.204, fn.
have passed through the capital city of the Hindu Śāhis to rob the sacred
temple - the reputed place of coronation of the Śāhi rulers - of its
sculptural wealth. We hear of no further skirmishes and it would seem
that the power of the Śāhis was completely shattered by this time.

The exact details of the spoil collected from the Kābul valley are
lacking. The Tārīkh records 50 idols of gold and silver;69 and Mas'udī
mentions elephants.70 The wonder excited in Baghdād by the elephants and
pagan idols forwarded to the Caliph by Ya'qūb also speaks for their high
value.

The best of our authorities put the date of this event in 257
(870-71).71 Ṭabarī is more precise and says that the idols sent by
Ya'qūb reached Baghdād in Rabī' al-Ākhar, 257 (Feb.-March, 871). Thus
the date of the actual invasion may be placed at the end of A.D. 870. It
is evident therefore that the Tārīkh (p.216), in putting the date of the
beginning of Ya'qūb's campaign on 25 Rabī' al-Awwal, 258 (10 February,
872), has made an error. This error has been perpetuated in a very recent
article which reviews an earlier work on the Śāhis;72 and it must be
discarded.

From the point of view of the history of the Śāhis, Ya'qūb's invasion
had far-reaching effects. It put a permanent seal on the fate of the
Rutbīls, who were henceforth forgotten, and, in the later accounts, often
confused with the Kābul Shāhs, and it inflicted severe blows on the nascent
kingdom of the Hindu Śāhis. The ruler of Kābul (Sāmanta), according to the

69 Tārīkh-i Sistān, p.216.
71 Ṭabarī, iii, p.1841; Gardīzī, p.139; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, p.247.
72 P. Bhatia, review of Yogendra Mishra's work The Hindu Sahis of
Afghanistan and the Punjab, in the Indian Historical Review, vol.1,
No.1, 1974, pp.123-25. This author puts the date of this event in
A.D. 872-73.
Raudat aṣ-Ṣafā, was made prisoner.\textsuperscript{73} What happened to Sāmanta after this is difficult to say. He was probably deposed and kept in imprisonment. In any case it is extremely unlikely that he ever regained power after this; Kabul was still in the hands of Yaʾqūb’s governor in 265\textsuperscript{74} (878-79).

3. KHUDARAYAKA
(c. A.D. 870-880)

What arrangement Yaʾqūb made to govern Kabul after the conquest of this region is not explicitly mentioned. The information of the Tārīkh, though very scrappy, may help solve the problem to some extent. It has been stated that the Kabul valley had a Ṣaffarīd āmīl in 265 (878-79) at the time of the death of Yaʾqūb.\textsuperscript{75} It seems therefore that the conqueror, instead of reinstating the vanquished Ṣāhī ruler, appointed his own governor to rule over the former Ṣāhī territories. But who precisely this governor was the Tārīkh does not tell us. Although there is no documentary evidence to support it, it seems probable that, according to the general practice of the Muslim rulers of this area, the governor in question was selected from amongst those Ṣāhī princes who were favourably inclined to the Muslim rule.\textsuperscript{76} If this is true, it gives us an inkling which may suggest a solution to the mystery.

Some of the names or titles on the Ṣāhī coins have not been so far convincingly identified. Of them the name Ṣrī Khudarayaka (correctly Kṣudra rājakā) is the most puzzling.\textsuperscript{77} The metrological evidence of

\textsuperscript{73} Vol.iv, p.12.
\textsuperscript{74} Infra, fn.75.
\textsuperscript{75} Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.233.
\textsuperscript{76} A similar example may be found in the appointment of Sālih b. Ḥajar, the uncle of the Rūbīl ḴutĪr, in the government of Rukhkhaṭ when the latter was killed by Yaʾqūb. See supra, p.99 f.
\textsuperscript{77} For more details, see infra, p.257.
Khudarayaka's coins has prompted D.W. Macdowall to place them apart from the main 'Bull and Horseman' series as an intrusion with strong Muslim links.\textsuperscript{78} Significantly, the weight standard of these coins is different from that of the Šahi coins and conforms to the standard weight of the Arabic dirhams of the reformed currency first introduced by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik\textsuperscript{79} (A.D. 685-705). D.W. Macdowall therefore suggests that these coins were struck by Ya'qūb after the conquest of Kābul. As the coins under discussion can be typologically placed early in the sequence of the 'Bull and Horseman' series of the silver of Sāmanta,\textsuperscript{80} which must have started about A.D. 850, there is reason to believe that they were struck about the time of Ya'qūb's invasion, but it is impossible that the conqueror would have taken a rather unpretentious title such as Śrī Khudarayaka (i.e. small rājā), while at the height of his power. Khudarayaka therefore may have been the title of Ya'qūb's governor of Kābul.

Nothing is known about the main events of Khudarayaka's reign. The scarcity of his coins in Gandhāra suggests that he could not extend his rule to that region, which evidently remained in the hands of a prince of the family of Sāmanta. The main trend of the subsequent events shows that he may have ruled for a short period of about 10 years in the Kābul valley. The beginning of his rule must have coincided with the end of Sāmanta's reign in about A.D. 870.\textsuperscript{81} 'Awfī's information that the Lohgar valley formed part of the Šahi dominions towards the end of the reign of

\textsuperscript{78} Op.cit., p.198.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid. See also J. Walker, Arab Sassanian Coins, London 1941, cxlvii ff.
\textsuperscript{81} Supra, pp.104-05.
'Amr b. Laith, 82 Ya'qūb's successor in Sīstān, shows that the Sāhis had already asserted their independence in the Kābul valley.

As to how this independence was actually achieved, we have no information. Nor do we know anything about the fate of Khudarayaka, who, having been brought into power by a high-handed enemy, must have been looked upon as a Ṣaffārīd 'stooge' among the Sāhis, and was probably overthrown early in the reign of 'Amr, about A.D. 880.

4. LALLIYA
(c. A.D. 880–902)

Lalliya 83 is the first Sāhi king referred to by Kalhaṇa, who depicts him as a great ruler in whose enormous strength and power the kings of other regions took shelter. 84 In view of this description it seems rather strange that Lalliya's name is found neither in Albīrūnī's list nor in the coins of the Sāhi period. It would seem therefore that Kalhaṇa has slightly exaggerated the simple historical fact that Lalliya, as a king in his own right, was independent of the neighbouring powers. The relative ease with which his power was finally crushed by the Kashmirians does not speak highly of his strength.

A certain degree of similarity between the forms Lalliya and Kallar, when written in Arabic characters, has prompted some scholars to conclude that the two names are identical. 85 The following verses of the Rājatarahgini  are often quoted to support this identification.

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83 Other variants of this name are: Laliya and Lāllaya. See Rājatarahgini of Kalhaṇa, text edited and annotated by V. Bandhu (Woolner Indological Series - 5), vol.1, Hoshiarpur 1963, p.207, fn.155.


85 Supra, p.92.
Rājat., v, 152-55: Alakhāna's support, the illustrious Lalliya Šāhi - who (placed) between the rulers of the Darads and Turuṅkas as between a lion and a boar, resembled Āryāvarta (as it lies) between the Himalayas and Vindhya (mountains); in whose town of Udabhāṇḍa (other) kings found safety, just as the sun-disc (outshines) the stars in heaven - he was not received into service by (Ṣaṃkaravarman, the Kashmirian king, A.D. 883-902), who desired to remove him from his sovereign position.86

After some interruption the story is resumed.

Rājat., v, 232-33: As superintendent of the treasury he (Prabhākaradeva, the prime minister of Gopālavarna - the successor of Ṣaṃkaravarman) plundered the riches of the amorous (queen) and vanquished the Šāhi kingdom at Udabhāṇḍa. He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Šāhi upon Toramāṇa, Liliya's son, and gave him the (new) name Kamaluka.

As is evident from the above verses the name of Sāmanta, which is the raison d'être behind Lalliya's identification with Kallar, has not been explicitly mentioned. There is however some confusion about the true identity of the 'rebellious Šāhi' mentioned in verse 233. Stein's view that the phrase actually refers to Sāmand of AlbIrūnī's list, though credulously followed by many subsequent writers, is not wholly borne out by the evidence of the Rājatarahgīṇī. The context in which these words are used points rather to Lalliya, whose timely help to Alakhāna turned the Kashmirian victory in the Panjāb into a partial success. Lalliya's collaboration with Alakhāna, and perhaps also his friendship with the

86 A. Stein's trans., 1961 Indian repr.
Gurjaras,\textsuperscript{88} was viewed with grave concern in Kashmir. Śaṅkaravarman therefore hereafter eagerly desired to chastise the obstructionist Śāhi by invading his country. Although he could not live long enough to put his plans into practice, Lalliya was attacked and deposed by the Kashmirian forces soon afterwards. Thus it was Lalliya and not Sāmand who seems to have been referred to in the above passage. Cunningham also considers Lalliya as the Śāhi chief who was deposed by Gopālavaran\textsuperscript{89}.

The order of succession of the Śāhi rulers therefore, as stated in verse 233, is Lalliya - Kamaluka, and not Lalliya - the rebellious Śāhi - Kamaluka. As Kamaluka was raised to the throne in the period between A.D. 902 and 904,\textsuperscript{90} we must assume that this was also the date of Lalliya's dethronement. Now, should Lalliya be identified with Kallar who heads AlbIrūnī's list, it naturally follows that the latter was deposed in the period between A.D. 902 and 904. In this case however we shall have to assume the impossible - that Kallar's successor in the list, Sāmand, preceded him in time. Moreover the beginning of the rule of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty, and therefore that of Kallar, in our estimate, can be reasonably placed around A.D. 843.\textsuperscript{91} But Lalliya's known date falls nearly 59 to 61 years after this. This seems to be an exceptionally long period of time for one reign, particularly when Kallar is also known to have served the last Turk Śāhi ruler for some time and may have been an old man at the time of the revolution.\textsuperscript{92} Another point of difference between Kallar and Lalliya is that they are referred to as ruling from

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{88}{B.N. Puri, \textit{The Gurjara-Pratihāras}, Bombay 1957, pp.66, 72.}
\footnote{89}{\textit{CMI}, p.57.}
\footnote{90}{\textit{Rājatarahgiṇī}, v, 233.}
\footnote{91}{Supra, p.52.}
\footnote{92}{Supra, p.94.}
\end{footnotes}
different capitals, the former from Kābul and the latter from Udabhānda. It can be seen, then, that Lalliya's identification with Kallar creates more problems than it solves. We must therefore assume that they were two different personalities and had nothing common in time.

Unfortunately nothing much is known about the history of the reign of Lalliya, not even the date of his rise to power. The fact however that Lalliya was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) and that he is said to have supported Alakhāna, a contemporary of Bhoja, the Gurjara king who died about A.D. 890, favours an early date for his rise. Presumably he rose in the aftermath of Ya'qūb's invasion which destroyed Sāmanta's power in the Kābul valley in A.D. 870. As Ya'qūb is not known to have invaded Gandhāra, it may be safely presumed that the rule of this region continued to be in the hands of a scion of the family of Sāmanta. This would suggest, though there is nothing to prove it for certain, that Lalliya was a descendant or possibly a son of Sāmanta. If this is true Lalliya may have established his rule in Gandhāra about A.D. 870. It would seem therefore that Lalliya continued to rule Gandhāra uninterruptedly till Gopālavarmān's invasion.

Conflict with the Śaffārīd Governor of Ghazna

For the decade beginning A.D. 880 the history of Kābul is very obscure. The end of Khudarayaka's rule about this time has already been commented upon, but it is not known for certain who actually brought about his downfall. The establishment of Lalliya's power in Gandhāra, however, and the possibility of his being a descendant of Sāmanta, the former legitimate ruler of Kābul, would implicate him in this event, for obvious reasons. In any case, when Kābul once again emerges into the light of history, about A.D. 900, it is mentioned as part of the Śāhi dominions. The

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93 This date is not explicitly mentioned but it can be easily worked out. For details see infra, p.116.
Tārīkh (p.255) gives interesting details on this point which throw some more light on the history of this period. Judged by the information recorded in this source it seems that 'Amr's preoccupation in the affairs of Khorāsān and the replacement of Muhammad b. Ḥamādān b. 'Abd Allāh, the governor of Ghazna, with another officer named Fardāghān, prompted certain Indian kings whose names, reported in a very corrupt form, can be restored as Āṣata and Toramānā to combine their forces and launch a united invasion of Ghazna about A.D. 900. Fardāghān is said to have opposed the Hindu army, but he suffered defeat. The Tārīkh does not tell us whether the city of Ghazna was actually occupied by the victors. It is more probable that the name Ghazna here stands for the province of Zābulistān and not for the capital city, for the incident is also described by 'Awfī, who does not mention the Hindu army going as far as the city of Ghazna.

'Awfī, however, gives a different version of the story. When Fardāghān got the governorship of Zābulistān, we are told, he reached there at the head of a body of cavalry 4,000 strong and then raided the temple of Sakāwand in the Lohgar valley. On hearing the news of this raid Kamalū, the rāṣṭra of Hindūstān, proceeded with a huge force for retaliation, but then hesitated to engage Fardāghān, for the latter cleverly spread the

94 Actually Fār 'Ālī (فرزالی). The form Fardāghān (فرداگان) is known from 'Awfī.

95 Written as Nāsad (ناسد). This name can be connected with Nāsatyas, the Vedic divinities. But the word Nāsatya does not occur as a proper name for human beings. Alternatively Nāsad may be restored as Bāsdev Vāsudeva, a well known Indian name, but this involves the addition of a full syllable. The most likely interpretation is that Nāsad (through آشت داسد ) is a clerical error for Āṣata (آشت), a name known from Firishta. See also infra, pp.131-32.

96 Actually Ālamān (المان). For full discussion see infra, p.114.

97 Elliot, ii, p.172. See also the Persian text reproduced by E. Thomas, op.cit., pp.317-18.
news of the formidable strength of the Muslim army and also of the reinforcements he was expecting from 'Amr. By this ingenious stratagem, 'Awfī says, Fardaghān succeeded in delaying the action till he actually got reinforcements which strengthened his position beyond the power of the Indian rāūf.

The historicity of Toramāna/Kamālū is already well established. The name is known from more than one source and is discussed by us in detail in the following section. It is difficult however to determine the true identity of Āṣata at the present level of our information. But, knowing that Kābul was in the hands of the Sāhis by this time and that Kamālū's fame later on came to be specially associated with Udabhāṇḍa, one may assume that Āṣata was at the head of the government of Kābul. As Lallīya could not risk placing the charge of the recently won Kābul in the hands of an officer other than a trustworthy member of his own family, one may go a step further and assume that Āṣata was his son and therefore a brother of Kamālū.

Both Āṣata and Kamālū are mentioned in the Tārīkh as Shāhas which may be taken to mean that they were independent kings by this time. But the fact that Lallīya was still alive and ruled a country the borders of which touched the land of the Daradas on the one hand and that of the Turuškās on the other suggests a minor role for them. Most probably they helped their father in the capacity of governors and at the time of the conflict with Fardaghān, when they were ordered, presumably by Lallīya, to move against the Muslims, they were mistaken by the latter for two independent rulers.

Lallīya's alliance with Alakhāna has been viewed as a step to meet the Muslim threat from the west. But Lallīya's recovery of Kābul in

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98 Infra, pp.114-120.
the reign of 'Amr, his contemporary, and the latter's involvement in the affairs of Khurāsān which eventually cost him his life, do not warrant this assumption. Moreover the history of 'Amr, who at the height of his power could assume a threatening attitude, has been very well documented, but we fail to find a single reference to his encroachment on the Śāhi territory.\textsuperscript{100}

**End of Lalliya's Rule**

Lalliya's relations with Kashmir seem to have remained strained throughout his life. Śaṃkaravarman probably never forgot the audacity of the Śāhi, who ventured to stand in his way of conquest. In A.D. 901-02, when he came out of the Kashmir valley for a second round of conquests,\textsuperscript{101} he reached so close to the Śāhi capital that this time the main purpose of his military operations, it seems, was to clear the way for a bigger thrust against Lalliya.\textsuperscript{102} But he did not live long enough to accomplish his plan and was killed in Uraśa (Hazāra) by the arrow of a Śvapāka.\textsuperscript{103} The hidden hand of Lalliya in manipulating the death of his mighty foe has been rightly suspected by some scholars.\textsuperscript{104} This however did not end the enmity. Lalliya was eventually attacked and deposed in the next reign by Prabhākaradeva. The expedition is said to have cost the Kashmirians a fortune,\textsuperscript{105} but it had a soothing effect on their relations with the

\textsuperscript{100} For details see Gardīzī, pp.142-44; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, pp.325, 414-16, 426, 505, 516; and Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā, pp.15-20.

\textsuperscript{101} Rājatarahgini, v, 214-219.


\textsuperscript{103} Literally a 'dog cooker'. The word seems to have been used in a derogatory sense for a hill-man of Hazāra.

\textsuperscript{104} H.C. Ray, op.cit., p.75.

\textsuperscript{105} Rājatarahgini, v, 238.
subsequent generations of the Śāhis. Never were they so amicably allied with each other as after this incident.

5. TORAMĀṆĀ/KAMALŪ
(c. A.D. 903-921)

Toramāṇa, the son of Lalliya, was raised to the throne of Udabhāṇa and then renamed Kamaluka by Prabhākaradeva, the Kashmirian minister of Gopālavārman \(^{106}\) (A.D. 902-04). Kamaluka was correctly identified with Kamalū, the third ruler in Albīrūnī's list, by Stein \(^{107}\) and this identification has since been generally accepted. Jawāmī' al-Ḥikāyāt records the name as Kalmū \(^{108}\) which is undoubtedly a corrupt form of Kamalū. The Dewai stone inscription mentions a certain Kala (Kamala) varman \(^{109}\) who is generally identified with Kamalū of Albīrūnī's list. The Tārīkh (p.255) records the name as Ālamān (እላማን) - evidently a clerical error for Toramāṇa (ጥራማን). \(^{110}\) Putting together the evidence of the Rājatarahgīnī and that of the Tārīkh it seems that the original name was Toramāṇa, Kamaluka or Kamalū being an adopted name or throne name. The name Toramāṇa is undoubtedly of Turkish or Ephthalite origin and looks rather strange when used by the member of a dynasty which, as it appears from the list, strictly followed the Hindu system of nomenclature. But

\(^{106}\) Rājatarahgīnī, v, 232-33.


\(^{108}\) E. Thomas, op.cit., p.318. Cunningham, CMI, p.59, also records the form Qamalū but he does not indicate his source.


\(^{110}\) The Tārīkh is replete with similar clerical errors. That Ālamān (እላማን) here stands for Toramāṇa is above question for the same incident is described by Ḫawfī, who mentions the other form of the name, Kamalū.
the fact that this dynasty succeeded an ancient family of Turkish descent would easily account for the survival of this name.

The exact date of Kamalū's accession is not recorded. The approximate dates furnished by the Rājatarahgini and the Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt, although very useful, are mutually exclusive. From the time of Kamalū's invasion of Ghazna, when he is referred to as rāž by 'Awfī, to the time of Prabhākaradeva's intervention when, according to Kalhana, he was raised to the throne, is a gap of three to four years. This time-gap is explained differently. H.C. Ray suggests that the date of Gopālavaranman as given by Kalhana should be corrected by a few years.111 Ray is followed by D.B. Pandey, who takes the information of the Rājatarahgini as being to some extent ambiguous and inaccurate.112 Stein however preferred simply to ignore this time-gap. The date supplied by 'Awfī, he remarks, agrees closely enough with the date which the Chronicle indicates for the expedition against the Śāhi capital.113 Elliot offers no positive solution, but says that the commencement of Kamalū's reign should be placed as late as possible within 'Amr's reign.114 Y. Mishra, however, believes that the dates have been correctly reported both by Kalhana and 'Awfī and that the disparity can be removed by splitting the reign of Kamalū into two phases, separated by a time-gap to be filled by Sāmanta's period of rule. Putting this hypothesis into practical form, he remarks that Kamalū came to the throne in A.D. 895 but after a few month's rule he lost it to Sāmanta, as a result of his conflict with 'Amr. Sāmanta in turn, he believes, ruled

112 The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab, Delhi 1973, p.93.
114 Elliot, ii, p.424.
for about seven years, when Kamalū regained the throne with Kashmirian help.115

Of the hypotheses given above it is evident that only Mishra has _prima facie_ tried to some extent to rationalise the problem; others either prefer to ignore one source or the other or to blame it for inaccurate reporting. But Mishra's interpretation of the historical data pertaining to the reign of 'Amr, the _raison d'être_ of his hypothesis, is hopelessly wrong. Trying to find out the probable date of Kamalū's invasion of Ghazna, he says: 'The heyday of 'Amr ibn Lais (sic) extended from 892 to 899; ... the date of the encounter between him and Kamalu (therefore) must fall between 892 and 897 ... hence the date of Kamalu's accession ... may be put at 895 or 896'. Not only did Kamalū's invasion of Ghazna have nothing to do with the heyday of 'Amr's reign, but also it would be wrong to assume that the encounter in question took place in the period between A.D. 892 to 897. We know from the _Tārīkh_ (p.255) that the news of this invasion reached 'Amr when he was in Gurgan on the way to his last encounter with Ismā'īl, the Šāmānīd ruler of Transoxiana. In Rabi' al-Akhar, 287117 (April, 900) 'Amr was decisively defeated and sent as a prisoner to Baghdād, where he breathed his last.118 He must have passed through Gurgan only a couple of months before his defeat. Thus Kamalū's invasion can be safely placed in the beginning of A.D. 900 at the latest. This is the first time Kamalū comes into the light of history. The possibility that he was as yet a governor at the time of this invasion and not king in his own right


117 _Tārīkh-i Sistān_, p.256; and _Tārīkh-i Gūzīdā_, p.373. However Tabarī (iii, p.2194), Gardīzī (p.145) and Ibn al-Athīr (vol.vii, p.500) mention the month of Rabi' al-Awwal (March).

118 He died (or was killed) in Jamādī al-Awwal, 289 (April-May, 902). Tabarī, iii, pp.2207-08; and Ibn al-Athīr, vol.vii, p.516.
has been discussed above. It may be further remarked that 'Awfi's reference to him as wāli of Hindūstān does not necessarily suggest the status of an independent king. The date of his accession may be therefore placed about A.D. 903 or slightly earlier, as indicated by the evidence of the Rājatarangini.

Why Kamalū particularly and not Āsata who, if he was also a son of Lalliya, had an equally good claim, was raised to the throne is difficult to say. Perhaps there was difference of opinion between the two brothers regarding their attitude towards Kashmir. There is some ground therefore to conjecture that the former was favourably inclined and his presence suited the expansionist plans of the Kashmirians whereas the latter antagonistically followed the hard line policy of his father, and looked upon the Kashmirian presence in the areas bordering the Šāhi kingdom with grave concern. Alternatively Kamalū may have deliberately invoked Prabhākaradeva's support, depicted by Kalhana as an invasion of the Šāhi capital, to secure the throne for himself if the two brothers ever scrambled for power in the last years of Lalliya.

The Downfall of the Saffārids

The main period of Kamalū's reign coincided with the weakness of the Saffārid rule in Sistān and Zābulistān. 'Amr's defeat and death precipitately set the course of their history downwards and finally sealed their fate as a great power in the area. 'Amr was followed by Tahir b. Muḥammad on the throne, but his sway did not extend beyond Sistān. In 296 (908-09) the new Saffārid ruler was seized by a rebel chief and despatched as a prisoner to Baghdad. Tahir's successor, named Laith

119 Supra, p.112.
120 Rauḍat as-Šafā, vol.iv, p.20.
121 Ibid., pp.20-21; and Tarikh-i Sistān, p.272.
b. 'Alî b. Laith ʿṢaffār, ruled for a short while\(^{122}\) and was followed by his brother Muʿaddal, who was seized by the Sāmānīd āmīr, Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl in 298 (911) and carried to Bukhārā.\(^{123}\) The Khārijītes of Sīstān, however, under their leader Muḥammad b. Hurmuz, revolted against the Sāmānīd rule and raised 'Amr b. Yaʿqūb, a great grandson of 'Amr b. Laith, to the throne. 'Amr was defeated in Dhū al-Ḥajj, 300 (July, 913) and brought to Bukhārā as a prisoner.\(^{124}\) Sīstān henceforth became part of the Sāmānīd empire. The glory of the ʿṢaffārid house revived to some extent under Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, but it had little bearing on the history of the Sāḥis.

The Rise of the Lawīks

Taking advantage of the weakness of the ʿṢaffārids, the Sāḥis in Kābul seem to have stepped up activities on the western frontiers. The result was the emergence of a small friendly power at Ghazna. The exact details of the rise of these kings of Ghazna, called Lawīk and Anūk\(^ {125}\) by the Muslim chroniclers, are not known. But the fact that they were close relations of the ruler of Kābul, who still may have been ʿĀṣata, suggests the helping hand of the latter. When precisely the Lawīk first brought Ghazna under his control is difficult to ascertain, though a rough estimate can be made from the following details. In 301 (913-14) Ghazna was in the control of the Sāmānīd governor, named Saʿd at-Ṭalāqānī.\(^ {126}\)

\[122\] See Ibn al-ʿAthīr, vol.viii, p.57. In the year 297 (909-10) Laith was taken prisoner and carried to Bāḥdād.
\[123\] Ibid., p.61.
\[124\] Rawḍat as-Ṣafā, vol.iv, p.21; and Ibn al-ʿAthīr, op.cit., pp.69-70. See also Tārīkh-i Sīstān, pp.299-302.
\[125\] This name is variously recorded as لیک, شیبیک, ژیک, ژیک, ژیک, ژیک, ژیک, ژیک. The form and are undoubtedly Arabic, which may suggest that the Lawīks were Muslims, but Yaqūt (vol.1, p.348) says that each member of the nobility living around Ghazna had both Muslim and Indian names.
\[126\] Ibn al-ʿAthīr, vol.viii, p.79.
following year Sa'd was defeated and taken prisoner by the forces of Khalid b. Muhammad b. Yahyā and Muhammad b. Tughrīl, the officers of the Caliph al-Muqtadir. In the year 303 (915) Muhammad b. Tughrīl died and Khalid became the ruler of Sīstān and Zābulistan. In the following year Khalid revolted but he was defeated and killed. Evidently the district of Ghazna was still in the hands of the Muslims. Sīstān, however, was plunged into disorder for a while and unscrupulous government officials indulged in a morbid scramble for power. A certain Kathīr b. Ahmād b. Shahfūr, a one-time companion of Khalid, seems to have survived the disaster that befell the army of the latter and succeeded in extending his sway over Sīstān for a while. Kathīr was however killed in the year 306 (918) by two of his erstwhile companions — Ahmād b. Qadām and Tārābīl. Muhammad b. Qāsim, Kathīr's governor of Zābulistan, was killed shortly afterwards. At this stage we lose sight of Ghazna till the arrival of Alaptīgīn, who defeated the Lawīk and captured the city in about A.D. 962. Thus the rise of the Lawīks may be placed at any time between A.D. 918 and 962. Nothing much is known about the identity or origin of the above-mentioned Tārābīl. He figures prominently in the period between A.D. 918 and 922 as a chief of considerable power and influence and is described in the Tarīkh (p.309) as the 'commander of the Hindus'.

127 Tarīkh-i Sīstān, p.305. Muhammad b. Tughrīl joined Khalid after the death of Faḍl b. Ḥamīd, who was earlier sent with the latter.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid., p.306.

130 Ibid., p.307.

131 Infra, p.127.

132 We are unable to give a convincing interpretation of the name Tārābīl. The Arabic initial ّ suggests the Indian retroflex त, but if we attribute this to erroneous pronunciation the word might be restored as Tāravīrā, a possible Rajput name. It is equally possible, however, that the name is Turkic, since there were many Hindus of Turkish origin in the region.
a possibility which cannot be altogether ruled out in view of the fact that the Lawiks are also mentioned as Hindus in some of the Muslim chronicles - the rise of the latter may be placed in the beginning of the third decade of the tenth century A.D.

Nothing is known about the date of the end of Kamalū's reign. Scholars have made several guesses, ranging from A.D. 920 to 950. It has been recently argued that the shortage of the coins of Kamalavaran and a reference to Sāmantadeva on the unique gold coin of Bhīmadeva do not allow us to put the latter long after A.D. 900, and therefore the period of the rule of Kamalū was a short one and ended no later than about A.D. 905.134 But the argument loses force when we know that coins with the Sāmantadeva legend continued to be struck till even after the end of the Śāhis. The Ghaznavīd Sultan Mas'ūd, for instance, is known to have struck coins with the Sāmantadeva legend135 but obviously we cannot place him soon after Sāman of Albīrūnī's list. According to recent opinion, which is again no more than a guess, Kamalū died about A.D. 921.136

The coins bearing the legend Śrī Vakkadeva may be assigned to this ruler.137

6. BHĪMADEVA
(c. A.D. 921-64)

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Bhīmadeva Śāhi138 succeeded his father Kala (Kamala) varman. Bhīma, known also from the

134 D.B. Pandey, op.cit., p.93.
136 Y. Mishra, op.cit., p.54.
137 Infra, p.203.
138 *EI*, vol.xxi, p.299.
coins of the period of the Hindu Śāhis, has been correctly identified with Bhīm, the fourth king in Alberuni’s list. Kalhana mentions him distinctly as the Śāhi ruler of the town of Udabhāḍa.\(^{139}\) Bhīma’s name and his association with Udabhāḍa are also known from the Hund slab inscription.\(^{140}\)

Bhīma’s date of accession is not recorded – a circumstance which has left scholars in a quagmire of differences of opinion. The only clue which can be used in making an approximate guess about this date is found in the Rājatarahgini (vi, 177-78). According to Stein, who bases his hypothesis on the date of the marriage of Diddā – Bhīma’s grand-daughter – with Kṣemagupta, the ruler of Kashmir (A.D. 950-58), Bhīma must have been reigning at least as late as A.D. 950, for he is known to have built a temple, Bhīmakesava, probably to mark this occasion. As his grand-daughter was no longer a child at this time, Stein argues, Bhīma could not have been born later than A.D. 920.\(^{141}\) Stein however did not venture to conjecture about the date of Bhīma’s accession. Cunningham took up this problem on more than one occasion but each time he put forward a new hypothesis with dates ranging between A.D. 920 and 950.\(^{142}\) The date of Bhīma’s accession was also discussed by C.V. Vaidya\(^{143}\) and H.C. Ray\(^{144}\) whose guess remains close to that of Cunningham. Thus the evidence of the Rājatarahgini has been variously interpreted to suit individual bias, but the problem is still far from being finally resolved. Lacking factual support these hypotheses at the best are learned guesses.

\(^{139}\) Rājatarahgini, vii, 1081.

\(^{140}\) Infra, p.309 ff.


\(^{143}\) History of Mediaeval Hindu India, vol.1, p.201.

\(^{144}\) The Dynastic History of Northern India, Calcutta 1931, p.103.
It has been recently argued that the occurrence of the legend Sāmantadeva on the unique gold coin of Bhīma suggests that Bhīma followed the Śāhi ruler Sāmand in close succession and therefore he cannot be placed long after A.D. 900.\textsuperscript{145} But we have shown above (p.120) that the legend in question was used till even long after the end of the Hindu Śāhis and suggests nothing in terms of absolute chronology and succession of individual reigns.\textsuperscript{146} Moreover the evidence of the Hund slab inscription, as we shall see below, does not favour such an early date for the rise of Bhīma.

According to a recent opinion Diddā was born in about A.D. 928.\textsuperscript{147} Assuming that her mother (i.e. Bhīma's daughter) was at least fifteen on this occasion, she would have been born by 912-13. If Bhīma was twenty at the time of his daughter's birth, he could not have been born later than A.D. 892-93.\textsuperscript{148} According to this computation then, he was at the earliest a young lad of about ten to eleven when his father Kala (Kamala) Varman was raised to the throne of Udabhānda about A.D. 903. This gives us a \textit{terminus a quo}. The \textit{terminus ad quem} can be established on the basis of the evidence of the Hund slab inscription, which suggests that Bhīma must have died about A.D. 963.\textsuperscript{149} Thus we are left with a period of 60 years with two reigns to be fitted in. If Kamalū's reign lasted for 17 to 18 years, as the large number of his coins suggest,\textsuperscript{150} the beginning

\textsuperscript{145} D.B. Pandey, op.cit., pp.93-95.
\textsuperscript{146} See also infra, pp.196-201.
\textsuperscript{147} Y. Mishra, op.cit., p.60.
\textsuperscript{148} According to D.G. Ganguly (\textit{The Age of the Imperial Kananj}, Bombay 1955, p.112) Bhīma was born about A.D. 900. D.B. Pandey (op.cit., p.94) puts this date in about A.D. 895. See also Y. Mishra, op.cit., p.94.
\textsuperscript{149} Infra, p.309 f.
\textsuperscript{150} Cf. infra, p.202 f.
of Bhīma's rule may be placed about A.D. 921. Cunningham once suggested A.D. 920, which is reasonably close to our guess. Y. Mishra believes that the era of which the year 110 was equal to the year 400 (= A.D. 1031-32) of the era of Yazdijird, as mentioned by Albīrubī, was started by Bhīma to commemorate his accession. If this is so, he might have gone to Kābul, the coronation city of the Śāhis, to get himself officially crowned. We do not know.

Relations with Kashmir

We have no information about the male offspring of Bhīma. The existence of a daughter, however, can be safely inferred from the Rājatarāṅgini (vi, 176-78). Her name is not explicitly mentioned but she was married to Simharāja, the Lohara chief of southern Kashmir. Considering the fact that Diddā, the Śahi's grand-daughter also married in his life-time, the marriage of his own daughter would seem to be one of the earliest events of Bhīma's reign. Whether the marriage was specially designed to seek allies in order to forestall any anticipated threat to the Śāhis dominions is not known – the effectiveness of Kashmir as a source of help for the Śāhis cannot be underestimated, as we shall see under the later reigns of this dynasty. But the extremely chaotic conditions in Zābulistān which synchronised with the early part of Bhīma's reign do not suggest the existence of any such threat from that side. If the threat really existed early in the time of Bhīma's rule, it was from the Hindu kingdom of Mahīpāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj (c. A.D. 914-44). Whatever the motives behind this marriage, the Śahi-Kashmiri friendship went on steadily improving and was finally cemented when in the later part of

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152 D.B. Pandey's view (op.cit., p.95) that the Śahi kingdom at this time was threatened by both the Muslims of Ghazna and the Kashmiris is based on his early date for Bhīma's accession which in our opinion is not correct.
Bhīma's life Diddā's hand was offered to Kṣemagupta in marriage. For the subsequent Sāhīs Kashmir became not only a source of assistance but also a place of refuge in dire circumstances.

Threat on the Southern Border

Mahīpāla's victories in the Panjab may have threatened Kīra (the Kangra valley) which, according to the Khajūraho stone inscription of Dhanga of V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954-55), belonged to a certain Sāhi whose name is not mentioned but who is generally identified with Bhīma Sāhi. Bhīma's association with the Kangra valley may also be seen in the name of Bhīmnagar (Bhīma nagara), the present day Nagarkot. The text of the inscription does not explicitly mention that Kīra was ever invaded by the forces of Mahīpāla. But Rājaśekhara's reference to the conquest of certain Kulūtas (people of the Kullu valley in the Panjab) and Ramaṭhas (whose location is not known) by the forces of Mahīpāla suggests that his arms reached close to the Sāhi borders. Moreover the Kīrarāja, the inscription says, exchanged an image of Vaikunṭha (Viṣṇu) for a force of elephants and horses. This, together with the statement of the Hudūd that Jayapāla and the rājā of Kashmir were vassals of Kanauj, is taken by B. Prakash, as indicating the direct invasion of these places. But had these places been actually invaded and resounding victories won, as Prakash believes, Rājaśekhara, who gives a long list of Mahīpāla's

153 Diddā is said to have engrossed the king's mind to the extent that he came to be known by the humiliating appellation Diddākṣema.
154 *EI*, vol.1, 1892-93, pp.122-35.
156 Prancanda Pāṇḍava, ed. by C. Cappeller, Strassburg 1885, p.2. For a full discussion, Cf. R.S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, 1966 Delhi repr., pp.263-64.
157 Aspects of Indian History and Civilization, Agra 1965, p.162.
victories, would not have failed to mention them. The information in the Hudud does not seem to be trustworthy on this point. It seems the Hudud has vitiated, by interpolating the words 'raja of Kanauj', everywhere in the account of the Indian cities copied from other sources. This source states that the royal standard of the raja of Kanauj was hoisted in Kābul, which is absurd.

The Defence of Kābul Neglected

Towards the end of Bhīma's reign the security of Kābul and Ghazna was seriously threatened by the rise of Alaptigin, a rebel Turkish chief who proceeded to Hind with a view to establishing himself somewhere beyond the reach of his offended sovereign, the Sāmānīd amīr Maṇṣūr. If we are to believe the Majma‘al-Ansāb, Alaptigin came with the proclaimed intention of waging war in Hind; he never made a secret of his designs and clearly set forth his main objectives in the first address he delivered to the hordes of volunteers who had gathered to him. What steps the Sahis took to strengthen the defence of Kābul to ward off this danger is not known. The comparative ease, however, with which Alaptigin routed them in a short period of time reflects a state of shameless unpreparedness. We do not hear of Bhīma sending troops to Kābul at this stage. The reason is not far to seek.

The cities of Ghazna and Kābul were at this time under very great cultural pressure from Islam but as yet they were not wholly islamised. Some of the Hindu members of the nobility, though sentimentally very much inclined to India, had accepted Muslim nomenclature and probably also

158 The emperor is said to have defeated, apart from the Kulūtas and Ramaṭhas, the Muralas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, Kerala and Kuntalas.


160 DPB, p.21f.

161 Yāqūt, vol.1, p.348.
some Muslim social customs. According to the Hudūd the Kābul Šāh, with his more than thirty wives whom he had taken from Muslims, Afghāns and Hindus, cleverly made a show of accepting Islām.\textsuperscript{162} We do not know the exact name of this Kābul Šāh, but he may have been Āṣata, mentioned above as the brother of Kamalū. The Siyāsat Nāmeh informs us that a son of this Kābul Šāh was the son-in-law of the king of Ghazna\textsuperscript{163} who, in the Majma' al-Ansāb, is called Kafir\textsuperscript{164} (infidel). With his leanings towards Islām the Kābul Šāh could hardly expect the sympathy of the devotedly vaisnāvite Bhīma, so reputed for the construction of several religious edifices. If this was not the case the utter failure of Bhīma to send succour to Kābul at this critical time reflects some sharp differences between the Šāhis of Kābul and those of Udabhanda.

\textbf{Alaptigīn's Invasion of Kābul and Ghazna}

Alaptigīn's remarkable success at the Khulm Pass in Rabī' al-Awwal, 351 (April 962) against the superior army of Mansūr won him sufficient power and prestige to attract mujāhidīn (volunteers) who swelled the number of his troops to enormous dimensions.\textsuperscript{165} Instead of following up his success against the āmīr Alaptigīn, strictly in accord with his avowed intention, marched on Bamīān, the country of the infidel Shīr Bārīk (as-Shīr Bārbak) whom he defeated and took prisoner.\textsuperscript{166} The Shīr however professed Islām, and was set free with a robe of honour (khil'āt).\textsuperscript{167}

\textsuperscript{162} Hudūd al-'Ālam, Tehran 1340, p.72.
\textsuperscript{163} Niẓām al-Mulk, Siyāsat Nāmeh, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, Tehran 1344, p.135.
\textsuperscript{164} Text in DPB, p.23.
\textsuperscript{165} The āmīr is said to have made another abortive attempt but failed to crush the power of Alaptigīn.
\textsuperscript{166} Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB), p.22; and Siyāsat Nāmeh, p.134. The precise meaning of the word Shīr is not clear. Ya'qūbī translates it as 'lion', but Marquart (Eranāshir, 79) thinks that it represents Old Persian āsārīya.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
From Bāmlān Alaptigin proceeded to the country of the Kabul Shāh who had meanwhile received a body of 3,000 men under the command of a son of the Lawīk as reinforcement from Ghazna.168 Realising that the growing strength of the Kabul army would eventually undermine his own position, the Turkish general moved his 10,000 volunteers with lightning speed and quickly put his enemies to flight. The son of the ruler of Ghazna was made prisoner, but was then released and despatched to the Lawīk with the message that the invader had no aggressive designs against his country.169

The assurance, however, did not work, and the Lawīk immediately set about preparing an army. On hearing this Alaptigin turned to Ghazna to crush the power of the Lawīk. The two armies met in the vicinity of Ghazna, but the Lawīk, having suffered defeat, withdrew and entrenched himself in the citadel, which was immediately invested by Alaptigin's troops. The Lawīk could not long withstand the siege and after 20 days of hardship submitted unconditionally.170 According to the Siyāsat Nāmeh (p.135) he was given full protection and a pension,171 but the vanquished chief could not reconcile himself to the changed political circumstances and, after some time, he fled to Hind accompanied by his son.172 Alaptigin became the undisputed master of Ghazna.

Having established himself firmly in Zābulistān, Alaptigin started raiding the Indian borders and probably succeeded in capturing some places.

168 Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB), p.23.
169 Ibid.
170 Ibid. According to the Majma' al-Ansāb however the siege was prolonged for four months.
171 Again the Majma' al-Ansāb has a different account. According to this source the Lawīk and his son were made prisoners but, after they professed Islām, they were set free.
172 Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB), p.23.
The *Siyāsat Nāmah* (p.136) brings him as far east as Barsābūr173 (Peshāwar), but the events subsequent to the capture of Ghazna seem to have been mixed up with those of much later time in this text.

**Ghazna Temporarily Recovered**

Alaptigīn died on 20th Sha'abān, 352 (13th September, 963) and was succeeded by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm who, lacking the initiative and courage of his father, failed to keep the rowdy Turkish soldiery under his thumb. Taking advantage of this situation Abū 'Alī Lawīk, the son of Abū Bakr Lawīk, marched on Ghazna with the help of the Şāhī armies174 and put Abū Isḥāq to flight.175 Ghazna was thus temporarily recovered. The success of the Lawīk was no doubt due largely to the wholehearted support of Bhīma and seems to be referred to in the following verses of the Hund slab inscription.

Therein (Udabhānda) dwelt the chief of kings, Bhīma, of terrible valour, by whom, having conquered the enemies' troops, the earth was protected. [Verse vii]

Of whose enemies, the sorrowful women even today long wear their hair devoid of braiding. [Verse ix]

The inscription unfortunately does not mention the date of this event nor does it precisely name the enemy from whom Bhīma, by inflicting a severe defeat, protected the earth or the country of the Şāhīs. The glowing tribute paid to Bhīma however shows that his memory was still fresh in the minds of the people of Udabhānda when the inscription was installed about A.D. 989 in the reign of Jayapāla. It can therefore be safely assumed that verses vii, ix of the inscription reflect conditions

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173 Called Biqāpur in some manuscripts. H. Darke in his translation of the *Siyāsat Nāmah* (London 1960, p.118) has adopted the form Peshāwar.

174 Ibid. Actually Indian armies.

175 *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī* (Raverty), vol.1, p.71.
of about the end of Bhīma's reign. If this be the case, it is not difficult to pinpoint the enemy precisely. Of the three powers - Kashmir, Kanauj, Ghazna - surrounding the Śāhi country at this time, the Kashmirians had matrimonial alliance with Bhīma and at any rate could not have undertaken an invasion of the Śāhi country, even if they wished to do so, because of the inherent weakness of their government.176 The power of the Gurjara-Pratiharas was similarly on the decline and therefore the possibility of an invasion from this side may be completely ruled out.177 The third power, the nascent kingdom of Ghazna, however, having suddenly appeared on the north-western border of the Śāhi kingdom, posed a potential threat. We have just seen how Alaptigīn, having overrun Kābul and Ghazna, was encroaching further on the Śāhi territory when he died in A.D. 962. This threat must have alerted Bhīma to look to the security of the central districts of his kingdom. Consequently the Lawik was sent back with a huge army178 which completely ousted the Turks from Kābul and sent Abū Ishāq flying to Bukhāra. This was undoubtedly the most remarkable achievement of Bhīma's reign. Never, indeed, not even under the great Jayapāla, were the Śāhi arms so significantly successful against the kingdom of Ghazna as on this occasion. As a result of this campaign Kābul once again became a stronghold of the Śāhis. The victory must have been joyously celebrated at Udabhānda and was aptly considered as an outcome of Bhīma's 'terrible valour'. Thus the enemies of Bhīma were the Turks of Ghazna and their defeat in A.D. 963 is the occasion referred to in the inscription.

177 The Age of the Imperial Kanauj, ed. R.C. Majumdar, Bombay 1955, p.37.
178 Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB), p.23.
End of Bhīma's Reign

On 27th Shawwāl, 354 (26th September, 965) Abū Ishāq returned with the help of Abū Manṣūr, the Sāmānīd amīr, and forced the Lawīk once more to flee precipitately to Hind in search of assistance. Our inscription does not refer to this incident. On the contrary it reads that Bhīma burnt himself through Śiva's desire but not through the terrible enemy (verse viii). One may assume therefore that Bhīma dedicated himself to the god Śiva and committed ritual suicide, perhaps owing to failing health or some personal misfortune. We have no evidence of any political setback which might have prompted such a drastic course. His death may be placed between the beginning of A.D. 964 and September 965.

7. JAYAPĀLADEVA
(c. A.D. 964-1002)

Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Śrī Jayapāladeva succeeded Bhīma in about A.D. 964. Jayapāla's relationship to his predecessor is not known. It is regrettable that Al birūnī, who is quite explicit in the case of the descendants of Jayapāla, does not tell us about his parentage. This has led to the following two different view points.


180 Y. Mishra (op.cit., p. 87) places the date of Bhīma's death in about A.D. 960 whereas D. B. Pandey (op.cit., p. 95) suggests A.D. 957. It has been argued that the mention of Thakkana Śāhi (Rājatarahgini, vi, 231, 236) who was defeated and captured by the Kashmirian general Yaśodhara in the reign of Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72) presumes the death of the previous ruler. But it has been wrongly assumed that Bhīma was Thakkana's predecessor.

181 These epithets are known from the Barlkot inscription. EI, vol. xxi, 1938, p. 301. In the Muslim sources the name is variously spelt as जयपालेव, जयपालेव, जयपालेव, जयपालेव, जयपालेव. The correct form of the name, Jayapāladeva, is known from the inscriptional records.
According to Cunningham, Elliot and Sachau, Jayapāla had no blood relationship with Bhīma and belonged to a different dynasty. Support for this theory has been taken from the ending of the names of the Śāhi. It has been argued that the names of the early members of the dynasty of the Hindu Śāhīs end in 'deva' whereas those of the last four kings have the word 'pāla' as their ending. Sachau therefore designated the last four kings as belonging to a 'Pāla dynasty'.

A later group of writers such as Ḥabīb, Nāzīm, Vaidya and Ray, however, maintain that Jayapāla was a son of Bhīma and belonged to the dynasty founded by Kallar. The main support for this theory is taken from Albirūnī's list, which, however, as we have seen, does not explicitly mention the parentage of kings from Kallar to Jayapāla.

The truth seems to lie between these two views. Jayapāla was not the son of Bhīma and yet he belonged to the dynasty founded by Kallar. That Bhīma was not the father of Jayapāla can be clearly inferred from the Hund slab inscription, which mentions their names and succession but does not give the slightest indication as to their relationship. According to the Tārīkh-i Guzida (pp.390-92) Jayapāla was the son of 'Haitāl'. Firishta records 'Ashtpāl' or 'Hatpāl' as the name of Jayapāla's father. The Tārīkh-i Khairāt gives it as 'Jaipāl wa Haitāl' which is obviously a corrupted form of 'Jaipāl bin Haitāl' which occurs in the

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182 CMI, p.62.
185 Infra, p.309 f.
186 Text in DPB, p.321; and Briggs' translation, vol.1, pp.lxiii.
187 Text in DPB, p.675.
Tārīkh-i Guzīda. Y. Mishra restores the word Ḥutpāl\(^{188}\) (Hatpāl) as 'Jetripal' but the Arabic letters  masculinity is unlikely to be interchanged. Moreover it is easy to demonstrate that Hatpāl ( Hatpāl) and Haitāl ( Haitāl) are in fact the corrupted forms of Ashtpāl ( Ashtpāl),\(^{189}\) correctly Ṭasatapāla. The ḥ in the Persian word can be accounted for from the fact that the equivalent of Sanskrit \(\text{aṣṭpāla} (\text{eight})\), by that time probably pronounced without the final vowel, is hasht. The other changes are easily accountable as copyists' errors. The name Ṭasata is known from the Tārīkh.

This, as we have noticed above, was the name of a ruler who was probably the king of Kābul, and who was a contemporary of Kamalū and perhaps also of Bhīma.\(^{190}\) There is a strong possibility that Ṭasata was also a son of Lalliya. With the rise of Jayapāla therefore the government of Udabhāṇḍa shifted not from one dynasty to another but from one branch of the same family to the other: from the descendants of Kamalū/Toramāpā to those of Ṭasatapāla, both lines being descended from Lalliya.

It has been suggested that transfer of power from Bhīma to Jayapāla was not very smooth.\(^{191}\) The suggestion is based on Hodivala's interpretation of the name of a certain 'Sabli, son of Shāhī, son of Bāmhl' who is mentioned by 'Utbī as the ruler of the areas adjoining Kāshmir at the time of Maḥmūd's invasion of the Ganges valley in A.D. 1018-19.\(^{192}\) The name is variously reported as 'Habali-'bn-Shāsni',\(^{193}\) 'Chankī bin Samhl'

\(^{188}\) Op.cit., p.90. He follows Briggs' transliteration of the name.

\(^{189}\) This form of the name is known from Firishta. Cf. CMI, p.60. See also DPB, p.321.

\(^{190}\) See supra, pp.111, 117.

\(^{191}\) Y. Mishra, op.cit., p.95.

\(^{192}\) See Elliot and Dowson's History of India (Alig. edn) incorporating Hodivala's commentary, vol.ii, pp.617-18.

'Changi bin Māhak', which makes it difficult to fix its correct orthography. Y. Mishra restores the name as 'Bhimi' (Skt. Bhaimi) and considers the bearer of this name a son of Bhīma. It seems, he adds, that the name refers to Thakkana the Sāhī chief who was vanquished by the commander-in-chief of the Kashmirian king Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72). Nothing much, however, is known about Thakkana and Stein maintains that he was probably a small chief claiming descent from the Sāhīs of Udabhānda. Whether he was really a son of Bhīma and contested the throne with Jayapāla is not known for certain.

Re-establishment of the Kingdom of Ghazna

The return of Abū Ishaq in A.D. 965 once again put the kingdom of Ghazna upon its feet. Abū Ishaq, however, did not live long after this event and died on 25th Dhū al-Qa'da, 355198 (12th November, 966). He was succeeded by BIlkātīgin who died in 364 (974-75) during the siege of Gardīz. The successor of Bilkātīgin, known to the Muslim chronicles as āmr Pīrī, turned out to be a drunkard and soon made himself obnoxious to the people of Ghazna, who invited the Lawīk to return.199

The Battle of Charkh

The Sāhīs promptly seized upon the opportunity and despatched an army to intervene on behalf of the people of Zābulistān. Thus Abū Ali

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195 DPB, p.123, fn.1; See also Tārikh-i Balḥaqī, pp.72, 181, 703.
199 Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣīrī (Raverty), vol.1, p.73. See also the Persian text of this work in DPB, p.14.
Lawîk and a son of the Kabul Shâh marched on Ghazna at the head of a huge force, of which the number is said to have been about 40,000 men. As the Turks learnt about the strength of this army, it took the spirit out of them. But for the personal intervention of Sabuktigin, a slave and son-in-law of Alaptigin, who boosted up their morale by exhorting them to fight a religious war, they would have scattered before going into battle. As the Indian army reached Charkh it was engaged by the Turkish troops of Ghazna, Gardîz, Bust and Bāmian. The Muslims were evidently outnumbered, but the powerful cavalry attacks of a body of 500 Turks under the command of Sabuktigin turned the tables on the Hindus, who gave way after a number of their troops were killed. Prima facie it was a monumental mistake to champion the cause of a man who had on more than one occasion demonstrated his inability to stand upon his own feet without foreign help, and thereby to alarm and attract the attention of the Turkish soldiery who had been engaged in their own feuds. It was a hasty decision, as the subsequent events will show, and opened the flood-gates of misfortune for the Šâhis. After this the war actually never ceased and eventually cost the Šâhis their kingdom.

Both Abû 'Alî Lawîk and his ally were killed. Among the spoils captured by the victors are mentioned ten elephants.

If the battle of Charkh brought a veritable disaster upon the multitudinous Hindu army, it correspondingly enhanced the prestige of Sabuktigin, who was consequently raised to the throne of Ghazna on 27th

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200 Majma' al-Ansâb (DPB), p.25. The number seems to be exaggerated.
201 Ibid.
202 Ibid.
203 Tabaqât-i Naqirî (Raverty), vol.1, p.73.
204 Tabaqât-i Naqirî, text in DPB, p.14.
Sha'abān, 366\textsuperscript{205} (20th April, 977) by a unanimous decision of the Turkish nobility. In the following year he added Bust and Quṣdar to his kingdom and then, turning his face to Hind, he captured some frontier forts.\textsuperscript{206}

The Battle of Ghūzak

As the border territories started gradually slipping out of his hands Jayapala became seriously apprehensive about the security of his northwestern frontiers and eventually decided to roll the Turks back by a powerful offensive. With this purpose in view he collected a huge force and proceeded to Ghazna in the year 376 (986-87)\textsuperscript{207} to decide the issue for ever. As he reached Ghūzak\textsuperscript{208} he was opposed by the armies of Sabuktigīn. An indecisive battle went on for a few days, in which the victor could not be distinguished from the vanquished. Both parties were well matched and neither side seemed to give in. Then came an unfortunate snow storm which wrecked the calculations of the Šāhi. 'Instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around; in so much that a great part of the cattle was killed, and some thousands of soldiers of both armies perished'.\textsuperscript{209} But the hardy Turks seem to have better withstood the ravages of the weather than their Indian counterparts, who were more

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid. Jurbaḏgānī, p.27; and Khulāsat al-Akhbār (DPB, p.710). This can also be inferred from the Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB, p.27) which says that Jayapala wrote to Sabuktigīn demanding the restoration of the forts captured by the latter.

\textsuperscript{207} M. Nāţim, op.cit., p.29. See also 'Utbi in Elliot, ii, p.19.

\textsuperscript{208} This name is variously spelt. Ibn al-Kathīr (DPB, p.970) has 'Bāghūrak'; Badḵonī (Muntakhab at-Tavārīkh (Urdu trans.), Lahore 1962, p.35) gives the form 'Kuh-i Jūd'; Ibn al-Athīr, vol.viii, p.686, has 'Ghūrak'.

\textsuperscript{209} Firishta (Briggs' trans.), vol.1, p.10. Most of our sources give the same account. The story that the storm was caused by the miraculous powers of a fountain seems to be apocryphal.
accustomed to the hot climate of the Indian plains. The resultant consternation in the Hindu camp forced Jayapāla to sue for peace.\textsuperscript{210} The negotiations, however, nearly fell through as prince Mahmūd, the famous son of Sabuktigīn, advised his father, who was in favour of coming to terms, to carry on the fight till the enemy was decisively beaten.\textsuperscript{211} But the threat of the Hindus to burn themselves with all their valuables had the desired effect upon Sabuktigīn, who, fearing that he might lose even the rich peace offerings, finally consented to make peace.\textsuperscript{212} It was agreed that Jayapāla would pay an indemnity of 1,000,000 Shāhi dirhams, besides fifty war elephants, and cede some of the frontier forts to the Muslims.\textsuperscript{213} In order to ensure the full implementation of the terms of the treaty Sabuktigīn kept some of the relations of the Śahi as hostages.\textsuperscript{214} Jayapāla withdrew, accompanied by the officers of Sabuktigīn who were despatched by the latter to take charge of the ceded places. But as soon as he felt safe within the frontiers of his country, he repudiated the treaty and threw the officers of Sabuktigīn into prison to ensure the release of his own relations.\textsuperscript{215} The result was another war.

The Battle of Lamghān\textsuperscript{216}

On receiving the first report of this outrage Sabuktigīn refused to believe it, as it was something quite contrary to the usual conduct of

\textsuperscript{210} Jurbādhqānī, p.29.

\textsuperscript{211} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{212} Ibid., p.30.

\textsuperscript{213} Ibid.; and Tārīkh-i Alfī (Text in DPB), p.801.

\textsuperscript{214} Ibid. C.V. Vaidya's view (op.cit., vol.iii, p.26) that 'this battle was most probably a drawn one' does not find support in our sources.

\textsuperscript{215} Jurbādhqānī, p.31.

\textsuperscript{216} The exact date of this battle is not recorded. V.A. Smith (JRAS, 1909, p.275) places it in A.D. 990 or 991. But, as Ānandapāla in this year was busy with the army of Lahore, it would have been difficult
Jayapāla, but the repeated accounts of the news to the same effect soon brought home the truth to him. Furious and revengeful he marched at the head of a considerable force into the Sāhi territory and plundered Lamghan and its neighbouring towns, pulling down temples and setting fire to houses.217 Jayapāla in retaliation called a number of the Indian rājās to his help218 and proceeded to Ghazna with a huge army which is said to have been swelled to the enormous number of 100,000,219 both cavalry and infantry, by the contingents supplied to him in assistance. The two armies met near Kindī, on the confines of Lamghan. As the two armies drew nearer to each other Sabuktīgīn climbed a neighbouring hill to obtain an estimate of the enemy's strength.220 He was so much impressed by the numerical superiority of the Hindu force 'which appeared in extent like the boundless ocean' that the earlier plan of a general assault seemed futile to him. Immediately he called a meeting of his commanders to work out a new strategy. Pinning his hopes on the mobility and swiftness of his cavalry, he broke up the entire force into light squadrons of 500 horse and instructed his officers to attack certain points of the enemy line repeatedly till it broke.221 This strategy worked wonderfully and the Hindus began to give way. Perceiving disorder in the enemy camp

216 continued
for the Sāhis to wage two wars simultaneously. Cambridge History (1928, vol.iii, p.12) therefore correctly puts the date of this event in A.D. 988.

217 Jurbādhqānī, p.31. Ṭārikh-i Alī (DPB, p.801) and Ṭārikh-i Haidarī (DPB, p.434) have confused the name Lamghan with Multān.

218 Infra, p.335 f.

219 This number is reported by Jurbādhqānī (p.32), Firish (Briggs, vol.i, p.11) and Badaoni (DPB, p.292). Badaoni and Niẓām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.266) also mention elephants.

220 Jurbādhqānī, p.32.

221 Ibid.
Sabuktigin ordered a general assault and drove Jayapāla and his allies pell-mell back to the Indus.\textsuperscript{222}

Consequently the Afghan and Khaljī tribes living in this region also submitted and were enrolled in the Muslim army.\textsuperscript{223} The districts between Lamghan and Peshāwar were annexed to the kingdom of Ghazna.\textsuperscript{224} Sabuktigin appointed his own tax collectors over the conquered territories and, according to Firishta, a garrison comprising 2,000 horse\textsuperscript{225} was placed at Peshāwar. Besides 200 war elephants, the victor obtained rich plunder from the Indian camp.

The Turkish garrison of Peshāwar, if it ever existed, was however soon expelled by the Sāhis, or perhaps it was withdrawn by Sabuktigin to serve in Khurāsān. In any case Peshāwar remained in the hands of the Sāhis till it was finally conquered by the successor of Sabuktigin.

Sabuktigin died in August, 997. With his death ended the first phase of the successive defeats in store for Jayapāla and his successors. The Sāhi king was growing old, but he seems to have kept up the struggle vigorously. We have no information for a decade or so following the death of Sabuktigin except a small incident which may have happened about 380 (990–91), shortly after the battle of Lamghan. According to the Majma' al-Ansāb,\textsuperscript{226} when the king of 'Ajam (Sabuktigin) imprisoned prince Māhmūd owing to some misunderstanding, the ruler of Hindūstān (Jayapāla) tried to widen the rift between the father and the son. 'By throwing you in prison', Jayapāla wrote to the young prince, 'your father has shown his

\textsuperscript{222} Firishta (Briggs), vol.1, p.11.
\textsuperscript{223} Jurbādhqānī, p.33.
\textsuperscript{224} Firishta, loc.cit.
\textsuperscript{225} DPB, p.324. Briggs gives the number 'ten thousand'.
\textsuperscript{226} DPB, p.65.
ingratitude to you. If you permit me to do so, I shall send my men to get you out of prison so that you may come to my country, which (as you know) is a vast kingdom. I shall give you my daughter (in marriage) and wealth and armies greater than that of your father.' This was a clever trick to encourage Maḥmūd to rebel against his father, but it did not work, as is indicated by Maḥmūd's harsh reply. Heaping invectives on the Śahi by calling him a dog and a kāfīr (infidel), he wrote: 'My father is my master (Khudawand) and my leader (sayyīd). If he wants to kill me, he is the ruler (and the judge). As to the letter you wrote me, my reply is this: when God gives me release from this confinement I shall bring my army and march on your country so as to capture you because I want to use the skin of your head'.

Jayapāla and the Rājās of Lahore

As the successive defeats of Jayapāla deprived the Śahīs of a large portion of their territory to the west of Peshāwar, they expanded in the south. According to the Ādāb al-Ḥarb (pp.307-10) Bharat,228 the arrogant but ambitious rājā of Lahore, having put his father in confinement, marched on the country of Jayapāla with the intention of conquering the districts of Nandana, Jailam and Tākeshar.229 On hearing the news, Anandapāla, the Śahi governor of the Panjab, was instructed by his father to repel the invader. In the ensuing battle that took place in the vicinity of Tākeshar, the army of Lahore gave way after some initial fighting and Bharat was taken prisoner. Anandapāla, following up his success, advanced to Lahore and took control of the city. The nobility of Lahore however interceded

227 Ibid.

228 Variously spelt in the manuscript as 'Batrat' (بَلْرَات), 'Tahzat' (تَحْزَت) or 'Tahanrat' (تَحْنَرَت). The correct form seems to be Bharat.

229 Ibid.
on behalf of Bharat who was released and reinstated as a feudatory chief after the payment of a large sum of money.²³⁰

In 380²³¹ (990-91) Bharat was overthrown by his son Chandrat²³² on the pretext of his having inadvisedly undertaken the doomed campaign against the Šāhis. Apparently, Chandrat continued to rule as a feudatory chief and avoided giving offence to Jayapāla, who seems to have accepted this change. But in the year 389 (998-99) the Šāhi changed his mind and decided rather arbitrarily to interfere in the affairs of Lahore on the pretext that Chandrat, having dethroned his father, had rendered himself liable to punishment.²³³ As the suzerain of Bharat, it was Jayapāla's duty to support him against Chandrat right from the start, according to the Hindu political tradition. But one wonders why he realised his responsibility only after a period as long as nine years. It seems therefore that the Šāhis were frantically trying to make up their territorial losses on one pretext or the other.

Accordingly Ānandapāla was once more instructed to march on Lahore and annex the country.²³⁴ As Ānandapāla reached the place called Sāmūţla (? Sodra), Chandrat came out to oppose him, but one day while he was reconnoitring the enemy position from a vantage point, he was ambushed and taken prisoner by a detachment of the Šāhi army.²³⁵ The kingdom of the

²³⁰ Ibid., p.309.
²³¹ According to the Ādāb al-Ḥarb Chandrat, the son and successor of Bharat, was deposed in 389 (998-99) after a rule of nine years. It can be inferred therefore that Bharat was overthrown in 380 (990-91).
²³² Also spelt as 'Jindrat'.
²³³ Ādāb al-Ḥarb, p.309.
²³⁴ Ibid.
²³⁵ The Ādāb al-Ḥarb (p.310) says that Chandrat went out for a hunt and was ambushed in the jungle. But it seems difficult to believe that the rājā could afford to indulge in such sport at a time when the safety of his kingdom was at stake.
raja was finally annexed; in the same year Jayapāla was proclaimed, in breach of the Hindu political ethics, as the king of Lahore.236

The rise of Mahmūd Bin Sabuktigīn

In the war of succession that followed the death of Sabuktigīn, Mahmūd won a clear-cut victory over his brother Ismā'īl and established himself at Ghazna.237 In the following two years he consolidated his grip over Khurāsān and by Dhū al-Hajj, 389 (November, 999) he was well-poised for expansion into Hind. He is said to have resolved to undertake an expedition every year.238 Thus, in accordance with his avowed intention, he marched to India at about the end of the year 390239 (September, 1000) and is said to have captured 'many forts'.240 We are not told the location of these forts but they may have been on the routes leading to the cities of Hind. The move was obviously of the nature of necessary spadework to clear the way for a bigger thrust.

The Battle of Peshāwar

Having gathered the necessary information from a renegade Śahi officer named Adīra Afghān,241 Mahmūd marched to Peshāwar in Shawwāl, 391242

236 Ibid., pp.310-11.
237 Gardīzī, p.172.
238 Jurbādhqānī, p.182.
239 This date is not recorded, but it can be inferred from Gardīzī (p.175) who says that the Sultān was in Nīshāpūr in 391 (1000-01).
240 Gardīzī (p.175) is the only contemporary authority to have mentioned this expedition. See also Nīzān ad-Dīn (DPB, p.267) and Badāonī (Urdū trans.) p.36. According to Firishta (Briggs, vol.1, p.20) Mahmūd appointed his own governor over these areas.
241 Ādāb al-Ḥarb, p.316. Adīra was the governor of Nardarī or Bardarī.
242 Firishta, DPB, p.336; Badāonī, op.cit., p.36. Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB, p.39) incorrectly says that Jayapāla invaded the country of Mahmūd.
(September, 1001) at the head of 15,000 picked horses.\textsuperscript{243} The exact route followed by the Muslim army is not clear, though Adhra is said to have brought it through a place called Jujaihan. Jayapala brought 12,000 cavalry, 30,000 foot and 300 war elephants in the field\textsuperscript{244} and took up his position in the fort of Begram (Peshawar) from where he issued instructions to his commanders.\textsuperscript{245} The two armies met on the plains of Peshawar on Thursday,\textsuperscript{246} 8th Muharram, 392 (27th November, 1001).

According to Utbi Jayapala used evasive tactics in the hope of receiving reinforcements. But Sultan Mahmud soon realised the danger of further delay and, taking the initiative in his own hands, he attacked the enemy with full force. A fierce conflict ensued and lasted in full fury till noon, when the Hindus first fell into disorder and then fled, leaving 5,000\textsuperscript{247} men and 15 elephants\textsuperscript{248} lying dead on the battlefield.\textsuperscript{249} Jayapala and 15 members of his family, besides some other chiefs, were taken prisoner.

The amount of booty obtained from the enemy camp was beyond the wildest calculation of the victors. Sixteen costly necklaces were taken off the necks of the prisoners; the one belonging to Jayapala was valued at 200,000

\textsuperscript{243} Jurbadhqani, p.208; and Ibn al-Athir, vol.ix, p.169. Gardizi (p.177), Nizam ad-Din (DPB, p.267), Badonii (loc.cit.) and Firishta (loc.cit.) give the number 10,000.

\textsuperscript{244} Almost all our sources agree on these figures.

\textsuperscript{245} Adab al-Harb, p.317.

\textsuperscript{246} Firishta has 'Monday' and Nizam ad-Din, Badonii and Gardizi mention 'Saturday'.

\textsuperscript{247} Jurbadhqani, p.208; Gardizi, p.177; Badonii (op.cit., p.36) and Firishta (loc.cit.). But Elliot (vol.ii, p.26) gives the number 15,000 and Majma' al-Ansab (DPB, p.39) has 6,000.

\textsuperscript{248} Jurbadhqani, loc.cit. J. Reynolds, op.cit., p.282 has '50 elephants'.

\textsuperscript{249} The exact location of the battlefield is not known. According to the Adab al-Harb (p.317) the battlefield was pebbly and strewn with stones. This description suits the area near the present campus of the University of Peshawar. A further clue may be taken from the discovery of many elephant and human skeletons from the site of the present building of the Hotel Intercontinental in Peshawar Cantonment. See supra, p.16.
The value of all the other necklaces was calculated to be twice as much. Nearly 100,000 handsome men and women were taken as slaves.

The Battle of Hund

His brilliant victory at Peshawar spurred the Sultan on to a further encroachment deep into the Sahi country. He advanced as far as Hund, the Sahi capital, and carried the town by a powerful assault. Demoralised and completely broken, the Sahi troops fled to the safety of the mountain passes but they were chased hot on their heels and dispersed with great slaughter. Meanwhile some of the cavalry columns of the Ghaznavid army spread in the neighbouring plains to clear the remaining pockets of resistance. In a short while the whole valley lay prostrate before the victor. Amazingly, Jayapala's defence arrangements to the west of the Indus proved incredibly weak. Mahmud was on his way home in about April, 1002 and must have accomplished the task of subjugating the lower Kabul valley in about four months following his victory at Peshawar.

The Release of Jayapala and his Death

There is some confusion about the place where Jayapala and his relations were kept as prisoners of war. We have the following data at our disposal.

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250 Ibn al-Athir, vol.ix, p.169; Majma' al-Ansâb (DPB), p.40; and Elliot, ii, p.25. Gardizi, Nizâm ad-Din, Badâoni and Firishtha however give the number '180,000 dinârs'.

251 Jurbâdhqânî, p.209. According to Ibn al-Athir (vol.ix, p.170) 500,000 people were enslaved.

252 Gardizî, loc.cit.


254 Ibid. See also infra, pp.267-68 for the hill fortresses.
1. 'Unṣūrī, a court poet of Mahmūd, says:255

'The lord of Khurāsān (Mahmūd) on the plain of Parshāwar,
scattered his enemies in one attack.'

'They sold the šāh of the Hindus at (?) Miranāī in front
of the camp of the Šahānšāh, the benefactor of his slaves.'

2. Minhāj ad-Dīn mentions the same event in the Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī,257
written about A.D. 1260:

'Jayapāla, who was the greatest of the rāīs of Hind, he (Mahmūd)
made prisoner and kept him at (?) Man-Yazīd258 in Khurāsān, and
commanded that he might be ransomed for the sum of 80 dirhams.'

3. 'Abd al-Malik 'Īsāmī in his Futuḥ as-Salātīn, written about A.D. 1350, reports:259

'He (Mahmūd) carried him to the distant part of the kingdom of
Ghazna, and delivered him to an agent of the slave-market.'

'I have heard that at the command of the king (Mahmūd) they
sold Jaipāl as a slave for 80 dinārī, and deposited the money
realised by the sale in the treasury.'

As is evident 'Unṣūrī and Minhāj ad-Dīn give different names for the
place where Jayapāla was put up to auction. As both of them refer to the
same incident, we must assume that the difference is not real but due to
a clerical error. It is difficult however to fix the precise location of

255 Dīwān U斯塔d 'Unṣūrī Balkhī, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Sayāqī, Tehran 1342,
p.117.

256 Actually . British Museum MS reads حم .

257 Raverty's trans., vol.l, p.82.

258 The other recorded variant is *

259 Edited by A.S. Usha, University of Madras 1948, p.35. For the English
translation see A.M. Hussain, Šāh Nāmāh-i Hind, Bombay 1967, p.82.
See also JRAS, pt.iii, 1927, p.494.
Mirand or Man-Yazīd. Minhāj ad-Dīn places it in Khurāsān but no place of this name is known in that region, either from the Arab geographers or from later historians. Moreover Minhāj ad-Dīn's information is not borne out by circumstantial evidence. We know from 'Unṣūrī, who was probably an eye-witness, that Jayapāla was sold in front of the camp of Maḥmūd. 'Unṣūrī is borne out by Firīshṭa, who says that Jayapāla and other prisoners were released when Maḥmūd was on his way back to Ghazna. Obviously the prisoners were not despatched to distant Khurāsān; they were rather kept in Maḥmūd's camp. That this statement is virtually correct is also known from the Majma' al-Ansāb which says that the Ghaznavīd sulṭān carried on negotiations with Jayapāla to fix the final sum of money the latter was prepared to pay for obtaining his release. We know the time of Maḥmūd's departure from Hind. According to Gardīzī (p.177), Niẓām ad-Dīn and Firīshṭa, he returned from Peshāwar at the beginning of spring (February-March, 1002).

In view of this evidence Khurāsān as a likely place for auction may be rejected straight away. We are now left with Mirand. 'Unṣūrī does not show its precise location but the name sounds strikingly similar to Mirān or Mirān Shāh, a small town between Ghazna and Bannū. It seems therefore that the Sulṭān returned by way of Bannū and released the prisoners of war at Mirān Shāh on his way back to Ghazna. That he adopted this route for the return journey also finds some support in the fact that,

260 Hodivala (Elliot, History of India (Aligarh edn), vol.ii, pp.683-85, 754-55) maintains that the word signifies 'auction' or 'sale in a market'. But this interpretation is far-fetched and does not seem to be correct.

261 DPB, p.337.

262 According to this source (DPB, p.40) Jayapāla sent a message to Maḥmūd and sought his pardon. But the latter replied: 'tell him to buy himself back'.

263 DPB, p.268;

according to Firishta, he attacked the Afghanš and killed many of their chiefs. As the Afghanš living in the hills between Peshawar and Lamghan had already submitted to Sabuktigin and were enrolled in the Ghaznavid armies, those who were subjugated on this occasion were obviously the Afghanš living in and around Bannū.

While eulogising the religious zeal of Mahmūd some of our sources give the impression that Jayapāla was entrusted to the broker of the slave market to be sold for 80 dirhams and in this way he was deliberately put to disgrace. But this story smacks more of rhetoric than of actual fact. The Ghaznavid sultan whose lust for money took him to places of difficult access could hardly be expected to lose so rich a prize as Jayapāla. It is therefore extremely unlikely that the old Śahi monarch was ever put to auction. Majma' al-Ansāb correctly says that Jayapāla purchased his release by paying an enormous sum of 250,000 dinārs, besides 50 elephants, which he undertook to hand over to the victor. He was therefore allowed to go, but his son was detained as a hostage for a while.

On his return Jayapāla wrote to Anandapāla, whose territory was on the other side of the Indus, explaining the dreadful calamity which had befallen him and beseeching him to send the required number of elephants. As the elephants reached the Sultan the rest of the hostages were also released. But the old monarch could not long survive this humiliation. Under the superstitious belief that his misfortune was due to some crime

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266 DPB, p.40.
267 Jurbādhoānī, p.209.
268 Ibid.
which might be expiated by self sacrifice, he abdicated the throne in favour of his son and mounting a funeral pyre, which he himself caused to be constructed outside the city wall of his capital, set it on fire and nobly perished in the flames. With him perished the glory of Hund. Some time after this event the capital was shifted to Nandana.

At the time of Jayapala's death the Sahi possessions to the west of the Indus were lost. The fertile valley of Peshawar was annexed and the districts of Swat, Dir and Bajaur were cut off from the main country and must have suffered a similar fate in a later expedition.

8. ANANDAPALA
(c. A.D. 1002-1010)

Anandapala, the son of Jayapala, ascended the throne about March-April, A.D. 1002. He is known to have served as the governor of the Panjab under his father since some time before A.D. 990, when he led his first invasion of Lahore. It is difficult to determine the Sahi

270 Perhaps Hund is meant here. See Ibn Kathir (DPB, p.971), who says that Jayapala committed suicide when he reached his capital city. The city of Hund is distinctly referred to by Nizam ad-Din (DPB, p.268) and Badanî (Urdû trans., p.37) as the capital of Jayapala.

271 According to Jurbadhqani (p.210) the Hindu rulers, once taken prisoner by their enemy, as happened in the case of Jayapala, forfeited their right to rule. This however does not find support in the Hindu code of law and may be his own interpretation of the rationale behind Jayapala's death by suicide. See also Firishta (Raverty), vol.1, p.21.

272 M. Nâzîm, op.cit., p.88, fn.3.

273 The exact date is not recorded, but, keeping in mind that he was released in about March, we may assume that he died in April.

274 The name is variously recorded as آنبرَ، آنبرال، آنبرقل، آنبرقل، آنبرقل، آنبرقل، آنبرقل، آنبرقل، آنبرقل، آنبرقل.

275 This relationship is known from many authorities: 'Utbi (p.366), Gardizi (p.178), Nizam ad-Din (DPB, p.268), Badanî (DPB, p.294), Adab al-Harb (p.308), Majma' al-Ansab (DPB, p.40), Firishta (DPB, pp.337-39), Haider Râzî (DPB, p.962), and Harsukh Râî (DPB, p.521).
capital of the Panjab during the time of his governorship. The cities of Jailam (Jhelun), Tākesar (Taxila) and Nandana are known to have existed at that time but which of them was the seat of the government is not known. The fact, however, that the intelligence of Bharat's invasion of Jailam and Tākesar was supplied to Jayapāla by the chiefs of these places implies Anandapāla's absence from them and thus rules out the possibility of any of them being the provincial capital. It seems therefore that Anandapāla ruled the Sāhi possessions in the Panjab from Nandana which became the national capital at the beginning of his reign.277

The entire reign of Anandapāla is nothing but a dismal story of successive reverses and loss of territory for the Sāhis. He is the first, and also perhaps the last Hindu Sāhi ruler, to accept a tributory status in relation to Ghazna. He enjoyed peace for the first few years of his reign when the Ghaznavīd deluge turned to his country and carried away his power and prosperity.

The Battle on the Indus

In the spring of the year 396278 (March-April, 1006), the Ghaznavīd Sultān Maḥmūd, on his way to punish Dāūd, the ruler of Multān, asked the permission of Anandapāla to pass through his territory.279 Having been instructed by past misfortunes, the Sāhi had good reason to suspect the intentions of Maḥmūd. The request was therefore peremptorily turned down

276 Adab al-Ḥarb, pp.308-09.
277 According to 'Utbī (vol.ii, p.146) the city of Nārḍīn (Nandana) was the capital (ال_mass) in 404 (1013).
278 Gardīzī (p.178); Nizām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.268); Badāuṇī (loc.cit.); and Firīṣṭa (DPB, p.338).
279 Jurbādhgāṇī (p.279) says that the Sultān wanted to take Dāūd unawares. But the main reason may have been the crossing of the river Indus which is comparatively easy near Hund and extremely difficult near Multān.
and the Śāhi instructed his chiefs to move to the river Indus to prevent Maḥmūd’s passage. Infuriated at the refusal of the Śāhi, Maḥmūd decided to turn his attention to him before proceeding to Multān. Accordingly 'he stretched out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush, into which he was followed by his subjects'. Ånandapāla suffered a severe defeat and, deserting his capital, took to flight. He was pursued as far as Sodra, at present a small town to the east of Wazīrābād, where he eluded the Sultān by escaping into the hills of Kashmir. At this point the Sultān relinquished the pursuit and resumed his march to Multān. The comparative ease with which Ånandapāla seems to have been routed is amazing, and shows his condemnable unpreparedness in the face of a very obvious emergency. He lost his first battle and with it also his prestige.

Multān fell after a siege of about seven days. The Sultān intended to bring the whole district under his control but meanwhile he heard the news of the invasion of the northern parts of his kingdom by the Turks under their leader Īlak Khān. Leaving the charge of Multān and his other Indian possessions in the hands of a certain Sukhpañ (or Sukhapāla), he went flying back to meet the invader.

Sukhapāla’s Rebellion

The appointment of Sukhapāla, a convert scion of the Śāhis, in such a high position gave them an opportunity to retrieve their lost fortunes

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280 Y. Mishra (op.cit., pp.132-33) however suggests that Ånandapāla was bound by treaty obligations which he had entered into with Dāūd to oppose Maḥmūd. But it seems more probable that the Śāhi, in refusing the passage, had the safety of his capital in view. Had Maḥmūd marched to Multān through the Sind-Śāgar Doāb, he would have certainly visited Nandana.

281 'Utbi, vol.ii, pp.73, 74; and Jurbādhqānī, p.279.

282 Firishta (Briggs), vol.1, p.23.

283 Infra, p.326 f.
in the Peshawar valley, but instead of co-ordinating their efforts, they went the opposite way. As Sukhapâla abjured Islâm and raised the standard in revolt, Ānandapâla sent the following letter to Mahmûd offering his services to fight against the Turks of Khurâsân. 'I (Ānandapâla) have learnt that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khurâsân. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot-soldiers, and 100 elephants, or, if you wish, I shall send you my son with double that number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression which this will make on you. I have been conquered by you, and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you.'

The news of Sukhapâla's rebellion reached Mahmûd in Rabî' al-Ākhar, 398 (January, 1007) while he was in pursuit of the vanquished army of Īlak Khân. Relinquishing the pursuit forthwith he marched to India with great expedition and instructed his chiefs who held appointments there to march ahead of the main force. Sukhapâla is said to have offered some resistance but, finding it difficult to hold his ground against the superior numbers of the Ghaznavid army, he fled to Kashmûr (probably the modern Kashmûr in southern Balûchistân). But he was overtaken and brought to Mahmûd, who, having exacted the sum of 400,000 dirhams from him, handed him over to the treasurer (Tîgîn-i Khâzan), who kept him in prison till he died.

284 Gardîzî, p.179; and Jurbâdhqânî, p.291.
285 Albîrûnî (op.cit., p.351).
286 Firishta (DPB, p.242).
287 Written as . M. Nâzîm (op.cit., p.98) identifies this place with Khewra in the Salt Range and Hodivala (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, vol.ii, Bombay 1957, p.28) thinks that the word represents Kishâr in Kashmîr.
288 Infra, p.326 f.
The Battle of Chhach

Having subjugated Multān and the neighbouring principality of Bhaṭiya, the Sultan once again resolved to invade the country of the Śāhis. The immediate reason for this invasion is not known and Firishta's assertion that this time the Hindus considered the expulsion of the Muslims from India their sacred duty seems to be incompatible with the general conduct of Ānandapāla, who, as his letter to Maḥmūd shows, was favourably inclined to them. On 29th Rabī' al-ʿĀghar, 399290 (31st December, 1008), the Sultan left Ghazna and must have reached Hund before the beginning of the ensuing spring. Ānandapāla sent his son Brahmanpāl291 (Trilocanapāla) at the head of a huge army which, according to Firishta, also included contingents from the neighbouring rājās.292 Trilocanapāla seems to have taken up his position in the plains of Chhach but he failed to prevent the Ghaznavīd force from crossing the river.293

In their entrenched positions the two armies lay inactive for 40 days, each side hesitating to come out in the open field. Getting apprehensive of the ever increasing numbers of the Śāhi troops, the Sultan at last

289 Rashid (Historical Dissertations, Karachi 1962, pp.143-44) identifies this place with Hatiyan (نیا بہن), near the Indus. But Albhīrzīnī's description of Bhaṭiya does not suit this place. For the correct identification, see M. Ṛāhīm (op. cit., pp.197-202).

290 Jubādhqānī, p.292. Firishta (Briggs, vol.1, p.26) wrongly puts this event in the spring season.

291 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.96. Actually Brahmanpāl is not referred to elsewhere. He must have been a brother of Trilocanapāla, unless this is a secondary name of Trilocanapāla himself.

292 Firishta (DPB, p.343) is the only author who refers to a league of Indian rājās on this occasion. But he seems to have introduced historical data of later times into this story. For, even when Maḥmūd penetrated deep into India, there was no co-operation to face the common danger. Moreover the eastward expansion of the Śāhis would not have endeared them to the rulers of the Gangetic basin.

293 A. Rashid (op. cit., p.38f) thinks that a large portion of the Ghaznavīd army may have crossed the Indus at Darband near Tarbela.

294 Firishta (Briggs), vol.1, p.27.
decided to take the initiative. In order to provoke the Hindus out of their entrenched positions, he despatched a contingent of 6,000 archers to begin the fighting. The contingent was however furiously attacked by the Hindu troops, who cut it to pieces. Following up their initial success, a body of 30,000 Gakhars295 'with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons' recklessly rushed deep into the Muslim positions and started a dreadful carnage: 5,000 troops of the Ghaznavīd army lay dead on the battlefield in a short while.296 The manoeuvre employed by Maḥmūd to allure the Hindus out of their positions boomeranged; towards the end of the day it was obvious that the success of the Muslims was in jeopardy. The situation was however retrieved when the Sultān brought his personal guards, the crack division of the Ghaznavīd army, into action. The guards swept round the Hindu army and made a target of the rear of the enemy lines.297 This unexpected and sudden attack demoralised the Hindus who, while attempting a partial change of front to meet the situation, fell into disorder and eventually fled,298 leaving 20,000 lying dead on the battlefield. A son of Ānandapāla fell into the hands of the enemy.299 The victors captured invaluable spoils, besides 30 elephants.300 This was the last contest of arms between Ānandapāla and Maḥmūd.

295 Firishta (DPB, p.343) writes this name as ʃʃ According to A. Rashid (op.cit., p.24) the name stands for ʃʃ Khokhar. But the form Gakhār seems to be more probable. For Gakhars, see supra, p.50 f.

296 Ibid.


298 M. Nāzim, op.cit., p.90. According to Firishta, however, the elephant of the king became unruly because of the naphtha balls and arrows of the Muslims and fled from the field. On seeing their general deserting them, the Hindu troops took to flight.

299 AlbIrūnī, op.cit., p.351.

300 Gardızī, pp.179-80; and Jurbādqānī, p.292.
The Capture of Bhīmnagar

The Sultan, having won a victory at Chhach, took up the pursuit of the fugitive Hindu troops and followed them to the fort of Bhīm or Nagarkot in the Kangra valley. Situated on the promontory of a lofty hill and encircled by the waters of the Mājhī and the Bāngangā, the fortress was known for its natural strength, and it also contained a temple which was held in great esteem by the Hindus of the neighbourhood. The fort was invested with such expedition that the Hindus could not throw in more troops to reinforce the garrison, which for the most part consisted of priests who had little inclination to the bloody business of war. Overawed by the superior strength of the Ghaznavīd troops and their eagerness to fight, the garrison capitulated after fighting for three days and opened the city gates. The Sultan entered the fort and appointed Āltūntāsh and Asīghtīgīn, the two chamberlains, to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and other valuable property, while he kept the jewels under his personal control. The spoils consisted of (i) 70,000,000 Shahī dirhams of coined money, (ii) 700,400 mans of gold and silver ingots, (iii) costly clothes, (iv) a folding house of silver measuring 30 x 15 yards, (v) a canopy 'made of the fine linen of Rūm', measuring 40 x 20 yards and supported on silver and golden poles, and (vi) a richly decorated throne reputed to have belonged to rājā Bhīm of the legendary Pāṇḍava

301 Ibid.
302 For a description of the location of Bhīmnagar, see infra, p.319 f.
303 Firishta (Briggs), vol.1, p.28.
304 See 'Utbi, ii, p.97.
305 Gardīzī, p.180.
306 Jurbāḥqānī, p.293.
307 Ibid. Firishta gives a different figure and, moreover, writes gold dinārs instead of Shahī dirhams.
dynasty.\textsuperscript{308} With this vast booty the Sultan returned to Ghazna about the end of the year 399 (June, 1009). According to 'Utbi Bhïm Nagar was placed in charge of Mahmûd's confidential officers,\textsuperscript{309} but subsequent events show that the place was probably recovered by the Sahis.

Unlike their predecessors, the Turk Sahis, who, thanks to their flexible and expedient foreign policy, saved the country for a long time from being completely absorbed by the Arabs, the Hindu Sahis followed a rigid line and put everything at stake to preserve their national pride. For a long time they refused to accept the reality that Ghazna had grown disproportionately powerful and that the continuous state of war which could be exploited by the stronger party was dangerously undermining their own position. The recent crippling blows that Ānandapāla had received at Chhach and Nagarkot, however, brought home the lesson to him and he wisely decided to compromise with the circumstances.

The Treaty of Ghazna

At the beginning of the year 400\textsuperscript{310} (October, 1009) Malmud marched on Nārāyanpur\textsuperscript{311} in Rājasthān and once again returned victoriously. This had a further demoralising effect on Ānandapāla who, realising that not even the united strength of all the Indian rājās could withstand the Ghaznavīd onslaught, decided to send an embassy to the Muslim capital\textsuperscript{312}

\textsuperscript{308} 'Unsuri, p.85; Gardîzî, p.180. See also Nizām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.269) who refers to more than one throne.

\textsuperscript{309} Elliot, ii, p.35; and Jurbâdhqānî, p.294.

\textsuperscript{310} Infra, p.156.

\textsuperscript{311} Actually द्वे. According to Albīrūnî (Sachau, i, p.202) Bazāna was called Nārāyan by the Muslims. The place has been identified by Cunningham (ASI, vol.ii, p.243) with Nārāyanpur in the former Alwar state of Rājasthān.

\textsuperscript{312} Haider Rāzi, DPB, p.444. The embassy is mentioned by many other Muslim writers. The name of the Indian king, however, who despatched the embassy is not explicitly mentioned. M. Nāzīm (op.cit., p.102) associates
to open negotiations for peace. The Muslim chroniclers exaggeratedly dwell upon the humble supplications of the Indian embassy, which seems rather like eulogising their master than describing actual facts of history. But it was undoubtedly Ānandapāla who first took steps to bring about peace. In any case the embassy met with success and a peace treaty was concluded. The Śāhi accepted tributary status in relation to Maḥmūd and agreed to despatch to Ghazna (i) 50 elephants of the best quality and (ii) a stipulated amount of money as annual tribute. In the capacity of acting as the Ghaznavīd viceroy in India, he undertook to (iii) send a contingent of 2,000 horse to be stationed at the capital, (iv) give assurance that the terms of the treaty would be honoured by his descendants or whosoever might become the ruler of India in his place, and (v) give passage to the Ghaznavīd troops when passing through the Śāhi territories. Maḥmūd in turn promised not to lead any more invasions against Ānandapāla's kingdom.314

The Sultan sent his own representatives to see that the terms of the treaty were duly carried into effect.315 Ānandapāla accordingly despatched the elephants without showing any sign of disloyalty. With peace established, law and order was quickly restored and trade between Hind and Khurāsān was once more resumed.316 There was nothing ignominious in the terms of the treaty which, compared to the huge sums of money

312 continued it with the rājā of Nārāyānpūr but 'Utbī's (Elliot, ii, p.36) reference to the rājā in question as having had several contests with the Sultan points to Ānandapāla alone, as Nārāyānpūr is mentioned only once.


314 Ibid; Tarīkh-i Alfi, DPB, p.813.

315 Ibid.

316 Ibid; Khulāṣat al-Akhbār, DPB, p.713.
recovered on previous occasions from the Śāhis as war indemnity, seem very generous. The restoration of peace was in fact a great gain and a much-needed relief for the war-stricken Śāhis.

The Death of Ānandapāla

The exact date of Ānandapāla's death is not recorded. There is however a clue in the Muslim chronicles which gives us almost the exact year in which he died. It is evident from the accounts of 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.121), Jurbādhqānī (p.312) and the Rauḍat-ās Ṣafā (vol.iv, p.101) that the above mentioned treaty was concluded soon after the Sūltān returned from Nārāyanpūr. As Maḥmūd is known to have marched to this place in the beginning of the year 400317 (October, 1009), he must have returned to Ghazna by March/April of the following year, as was his usual custom. Since the treaty was concluded by Ānandapāla, it follows that he was alive in March/April, 1010. This gives us the earliest possible date of his death. It is easy to fix the latest date, as Gardīzī (p.180), Niẓām al-Dīn (DPB, p.269) and Badāonī (DPB, p.295) refer to Trilocanapāla, and not to Ānandapāla, as the Śāhi ruler who interceded on behalf of Thanesar when the Sūltān marched to this place in the beginning of the year 402318 (October, 1011). Thus Ānandapāla died sometime between April, 1010 and October, 1011.

After a life full of strenuous struggle, Ānandapāla died a peaceful death, perhaps soon after concluding the peace treaty. He was noble,319

318 Firishta (Briggs, vol.i, pp.29, 30) therefore wrongly attributes events subsequent to this date to Ānandapāla. Y. Mishra, basing his opinion on the misstatement of Firishta, suggests A.D. 1013 as the year of Ānandapāla's death.
319 Fī Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind, p.351.
courageous\textsuperscript{320} and a great patron of scholars.\textsuperscript{321} His long stay close to the borders of Kashmir led to matrimonial relations with the family of Tuṅga, the famous prime minister of the notorious queen Diddā.\textsuperscript{322}

9. TRILOCANAPĀLA
\hfill (c. A.D. 1010-1021)

Trilocanapāla\textsuperscript{323} succeeded his father Ānandapāla\textsuperscript{324} between April, A.D. 1010 and October, 1011. From his father he inherited a truncated kingdom but he seems to have made up for some territorial losses by expanding further into the Siwalik hills. Shortly after the commencement of his rule Trilocanapāla's kingdom extended from the river Indus in the north-west to the upper Ganges valley. Nandana continued to be the national capital for the first few years of Trilocanapāla's reign.

Unlike his father, who cherished the bitterest hatred against the Muslims, Trilocanapāla, according to Albirūnī, was well-inclined towards them.\textsuperscript{325} He honoured the treaty concluded by his late father and tried

\textsuperscript{320} R.C. Majumdar (D.V. Potdar Commemoration Volume, Poona 1950, p.351) compares him with 'Porus, who bravely opposed Alexander but later submitted and helped in subduing other Indian rulers'.

\textsuperscript{321} Albirūnī (op.cit., p.105) gives a story about Ugrabhūti, the teacher of Ānandapāla, whose book named Sīgyahitavṛitti, a work on the science of grammar, met with little success in Kashmir. The matter was reported to the Sāhi who arranged to despatch the lavish sum of 200,000 dirhams and other presents of similar value to Kashmir to be distributed among those who studied the book of Ugrabhūti. The stratagem worked and the book became highly prized. A similar story is recorded by Hsuan Tsang (Beal, op.cit., p.115) and seems to be popular in the apocryphal history of the area.

\textsuperscript{322} Rājatarahgini, vii, 103.

\textsuperscript{323} This name is variously recorded as त्रिलोकचन्द्र, त्रिलोकचन्द्रक, त्रिलोकचन्द्रक, or simply त्रिलोकचन्द्र. The correct Sanskrit form of the name, Trilocanapāla, is known from the Rājatarahgini, vii, 47-63.

\textsuperscript{324} This relationship is recorded by Albirūnī (op.cit., p.351); Firishta (DPB, p.350); Tārīkh-i Afrīz (DPB, p.811); Ḥaidar Rāzī (DPB, p.442); and Badaoni (DPB, p.295).

\textsuperscript{325} Op.cit., p.351.
to keep his relations with Mahmūd friendly and trustworthy. The first test of his loyalty came in 402 (1011-12) when Mahmūd marched to Thānesar (Karnal district), a place said by Gardīzī (p.180) to be as holy in the eyes of the Hindus because of its idol chakraswāmin as Mecca to the Muslims, and asked the permission of the Śāhi to pass through his country. Trilocanapāla, faithfully standing by the letter and spirit of the treaty, guaranteed a safe passage to the Ghaznavīd army and instructed his subjects to look after the needs of the Ghaznavīd commissariat. He also interceded on behalf of the people of Thānesar. Satisfied with the Śāhi’s conduct, the Sultān refrained from injuring his territory but refused to accept his suggestion that an indemnity and a yearly tribute should be accepted from the people of Thānesar and the city be spared destruction.326 Even a further offer of 50 elephants and other valuable presents327 could not change the mind of Mahmūd, who went ahead with his designs.328 The failure of the Śāhi to dissuade Mahmūd from the destruction of Thānesar must have resulted in sharp criticism against him.

Soon after this incident Trilocanapāla reversed the policy of friendship with the Muslims. Perhaps the direction of the affairs of state gradually slipped into the hands of his son, Bhīma, who may have persuaded Trilocanapāla to follow a more rigid line. Whatever the reason, the Śāhi, according to the Guzūda (p.393), stopped sending tribute and came out in open rebellion against the Sultān. The stage was set for another war.

326 Firishta (Briggs, vol.1, p.31). This author has however confused Trilocanapāla with Anandapāla.
327 Gardīzī, p.180.
328 There is some confusion about the date of the battle of Thānesar. 'Utbi does not mention the date but puts it before the battle of Nārdīn (Nandana). We follow the sequence of Gardīzī, who explicitly mentions the date of this event.
The Battle of Nandana

Resolved to crush the power of Trilocanapāla, the Sultan marched from Ghazna about the end of Autumn, 1013 (November, 1013) at the head of a strong force. He could not proceed, however, any further than the borders of Hind because of heavy snowfall which blocked the passes and cut the roads. Perforce the Sultan returned to Ghazna and employed himself in collecting more supplies and troops. In the following Spring (March, 1014) he started again and reached the vicinity of Nandana after two month's hard journey.

As soon as Trilocanapāla learnt about the intentions of the Ghaznavīd Sultan, he put Bhīma in charge of Nandana and hurried to Kashmir with a view to seeking help, perhaps to engage the Muslims on two fronts. His request for help seems to have been amply responded to by Samgrāmrāja, the Kashmirian monarch (A.D. 1003-28), who despatched Tūṅga, his prime minister, with a strong force to assist the Sāhis.

Bhīma is said to have immediately summoned his (father's) vassals and generals, perhaps in order to select the battlefield of his own choice. Consequently he took up his position in a narrow pass and entrenched himself behind large stones. With his wings protected by the side

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329 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.146) and Jubādhqānī (p.331) give the form Nārdīn (ناردین). Reynolds (op.cit., p.388) has 'Nazīn'. Gardīzī (p.181), Niẓām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.270) and Badānī (DPB, p.295) have 'Nandana' (ناندنا). This place is also mentioned by Albirūnī (Qānūn-i Masʿūdī, vol.ii, Hyderabad 1955, p.562). It was situated on a hill called 'Kūh-i Bālnath' (Niẓām ad-Dīn, loc.cit.). Nandana has been identified with Nanduna in the Salt Ranges. The place was visited by Stein and described by him in the Geographical Journal, vol.80, 1932, pp.31-46.


331 Jurbādhqānī, p.332.

332 'Utbi, loc.cit.

333 Rājatarahgīnī, vii, 47.

334 Jurbādhqānī, p.332.
hills and his rear resting in the narrow defile, he threw a line of elephants to strengthen his front. A clever military strategist, he put the topography of the field to his own advantage. From this fortified position he carried on occasional fighting, sallying forth now and then to demoralise the enemy, but without showing any intention of coming out into the open field.

It was an exasperating experience for the Sultan who, knowing on the one hand that he could not put his swift moving cavalry into effective use, and on the other that further delay was swelling the number of the Hindu troops, found himself out-manoeuvred. He spread his Dalamite warriors and the 'satanic' Afghan spearmen around in order to provoke the Sāhis into action. It took him several days before he could lure a detachment of the Hindu army into the plains and then put it to rout.

Meanwhile the number of Bhīma's troops increased considerably. Relying on his numerical superiority, he threw all his plans on one side and, leaving his fortified position, came out impetuously to give battle in the open field. A dreadful carnage ensued. Bhīma ordered a charge of elephants but the Ghaznavīd sharp-shooters poured a terrific shower of arrows on their trunks and eyes. Thus the initial strength of the charge of the Hindu army was broken down. 'The conflict continued as before until God blew the gale of victory on his friends, and the enemy were slain on the tops of the hills, and in the valleys, ravines, and beds of torrents'. It was a crushing defeat for the Sāhis. Bhīma

335 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.149.
336 Ibid.
337 Jurbādhqānī, p.333.
338 Ibid.
evidently survived the battle and escaped capture, for we read of arrangements being made for his marriage a year or two after this event.

Maḥmūd promptly went ahead and invested the fort of Nandana. As he ordered his sappers to lay mines under the walls, the Turkish archers poured arrows into the fort. Demoralised and broken, the garrison surrendered and the Sūlṭān entered the fort victoriously in the company of some of his trusted officials. A large number of elephants, besides arms and other valuables, fell into the hands of the victor. 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.152) here records an interesting detail which throws some light on the antiquity of Nandana. A stone was found in the temple of the great Buddha on which an inscription was written purporting that the temple had been founded forty thousand years ago. The Sūlṭān was surprised at the ignorance of these people because the 'Ulemā and the learned doctors (ḥukamā) of every nation, he thought, agree that the total length of the age of this earth did not exceed seven thousand years, and the signs of the day of resurrection were already approaching. The Sūlṭān asked his wise men the meaning of this inscription; and they all concurred in saying that it was false, and that no faith was to be put in the evidence of a stone.

Nandana was placed in the charge of a certain Sāragh or Sārīgh and the Ghaznavīd army proceeded to the 'Kashmir pass' in search of Trilocanapāla. The Sāhīs at this time seem to have changed the national capital from Nandana to some other place.

340 Gardīzī, p.181.
341 Ibid.
342 Written as बुद्ध. This is Arabicised as ب(But).
343 Gardīzī, loc.cit.; and Niẓām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.270).
344 Bādāmī (DPB, p.296).
345 Gardīzī, loc.cit. According to Jurbādhqānī (p.334) the 'army of Islam' went back to Ghazna.
Meanwhile Trilocanapāla took up his position on the left bank of the Tauṣi (modern Tohi), a tributary of the river Jailam. He was accompanied by a Kashmirian contingent of considerable strength under the command of Tuṅga. Kalhana gives a vivid description of the impetuosity of the Kashmirian commander who eagerly looked out for battle and on one occasion actually succeeded in defeating a reconnaissance party of the Ghaznavīd army. Tuṅga was so elated by this success that in the subsequent operations he threw all councils of the more experienced Śāhi on one side and acted on his own initiative. The next morning, however, his pride received a rude shock as the leader of the Turuskas came on the field in full battle array. Leaving his comparatively safe position Tuṅga rushed upon the enemy with great expedition, but after some initial fighting his nerves gave way and he took to flight. Trilocanapāla, along with three Kashmirian chiefs, rallied the troops and made a supreme effort to retrieve the situation, but it was too late. The main strength of the Śāhi force had already been broken by the defeat of Tuṅga. Trilocanapāla eventually suffered a crippling defeat and withdrew to the safety of the Siwālik hills.

The campaign cost the Śāhi a fortune. The whole country up to the river Tauṣi was annexed by Maḥmūd. Moreover the protection given by the former peace treaty came to an end and the state of war was once again resumed. Now it was no longer a question of whether but a question of when the Śāhīs would receive the final blow.

346 Ṛajataraṅgini, vii, 48. It is regrettable that Kalhana does not mention the year of Tuṅga's expedition. Stein however maintains that the internal evidence of this source points to Maḥmūd's expedition of A.D. 1013.

347 Ibid., 54-55.

348 Ibid., 57-59.

349 Ibid., 63. Actually 'the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Caṇḍālas'.
Conflict with the Rāi of Sharwa

Trilocanapāla's efforts to expand further in the Siwalik hills brought him into sharp conflict with Chandar Rāi of Sharwa. They are said to have fought many battles over the years, in which they lost a great number of troops. Some time after the battle of Nandana, however, they decided to come to terms to save further bloodshed. With a view to removing their mutual suspicions Trilocanapāla asked the hand of the Rāi's daughter for his son Bhīma. The Rāi seems to have initially agreed but then treacherously detained Bhīma when the latter went to Sharwa to fetch the bride, and demanded retribution for the earlier losses. The Śāhi, thus outwitted by the Rāi, stopped encroaching upon the latter's territory. Stray battles, however, took place from time to time between the two rulers, until Maḥmund, on his way to Kanauj, reached that part of the country in A.D. 1018. Bhīma at that time was still in confinement at Sharwa. He is said to have advised the Rāi to evacuate the fort and hide somewhere in the jungle, for he feared that the latter, if caught by Maḥmund, might be forced to accept Islam.

In a quick round of victories the Ghaznavīd Sulṭān, after reducing some forts on the way, took Baran, Mahāban and Mathura, and then marched on Kanauj and defeated its Pratiharā ruler, Rājyapāl. On his way back he reduced and plundered Munj, Āsī and Sharwa. We do not hear of the Śāhis during this campaign. Trilocanapāla was probably still licking his wounds somewhere in the Siwalik hills. As the Sulṭān approached Sharwa,

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350 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.283) is the only contemporary writer who mentions this conflict.

351 This is inferred from the fact that Bhīma was not yet imprisoned at the time of the battle.

352 For the names of the rulers of these places, see infra, p.331 f.

353 This name is known from the Jhusi inscription (IA, vol.18).

354 See infra, p.331 f.
the Śāhi left his kingdom and took shelter with Bhojadeva, the Paramāra king of Mālwa.³⁵⁵

Mahmūd's campaign in the Doāb weakened the already declining power of the Pratihāra Rājayapāl who, immediately after the departure of the Ghaznavīd army, was attacked and killed by the Chandella Vidyādhara, the ruler of Kālanjar, on the pretext of his cowardly submission to the Muslims. Vidyādhara, known to the Muslim historians as Nanda, raised a certain Trilocanapāla, the son of Vijayapāla, to the throne of Kanauj³⁵⁶ and formed an alliance with the Śāhis³⁵⁷ to protect the Doāb from further Ghaznavīd invasions.

On hearing this the Sultān marched from Ghazna in the beginning of Autumn, 410³⁵⁸ (October, 1019) to crush the power of Nanda and his allies. Meanwhile Trilocanapāla, the Śāhi, came out of the Sīvālik hills and proceeded to the Doāb to join forces with the Chandella ruler.

The Battle of the River Rāhib

'With his warriors dusky as night and his elephants all caprisoned', Trilocanapāla crossed the river Rāhib,³⁵⁹ generally considered to be the modern Rāmangāṇa, and took his position on the eastern bank to prevent the crossing of the Ghaznavīd army. The Sultān hesitated to make an attempt at crossing the river as it was very deep and its bottom full of mud. He

³⁵⁶ IA, vol.18, pp.33-35.
³⁵⁷ See Nizām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.272) and Badāoni (DPB, p.297).
³⁵⁸ Gardīzī, p.184; Nizām ad-Dīn (loc.cit.); and Badāoni (loc.cit.). Ibn al-Athīr (vol.ix, p.308), however, places it in the year 409 (1018-19).
³⁵⁹ 'Uṭbī, vol.ii, p.305; and Jurbādhqānī, p.390. The name of the river is variously recorded as 'Kank' (Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.273), 'Jūn' (Badāoni, loc.cit.). Tārīkh-i Ālī (DPB, p.833) has the form 'Āb-i Sind' and Haidar Rāžī (DPB, p.462) has 'Āb-i Hind'. The upper course of the river Rāmangāṇa is called Ruhut (IDĪ, vol.xxi, 175).
boosted the morale of his troops by promising a 'life of repose after that day of trouble', and ordered some inflated skins to be prepared.\textsuperscript{360} The difficulty was, however, overcome when eight intrepid warriors of his personal bodyguard plunged into the water and swam across to the other bank. Trilocanapāla moved a small detachment of five elephants to oppose their landing, but they skillfully forced their way through.\textsuperscript{361} Encouraged by this example the whole army managed to get to the other side without the loss of a single life.\textsuperscript{362}

Having come to know that the Šāhi was already planning to move away, the Sultān ordered his men swiftly to form into battle array and charge the enemy furiously to put them into disorder.\textsuperscript{363} Trilocanapāla eventually suffered a crippling defeat and took to flight. The Ghaznavīd troops turned to the neighbouring town of Bārī (modern Buland-shahr), left undefended by the retreating Hindu troops, and gave it up to plunder.\textsuperscript{364} Rich spoils, besides 270 elephants\textsuperscript{365} and many precious stones, were captured by the victor. Among the prisoners were two wives and two daughters of the Šāhi.\textsuperscript{366}

Having lost the battle, Trilocanapāla made an attempt to come to terms with the Sultān, but failed, and proceeded to join hands with Nanda.\textsuperscript{367}

\textsuperscript{360} 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.307.

\textsuperscript{361} Ibid. According to Nizām ad-Dīn (loc.cit.) the men were sixty in number. Firishta (DPB, p.357) says that these eight men were actually commanders and they were accompanied by their troops.

\textsuperscript{362} Jurbādhqānī, p.391.

\textsuperscript{363} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{364} Gardīzī, p.184.

\textsuperscript{365} 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.308; Jurbādhqānī, loc.cit., Reynolds (op.cit., p.470) gives the number 70. According to Ibn al-Athīr (vol.ix, p.309) the elephants were 'more than two hundred'. Badānī (DPB, p.297) gives 580.

\textsuperscript{366} Farrukhī, Dīwan, ed. M.D. Sayāqī, Tehran 1349, p.64.

\textsuperscript{367} Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.
If he ever reached the camp of Nanda, the proud Sahi, unaccustomed to giving in without measuring swords in the battlefield, would have been shocked to know how precipitately his boastful ally had fled before the Muslims, in spite of the superior numbers under his command.\(^{368}\) The same Vidyādhara is said to have composed a *qaṣīda* in Indian language in praise of the Sultān when he was besieged in the fort of Kālunjar in A.D. 1021-22.\(^{369}\)

Deprived of his wealth and power, Trilocanapāla was assassinated by some mutinous Hindu troops\(^{370}\) in the year 412\(^{371}\) (1021). The precise reason behind this tragic death is not recorded. One may suspect the hand of the Rāf of Sharwa, the arch-enemy of Trilocanapāla, or, alternatively, he may have become the victim of a clique in his own camp.\(^{372}\)

10. BHĪMAPĀLA

(A.D. 1021-1026)

Trilocanapāla was succeeded by his son Bhīmapāla,\(^{373}\) known to 'Utbi as 'Bhīm, the Fearless', probably because of his personal courage. If there was no dispute over succession after his father's death, he must have ascended the throne about A.D. 1021. Unfortunately nothing much is known about the history of Bhīma. Even his succession, though it can be

\(^{368}\) After the defeat by the Muslims of a small detachment of the Hindu army, Vidyādhara was so demoralised that he fled away at night leaving his bags and baggage behind.

\(^{369}\) Niẓām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.274); and Firishta (*DPB*, p.359).


\(^{371}\) This date is known from Albīrūnī, op.cit., p.351. But Ibn al-Athīr's narration suggests that the death occurred soon after Trilocanapāla's defeat on the Rahib.

\(^{372}\) D.B. Pandey (op.cit., p.113, fn.207), curiously, blames the Muslims for this death.

\(^{373}\) This relationship is known from Albīrūnī (op.cit., p.351); and 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.283. In some histories the name is written as سیمال.}
safely inferred from Albīrūnī, is not explicitly mentioned. As the Śāhi fortunes were at the lowest ebb by the time of his accession, he must have inherited only a shadow of their original possessions in the Panjāb.

Under his father he may have held the governorship of Nandana, at that time the capital of the Śāhis. During the battle of Nandana 'Utbi (vol. ii, p. 149) in fact refers to him, and not Trilocanapāla, as the malik al-Hīnḍ (king of India) and the 'enemy of God' who opposed the Ghaznavīd forces. It was probably during this battle that he earned the admiration, expressed in the title 'Fearless', of his inveterate enemies. In this battle he may have personally led the attack against Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm aṭ-Ṭāi, the commander of the Ghaznavīd vanguard, in which the latter was seriously wounded and rescued by the bodyguards of the Sultān.374

Some time after the battle of Nandana, as noticed above, it was planned that he should marry a daughter of Chandar Rāi of Sharwa. But whether this marriage was ever consummated is not known. He was thrown into prison by the Rāi when he went to Sharwa to fetch the bride.375 He seems to have escaped from prison in January, 1019, when Maḥmūd attacked the Rāi on his way back to Ghazna. Bhīma may have been instrumental in changing his father's friendly policy towards the Muslims. As he is known to have ruled only five years after the death of his father, he must have died in A.D. 1026.376

375 Jurbādhqānī, p. 384.
376 See Albīrūnī, loc.cit.
CHAPTER 6

Coinage

The Sāhis issued coins in their own distinctive devices, weight and fabric in silver and copper. The most common type has a horseman with a banner (or lance) in his right hand and reins in the left on one side and a recumbent bull with jhula (saddle-cloth) and a Śāradā legend in the other (Pl.III, no.13). Another important type, probably a supplementary series, shows an elephant on the obverse and a lion on the reverse (Pl.III, no.20).

The bull and horseman type was first introduced by Spalapati and was continued by several rulers after him. Sāmantadeva changed the legend, but he did not alter the main pattern. The type had a wide diffusion throughout Northern India and appears to have gained popularity among the local rulers. These coins are found in various forms of execution and fabric and remained current long after the end of the Hindu Sāhi dynasty, to influence the coinage of the subsequent periods. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a number of dynasties and rulers issued coins of this type in silver and billon. They not only copied the type but also retained the legend and added their names on the reverse. Some of these rulers prefixed an epithet to the main legend, of which the real significance is still obscure. These later denominations, although very important for the general history of the bull and horseman type, fall outside the domain of the Sāhi coins and have been excluded from this discussion.

The enigmatic problem of the coinage of the Sāhis is that most of the legends do not correspond with the names of the rulers. Similarly

1 See infra, pp.196-201.
2 For more details see infra, p.194.
3 Infra, p.197.
the most famous among the Śāhi rulers have no coins to their credit. It might be assumed that no coins were issued after Bhīmadeva, for well known political and economic reasons. But this assumption is not borne out by the internal evidence of the coins and, in fact, is rendered untenable by the recent findings of D.W. Macdowall, which show gradual deterioration in weight and type in the bull and horsemen series during the period of the Śāhi rule.\(^4\) Even the loss of the silver mines of Panjhir cannot fully explain the inability of some of the Śāhis to issue coins in their individual names for, firstly, Jayapāla in the early part of his reign still had the mines under his control\(^5\) and yet his name is not found on the coins; and secondly, old coins could be used as an alternative to silver bullion, as was commonly done in the middle ages.\(^6\) No definite answer can be suggested to this problem until we know more about the history of these rulers. A tentative solution is, however, offered in the following pages.


\(^5\) The areas around Panjhir were lost after the battle of Ghūzak in A.D. 986-87.

\(^6\) Infra, p.173.
Private Mints

Unlike their Muslim contemporaries, the Šāhis were not very conscious of the royal prerogative of issuing coins (sikka) and left the mints in private hands. The mints operated in response to the trading needs of the sāhūkāres (bankers) and not to the will of the rulers. As money not bearing the name of the ruling monarch would have been unacceptable to the people, the mint-masters had to use the widely accepted legend, Śrī Śāmatadeva, as a matter of necessity. The existence of at least one such mint in the former Šāhi territories is known from 'Awfī. During the reign of Yāmīn ad-Daula Māhmūd, 'Awfī says, some cunning Indians formed a plan to enrich themselves. They brought out a dirham of great purity and placed a suitable price on it. With the lapse of time the dirham obtained currency and was exchanged for gold and silver by merchants from different countries. When the people had grown accustomed to the value of the coin, we are told, the Indians began gradually to debase the standard. The merchants eventually became aware of the trick and reported the matter to Mās'ūd III (A.D. 1099), the Ghaznavīd ruler of the area, who ordered the closure of the mints. 'Awfī's source of information for this story is not known. However, as the story is not reported by other Muslim chroniclers, one may assume that he took it from the lost works of Baihaqī, as he did in the case of the story about Kamalū/Toramāna. Whatever the source, there is nothing fundamentally improbable in the story. What seems, however, to be incongruous with the evidence of the coins is the statement that the Indian dirham was first introduced in the time of Māhmūd. Apparently this was added by

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7 Extracts from Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt in Elliot, ii, p.188.

8 The existence of Kamalū is also borne out by other sources. See supra, p.114.
'Awfī to give to what was historical information the colour of a story, which of course suited the general plan of his work, the Jawāʿal-Ḥikâyāt (Collections of Stories).

In later periods many examples of the existence of private mints can be cited from other parts of the sub-continent. The Bahmani king Muḥammad Shāh, having been exasperated by certain Hindu bankers who continuously melted down his coins as soon as they reached them, is known to have put the business of minting in the hands of a few licenced bankers only.9 Similarly the Peshwās are said to have granted licences for private mints. Although they did not tolerate unlicenced mints or debased coins, the Zamīndārs in some provinces established their own mints and issued counterfeit coins.10 In Shivājī's dominions alone there were some 26 different sorts of gold coins.11 At the advent of the British rāj an official list published for the guidance of the civil servants in the Bombay Presidency mentions about 38 gold and more than 127 different issues of silver coins.12 The position in Central India was no different even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to J. Malcolm the right of coining money was vested in no particular body or individual.13 Any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business, he says, had merely to make application to the government, presenting a trifling undertaking to produce coins of

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9 Firishta (Briggs), vol.ii, p.185. E. Thomas (The Pathan Kings of Delhi, London 1871, pp.343-44) gives an extract from the Persian original.
the regulated standard and to pay the proper fees. The evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* is rather inconclusive on this point, but it has also been taken by some to present a picture that is not unlike that of the Marāṭhā mints.\(^{14}\) Similarly the information of Budhaghoṣa and his commentators may be taken to suggest that the silver punch-marked coins called *purṇa* were issued by private agencies in the age of the Śatavāhanas and the Guptas.\(^{15}\) It can be seen therefore that private agencies or firms played a very important role in controlling the business of manufacturing coins in medieval India and may have existed even earlier in the time of the Śāhīs. This also explains the gradual reduction in weight.

**Reduction in Weight**

If the example of Central India is any guide, the gradual reduction in weight of the Śāhī coins may be attributed to the private firms. Malcolm says:\(^{16}\) 'The temptation to abuse, by the depreciation of the coins, is too great to be resisted. The coinage of Oojein, Indore, and Bhopal has maintained a sufficient degree of credit and purity; whilst that of Pertaubhurh not only varies continually, but has been gradually increasing its quantity of alloy, from twenty-five to sixty-six grains each rupee. The Seronge rupee has, in the same manner, increased from six to thirty grains, and the Bhilsa rupee from six to twenty-eight and three-quarters grains of alloy'. It was therefore the irresistible temptation to make illicit profits on the part of the Indian sāhūkāras in control of the mints that led to the decrease in some cases and the

\(^{14}\) The evidence of this source is analysed by D.C. Sircar in *JNSI*, vol.xiv, p.182.

\(^{15}\) *JNSI*, vol.xiii, p.187 f.

increase in others of the weight standard, depending on the degree of peculation of finer metals and mixture of alloys.

Method of Manufacturing Coins

The actual method of manufacturing coins in the time of the Śāhis is nowhere recorded, but it was probably no different from what we find in other parts of India in later times. Malcolm writes:\textsuperscript{17} The banker or merchant (in Central India) having obtained permission to coin, and having collected a sufficient number of silversmiths, makes such purchases of coins\textsuperscript{18} or other bullion as will turn out most to his advantage. These are first brought to the Nearchee or refiner. The mode of fining is always by cuppellation with lead: three hundred and fifty rupees are placed at one time in the cuppel, with a certain quantity of lead, according to the standard of the silver used, which by experience he knows will suffice for bringing it to a certain degree of purity, a little higher than that required for the coin. The standard is then nicely adjusted, by adding a certain quantity of baser metal. The purified mass is afterwards taken to the melter, who, putting one thousand rupees' weight at a time in a large crucible on an iron ring capable of being raised by attached chains, melts it and runs it into several small flat moulds, about six inches long, and half an inch broad, forming it thus into convenient pieces for cutting into the necessary dimensions. The bars of silver are then delivered to the silversmiths, each of whom has a small raised fire-place and anvil in front close to him. On one side sits another with scales and shears, for supplying him with square pieces of the metal of nearly the proper weight. On the other side is a person whose business is to adjust the weight more accurately after it has been formed into shape. The silversmith receives back the small lumps; heats them red hot, and, taking them up with a pair of small forks, gives them two or three smart blows on the angular points, then strikes the pieces flat, and gives it afterwards one or two rapid turns on its edge, accompanied by gentle strokes of the hammer; and it thus receives its rudely-rounded form ready for the die. Before this operation, however, it is taken to another man

\textsuperscript{17} Op.cit., pp.81-83.

\textsuperscript{18} This explains why coins of some earlier rulers have almost disappeared.
to clean by boiling it in a mixture of tamarind and salt. The planchets are then taken to receive the impression or inscription: this is formed by two steel dies; one firmly fixed in a heavy raised block, and the silver piece being placed on it; the other die, in the form of a large heavy punch, is placed above by one man, whilst an assistant gives it a smart blow with a heavy hammer. The number of rupees being thus completed, they are carried to the assay-master, and, if approved, the fees are paid and the coins taken away by the proprietor for circulation.

Malcolm's detailed description gives us a unique insight into the actual operation of a late medieval mint. As no technological changes are known to have occurred in the actual method of manufacturing coins in medieval Northern India, one may assume that the description is also true of the mints of the period of the Şâhis. If this be the case, it is not difficult to visualise the actual cause behind the gradual deterioration of type and legend of the Şâhi coins. It is against this background that we shall now proceed to consider in detail the coins of the Turk Şâhis and the Hindu Şâhis separately.

1. THE TURK ŞÂHIS

The coinage of the Turk Şâhis still baffles the ingenuity of scholars. Hence it is no wonder that nothing much has been written on the subject so far. Most accounts of the Şâhi coins are biased in favour of the more famous Hindu Şâhis and conveniently leave the Turks without coinage. The fact however that the Turk Şâhis paid on several occasions huge sums of coined money to the Muslims suggests the existence of their own coinage. Besides, there was no dearth of metal which could have imposed serious restrictions on the manufacturing of coins, for the famous silver mines of Panjhîr could have sufficiently met the local demands.

19 See supra, pp.65, 70.
A List of the Names of the Turk Sahis

Of the numerous difficulties which beset this problem the most serious is the absence of an authentic list of the names of the Turk Sahi rulers. It is regrettable that the royal pedigree preserved in Nagarkot could not be retrieved by Albiruni, whose ardent desire to acquaint himself with it remained unrealised. Nevertheless he records three names: (1) BarhatigIn, the founding father of the Turk Sahi dynasty; (2) Kanak, whose historicity in the present context may be considered doubtful if he is to be identified with the famous Kaniska; and (3) Lagatürmän, whose reign marked the end of this dynasty. Of the Arab chroniclers Ya'qubi has preserved the name of a certain Khinjil (حميل) who was a contemporary of the caliph al-Mahdi (A.D. 775-85). Azraqi records 'Mahrab Fālī Dūmi' as the name of the Ispahbadh Kābul Shāh who suffered defeat at the hands of the caliph al-Mamūn (A.D. 813-33). The Rutbīl killed by Ya'qūb b. Laith in A.D. 864, according to Jūzjānī, was called Lakān the Lak. Ibn al-Athīr also refers to the same incident, but records Kbtir (كبتير) as the name of the Rutbīl. The Tarikh (pp.206-07) mentions Salīḥ b. Hajar as the name of the Rutbīl of Rukhkaj who committed suicide in 253 (867), when his capital was besieged by the Saffārīd forces. A little known scion of this house who was taken prisoner by Ya'qūb in the beginning of A.D. 871 at the fort of Nār Lāmān was probably called

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20 *Fi Taḥqīq Ma liʾl Hind*, p.349.
21 Ya'qūbī, ii, p.479.
22 Supra, p.
23 Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī (Raverty), vol.1, p.317.
'Kbr' or 'Kir'. The same individual is probably referred to by Gardizi (p.139) under the name 'Pfrúz' (Ffrúz).

The Chinese sources also have some useful information in this respect. The *Tang-shu* refers to a certain Hing-Ye as the ancestor of Ho-hie-tche who ruled Ki-pin in A.D. 642, probably shortly before the advent of the Turk Sáhi rule. The ruler of Ki-pin in A.D. 719 was Wu-san-te'kin-sha who had the title *Ko-lo-ta-tohe-te'kin*. Wu-san-te'kin-sha was succeeded by his son Fo-lin-ki-po or Fou-fou-tchoen in A.D. 745. The ruler of Zabulistan in A.D. 720, according to the *Tang-shu*, was Tche-kiu-eul.

Of the Chinese travellers who visited the north-western regions of the sub-continent in the eighth century A.D. only Wu K'ong enlightens us on the names of the local rulers. Wu K'ong records that he visited the monasteries of Jou-lo-li, Ko'hou-li, Pintche and Tchen-tan-hou-li in Gandhāra, known after the names of the king, his son, wife and a younger brother in that order. He also refers to the monasteries of Te'kin-li and Ko'tun, founded by a Turkish king and his wife respectively. Other names mentioned by Wu-Kong are Ngo-che-tchen, San-kin hou-li and Yen-te-lli but they are apparently not connected with any royal house.

A few other names can be gleaned from the inscriptional records. A certain 'Paramabhāṭāraka Mahārajjādhirāja Śrī Śāhi Khiṅgāla, alias Otyāta Śāhi', is mentioned in the Kabul image inscription of an uncertain

25 Supra, pp.101-03.
26 Chavannes, *Documents* ..., p.131.
27 Ibid., p.132.
28 Ibid., p.161.
The Hätün Rock Inscription mentions Pațoladeva, who may have been only distantly related, if at all, to the Turk Šāhis of Kabul. The bilingual Tochi Valley inscription dated Samvat 38 (A.D. 863) mentions a TigIn Šāhi who was probably a small chief in the area. Of the names listed above only the following seem to be represented in the coins.

A. Barhatigīn/Vahitigina

H. Humbach has recently suggested the identification of Vahitigina, Vrahitigina or Šāhitigina of the following coins with Barhatigīn of Albīrūnī's list. The obverse of these coins (Pl.II,1-4) shows, within the inner circle, the bust of the king in a three-quarters frontal position. The king wears a crown marked with a trisūla emblem and a wolf-head design on the top. At the back of his neck can be seen the two ends of the diadem, the traditional symbol of power, floating in the air. His ear-ornament consists of a ring and two globules held together by a central cord. On his neck he has a double-stringed necklace with a flower pattern (or disc) in the front. He shows moustaches, a high arched nose and a prominent chin. In the field to the right of the face is the Bactrian legend CPIĘYO (= Šrī Šāhi). The margin of the coin, marked by the inner and outer circles, contains the Indian legend Šrī hitivira Kharalāva paramesvara Šrī Vahitigīna.

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31 See List of Inscriptions, no.2.
33 Ibid., pp.18, 60.
34 The wolf is considered to be the legendary progenitor of the Turkish races (see Emel Esin, 'Tūs and Moncuğ', Central Asiatic Journal, vol.xvi, No.1, 1972, pp.14-36).
deva kāritam\(^{35}\) (= 'caused to be made by Śrī Hitivira Kharalāva, the supreme lord Śrī Vahitigīna the god').

The reverse of these coins shows, within the inner circle, the bust of a deity with head in flames which can be seen ascending to a point on the top. Cunningham and others\(^{36}\) have taken this to be a sun-god, but the narrow sloping shoulders suggest to us that the figure is intended to represent a female. The flames behind the head of the figure indicate its divinity, but do not prove a connection with the sun. In her ears she has bunches of flowers. She wears a single-strunged necklace with a flower pattern (or disc) in the front. Her garment shows roughly triangular motifs on the front of the shoulders. At the back of the shoulders she has two palmette designs, a very familiar motif of the Sāsānian coins. In the fields to the right and left of the face are Pahlavi inscriptions which read as Ṭkyn' āwā's'n Malk (= Tīgīn king of Khurāsān) and hept' hept'ē (= '77') respectively. The margin marked by inner and outer circles contains three crescent-and-star designs and a fourth which in some cases looks like two conjoined circles.

The coins have been known since General Ventura obtained two specimens from the stupa of Mānīkāla.\(^{37}\) Three similar specimens were sent by A. Burnes to Calcutta for the examination of Prinsep, who gave a detailed account of them in 1838.\(^{38}\) These and many others of the same kind were then sent to Britain.\(^{39}\) They have been discussed by

\(^{35}\) For further discussion of this coin inscription, see infra, pp.230 f.

\(^{36}\) Cunningham relates this deity with the sun-god of Multān. See also M.F.C. Martin ('JASB, vol.xxx, 1936, Numismatic Supplement, No. XLVI), who is in favour of its identification with the god 'Shuna'.

\(^{37}\) JASB, 1834, Pl.xxi, fig.10, 11 and p.438.

\(^{38}\) Cf. H. Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, 1971 Indian repr., pp.393, 400.

\(^{39}\) Ibid.
Wilson, Cunningham,40 Ghirshman,41 and more recently by Göbl42 and Humbach. Their findspots are recorded by Cunningham as follows:

A large number of these coins have been found in different places on both sides of the Indus. Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the Mānīkyāla stupa. Dr. Lord got forty specimens to the north of the Caucasus (i.e. Hindu Kush). I have received some twenty or thirty from Kabul, and I am aware that a few have been found in Sindh and Kacch.43

Although the spatial distribution of these coins may be taken to have broadly decided their geographical affinity, there is considerable disagreement of opinion as to their dating. Taking a clue from the deity which also occurs on the coins of the Sāsānian emperor Khusrau II (A.D. 591-628), Wilson assigned them to the Indian princes of Kābul of the sixth or the commencement of the seventh century A.D. Cunningham identified 'Shāhitigin' (Vahitigīna) with Diwāj II, the Shāhi-Shāhin of the Chach-Nāma and fixed his reign at about A.D. 565 to 595. Ghirshman shifts the centre of 'Shāhitigin's' power to the north of the Hindu Kush and dates his reign from A.D. 630 to 658. Göbl considers 'Shahitigin' as a Hūna prince who ruled about A.D. 700. Humbach however suggests the identification of Vahitígina, Vrahitígina or Şāhitigina with Barhatigīn. The commencement of Barhatigín's reign may be fixed about A.D. 666.44 We may only accept Humbach's identification with caution however, since the resemblance of the first part of the name on the coin (Vahi-) with that given by AlbIrūnī (Barha-) is by no means close.

41 Le Chionites-Hephtalites, Cairo 1948, p.
44 Supra, pp.45-47 for details.
As is evident from the Indian legend of the coins, Barhatigin curiously takes the title of the king of Khurāsān, if this reading, supported by Humbach, is correct. If the name Khurāsān has been used to mark the area to the north of the Hindū Kush, there is nothing in our sources that justifies this claim, for the area had already passed into Arab hands. But it may be argued that Khurāsān also occasionally included the Kābul valley and Zābulistān and was probably used in this sense in the coin legend. Alternatively Barhatigin may have extended his rule to some of the adjoining parts of Turkhāristān or laid claim to the former Ephthalite territories in Khurāsān to enable him to take this title.

The word hitivīra is used here in the sense of an honorific title and seems to be the Indian form of the Turkish ʿeltābīr, corrupted by the Arabs into Rutbīl. Eltābīr originally meant a junior official but seems to have been used on the coins in the sense of governor or sāmanta. The first governor or eltabīr/Rutbīl of Zābulistān under the Kābul Shāh (Barhatigin) was his own brother, whose actual name, eclipsed by the glory of his official designation, unfortunately went unrecorded. The two brothers could not pull together for long and the Rutbīl in due course asserted his own independence to become the ancestor of the well known Rutbīlīd dynasty of Rukhkhaī and Zābulistān. Hereafter the Kābul Shāh had no control over Zābulistān for any practical purposes. By taking the title hitivīra/Rutbīl on the coins he only seems to have demonstrated his legal right of sovereignty over that area. As the title signified a comparatively less important

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46 Ṭabarī, i, p.2706. See also H. Humbach, op.cit., p.60.
47 Supra, pp.45-47.
position than that of a king, BarhatigIn actually never came to be popularly known by it.

The Pahlavi legend expressing the date has been read differently. Humbach reads '77' and connects this date with the era of Yagdigird. But it is hard to explain why only one date was adopted throughout the series. Can it mean that all the coins of BarhatigIn were struck in the year 77, and none before or after? This is not borne out by the internal evidence of the coins, which suggests that they were struck during the whole period of the reign of BarhatigIn.

These coins are known in silver and their average weight varies between 2.5 gms (39 gr) and 3.3 gms (52 gr).

B. CPI TŌINO BOYO/Wu-san-te'kin-sha

The identification of Wu-san-te'kin-sha of the Tang-shu with CPI TŌINO BOYO of the following coins (Pl.II,5-8) is also due to Humbach. But Humbach goes a step further and connects these names with Vahitigin/BarhatigIn. This however is not supported by the evidence of the coins, for the bust of the king on the coins of CPI TŌINO BOYO is quite different from that of Vahitigin and leaves us in no doubt that they were two separate individuals. Even the crowns they wear are based on two different models. Similarly the reverse motifs of the coins bear absolutely no resemblance to each other.

On the obverse CPI TŌINO's coins show within a beaded border the bust of the king facing right. The king wears a crown which consists of two triśūla emblems and two wings surmounted by a crescent- and-star design. The ends of the diadem swirl in the air to the left. The ear ornament consists of a ring and three globules held together by a central chord. On the neck he wears a tight fitting necklace and

a circular frontal disc supported by two strings. His garment is decorated with wavy lines on the front. The Bactrian legend to the right reads CPI TOFINO POYO⁴⁹ (= Śrī Tīgīn Śāhi).

The reverse of these coins shows, within a beaded border, a fire-altar flanked by two devotees facing inwards. The devotees wear caps and loose Indian dress. The fire-altar consists of a three-tiered pedestal and a similarly designed top supported by three columns. On the sides of the columns is the Indian legend Śrī Yadevi Śāhi Śrī.⁵⁰

To the left of the devotees is the Pahlavi legend read as z'wl (= Zābul) and to the right št = šaš (= six).⁵¹

Wu-san-te'kin-sha was on the throne in A.D. 719. He abdicated in favour of his son in A.D. 745.⁵² The length of his reign indicates that he ascended the throne probably shortly before A.D. 719. Apparently he was not the immediate successor of Barhatigīn. However, the coinage of his predecessor, whose existence can be guessed in the circumstances, is yet to be discovered. Wu-san-te'kin-sha's coins are known in billon and copper. Their weight shows two distinct denominations: the first weighs between 3.5 gms (55 gr) and 2.2 gms (35 gr), whereas the second denomination weighs 0.9 gms (14 gr).⁵³

C. Khiṅgila/Khinjil

The name Khiṅgila was apparently quite popular with the Ephthalites and seems to have survived down to the time of the Turk Śāhis. The

⁴⁹ Cunningham (*Indo-Scythians*, p.289) and Ghirshman (op.cit., p.50) give different readings.

⁵⁰ This is a very confused legend. For various readings see Cunningham, loc.cit.; Ghirshman, loc.cit.; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p.402 and Pl. XVII, 6; Gob.1, op.cit., vol.1, p.140, Em.206; and Humbach, op. cit., p.60; and infra, p.231.

⁵¹ Humbach, loc.cit.

⁵² Supra, p.80.

⁵³ See chart, Fig.10.
forms Khīṅgāla and Khinjil have already been noticed above. The name Hing-nieh of the Chinese sources also sounds similar.⁵⁴ Kalhana records it as Khinkhila. The form Khīṅgila and its abbreviation Khīṅgi are known from many coins. But, as these variants are mentioned in different contexts, they cannot represent one and the same individual. Obviously there was more than one Khīṅgila.

Petech has recently suggested the identification of Khīṅgila of the coins illustrated by Cunningham with Khinjil of Ya'qūbī.⁵⁵ Much earlier Cunningham attributed the same coins to Khinkhila the Kashmirian king who succeeded the notorious Mihirakula.⁵⁶ But, as the dates of Khinjil (c. A.D. 778) and Khinkhila (c. A.D. 580) do not coincide, one of the attributions must be wrong.

Of the coins which bear this name at least two groups can be distinguished on the basis of the busts they depict. In group i the king has fleshy prominent nose and his moustaches are turned up at the ends.⁵⁷ He wears a conical cap decorated with a moon emblem on the forehead. At the base of the cap is the traditional diadem, of which the two ends hang down at the back of the head. The ear ornament consists of a small ring and six globules arranged in two equal perpendicular rows or, in some cases, simply a large ring studded with circular pellets. Beneath the ends of the diadem is the Ephthalite symbol \( \mathbf{\lambda} \) and to the right of the bust is the solar wheel \( \odot \) or symbol of the sun-god. Significantly, remnants of the shoulder flames

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⁵⁴ Chavannes, Documents ..., p.131.
⁵⁷ Cunningham, op.cit., Pl.vii, no.11; Gōbl, op.cit., vol.iii, Pl.XXV, no.81.
or halo, a peculiar motif of the earlier coinage, still persist. The legend in Brāhmī letters starts at 9 o'clock and reads deva शाही क्षिंगिला. The reverse of these coins is obliterated. As mentioned above, these coins were attributed by Cunningham to Khinkel of Kashmir. The attribution is generally accepted and concerns us here only for the sake of establishing a clear distinction from the other group.

In group ii (Pl.II,9-10) the bust of the king shows high, thin and aquiline nose. The main portion of the diadem is dropped; even its significance is forgotten, as the remaining ends of it become part of the necklace. The solar wheel and the moon symbol also disappear. The ear ornament consists of a small ring and three globules, as seen on the coin of Vahitigina. The Ephthalite symbol ष takes its place above the ends of the diadem. To the right of the face of the king is the Brāhmī legend क्षिंगि. The reverse of these coins shows a fire-altar flanked by two devotees.

Typologically group ii comes after group i and shows affinities with other Turk Śāhi coins. The exact find-spots of group ii are not recorded. Wilson found one specimen from 'Hidda Topes' in Afghanistan. According to Cunningham these and other cognate types belong to the north western region of the sub-continent. They may be provisionally ascribed to Khinjil of Ya'qūbī.

58 Compare E. Herzfeld, Kushano-Sasanian Coins (ASI, no.38), Calcutta 1930, pp.21, 28.
59 Cunningham (op.cit., p.284) gives the reading vaiga or vanga.
60 Some examples (Göbl, op.cit., vol.iii, Em.57, nos 4, 5) show a similar wavy pattern as seen on the coins of Wu-san-te'kin-sha (Göbl, Em.206, nos 3, 4).
The well known bull and horseman type bearing the legend *Śrī Spalapatideva* has been correctly attributed to Afghanistan and the northwest of Pakistan. Little progress has however been made in the actual identification of this name or title.

The actual study of the Spalapati coins started with Prinsep, who described them as the most ancient of the 'Rajput series'. Prinsep read the legend as *Syalapati* and associated it with Sialkot in the Panjāb. Prinsep's interpretation was followed by Wilson without further comments. A detailed account of these coins was first given by Thomas, who identified Syalapati with Kallar of Albūrūnī. Thomas also conjectured that most coins of Syalapati were melted down by Sāmanta who, from the motive of individual vanity, recouined them all in his own name. The reading *Syalapati* was later corrected by Cunningham as *Spalapati* and this has since been universally accepted.

In 1882 E.C. Bayley published his remarks about the dates of these coins. He took some of the unintelligible signs on the reverse as Arabic numerals expressing dates and connected them with the Gupta era. Four years later the problem of dates was reconsidered by J.F. Fleet, who suggested their connection with the Śaka era. But the whole concept of dates was based on Bayley's hypothetical readings. The so-called numerals are in fact nothing but the corrupted remains of a

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64 See *Ariana Antiqua*, pp.428-30.
65 *JRAI*, vol.ix, 1848, p.197.
67 *IA*, vol.xv, 1886, pp.185 ff.
Bactrian legend, as first suggested by Cunningham\textsuperscript{68} and finally established by Ghirshman.\textsuperscript{69}

Cunningham (1894) seems to have accepted Thomas' identification of Spalapati with Kallar, but he improved the idea by adding that Kallar was the personal name and that Spalapati was the designation by which he was generally known.\textsuperscript{70} Both Thomas and Cunningham made a very clear distinction between Spalapati and Sāmanta as two separate individuals. V.A. Smith, however, put forward a new idea in 1906. Taking his clue from the hypothetical Arabic numerals which occur alike on the coins of Sāmanta and Spalapati, and also from the fact that these names have nearly the same meaning, Smith took them for titles and attributed them to Kallar.\textsuperscript{71} As to the question why Kallar had to take two similar titles, Smith suggested that the coins with the Persian title (i.e. Spalapati) were struck at mints situated in the territory west of the Indus which was formerly included in the Persian empire, while those with its Sanskrit equivalent (i.e. Sāmanta) were issued in the Panjāb. Smith's ingenious interpretation still remains popular, but much of it is based on very slender grounds. As seen above, the hypothesis of Arabic numerals has finally been demolished, thus removing the main prop of Smith's argument. Moreover, should the 'numerals' be taken for real dates, it would be difficult to account for their existence in the same form on the coins of Bhīma,\textsuperscript{72} whom Smith had no intention of identifying with Kallar. Furthermore, it is strange that all the dates

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{68} CMI (1967 Indian repr.), p.63.
\bibitem{70} CMI, p.58.
\bibitem{72} Compare CMI, Pl.VII, no.17.
\end{thebibliography}
were expressed by the same symbols IIA or VII. Smith's argument that the words Spalapati and Sāmanta have nearly the same meaning and therefore represent one and the same individual is untenable, for the words Khudarayaka, Vakka, Rutbīl, Tigīn and Sāmanta have also nearly the same meaning but obviously they cannot be identified with Kallar. We shall be indeed left with nobody to succeed Kallar if we follow this line of argument. That Spalapati and Sāmanta were separate individuals is made singularly clear by the reverse of their coins. In the former (Pl. V, 3) the horseman is shown wearing a turban-like head-gear with a small globule on the top, while in the latter the horseman's head is sketchy and stylised, resembling a cross.

Spalapati is the prakritised form of the Sanskrit word Samarapati meaning 'war-lord'. Its Persian equivalent is spahbad rendered by the Arab historians as Iṣpahbadh. The position of an Iṣpahbadh in actual practice corresponded to that of the te'kin or tīgīn of the Chinese and the Turkish sources. The ruler of Kābul who suffered defeat at the hands of the Caliph Māmūn in A.D. 814 and then accepted Islām on certain conditions was called Iṣpahbadh. Azraqī reads this name variously as 'Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh', 'Mahrāb Patī Dūmī' and 'Patī Dūmī'. The name Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh is obviously the Arabicised form of the prakrit Spalapati Kābul Shāh. It is difficult, however, to restore the rest of the name to its actual form, as the letters are given without the necessary nuqtas and other diacritical marks. At one place the word Mahrāb (مَحْرَاب) is written as faharaba (फहराब) which is

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73 See infra, pp.202, 203; and supra, p.180.
74 CMI, p.58.
75 Fī Tahqīq Mā líl Hind, p.471. The Kābul Shāh is said to have stipulated not to be bound to eat cows' meat or to commit sodomy.
76 Supra, p.85.
undoubtedly the Arabic word meaning 'he fled', which adds further to the confusion. In this case the form Mahrab would seem to be an obvious clerical error for the Arabic verb. Alternatively, the name Mahrab Patī Dūmī may be restored as Mahārāja Patī Dhamma (correctly Dharma Pati). Whatever the correct orthography of the name, the recorded date of the defeat of Ispahbadh suits perfectly well with the numismatic and palaeographical evidence of the coins of Spalapatideva. Śrī Spalapatideva of the coins therefore may be identified with the Ispahbadh Kābul Shāh of Albīrūnī and Azraqī.

Spalapati struck coins in silver and copper and used the same bull and horseman device for both of these denominations. His silver weighs between 4.1 gms (64 gr) and 2.5 gms (39 gr) and copper between 3.7 gms (58 gr) and 1.8 gms (28 gr). The obverse of his coins shows, within a beaded border, a couchant bull to left with jhula (saddle-cloth) and a star-shaped ( ) decorative object hanging in the neck. The head of the bull, with curved horns and a projection in the middle and erect ears, is shown in frontal position. The rump of the animal bears a trident. In the field above the bull is the legend Śrī Spalapatideva in neat Sarada letters. The reverse of the coin shows a horseman moving to right with a lance or banner in the right hand and reins in the left. The horseman wears a turban which turns round the lower part of his globular cap (kulāh) and then falls to the right. The trappings of the horse consist of a saddle-cloth which hangs down the sides, a back-strap decorated with three to four circular pellets, and reins. Above the rump of the horse, in the earlier examples, is an indeterminate object described by Macdowall as 'streamers of the banner'.

77 See chart, Fig.8.
78 It looks similar to the turbans worn at present by elderly tribesmen in the north western regions of Pākistān. Compare also Pl.V, 4.
In the later examples however the streamers are changed to bow-and-arrow and various other designs and finally into the Śaradā letter kz. The object under the lower tip of the lance takes various nondescript forms and in some examples looks like a peg, a circle, or the letter rā. Running along the margin in front of the horseman is the Bactrian legend which in one case has been read as CPI CΠ AΠ ΑΠ Α Α but in fact may be the corrupt remains of the legend CPI CΠ ΑΠ ΑΠ ΑΠ which may be restored as Śrī Ispahbadh. The letters are in a very bad state of preservation but most of them can still be recognised.

Macdowall's recent study of these coins reveals three distinct stages of development in the reverse legend. In stage i the letters maintain their cursive character in general, whereas in stage ii they become separated from one another and resemble the Brähmi characters. In stage iii the letters deteriorate further and their original shape is no longer recognisable. Each stage is struck to a slightly lower weight standard and betrays traces of progressive type deterioration, which indicates that the coins continued to be issued and re-issued over a long period of time, even after the death of Spalapati/Ispahbadh Kabul Shāh. If stage i was issued in the life-time of Spalapati/Ispahbadh

80 See chart, Fig.4.
81 Ibid.
82 Ghirshman, loc.cit.
83 Macdowall, op.cit., p.192.
84 Cf. infra, p.264.
85 Infra, p.263.
87 Ibid.
Kābul Shāh, we might find in stages ii and iii the coinage of his two successors, Lagatūrmān and Kallar.

2. THE HINDU ŚĀHIS

The study of the Hindu Śāhi coins started with J. Tod who found a 'bag full of curious hieroglyphic medals from Narlai' during his researches in Rājasthān. Tod promised to give a full account of these coins in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* but somehow or other he could not carry it out. From the meagre account left by him, however, it seems that the bag comprised a mixed assemblage of the coins of the Śāhis and those of the eleventh and twelfth century Hindu dynasties of Rājasthān, though Tod was inclined to ascribe the whole lot to the Chauhān princes of that area. Tod's discovery went virtually unnoticed till Prinsep became acquainted with the Śāhi coins in 1833 and described them two years later in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*. With this the Śāhi coins, then designated as Rājpūt, came into the full focus of the attention of the numismatists. The findspots of the coins were a clear indication of their geographic affinities. Except for Smiley's fanciful attribution of a coin of Sāmanta to Aryandes, the Achaemenian governor of Egypt, it was generally believed that the coins were issued by the Hindu rulers prior to the arrival of the Muslims in the sub-continent. Prinsep's guess in

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89 Ibid., fn.
90 *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. E. Thomas), p. 299. Prinsep started with a sealing-wax impression of a Śāhi coin sent to him by Dr Swiney in August 1833. In the following year he had the opportunity to study Col. Stacy's collection. He was also familiar with Munshi Mohan Lāl's collection made at Kābul.
1837 that certain types of the coins 'extended upwards to the Brahmanical rulers of the Punjāb, and probably of Kābul' put them accurately in their proper general context. Wilson made a similar guess in 1841 while attempting to determine the prototypes of the coins of Prithvī Rāja, the last Hindu king of Delhi (A.D. 1192). The early rulers of the dynasty, he says, who had introduced coins of like device, had reigned in the Panjāb at the end of tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. Wilson designated these rulers the Pāla princes of the Panjāb and apparently meant Jayapāla and his successors. Wilson did not venture to go any further and ascribe coins to the individual rulers of this 'Pāla' dynasty, obviously because their known names could not be reconciled with the coin legends.

In 1844 Reinaud published his Fragments Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde, which included AlbIrūnī's passage on the Śāhi dynasties. This brought the famous list of the Śāhi kings into the limelight. For the first time the names of Kallar, Sāmand, Kamalū and Bhīma - the predecessors of the 'Pālas' - became known, and so also the fact that Kallar, the Brahman minister of the last Turk Śāhi ruler, was the founder of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty. The priestly origin of Kallar gave its name to his successors who were described as belonging to a Brahman dynasty. Subsequently clear distinction was made between the Brahman and the 'Pāla' dynasties, for the names of the rulers belonging to the former ended in -deva and those of the latter in -pala.

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94 Ariana Antiqua, p.429.
95 Ibid.
96 E. Thomas, op.cit., p.179.
97 CMI, p.56.
aware of Wilson's work and attributed the coins described by the latter as Rājpūt to the newly discovered Brahman dynasty.

E. Thomas in 1848 elaborated this idea in more detail and identified Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva of the coins with Kanak, Sāmand and Bhīm of Albīrūnī. Thomas' attributions left no coinage for the 'Pālas'. Thomas was in general followed by Bayley, Fleet and Cunningham. His identification of Vakkadeva with Kanak, however, could not find supporters among the subsequent writers, for the historicity of Kanak in its context of the Sāhis was considered doubtful.

V.A. Smith in 1906 tackled the question of attributions in a different way, as noted above. Cunningham and Smith were heavily drawn upon by later writers such as Bidyabinod, Vaidya and H.C. Ray.

Some coins bearing the legend Asatapāla were commented upon by Vogel and Fleet and more recently by S.C. Ray but they do not fall within the provenance of the Sāhi coins and have therefore been

98 *JRAS*, vol.lx, 1848, p.197.
100 *IA*, vol.xv, 1886, pp.185 ff.
101 *CMI*, pp.55-65.
102 Supra, p.187.
104 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol.iii, Poona 1926, p.64 f.
105 *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol.i, Calcutta 1931, p.102 f.
107 *IA*, vol.xlii, 1913, pp.308 ff.; see also Cunningham, op.cit., p.65.
left out of this account. A. Ghose has discussed a gold coin which he ascribes to Śrī Bhīmadeva.

A number of studies on the subject have appeared recently. But, with the only exception of Macdowall, they follow the interpretations of the earlier writers. Macdowall considers the two principal series of the Śāhi coins - the Spalapati and the Sāmanta series - as successive and not contemporaneous. He assigns the former to the period of the Turk Śāhis and the latter to that of the Hindu Śāhis. Within the series Macdowall has attempted to find 'issues' marked by different weight standards and stages of type deterioration. The 'issues' were also successive and have been assigned to the individual rulers of these

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109 I have not been able to obtain access to an as yet unpublished numismatic study of bull and horseman coins by Dr P. Bhatia (Delhi).


dynasties. Thus for the first time an attempt has been made to assign coins from the known series not only to the 'Pālas' and the 'Devas' but also to their predecessors, the Turk Śāhīs.

The Geographical Distribution

The geographical distribution of the Śāhī coins, though their exact findspots are not known in every case, was commented upon by Thomas long ago. His observations remain remarkably correct even today. The coins of Sāmanta are common in Kābul and are even more plentiful in the Panjāb and Gandhāra. Bhīma is found in Afghānistān but seldom in the sub-continent. Vakka is common in the Panjāb and Gandhāra and is also found in Kābul. Similarly Khudarayaka is found both in Afghānistān and Gandhāra. The Śāhī coins are also found in mixed hoards in eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R. and other parts of the sub-continent, and have been discussed in detail by A. Bykov.

Metals

The use of different metals is distributed as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin Type</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sāmanta</td>
<td>₷</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khudarayaka</td>
<td>₷</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vakka</td>
<td>₷</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhīma</td>
<td>₷</td>
<td>₏</td>
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</tbody>
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113 JRAS, 1848, p.181. For the Śāhī coins in different museums in Afghānistān, see D.C. Sircar, op.cit., p.306. The Lahore Museum in Pakistān has a good collection. There are about 86 coins (of which five belong to Spalapati, 54 to Sāmanta, 20 to Vakka and 17 to Khudarayaka) in the Peshāwar Museum. I have seen some 18 to 20 specimens in the Chakdara Museum (NWFP) and about the same number in the collection of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshāwar.

Metrology

The weights of the Śāhi coins have not been recorded in every case. From the known evidence, however, it seems that the weights varied considerably from reign to reign and even within one reign.115

Prinsep identified some copper coins of Sāmanta with Tāhkas of three mūshas.116 According to Cunningham the copper of Sāmanta weighing about 2.7 gms (42 gr), 0.9 gms (14 gr) and 0.4 gms (7 gr) represent three different denominations.117 L. Gopal however maintains that as many as five different denominations weighing 3.7 gms (58.5 gr), 2.7 gms (43.9 gr), 1.8 gms (29.2 gr), 0.9 gms (14.6 gr) and 0.4 gms (7.3 gr), can be recognised.118 The pieces weighing 2.7 gms (42 gr) and 2.1 gms (33 gr), he says, can be recognised as three-fourths of the standard weight and those weighing between 1.9 gms (30.7 gr) and 1.8 gms (29.1 gr) are to be treated as one-half pieces. Similarly coins weighing 0.9 gms (14 gr) and 0.4 gms (7 gr) are supposed to be one-fourth and one-eighth of the standard denomination (i.e. 58.5 gr).

But all the coins do not seem to have been issued simultaneously and therefore do not give a consistent pattern of weights which could be used to build up such an hypothesis. Moreover, of the five hypothetical denominations postulated by Gopal, the coins of the first three are virtually indistinguishable from each other either by size or device and therefore their classification could not have served any useful purpose. Furthermore, even if we accept these denominations with

115 See charts, Figs.8-10.

116 It may be noted, however, that the introduction of the term Tāhka in the sub-continent, as a coin denomination, seems to be of a later date. It is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgini (vi.85; viii,152), but not as a denomination.

117 CMI, p.64.

118 The Economic Life of Northern India, pp.181 ff.
confidence, it would be difficult to account for cases in which the actual weight exceeds the so-called standard weight of Gopal's classification.119 To expect the bankers to strike coins of higher weight with equally good metal and yet of the same denomination is inconceivable; no business can survive without profit. It seems therefore that arbitrary subdivision of the coins into many indistinguishable lower denominations does not adequately explain the wide range of variation in the weights of the Śāhi coins, which in fact may have been due to slow and gradual peculation by mint-masters or bankers. However, the coins weighing 0.9 gms or about that weight seem to have been struck to a different size and therefore can be classed as a separate denomination. If this be the case, the 1.5 gms (24 gr) depreciation which, excluding the marginal cases, comes to 0.5 gms (8 gr) in the silver denomination of Sāmanta, indicates nothing but a long span of time in which these coins continued to be minted, each time with a slightly reduced weight standard.

We shall now take up the coins of the individual rulers of this dynasty.

i. Śāmantadeva (Pl.III, 13-24)

Śṛf Śāmantadeva of the 'bull and horseman' series is commonly identified with Sāmand of AlbIrūnī's list. But there are difficulties in regarding Sāmand as the sole issuer of the whole series. The coins bearing this name had a wide diffusion in northern India and were issued by many rulers contemporary with the latter part of the Hindu Śāhi rule and also in the post-Hindu Śāhi period. Some of these rulers,

119 At least one example of the Spalapati coin's weighing 4.1 gms (64 gr) (NC, 1968, p.213) exceeds the maximum limit set by Gopal. Two such examples, each weighing 3.8 gms (60 gr), exist in the Lahore Museum, as the list of the weights of the Śāhi coins kindly supplied to me by Mr W.K. Bhatti, the then Assistant Director of the Museum, indicates.
as noted above, prefixed an epithet to the name of Śrī Śāmantadeva, of which the real significance is still obscure. The Tomara rulers Sallakṣaṇapāla (A.D. 978-1008) and Anaṅgapāla (A.D. 1049-79) seem to have issued coins in this late period without prefixing any epithet to the main legend.\(^{120}\) The Gāhāḍavāla coins of Madanapāla (A.D. 1080-1115) have the word Mādhava\(^ {121}\) and those of the Cāhamāṇa rulers of Sākambāra - Someśvaradeva (A.D. 1162-66) and Prīthvīrāja (A.D. 1162-92) - have Āśavārī before Śrī Śāmantadeva.\(^ {122}\) Similarly Śrī Pipala of some unknown dynasty used the prefix Kūtāmāṇa.\(^ {123}\) But these later types are thick and dumpier in fabric and their figures of the bull and the horseman are more stylised. They can be easily distinguished from the types of the period of the Hindu Śāhīs.

The precise date of the origin of the Śāmantada series is not known. Assuming however that the series started in the reign of Śāmand, when it succeeded and replaced the earlier Spalapati series, it seems that a large number of Śāmantada's coins were produced posthumously in the time of his successors, who used his name on the coins instead of their own names. This is not an extraordinary situation. We have already seen in the case of the Spalapati/Ispahbadh Kabul Šāh that his name was most probably similarly used by his two successors. Apparently the successors of Śāmand, with few exceptions, were not very conscious of the royal prerogative of issuing coins and therefore did not care to change the legend. As a result the Sāhūkārs of the period continued to strike coins

\(^{120}\) V.A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Oxford 1906, p.259. The name Anaṅga is also written as Āṇanga.

\(^{121}\) Ibid., p.260. Mādhava is a name of the demi-god Kṛṣṇa.

\(^{122}\) Ibid., p.261. Thomas explains Āśavārī as being a name of Durgā. This prefix was also used by Cāhaḍadeva (A.D. 1232-60).

\(^{123}\) Ibid., p.263.
with the old legend, Śrī Śāmantadeva. The wide currency these coins gained throughout northern India must have increased enormously the popularity of the legend, which in due course came to be looked upon as a model by the subsequent mint-masters. The use of the legend Śrī Śāmantadeva on the posthumously issued coins therefore indicates nothing but a convenient numismatic convention.

The Śāmant coins belonging to the period of the Hindu Śāhis are found in silver, billon and copper. The silver and billon coins have couchant bull on the obverse and horseman on the reverse. The figure of the horseman is generally stylised (Pl.III, 19). But in some better examples he is shown wearing a conical cap (Pl.III, 13), which is marked by a ribbon or turban at the base. The two ends of the turban hang down to the right and left of the head. The banner held by the horseman in his right hand shows two streamers. The rump of the horse, which in earlier examples still retains the roundness that characterises the coins of Spalapati, shows a back-strap decorated with three circular pellets (ṛ or ṛ). In the field to the left of the horseman is the letter bhī with solid (ṛ), hollow (ṝ) or hooked (ṝ) loop. In the earlier examples it resembles the letter ḷ of the Spalapati series. To the right of the horseman are the corrupt remains of the Bactrian legend. The part of the legend above the horse's head takes different forms,¹²⁴ which in some cases resemble the Śāradā letter tā, a conch-shell or the numeral 8 (८). The figure of the bull similarly retains the roundness of the body in the earlier examples and becomes gradually more stylised and linear in the later. The hump of the animal is now generally marked with a dot in the middle. The traditional decorative elements - the jhula, the tribhūla and the star-shaped pendant

¹²⁴ For details see infra, Fig.1.
in the neck - are still clearly recognisable. The Śāradā letters above the bull become more rigid and upright and lose the flexibility and cursiveness of the earlier phase.125

The weights of the silver coins range between 3.8 gms (60 gr) and 2.3 gms (37 gr).126 They contain a small proportion (3.0 gms) of gold which seems to have remained constant throughout.127 The percentage of silver varies from 61 to 67 in different examples and seems to have gradually decreased towards the end of the Śāhi period.128 Macdowall marks the following varieties in the silver denomination:129

a) With bhī left of the horseman and to the right a relic of the plume symbol above the horse's head. Coins of this variety are very common.

b) Similar to (a) but with a visarga at the end of the legend.

c) Similar to (a) but with the letter ta to the right of the horseman.

d) Similar to (a) but with a conch-shell symbol to the right of the horseman.

There is no significant difference in the weight standard of these varieties. Nor can they be arranged in chronological succession by any objective criteria. However the coins bearing the letter bhī are comparatively well executed and compare well with the last stage of the Spalapati coins130 and therefore may be placed at the head of the series.

125 Cf. infra, p.256.
126 See Chart, Fig.9.
128 Ibid.
130 Compare Pl.III, 10 with Pl.III, 13.
Besides, the comparatively large number of coins belonging to this variety indicates that they were struck over a considerable period of time, probably extending from Sāmmand to Jayapāla. If this be the case, we may assume that the remaining three varieties (b-d) were issued respectively in the reigns of Ānandapāla, Trilocanapāla and Bhīmapāla. The letter ta found on the coins belonging to variety (c) may stand for Trilocanapāla, but there are more cogent reasons to think that it actually represents part of the corrupt remains of the Bactrian legend.

The silver denomination of Sāmanta finally degenerated into billon with weights ranging between 3.1 gms (48 gr) and 3.7 gms (51 gr). The billon coins show a silver content of 25 to 30 per cent, which marks a sharp reduction as compared to the 6l to 67 per cent of the silver dirhams. Significantly there is no indication of any progressive deterioration in the coinage to bridge this gap. This, however, becomes meaningful when considered in the light of the record of 'Awfī, who says that this debased currency came under attack in the time of the Ghaznavīd sultan Mas'ūd III (A.D. 1099), long after the extinction of the Śāhi regime. As no such sharp reduction in the silver content could have occurred during the Śāhi period presumably because of continuous state checks, there is a definite link between the fall of the Śāhis and the sudden drop in the silver content of the coins. Apparently this could have happened only towards the end of the rule of the Hindu Śāhis. The final overthrow of the government of the Śāhis coupled with the unconcerned attitude of the Ghaznavīd rulers towards

131 See chart, Fig.9.
132 Cf. Thompson and Mcquilkin, loc.cit.
133 As first pointed out by Macdowall, op.cit., p.200.
134 Elliot, ii, p.188.
the local Sāhukāra, who were allowed to run their own private mints, as
recorded by 'Awfi, must have encouraged the unscrupulous among them to
make as much illicit profits by stealing the precious metals as they
safely could. According to this interpretation a major portion of the
billion coins bearing the name Śrī Śāmantadeva must post-date the Hindu
Śāhis or the earliest examples among them may be placed shortly before
the end of this dynasty.

The copper coins of Śāmanta show a caparisoned elephant on the
obverse and a lion with a raised front paw on the reverse (Pl.III, 20-24),
Their weights range between 2.0 gms (32 gr) and 2.7 gms (43 gr) with a
heavy concentration at 2.2 gms (35 gr). The following varieties can
be recognised within this denomination.

i) With a quatrefoil rosette and a dot in the bend of the tail
of the lion.

ii) With the same dot, but instead of the quatrefoil rosette a
rosette of five dots.

iii) With a similar rosette of five dots but with a dot beneath
the lion.

A typological comparison of these coins with the 'bull and horseman'
coins of Śāmanta shows that the two series, although they may have
started simultaneously, were not coterminous. The figures of the
elephant and the lion are raised above the surface of the coins and, in
most cases, are less linear than their counterparts on varieties (b) to
(d) of the silver of Śāmanta. The production of these coins therefore
must have stopped with Śāmand's reign.

135 See chart, Fig.10.
ii. Khudarayaka

Khudarayaka's coins (Pl.IV,1-6) are known only in silver and follow the general pattern of the bull and horseman series of the silver of Sāmanta. The figures of the bull and the horseman retain their plastic form, which compares with variety (a) of Sāmanta's silver. Khudarayaka's coins bear the Šāradā letter  in the field to the left of the horseman and weigh between 3.3 gms (52 gr) and 2.5 gms (40 gr) with a point of concentration between 2.9 gms (46 gr) and 2.8 gms (44 gr). Typologically the coins must be placed early in the Sāmanta series.

The precise identification of Khudarayaka (Kṣudra rājaka = small rājā or Sāmanta) has not been finally settled. Cunningham associated him with Kamalū, the successor of Sāmanta in Albīrūnī's list. Macdowall on the contrary maintains that 'Khudavayaka' of the coins may well be Ya'qūb, the Muslim conqueror of Kābul. Macdowall's attribution is, however, based on the hypothetical reading of the device seen above the horse's head as the Arabic word 'adl. But the device in question is not uniform on all the known coins and is clearly a remnant of the Bactrian legend. Moreover, similar signs resembling Arabic letters can also be seen on the coins of Bhīma and Sāmanta who in no case can be taken to represent Ya'qūb. Furthermore, it is extremely unlikely that Ya'qūb at the height of his power would have taken this rather unpretentious title to represent himself in the conquered land. Nevertheless, if the chronological context of these

136 See chart, Fig.10.
137 For other readings of this name, see infra, p.257.
138 CMI, p.59.
140 Compare Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII, no.14 and Pl.XVIII, nos 22-29. See also infra, Fig.4, column V.
coins as suggested by Macdowall is correct, one may assume that Khudarayaka was a governor of Kabul under Ya'qûb.

iii. Vakkadeva

Vakka's coins are known only in copper. The obverse of these coins shows a caparisoned elephant walking to left with legend Śrī Vakkadeva on the top (Pl.IV,7-12). The reverse contains an open mouthed lion with raised front paw and curved tail. Typologically the coins may be placed after the end of the 'elephant and lion' series of Sāmanta. The weight of these coins varies between 3.5 gms (55 gr) and 0.96 gms (14 gr), a fact which indicates that they represent two different denominations. Some of the coins bear an individual letter, ra (्र ), va (ਵ ), vi (ਵ ) or da (ਦ ), beneath the lion, and a quatrefoil rosette above. This form of the rosette is also found on the copper series of Sāmanta.

The etymology of the word Vakka is dubious. The main difficulty lies in the final ka which may be due to expressive gemination or reduction of a suffixal -ka-, implying an original form Vakaka. But Humbach connects Vakka with bago, an Irānian word meaning 'lord'. Sanskrit vaka from Irānian vaga and Sanskrit bakana from Irānian vagana are attested in Mathura inscriptions. Baka was also the name of Mihirakula's son as recorded by Kalhaṇa and seems to be the Sanskritised form of the Irānian vaga.

141 See chart, Fig.10.
143 Ibid.
144 Kalhaṇa's Ṛajatarâhginī (Stein's trans.), vol.1, p.79, fn.36.
Thomas connects Vakka with Kanak of Alī ibn al-Rūmī and assigns him to the beginning of the Turk Šāhi dynasty. Cunningham also considers Vakka as one of the Turk Šāhis, but places him at the end of the dynasty. But the typological evidence of Śrī Vakka's coins, as seen above, suggests a different context. Moreover Kanak is generally identified with Kanisṭha, the famous Kuśāṇa monarch, and cannot be regarded as one of the Turk Šāhis. Nor does the name Lagatūrman, mentioned by Alī ibn al-Rūmī as the name of the last Turk Šāhi ruler of Kabul, show any resemblance with Vakka.

Vakka and Bhīma are the only two exceptions among the successors of Sāmanta to have issued coins in their own names. This does not seem a mere coincidence, and it is best explained on the hypothesis that both of them deliberately adopted this policy. This in fact may be taken to indicate their mutual relationship. Moreover the action must have been necessitated by extraordinary circumstances. The only time such a need could have been felt by any of the successors of Sāmanta, as far as our knowledge goes, was in the reign of Kamalū/Toramāna who, having been brought to power through the military intervention of a foreign power, must have sought means to legitimise his rule by issuing new coins. If this is the case, Śrī Vakkadeva may have been the title of Kamalū.

tv. Bhīmadeva

Śrī Bhīmadeva of the coins is generally identified with Bhīm of Alī ibn al-Rūmī. The identification has been accepted on all hands and is

145 *JRAS*, vol.1x, 1848, p.179.

146 *CMI*, p.58.

147 The third exception may be Khudarayaka. But in our view he was an intruder and not a king in his own right.

148 Supra, p.114.
supported by the numismatic and geographical context of Bhīma's coins. Bhīma issued coins in gold, silver and copper.

The gold coin (Pl.IV,16) is unique among the Hindu Śāhi coins. It has been described as follows:149

Obverse: 'Within circular border of minute dots, king, bearded and with long hair, wearing dhoti (loincloth) and uttariya (upper garment) ... seated cross-legged on throne, holding out his right hand, for giving or receiving an indistinct object,150 towards a person who is probably a female attendant standing to the right, with her hair dressed in a long coif; left hand of king akimbo and resting on thigh'. Between the king and the right-hand figure and above the head of the latter are the symbols of a diamond-shaped object and a trisūla, besides other nondescript signs. The inscription reads 'Śāhi Śrī Bhīma Deva'.151 Between the legs of the throne is the letter go.

Reverse: 'King, with peaked beard, wearing Jajmapavita (sic) (sacred thread), and clad in dhoti, seated in rājalīlā pose (kingly pose) on decorated vetrāsana (wicker seat), with right hand raised and palm open inwards, while left hand, akimbo, rests on thigh; to the right of the king, goddess Lakṣmī seated cross-legged on padmāsana (lotus seat), holding in her right hand uncertain object

150 Or pouring something into a small fire-altar.
151 The reading is uncertain, see infra, p.206.
(ˈrajənda) and in her left hand lotus with long stalk'.

The inscription reads 'Śrīmad gunanidhi Śrī Sāmanta Deva'. The coin weighs 4.4 gms (68 gr).

It is evident that the motifs of the goddess Lakṣmī and the king-on-throne do not fit into the general pattern of the Hindu Śāhi coins. The attribution of this coin to Bhīma therefore solely rests on the reading of the obverse legend. But unfortunately the letter bhī, in the name Bhīma, is obliterated and can only be conjecturally restored. The reverse legend is even more confused and difficult to read. C. Sivaramamurti's reading as given above may only be accepted with strong reservations, for much of it is based on conjectural reconstruction. The style of writing however agrees well with the tenth century sāradā characters.

The silver coins of Bhīma are not very many (Pl.IV, 13,14). The obverse of these coins shows a couchant bull and the legend Śrī Bhīmadeva in neat sāradā letters and the reverse a horseman and the remnants of the corrupt Bactrian legend which in the present examples looks like a flat-topped hook and the Arabic numerals 117. The part of this legend above the horse's head takes different nondescript forms. In the field to the left of the horseman is the much disfigured letter bhī. The animals in some cases still retain a plasticity and roundness of features comparable to the earliest coins of Sāṃanta's silver money. Typologically these examples must be placed after variety

152 The reading is uncertain.
153 According to A. Ghose (op.cit., p.134) the total number of these coins is three. But Macdowall's list (op.cit., p.216) shows five specimens.
154 See infra, Fig.4.
155 Ibid.
156 Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVIII, no.28.
(a) and before varieties (b) to (d) of the silver coins in the Sāmanta series. The weights of these coins vary between 3.2 gms (50 gr) and 3.1 gms (48 gr).\textsuperscript{157}

The copper denomination of Bhīma (Pl.IV,15) similarly follows the 'elephant and lion' type of Sāmanta and Vakkadeva.\textsuperscript{158} But the animals in these examples lose depth of figure and plasticity of features. The coins weigh between 1.9 gms (30 gr) and 1.5 gms (24 gr).

3. THE SO-CALLED 'MINT-MARKS'

The Šāhi coins bear individual letters and other nondescript signs usually described as 'mint-marks' (Fig.4). On the silver and billon coins the single letters are generally found in the field to the left of the horseman. But on the copper coins they occur beneath the lion. In the case of the solitary gold coin of Bhīma there is a single letter under the throne. Except on the gold coin just referred to, the symbol triśūla invariably occurs on the rump of the bull. The nondescript signs, which in some cases resemble śārada and also Arabic letters, are found above the horse's head.

Some of these signs are so similar to each other that they can hardly be distinguished. It is unlikely therefore that all of them could have been used by the mints as their distinctive marks. Moreover, a mutual comparison of these signs shows that all of them were probably derived from a single source through the carelessness of the silversmiths employed in the mints and not through the considered policy of the mint-masters. The most notable forms are discussed below.

\textsuperscript{157} See chart, Fig. 10.

\textsuperscript{158} D.B. Pandey (op.cit., p.194) incorrectly states that only one copper coin of Bhīma is known so far. Macdowall (op.cit., p.219) records three specimens.
The earliest coins of Spalapati show the streamers of a standard (￡,￡) but no letter or any other sign to the left of the horseman. To the right of the horseman on these coins, however, different letters of the corrupt Bactrian legend can be seen very clearly. Through a process of simplification the streamers in question were later on combined into angular hooks (￡) but they still formed part of the standard. Subsequently, however, the hooks were detached from the standard and taken by the silversmiths of the mints for a separate sign. From this point on, the hooks developed along different lines in different hands, as shown in the accompanying chart (Fig.4). Variety 1 (Fig.4,1) shows that the sides of the hooks were given a vertical form and the small stroke which formerly attached them to the standard turned into a head-mark. This brought them closer to the form of the Śāradā letter ḍa or ma (￡). In variety ii the hooks were changed into two conjoined acute angles (￡). This shape developed into two sub-varieties. In sub-variety a it was changed into the Śāradā letter gu (￡) and some other variants (￡,￡). Sub-variety b passed through several changes (￡,￡,￡,￡,￡,￡) and finally resulted in the letter ka (￡). The standard was now given two rippling lines depicting flying streamers. This form of the standard continued with minor changes throughout the period of the Hindu Śāhis.

The earliest coins of Sāmanta show the letter bhī with a solid loop (￡) which, except for the medial t, looks very much like the ka of the Spalapati series. It seems that the letter ka of the Spalapati series was read as bhā by some silversmiths and then accordingly changed to give it the shape of the latter. The loop of bhī was henceforth expressed in a variety of different forms (￡,￡,￡,￡). In some cases it resembles the letter tē.
Khudarayaka's coins show the letter *da* or *ma* ( \( \overline{\text{d}} \) ) and its variants ( \( \overline{\text{M}}, \overline{\text{n}} \) ). This letter does not occur on the coins of Sāmanta and was obviously derived from the Spalapati series.

Bhima's coins have two varieties of the letter *bhī*. Variety i ( \( \overline{\text{b}}\overline{\text{l}} \) ) is of the open-looped type and variety ii looks very much like *ti* ( \( \overline{\text{t}}\overline{\text{l}} \) ) as seen above on the Sāmanta series.

The nondescript signs above the horse's head are in fact corrupt remains of the Bactrian letter *rho* ( \( \overline{\text{r}} \) ). The loop of *rho* was first given an angular form ( \( \overline{\text{r}}\overline{\text{o}} \) ) and then eliminated altogether ( \( \overline{\text{r}} \) ). Further simplification resulted in a variety of different forms which can be classified into three different groups. In group i the sign consists of two verticals joined by a horizontal stroke ( \( \overline{\text{h}} \) ). The different changes in this group were brought about by changing the position of the verticals in relation to the connecting bar ( \( \overline{\text{h}}, \overline{\text{n}}, \overline{\text{h}}, \overline{\text{h}}, \overline{\text{h}} \) ). In group ii the right vertical was curved and then changed into a semicircle and the horizontal bar further lengthened to the right ( \( \overline{\text{r}} \) ). This sign has many varieties ( \( \overline{\text{r}}, \overline{\text{s}}, \overline{\text{s}} \) ) and on some coins takes the form of the Arabic word 'ṣadil' ( \( \overline{\text{ṣ}}\overline{\text{d}}\overline{\text{l}} \) ). In group iii the left vertical was changed into a semicircle or full circle whereas the right limb took the form of a head-mark. This created the forms *za* ( \( \overline{\text{z}} \) ), the conch-shell ( \( \overline{\text{ṣ}} \) ) etc.

The single letters occurring beneath the horse and the lion are not very many and seem to have developed from the peg-like ( \( \overline{\text{t}} \) ) object seen on the Spalapati series. In some cases where the lower tip of the peg is turned to the left, it looks like the letter *ma* ( \( \overline{\text{m}} \) ). Towards the end of the Spalapati series the letter *ma* was given a medial *i* stroke to the right ( \( \overline{\text{m}} \) ). None of these forms appear on the Sāmanta series.
Vakkadeva’s coins have the same ru, but his coins also have the letters va (ヴァ) and da (다). The latter occurs on the earlier series. It is difficult, however, to trace the origin of the letter va.

4. DEVICES

A. The ‘sun-god’

Vahitigin/BarhatigIn’s coins show a human bust with head surrounded by flames. No such motif is seen on the coins of the subsequent Turk Sāhi rulers who had their own distinctive devices. The motif was derived probably from the Sasanian coinage where a human head in flames first appears on top of the fire-altar on the coins of Hormazd II (A.D. 303-09). Some of the coins of Varhrān IV and Yazdgird I show the type without the flames. In all these examples, however, the fire-altar is invariably shown larger in size than the surmounting human bust. An interesting development takes place on some types of Varhrān IV (A.D. 420-38) where the fire-altar is reduced and the human bust correspondingly increased in size. Moreover the top of the fire-altar in these coins is further modified to make it look like human arms curved to bring in the front. The next stage is marked by some types of the coins of Khusrau II (A.D. 591-628). The fire-altar on these coins disappears altogether and the human bust increases further in size. This full bust type was adopted by Vahitigin for his own coinage.

160 Ibid., Pl.VIII, no.142.
161 Ibid., Pl.IX, no.149.
162 Ibid., Pl.IX, nos 153-58.
164 Compare Göbl, Dokumente Zur Geschichte Der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien Und Indien, vol.iii, Em.208.
The motif is generally interpreted as a representation of the 'sun-god'. Cunningham identified it with the famous sun-god of Multān reported by the Arab historians as the chief deity of the place. Cunningham's view, however, is based on his attribution of these coins to the pre-Muslim Hindu rulers of Sindh - a view which the Sasanian origin of the motif renders untenable.

B. The Fire-altar

The coins of the Turk Šahi ruler TŌINO ŽOYO/Wu-san-te’kin-sha show fire-altar with a three columned rectangular shaft. This type of fire-altar occurs on the coins of the Ephthalite rulers of Afghanistan and bear some resemblance to the early Bukhāran coins. It is generally believed that the Bukhāran type was borrowed from the coinage of the Sasanian ruler Varhrān V. But the recurrent type of fire-altar on Varhrān's coins has a circular and not a rectangular shaft. Among the Sasanian coins the rectangular type occurs, at the latest, on the coins of Yazdigird I (A.D. 399-420) - the predecessor of Varhrān V. The Ephthalite type therefore must have been borrowed from the coins of this ruler at the latest.

The Ephthalites brought this motif into the sub-continent. It was later on adopted by TŌINO ŽOYO for his own coinage. The fire-altar also occurs on the coins of another Turk Šahi ruler Kiğı(1a), in a

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166 Compare Göbl, op.cit., vol.iii, Em.198-203.
169 See Göbl, Sasanidische Numismatik, Pl.IX, nos 153-158.
170 Göbl, op.cit., Pl.IX, no.150.
slightly modified form. Seemingly its use was dropped from the Turk Şahi coinage when Spalapati started the 'bull and horseman' series.

C. The Bull and Horseman

i. Bull

The bull was a favourite artistic motif in ancient India. Its earliest representation on the seals goes back to the time of the Indus Valley civilisation. As the bull nandī, a vāhana of Śiva, it suggests some kind of association with Śaivism.

On the ancient Indian coins the bull is generally shown in a standing position. In a recumbent position however it is first noticed on the punch-marked coins. A bull couchant to left occurs on a seal coming from the Panjāb, dated by Bivar to the third century B.C. The motif was adopted by Skandagupta of the Gupta dynasty and also by Paśupati of Nepāl, from where it may have spread to the east.

Allan surmised that coins of this type may also have been current near the Gulf of Cambay. Nearer at home, however, the motif was used by the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī and is also seen to figure on the coins of Kṛṣṇarāja, the Kalacūri ruler of Mālwā, whose actual date is not

176 A. Cunningham, op.cit., Pl.1, nos 18-19.
known but may be placed in the second half of the sixth century A.D. According to Bana the emperor Harshavardhana had a seal with the bull for its emblem. The bull was also the emblem of the coinage of the Senapatis of Valabhi. A couchant bull facing right is found on the seals of the early Pahlavas and seems to have survived down to the time of Calukya Milaraja (c. A.D. 941-996). Thus the recumbent bull was already a popular coin motif in the sub-continent when Spalapati chose it for his own coinage.

On most of the Sahi coins the animal is depicted with a plain back-cloth devoid of ornamentation. Some of the earlier types of Spalapati, however, show it well adorned with an ornamental back-cloth, a nose-ring, a large bell tied to a collar on the neck and a large garland decorated with circular bosses or small rings. In the later examples the nose-ring disappears altogether whereas the bell is transformed into a star-shaped design.

The use of this motif by Spalapati and his successors may suggest their association with Saivism. The earlier Turk Sahis however are referred to in the Chinese sources as Buddhists.

ii. Horseman

The horse is associated with the sun-god but it is rarely depicted on early Indian coins. It is, however, a common motif on the Bactrian

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180 Ibid., p.183.
Greek\textsuperscript{181} and the Indo-Parthian\textsuperscript{182} coins which show the animal in a variety of different forms. It also occurs on the coins of a certain 'Soter Megas'.\textsuperscript{183} The Guptas\textsuperscript{184} and the Ephthalites\textsuperscript{185} also adopted the motif for some of their types of coins. The pre-Muslim coins of Khwārazm show a horseman equipped with bow and arrow.\textsuperscript{186} These coins, together perhaps with the Ephthalites types just referred to, were probably still current in Kābul and Zābulistān when Spalapati came to power and adopted the motif for his own coins.

The horse on the Śāhi coins is generally depicted with saddle-cloth and a back-strap decorated with three to four circular pellets. Curiously the right legs of the animal are shown as if moving simultaneously. In most cases the mane of the horse is simplified into a thick curved line.

The combination of bull and horseman is very rare and, in the pre-Śāhi period, occurs on the coins of Azilises.\textsuperscript{187} Subsequently it was adopted, probably in imitation of the Śāhi coins, by the Caliph al-


\textsuperscript{183} B. Chattopadhyaya, \textit{The Age of the Kushāṇas}, Calcutta 1967, pp.50 f.

\textsuperscript{184} J. Allan, op.cit., Pl.IX, nos 14-17 and Pl.X, nos 1-12: Candragupta II; Ibid., Pl.XIII, nos.1-19: Kumāragupta; Ibid., Pl.XXII, nos 1-5: Prakāśādiya.


\textsuperscript{186} R.N. Frye, loc.cit., nos 1-4.

Muqtadir for one type of his dirhams. Elsewhere the horse also occurs in combination with the elephant and the lion.

D. The Elephant and Lion

1. Elephant

The earliest glyptic representation of the elephant goes back to the time of the Indus Valley civilisation. It was a recurrent motif on the early Indian coins and, like the lion, may have been depicted as a symbol of power and royalty. Elephants, as the iconographic supporters of Lakṣmi, are also emblems of prosperity and good luck. The motif occurs on the punch-marked coins, the local coins of Taxila, Erana, Kauśāmbi, Ujjainī, Ayodhya etc., the coins of the Indo-Greeks, the Parthians, the Sātavāhanas and the Śākas. An elephant appears on a lotus on the coins of Jayagupta (or Jayanāga) Prakāṇḍayaśa in the post-Gupta period. It was also adopted by the Pāṇḍyas and Ceras.

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189 P. Gardner, op.cit., Pl.XXI, no.2 and Pl.XIII, no.6.
191 Ibid.
On the Śahi coins the elephant appears only on the copper money and is shown walking to left with the trunk hanging down. Its back-cloth is fixed in position by straps passing under the neck on the one side and the tail on the other. The back-strap in some cases is decorated with circular pellets.197

ii. Lion

The lion stands for valour and prowess and occupies an important place in the Indian mythology. In the Hindu iconography the lion is the vāhana of Durgā and is also associated with Viṣṇu, who assumed the man-lion incarnation in order to kill Hiranyakāśipu. To the Buddhists it symbolises Sākyasimha, the Buddha. It is difficult however to connect it with any particular religious faith. The earliest numismatic depiction of a lion in India is found on the punch-marked coins.198 The motif is also found on the uninscribed cast coins199 and local coins of Taxila200 which may show its association with the region. It is depicted on the coinage of the Indo Greeks,201 Parthians202 and Śākas. The Sātavāhanas203 and Pallavas204 used the motif quite frequently. It

197 A.K. Srivastava (op.cit.) ascribes a coin showing 'king on elephant' to the Śahi Sāmantadeva. On typological and palaeographical grounds the coin is datable to the post-Hindu Śahi period and therefore has been excluded by us.

198 V.A. Smith, op.cit., p.142, no.101.

199 J. Allan, op.cit., p.85, no.3 and pp.93 ff., nos 107-60.

200 V.A. Smith, op.cit., p.157, nos 14-18.

201 A.K. Narain, The Coin Types of the Indo-Greek Kings, Bombay 1955, p.7, nos 1, 2; Ibid., p.8, nos 1, 2; Ibid., p.14, nos 2, 15; Ibid., p.32, no.2.


203 M. Rama Rao, op.cit.

204 V. Prakash, op.cit., pp.35 f., and 43ff.
occurs on one of the coin types of the Cola king Rājendra I\textsuperscript{205} and on some of the unassignable\textsuperscript{206} Ephthalite coins.

On the Śāhi coins the lion occurs only on the copper money and is invariably depicted facing right with the right front paw raised and mouth open. Its mane is indicated by a dotted line. The tail of the beast is curved up on the back with an occasional flower design in the bend. Its rump bears a diamond shaped symbol.

The significance of the lion on the Śāhi coins is, however, difficult to assess, for the device may have been taken simply as a popular coin motif with no special symbolic purpose.

\textsuperscript{205} P.L. Gupta, Coins, p.78.

\textsuperscript{206} Göbl, Dokumente ..., vol.iii, Pl.XVII, no.48.
CHAPTER 7

Palaeography and Inscriptions

The inscriptions datable to the time of the Śāhis are few and far between.¹ A number of these inscriptions come from Udbhāṇḍapura, the capital of the Hindu Śāhis, and mark the foundation of temples. A few others, all small inscriptions of two to three lines, come from the pedestals of idols. Still fewer are the rock inscriptions which belong to the outlying hilly regions of the kingdom. No large inscription or copper-plate grants issued by the Śāhi rulers have yet come to light.²

Except for Śrī Caṅgulavarman's inscription of the time of Jayapāla,³ the inscriptions of the Śāhi period, with their poor state of preservation, are not very impressive records for the purpose of palaeographical investigation. Some of the foundation plaques were apparently dug out at a subsequent period and used as grinding stones. As a result several lines in the middle portion of the plaques have been irretrievably lost. Palaeographically, the most important documents of the time, besides Caṅgulavarman's inscription, are the various coin legends and the comparatively well-preserved text of the Bakhshālī manuscript.⁴

Judging from the writing of the extant records it seems that the Turk Śāhis inherited three scripts from their Ephthalite predecessors. Of these, Pahlavī is known only from the coins of Vahitigin and CPI Tōrino pūyo;⁵ its complete absence from our inscriptive records suggests

¹ For a complete list of these inscriptions, see infra, p.338.
² Several copper-plate grants were issued by the Hindu rulers of eastern Panjāb who may have followed the Hindu Śāhis. If this be the case some similar copper grants may be expected to come to light in Gandhāra and the Panjāb.
⁴ For details, see infra, p.248.
⁵ See supra, pp.177-182.
that it played only a minor role - probably the continuation of a convenient numismatic tradition. The other two, the local Indian script and the Bactrian cursive, are represented both on the coins and the stone inscriptions and seem to have been used simultaneously throughout the period of the Turk Sāhis.

The Bactrian cursive is last evidenced in the Tochi valley bilingual inscriptions dated in the middle of the ninth century A.D. There is no evidence to show that this script ever extended to Gandhāra or that it was used in public monuments in Zābulistān or Kābul after this date. Its use in private documents, however, may have continued a little longer. Probably the main factors which led to the final disappearance of the Bactrian cursive from these areas were the establishment of the power of the Hindu Sāhis at Kābul, which must have brought an increasing amount of Indian cultural influence, and the conquest of Zābulistān by the Muslims, who had their own distinctive writing.

The local Indian script, however, continued to flourish uninterruptedly till after the end of the Hindu Sāhi rule in Gandhāra and the Panjāb. It shows two distinct phases of development which may be described as proto-Sāradā and Sāradā. Phase 1 ends with the appearance of Sāradā on the coins of Spalapatideva (c. A.D.814-15). The details are as follows:

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6 First known from the Ephthalite coins and some manuscript fragments found in Central Asia. For details see infra, p.232.


8 Arabic was probably first introduced by the Khārijites, who had established their colonies in Zābulistān sometime before the final conquest of this district by Ya'qūb. See also supra, pp.96-97.

9 After the introduction of Arabic the Indian script may have been relegated to a secondary position, but it never actually ceased to exist as may be evidenced in the inscriptions of the post-Hindu Sāhi period. (For two such inscriptions from Gandhāra, see A. Shakur, A Hand Book (sic) to the Inscriptions Gallery in the Peshawar Museum, Peshawar 1946, Pls.111, 2 and XIV, 1.)
PHASE 1: PROTO-ŚARADĀ AND THE BACTRIAN CURSIVE SCRIPTS

A. Proto-Śarāda

Proto-Śarāda in Afghanistan and Gandhāra marks the intermediate stage through which Brāhmī script of the Ephthalite period (an evolved form of the Gupta Brāhmī) developed into Śarāda. Brāhmī was in fact already well established in the area under consideration even before the advent of the Turk Śāhi rule about A.D. 666. It can be amply noticed on the coins and inscriptions of the Ephthalite period. But the style of the Ephthalite records, as may be seen from the archaic forms of the letters ṅa ( Noticed) , ya ( Noticed ) , ra ( Noticed ) and la ( Noticed ) in the Kura (correctly Khewrā) inscription of Toramāṇa, remains closer to the Gupta prototypes. A clear transition from Gupta Brāhmī to the proto-Śarāda may be seen in the Kabul image inscription, where the old and the new forms occur together. Significantly, the tendency towards cursiveness which eventually led to the Śarāda forms is also noticeable, though in a less pronounced degree, in the same inscription.

The development of Brāhmī into Śarāda in Afghanistan and Gandhāra seems to have taken place on different lines from that in eastern Panjab, where an intermediate style called Kuṭilā is also noticed. The Kuṭilā


12 For detailed analysis, see infra, p.222.

13 From the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. the North Indian inscriptions show a new tendency. The right vertical limbs of the letters are now bent inwards. This style was termed 'Kuṭilā' by J. Prinsep on the evidence of the Dewal praṣāti of the prince Lalla (JASB, vol.VI, 1837, p.779). This nomenclature was also accepted by J.F. Fleet (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol.III, 1963, Varanasi repr., pp.201f. 284; EI, vol.III, 1894-95, p.328, fn.1). As the bent vertical makes an acute angle with the base line, G. Bühler suggested the term 'acute angled' alphabet (Indian Palaeography, reprinted in Indian Studies, vol.1, 1959-60, p.68).
is in fact as conspicuously absent from Gandhāra as it is well-documented in the Nirmad inscription of Samudrasena, the Gum stone inscription and the Panālī Nālā inscription in eastern Panjāb. It shows no influence in the known inscriptions of the Türk Shahī period and may have been a short-lived local style.

Our sources for this section comprise (i) stone inscriptions and (ii) coins legends. In view of the different techniques employed in their production, they are treated separately.

(i) **Stone Inscriptions**

The inscriptions included in this sub-section comprise (1) the Kābul image inscription, (2) the Hātūn rock inscription, (3) the Rānīgat slab inscription, (4) the Gumbatūna slab inscription and (5) the Tochī valley bilingual inscriptions.15

The precise dates of these records, except No.5, are not known. This makes it extremely difficult to arrange them in chronological order. There are, however, some redeeming features which give us useful clues to date these records with some precision. The Kābul image inscription, on sure palaeographical grounds, cannot be placed after the middle of the seventh century A.D.16 The Hātūn rock inscription, which shows definite development from the letters of the Kābul image inscription17 and yet retains some of the archaic features of the Gupta Brāhmī,18 is

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15 For references see infra, p.338 f.
16 Cf. infra, p.222.
17 Compare the letters da, na, pa, ya, la, 8a and 8a.
18 The letter ja with its three arms retains the Gupta form. Similarly the sign for medial ā in the letters jā and yā is attached to the right top of the mātrikā, a practice which seems to be unusual at this time.
ascriptable to the end of the seventh century A.D. The characters of our Nos. 3 and 4 show general resemblance to the early Śāradā and suggest an eighth century date. The TochI valley inscriptions, as noticed above, are already dated to the middle of the ninth century A.D. This gives us a continuous story of the development of writing in the areas under discussion.

Unlike the coin legends, which could be reproduced over a longer period of time from the same die, and with exactly the same results, the stone inscriptions represent the contemporary styles of the letters.

Detailed Analysis

Fig.1,1: is taken from the Kābul image inscription.¹⁹ The inscription refers to the year eight of the reign of a certain Khīṅgāla, but the beginning of this reign cannot be fixed with certainty. The tripartite form of the letter ṣa, however, suggests an early seventh century date.²⁰ The latest occurrence of this form has been noticed in Eastern India in such early seventh century inscriptions as the Patia Kella plate²¹ of Śambhuyaśas, dated A.D. 602, and the Dubi plates²² of Bhāskaravarman (c. A.D. 600-50), while in the Rājasthān area of Western India it is also found rarely in the late seventh century epigraphs like the Dhulev plate²³

¹⁹ This inscription does not belong to the Turk Śāhis but it portrays the style of writing prevalent in Kābul or Zābulistān at the beginning of the Turk Śāhi rule. As the style of writing shortly after the beginning of the Turk Śāhi rule in these areas could have been no different, we have included the inscription in the present discussion.


²¹ EI, vol.ix, Plate between pp.286 and 287.

²² Ibid., vol.xxx, pp.287 ff.

²³ Ibid., Plate facing p.4.
of Bhetti dated in the Harsa year 73 (A.D. 679). The number 13 in the inscription is written with the symbols for 10 and 3. In some cases (cf. Śahi pādaikā) the letter ha looks like bha. The inscription is neatly carved and the letters show solid triangular head marks.

Of the initial vowels only a (ऌ) occurs in this inscription. It is made up of two limbs: the left limb looks like a hook which hangs down from the head-mark and opens to the left; the right one is made up of a straight vertical and is joined to the left limb by a horizontal bar. This variety of a is commonly found in the inscriptions of the early fifth century A.D. in Mālwā and Rājasthān. It seems to be the basic form from which later developments in Northern India took place.

The medial vowels in general follow the style of the Kuṣāṇa period. Medial ā is expressed in two ways: (i) generally a small projection or 'wedge' is attached to the right top of the mātrikā (as in _PRIMARY.ZERO nā). In case of mā (०), however, the sign for medial ā is attached to the dexter upright. The letter śā (ऌ), on the contrary, receives this sign on the top of the left upright. No.(ii) involves a modification of the mātrikā as seen in the case of ja (०). This method is very common in the Šaradā but very rare in earlier inscriptions. In a few cases the sign for medial ā takes the form of a top slant (cf. śā). This is an archaic method and does not occur in the Šaradā inscriptions. The curves of medial i and ī are generally long and compare well with their Šaradā and Nāgarī equivalents. The hook of medial u is turned to the left (cf. _PRIMARY.ZERO ०u). Medial e has two varieties: no.i takes the form of a pṛṣṭhamātra sign (small wedge attached to the left top of the mātrikā) (cf. ṭ re); no.ii is a top slant (cf. _PRIMARY.ZERO ā me) inclined to the left. Variety i predominates in the present inscription. The medial vowels ai and o each occur only once. The former is expressed by the combination

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of a top slant and the pristhamātra sign to the left of the mātrikā (cf. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)). The latter is made up of a top slant and the pristhamātra sign to the right top of the mātrikā (cf. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \text{yo} \)). The medial au is comprised of the combination of a top slant and wedge signs on both sides of the head-mark (cf. \( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \text{lau} \)).

Turning to the consonants, ka has a full length loop to the left of the vertical and a curved tick to the right (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)). As the first element in ligatures ka reverts to the Brāhmī type (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \text{kla} \)). The letter kha (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) has a rounded top and a small tail at the base. Ga (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) is flat-topped and shows a foot-mark under the left limb. Ca (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) is almost triangular with a concavity at the left hand corner. The letter ja (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) is considerably modified from the original Brāhmī type. The upper limb of the letter is now merged in the head-mark with a small protuberance, which can be mistaken for the medial ā sign, to the right. The lower arms of ja show a significant downward incline.\(^{25}\) The akṣara ta has a flat top and a similar protuberance as noticed in the case of ja. As the last element in the ligature sṭa (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)), it looks like a loop opening downwards. The right limb of ta (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) is prolonged and curved in to the left. But in the conjunct tṭra (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) it takes an angular form. The letter da (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) is of the double curve type, though in some cases (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \text{di} \)) the curves are not well pronounced. Dha (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \text{dhi} \)) is broad at the top and narrows down to a point at the bottom. The letter na (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \text{nā} \)) has a bent base which shows a tendency to lengthening the right end. The left arm of pa (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) is slightly bent out. The letter bha (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) shows a triangular loop to the left. The base of ma (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) slopes to the right. Ya (\( \text{\textcircled{\textbullet}} \)) is of the tripartite form and shows a loop at the left arm. As subscript, however,

\(^{25}\) For an archaic form of this letter see the following inscription.
this letter takes the form of an elongated curve to the right (cf. $\text{ṛa}$). As in the inscriptions of Meruvarman of Chambā, $\text{ṛa}$ (ṛ) has a thickening at the bottom end, but in some cases it retains the old form of a straight vertical (ṛ). As the final element in a compound, $\text{ṛa}$ is represented by a slanting stroke projecting to the left at the base of the letter (cf. $\text{ṛtṛa}$).

The letter $\text{la}$ retains a horizontal base (cf. $\text{kla}$) which in one case markedly slopes to the right (cf. $\text{lau}$). $\text{Va}$ (ṇ) looks like $\text{ba}$ of the Sāradā script. The letter $\text{sā}$ (śu) is rounded on top and shows a triangular foot-mark on the left side. The left limb of the aksara $\text{sā}$ may be rounded or angular (cf. $\text{sāhi}$). But for its triangular loop under the left upright, the letter $\text{sā}$ may be confused with $\text{ma}$. The middle portion of $\text{ha}$ (ḫ) looks like an angular loop.

Fig.1,2: is taken from the Hātūn rock inscription. It is dated in the year 47 of the reign of a certain Paṭoladeva, whose actual date is not known. A decimal system employing place notation is used for the numeral figures. The earliest epigraphic example of the use of this system, according to Bühler, goes back to the sixth century while its use in manuscripts would date some centuries earlier. The script of this inscription appears to be older than that of the inscriptions of Brahmor and Chatrahi and suggests a date which cannot be much later than the seventh century A.D. An orthographical peculiarity may be noticed: the

26 R. Hoernle (Indian Antiquary, 1892, pp.31-33) gives a detailed discussion on the different varieties of this letter as seen in manuscripts.
27 Vogel, op.cit., Pls.VII-X.
28 This feature is not found in the Sāradā inscriptions. The sloping base finally led to the Sāradā form of the letter.
29 Compare Kamesvarīdevī's inscription (Shakur, op.cit., Pl.V. no.1).
31 Compare Vogel, op.cit., Pl.X.
consonant preceding the letter ya is doubled (cf. amāttya, madāhye). The letters in general show a definite development from those of the Kabul image inscription. The head-marks are expressed by horizontal lines.

Of the initial vowels only a occurs in this inscription. It has three varieties: (i) is the hooked variety of the Kabul image inscription; (ii) the same, but showing a cavity at the top of the right vertical ($ψ$); (iii) the same, but with a horizontal head-mark on the right vertical ($Ψ$). The medial vowels are the same as seen in the Kabul image inscription. However, the sickle-shaped curves of medial ī and ī become comparatively broader. The medial u has two varieties: (i) is the curved variety of the Kabul image inscription; (ii) takes the form of an angular loop (cf. $γ$ pu). The medial ā likewise has two forms: (i) is the usual curved symbol for medial u in combination with a slanting stroke on the right (cf. $ζ$ tu); (ii) is a continuation of the old Kuśāga tradition of an angular or curved appendage opening down from the bottom end of the consonant of which it makes a part (cf. $γ$ pū). The medial rī is made up of a curved hook opening to the right (cf. $ζ$ krī). The medial o in general retains the old form of the Kabul image inscription but in one case it approaches the circumflex-shaped symbol (cf. $δ$ nso).

The letter gha (U) retains the Gupta form with three uprights. The middle upright occurs both with and without the head-mark. ṇa is found only in combination with $δa$ (cf. $δ$ ṇa) and also retains the Gupta form. The aśvara $aα$ shows a protuberance to the left (cf. $γ$ $δα$). Ja (Ξ) retains the archaic shape with three arms projecting to the right, and takes the medial ā sign on the upper arm (Ξ ja). $ṇa$ (Ne) has a curved base and a hook on the right. This shows a definite development on the flat-based ṇa of the post-Gupta inscriptions. The aśvara $tha$ (cf. $θ$ thvī)

32 Cf. supra, p.221, fn.17.
33 Compare Dani, op.cit., p.80 (iv).
34 Compare Dani, op.cit., Pl.XXIIa.
looks like a quadrangle, divided into two unequal compartments. The
curves of $\text{da}$ ($\mathcal{D}$) are now well pronounced. $\text{Dha}$ ($\text{ṛ}d\text{ha}$) looks triangular in shape. The right end of the base of $\text{na}$ ($\mathcal{N}$) becomes vertical. This became the standard form of the Śāradā inscriptions. The loop of $\text{bha}$ ($\mathcal{B}$) is expressed by a small notch to the left. $\text{Ya}$ ($\mathcal{J} \text{yā}$) shows an archaic form of the bipartite variety and takes the medial $\text{ā}$ sign on the right top of the mātrika. The subjoined $\text{ra}$ is expressed by a slanting stroke. The letter $\text{la}$ has two varieties: (i) the base slopes to the right and joins the right vertical at the bottom; $\text{li}$ (ii) it joins the right vertical almost in the middle ($\mathcal{L} \text{li}$). The letter $\text{va}$ ($\mathcal{V}$) is flat-topped but in some cases it looks rather angular. The loop of $\text{sa}$ is expressed by a hook (cf. $\mathcal{S}$, $\mathcal{S}$ $\text{śrī}$). The verticals of $\text{sa}$ ($\mathcal{H}$) become equal. The loop of $\text{sa}$ ($\mathcal{H}$) is open to the left. $\text{Ha}$ retains the middle portion ($\mathcal{H}$) but in most examples this part of the letter is suppressed ($\mathcal{H} \text{hi}$).

Fig.1,3: comes from the fragmentary marble slab inscription from Ranīgat. It bears no date. The inscription is much damaged and nothing can be made out of it except a few words which eulogise a king whose name is unfortunately lost. In style the inscription comes close to the early Śāradā records. The head-marks are expressed by a wedge-shaped sign. The initial $\text{i}$ ($\mathcal{I}$) which in our inscription occurs here for the first time, is made up of two dots placed horizontally with a small hook below. The other vowels are much the same as noticed above. $\text{Ka}$ has a full-length loop. In combination with the vowel $\text{u}$, however, it reverts to the old Brāhmī form (cf. $\mathcal{K} \text{ku}$). $\text{Ga}$ is flat-topped and shows a foot-mark under the left limb. The left limb of $\text{gha}$ (cf. $\mathcal{G} \text{ghṛi}$) looks angular. $\text{Ja}$ is of the two-armed type but does not show the characteristic protuberance. The letter $\text{ṣa}$ ($\mathcal{C}$)

35 Compare the Kābul image inscription which shows the same form.
is expressed by a semi-circle. \( \text{Pha (४)} \) looks like the Nāgarī form of the letter, with a curled lower end. The letter \( \text{Na (९)} \) has a solid base, which seems to be very common in the Kusāṇa but rare in the early Śāradā inscriptions. \( \text{Ya (७)} \) is of the bipartite variety and remains much the same in Śāradā inscriptions. The akṣara \( \text{Ra} \) loses its bottom serif in the compound \( \text{Rdha (६)} \). The letter \( \text{Sa (४)} \) is flat-topped and shows the characteristic foot-mark under the left limb. The middle portion of \( \text{Sa (४)} \) slopes to the right and joins the right vertical at the bottom end. The loop of \( \text{Ha} \) is suppressed.

Fig.1, 4, 5: is taken from the Tochi valley inscriptions dated saṃvat 32 (A.D. 857) and 38 (A.D. 862) respectively.\(^{36}\) The inscriptions are found in an extremely bad state of preservation. The style of writing in the two records has a close similarity but it does not show the simplified Nāgarī forms prevalent at this time in other parts of the sub-continent, nor does it conform to the Śāradā script so well known in Kāshmir and Gandhāra at this time. The writing style indeed suggests a date earlier than the middle of the ninth century. As the dates are explicitly mentioned and therefore cannot be doubted, we may assume that the difference in style was caused by the hand of a particular scribe who was familiar only with the local tradition. The fact that the Tochi valley at the time of the installation of these inscriptions had recently come under the rule of a Muslim prince also favours this view, for the professional scribes would have certainly fled to Gandhāra, after the defeat of the Hindu ruler of the area, leaving only the amateurs behind.

The initial \( \text{A} \) is of the hooked variety. The vowel \( \text{i} \) is the same as seen in the above mentioned inscription. The letters \( \text{kA} \) and \( \text{kHa} \) tend to become angular. \( \text{Ja} \) is of the three-armed type. \( \text{Tha} \) is quadrangular and

\(^{36}\) The Sanskrit text of the inscription gives the date in Lokakāla.
da (𐌂) in some cases has a tail under the lower curve (𐌃). Bha has a solid loop to the left. The letter ya is of the bipartite variety and takes the medial a sign on the right vertical (𐌄 yā) rather than on top of the mātripāṇa as seen in our earlier inscriptions. The letters ṣa (𐌃 ʂa) and sa (Ԛ ʂa) show archaic forms.

Fig.1,6: is taken from the fragmentary Gumbatūna slab inscription. It is much damaged and is in an extremely poor state of preservation. The style is similar to the early Saśradā records. The medial vowel o is expressed by an inverted circumflex with curved arms. The peculiar wedge-shaped protuberance of the letters ja and ṣa may again be noticed here. The letter ṣa is flat topped. Most interesting is the letter ya (₇) which shows a cursive form not found in our earlier inscriptions. But it is still without the characteristic tail of its Saśradā counterpart.

(ii) Coin Legends

The Indian legends on the coins of the Turk Śahi rulers Vahitigîn, Togrino Boyo and Khingi(la) are somewhat confused. They were reproduced several times with less and less understanding of the original model. In the process of reproduction, however, some of the letters, not properly understood by the silversmiths, were ignorantly distorted. The dies prepared on the model of these distorted imitations seem to have added even more to the confusion. This process must have gone on and on till the series went out of production. This explains why some letters of the same legends differ from coin to coin. The later reproductions therefore do not represent the contemporary style of writing; they were mere imitations of earlier types.

37 See supra, pp.177, 182.
The full epigraph on the coins of Vahitigān has been read differently by Prinsep,\(^\text{38}\) Thomas,\(^\text{39}\) Wilson,\(^\text{40}\) Cunningham\(^\text{41}\) and Göbl.\(^\text{42}\) The reading Śrī hitivira Kharalāva Paramesvara Śrī Vahitigāna deva Kārita(m), however, corresponds closely with the letters and is followed by us in this discussion. The legend is compressed within a narrow band marked out for this purpose.

Detailed Analysis

Medial \(a\) is expressed by lengthening the top of the mātrikā to the right (cf. \(kā\), \(lā\)). The curves of the medial vowels \(i\) and \(i\) do not reach the bottom end of the consonants. Medial \(e\) is expressed by the usual pristhamātra sign (cf. \(ț\) de). The shape of the letter \(ka\) is very irregular and shows many variants (\(\text{ā},\text{ā},\text{ā},\text{ā}\)). The left limb of \(kha\) (\(\text{ṭ}\)) is made up of a small projection. The left limb of \(ga\) (\(\text{ṛgi}\)) is without the characteristic foot-mark. \(Ta\) is the same as seen above in the Kābul image inscription. The letter \(da\) is of the double curve type. The aksara \(na\) (\(\text{ṅ}\)) has a bent base and remains the same throughout the series. The right vertical of \(pa\) (\(\text{ṭ}\)) is suppressed. The letter \(ma\) (\(\text{ṃ me}\)) can hardly be distinguished from \(da\) and \(pa\). \(Ra\) (\(\text{ṛ}\)) shows a clear bottom serif. The letter \(la\) (\(\text{ḷ ķ}\)) has a flat base which, in a few cases, slopes to the right (\(\text{ḏ}\)). The aksara \(va\), in the name Vahitigāna, has many variants (\(\text{ū, ु, ㄻ, ㄺ, ㄼ, ㄼ }\)) which have

\(^{38}\)'Śrī hitivira Airāna cha parameswara Śrī Vahitigāna devajānita', quoted by Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, p.269.

\(^{39}\)'Śrī hitivira kharāla cha parameswara Śrī Shahitina devanārīta', quoted by Cunningham, op.cit., loc.cit.

\(^{40}\)'Śrī Hitivira Rajadhiraja (?) Parameswara (?) Śrī cha Hitivira deva janita', Ariana Antiqua, p.401.

\(^{41}\)'Śrī Hitivi cha Airāna cha parameswara Śrī Śāhi Tīgin Devajārīta', Cunningham, op.cit., loc.cit.

\(^{42}\) As adopted here.
caused much confusion in the correct reading of this name. Some of these variants are clearly the result of misunderstanding and ignorance, and have no real relevance to the general system of writing of the place and period. Șa is flat-topped and occurs only in combination with șa and șa. In the conjunct șș ( șș ) it is placed side by side with șa, obviously because of lack of space. The middle portion of ha ( șș ) is suppressed.

The Indian legend of CPI TORINO POYO's coins is even more confused and difficult as will be shown by the following readings:

a) Sri ... devi, pava Sri (Junker)

b) Srimad deva bhadrā Sri (Wilson)

c) Śri Yadavi - māne Śri (Cunningham)

d) Śrīna Dive/Pare Śri (Göbl)

e) Śrī Śāhi tigina Śrī (Humbach)

The legend is compressed within two vertical bands marking the sides of the column of the fire-altar. Only the word Śrī at the beginning and the end of the legend is clearly legible. The rest of the legend may be restored as Yadavi śāha (Śāhi). The medial ā in the letter śā is attached to the right top of the matrika as in the Hātūn rock inscription. Medial i and e are expressed by a top slant which, in the case of the latter, takes a slightly curved form. The letters da ( ș de ) and șa ( ș vi ) are clearly recognisable. The aksara śa ( ș , ș , ș , ș ) has many variants which differ from coin to coin, though the basic form can still be

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43 Cf. R. Ghirshman, op.cit., p.50.

44 Ariana Antiqua, p.402, no.35. Wilson also suggests that the last word may possibly be read as 'Khosru'.


46 Dokumente zur Geschichte Der Iranischen Hunmen in Baktrien und Indien, vol.1, p.140.

47 Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler, vol.1, p.60.
recognised. Ya (צ, ג yā) shows an archaic form of the bipartite type. The reading of the letter ha (ח) with its several very dissimilar variants (ך, ת, צ, כ) is only conjectural.

The legend Khingi(la) causes no difficulty. The last letter of the legend (here given in brackets) is suppressed. Medial vowel i is in the form of a loop above the consonants, a rare example in our inscriptions. The letter kha (ק kḥi) is still without the tail. The left limb of ga (ג) is turned up at the lower end. The letter Ha in the syllable ḥā (ח) is without the protuberance to the right of the head-mark, which becomes a common feature of this letter in the subsequent period.

B. Bactrian Cursive

The actual name under which this writing was known in Bactria is not known. In modern studies it is variously termed as the Ephthalite writing, the Central Asian script, the Bactrian Greek Cursive script, the Graeco-Bactrian Cursive writing or Tukhārian. We prefer the term Bactrian cursive, for no cursive script with its base in Bactria became so singularly widespread and popular as the one under discussion.

The Bactrian cursive was first noticed by Prinsep on the Kusano-Sāsānian coins and recognised as a corrupt form of Greek script, in which all the vowels were represtented by o.48 A few years later Wilson (1841) described the inscriptions of the same coins as a 'mere circle of o's, occasionally varied with (the letter) p'.49 Commenting on the coins of a certain 'Soter Megas' however Wilson drew attention to the fact that the Greek letters on those coins had developed different shapes from those of the coins of the Greek rulers of Bactria. The letters izabeth and E, he says,

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49 Ariana Antiqua, p.379.
have become Σ and Ε on some coins and Π and Ε on others. Similarly
Μ has turned into Η, Υ becomes Ψ and Ω is represented by Ω.50 But
Wilson did not make a distinction between \( \rho \) (rho) and \( \phi \) (san) and
wrongly read the legends \( \Phi \text{AO NANO} \Phi \text{AO KANNHIPKI KOPANO} \) as 'Rao nando
rao Kanerki Korano' and \( \Phi \text{PAO} \Phi \text{PO} \) as 'Ardokro'.51 Wilson was, however, not
alone and other writers also made the same mistake52 till Stein pointed
out the difference between rho, which more or less retained its standard
Greek form (\( P \)), and san with its side stroke lengthened upwards. The
legends were then corrected as 'Shao nano Shao Kanishki Koshano' and
'Ardoksho'.

A similar development was noticed by Cunningham (1893-94) on the
coins of a certain 'Vasu Deva'. On the earliest coins bearing the name
of \( \text{BAZO AHO} \) (Vasu Deva), Cunningham remarks, the Greek legends show little
debasement excepting in the letters Z, H, and N. The H, he further points
out, becomes \( H \) and the N takes the form \( N \), while the Z looks like the
Indian numeral 2 and the letters A and \( \Delta \) become rounded and cannot be
distinguished from O.53

Although the study of the coin legends had resolved some of the
mysteries regarding the debasement of the individual letters, the script
in general was still imperfectly understood at the beginning of the last
century as may be seen from Stein's remarks about a fragmentary document
he found in Central Asia. The document, he says, was written in an
undeciphered script which, with its partly looped and partly elongated

52 Cunningham ('Coins of the Kushans', NC, vol.xii, 1892, p.15) also
read \( \text{PAO} \) as Rao.
53 Later Indo-Scythians, p.115.
characters, curiously recalled the writing of the White Hūṇa coins.  

No new and startling discoveries have since been made. But the writing  
was studied in more detail by E. Herzdeld (1930) and R. Ghissshman (1948) who have also prepared comparative tables showing the development  
of the individual letters as seen on the Scytho-Pārthian, Kuṣāṇo-Sasānian  
and the Ephthalite coins. It was briefly noticed by F.W. Thomas (1944),  
A.D.H. Bivar (1954) and B.J. Stavisky (1960) who have also given  
important readings of some inscriptions. More recently it has been  
discussed by R. Gobi and H. Humbach.

Hsūn Tsang's description of the writing used by the people of  
Tukhāristān shows that he was actually referring to the Bactrian cursive  
script. 'The number of radical letters in their language', he writes  
is twenty-five; by combining these they express all objects around them.  
Their writing is across the page and they read from left to right'.

Hsūn Tsang's statement is admirably explicit: there were the twenty-four

54 Innermost Asia, Oxford 1928, p.216. For similar documents called  
'The London Fragment' and 'The Berlin Fragments', see H. Humbach,  
op.cit., vol.ii, Pls. 28-32.

55 Kushano-Sasanian Coins, table III.

56 Les Chionites-Hephthalites, p.63.

57 JAOS, 1944, pp.1-3.


62 The problem of the Tukhārian language has been discussed by S. Levi,  
JA, vol.1, 1933, pp.1-30; Pelliot, JA, vol.1, 1934, pp.23-106 and  
Young Fao, vol.xxxii, pp.264 ff; Haloun, ZDMG, vol.91, pp.243-318;  
W.B. Henning, BSOS, vol.8, 1937, pp.545-71; H.W. Bailey, BSOS, vol.8,  
pp.883-921. See also A. Maricq, JA, vol.246, 1958, pp.345-440; W.  
Krause, Iranistik, Leiden 1955; O. Hansen, La Nouvell Clio, vol.3,  
1951, pp.41-69.

63 S. Beals, Buddhist Records of the Western World, 1968 New York repr.,  
vol.1, p.18.
letters of the normal Greek alphabet plus the letter $\beta$ ($\sigma\lambda\nu$) which seems to have been adopted from the Kharoṣṭhī $\sigma\lambda\nu$ ($\beta$).

The script under discussion seems to have passed through two distinct stages of development before the advent of the Turk Śahi rule. In stage 1 the characters remain close to their Greek prototypes, whereas in stage 2 they are found mostly in their cursive forms. Stage 2 had already started in the inscriptions of Kanîṣka. But a clear transition to cursive is found on the Kuśāṇa-Sāsānian scyphate coins, which ceased to be struck about A.D. 400. From this time to about the middle of the sixth century A.D., the script seems to have undergone further change, particularly in the form of the letters $I$, $K$, $M$, $N$, $S$ and $X$, as evidenced on the Ephthalite coins. The letters are now far removed in shape from their originals. During the period of the Turk Śāhis, however, the development seems to have become slow, as the original home of the writing in Central Asia went into the hands of the Muslims who brought their own script.64

The inscriptions and coins of the Turk Śahi period show only the cursive form of the writing.

(i) Stone Inscriptions

The inscriptions included in this section come from Jagatū65 and Uruzgān66 - two from each place - in Afghanistan. They are engraved on unprepared rock surfaces and show a poor state of preservation. The characters of the Jagatū inscriptions show mutual resemblance and seem

64 R. Göbl ('Zegomonoko', *East and West*, vol.xiii, 1962, p.207), however, maintains that the possibility of development in the shapes became gradually exhausted by this time.


66 Bivar, op.cit.
to be older than the Uruzgân inscriptions. None of the inscriptions bears any date. On palaeographical grounds, however, they may be assigned to the seventh or eighth centuries A.D.

Jagatū 1 is confused and mostly obliterated. H. Humbach reads some of the words as Zabul, Vima, Šāhī and ulugh but the readings are based on a considerable amount of hypothetical reconstruction which does not inspire confidence. Jagatū 2 contains the Buddhist triratna formula - यम्मो रोदनामूर्त्त्वं यम्मो सान्यो - as ably discerned by O. Hansen.

The Uruzgân inscriptions are very brief. They have been read differently by A.D.H. Bivar and H. Humbach.

Detailed Analysis

Fig.2,1: The letters α, δ and ο lose their distinctive features. The syllable δο (οο) is made up of two conjoined circles. The letter ζ (ζ) looks like the numeral 8 with elongated upper part. The letter gamma is expressed by a small semi-circle opening to the left. Tau may be easily confused with gamma. The lower curve of zeta (ζ) takes the form of a long flourish to the right. Zeta also appears accompanied by three dots (ζ), probably intended for the sound of the Persian ی. It might be suggested that the use of the three nuqtas over the Arabic letter Ṣa to represent this sound was adopted from the Bactrian script. The letter E (€) is made up of a straight vertical joined by a small stroke to the right. The vowel I (cf. Ṣa = mi) looks like a flourish curved to the left. Kappa (κ) in Uruzgân 1 remains close to the classical form. The letter lambda (λ = λο) takes the form of a cross. But another variety of this letter shows a small tail at the back (λ). Mu has two upstrokes and a tail under the left limb. Nu resembles µ but without the tail. The letters ρho (ρ), san (ς) and phi (ϕ) remain close to
their classical form. $\Sigma$ ($\mathfrak{C} = sa$) is expressed by a curved stroke opening to the right. $\varepsilon$ is made up of two conjoined curves. $\Omega$ ($\mathfrak{U}$) has three upstrokes of equal height.

(ii) Coin Legends

These are taken from the coins of Vahitigin and Torino. The Bactrian legends on these coins are found in the field to the right of the king's bust. The letters are quite legible and can be seen in their full form. The style of writing resembles that of the Uruzgān inscriptions.

Detailed Analysis.

Fig.2:2: The vowels $a$ and $o$ are the same as noticed above in the stone inscriptions. The curve of $\gamma$ (cf. $\mathfrak{Y} = gi$) is here less pronounced. The vowel $i$ is nearly the same as seen above. The letter $\nu$ ($\mathfrak{U} = no$) is made up of two upstrokes and a tick to the left. The vertical of $\rho$ (cf. $\mathfrak{P} = sri$) shows a foot-mark. The letters $\alpha n$ (cf. $\mathfrak{P}$), $\Sigma$ (cf. $\mathfrak{S}$), $\tau$ (cf. $\mathfrak{T} = to$) and $\varepsilon$ (cf. $\mathfrak{L}$) also occur but show no significant change.

PHASE 2: ŠARADĀ AND THE BACTRIAN CURSIVE SCRIPT

A. Šaradā

The term Šaradāsvarāni, of which the word Šaradā seems to be an abbreviation, means 'letters sacred to Šaradā or Sarasvati' - the Hindu goddess of learning. It is not definitely known whether the term Šaradā in the sense of writing, was used in the time of the Hindu Šāhis. Most probably it was not. Albīrūnī mentions Šaradā only as the name of

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a famous goddess of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{68} This association of the goddess Śāradā with Kashmir is also suggested by expressions such as Śāradādeśa, Śāradāmanḍala and Śāradāksetra, found in the works\textsuperscript{69} datable to the eleventh century A.D. or later. It seems therefore that Śāradā was not originally the name of a script, but on the contrary it was the name of the Kashmirian goddess of learning. But, as learning took expression through letters, the particular style of writing prevalent in Kashmir, at the time when the fame of the goddess was at its highest, also came to be known after her name. In India, too, writing is sometimes referred to as Sarasvatī or Sarasvatīmukha, meaning the mouth of the goddess of speech.\textsuperscript{70} A similar example may be found in the term gurumukhī, which means 'from the mouth of the guru'.

The name Śāradā prima facie suggests that the writing under discussion was developed in Kashmir. But Dr Elmslie, in his Kashmiri Vocabulary, tells a story that the alphabet was introduced into Kashmir by one (Sharadah Nandan'), a companion of a brother of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who is said to have emigrated to the valley.\textsuperscript{71} Obviously the story is not worth much, but it seems to contain a dim reminiscence that the alphabet was brought from outside the main Kashmir valley. If that be the case, the most likely place where Śāradā could have been developed was the renowned capital of the Hindu Sāhis, Udābhādāpura, described in an inscription as 'the home of learned men who lived there in the form of communities'.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{68} Fi Tahqiq ma li'l Hind, p.89. Albīrunī speaks of the wooden idol of Śāradā as much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.

\textsuperscript{69} Such as Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, Rājāvaliptākā. See also Bühler, loc.cit., and Grierson, JRAS, 1916, p.678.

\textsuperscript{70} Cf. Bühler, loc.cit.; J.Ph. Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, p.43.

\textsuperscript{71} Cf. Bühler, loc.cit.; and Grierson, op.cit., p.672.

\textsuperscript{72} See infra, p.312.
It is difficult to fix the date of the earliest use of the term Śāradā as the name of a particular script. Albīrūnī's failure to mention the name in his list of contemporary Indian alphabets\(^7^3\) is highly suggestive. His acquaintance with so many different scripts suggests that he could not have missed the name inadvertently, for he not only lived for a long time in the actual area of the Śāradā script but was also quite familiar with it. Had this name been known to him, he would not have failed to include it in his list. Albīrūnī in fact knew the actual name under which the script went in his own time. The type of writing used in the area stretching from Kashmir to Kanauj, he says, was called Siddhamātrikā.\(^7^4\) If the word Kanauj is here used for the kingdom of the Pratiharas and not the city of the same name, Albīrūnī's statement is admirably borne out by the extent to which the Śāradā inscriptions are known to have spread to the east.\(^7^5\) This aspect of Albīrūnī's information has been ignored by earlier writers, who were invariably tempted to identify Siddhamātrikā with the so-called Kūṭila or 'acute angled' script.\(^7^6\) But, as we have already seen, there is no evidence of the existence of Kūṭila in Gandhāra and, if it ever extended to this area, it must have disappeared by the beginning of the ninth century A.D. when Śāradā appeared on the coins of Spalapatideva.\(^7^7\) One wonders therefore how Albīrūnī can be taken to have written about a script,


\(^7^4\) Loc.cit.

\(^7^5\) See infra, p.240.


\(^7^7\) Supra, p.219.
particularly in the context of his discussion of the contemporary alphabets, which disappeared nearly two centuries before his arrival in the sub-continent. The identification therefore does not fit into the picture. Thus the actual name of the script prevalent in Gandhāra and Kashmir in the time of Albīrūnī (A.D. 1030) was Siddhamātrikā. The name Śāradā seems to have become popular only towards the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the following century. In the following discussion, however, we shall continue to use the term Śāradā in the conventional sense of this word.

The find spots of the various Śāradā inscriptions show that it spread in an area marked by Jalālābād (Afghanistān), Sabz Pīq (West Panjāb), Pālam (Delhi), East Panjāb, Kashmir and Ghagai78 (Swat).

Bühler79 and Hoernle80 describe Śāradā as a descendant of the 'western Gupta' alphabets. Vogel, however, as noticed above, marks an intermediary stage called Kuṭīla. But how far Kuṭīla was actually responsible for the development of Śāradā in Gandhāra and Afghānistān has already been commented upon. The evidence of our insessional records suggests that Śāradā developed from a late form of the Gupta Brāhmī (our proto-Śāradā). It shows simplified forms of the Gupta characters and must have been the result of cursive writing (or pen style).

The beginning of Śāradā was estimated by Hoernle at about A.D. 500.81 G.H. Ojha on the other hand suggests a tenth century date.82 But the

78 Vogel (op.cit., p.259) gives a list of the Śāradā inscriptions from Gandhāra and Kashmir. For an inscription of Queen Diḍḍā of Kashmir, see S.C. Ray, Early History and Culture of Kashmir, Calcutta 1957, p.148.
80 Indian Antiquity, 1892, p.38.
82 Bharatiya Prāohina Lipimāla, Delhi, v.s.2016 repr., p.73.
script appears already fully developed on the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāla83 (c. A.D. 964-1001-2), which invalidates Ojha's suggestion straight away. The earliest appearance of this writing is on the coins of Spalapatideva84 (c. A.D.814). In Kashmir it starts from the middle of the ninth century on the coins of the Varmans.85 This evidence is also in line with Bühler's suggestion that Šaradā, as an epigraphical script, dates from the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century A.D.86

(i) Stone Inscriptions

The inscriptions included in this section mainly come from Gandhāra and belong to the period of the Hindu Śāhis. Most of the inscriptions bear dates which refer to an unspecified point of reference. But the dates can be easily explained on the assumption that the Hindu Śāhis started a new era from the date of Kallar's revolution about A.D. 843.87 The dates given below in brackets are calculated on the basis of this hypothesis.

Except for Ratnamañjari's inscription of the time of a certain Vijayapāladeva,88 our records show a close similarity of style and must have been the work of scribes trained in and around Udabhāṇḍapura, if the find-spots of these inscriptions are any guide in this respect. Certain characteristic features may be noticed. The tick of kṣ to the right of its loop (") is curved inwards. The letter ny (ṅ) shows

83 Infra, Pl.l.
84 Infra, p.255.
85 A. Cunningham, CMI, p.45.
87 For details see infra, p.318.
a long tail. Ta (otre) with or without loop can be easily distinguished from na (dtere). The letters ba and va, however, can be easily confused. Ra in some inscriptions has a large hollow loop (otre) which can be mistaken for va in conjunction with ra. To avoid this confusion a separate sign for ra in the conjunct rva (otre) was invented and added to the left of va. The letter la (otre) has three unequal legs with a tendency to lengthen the one on the extreme right. The aksara qa invariably shows a flat top. The inscriptions begin with the invocatory formula om svasti written in bold letters.

Detailed Analysis

Fig.1,7: is taken from an inscription found at the base of a mutilated image collected by A. Burnes from Hund. The inscription is much damaged and shows nothing more than the nature of the writing. An eye-copy of the inscription was published by Prinsep in 1837 and by Burnes in 1842. But the copyist seems to have confused the letters da, na, ma, la, and va and to have omitted the middle stroke of the letter qa, which makes the copy extremely faulty. The shape of the extant letters show that the jihvamultiya (cf. or khya) and the upadhmniya (cf. or fpra) forms of the visarga were used regularly. The head-marks of the letters are indicated by small horizontal lines in some cases and by wedge-shaped signs in others. We have placed the inscription at the head of the series of our Sarada records purely on palaeographical grounds.

The tick to the right of the loop of ka (otre) is still without the curve of the developed Sarada form of the letter. This, together with the fact that the letter qa still retains the old flat-based variety

89 *JASB*, vol.vi, pt.ii, pp.876-79.
90 *Cabool*, London 1842, p.120.
along with the Śāradā form (ณ), suggests an early date for the inscription. The uprights of gha (उ), show head-marks. The letter ha, seen only in combination with ga, is without the protuberance, which may be an omission on the part of the copyist. Ta (3) in most cases resembles the arabic numeral 3. The letter da is of the double curve type. Na (न) retains the archaic form. Pa is both open (علام) and closed (علام) on the top. The middle portion of ha (ह) becomes rounded. No change can be seen in the rest of the letters. There are some irregular forms - probably copying errors - which cannot be recognised.

Fig.1,8: comes from a slab of stone found at Hund. The slab is much damaged in the centre and many of the letters are obliterated. The date given at the end, of which only the last portion can be read, apparently gives the name of the season and the month, as well as the day. Owing to the bad state of preservation of the stone, the writing does not admit of a complete text or translation. The initial vowel a (अ) has now developed a triangular loop, not found in the earlier phase, under the right vertical - a feature which henceforth recurs regularly in our Śāradā inscriptions. The initial vowel i (ए), which of all our inscriptions occurs only here, looks like the letter ra flanked by two dots. The letter da (ड) is made up of a curve which has thickened ends and opens to the left. This is the standard form of the Śāradā letter and does not change in the period under consideration. The aksara pa (प) is open at the top. The left portion of la (ल) takes the form of a narrow curve opening downwards. Sa (स) is flat-topped. The type of ga (ग) with short right vertical still persists.


92 Cf. Hargreaves, loc.cit.
Fig. 1.9: is taken from Śrī Mulasanka's inscription from Dewal. The inscription is neatly carved and bears the date samvat 108 which according to our computation comes to about A.D. 951. The head-marks of the letters are indicated by horizontal lines. The initial a continues to be the same as seen above. The initial ā (ā) shows a hook under the right vertical. This is the distinctive feature of the letter in the Śāradā inscriptions. The medial u is expressed both by the normal u-sign (cf. mu) and the loop (cf. pu). The tick of ka to the right of the vertical (ū) is now turned inwards. The aksara ga retains its flat top and the characteristic foot-mark under the left arm. The letter ja shows the protuberance to the right side of the top line. The loops of ta (ṛ) and da (ḍ) are generally hollow. The right leg of na becomes a straight vertical. Pa (ū) is generally open on the top but in two cases it is closed (cf. pu). The serif of ra is changed into a loop. The letters sa (śi) and sa (ś) show large triangular loops. The middle portion of ha (ḥ) is occasionally suppressed (ḥ).

Fig. 1.10: comes from the Dewai stone inscription of the Śāhi king Bhīmadeva. The inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in the middle. The extant portion of the inscription, however, is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the name Kalaka(ma)lavārman. The characters bear close resemblance to those of the inscription described above. The letter pa is invariably open on the top. Ra retains its bottom loop. The letter da (ḍa) with its hollow loop and elongated right arm resembles the letter ma (ṇ). The syllable bhī in the name Bhīma is not clear.

93 A. Shakur, op. cit., pp.2-3 and Pl.II.1. Shakur reads the name Kulaśāṇka. But the first letter of the name is dubious and looks more like mu. The position of u is wrong.

94 For Shakur's reading see infra, p.338.

Fig. 11: is taken from Ratnamañjarī's inscription of the time of a certain Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vijayapāladeva. The inscription is dated sāmakat 120 which, when added to A.D. 843, gives the year A.D. 963. The exact find-spot of the inscription is not known though, as Professor Tucci's report shows, it may have come from Taxila or its neighbourhood. If so, Vijayapāla may have been a nominal feudatory to the Śāhis of Udabhānāḍa. Although the inscription shows all the characteristics of the Śrādā records, a slightly different hand may be noticed here in the bold and vertical forms of the letters. The loops are generally solid and triangular and the head-marks are indicated by horizontal lines turned down at the ends (cf. 'ṛ, ha).

The triangular loop under the right vertical of the initial a (ह) takes the form of a solid wedge. The medial i is occasionally expressed by a bent stroke on top of the mātrikā (cf. लि). The medial u is invariably expressed by a pointed loop (cf. शु), whereas ā takes the form of a long flourish (cf. पु) resembling the sign for subjoined va. Owing to the peculiar form of the wedge-shaped loop, the vertical of ka (क) is only to be seen in the upper half of the letter. The right portion of kha (ख) becomes a solid thick line. The base of ca (च) slopes to the right. The letter ṭha (ठ) is a circle and na (न) is without the tail. The aksara ṭha (ठ) looks like a compartmented quadrangle. The letter dha (ध), with its straight sides, can now be easily distinguished from va (वि). The loop of bha (भ) is also turned into a peculiar wedge-shaped sign. Ya shows some variants ( य, य, य) but the basic bipartite shape remains unchanged. As subscript however it looks like a sickle-shaped curve (cf. श्या). Ra in conjunction with va (cf. rva above) takes the form of a tick on the left hand side of the main letter. Except in the opening formula oh svasti,

96 East and West, xx, 1970, p.103 f.
the loops of \( ña \) (cf. \( \text{ṣrī} \)) and \( sa \) (cf. \( su \), above) become solid marks. The uprights of \( ga \) are equalised.

Fig.1,12,13: are taken from the two inscriptions of the time of Jayapāladeva. No.12 comes from Barīkot\(^7\) (Swāt) and is much encrusted and therefore difficult to read. No.13 belongs to Hund\(^8\) and is in an excellent state of preservation. Palaeographically as well as historically, the latter is one of the most important documents of the time of the Śāhis. It bears the date saṃvat 146, which, counting from Kallar's revolution in about A.D. 843, comes to about A.D. 989.

No change occurs in the vowel marks. The curved tick of \( ka \) (Fred) can be seen in this inscription as well. The left limb of \( ṣha \) (\( \text{ṣ} \)) is inclined outward. \( ṇa \) occurs only in combination with \( ga \) (\( \text{ṅ} \text{gu} \)) and shows a small protuberance on the right of the top line. The letter \( ḍa \) in the ligature \( ṇdā \) is of the same shape as seen above in no.8. \( ḍha \) (\( \text{ṛ} \)) looks like the Sāradā numeral 8. \( ṇa \) is of the tailed variety. The aksara \( na \) shows some variants (\( \text{ṛ} \), \( \text{ṝ} \), \( \text{ṝ} \)). The protuberance, characteristic of the letters \( ja \), \( ṭa \) and \( ṇa \) may be noticed here as well. The loops of \( ĥa \) (\( \text{ṛ} \)) and \( sa \) (\( \text{ṝ} \)) in some cases are left open. The \( jihavāmūliya \) (\( \text{ṛ} \text{ṛ} \text{ṛ} \text{ṛ} \text{ṛ} \)) and \( upadhmāniya \) (\( \text{ṝ} \text{ṝ} \text{ṝ} \text{ṝ} \)) forms of the visarga are used regularly. The latter resembles the cursive \( na \) with a line below. As in no.11, the sign for \( ra \) in \( ṛva \) is attached to the curve of \( va \).

Fig.1,14: is taken from Maharajī Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī's inscription of Hund.\(^9\) The inscription is neatly carved on a stone slab and shows a good state of preservation. The date of the inscription, saṃvat 159,

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\(^7\) D.R. Sahni, op.cit., p.301.
\(^8\) Infra, Pl.1.
according to our computation comes to A.D. 1002, the year of Jayapāla's death. The letters of this inscription bear close resemblance to the one mentioned above. The head-marks are expressed by horizontal lines. Of all our inscriptions, ณา occurs only here in the ligature ಫ (ಫ) and looks like the arabic numeral 3. The letter ณา is almost flat on top. The arms of ณา are equalised.

The inscription mentions the Brāhmaṇa, Śrī Pillaka, who was the pāmekula (? headman) and the son of a certain Śrī Viśāditya. The kāyastha who composed the inscription was Śrī Bhogika, a sūryadvija, who was the son of Śrī Vinhenda. This is important in the context of palaeography, since it establishes the approximate date of the following inscription.

Fig.1,15: comes from another damaged stone inscription collected by A. Burnes from Hund. An eye-copy of the inscription, together with our no.7 above, was published by Prinsep long ago. But the copy, as Prinsep himself noted, was very faulty and untrustworthy. The upper four lines of the inscription do not run for the full length of the surface and start after leaving some space in the left corner. This has suggested to some scholars the existence of a Persian inscription. This, together with Prinsep's reading of the end of the last line as sutra ki hogi ('shall be made beautiful'), which is clearly Hindi rather than Sanskrit, has been taken by D.B. Pandey, who puts this inscription in the Muslim period, as a clue to its date. But neither is there any trace of the hypothetical Persian inscription except a carelessly scratched name which seems to be a later addition, nor can we place much faith.

100 Op.cit., p.120.
102 حاائنانککککک (Hazan Kullah). It is not certain whether the name was accurately copies. In its present form, however, it sounds like the Pashtū names.
in Prinsep's tentative reading which at the best follows only the eye-copy of the inscription. Prinsep in fact eagerly desired to see the actual inscription. Had he been able to do so, he would have certainly discovered that the copy of the inscription supplied to him by A. Burnes was hopelessly inaccurate. I have not been able to see the inscription either. It is lying in the Calcutta Museum and seems to contain some more information about the Sāhīs. However, a comparison of the eye-copy of the inscription with that of Mahārājī Śrī Kāmēsvaredevī shows that both inscriptions were contemporary. They refer to the same Brāhmaṇa (Śrī Pillaka) and the same Kāyastha (Śrī Bhogika). In fact the last two verses of Prinsep's inscription are exactly the same as lines 2 to 5 of Kāmesvarī's record. We therefore restore Prinsep's reading -'nahpaka ...
tirīya ...
pra ...
yanyakattra Śrī Tīllaka: Brāhmaṇa: / ... stha krihe sutra kī hogi'- as Navakarmapati Upendraputra Jaya(ntarāja Anantiko sūryadvijo: // Paṃcakula Śrī Virādi tya putra Śrī Pillaka Brāhmaṇa: // Kāyastha Śrī Vihendaputra Śrī Bhogika (ka sūryadvija). This solves the problem of the correct attribution of this inscription. Apparently it belongs to the same temple complex to which Mahārājī Śrī Kāmēsvaredevī added a devakula, probably a small temple building. The letters where correctly copied are exactly the same as our no.14 above. Curiously, the letter sa in the om svasti has a small loop. The jīhvāmūlīya form of the visarga (งฮฮ) can also be seen.

(ii) Manuscript

The Bakhshālī manuscript, discovered by a farmer in 1881 in a field at the village of the same name, some 50 miles north-east of Peshāvar, is the only Śāradā manuscript found so far in Gandhāra. It was originally reported to have been found lying in a stone enclosure,103 but the report

103 Cf. Bombay Gazette, Wednesday, August 13th, 1881.
could not be confirmed during the subsequent enquiries.\textsuperscript{104} Much of the manuscript was destroyed by the ignorant finder in taking it up from the spot where it lay. The extant remains consist of 70 leaves of birch-bark; some of them being mere scraps. The largest leaf measures about 5.75 x 3.5 inches (14.5 x 8.9 centimetres). The original length of the leaf was estimated about 6.5 to 7 inches.

The news of the discovery was first reported in the \textit{Bombay Gazette} of Wednesday, August 13th, 1881. It was then communicated by Bühl to Weber who brought it to the notice of the Fifth International Congress of Orientalists assembled in Berlin. It was hoped that the manuscript might prove to be 'one of the Tripitakas which Kanishka ordered to be deposited in Stupas'.\textsuperscript{105} Meanwhile the manuscript was despatched to Hoernle, then head of the Calcutta Madrasa, for examination and publication. Hoernle gave a short account of his investigations in 1882 before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which appeared in the following year in the \textit{Indian Antiquity}.\textsuperscript{106} A fuller account was presented in 1886 before the Seventh Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna and was published in the proceedings of the conference\textsuperscript{107} and then, with some additions, in the \textit{Indian Antiquary} of 1888.\textsuperscript{108} In 1902 Hoernle presented the manuscript to the Bodleian Library. He died before completing the study. The manuscript was finally edited and translated by G.R. Kaye and published in 1927 in the \textit{New Imperial Series} (vol.XLII) of the Archaeological Survey of India.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{104} See infra, p.250.
\textsuperscript{105} See the official report of the Congress, Pt.1, p.79.
\textsuperscript{106} Vol.xii, pp.89 f.
\textsuperscript{107} Verhandlunger des vii Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, Arische section, 127 seq.
\textsuperscript{108} Vol.xvii, pp.33-48 and 275-79.
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{The Bakhshālī Manuscript}, pts. i and ii, Calcutta 1927.
There is considerable difference of opinion about the dating of this manuscript. Bühler and Weber ascribed it to the time of Kaniska. But their views were based on a misunderstanding of the actual circumstances of the find, which were only later clarified by Cunningham's visit to the place. Hoernle dated it to the tenth century at the latest. In those troublous days, he says, it was a common practice of the learned Hindus to bury their manuscript treasures, and the one from Bakhshāli was probably one of them. G.R. Kaye, however, rejected these dates and assigned the manuscript, mainly on palaeographical grounds, to the twelfth century A.D. He adduced the following points in support of this date.

1. The letter न in the Sarāhan prāṣasti (c. 9th century A.D.) has a horizontal connecting stroke (\(\mathcal{N}, \mathcal{Y}\), our var.i); whereas the same letter in the Baijnath inscription (c. 13th century A.D.) not only does not have this horizontal stroke but also shows a tail (\(\mathcal{Y}\), our var.ii). The Bakhshāli manuscript shows no example of either. (This however is a misstatement, as we shall see below).

2. The sign for medial अ in the letter ज़ is attached to the right top of the head-mark (\(\mathcal{E}, \mathcal{J}\)) in one case. This form is said to have come into fashion about A.D. 1200.

3. The curves of the medial vowels इ and ए are generally the same as their Nāgari equivalents. But in two or three cases the older method of forming them by sickle-shaped curves (as in ई, ए, for instance)

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110 Cf. supra, fn.105.

111 In a private letter (dated Simla, 5th June 1882) to Hoernle, Cunningham records that the manuscript was found near a well without the trace of any building near the spot. Cf. Kaye, op.cit., p.1, fn.2.


113 See his pp.76-77. The illustrations have been added by us.
above the mātrikā also persists. The older method is said to have
dropped out of use about A.D. 1200.

4. The slanting superscribed medial e (cf. द, our var.i) tends to
become horizontal in the later Śāradā inscriptions. In the
manuscript the stroke is nearly always horizontal. The pristhamātra
form of medial e (cf. द te, our var.ii) was not in general use in
the fifteenth century A.D. In the manuscript, however, it is
represented by '269'\textsuperscript{114} examples.

5. Of the two varieties of medial aɪ which occur in the manuscript,
variety ii, consisting of a pristhamātra sign combined with a top
slant (cf. द kai), developed about A.D. 110 into variety i, which
is expressed by two top slants (cf. द kai). Variety ii is
represented by fewer examples than variety i.

6. The medial o is formed in three ways. Variety i is expressed by a
circumflex shaped sign (cf. ज* ko); whereas variety ii is made up
of a top slant and a wedge-shaped sign in front of the mātrikā (cf.
ढ ko). Variety iii consists of the pristhamātra sign for e and
a similar sign in front of the mātrikā (cf. ज* ko). Variety i seems
to be the latest development and predominates in the manuscript.
From the palaeographical viewpoint therefore, it has been argued,
the manuscript belongs to about the twelfth century A.D.

A detailed reconsideration of the extant document however reveals
that some of these conclusions are based on very flimsy grounds and
others on misstatements. Our analysis of the script of the document shows
that the tailed variety of ra, alleged by Kaye to be absent from the
manuscript, is represented by at least ten examples.\textsuperscript{115} The chronological

\textsuperscript{114} According to our calculation this figure should be corrected to 300.
But, in any case, it does not change the main argument.

\textsuperscript{115} See infra, Fig.7.
importance of the different varieties of this letter is already quite well known. We have no example of the tailed variety in the Bower manuscript (c. 6th century A.D.) or the Horiuzi Palm-leaf manuscript (c. 7th century A.D.). In our stone inscriptions it appears in the tenth century records. As the Bakhshali manuscript has only ten examples of the tailed variety out of 340 cases, it can be reasonably assigned to the tenth century A.D. This is also broadly borne out by the Saradā inscriptions of Chamba, which show that the tailed variety of na occurs sparingly in the tenth century but more frequently towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.

Kaye's second argument is equally weak. It is hazardous to rely, for chronological purposes, on the evidence of a single example of the letter jā, out of 126, in which the sign for medial ā is attached to the right top of the head-mark. Nor is it entirely correct to say that this form of jā came into fashion about A.D. 1200. This form of jā, in fact, can be seen as far back as the Bhārhut inscriptions (c. first century B.C.) and was also sparingly used in the Gwaliar inscription of Bhoja (c. 876 A.D.), the Pehoa praśati (c. A.D. 800) and the Hātūn rock inscription (c. seventh century A.D.).

That the use of the sickle-shaped curves of the medial vowels i and ō was dropped about A.D. 1200, as stated by Vogel, may be generally correct. But it does not prove that our manuscript, which has only two

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116 Compare A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Pl.XIIa, 11, 12. The letter na in the Bower MS and the Horiuzi palm-leaf MS has the form , and respectively.

117 See infra, Fig.1.

118 A comparative study of the occurrence of this letter in various inscriptions is given in Fig.7.

119 Compare A.H. Dani, Pl.VIa, b.

120 Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, columns II-III, 17.

121 Infra, Fig.7.
or three' examples, actually belongs to the end of this period. Similar examples of the medial ī and ī may be seen in the Sarāhan prāśasti\textsuperscript{122} (c. 9th century A.D.) and Mahārājī Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī's inscription (c. 10th century A.D.). A close look at these records reveals that the sickle-shaped curves were made only when the scribe could not find enough space to accommodate the Nāgarī form of these vowels. To use this kind of evidence for the purpose of chronology is, therefore, of questionable validity.

Kaye's observation that the superscribed sign for medial ē (our var.i) tends to become horizontal only in the later Śāradā inscriptions does not find factual support. Considerable evidence can be adduced to the contrary.\textsuperscript{123} Nor is the other half of Kaye's argument so convincing. Our examination of the Śāradā inscriptions of Chamba shows that the prīsthamātra method of forming medial ē (our var.ii) was less popular in the tenth and eleventh centuries and dropped out in the twelfth century A.D.\textsuperscript{124} This applies equally well to the Bakhshālí manuscript, in which variety i is represented by a slightly higher number of examples (55\%) than variety ii (45\%).

The different methods of expressing medial aṅ do not show specific concentration at any given period and may be untrustworthy for the purpose of chronology.\textsuperscript{125} The three varieties of the medial vowel o, however, when plotted in a frequency table, show better results. Variety iii was a dominant tradition in the Sarāhan prāśati but, during the eleventh century, it gradually died out.\textsuperscript{126} Towards the middle of the

\textsuperscript{122} J.Ph. Vogel, \emph{Antiquities of Chamba State}, Pl.XV, lines 1, 17. 20.

\textsuperscript{123} Compare various inscriptions from Chamba (Vogel, op.cit., and Chhabra, \emph{Antiquities of Chamba State}, pt.II, Delhi, 1957).

\textsuperscript{124} Cf. infra, Fig.7.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
twelfth century variety i became extremely popular, almost to the exclusion of the other two. In the Bakhshali manuscript variety i is represented by 77%, variety ii by 9% and variety iii by 14% of cases, proportions which may be compared with those of the Sungal copper plate inscription datable to the tenth century A.D. Thus palaeographically there is nothing in the manuscript which can be invoked to show a date much later than the date of the Sungal copper plate inscription. Hoernle's tenth century date for this manuscript, although totally rejected by Kaye, seems to be more in line with the palaeographical evidence.

Detailed Analysis

Fig.1,16: The initial vowels a and ā retain the same shape as noticed above. The lower part of ī is curled at the head. The vowel u is made up of the usual u sign (♀) and a streamer at the back (♂). The initial e is triangular and shows a tail in some cases. Ri (♀) looks like the letter ḍa. The tick of ka to the right of the vertical is curved inwards. The letters kha, ga and gha do not change much. The wedge-shaped protuberance to the right top of ṇa, ja and ṭa is quite well pronounced. The letter ḍha (♀) occurs only in combinations such as ḍjhi, ḍjha. ṇa (♀) can be seen in the ligatures ḍha, ṇha etc. The letters ṭa (♂) and ḍa (♀) retain the same shape as described above. ḍha (♀) can hardly be distinguished from ḍha (♂). ṇa occurs with (♀) and without the tail (♂). Ta (♀) shows no loop to the left. Tha (♀) is compartmented, but in the ligatures such as stha (♀) and tthya (♀) it takes different forms. The aksara pā (♂) occasionally has a tail. Ba (♀) is virtually the same as va. The loop of bha (♀) in some cases is open to the right (♀). Most of the letters in the

127 Ibid.
manuscript are quite legible and the interplay of thick and thin lines in their actual construction is very pleasing. The jihvāmūlīya and upadhmvāntiya forms of the visarga and the virama can also be seen.

(iii) Coin Legends

The Śāradā legends on the coins of Spalapati, Sāmanta, Khudarayaka, Vakka and Bhīma closely correspond with the contemporary writing styles as known from stone inscriptions. They show gradual development from the early to the mature Śāradā characters and indicate succession rather than contemporaneity in the case of the main series. This is particularly evident from a comparison of the coins of Spalapati with those of Sāmanta. From the palaeographical point of view the former comes first and is closely followed in time by the latter. The form of the letters śa (cf. śṛi) and la in the earliest coins of Spalapati suggest strong links with the eighth century stone inscriptions. Similarly the use of an archaic form of the bipartite ya which cannot be seen after the ninth century suggests that Khudarayaka should be placed early in the Sāmanta series and not after it.

Detailed Analysis

Fig. III,1: comes from the coins of Spalapati (c. A.D.814). The curves of the medial vowel i and ì are drawn down to the bottom end of the letters. The medial e (cf. de) is of the prīṣṭhamātra variety. The letter ta (cf. ṭa, ti) is generally shown without the loop to the left, although the looped variety (cf. ṭi) can also be occasionally seen. The bottom end of the curve of this letter is invariably turned to the right. The letter da (ṛa) shows a small tail under the right arm. Pa (ṛ) has an acute angle between the left and the right arms. In the

128 Compare Sarāhan inscription where ya (ṛ) takes the mature form of its Śāradā counterpart.
syllable spa (слуша), however, its shape is very often distorted because of lack of space. Ra occurs only in the conjunct śrī (श्री) and is expressed by a long stroke which joins the vertical of śa to the left. The letter la (ला, लः) retains its base stroke which in some cases slopes to join the vertical at the bottom end. This is an archaic modification of the Gupta letter (ऋ) and occurs only in the early Śāradā inscriptions. In some cases the base of la is omitted altogether (ळ). The letter va (वा) is flat topped but rarely visible in the coins. The left limb of śa (cf. śrī) is expressed by an angular appendage and compares well with its counterpart in the Laksana image and the Sakti image inscriptions129 (7th to 8th century A.D.).

Fig.III,2: is taken from the coins of Śāmanta. The legend was read by Prinsep130 and Wilson131 as Śāmagra and Śamagu respectively. Shortly afterwards, however, Prinsep modified his opinion and accepted the reading Śāmanta. The medial vowel ā in sā (सा) is expressed by lengthening the right vertical of the consonant. The medial vowels i and e and the consonants ḍa, ra and va remain much the same. As in the Śārada inscriptions of the tenth century, the left leg of na (cf. नंता) is detached from the right one and joins the head-mark separately. The subjoined ḍa is of the looped variety and generally shows a flourish at the lower end. The right upright of mā132 is curiously higher than the left one (मा). The loops of śa and sa are generally open to the left. The letters in general become rigid and lose the flexibility and cursiveness characteristic of the Spalapati series.

129 See Vogel, op.cit., p.145.
130 Essays on Indian Antiquities (ed. E. Thomas), vol.1, p.304.
131 Ariana Antiqua, p.428.
132 This feature can also be noticed on Khudarayaka's coins, where the individual letter mā shows a similar lengthening in the right arm.
Fig. III, 3: comes from the coins of Khudarayaka. The legend is variously read as Khuduvayaka, Khamarayaka, Khudavayaka and Khvadavayaka, but the vowel u expressed by a loop in the syllable Khu and the letter ra are quite clear in most examples and do not warrant these readings. We therefore prefer to read Khudarayaka (correctly Khudra-rājaka). The syllable sīr continues to be the same as noted above. The tick of ka (akening), as in the early Śāradā inscriptions, does not show the inward incline. The letter kha (cf. khu) is flat topped and the base stroke of da (ahi) slopes markedly to the right. Ya (ai) shows an archaic variety of the bipartite form, which occurs in Meruvarman’s inscriptions133 (c. 8th century) in east Panjāb. Ra (rī)134 has a large triangular loop and compares well with its counterpart in Mulasanka’s inscription described above.

Fig. III, 4: is taken from the coins of Bhima. The loop of bha is generally open to the right (ahi bhī) but the other variety with a solid triangular loop (ahi bhī) can also be seen. The right vertical of the letter ma (ahi), as in the coins of Sāmanta, is higher than the left one. The rest of the letters remain the same as seen above.

Fig. III, 5: comes from the coins of Vakka. The name has been variously read as Varka,135 Verka,136 Venka,137 Vanka138 and Vakka.139 The syllables

133 Vogel, op. cit., Pls.VII-X.

134 This letter is generally read as va, but we prefer to read ra which suits the rest of the legend. Moreover the letter va with a separate head-mark and loop is very unusual in the Śāradā inscriptions.

135 E.C. Bayley, op. cit., p.128.


137 A. Cunningham, CMI, p.59. The vowel mark for e in some cases is clearly visible.

138 H.H. Wilson, op.cit., p.430.

139 V.A. Smith, op.cit., p.243.
śrī and deva do not change. The letter ka as the first member in the ligature kka (क्र) loses its lower portion. As the second member in the same ligature however it retains its full form.

(iv) Miscellania

i. The jihvāmuliya and upadhānīya signs

The jihvāmuliya and upadhānīya forms of the visarga occur with great regularity in our records. Their use is however not distinctive of our area and seems to be widespread in time and space. In the early Gupta inscriptions the jihvāmuliya is expressed by two conjoined triangles or a 'double-axe' sign (क्र्य hka)\(^{140}\) which, in the Pardi Plates of Dahrasena\(^{141}\) (A.D. 457) loses the top line (क्र्य hka) and looks like a triangle with extended sides. Subsequent developments seem to have changed the triangle into a loop (क्र्य hka), as is seen in the copper plate inscription from Kanheri\(^{142}\) (A.D. 490). Under the influence of the so-called 'box-head' variety of the northern alphabets, the ends of the loop developed small rectangles (क्र्य hka) on the outside.\(^{143}\) In the Ābhōna plate of Śaṅkaragaṇa (A.D. 597) the ends are separated from each other (क्र्य hka) and shoot up from different parts of the loop. Further simplification in this sign seems to have brought it close to the letter ma of the southern alphabets with which it was often confused in South India.

In Central India however the 'double-axe' variety persisted sporadically as late as the ninth or the tenth century A.D., as is evidenced in the Mahākāleśvara temple inscription. In the Pāṇdhurṇā

\(^{140}\) A. H. Dani, op. cit., p. 80.

\(^{141}\) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. iv, p. 23.

\(^{142}\) Ibid., p. 30.

\(^{143}\) Ibid., p. 33.
plates of Pravarasena II,\textsuperscript{144} in which the angularity of the letters is most pronounced, the \textit{jihvāmūlīya} sign appears to the left of a vertical line ( \textsuperscript{̣}ūkṣ \( hka \)). This seems to have led to the Sāradā form of the \textit{visarga} ( \textsuperscript{̣}ūkṣ \( hka \)) through a process of simplification. Apparently the upper ends were merged in the top line while the letter \( ka \) lost its head-mark. The aksara \( kā \) in combination with the \textit{jihvāmūlīya} however retains its head-mark ( \textsuperscript{̣}ūkṣ \( ḫkha \)). This is the form which occurs in our inscriptions.

A similar development can be traced in the case of the \textit{upadhmānīya}. In the early Gupta inscriptions it is made up of two loops placed horizontally over the top of \( pa \textsuperscript{145} \) ( \( φ \)). A different variety of this sign, made up of a compartmented circle, became popular in Western India ( \( φ \textsuperscript{fpa} \)). Under the influence of the 'box-head' style the circle changed into a compartmented square ( \( φ \textsuperscript{fpa} \)).

From about the beginning of the seventh century A.D., the \textit{upadhmānīya} sign began drifting to the left top of the mātrikā\textsuperscript{146} ( \( φ \textsuperscript{fpa} \)). A further simplification turned the loops into two conjoined circles\textsuperscript{147} ( \( φ \textsuperscript{fpa} \)). This, together with the cursive form of \textit{upadhmānīya} in which the sign resembles the letter \( na \) ( \( φ \textsuperscript{fpa} \)), was used in Gandhāra, where the \textit{visarga} occurs directly above the top and not to the left of the top of the letter \( pa \). This would suggest that the Gandhāran tradition was derived from early Gupta prototypes.

Another variety of the \textit{upadhmānīya}, which also appears in Central India in the seventh century, is open on the top and shows curled ends\textsuperscript{148}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{144} Ibid., vol.V, p.63.
\item \textsuperscript{145} Bühler, op.cit., Pl.IV, iii, 46.
\item \textsuperscript{146} See the Vandhir Plates of Duddarāja: year 360. \textit{Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum}, vol.IV, p.47.
\item \textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p.53.
\item \textsuperscript{148} Bühler, op.cit., p.75.
\end{enumerate}
( 인간 fpa). In a later variant the right limb of pa is first elongated upwards and then turned to the left ( 인간 fpa). In the Nesasika grant of Govinda III\textsuperscript{149} (A.D. 805), the upadh₅nanya looks very much like the letter sa ( 인간 fpa) with which it was often confused. In some Nāgarī examples, it is placed in the concave side of the letter pa\textsuperscript{150} ( 인간 fpa). But none of these varieties extend to Gandhāra. Its use was dropped in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{151}

ii. Auspicious Symbols

The inscriptions of the period of the Śāhis generally begin with a hook shaped symbol which, according to the information of Albīrūnī,\textsuperscript{152} who must have seen it in the manuscripts of his time, stands for the prāṇava or the sacred sound om. This view has been challenged by N.K. Bhattasali who believes that Albīrūnī had confused om with siddham and that the symbol in question stands for the latter.\textsuperscript{153} It is likely that the symbol was pronounced as om siddhiḥ in which case Albīrūnī might have taken it simply for om.\textsuperscript{154}

Our inscriptions show two different varieties of this symbol. Variety i has a curled head ( 인간 ) with the tail turned to the right, whereas variety ii is made up of a hook (人间) with a triangular loop at the bottom. Variety i is the commonest and seems to have led on to the modern form of this symbol.

\textsuperscript{149} EI, vol.xxxiv, p.123.
\textsuperscript{150} EI, vol.xxxvii, p.45.
\textsuperscript{151} Vogel, op.cit., pp.59, 169. Chhabra (op.cit., p.6) remarks that a mistaken copy of the old tradition persisted in Chamba as in the words krittamśkarana (the letter s- is here confused with the vīsarga). A similar example was noted by Vogel, op.cit., p.170. See also EI, xxxiv, p.123; xxxv, pp.105,131.
\textsuperscript{152} FE Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind, p.135. Albīrūnī gives the form 인간.
\textsuperscript{153} EI, vol.xvii, p.352.
\textsuperscript{154} D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Patna 1965, p.93.
iii. *Visarga, Virāma* and other Punctuation Marks

The visarga (:) is of the usual form and is expressed by two dots placed one above the other. The virāma (cf. [०] t.) is a thin long stroke drawn through the right top of the mātrikā. The letter ma in association with the virāma (〔m〕) is generally modified into a thick dot or circular loop. As in other Śāradā inscriptions, the separation of words or groups of words is not observed. The end of a sentence is marked by a single vertical line (| = danda) and that of a stanza of poetry by two danḍas (||). There is a separate sign for the end of a sūtra, which in the Bakhshālī manuscript takes the form of an astral design (⋆.).

iv. Opening Formulae

The opening formulae in our inscriptions are om svasti and om namo. The earliest use of svasti is found in the Baigram copper plate inscription.155 In the late Śāradā inscriptions these formulae are used together.156

v. Numerals

Some of the numeral figures in our records resemble Śāradā letters, but the resemblance seems to be only superficial. The numeral 1 (१) looks like a small hook. 2 (२, ३, ४) has several variants. The sign for 3 (३) shows three projections to the left. The more ornate examples of this numeral, however, show an additional curve on the top.157 The lower portion of the numeral 4 (४) resembles the Śāradā letter kṣ.158 5 (५) looks like the letter pa and shows

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156 See Chhabra, op.cit.
157 Compare also Vogel, op.cit., Pl.XXX, line 12 and Pl.XXIV, line 24.
158 In the Aśokan inscriptions the sign for this numeral resembles the Brāhmī letter kṣ (f). Kusāṇa examples show a head-mark (५). In the Bower MS it has a loop (५).
a flourish under the right arm. The numeral 6 (\(6\)) is made up of a hollow, or occasionally solid, loop joined to the right by a thin stroke like that of \(\text{\textcircled{viri}}\). The hook of 7\(^{159}\) (\(7\)) is invariably longer than that of 1. The numeral 8 (\(8\)) is a simple curve hanging down from a horizontal head-mark. 9 (\(9\)) looks like a tailed loop. A separate sign for 10 (\(10\)) occurs only in the Kabul image inscription, where it resembles the flat based variety of the letter \(\text{\textcircled{na}}\). It seems that after the seventh century, the probable date of the Kabul image inscription, the system with nine digits and zero became general in the region, but none of the surviving inscriptions contain a symbol for zero.

B. Bactrian Cursive

The extant Bactrian records contemporary with the early phase of Śāradā are the reverse legend of the coins of Spalapati and the Tochi valley bilingual inscriptions.\(^{160}\) As noticed above, they are the last surviving documents in this script and mark its final end.

The Bactrian legend on the coins of Spalapati is very confused and difficult to read. Cunningham postulated the existence of more than one legend,\(^{161}\) but he also emphatically rejected the earlier views that the letters represent the Arabic numerals. However, he added no further comments on the actual style of writing and described the legends merely as written in 'unknown characters which had not yet been read'. The true nature of the characters was eventually correctly recognised by R. Ghirshman, who called the writing 'Tokharienne'\(^{162}\) - now known as a

\(^{159}\) In the Tochi valley inscription this numeral has a very unusual form.


\(^{161}\) CMI, p.63.

\(^{162}\) *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p.40, fn.1.
cursive form of the Bactrian script – and suggested the reading CPI C\textsuperscript{NAABAA}. D.W. Macdowall however thinks that it is equally possible to read CPI C\textsuperscript{NAANATI}\textsuperscript{163} which would be the same as the obverse legend written in different characters. But this reading is not entirely borne out by the letters, as we shall see below. We give the representative forms of the legend to illustrate this.

1. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}T\textsuperscript{a}} (Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII,1)
2. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}I\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}} (Cunningham, CM I, Pl.VII,5)
3. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}I\textsuperscript{a}I\textsuperscript{a}A\textsuperscript{a}} (Ibid., no.7)
4. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}A\textsuperscript{a}Q\textsuperscript{a}P\textsuperscript{a}R\textsuperscript{a}} (British Museum)
5. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}} (Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII,4)
6. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}O\textsuperscript{a}} (British Museum)
7. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}V\textsuperscript{a}} (Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII,4 bis)
8. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}} (Cunningham, op.cit., Pl.VII,9)
9. \textit{\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}S\textsuperscript{a}} (Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII,17)

A mutual comparison of these illustrations shows that the topmost legend was probably the prototype, whereas the rest were the misunderstood copies or imitations. This invalidates Cunningham's view as given above. We must therefore assume that there was only one legend and that it was gradually distorted at the hands of the successive generations of goldsmiths employed in the mints. Apparently the coins were reproduced several times, but each time the dies were prepared on the models of imperfect reproductions and therefore each new die led to further deterioration. This process, it seems, went on for a long time, till, towards the end of the series, the letters were unwittingly changed into groups of mere vertical and horizontal strokes which did not have even a remote relationship to the original legend.

\textsuperscript{163} NC, 1968, p.192.
The first group of letters in the present legend can be easily restored as CPI which on the coins of the predecessors of Spalapati occurs in the form Ω. The letter rho with a foot-mark curved to the right is easily recognisable in our example. To the right of rho is a vertical stroke, missing in some examples, representing the vowel iota. The letter sigma consisting of an angular hook pointing upwards is rather the opposite of the cursive form of this letter, which in the stone inscription as well as on the earlier coins points downwards. In the syllable CH A however, the sigma compares well with the Tochi valley examples. The following letter Π, with a looped head and foot-mark under the vertical, is quite clear in some instances. The vowel alpha is merged with the next syllable, of which the letter in the middle does not precisely conform to the shape of lambda as required by Ghirshman’s reading, but looks rather like the letter upsilon as in our no.2. Upsilon is followed by the vowel alpha. The beta in the last syllable is also clearly recognisable in some cases. But the last two strokes after the beta are unintelligible. If Ghirshman’s reading BAA is correct one may be tempted to read BAAΔ, for the delta is often confused with alpha in our records. Thus the legend may be restored as CPI Ω ΑΥΑΒΑΔ or correctly Śrī Spahabad written by the Arabs as Ispahbadh. This was the title of Spalapati as we have seen above.

Fig.3, comes from the Tochi valley inscriptions. They are dated in the years 632 and 635 of an unspecified era. On the basis of the accompanying Sanskrit and Arabic texts, however, they can be dated to the middle of the ninth century.

164 Infra, p.265.
Detailed Analysis

The letters alpha, delta and omicron are expressed by a circle (○), triangle (▲) or rectangle (■) which are occasionally filled in. Beta (β, δ) is generally inclined to the left. The letters gamma, tau, iota, mu and nu undergo no significant change. Sigma (cf. Σ = st), in one example, is exactly the same as its counterpart in the name Spalapati. Zeta (ζ) generally retains the old form, but in some cases the middle portion is elongated. Nu has two uprights and a small tail to the right (cf. υ = no). The letter kappa (κ = ki) has a rounded bottom. Lambda (λ) in general resembles its Roman counterpart. The letter rho (ρ, ρ) occasionally shows a foot-mark. In one case it is accompanied with three dots (ρ̅). Similar dots can be seen above the letter gamma (γ = Bogo) in one instance. The loop of san (sa, sō) is separated from the vertical which shows an angular or horizontal foot-mark. This feature can also be seen in the so-called 'Berlin Ephthalite Fragments'. The curves of upsilon become more open (cf. υ = muvo). Phi (ϕ) has a foot-mark similar to that seen in the case of san. No change occurs in the letter khi (ŋ).

165 Supra, p.264.
166 Edited and translated by H. Humbach, op.cit. Compare Pl.31, MB5, line 5.
CHAPTER 8

Archaeology

The archaeology of the Śāhi period is still in its infancy. The sporadic excavations done in the past have not yet produced a detailed and consistent pattern of the material culture of the time. The city of Udabhāṇḍapura, which may be expected to yield a representative cultural pattern of the period of the Śāhis, still lies buried under the earth.

Cunningham in his reports for the years 1863–64\textsuperscript{1} and 1872–73\textsuperscript{2} mentions a number of sites of this period in the Salt Range. Of these the names of Āmb, Maloṭ, Katās and Bāghānwāla (= probably Nandana) figure prominently. On the basis of the evidence of architectural styles, some of the buildings on these sites can be dated, according to Cunningham\textquotesingle s estimate, to the period between A.D. 650 and 900. Cunningham also reports coins of the Hindu Śāhis from these places - a circumstance which further supports his dating.\textsuperscript{3} The Hindu Śāhi coins are also known from Kallar Kahār and Kūṭānwāla or Kahūṭānwāla Pīṇḍ, situated halfway between Chakwāl and Kallar Kahār, and from Bhurārī, on the right bank of the river Jailam (Jhelum) to the north east of Aḥmādābād.\textsuperscript{4} Owing to the disturbed conditions in the area at the time, however, Cunningham could not extend his exploration much further than the Mālākand and left the northern districts of Swāt and Dīr virtually unexplored.

New sites of the Hindu Śāhi period were brought to light in 1926 when A. Stein undertook an exploratory trip in the valley of the river

\textsuperscript{1} Vol.II, 1972 repr., pp.188–92.
\textsuperscript{3} Op.cit., p.93. The coins ranged from the pieces of the early 'Indo-Scythians' to those of the Kāshārīan rājās and the 'Jajuha Princes' (= Śāhi) of Gandhāra.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.
Swāt with a view to determining the route of Alexander's march. At Barīkoṭ Stein found numerous coins which ranged from the issues of the Indo-Greeks down to the mintage of the Śahi rulers, in whose time the site was probably abandoned.5 That Barīkoṭ flourished till about the end of the Hindu Śahi period is beyond doubt, for an inscription of Jayapāla also comes from the same place.6 A little further upstream in the same valley Stein visited the place called the fort of Rāja Girā who, according to the local legend, was the last Hindu ruler of the place and was defeated by the forces of Maḥmūd of Ghazna.7 In recent excavations the site has yielded the same series of coins as found at Barīkoṭ8 and must be considered contemporaneous with the latter.

In the period between 1962 and 1965, when the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pākistān was busy excavating different sites in Swāt, the Department of Archaeology of the University of Peshāwar fruitfully carried out explorations in the valley of the river Panjkora and the adjoining areas in the Tālāsh and Chakdara valleys.9 A number of sites such as Bash Qala' (Fig. 15), Kāṭ Qala' (Pl.VII,B), the forts of Doda and Kamāl Khān Chīna (Fig. 18; Pl.VIII,A), the Qala' Dherī, Damkoṭ and Gumbatūna were found. No positive evidence could be found in the preliminary survey to date these sites except the last two, which were partly excavated by the present writer10 and yielded coins of the Hindu Śahis. An approximate

5 An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt and Adjacent Hill Tracts, Calcutta 1930, p.22.
9 See Ancient Pakistan, vol.IV, 1968-69, pp.7-12.
10 See infra, pp.277, 280.
date for these sites ranging from the seventh to the tenth century A.D. can however be fixed on the basis of the evidence of the masonry, which closely resembles the building style of Damkot and Raja Gira's castle. The ruined fort of Haibat Ram near Thana (Pl.VIII) can also be dated to the Śahi period on similar grounds. In a recent article on the archaeology of the Hindu Śahis A.H. Dani ascribes the forts of Gala or Pehūr (opposite Tarbela), Kamāla (opposite Ḥisār Bābā in Mālākand) and Baṭa (about one mile to the south of Baṭkhela) to the time of the Śahis. But the precise grounds, which seem to be mere surface indications, on which this attribution is based are not mentioned. Early in 1971 the present writer had an opportunity to visit the Totakān valley in Mālākand. It was noticed that the ruins of Kulangī Kandre (Pl.IX), Matkane, Kānī Sapar, and Baghrāj show the same rough diaper masonry as seen on other Hindu Śahi sites. The ruins of Skhā Chīna (Pl.XII,B) near Landākī also bear close resemblance to the building style of these places. In the plains of Peshāwar a coin of Sāmanta was found on a high mound near the village of Yār Husain.

The names of certain sites in Pākistān suggest some kind of association with the period of the Hindu Śahis. Apart from the two well known places called Kāfīr Koṭ (= Hindu Fortress) on the Indus,12 two other ruined places - one in the Khaibar Pass and the other near the Shāhkoṭ Pass13 - are also known by the same name. A similar clue may be found in the title Śahi which survives in the place names such as Shāhi, Bin Shāhi and Shāh Dherī in Dīr, Shāh Ī Kī Dherī near Peshāwar and Shāh Koṭ in Mālākand.

It is interesting to note that all the sites except Hund and Yār Ḫusain are situated on hill tops. But it is unlikely that these places would have accommodated the whole population. We must therefore assume that other Śāhi sites exist in the plains where they are either buried under the modern towns or under agricultural land. Only the solid walls of the citadels have withstood the ravages of time. The important sites are described below.

A. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

i. Hund

The most important site for future archaeological investigation seems to be Hund, the famous capital of the Hindu Śāhis. At present the city has dwindled into a small village of no great significance. The present defensive wall, which surrounds the village on all sides, is of the Muslim period and measures 4,200 feet along the perimeter. It is square in plan and is pierced in the centre of each face by a gateway, on each side of which are four bastions. The southern gateway has almost entirely disappeared, but the traces of the others still exist. The walls and bastions are of rubble masonry; the gateways, where preserved, are built of small bricks. The old fortification wall is, however, also visible at some points along the present circumvallation and also on the river side, which is unfortunately being eroded by the swift currents of the Indus. To the south of the village on the western edge of a high mound is a well-preserved wall which can be seen to the length of some 60 feet. It shows semi-diaper semi-ashlar masonry and probably dates

14 The following details are taken from H. Hargreaves report (ASI) of 1923-24, pp.68-70.

15 At the time of my visit in 1971 part of an earlier defensive wall was exposed by erosion. The structures to the west of the village had been completely robbed of stones.
from the time of the Śāhis. Structural remains indeed exist everywhere in the fields adjacent to the village, which suggests that the city was considerably greater than the area surrounded by the present wall. On the north east of the village near the first ḥujra is a semi-circular platform, some twelve feet in diameter, which may be the base of a temple. Nearly half of this platform is hidden under a modern structure.

ii Malot

Malot is situated nine miles to the west of Katas and about the same distance to the south of Kallar Kahar in the Salt Range. The ruins of an ancient fort can be seen on a spur of the neighbouring hill, which rises to a height of 3,000 feet above the sea. The fort measures 2,000 feet from east to west and 1,500 feet from north to south with a citadel on a higher level to the south, 1,200 feet long by 500 feet in width. The spur to the north is also covered with the remains of buildings to a distance of 2,000 feet beyond the fort. In its most flourishing days, therefore, the town and the fort of Malot, according to Cunningham's estimate, must have been two and a half miles in circuit.

As the apocryphal history goes, the fort was built by Rāja Mallū whose date is not known. According to some local people the place was originally called Mamrod, Marrod or Rāmrod. General Abbot also mentions the name Shāngarh which may be corrected as Śāhigaḍh. For the most part the fort is of difficult access. It is protected on three sides by a precipitous cliff of which the height ranges from 100 to 300 feet. On its only approachable face, to the north, where the cliff rises to a smaller height of 40 to 50 feet, it has high stone walls and towers. At

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16 The following details are taken from Cunningham, *ASI*, vol.V, pp.85 ff.
17 The place was visited in 1848 by General Abbot whose account may be seen in *JASB*, 1849, p.105.
the time of Cunningham's visit these were all in a very dilapidated condition.

The only remains of some interest at Malot are a temple and gateway in the Kashmirian style of architecture. They are built of a coarse sandstone of various shades of ochreous red and yellow, and many parts have suffered severely from the action of the weather. Cunningham gives the following detailed description.

The temple is a square of 18 feet inside, with a vestibule on the east towards the gateway (Fig. 21). On each side of the vestibule there is a round fluted pilaster supporting the trefoiled arch of the opening, and on each side of the entrance door there is a smaller pilaster of the same kind with a smaller trefoiled arch. All these trefoiled arches have a T-shaped key-stone similar to those in the temples of Kashmir. The four corners of the building outside have plain but massive square pilasters, beyond which each face projects for two and a half feet, and is flanked by semi-circular fluted pilasters supporting a lofty trefoil arch.

On each capital there is a kneeling figure under a half trefoil canopy; and from each lower foil of the arch there springs a smaller fluted pilaster for the support of the cornice. In the recess between the large pilasters there is a highly ornamented niche with a trefoiled arch, flanked by small fluted pilasters. The roof of the niche first narrows by regular steps, and then widens into a bold projecting balcony, which supports three miniature temples, the middle one reaching up to the top of the great trefoiled recess. The plinth of the portico and the lower wall outside have a broad band of deep mouldings nearly two feet in height.

18 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 84.
The exterior pyramidal roof of the temple has long ago disappeared, but the ceiling or interior roof is still intact. The roof of the vestibule is divided into three squares, which are gradually lessened by overlapping stones. In the temple itself, the square is first reduced to an octagon by seven layers of overlapping stones in the corners; it then takes the form of a circle and is gradually reduced by fresh overlapping layers until the opening is small enough to be covered by a single slab. The form of the dome was probably hemispherical. The height of the walls of the temple is about 30 feet. The interior of the temple is quite plain, and shows no trace of statue or pedestal of any kind. The figures that are still left on the outside are much mutilated.

The gateway is situated at a distance of 58 feet east of the temple. It is a large building, 25 feet by 24 feet, and is divided into two rooms each measuring 15 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 3 inches. On each side of these rooms to the north and south there are decorated niches for the reception of statues, similar to those in the portico of the temple. These niches are covered by trefoil arches which spring from flat pilasters. Each capital supports a statue of a lion under a half trefoil canopy, and on the lower foils of the great arch stand two small pilasters for the support of the cornice, like those which have been already described on the outside of the temple. The roof is entirely gone. The shafts of the large pilasters have 12 semi-circular flutes. The capitals are of the true Kashmirian style of Doric. But the base is the most peculiar feature of the Malot pilasters. It is everywhere of the same height as the plinth mouldings, but differs entirely from them in every one of its details.

Cunningham thinks that a lingam was probably once enshrined in the centre of the room.
iii. Nandana

Nandana,\textsuperscript{20} which became a stronghold of the \textit{S\textacute{a}his} after the loss of Hund, is situated close to \textit{Bagh\textacute{n}w\textacute{a}la} on top of a bold rocky ridge which rises to a height of about 1,500 feet above sea level. The wall (Fig. 19) defending the northern face of the ridge runs with projecting angles from the foot of a very massive pile at the north-eastern end of the top to a narrow crest in the south-west. Along with its total length of more than 900 feet, the wall is built with large undressed slabs of sandstone quarried on the spot. It is buttressed at some points with semi-circular bastions. Owing to the steepness of the slope the foundations of the wall have given way on several points, bringing it down in a confused mass of debris. Of the semi-circular bastions the one on the western extremity rises to a height of 27 feet. The sloping walls are built with large slabs of undressed stone set in regular courses. The southern face of the ridge was for the most part lined by precipitous cliffs and did not need defences.

The remains on the narrow but fairly level top of the ridge comprise the ruins of a Hindu temple (Pl.XIV, \textsuperscript{4}), a mosque close to the south-west of it and a large but much damaged pile of uncertain character built on a rectangular bastion. Both the Hindu temple and the mosque are raised on the top of a very massively built terrace which measures 120 feet on the north-west and 80 feet on the south-east. The terrace is faced with large dressed slabs set in mortar.

The temple has suffered much damage, having lost almost the whole of its front on the south-west, where the entrance lay. It is built throughout with cut slabs of tufa, of irregular sizes. The masonry is set in mortar but it is inferior to that of the terrace. The whole face of the outside

\textsuperscript{20} The following details are taken from A. Stein, \textit{Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran}, London 1937, pp.36-43.
wall was once covered with stucco, of which portions remain in places. The walls were decorated with trefoil arches, niches and pilasters, but all this ornamentation is badly damaged.

The temple at its base measures 24 feet 3 inches on its north-east face and 25 feet on the north-west. On the south-east face the lowest portion of the base has disappeared. The vestibule which once faced the main shrine has been completely broken, and similarly also the doorway leading into the portico, which measures approximately 11 feet 7 inches square and supports a hemispherical dome built in horizontal courses resting on squinches about 4 feet high at the corners. The shrine comprises two storeys, the upper cella being about 9 feet 6 inches square. This too carried a dome which rested in the corners on squinches formed by four projecting courses. This cella is enclosed within a square circumambulatory passage about 2 feet wide. From this it receives light through windows 2 feet 3 inches wide and a door probably once situated above the entrance of the lower cella. The enclosing passage has three narrow loophole-like openings on each side splayed towards the interior. The upper storey was probably approached through a stair built into the wall but it is no longer traceable.

The height of the extant structure, measured from the foot of the base, is approximately 35 feet 8 inches, but it is likely to have been originally considerably greater. There are three deep niches on the outside wall but the sculptures they might have once held have disappeared. On clearing the debris below the northern corner of the temple, Stein found the top of a platform which showed a moulding decorated with a string of lotus petals. According to 'Utbī an inscription brought to Sulṭān Maḥmūd when the latter captured Nārdīn (Nandana) read that the temple had been founded forty thousand years ago. The Sulṭān is said to have expressed considerable surprise at this rather unbelievably high claim.21

21 See supra, p.161.
iv. Barīkot

The Barīkot or Bir Kot\(^2\) (ancient Vajirasthāna) fort is situated on the top of a crescent shaped hill near the village of the same name. The hill rises to the height of 3,095 feet above sea level, about 600 feet above the riverine plain. The defensive wall is built of undressed but carefully set stone slabs and at one point rises to a height of about 50 feet. Extending for a distance of about 120 feet and facing to the south-east, it protected the fortified summit of the hill on that side where the natural difficulties of attack were less. At the same time the filling up of the space behind it must have considerably enlarged the level area on the hill top. The wall is clearly visible from the lands by the village and river and continues at approximately the same height to the north. It forms there a bastion-like projection and then with a re-entering angle rounds the head of a ravine running down to the river. Along the steep river front the wall is less massive and less preserved.

The level ground of the circumvallated area on the top measures well over 600 feet in length and more than 300 feet at its greatest width. The area in the bend of the hill to the south shows signs of decayed habitation and abundance of potsherds. It must have been included within an outer fortification at some ancient time. Stein also mentions two rock-cut passages towards the river to secure water supply.\(^2\)

v. Rāja Girā's Castle

Rāja Girā's castle\(^2\) is situated on the rugged hill to the south-east of Udegrām. The hill has a commanding position in the area and rises to a

\(^2\) For a detailed description of this site, see A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, Calcutta 1930, pp.19-23.

\(^2\) For similar 'rock-cut passages', see infra, p.279.

\(^2\) The following details are taken from A. Stein, op.cit., pp.34-37.
height of nearly 2,000 feet above Udégrán. The ruins of the fort when seen from below resemble a huge ribbed scallop-shell turned with its broad edge upwards and its narrow mouth resting on gently sloping ground (Fig. 20).

At its northern end the fortified portion of the crest of the hill shows a strong bastion known to the local people as Takht. Thence the wall runs for about 1,200 feet along the crest. To the north-west the wall descends some 800 feet to a small gently sloping plateau where it projects like a bastion defended by buttressed walls which still stand to a height of about 22 feet at some points. This portion has been recently excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pákistán,²⁵ revealing a staircase and some other structures. From there the defensive wall sweeps in an arc to the east. It can be followed practically unbroken for about 630 feet to where a group of much decayed dwellings marks the lowest occupied terraces to the south. The wall is then carried down very steeply for some 250 feet, but owing to the proclivity of the slope it has disappeared here altogether for short distances.

vi. Damkot

The Damkot (or Dhammakotà) fort is situated on the right bank of the river Swáṭ on a hill adjacent to the modern Chakdara (Chakradhara) bridge. The hill rises to a height of 500 feet above the riverine plain and is separated from the adjacent range by a narrow saddle through which passes the modern road to Khádakzai. The defensive wall (Fig. 11), although much ruined, is traceable for the most part. It spreads on the south-eastern face of the hill and measures 3,300 feet along the perimeter. The thickness of the wall varies from 3½ to 5 feet. At certain points it

²⁵ For the excavation report, see D. Faccenna and G. Gullini, op.cit., pp.208 ff., 271 ff.
still stands to a height of about 9 to 11 feet. The wall is built of roughly dressed stone blocks and shows semi-diaper semi-ashlar masonry (Pl. VIII).

A number of trenches laid against the wall showed that it belonged to the last building phase, which at other points was found associated with the coins of the Hindu Śāhi rulers Śrī Vakkadeva and Śrī Sāmantadeva. At several points the wall seems to have been repaired and consequently its width increased. The structures exposed in the excavations on the middle peak of the hill included a stūpa and a monastery datable probably to the period of the Turk Śāhīs. The most interesting finds at this level were a terracotta plaque showing Buddha (Pl. XVI) and a very finely moulded but much damaged human head made of unbaked clay. The plaque is of an unusual style in Gandhāra and speaks of the late Gupta Ganges Valley style. The fortified area along the riverside also shows stumps of walls in the small gullies made by rain water. The exact plan of the main entrance, which is certainly under the present signal post called Churchill Point, is not clear. Externally the defensive wall tapers upwards and is strengthened by built-in semi-circular towers and rectangular bastions.

vii. Digadhai (Pl.XI)

Digadhai (or Devagadh) is about seven miles to the west of Dargai (or Darragai) and about one mile to the north of Hariān Koṭ. The site marks the ruins of a citadel which once spread in an area over one mile

26 For the excavation report, see Ancient Pakistan, vol.IV, 1968-69, pp.103-250.
27 Ibid., p.24.
28 This site was visited by the present writer in 1971. The following description is given from the notes taken on the spot.
in length in a narrow glen which is bounded on three sides by lofty hills and opens to the south. The glen can be easily approached from Hariān Koṭ. The open side shows remnants of a defensive wall which measures about 6 feet in width and stands to a height of about 10 feet at certain points. The wall is built of roughly dressed stones set in regular courses in a manner which resembles the crude diaper masonry of Damkoṭ. In the middle of the glen is a deep torrent which drains the whole area. The main entrance of the citadel was probably in the torrent bed and has been washed away by flood waters. Close to the defensive wall to its south on either side of the torrent are two high platforms which probably once defended the main entrance. The platform to the west of the torrent stands to a height of 11 feet above its own debris and consists of a solid apartment and a rectangular enclosure which shows semi-circular corner towers and measures 41 feet by 37 feet. The enclosure is divided into two rows of four rooms of equal size. The western wall of this enclosure shows arrow-slits measuring about 6 inches in width at the inside and 1½ inches at the outside. Similar fortified enclosures with solid apartments can be seen at several points along the banks of the torrent within the citadel area.

The narrow bed of the valley is occupied by the ruins of numerous buildings which show the same type of masonry as noticed above. Some of the walls are still standing to the height of the parapet and show a horizontal slot near the top, which suggests flat rather than pyramidal roofs. The rooms are usually grouped on the sides of a walled enclosure or courtyard.

An important group of structural remains is situated at the point where the side hills of the valley separate from each other leaving a small plateau in between. The plateau is of difficult access from all sides and holds a commanding position in the valley. The ruined walls at this place show parallel rows of rooms opening into a narrow corridor.
To the local people it is known as Bāchā Māne ('King's palace'). Some distance below the Bāchā Māne the base of a stūpa or temple has been partly exposed by sculpture robbers. A little above is a deep cave dug into the solid rock. From the inside the cave is dark and narrow and can only be approached through a staircase of which I was able to count only the first 23 steps. Close to the base of the stūpa or temple is another structure, again partly excavated by sculpture robbers, which shows fine diaper masonry and a corbelled roof.

Gumbatūna (meaning 'the domes') is the name of the picturesque large glen to the south-east of Ziārat, in the Tālāsh valley. It is marked on the west by Saparūna hill (Fig. 14), on the east and north-east by Dhob hill (Fig. 13) and on the south by Tatogai (Fig. 12). The glen can be easily approached from the north-west from the town of Ziārat. There is a deep hill torrent which runs at the foot of Saparūna hill and in the rainy season swells to enormous dimensions.

From the point of view of structural remains the Gumbatūna glen is the richest in the Tālāsh valley. Numerous stumps of masonry walls built with regular courses of semi-dressed stones, semi-circular towers and bastions can be seen everywhere in the glen in the terraced fields. The present village of Gumbat ('the dome') is in fact situated above the remains of an old town of which the actual name has been forgotten. Apparently the name Gumbat was given by the present settlers who found dome-like structures, such as Buddhist stūpas or Hindu temples on the old site. The existence of a Hindu temple is indeed clearly suggested by numerous sculptured stones which have been re-used in the construction of

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29 For a similar cave or passage at Barīkot, see supra, p.275.
the present mosque and several tombs situated nearby. It is not unlikely that the mosque is built on the ancient sacred site of a temple.

Structural remains are more numerous in the southern half of the glen, where some of the walls still stand to a height of about 19 feet above the surface and are being used at present as retaining walls for the terraced fields. More impressive are the structures at the northern slope of the Tatogai hill. They show square blocks of six to seven rooms grouped on the sides of different courtyards which seem to have been once interconnected through covered corridors (Fig. 17). The walls show alternate courses of finely dressed small and large blocks of stone quarried on the spot. The place is locally known as Stargo Maffe (= The Eye Palace). The Gumbatūna marble stone inscription (Pl. VI) was found in the ruins of this palace.

A trial excavation at a point only a short distance below this palace revealed four structural phases (Fig. 16). The top stratum produced 12 copper coins of the Hindu Śāhi ruler Śrī Sāmantadeva. The results of this level however are not very reliable, for the soil, having been continuously ploughed over the centuries, is much disturbed. The coins therefore cannot be related to any structural phase with certainty. The defensive wall of semi-diaper masonry can, however, be related with other structures which project into the interior of the fortified area and mark the abandonment of the site (phase IV). Period III is a sub-phase of Period IV and shows two walls in trench C2. Period II is represented by a small stump of wall which shows fine diaper masonry and passes over a platform which seems to be the base of a stūpa or temple. Only the western side of the platform could be exposed to a length of about

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30 The excavation was conducted by the present writer. Its full report has not yet been published. The results of the excavation are given here in brief for the first time.
6 feet. It is 2 feet 3 inches in height and shows exactly the same pilasters and mouldings as those of the lower tier of the stūpa at Damkoṭ. The platform was found 9 feet below the surface. It rests upon a 1 foot 6 inches thick layer of cultural debris, below which is the virgin soil. At a level a little above the platform (8 feet below the surface) were found fragments of marble bowls and the much damaged hand of a marble image. In trench Al, where the strata seem to be much disturbed, were found two Kušāṇo-Sāsānian coins31 (Pl.V, 1-2) about 5 feet below the surface. The coins however seem to be survivals from much earlier times and cannot be used for dating the level in which they are found. The evidence of the stūpa suggests that the Gumbatūna citadel complex was built in about the seventh century A.D. It continued to exist till about the tenth or eleventh century A.D., as suggested by the Hindu Śāhi coins and the Śāradā inscription.

The earliest levels of the high mound near the present village of Gumbat have not been probed. The defensive wall around this area shows rectangular bastions and is partly visible from the side of the torrent. Nearby, there is a large graveyard the very dimensions of which show that the place has been in use for centuries. This may indeed be Massage of Alexander's historians.

B. ART AND ARCHITECTURE
i. Temples

The temples of the period of the Śāhis are generally referred to as belonging to the style of architecture of Kashmir. Cunningham in fact assigns all the Śāhi temples in the Salt Range to the Kashmirian style.

with its fluted pillars and peculiar trefoil arches.\textsuperscript{32} Fergusson mentions the temples of Malot and Kathwai (near Pind Dadan Khan) in his chapter on Kashmir, although he seems to have made some distinction between the 'Kashmiri' and the 'Punjabi' styles of architecture.\textsuperscript{33} According to Coomaraswamy the trefoil arch as an integral architectural form is found only in parts of the Panjab which were subject to Kashmir in the eighth and the ninth centuries, particularly at Malot and Kafir Kot.\textsuperscript{34} Stein refers to the temple of Malot as 'a comparatively well-preserved Hindu temple of Kashmirian style'.\textsuperscript{35} In a recent article Walliullah Khan describes these temples as 'affiliated to the Kashmir style'.\textsuperscript{36} Percy Brown mentions them as 'provincial offshoots' of Kashmir architecture and classifies them into three groups.\textsuperscript{37} The first group, according to this classification, consists of the temples in the Salt Ranges such as those at Amb, Katas, Malot and Nandana; the second of those at Kafir Kot South (Bilot); and the third of that at Kafir Kot North. The important details which the temples of the Sahi period share with those of Kashmir are (a) the general plan in which a massive gateway faces the shrine, as in the case of the larger Kashmirian temples and (b) the trefoil arch or niche. Other common features are the fluted pillars and quasi-classical bases and capitals. But these points of similarity do not necessarily suggest


\textsuperscript{34} A.K. Coomaraswamy, \textit{History of Indian And Indonesian Art}, London 1927, p.143.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran}, p.58.


\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)}, Bombay 1965, p.161.
that the influence flowed only from the side of Kashmir and not vice-versa.

Shortly before 1959 J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw visited Kāfir Koṭs and studied the temples on the spot. According to this scholar the difference in style which Percy Brown assumes between the second and the third group as a matter of fact does not exist. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw singles out the temple of Maloṭ as a rare example showing strong Kashmirian influence and puts the rest of the temples of the Salt Range and those at Kāfir Koṭ North and Biloṭ (Pl.XIV,1-3) together as a separate group under the designation 'the medieval architecture of North-West India'. This group shows more points of difference than similarity to the architecture of Kashmir. The most important difference is the roof, which, instead of showing the pyramidal form of the Kashmirian temples, displays the more or less conical śikhara common to the medieval architecture of large parts of India. Another significant difference is the absence of the triangular pediment which is very common in Kashmir. There are some grounds therefore to consider the existence of a separate school of architecture which flourished under the Sāhis in Gandhāra and the Panjāb.

The North-West Indian school of architecture is best represented at Kāfir Koṭ North (Pl.XIV,1) where the temples show different stages of its development. The main features are as follows: the roof is of the śikhara type and is decorated with kudus and split kudus piled on top of each other. Usually āmalakas appear as additional ornaments on the roof.


39 Percy Brown points out that the temples belonging to his third group are slightly more classical in their appearance, owing mainly to the presence of a range of tall low-relief pilasters around their outer walls.

40 Op.cit. The following points are taken from this source.
Two characteristic motifs are the floral diamond and the lotus rosette. Dental cornices are very common, some temples having as many as four rows. The outer walls are decorated in the earlier stages of development with pilasters of a Hellenistic appearance, whereas the later examples - better represented at Bilot - show pilasters of the evolved floral post-Gupta and medieval type. In these later shrines the roof is covered with *kudus* which have become so small that their combined effect is that of lace. Foliate scroll designs and trefoil, or even cinquefoil niches and arches become popular.

ii. Sculptures

It is usually assumed that there was little artistic activity in the period of the Śāhis. Yet Huei Ch'ao, who visited Gandhāra in about A.D. 726, notices the pious zeal of the members of the royal family and other nobles, who founded monasteries and made donations to the Buddhist church.41 Similarly Wu K'ong, who spent two years in Gandhāra in the latter half of the eighth century A.D., records a large number of religious foundations.42 The temples of Rukkhaj, Sakāwand, Kābul, Nandana and Bhīmnagar, which were probably only a few of the religious edifices famous enough to attract the attention of contemporary writers, are mentioned by the Muslim chroniclers.43 A Śāhi *vihāra* at Kābul is mentioned both by Huei Ch'ao and Ya'qūbī.44 The existence of similar

42 S. Levi and E. Chavannes, 'L'itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong', *JA*, vol.6, 1894, pp.356-57.
44 W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.448; *Kitāb al-Balḍān*, p.290.
temples at Chigha Sarāf in the Kunar valley\textsuperscript{45} and Gardīz\textsuperscript{46} is attested by a number of sculptures coming from these places. It can be well imagined that the embellishment of these and of several other places of worship mentioned above must have needed the efforts of numerous artists and sculptors. This alone would have given a great impetus to the artistic activities of the time. Some images of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kārttikeya and Durgā have survived the ravages of time and it can be safely assumed that many more such images once existed.

Hindu temples were probably not very numerous under the Turk Śāhis, but their number no doubt increased after the revolution of Kallar (c. A.D. 843) who is explicitly mentioned as a Hindu Brahman. Side by side with these were the Buddhist stūpas and monasteries. There is no reason to assume, as is generally believed, that Buddhism disappeared altogether with the Ephthalite invasion of Gandhāra in A.D. 455, in spite of the depredations of Mihira Kula. The Turk Śāhis were decidedly Buddhists.\textsuperscript{47} The sites of Bambolai and Damkoṭ have now yielded Buddhist sculptures datable to the post-Ephthalite period. The evidence of some of the Tibetan pilgrims to Swāt has suggested to G. Tucci that Buddhist existed in this area as late as the thirteenth century A.D.\textsuperscript{48} But much of this cultural material lies buried in the ground or has not yet been identified.

No dated sculpture, which can be looked upon as a trustworthy starting point, has turned up so far. On stylistic grounds, however, a number of

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{45} Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, op.cit.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{46} Cf. infra, p.289.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{47} W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.445; and S. Lévi and E. Chavannes, op.cit., pp.356-57.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{48} Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley, Calcutta 1940, pp.9-12.}
sculptures have been assigned by Goetz,\textsuperscript{49} Barrett,\textsuperscript{50} Tucci,\textsuperscript{51} Lohuizen-de Leeuw\textsuperscript{52} and Taddei\textsuperscript{53} to the time of the Śāhis.

The artists of the Śāhi period expressed their genius in clay, terracotta, stone, wood and metal. The most commonly used material in the early part of the Turk Śāhi rule was terracotta. The sculptures in this material are regarded as the last representatives of the 'Romano-Buddhist' school in Gandhāra and Afghanistan. The best known site for this kind of material in Afghanistan is Fundukistān in the Ghūrwand valley.\textsuperscript{54} The terracottas of this place (Pl.XVII,6), owing to the plasticity of form and sensitive moulding they exhibit, are generally compared with those of Ushkūr and Akhnūr in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{55} The only positive evidence however for the dating of Fundukistān is the coins of the Sasanian monarch Khusrau II (A.D. 590-628). The Akhnūr group is thought to be of the same time as the Ushkūr material, which probably comes from Lalitāditya's vihāra and may be dated in his reign (c. A.D. 724-60). The date of Fundukistān therefore agrees fairly closely with the date of the Kashmir terracottas

\textsuperscript{49} 'Two Early Hindu Sāhi Sculptures', Sarūpa Bharati, Hoshiarpur 1954, pp.1 ff.
\textsuperscript{52} Op.cit.
for the presence of Sasanian coins only proves that the material cannot be earlier than they, though it may be appreciably later. The characteristic features of this terracotta school are the infinite variety, the search for novel effects, and the love of the unusual, coupled with a wealth of ornament and over-elaboration. The typical feeling of the Gupta sculptures from which this art seems to have taken inspiration is now replaced by romanticism.

This 'Rococo art of the north-west' seems to have been widespread from the westernmost districts of the Sâhis to Kashmir in the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries. There is a group of 23 terracottas in this style in the British Museum,\(^{56}\) (Pl.XV,1-6) said to have been bought at Peshâwar. A similar group of 31 pieces exists in the Lahore Museum in Pakistan.\(^{57}\) There seems to be a general similarity of style between these two groups, which has been aptly emphasised by Douglas Barrett.

The exact provenance of the Lahore terracottas is not known. C. Fabri, probably on stylistic grounds, attributed at least three of them to Ushkûr.\(^{58}\) Later, however, he rejected this attribution for subsequent enquiries into the matter convinced him that 'not one of the Baramula (Ushkûr) heads ... ever reached Lahore'.\(^{59}\) Almost similar terracotta and clay figurines have now been found in the excavations of Bambolai and Damokoṭ.\(^{60}\) It is highly probable therefore that the Lahore terracottas come either from the North West Frontier Province or the Panjâb. Some

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\(^{56}\) Cf. D. Barrett, op.cit., p.58.

\(^{57}\) Ibid.

\(^{58}\) 'Buddhist Baroque in Kashmir', Asia, October 1939, plate facing p.594.


\(^{60}\) Ancient Pakistan, vol.IV, 1968-69, pp.19, 189-90.
support for this may also be taken from the fact that the whole group was bought at Rawalpindi.

Unfortunately most of the examples found at Bambolai and Damkoṭ were in such a bad and fragmentary condition that they could not be reconstructed. The surviving examples (Pl. XVII, 4-5) seem to be somewhat older than the Ushkūr terracottas. Very important among them is a terracotta plaque depicting Buddha (Pl. XVI). This plaque is almost rectangular, measuring 8¼ by 6 inches at the maximum points, with the top side projected upwards to accommodate the halo. The Buddha, shown in dharmacakramudra, is seated cross-legged on a throne which is supported by lions - one in each corner. The throne is provided with a solid backrest and is marked by lotus petals on the lowest margin. Near the knees of the Buddha are two elephants emerging from the background with two leoglyphs over their heads. In the upper zone flanking the halo are two makaras ejecting scrolls from their mouths. The figure of the Buddha showed traces of gold wash. The plaque is unique in Gandhāra and betrays influence from the Gangetic valley.

Closely related to the terracotta style are two wooden (deodar) reliefs (Pl. XIX) from Kashmir Smats, some eight miles to the northwest of Bāzār. One of these reliefs, according to Goetz’s interpretation, shows the evening dance of Śiva accompanied by gods in the Himalayas, and the other depicts the devadārāvāna legend, according to which Śiva, disguised as a mendicant, seduced the wives of the ṛṣis, but, having been cursed by the latter, lost his liṅga.62

The stone sculptures assigned to the period of the Śāhis are not very many. The Kabul Museum contains some examples, of which the marble finds

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61 Reproduced from H. Goetz, op. cit.
62 See also R.C. Agrawal (East and West, vol. XVII, nos.1-2, 1967, pp.86 f) who gives a different interpretation.
from Khair Khāneh are the most interesting. This site, excavated by the French mission in 1934, is located some 80 miles north-west of Kābul. The masonry exposed resembled that of the Buddhist monuments at Taxila. The most important find, besides a marble fragment which shows the feet of a standing deity and an attendant leaning against a column, was a representation of Sūrya (Pl.XVIII, 2) with two attendants mounted in a quadriga. The god wears a tunic that extends like an apron to the knees and closely resembles the dress of the Sāsānian emperors of the fourth century A.D. The boots are of a type used by the Uzbeks to this day. The iconography of this relief derives inspiration from early representations of the sun-god at Bodh Gaya and the sculptures of Mathura, but the actual arrangement of Sūrya and his two attendants - Daṇḍa and Piṅgala - represented respectively as a warrior and as a scribe, combined with the quadriga and the chariot driver Aruna, corresponds closely to representations of the deity in the temples of the Gupta period. D. Schlumberger dates the Khair Khāneh finds in the seventh century A.D. on the basis of the coins of Napki found at the site.

Other examples in marble worth noticing come from Gardiz and Tagāb. They include a head of Śiva (Pl.XVIII,3), a relief of Durgā overcoming Mahiṣasura, and a smaller head of Durgā (Pl.XVIII,7). None of these

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65 Ibid., pp.49-50.
67 Schlumberger, op.cit., Fig.2.
68 Ibid., Pl.1.
objects was recovered by excavation but they appear to have been cult images in a Śaivite temple. B. Rowland describes them as the last examples of pre-Islamic sculptures in Afghanistan.

The British Museum holds some Śaivite sculptures in potstone. Of these, two unusually fine pieces have been published by Barrett.70 The first piece represents Śiva and Pārvatī grouped together71 (Pl.XVIII,5) The Śiva is shown urydha-reta, and is four armed. Of his three heads the benign or female head is missing. The upper right hand of the deity holds a rosary, the lower right a trident and the lower left a club. The upper left hand has an indistinguishable object which, as suggested by Pandey72 on the analogy of a panel on the cast bronze Śiva linga published by Taddei,73 may be a kamaṇḍalu. Behind Śiva stands Nandi. The Pārvatī is two armed, and holds a lotus and a mirror. A similar mirror can also be seen in the second piece74 (Pl.XVIII,4), which shows a female figure, presumably Pārvatī. She wears a crown which resembles the one worn by the Pārvatī of the first piece. The figure nicely illustrates the stylisation of naturalistically rendered drapery when compared with the Lakṣmī from Brār (Kashmir).75 The crown of three crescents and the flower decoration in the present image is taken to suggest a date in the seventh or early eighth century A.D.

Another Śiva and Pārvatī group (Pl.XVIII,1) of exceptional charm again comes from the British Museum.76 The Śiva is three headed, and is shown

71 Ibid., Fig.10. The piece comes from Gandhāra.
72 The Šahis of Afghanistan And the Punjab, p.234.
73 For reference see supra, p.286, fn.53.
74 D. Barrett, op.cit., Fig.9. The piece comes from Gandhāra.
75 A. Fouche, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, Tome Premier, Paris 1913, Pl.LXIII.
76 D. Barrett, op.cit., Fig.12.
urdhva-reta. The deity in this case is six armed. The upper right hand holds a skull (kapāla; the middle right is broken away and the lower right holds a lotus. The upper left, the middle left and the lower left hold respectively a cakra, rosary and a club. The Pārvatī carries a lotus in her right hand, and perhaps a mirror in the left. She wears a necklace and girdle over a long flowing robe. Both Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on Nandi. This group seems to be contemporary with the Kārttikeya described below.

Closely associated with the style of the Akhnūr terracottas and the figure of Śiva of the wooden panels from Kashmir Smats is a Kārttikeya figure (Pl. XVIII, 6) in the British Museum. It was collected at Attock, a short distance below Hund, on the river Indus. The figure is of the usual type, but four armed. The upper right hand holds a spear, the lower a rosary, the upper left a cock and the lower left an indistinguishable object. On either side of Kārttikeya are a worshipper and a peacock, the vehicle of the deity. The hair of the deity, brushed forward over the forehead, is the same as in the terracottas of Akhnūr, which suggests a seventh or eighth century date for it.

The Vaikuntha marble sculpture (Pl.XVII,1) from Attock represents a three headed god with a fourth head carved in relief on the reverse. The heads are those of a man (badly abraded) in the centre, a boar and a lion on the left and right proper sides respectively. The fourth head on the reverse (Pl. XVII, 2) represents a demon. These four faces are taken to represent Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. This type of image was quite popular in Kashmir in the ninth century A.D. A

77 Ibid., Fig.11.
78 Ibid., Fig.1.
79 ASI, Reports, 1913-14, Pl.XXVIII. For three headed Viṣṇu figures from the temple of Avantivarman, see H. Goetz, 'The Medieval Sculpture of Kashmir', Marg, vol.viii, no.2, 1955, p.70.
A little earlier in date than the Viṣṇu image is a female bust (Pl. XVII, 3) of white sheared limestone. It is said by its donor to have been collected in Buner. The figure is of considerable charm and at present lies in the British Museum.

Evidently the plastic art of the Śāhi period shows considerable influence from Kashmir and the late Gupta art styles. H. Goetz recognises even Sino-Byzantine influence in the wooden panels from Kashmir Smats discussed by him. The Gandhāran tradition can still be recognised in the bridgeless nose, the peculiar way of carving the eyelids, the line of the forehead and a head ornament that bears a vague resemblance to a laurel wreath. G. Tucci regards the Śāhi art as the art of a border region that, forced by historical circumstances, absorbed foreign influence and in turn inspired Central Asian art or its important components.

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81 D. Barrett, op.cit., Fig.2.
82 *Studies in the History And Art of Kashmir And The Indian Himalaya*, Wiesbaden 1969, p.98.
The pre-Muslim rulers of Kābul and Gandhāra were called Šāhīs - a term which seems to be the Indianised form of the word shao. The Persian equivalent of shao is shāh, a royal epithet which was also used by the rulers of these areas. The origin of shao may be traced from the Achaemenian Khāyatiyānām Khāyatiya (p.viii).1

The earliest use of the word šāhī on the coins goes back to the time of the Kuśānas. In subsequent periods it was taken by several rulers as a royal epithet and does not seem to have been used as a distinctive title of any particular dynasty. In the modern accounts of the Šāhīs, however, it is specifically used for the last two non-Muslim dynasties of Gandhāra and Kābul (p.viii).

The country of the Šāhīs was situated on the main trade route which linked the north-western parts of the sub-continent with Central Asia. Its strategic position on the main gateway to India, its fertile lands in the Panjāb and the Peshāwar valley, its enormous revenues (p. 35) and immense manpower (p. 34) had attracted the covetous eyes of conquerors from across the Hindū Kush from times immemorial (p.xv).

The size of this country varied from time to time (pp.3-4). At times it extended from the borders of Sīstān to Kashmīr, and the Hindū Kush mountains to the hills in eastern Panjāb. The districts of Rukhkhaṣ and Zābulistān were lost with Ya'qūb's invasion of Kābul in A.D. 870. In the following decade even the Kābul valley remained under Ya'qūb's governor. In the period between 880 to 964 the Kābul valley was held by the Šāhīs, but only precariously. In 998-99 the Šāhīs made up some territorial losses and extended their kingdom to Lahore in the Panjāb. Towards the end of Jayapāla's reign the Šāhī kingdom extended from Lamghān in the north-west to the borders of Kashmīr and Multān. The kingdom diminished

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1 All references are to the text of the present work.
further when, after Jayapāla's defeat in A.D. 1001, the Ghaznavīds annexed the areas to the west of the river Indus. Much of the Panjab was lost in A.D. 1014 after Trilocanapāla's defeat at the hands of Mahmūd. Shortly before this event Trilocanapāla seems to have extended his kingdom a little eastward into the Siwālik Hills. Towards the end of his reign the kingdom had already contracted into a small principality.

According to Albīrūnī's information there were two Śāhi dynasties— of Turkish and Hindu (Indian) origin respectively.

The history of the Turk Śāhis is quite obscure. The founder of the dynasty, Barhatigīn, seems to have come to power about A.D. 666 (pp.46-47). He probably belonged to the Khalaj Turks of Zamīn Dāwar (p.42) and established himself first in Gandhāra (p.47) and then extended his rule to the Kābul valley, Zābulistān and Rukhhkhaj. The first governor or Rutbīl (= Eltābir, a Turkish title known from the Orkhan inscriptions) was his brother (p.64). In the time of the Caliph Mu'āwiya (A.D. 661-680) or shortly afterwards the brothers fell out and the Rutbīl established a more or less independent kingdom with the help of the Arabs (p.66). Thus the Turk Śāhis seem to have split up into two branches soon after the establishment of their rule in Kābul and Zābulistān.

The numismatic evidence suggests that the Western branch of the family, which ruled in Kābul, Gandhāra and some parts of the Panjab, played the dominant role. The history of this branch is however not well documented. If Helmut Humbach's suggestion to identify Barhatigīn with Vahitigina or Vrahitigina of the so-called Ephthalite coins is correct (p.177), we have here a clue to look for the coinage of his successors. Barhatigīn on his coins takes the title Śrī Hitīvīra which may be the Indian form of the word Eltābir or Rutbīl (p.180). The length of Barhatigīn's reign is not known but there seems to be a considerable gap between him and the next ruler, whose date is known.
The ruler of Kabul in A.D. 719 was a certain Wu-san te'kin-sha who may be identified with TOYNO POYO (TigIn Shāh) of another group of the so-called Ephthalite coins (p.181).

The coins bearing the name Khingil (p.182) were probably struck by Khinjil, mentioned by Ya'qūbī as the king of Kabul contemporary with the Caliph al-Mahdī (A.D. 775-85). The name of the immediate successor of Khinjil is not known and there seems to be a wide gap of time till about the beginning of the ninth century.

The ruler of Kabul in A.D. 814-15 was called Ispahbadh Kābul Shāh or 'Mahrab PatI Dümt' (= Mahārājā Pati Dhamma or Dharmapati) (p.185 f.). This Kābul Shāh, according to Albīrūnī's information as well, was called Ispahbadh. This word (in the form CPI CAYABA) also occurs on the coins of Spalapatideva (p.264). This, together with the fact that Spalapati's coins show inscriptions in early Sāradā characters (p.256) suggests that Ispahbadh Kābul Shāh of Azraqī and Albīrūnī was no other than Spalapati of the coins. The length of Spalapati's reign is not known, but he may have ruled till about A.D. 820. The pattern of coins set by him (or during his reign) was followed by his successors, which speaks of economic prosperity and stable government. The last of these rulers, called Lagatūrmān in Kitāb Fi Taḥqīq Ma lī'l-Hind was overthrown by Kallar, his Brahman minister, about A.D. 843 (p.87).

The history of the western branch of the family led by the famous Rutbils is better known. The Rutbi (= governor) of Zābulistān and Rukkhaj in about A.D. 680 or a little later was a brother (p.146) and in A.D. 726 a nephew of the Kābul Shāh (p.146). The descendants of the Rutbīl also came to be known by the same title. The names of the individual Rutbils, except those of the last few recorded as 'Kbtir', Šāliḥ b. Ḥajar and 'Kbr', are not known. No coins attributable to this branch of the family have yet come to light. In the Muslim accounts of
these areas the Rutbils occur frequently as the main opponents of the Arab governors of Sīstān, who are known to have led several invasions of the former's territory. The Arabs, however, although they succeeded several times in realising tribute, did not annex the Șāhi territory except the frontier districts of Bust and Zamīn Dāwar. The progress of Muslim arms in these areas was in fact seriously hampered by the Khārijites, whose frequent insurrections very often engaged the Sīstān governors at home. But on the other hand the Khārijites spread Islamic civilisation long before the conquest of these regions. The last member of the house of Rutbīl was defeated and imprisoned by Ya'qūb b. Laith as-Saffār at the end of A.D. 870 at the fort of Nāf Lāmān (p.104).

The coin legends and inscriptive records show that the Turk Șāhis inherited three different systems of writing from their Ephthalite predecessors (p.218). Of these Pahlavi was used only on the coins of this period and seems to have been merely a convenient numismatic tradition. The other two - the local Indian and the Bactrian cursive - continued to be employed as the main scripts (p.219).

The local Indian or proto-Șāradā in Afghanistan and Gandhāra marks the intermediate stage through which the Brāhmi script of the Ephthalite period developed into Șāradā. The forms of the letters ṇa, ya, ra and la show that the Brāhmi of the Ephthalite period remained closer to the Gupta prototypes (p.220). A clear transition from the Gupta Brāhmi to the proto-Șāradā that characterises the early part of the period of Turk Șāhi rule, can be observed in the Kābul image inscription, which shows some of the old and new forms together (pp.224-25). The development of Brāhmi into Șāradā in Afghanistan and Gandhāra seems to have taken place on different lines from that in eastern Panjāb, where an intermediate style called Kuṭila is also noticed (p.220).

Șāradā appears towards the end of the Turk Șāhi rule and is first seen on the coins of Spalapati (p.219).
The stone inscriptions ascribable to this period comprise (1) the Kabul image inscription, (2) the Hätün rock inscription, (3) the Rānigat slab inscription, (4) the Gumbatūn slab inscription, and (5) the Tochi valley bilingual inscriptions (p.221). The coins of Vahitigina, TOYNO and Khingi(1a) have also legends in Indian characters.

The Bactrian cursive is to be seen at Jagatū and Uruzgān (pp.235-36) in Afghanistan and the Tochi valley (p.264) in Pakistan. It is variously named as the Ephthalite script, the Central Asian script, the Bactrian Greek cursive script, Graeco-Bactrian cursive writing, or Tokhariān (p.232). We prefer the term Bactrian cursive for no other cursive script of Bactria became so singularly widespread and popular as the one under consideration. Hsüan Tsang's description of this writing shows that there were 24 letters of the normal Greek alphabet plus the letter san (є) which seems to have been adapted from the Kharoṣṭhī letter sa (p.234). The script had already passed through at least two distinct stages of its development before the advent of the Turk Ṣāḥī rule. In stage 1 the characters remain close to their Greek prototypes, whereas in stage 2 they are found in their cursive form. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact date when this change actually took place. Stage 2 had in fact already started in the inscriptions of Kaniska (p.235). A clear transition to cursive is found on the Kuṣāṇa-Sāsānian coins, which ceased to be struck about A.D. 400. The script developed further in the fifth and sixth centuries, as may be seen from the legends of the Ephthalite coins. During the period of the Turk Ṣāḥis the development seems to have become slow, as the original home of the writing in Central Asia fell into the hands of the Muslims, who brought their own script which eventually replaced the Bactrian cursive. The inscriptions and coins of the Turk Ṣāḥis show only the cursive form of the writing (p.235) which resembles the style of the 'Berlin Fragments'. The Bactrian cursive is last evidenced in the Tochi valley bilingual
inscriptions. There is no evidence to prove that this script extended as far as the Peshāvar valley.

Little has been done on the archaeology of the Turk Śahis. The levels preceding the cultural material of the time of the Hindu Śahis at Damkoṭ, Gumbatūna, Rāja Gira's castle and Dīgāṭhāi are ascribable to this period. Similarly the sites of Fundukistān and Bambolai have revealed cultural material datable to the time of this dynasty.

In plastic art, terracotta was the most popular material for the artists of this period (p.286), though sculptures in marble and potstone are also known. The terracotta art, described as 'the rococo art of the North-West', shows influence from Kashmir (p.287).

According to the Chinese accounts the Turk Śahi rulers were Buddhists. A triratna formula is known from an inscription datable to this period (p.236). The existence of a number of Hindu sculptures shows that side by side with Buddhism the Hindu gods Śiva, Durgā, and Kārttikeya were also worshipped (pp.288-92).

The Hindu Śahi dynasty probably had its origin in the Gakhars (p.50). It was founded by Kallar, who overthrew the last Turk Śahi ruler, Lagatūrmān, about A.D. 843 (p.90 ff.). Kallar seems to have died after a short reign of about seven years (p.94). No coins bearing his name have yet been found, but he seems to have continued the Spalapati series during his reign.

Kallar was succeeded by Sāmanta about A.D. 850 (p.95). The latter probably started the series of silver and copper coins which bear the legend Śrī Sāmantadeva. Sāmanta ruled from Kābul and his kingdom comprised only the Kābul valley, Gandhāra and parts of the Panjāb. Zābulistān and Rukhkhaj remained under the control of the Rutbīls (p.96). Kābul was attacked by Ya'qūb b. Laith at the end of A.D. 870 (p.104) and Sāmanta was thrown into prison (p.105). Ya'qūb appointed his own governor in Kābul.
The name of Ya'qūb's governor of Kābūl is not known. The coins of a certain Khudarayaka (p.257) show some degree of affinity with the Muslim coinage and typologically come very early in the Sāmanta series (p.202 f.). The archaic form of some of the letters of these coins (p.257) also suggest a date in the second half of the ninth century. This may be taken to suggest that Khudarayaka (= Kṣudra rājaka = 'a small rājā') was Ya'qūb's governor of Kābūl (p.106). At the time of Ya'qūb's death in 265 (A.D. 878-79) Kābūl was still under the control of a Šaffārid governor (p.105). There is no evidence to prove that Khudarayaka ever extended his rule to Gandhāra, which may have remained in the hands of a prince of the house of Sāmanta. Khudarayaka was probably looked upon as a renegade Śāhi and a protégé of the Šaffārids (p.107).

The name of the prince just referred to is not known. But the fact that the Śāhi prince mentioned in the Rājatarahgini as the contemporary of the Kashmirian king Samkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) is Lalliya (p.108) clearly points to his name. Sometime after A.D. 880 Lalliya seems to have managed to extend his rule to Kābūl probably by removing Khudarayaka and appointing one of his own sons in his place (p.112). Lalliya vigorously opposed the Kashmirian expansion in the Panjāb by helping Alakhāna against them (p.108). In A.D. 900, towards the end of his reign, the temple of Sakāwān was attacked and razed to the ground by Fardagān, the Šaffārid governor of Ghazna (p.111). In the same year Kamalū and Āṣata, who in the Tārīkh-i Sīstān are described as 'Indian kings' but in fact have only been governors of Gandhāra and Kābūl, led a counter-attack against Ghazna (p.111). According to 'Awfī, Fardagān cleverly averted the danger (p.112) but the Tārīkh says that he suffered a crushing defeat. Lalliya was attacked and deposed by the Kashmirian Prabhākaradeva in the reign of Gopalavarman (A.D. 902-04)(p.113).

Lalliya's successor was his son Toramāṇa, who was given the name Kamaluka and raised to the throne of Udabhāṇḍapura by Prabhākaradeva
during the same expedition in which his father was deposed (p.114).
Nothing is known about Āṣata (or Āṣatapāla). He was probably at the
head of the government of Kābul (p.112). Some time later we hear this
name once again when Āṣatapāl is mentioned by Firishta and some other
Muslim writers as the name of Jayapāla's father (p.132). The length of
Kamalū's reign is not known. According to a recent opinion, however,
the end of his rule can be placed about A.D. 921 (p.120). The copper
coins bearing the legend Vakka (= bago = 'prince') may be attributed to
him (p.120).

The successor of Kamalū, the Bhīm of Albīrūnī's list and Śrī
Bhīmadeva of the silver and copper coins, seems to have enjoyed a long
reign of about 43 years. He is the only Śahi ruler who has a gold coin
to his credit (p.205). In the Hund slab inscription he is remembered as
a ruler of terrible valour.

In the early part of Bhīma's reign the Śāhis seem to have stepped up
activities on the western frontiers. The result was the emergence of a
friendly power in Ghazna (pp.118 f.). At the head of this power was a
certain Lawīk or Anuk, whose descendants were also called by the same
name. The Lawīks had Muslim nomenclature but in the Majma' al-Ansāb
they are referred to as kāfīr (infidels) (p.126). The origin of the
Lawīks is not known. The Tārīkh-i Stāṭān mentions a certain Tarābīl
(Tarāvīra) who figures prominently in the period between A.D. 918 and
922 (p.119). Tarābīl is also referred to as the 'commander of the
Hindus'. The Lawīks, who emerged only shortly after this period, would
seem to be his descendants. They had close relationship with the ruler
of Kābul (p.126).

Bhīma established good relations with Kashmir (p.123). Towards
the end of his reign in A.D. 962, Kābul was attacked by Alaptigīn (p.127),
who, after a quick victory, proceeded to Ghazna to take that place. The
Lawīk was forced to surrender. Shortly afterwards, however, the Lawīk
found an opportunity to flee to Hind (Udabhānda). With the help of the Śāhi armies he returned in A.D. 963 and put Abū Ishaq, the son of Alaptīgīn, to flight. Ghazna was temporarily recovered (p.128). This success was largely due to the whole-hearted support of Bhīma and seems to be referred to in the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāla (p.128). Bhīma seems to have died in A.D. 964 (p.130).

He was followed by Jayapāla, the son of Āṣatapāla (p.131), on the throne of Hund. Jayapāla seems to have enjoyed a long reign of about 37 years. Early in his reign in A.D. 965 the Lawīk, who was once more pushed out of Ghazna, fled to Hind. In about A.D. 977 the Śāhis despatched a force under the Lawīk and a son of the Kābul Shāh (p.133). But the Indian army was routed by Sabuktīgīn at Charkh. The Lawīk and his ally were killed in the fighting (p.134).

In 986-87 Jayapāla himself led an invasion of Ghazna (p.135), but he was defeated by Sabuktīgīn. In about A.D. 988 he suffered a defeat at Lambān (p.136 f.). The Śāhi made up some territorial losses in A.D. 998-99, when he usurped the kingdom of Lahore (p.140), but he lost his own territories west of the Indus after his defeat in A.D. 1001, at Peshāvar (p.147). In the spring of the following year, Jayapāla committed suicide (p.147).

He was succeeded by his son Āṇandapāla (p.147) who in his father’s lifetime was the governor of the Panjāb (p.146). Āṇandapāla seems to have moved his capital to Nandana (p.148). In A.D. 1006 he opposed Maḥmūd on the banks of the Indus but suffered defeat (p.148). He failed to support Sukhapāla in the following year when the latter revolted against Maḥmūd (p.149). The Śāhi kingdom was once again attacked in 1008-09 (p.151). Āṇandapāla offered a brave resistance but he was defeated on the plains of Chhach. He was pursued to Bhīmnagar in Kāngra, which also fell to the Ghaznavīd arms (p.153). He made peace with Maḥmūd
in 1009–10 and accepted a tributary status (p.154). He seems to have
died in A.D. 1010 (p.156).

Ānandapāla's son Trilocanapāla ruled till A.D. 1021. In 1013 he
suffered defeats at Nandana (p.159) and the river Tausi (p.162). He
seems to have expanded his kingdom a little further into the Siwalik
hills, which brought him into sharp conflict with the rāj of Sharwā
(p.163). He made a serious attempt to patch up his differences with the
rāj by accepting the hand of the latter's daughter for his own son
Bhīma(pāla). But his efforts were wrecked by the deceitful rāj, who put
Bhīma into prison when the latter went to fetch the bride. In the year
1019 Trilocanapāla was defeated by Mahmūd at the river Rāmgangā (p.164).
He was assassinated by some mutinous Hindu troops in A.D. 1021 (p.166).

He was succeeded by Bhīma(pāla) who, after an uneventful reign of
five years, died in A.D. 1026 (p.167). Some of the Śāhi princes moved
to Kashmir and for a while continued to play a significant role in the
affairs of that country (p.322f). A little known scion of the Śāhis,
Candrapāla, made a belated attempt to recover Lahore but lost his life
on the battlefield (p.329f).

The population of Afghanistan, Gandhāra and the Panjāb in the time
of the Śāhis seems to have been approximately 26 millions or less. The
revenues from Rukkhahj, Sīstān, Bust, Ghazna and Kābul collected by
Sabuktigm during his reign amounted to an annual sum of 300,000 dinārs
and 1,700,000 dirhams. Gandhāra and the Panjāb, because of the richness
of the agricultural lands in these areas, must have yielded a still
higher amount. These figures were probably also true of the Śāhi period.
The exports of the country comprised indigo, silver bars, dried fruits,
sugar candy and textiles. The cities of Udabhāṇapura, Kābul, Ghazna
and Bust are described as the emporia of Indian trade.

Private agencies or firms played a very significant role in
controlling the business of manufacturing coins in medieval India and
may have also existed in the time of the Śāhis (pp.170-72). The mints were operated by licensed Sāhūkārs. Although the quality of the coins was regularly checked, the temptation to abuse by depreciation of the coins was too great for the Sāhūkārs to resist (p.172). This ultimately led to deterioration in weight and metal contents of the coins. The gradual deterioration of the legends, particularly on the coins of the Turk Śāhis, was probably due to the carelessness or inability of the illiterate silversmiths employed in the mints to meticulously reproduce from the prototypes (p.229).

The Hindu rulers in early medieval India did not look upon the coinage of their country as a means of demonstrating their power and authority. The successors of Sāmanta, with few exceptions, were not conscious of the royal prerogative of issuing coins and did not care to change the legend (p.197). As a result the Sāhūkārs continued to strike coins with the old legend, Śrī Śāmantadeva. Owing to the peculiar location of the country of the Śāhis on the main trade routes linking Central Asia with the Indo-Pāk sub-continent, the economic prosperity and the stable government, the Śāmantadeva coins gained wide currency (p.196) and were readily accepted by merchants in the neighbouring countries. Because of their wide acceptibility the subsequent Sāhūkārs continued to copy and reproduce these coins in large numbers. The use of the legend Śrī Śāmantadeva on the coins issued after the reign of Sāmānd therefore indicates nothing but a convenient numismatic tradition.

The Śāmantadeva coins are found in silver, billon and copper (pp.194, 198). Most of the billon coins were produced after the end of the Śāhi dynasty. Their production was finally stopped in the reign of Mas'ūd III (A.D. 1099) (p.200).

The gradual deterioration in type and weight of the Śāhi coins and a mutual comparison of the principal series shows that the Śāmantadeva series succeeded the Spalapatideva series.
The inscriptions of the Śāhi period are few and far between. They are written in Śāradā characters of the ninth and tenth century A.D. The date of the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāla (our no.13) and that of Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī's inscription (our no.14) from the same place suggests that the Hindu Śāhis had a separate era which they started about A.D. 843 (p.318).

The word Śāradā was not originally the name of a script (p.238). It is not mentioned by Albirūnī in his list of the Indian scripts. But it was the name of the Kashmirian goddess of learning. The association of the goddess Śāradā with Kashmir is also suggested by expressions such as Śāradādeśa, Śāradāmanḍala and Śāradākṣetra (p.238). As learning took expression through letters, the particular style of writing, prevalent in Kashmir at the time when the fame of the goddess was at its highest, also came to be known after her name. There is some evidence to suggest that the style was developed at Udabhāndapura, which in the time of the Śāhis was considered as 'the home of learned men who lived there in the form of communities' (p.238).

The term Śāradā, as the name of a script, seems to be of a later date. The name of the script used in the area stretching from Kashmir to Kanauj as known to Albirūnī was siddhamātrikā (p.239). This also roughly coincides with the area indicated by the find spots of the inscriptions of the time of the Hindu Śāhis (p.240).

Śāradā developed from a late form of the Gupta Brāhmī. It shows simplified forms of the Gupta characters and must have been the result of cursive writing (p.240). The beginning of this script dates from the beginning of the ninth century (p.240).

The only manuscript datable to the time of the Śāhis comes from Bakhshāli (p.248). It bears no date, but on palaeographical grounds it can be dated to the tenth century A.D. (p.254).
Several new archaeological sites of the period of the Hindu Śāhis have been recently brought to light (pp. 266-69). Among these sites of Damkoṭ (p. 276), Rāja Girā's Castle (p. 275), Dīgaḍhāi (p. 277) and Gumbatūna (p. 279) are very important. All these sites are situated on the hills and show remains of massive fortification walls built of semi-ashlar semi-diaper masonry. Having been defeated on the plains, it would seem, the ruling class of the Śāhis took to the hills and continued to rule there for some time further.

The sites of Damkoṭ and Rāja Girā's castle have been partly excavated. They have produced coins of the Hindu Śāhis only in the top levels, which shows that they were destroyed sometime in the eleventh century A.D. A recent trial excavation at Gumbatūna has yielded coins of the Hindu Śāhis rulers Sāmanta and Vakka from the surface stratum, which may be roughly equated with the top levels of Damkoṭ. Gumbatūna and Dīgaḍhāi show the most impressive structural remains of the period of the Śāhis.

A number of Hindu temples in the Salt Range and Dera Ismā'īl Khān district can be assigned to the time of the Hindu Śāhis. Of these, the temple of Malot shows definite influence from Kashmir (p. 283). The temples of Nandana, Kāfir Koṭ North and Kāfir Koṭ South (Biloṭ) show more points of difference than similarity to the architecture of Kashmir. The most important difference is the roof, which, instead of showing the pyramidal form of the Kashmirian temples, displays the more or less conical śikhara common to the medieval architecture of large parts of India (p. 283). This suggests the existence of a separate school which flourished under the Śāhis in Gandhāra and the Panjāb and may be designated as the North-West Indian school of architecture (p. 283).

Our sources do not give sufficiently deep insight into the history of the Śāhis to enable us to pass a final judgement on the merits and demerits of these dynasties. But there are some redeeming features which,
although not properly emphasised by our authorities, speak unambiguously of the significant role the Śāhis played in the history of North Western India in early medieval times.

The peculiar situation of the country of the Śāhis devolved special responsibilities on them as guardians of the north western passes often used by invaders from Central Asia. Their failure could open the floodgates of invasion. This was an uphill task and required courage, imagination and vast resources. The establishment of the Arab empire which, during the course of its expansion, swiftly swept across territories near Ḡūrin and posed a constant threat to the Śāhis, and the failure of the sub-continental powers whose own security was in fact as much at risk as that of the Śāhis to send the latter effective help during crises, made their task doubly difficult. But the Śāhis discharged their responsibilities with steadfastness, devotion and skill. They stood guard on the passes for about 360 years and successfully held in check foreign invaders. The archaeological remains of numerous forts and citadels scattered all over their country still stand witness.

They appear to have been men of honour, noble sentiment and noble bearing and, even according to Albhūn, who is unlikely to have been prejudiced in their favour, they never slackened in the ardent desire of promoting the right cause. Anandapāla's letter to Maḥmūd offering to help him against the Turks of Central Asia at a time when relations between the two were strained to the utmost won the admiration of his foes.

The most significant achievement of the Śāhis, however, was in the economic field. The numerous references to the huge sums of money collected from them as tribute or war indemnity by the Muslims on several occasions, and the rich plunder from the accumulated wealth of the temples speak of the sound economy of the country. The plunder captured at Bhīmnagar alone proved to be beyond the wildest calculations of the victors. There were not enough camels to carry the treasures which,
according to 'Utbī's description, comprised one million dirhams, 700,400 mans of gold and silver ingots besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sūs, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft and embroidered. Among the booty was also a collapsible house of silver, 30 x 15 yards, and a canopy, 40 x 20 yards, made of the fine linen of Rūm. When the plunder was displayed at Ghazna even the ambassadors from foreign countries, including the envoy from Taghān Khān, the ruler of Turkistān, assembled to see the wealth such as they had never yet even read of in books of the ancients, and which had never been accumulated by kings of Persia or of Rūm, or even by the traditional Qārūn, who had only to express a wish and God granted it. Even if 'Utbī's description be considered as smacking of exaggeration, it stands witness to the economic prosperity of the Śāhi kingdom.

The Śāhis were great patrons of scholars and religious foundations. Ānandapāla is known to have paid a lavish sum of 200,000 dirhams, besides other presents of similar value, to publicise the work of his teacher Ugrabhūti. Bhīmadeva is said to have built a temple in Kashmir as an act of charity. The construction of at least two temples at Udabhāṇḍapura by members of the royal family is known from inscriptions.

In spite of these religious foundations and the keen interest they took in promoting the Hindu sciences, the Śāhis displayed tolerance towards other communities. The existence of Jews and Muslims at the capital cities of Kābul and Udabhāṇḍapura is clearly mentioned by our sources. The fact that our chroniclers do not mention molestation, except on one occasion when the Muslims were driven out of Kābul, presumes peaceful co-existence.

On several occasions however the Śāhi rulers failed to take stock of the situation and make a correct decision to strike at the enemy. Similarly Kallar's revolution at Kābul must have weakened the Śāhi cause
by alienating the Turk Śāhis of Zābulistān and thus throwing them virtually at the mercy of the Sīstān governors, who, under Ya'qūb b. Laith, eventually put an end to their rule. The Śāhis failed to close their ranks at the time when Mahmūd was struggling against the Turks of Central Asia. This facilitated the task of the Ghaznavīd, who first dealt a death blow to Sukhapāla and then to Ānandapāla, the last great ruler of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty. The successors of Ānandapāla pass over the stage of history as shadowy figures and disappear in the darkness in rapid succession. The glory of the Śāhis died with them.

'One asks oneself whether, with its kings, ministers and its court it ever was or was not'.

2  Rājatarahgīnī, VII, 68-69.
APPENDIX A

Hund Slab Inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva

In 1970, while I was in search of coins and other archaeological material relating to the Śāhi Dynasty, I visited the town of Hund, the ancient Udabhāṇḍapura, the capital of the Hindu Śāhi kings. Here I made contact with Mulla Ḥabīb ar-Rahmān, a local collector of and dealer in antiquities, and from him I obtained the photograph and rubbing of a remarkable inscription of the Śāhi period. Unfortunately I was unable to see the inscription itself, since, according to the Mulla, the slab had been sent to Quetta, where it was in the hands of a private collector. Its exact provenance was uncertain, but apparently it had been discovered in the locality of Hund while collecting stones for building purposes.

I was hoping to be able to visit Quetta before coming to Australia, in order to study the inscription in the original and take further photographs and an estampage of it. Unfortunately this was not possible, but I am quite satisfied that the inscription is genuine. The script of the inscription is consistent with that of other inscriptions of the tenth century for the same region.¹

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, in 24 lines of neat śaradā characters. The transcription is based on the photograph, since the rubbing is amateurishly made, and gives no better readings. It shows, however, that the original inscribed surface is about $10\times8$ inches and the average height of the letters is approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ inch.

The inscription is mostly in śloka verses, with the exception of the third and eleventh verses, which are upajāti-indravajra and indravajra respectively, and the last two lines, which are in prose.

¹ See Daya Ram Sahni, 'Six inscriptions in the Lahore Museum', EI, xxi, 1938, pp.298-99 and 301.
The transliteration below is arranged according to the verses, with the division of the lines of the original indicated by numerals in square brackets. *Sandhi* of vowels is indicated by a circumflex.

i. [1] Namāmi Bhūtanāthasya lalāṭasthaṃ vilocanāṃ

   yasmāṭ Kāmasya saṃ[2]dāhād bibhyaty adyāpi Śatravaḥ /


   ālaye Śitikaṇṭhasya khyātiṃ kuryāṃ svaśakti[4]tāḥ //

iii. Asty uttareṇākhila-puṃya-rāṣṭṛḥ

   nāmnādhaṃḍaṃ jagati[5]ha Sindhoh

   vidvaj-janaīr yaś ca vidhāya samgham

   kṛtāspadaṃ Meru i[6]vāmarādyaiḥ //

iv. Sevate yasya satatāṃ vibhāgaṃ dākṣiṇāṃ nadi /


   sannihityēva candārī楷au balād gr[9]hṇati dānave //

vi. Yatra Sindhau sadā kuryus tāpitās sūrya-raśmibhiḥ

   [10] nidāghe dantino mattas tāṃta bībhāmya trśṇayā6 //


   nirjitya para-sainyāni [12]  yena saṃprakṣītā maḥī //


   samkalpa-yones samkalpān, na tu bhīmena vairiṣā //

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2 The small angular mark at the bottom of smā is the anusvāra of rvam on the next line.

3 The original appears to read prathāmya, obviously a scribal error.

4 The original seems to read thus. Since the subject of the sentence is Udbhāṇḍam, a neuter noun, the text should be emended to yac ca.

5 Appears at first glance to be -ver, but the letters dha and va are very similar, and this seems the poet's intention.

6 Possibly bhrāṭayā 'by roasting (heat)'. In either case the ś is an error, found in other inscriptions of the period, for ś.
x. Yasya⁹ vairī-vilāsinyo niryāntyo [16] nagarād iha / idam ūcur mahādyānaṃ¹⁰ tu dronas¹¹ samgataṃ tvayā //
xi. Tā[17]syāsti rājā Jayapāladevo
dehōdhavāj¹² janma-vṛte¹³ ka-vī[18]raḥ,
hitvā divaṃ yasya yaśas susuddham Brahmaspadam nityam i[19]ti prapannaṃ //

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⁷ Probably intended for cirād, or perhaps divād. The context seems to demand a word implying fear, and one is tempted to read an anomalous bhīrād.

⁸ This unusual conjunct represents the Jihvāmūliya form of visarga.

⁹ Before the ya appears a faint trā, possibly an error of the engraver which was partially erased.

¹⁰ This line seems fairly clear, but the sense is obscure. Possibly dahodyānaṃ.

¹¹ Assuming that drō is correct, this syllable should read ṇās.

¹² The mark on the right of va, indicating the long vowel, is very slight, but I take it as intended, since this is demanded by grammar, and clear occurrences of va elsewhere in the inscription have no projection on the right whatever.

¹³ Correctly ai.

¹⁴ I am thankful to Professor Sir Harold Bailey for his valuable suggestions on this point.

¹⁵ The letter has a small tick to the right of the upper line, which might be interpreted as implying a long vowel, which would be grammatically incorrect.

¹⁶ We use f to represent the upadhamānīya form of visarga occurring before labial sounds.

TRANSLATION

i. I reverence the eye in the brow of Bhūtanātha (Śiva), of which, through the burning of Kāma, his enemies are afraid even today.

ii. May I, the son of Paṅgula, bowing my head to the eternal Śarva (Śiva), produce by my own powers fame in the realm of the Black-necked (Śiva).

iii. To the north of the Indus, which is a mass of complete merit here on earth, there is (a city) by name Udabhānda, which has been made their home by learned men forming communities, just as Meru (was made their home) by the immortal (gods) and other (supernatural beings),

iv. the southern part of which (i.e. Udabhānda) the river constantly serves, as the side of Malaya mountain (is served) by the treasure of water on its shore,

v. where the Indus is always served (i.e. worshipped) by the people to obtain merit, when the demon is forcibly seizing moon and sun, as though bringing them together,

vi. where, in the Indus in summer, rutting elephants, scorched by the rays of the sun, weary and confused by thirst, would always make.  

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17 There is a small mark at the top right of the aṅgara which may be intended as an anomalous long ā.

18 No trace of a subjoined y can be seen, but this is probably due to the obliteration of the lower part of the two letters in this line.

19 The verb kuryus appears to have no object.
vii. Therein dwelt the chief of kings, Bhīma, of terrible valour (or with valour like that of Bhīma, the legendary hero), by whom, having conquered his enemies' troops, the earth was protected.

viii. Though he is terrible, through Pīnākin (Śiva) there is the (re-)birth of him whose origin was desire (i.e. Kāma, the love-god), who was burnt up by himself (i.e. by Śiva), through (Śiva's) desire, but not through the terrible enemy (? was Bhīma restored to life).

ix. Of whose (i.e. Bhīma's) enemies, the sorrowful women even today long wear their hair devoid of braiding;

x. the charming women of whose enemies, going out from the city here said this: 'Through you the great park has become a (mere) bucket'.

xi. The king of that (country) is (now) Jayapāladeva, who, through his body, origin and birth, has become the sole hero, whose very pure fame, having left heaven, has attained the eternal abode of Brahman.

xii. In the kingdom of that Śrī-Jayapāladeva, Caṅgalavārman, son of Paṅgula, has made an abode of Śaṅkara (= Śiva).

xiii. When a hundred years with six and forty added were completed, on the fifth (tīthī) of the bright half of Mādhava (= the month Vaiśākha), the Lord of Umā (= Śiva) has been set up.

This establishment is the work of Caṅgula, grandson of the secretary Paṅhīda and son of Paṅgula.

The inscription is very important from the point of view of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty and is the only well preserved record of the time of Jayapāla.

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20 The comparison seems strange and inapt, but I can suggest no better reading.
The date of the inscription, 146, appears to be in an era hitherto unidentified, but specially favoured in the kingdom of the Hindu Śāhis. Certain other inscriptions coming from the same area appear to be dated in the same era. These are as follows:

1. An inscription from Dewal recording the donation of a well at the instance of a chief called Sahasyarāja.  
   This, according to M.A. Shakur, is dated in the Vikrama saṃvat 708 (A.D. 651). But Shakur also expresses his doubts as to the correct interpretation of this date, for, he says, 'the script does not appear to be so old as the year given in the writing'. We read the date as 108, which is much more satisfactory from all points of view.

2. An inscription photographed by Professor G. Tucci when brought by a peasant to an antique dealer's shop in Peshāwar. Its exact location is not known but Professor Tucci thinks that 'it certainly comes from the North-Western regions of Pakistan'. This is dated 120 and commemorates the founding of a maṭha by a lady called Ratnamājarī in the reign of a certain Vījayaśāladeva.

3. An inscription from Hund recording the construction of a temple by Mahārājī Kāmeśvarī Devī. The building was commenced in the year 158 and completed in 159. D.R. Sahni, and after him Shakur, refer these dates to the Harsa era, but the palaeography suggests a much later date.

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21 M.A. Shakur, op.cit., pp.2-3 and PL.ii, No.1. (our no.9 in the list).
22 Ibid.
23 *EW*, new series, vol.20, 1970, pp.103f. and Fig.1 (our no.11).
24 *EI*, vol.XXXII, No.16, 1936, pp.97f (our no.14).
25 D.R. Sahni (op.cit., p.97), and M.A. Shakur (op.cit., p.12) read 168 and 169, but the second digit of the figures looks more like 5 than 6 (*EI*, vol.XXXII, No.16, p.98, fn.3).
What specific era these dates are related to is not known, but our inscription gives a useful clue: the year 146 must necessarily be placed in the reign of Jayapāla.

Jayapāla was captured by Mahmūd on 8 Muḥarram 39226 (27 November, 1001). In the following year he was released, but soon afterwards he committed suicide by burning himself to death. This gives us the date of the end of Jayapāla's reign. We have another synchronism for Jayapāla, for he is said by 'Utbī to have fought against Mahmūd's predecessor, Sabuktigīn27 (A.D. 977-997). The battle occurred fairly early in Sabuktigīn's reign, and is estimated at 982-3 by Elliot,28 and 986 by Ṣāzīm.29 Since Mahmūd took part in the battle at the age of 14 or 15, and he is known to have been born on 9–10 Muḥarram 361 (1–2 November, 971), the latter date appears correct. Jayapāla is probably also referred to, though his name is not explicitly mentioned, in connection with a still earlier event in A.D. 977 when the Shāh of Kābul is said to have sent his son to help Abū 'Alī Lawīk against Ghazna.30 This army was however intercepted and finally routed by Sabuktigīn at the battlefield of Charkh. Thus Jayapāla's reign can be confidently traced back to at least A.D. 977. But this was certainly not the date of the beginning of his rule, for the Shāhī was already well entrenched in power to be able to send his son to lead a powerful offensive against the Turks of Ghazna.

The precise date of Jayapāla's accession to the throne is not recorded, but a clue may be taken from the date of the end of the reign of Bhīma, his immediate predecessor. Stein has drawn attention to the

26 See supra, p.141.
27 Supra, p.135.
28 Elliot, ii, p.424.
30 Supra, p.133 f.
A fact that the Śāhi king Bhīma is referred to in the Kashmir Chronicle (vi, 178) as the maternal grandfather of the notorious queen Diddā, who was *de facto* ruler of Kashmir from 958 to 1003. Bhīma is also said to have endowed a temple known as Bhīmākēśava during the reign of Kṣemagupta of Kashmir, which lasted from 950 to 958, and therefore he must have been on the throne for part of this period. Verse vii of our inscription suggests that Bhīma won a brilliant victory over his enemies, but who the enemies were is not stated. There is no evidence to show that Bhīma had any fights with the neighbouring Hindu kings. Abū 'Ali Lawīk is however known to have won a victory at Ghazna in A.D. 963 with the help of the Śāhi armies. It was an astounding though temporary victory, which sent Abū Ishāq Bibrāhīm, the son of Alaptigīn, flying to Bukhāra. As the victory was won chiefly by the Śāhi armies, Bhīma had reason to be proud of it. This is the spirit which we find reflected in the present inscription. How long Bhīma lived after the date of this event is not mentioned. The text of the inscription however suggests that he died soon afterwards. Thus the end of Bhīma's reign may be placed in A.D. 963 or the following year. This would also be the approximate date of Jayapāla's accession. Thus Jayapāla ruled from A.D. 963 or 4 to 1002. The year 146 of the unspecified era must fall in this period. Thus the year 0 of the era would fall between A.D. 818 and 856.

Mahārājī Kāmēśvarī Devī's inscription, as noted above, records the construction of a temple which was completed in the year 159. The find-spot of the inscription shows that the temple was built at Hund.

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33 Supra, p.128 f.
it is hardly possible that Kāmeśvarī Devī would have stayed behind after the annexation of Hund in A.D. 1001 or shortly afterwards by the Sultan Maḥmūd. The year 0 of the era, according to the date of this inscription, would fall between A.D. 805 and 843. It is difficult to narrow down this gap any further, but the fact that we have only one reign to accommodate before the known date of Kamalu (A.D. 902) points to the end of this period as the time which best suits the start of this era.

What precisely this era was and who started it are difficult questions to answer on the strength of our present information. Albīrūnī has preserved a list of the eras used in some parts of the country of the Șāhis but we find no explicit mention of the era under consideration. Albīrūnī's evidence is however highly suggestive. 'The people living in the country Nīrahara, behind Mārīgala, as far as the utmost limits Tākeshar and Lauhāwar', he states, 'begin the year with the month of MargaGzrsha, and reckon our gauge year (the year 400 of Yazdigird = A.D. 1031-32) as the 108th year of their era. The people of Lambāgā, i.e. Lamghan, follow their example.' Subtracting 108 from 1031, the gauge year of Albīrūnī, we can find the initial year, which comes to A.D. 923, of the era which Albīrūnī seems to have referred to in this paragraph. But no such era is known from other sources. At any rate it does not suit

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35 Soon after his victory at Peshāwar Maḥmūd proceeded to attack Hund. See supra, p.143.
36 In Albīrūnī's list there are two names which precede Kamalū. At the time of the revolution Kallar, the founder of the dynasty, must have been an old man. Previous to the revolution he was a minister and must have spent the major part of his life in gathering influence and prestige to overthrow his master. He may have died shortly after the revolution. Thus we are left with only one reign, that of Sāmanta.
37 Fi Tahqīq Ma li'l-Hind, p.347.
the date of our inscription, the last year of which must fall in the period A.D. 964 and 1002. The fact however that our inscription comes from the country in which the era as mentioned by AlbIrûnî was in use, suggests that the date of this inscription must refer to this era. It seems therefore that something is wrong with the figure 108. Is it not likely that 108 is a scribal error for 188? The precise concordance of the latter date with other evidence strongly supports this hypothesis. The error could have easily entered into the text through careless copying or through AlbIrûnî's own notes.

If this suggestion is acceptable the initial year of the era as referred to by AlbIrûnî falls in A.D. 843. This precisely is the date we have already calculated on the basis of the evidence of the inscriptions.

In conclusion, then, it can be seen that there is some tangible evidence which shows the use of a definite era in the time of the Hindu Śâhis. It may have been established by Kallar or his successors to commemorate the foundation of their dynasty.
APPENDIX B

Notes on the Location of Bhīmnagar

There is some controversy about the location of Bhīmnagar, the place subdued by Maḥmūd soon after the battle of Chhach. Ever since Firīštā1 and Bādānī2 identified it with Nāgarkot in the Kāṅgra valley, this view has consistently held the field and was accepted by Elliot,3 Cunningham4 and Nāẓīm.5 The validity of this identification has however recently been questioned by A. Rashid who, on military and geographical grounds, considers Nāgarkot as synonymous with Lāṅgarkot (old Śrīkot), near Tārbela.6 Y. Mishra, who endorses this view, has brought forward some other arguments in its support.7 But the proposed identification creates more problems than it solves.

A. Were Bhīmnagar situated so close to Hund, its well known wealth would have certainly attracted the attention of Maḥmūd. By identifying Bhīmnagar with Śrīkot we can save Maḥmūd the trouble of a long journey to Kāṅgra, as A. Rashid pleads, but we cannot stop him from pouncing on its wealth, lying invitingly close to his borders.

B. While chasing Ānandapāla on an earlier occasion, Maḥmūd went as far into the Śāhi territory as Sodra.8 Had Bhīmnagar been in his way,

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1 DPB, p.344.
2 DPB, p.295.
8 See supra, p.149.
as Śrīkot is, the Sultan would have hardly resisted the temptation of
looting a temple which was nothing but an easy prey for him.

C. With the annexation of Hund and Pehūr, Śrīkot was dangerously
exposed to invasion from that side. In this case one wonders why the
priests did not remove the treasures to a well-guarded place. The fact
seems to be that Bhīmnagar was situated away from any such obvious
danger and consequently the priests took no precautions till they were
actually besieged.

D. Albīrūnī desired to see the genealogical list of the Śāhi kings
preserved in Nagarkot, but he could not do so for various reasons.9 Had
it been near Tarbela it would have been easily accessible, particularly
when he is known to have visited Peshāwar.10

E. According to 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.97), Bhīmnagar was situated on a
lofty hill encircled by deep water. This description fits well with
Nagarkot of the Kangra valley but not with Śrīkot.

F. Śrīkot was situated so close to the battlefield that it could not
have been used by the retreating Śāhi troops as a rallying point. But
Gardīzī (p.180) informs us that the garrison of Bhīmnagar submitted
after fighting for three days.

Thus Fīrishta's identification of Bhīmnagar with Nagarkot in the
Kangra valley still seems feasible. The assumption that Kangra at this
time was not part of the Śāhi territories is incorrect for the following
reasons.

i. According to Ḥaider Rāzi11 and Tarīkh-i Alfī12 the 'fort of Bhīm'
belonged to Pāl Andpāl (Ānandapāla) who was the ruler of that area.

9Fi Tahqiq Mā li'l-Hind, p.349.
10Cf. supra, p.16.
11DPB, p.442.
12DPB, p.611.
ii. The existence of a genealogical table of the Turk Šahis in Nagarkot was known to Albirūnī. It is difficult to explain why this table was kept in Nagarkot if the Kangra valley was not within the Šahi dominions.

iii. The spoils captured by Mahmūd included a large sum of Shāhi (Šahi) dirhams.13

iv. Whenever Anandapāla and his successors suffered defeat they invariably fled to the neighbourhood of Kashmir, which evidently points to the Kangra valley and the adjoining areas.14

v. This area later on became the stronghold of Trilocanapāla.

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13 Supra, p.153.

14 Supra, pp.157, 161.
APPENDIX C

The Śāhis as Refugees in Kashmir

With the decline of their power in the Panjāb, some of the Śāhi princes seem to have migrated to Kashmir and settled there. Kalhaṇa does not give us a systematic account of these immigrant Śāhis but three generations of them can be clearly identified from the stray references in the Rājatarāṅgini, our only source of information on this period. Of these, the first two generations enjoyed power and influence, but the third was important only in as much as some Kashmirian kings took their wives from amongst its members.

First Generation: Rudrapāla and his Brothers

During the early part of the reign of the Kashmirian king Ananta (A.D. 1028-63), three Śāhi brothers - Rudrapāla, Diddāpāla and Anaṅgapāla - had great influence on the king. They were given large salaries which, according to Kalhaṇa, exhausted the revenues of the country. Rudrapāla alone is said to have received 150,000 dīnāras daily for his maintenance. Diddāpāla and Anaṅgapāla also drew similar large sums in their salaries. And yet, Kalhaṇa says, the spendthrift Śāhis suffered from financial troubles. One of them even thought of breaking up sacred objects such as gold idols to meet the extravagant demands of his family. Rudrapāla went to the extent of protecting robbers, thieves, chanqīlas and the like with a view to acquiring more funds. The king Anantapāla, himself

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1 It is not explicitly mentioned that they belonged to the royal family of the Hindu Śāhis. But in the Rājatarāṅgini they are referred to as 'Sāhīputrāh' which, Stein maintains, suggest their Śāhi origin (op. cit., p.279).

2 Rājatarāṅgini, vii, 145.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., 148.
under the influence of the Śāhis, was consequently led into evil habits which caused him to become heavily involved in debt.

As Rudrapāla was married to a daughter of Inducandra, the lord of Jālandhara, he persuaded Ananta to marry Sūryamatī, his wife's sister. This relationship must have enormously increased the influence of the Śāhis in the Kashmirian palace and consequently in the affairs of the state. Sūryamatī was destined to assume full charge of the royal affairs later in her husband's life.

The exhorbitant demands of Rudrapāla brought him into sharp conflict with the newly appointed superintendent of the royal treasury, Brahmarāja, who, realising his own weak position vis-à-vis the Śāhi princes, resigned from his post. This small incident however led to a dangerous revolt. Brahmarāja allied himself with some disaffected Dāmara chiefs and Acalamaṅgala, king of the Daradas, and invited seven other Mleccha chiefs to invade Kashmir. As the invaders reached a place called Kṣirapṛṣṭha, they were opposed by the Kashmirian troops led by Rudrapāla, who, proving himself to be as extravagant in personal valour as in spending, inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemies. The Darada ruler was killed and rich plunder of gold, jewels and other treasures fell into the hands of Rudrapāla. The fame of the Śāhis rose even higher.

Rudrapāla died of a contagious disease called lūtā. The other princes too found an early death.

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5 Ibid., 150-52. Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, p.117) identifies this name with Indracandra of the genealogical lists of Kangra.
6 Ibid., 166.
7 Ibid., 167.
8 Ibid., 170-76.
9 Ibid., 178.
Second Generation: Bijja and his Brothers

Kalhana mentions four arrogant princes of the Śāhi family - Bijja, Pitharāja, Paja and 'another'\(^{10}\) - who rose into prominence under the Kashmirian king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89). Their exact relationship with Rudrapāla and his brothers is not known. It is noteworthy that their names do not show the usual 'pāla' ending, a characteristic of the Śāhi names from the time of Jayapāla downwards. Bijja was endowed with great courage and persuasive skill, which saved Kalaśa, as the crown prince, from the wrath of his father, Ananta.\(^{11}\) The way Bijja dissuaded the king Ananta from punishing the licentious Kalaśa, and the courage he displayed while talking to the monarch, was widely applauded by the wise men of Kashmir.\(^{12}\) His liking for the prince, on one occasion, obliged him to stand guard at the door of Kalaśa's house to save his life.\(^{13}\)

Bijja was once sent with Jayānanda, another Kashmirian chief, to support Saṅgrāmapāla, the child king of Rājapurī, against any possible attempt at the usurpation of power.\(^{14}\) Jayānanda dispersed the enemies of Saṅgrāmapāla but, to his utter disappointment, he soon discovered that his further stay at Rājapurī was not welcome. Suspecting Bijja of foul play he went back to Kashmir and poured his suspicions into the king's ears. With that started the downfall of the Śāhi chief. One day the king, accompanied by Bijja, went to Jayānanda's house to inquire after his health. In the course of conversation Jayānanda, now on his death-bed, asked the permission of the king to tell him something in

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 274. The name of the fourth brother is not mentioned.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., 323-327. Kalhana says that Bijja confused the simple-minded king with words expressing both tender feeling and roughness.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., 328.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 333-35.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., 536.
secret. Bijja cleverly guessed the nature of the secret talk and asked the king, Kalaśa, for permission to retire. He was eventually allowed to leave the country. He died in exile in an accidental brawl, and his brothers also perished after going through the sufferings of long imprisonment outside Kashmir.16

Third Generation: Queen Vasantalekha and other Śāhi Princesses

The succeeding generations of the Śāhis seem to have dwindled into insignificance. After a long interval Kalhaṇa mentions a certain Śāhi princess, Vasantalekha, as a wife of the Kashmirian king Harṣa17 (A.D. 1089-1101). Some other Śāhi princesses are referred to in the Rājatarāhginī towards the end of Harṣa's reign, when he succumbed to his rebel foes. Fearing that the enemy might storm the palace to get hold of the royal ladies, the Śāhi princesses set it on fire and bravely burned themselves to death.18 Among Kalhaṇa's own contemporaries some Kashmirian Kṣatriya families still traced their origin to the royal dynasty of the Śāhis.19

15 Ibid., 543.
16 Ibid., 544-66.
17 Ibid., 956.
18 See Ibid., 1469-70, 1550, 1571.
19 Ibid., 3230. Y. Mishra (op.cit., pp.230-32), assuming that Bhoja, the son of Harṣa, was born of a Śāhi princess, sought a fourth generation of the Śāhis. But the evidence of the Rājatarāhginī is not conclusive, for Harṣa is known to have had not only the Śāhi princesses but also other queens in his harem, which makes it difficult to precisely identify the mother of Bhoja.
There is much confusion about the correct orthography of the name Sukhapāla. The contemporary writers report it as 'Shūkpāl Nabasa-i Shāh' (Gardīzī, p.179), or simply 'Nawāsa Shāh' (ʿUtbi, ii, p.94).

That Nawāsa Shāh, Persianised as Nabāsa-i Shāh i.e. son of the Shāh's daughter's daughter, was not the actual name is made clear by ʿUtbi (loc.cit.) who says that this was an epithet. Some of the later Muslim historians, however, seem to have taken the epithet for a name and, curiously, also confused its orthography. Thus Nawāsa Shāh (نواب شاہ) was changed into 'Zāb Shāh' (زاب شاہ), 1 Rāb Shāh (رب شاہ) 2 and 'Āb Bāšā Mīr' (اب باشا مير) 3 or simply Nawāsha (نوابشا).

With the first part of the name, 'Shūkpāl', however, the change seems to have occurred the other way round, as the form 'Sūkpāl' 5 > 'Sūkhpāl' 6 > 'Sukhpāl', 7 given by the later historians, sounds more correct than the corruptions of Nabasa-i Shāh, unless of course it be assumed that 'Shūkpāl' is a corrupted form of the Indian name Aśokapāla. The correct Sanskrit form of 'Sukhpāl' may have been Sukhapāla.

Sukhapāla was made governor of the Ghaznavid Indian possessions when Maḥmūd marched to Khurāsān to face Īlak Khan. 8 The Ḍādā ḏl-Ḥarb

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1 Tārīkh-i Alī (DPB, p.809).
2 Tārīkh-i Ḥaidarī (DPB, p.442).
3 Firishta (DPB, p.340). Here the word Mīr is actually a corrupted form of the Persian word mīz, meaning 'also'. Curiously, it has been wrongly read by the editor as part of the name 'Āb Bāšā'.
4 Guzida, p.393.
5 Niẓām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.268).
6 Badaonī (DPB, p.295).
7 Firishta, loc.cit.
8 Supra, p.149 f.
(p.302) mentions the same incident but records 'Sandbāl' (سنبدال) as the name of the governor. It seems therefore that 'Sandbāl' was also another variant of the same name.

It is difficult to determine the true identity of Sukhapāla or Nawāsa Shāh. According to 'Utbi (loc.cit.), he was the scion of one of the Indian kings (الأولاء نوسر صند). The Tarikh-i Aflī (loc.cit.) and the Tarikh-i Haidarī (loc.cit.) also give the same phrase (الأولاء نوالور صند) and may have taken this information from 'Utbi. Nizām ad-Dīn (loc.cit.) replaces the word Nawāsa with the word Nabīra (i.e. son's son) and says that 'Sūkpal' was a Nabīra of the rājā of Hind (شیرة راج صند). According to Firishta9 'Sukhpāl' was the son (پر) of one of the rājās of Hind. Badāoni makes him the Nabasa of the rājā of Sind.10 The Tarikh-i Gusīda (p.393) and the Tarikh-i Khairāt11 omit the phrase, which shows his relationship with the Indian rājās, and say that 'Nawāsha' was the ruler of Multān (صاحب ملائان). The Adhā al-Harb (p.302) however explicitly mentions Sandbāl as the 'grandson of Jayapāla'.

According to Gardīzī 'Shukpāl' was among the prisoners of war captured by Abū 'Alī Simjūrī from Maḥmūd at Nīshāpūr (نیشابور).12 Firishta also gives the same information but the name of the place where Nawāsa was captured is recorded as Peshāwar. Evidently he has confused the word Nīshāpūr with Peshāwar, for Abū 'Alī Simjūrī died in A.D. 997, earlier than the conquest of Peshāwar by Maḥmūd (A.D. 1001-02). M. Nāzim suggests that Sukhapāla was probably among those kinsmen of Jayapāla who were left

9 Loc.cit.
10 Loc.cit.
12 Loc.cit.
as hostages with Sabuktigin in A.D. 986-87 after the battle of Ghûzak.\textsuperscript{13} Nothing is known about the fate of these hostages. Jayapâla's relations with Sabuktigin worsened immediately afterwards and resulted in another war.\textsuperscript{14} It is likely therefore that the hostages were sent to Nishâpûr to be placed in the custody of Maḥmûd, at that time the governor of Khurâsân. In A.D. 995, however, Maḥmûd was driven out of Nishâpûr by Abû 'Alî Simjûrî.\textsuperscript{15} It was probably at this time that Sukhapâla fell into the hands of Abû 'Alî and professed Islâm.\textsuperscript{16} Shortly afterwards he was released and seems to have joined the Ghaznavîd armies.

In the year 398 (1007) he revolted as the Ghaznavîd viceroy in India, but suffered defeat.\textsuperscript{17} Having been captured, he was subsequently handed over by the Sultân to the treasurer (Tîğîn-i Khâzan), who kept him in imprisonment till the Sâhi breathed his last.\textsuperscript{18}

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{13} Op.cit., p.98, fn.1.
\textsuperscript{14} For details see supra, p.136.
\textsuperscript{15} Gardîzî, p.170.
\textsuperscript{16} Niẓâm ad-Dîn (DPB, p.268).
\textsuperscript{17} 'Utbi, ii, p.94.
\textsuperscript{18} Gardîzî, p.179; Niẓâm ad-Dîn (DPB, pp.268–69); Badûnî (DPB, p.295); and Firishta (DPB, p.343).
A little known scion of Sahis seems to have lingered on in his diminished possessions in the Siwalik hills. The Ḍāda al-Ḥarb informs us that, after the incident of Marigala in which the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas'ūd was arrested by his mutinous Turkish troops about A.D. 1040, a certain Sandbāl, a grandson of the Shāh of Kābul, instigated by the desire to become king, collected a huge host of the rāṭa, ṭhākkura and rānās and came out of the mountains to march on Lahore. He was met by the Muslim armies at a place called Qadar Jūr. On perceiving the inferior numbers of the Muslim troops, we are told, Sandbāl planned to exterminate the enemy, before they could get reinforcements, by delivering a powerful quick attack. But the conspicuous position of Sandbāl, as he was riding a horse with a canopy over his head, wrecked the whole plan. He was made a special target by an intrepid Turkish sharp-shooter, who recklessly dashed through the Hindu lines and shot an arrow which pierced through the chest of Sandbāl. The Hindu army, left without a leader, ultimately took to flight.  

In an earlier context the same source mentions a Sandbāl, the 'grandson' of the Shāh of Kābul (Jayapāla), who revolted in Hind while the Sultan Maḥmūd was fighting in Khurāsān in A.D. 1007. This event is recorded by many Muslim chroniclers but the name of the grandson of the Shāh is reported as 'Sukhpāl'. There is no doubt therefore that

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1 Pp.254-56.
2 Ibid.
3 P.302.
Sandbāl is a corrupt form of 'Sukhpāl' of the other historians. He was left in charge of the Ghaznavid possessions in India when the Sultan marched to Khurāsān to crush the power of the Turks under Īlak Khān. But this Sukhapāla (Nawāsā Shāh) was captured by the Sultan, as soon as the latter returned from Khurāsān, and thrown into prison, where he breathed his last. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the two Sandbāls mentioned in different contexts were two different individuals.

Some Muslim historians refer to an alliance of three Indian rājās who are said to have invaded the country of the Muslims at about this time. Of the three the names of 'Devpāl Hariāna' and 'Ṭāb Māl Rāī', two small chiefs in the Siwalik region, are mentioned in many sources but not in the Adab al-Harb. On the contrary the Adab al-Harb mentions, as noticed above, an expedition led by Sandbāl. It seems therefore that Sandbāl was the third ruler in the triumvirate.

4 Supra, Appendix D.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, pp.518-19; Firishta (DPB, pp.401-03); Ḥaidar Rāzī (DPB, pp.500-01); and Tārīkh-i Alfī (DPB, pp.919-20).
7 This name is variously recorded as Ḫusayn b. Jalāl Allāh (Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.), Ḥusayn b. Jalāl Allāh (Ḥaidar Rāzī, loc.cit.) and Ḫusayn b. Jalāl Allāh (Gardīzī, p.201). He was the ruler of Sonīpat.
8 Tārīkh-i Alfī (loc.cit.) and Ḥaidar Rāzī (loc.cit.). Ibn al-Athīr (loc.cit.) gives the form مانط باری.
The Rājās of the Doāb at the time of Mahmūd's Invasions

Sultan Mahmud's campaign in the Ganges Doab in A.D. 1018-19 turned out to be a sweeping round of victories for the Ghaznavid arms. Several little kingdoms through which he passed submitted to him. The poet 'Unsuri gives a list of these places which seem to be precisely in the same order as they were conquered.1 The accounts of 'Utbi and Gardizi, our principal chroniclers, closely agree with the sequence of this list. The poet Farrukhi also mentions certain names in this context, but he seems to have observed no order of sequence.2

There is, however, some confusion about the first place visited by the Sultan. 'Utbi (vol. ii, p. 265) does not explicitly mention its name and only says that the Sultan took some hill forts on the way.3 Similarly Gardizi (p. 183) even fails to mention the 'hill forts' and refers to a certain 'Bakura', the 'ruler of the border of the kingdom of Qanauj' (amir sarhad-i Qanauj), as the first Indian chief who submitted to Mahmud. However, both 'Utbi and Gardizi place this event before the capture of Baran, which suggests that Bakura was probably the rājā of these hill forts. This sequence is followed by Niẓām ad-Dīn (DPB, pp. 271-72), Badāoni (DPB, pp. 296-97) and the Tarikh-i Alfā (DPB, pp. 828-29).

It is obvious therefore that Firishta (DPB, pp. 352-53), and after him Harsukh Rāi (DPB, p. 521) have made an error in describing 'Kūra' (or Bakūra) as the ruler of Kanauj. Apparently they have omitted the word

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2 Diwan, p. 33. He gives the following names: Shāh, Nandā, Rām, Rāi, and Gūr (Kūr).
3 See also Jurbadhqānī, p. 379.
sarhad (border) from the phrase 'امیر sarhad-i qanauj', which explains their wrong attribution. 'Unsuri (loc.cit.) mentions a place-name, 'Shirsawa', at the top of his list. Shirsawa is not reported by any of our chief chroniclers and may have been a corrupted form of some other name. If, however, 'Unsuri has not confused this name with Sharwa, the place attacked by Mahmud at the end of his campaign, there is some reason to assume that Bakura was the ruler of Shirsawa (possibly Sirsawa), which may have been a hill fort situated on the border of the kingdom of Kanauj.

The Sultan then marched to the fort of Baran, the headquarters of the rai Hardat (Nizam ad-Din, DPB, p.271). Baran, written as Barna (بُرَنَا) by most of our chroniclers, but Parna (بَرَنَا) by Nizam ad-Din (DPB, p.271) and Mirat (مَرَت) by Firishta (DPB, p.352), was the old name of the modern town of Bulandshahr. The name Hardat (هردات) has the variants Hardab (هرداًب, Jurbadhqani, p.379; 'Utbi, iii, pp.265-66), Barwat (باروات, Badoni, DPB, p.296) and Harwat (هروات, Firishta, DPB, p.352), but they present no serious orthographical difficulty and are easily explainable as clerical errors.

From Baran the Sultan proceeded to the fort of Mahaban, generally written by the Muslim historians as Mahawan (مہاوان). The name of the ruler of this place is recorded as Kulchand (کولچند, Jurbadhqani, p.379; 'Utbi, ii, p.267), Kuljand (کولجاند, Ibn al-Athir, vol.ix, p.266), Gulkhand (گولکھنڈ, Raudat as Safa, vol.iv, p.113), and Kulchandar (کولچندر, Gardizi, p.183).

4 For the antiquity of this place see Cunningham, ASI, vol.xiv, p.79. Sirsawa is also mentioned by Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi (quoted by M. Nāzim, op.cit., p.106).

5 See also Jurbadhqani, loc.cit.; and Gardizi, loc.cit.

6 This form resembles Meerut, another town of the Doab. If the resemblance is not accidental, Firishta would seem to have confused the two names.

7 IGI, vol.vi, p.428.
The Sultan then marched to the sacred city of Mathura. This name is recorded as Maharat al-Hind (مطرح الهند, Utbi, ii, p.272), Maharat (میرت, Subki, DPB, p.554), Māturā (مئوره, Gardīzī, p.183), and Matūra (مئوره, Niẓām ad-Dīn, DPB, p.271). Firishta (DPB, p.353) and Badaoni (DPB, p.297) give the form Mathurā (مئوره), the correct Indian form. The name of the ruler of this city is not mentioned.8

Leaving the hulk of his army at Mathurā, the Sultan proceeded against Kanauj, the capital of the Pratihāra kingdom. The name of the ruler of this place is recorded as Rājaipāl (راجیال, Utbi, ii, p.276), Rājayāl and Rāhāyān (راجیال, rajian, Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.267), and Jaipal (جبیال, Raudat as-Safā, vol.iv, p.114). It is noteworthy that the first syllable of the name starts with the letter r and never with b, as does that of the Šāhi king who opposed him in his next campaign in the Doāb. The form Rājaipāl closely resembles Rājyapāla known from the Jhusi inscription.9 Thus Rājaipāl/Rājyapāla was the ruler of Kanauj.

From Kanauj the Sultan started his journey back home. On the way he captured the fort of Munj, also known as the fort of the Brahmans, and then marched on Āsī. The name of the ruler of the latter place is recorded as Chandāl Bhūr (چندال بحور, Utbi, ii, pp.279-80), Jandbāl Bhūr (جبندبال بحور, Jurbādqānī, p.383), Chandpāl (چندپال, Firishta, DPB, p.353). M. Nazim restores it as 'Chandar Pāl Bhūr'.10 Thence Mahmūd proceeded to the country of 'Chandar Rā' of Sharwa. At this point the campaign ended and the Ghaznavid forces retired to the Muslim capital.

During the second campaign in the Doāb (A.D. 1020-21), the name of the king who opposed the passage of Mahmūd at the river Rāhib is recorded

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8 According to Firishta, Mathura belonged to the kingdom of the rājā of Delhi.

9 IA, XVIII, 33-35.

as Barúaipál (بُرُجُيْاپِلاَل, Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.309), Tarújaipál (تَرُوجِيْاپِلاَل, Nīzām ad-Dīn, DPB, p.272), Jaipál (جايپال, Badānī, DPB, p.297) or simply Pāl (Haidar Rāzī, DPB, p.462). This Barúaipál was known to be the son of Ānandapāla¹¹ and the grandson of Jayapāla.¹² Nīzām ad-Dīn states that 'Narujaipal' was routed by the Sultan on several occasions¹³ before the battle of Rāhib'. Obviously he is no other than Trilocanapāla, the Sāhi.

There is no confusion about Nanda, whose name is fairly consistently reported as such. A variant of this name, Bīdā (بیدا), is reported by Ibn al-Athīr (vol.ix, p.309) and Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB, p.45). Nanda was the rājā of Khajuraha (Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.) and is generally identified with Vidyādhara, the Chandella ruler of Kālañjara.¹⁴

¹¹ Haidar Rāzī, loc.cit.; and Tarikh-i Alfī (DPB, p.833).
¹² Firishta (DPB, p.357).
¹³ DPB, p.272.
¹⁴ The Struggle for Empire (ed. R.C. Majumdar), Bombay 1957, p.18.
The So-Called Confederacy of the Hindu Princes

Sabuktigin's plundering raid in Lamaghān in A.D. 990 ultimately resulted in a great contest of arms between him and Jayapāla. The information of the following Muslim historians shows that the Šāhis sought the help of the Indian rājās on this occasion and, with a view to pushing the Turks back with a powerful attack, came well prepared to the battlefield.

Jurbāḏqānī: 'Having found himself powerless to do anything, except invoking help of others, he (Jayapāla) sent letters to all directions and collected about 100,000 horsemen and marched to the country of the Muslims.'

Mīrḵhwānd: 'When Jaipāl saw his country slipping out of his hands, he despatched letters to the countries of Hind seeking their help, and collected 100,000 men and started to the Muslim dominions.'

Nilām ad-Dīn: 'Jaipāl, moreover, implored the assistance of the Indian rājās and collected about 100,000 horsemen and elephants and set out for the contest.'

Tārikh-i Alfi: 'When the malik Jaipāl became aware of the (dangerous) situation (caused by Sabuktigin's plundering raid in Lamaghān), he despatched messengers to all directions of Hindūstān and requested armies. He collected 100,000 troops in a short while.'

1 P.32.
2 Vol. iv, p.92.
3 Text in DPB, p.266.
4 Text in DPB, p.801.
Haidar Rāżī: 'He (Jayapāla) despatched messengers to all directions of Hindūstān and requested armies. He collected 100,000 troops in a short while.'

Firishta: 'Having sought the assistance of other rājās and having brought together a large force, he (Jayapāla) marched forth to the contest.' He further states that the rājās of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālanjar and Kanauj, considering help (to Jayapāla) as a step towards the safety of their own dominions, sent the picked men of their armies and provided them with ample provisions.

It is evident from the above information that the Muslim historians, except Firishta, who mentions the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālanjar and Kanauj, do not precisely name the rājās who helped the Śāhis. If Firishta did not take this information from the lost works of Baihaqī, one may assume that he introduced these names of later renown, not as factual history but as possible interpretation of earlier sources which refer to the Indian rājās but fail to locate them precisely. Whatever the reason, the Muslim sources make it amply clear that the Śāhis received help from their Indian counterparts.

This however is only one side of the picture. The alleged help is not depicted in the local sources. Nothing of course in this respect can be expected from the Indian literature which, except for a few stray references in the Rājatarangini, would seem to have nearly blotted the Śāhis out of existence. But had the Śāhis received help we should have been able to find some clue in the inscriptional records of the time. The kings of Ajmer, Kālanjar and Kanauj have left many inscriptions,

5 Text in DPB, p.434.
6 Text in DPB, p.323.
often recording quite unimportant military campaigns, but none of them contain any references to sending contingents against the Turuçkas or Turks. Moreover the eastward expansion of the Šâhis would not have endeared them to the kings of the Gangetic basin. The Indian chiefs of the Doāb at this time were themselves entangled in a constant war of supremacy and looked upon each other with suspicion. They did not even co-operate when their own dominions were threatened at the time of Mahmūd's invasions. It is all the less likely that they would have bothered to help the Šâhis who from their point of view were remote and perhaps as dangerous as the Turuçkas. As a distant point of comparison, the present tensions between Pākistān and Bhārat (India), the successor states of the Šâhis and the rājās of the Doāb, may be reminiscent of the old mistrust. The existence of a confederacy as implied from the statement of Firishtā, therefore, seems doubtful. The rulers referred to in the earlier sources as assisting the Šâhis were probably minor chiefs of the region, who were more or less subordinate to them in any case.
A List of Inscriptions

A. INDIAN SCRIPTS

1. Kabul image inscription of Khingalā Śāhī: engraved in two lines on the pedestal of a marble image of the Hindu god Gaṇeśa. At present the inscription lies in the Dargāh Pir Ratan Nāṭh at Kabul but it is reported to have been brought from Gardīz, about 70 miles south of the capital. The inscription mentions a Paramaṅgaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śāhī Khingala (G. Tucci, East and West, vol.9, 1958, pp.327 f. and fn.29; D.C. Sircar, EI, vol.xxxv, pt.1, 1963, pp.44-46).

2. Hātūn rock inscription of Paṭoladeva: engraved on a rock situated about a mile south of the hamlet of Hātūn on the right bank of the river Ishkuman in Gilgit. The inscription was discovered by A.W. Redpath in 1941. It refers to the rule of Paramaṅgaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Paṭoladeva Śāhī in whose reign, on the 13th day of the bright half of Pausha in the year 47, the inscription was engraved (EI, vol.xxx, 1953-54, p.226 ff.).

3. Rāṅgat slab inscription: engraved on a fragmentary white marble slab. It was found by Major Deane in A.D. 1894 at Rāṅgat in the North West Frontier Province. The extant portion contains four lines. The inscription is preserved in the Lahore Museum (no.25a) (EI, vol.xxi, no.44, 1931-32).

4. Toči valley inscription of the Laukika year 32. This is a bilingual Arabic and Sanskrit inscription. It was found by a Mr Pears in the Toči valley, situated to the north-west of Bannu. The Arabic portion written in Kūfic letters records the date Friday, 13th Jumādī 1, 243 (7th September, 857). The Sanskrit portion has the date saṃvat 32, in the month of Kārtika (September-October), the second day of the dark fortnight. The inscription lies in the
5. Tochi valley inscription of the Laukika year 38. This was found by Captain A.H. Barnes at a place called Khazāna about four miles from Mir 'Alī on the Īdak-Spinwām road in the Tochi Agency. It contains Bactrian and Sanskrit texts. The Sanskrit portion bears the date samvat 38, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādra. The king's name, reconstructed as 'Nai(vi)nā-Chandra Phruma', the son of Khajana, is not certain (A.H. Dani, op. cit., pp.130 f.; H. Humbach, op.cit., pp.109 f.).

6. Gumbatūna slab inscription (Pl.VI): neatly engraved on a white marble slab of which only a small fragment remains. The inscribed portion seems to have been subsequently used as a quern. As a result of rubbing the middle portion of the extant inscription has been completely obliterated. The slab was found in 1970 by the exploration team of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshāwar, in the ruins of the Gumbatūna fort, near Ziārat in Tālāsh valley, in the Dīr district of the North West Frontier Province. At present it lies in the site museum at Chakdara.

7. Hund image inscription. It was found on the base of a mutilated image at Hund. The inscription is much damaged. From the eye-copy of this inscription published by Prinsep, it is hard to make out anything. It probably lies in the National Museum, Calcutta. (For references see infra, no.15).

8. A damaged stone inscription from Hund. The stone slab bearing this inscription was presented by the Khān of Hund and is now preserved in the Peshāwar Museum. The stone is much damaged in the centre and many of the letters have been irretrievably lost. The date, given at the end, of which only the last portion can be read, apparently
mentions the name of the season, the month and the day. Words like *kritam kriṭi* in line 8 would indicate that it is a Śaivite inscription recording the construction of a temple (H. Hargreaves, *ASI*, Report, 1923–24, p.67; M.A. Shakur, op.cit., p.11).

9. Śrī Mūlaśaṅka's inscription from Dewal. The stone slab bearing this inscription was found at Dewal and presented to the Peshāwar Museum by Sir John Maffey. The inscription consists of 8 lines of neatly engraved characters. It mentions the excavation of a well by Mūlaśaṅka at the instance of Sahasyarāja, in *samvat* 108, on the 9th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Āśvina (M.A. Shakur, op.cit., pp.2 f.).

10. Dewai stone inscription of the Śāhi king Bhīmadeva: engraved on a small rectangular stone slab which is badly broken and cracked on the inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewai, Gadūn territory, in the North West Frontier Province. The inscription consists of four lines of Śāradā characters. The extent text refers to Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Śāhi Śrī Bhīmadeva, son of Śrī Kāla(kama)lavarman (*EL*, vol.xxi, no.44, 1931–32, pp.298 f.). The rubbing of an inscription of the Śāhi period sent to Professor A.L. Basham by Dr L.D. Barnett and reported by D.B. Pandey (op.cit., p.135) as missing is the one noticed here. Professor Basham still possesses the rubbing.

11. Ratnamañjarī's inscription of the time of Vijayapāladeva: neatly engraved on a stone slab. The exact provenance of this inscription is not known. It was photographed by Professor G. Tucci in Peshāwar when a peasant was trying to sell it to an antique dealer. The inscription starts with an invocation to Gaṇeṣa, which is followed by the date: *samvat* 120, etc. The purpose of the inscription is to commemorate the foundation of a *matha*, located in Marmalika, by Ratnamañjarī, daughter of a certain ruler who bears the title
Mahārājādhirājakirātapatakṣabhīmukha. The present location of this inscription is not known. (East and West, vol.xx, 1970, pp.103 f.).

12. Barīkot inscription of the reign of Jayapāla. The grey slate stone slab bearing this inscription was found on a hill to the north of Barīkot in upper Swat. It is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (no.119). The text of the inscription is mostly obliterated, except the first two lines in which the name Jayapāladeva and his title Parambhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parameśvara can be read with precision (EI, vol.xxi, no.44, 1931-32, pp.298 f.).

13. Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva. For details see Appendix A.

14. Śrī Kāmeśvarī's inscription from Hund: neatly engraved on a small rectangular stone slab. It was found in the foundation of an old wall at Hund and presented to the Peshāwar Museum by Major E.H. Cobb. It records the construction of a temple by Mahārājī Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī. The work on the temple was commenced on Saturday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āsvina in the year 158. The temple was consecrated on Thursday (?), the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āsāṅha in the year 159. The architect, Jayantarāja, who supervised the construction, was an Āvantika (= an inhabitant of Āvanti or Mālwā). (EI, vol.xxii, 1933-34, p.97; M.A. Shakur, op.cit., pp.12 f.).

15. Hund marble slab inscription of Śrī Pillaka Brahman. The inscription was found in a building at Hund. It was removed by A. Burnes in 1837 (Cabool, London 1842, p.120) and sent to the National Museum Calcutta. A copy of the text of this inscription prepared on the spot by hand was sent to J. Prinsep who published it in 1837 (JASB, vol.vi, pt.2, 1837, pp.876 ff.). The name of the Brahman read by Prinsep at Tillak has been restored by us as Pillaka. A comparison of the text of this
inscription with that of no.14 above, shows that a number of stanzas are common to both. For details see supra, p.248.

16. A defaced rock inscription from Jalālābād mentioned by J. Ph. Vogel (Antiquities of Chamba State, pt.1, p.259) is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (no.153).

17. A defaced rock inscription from Tarwara in Maidān Bandā near Koṭa on the right bank of the Panjikora (district Dīr) is mentioned by Vogel (loc.cit.), and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (no.76).

18. A Śāradā inscription from Surkh Piṇḍ (old Shāhpūr district), Panjāb, is also mentioned by Vogel (loc.cit.), and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (no.159).

19. Vogel (loc.cit.) also mentions a stone inscription from Dal Mahat, on the Indus near Torbela. It is dated samvat 84 Śrāvaṇa va tī 5, and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (no.108). The characters of this inscription look somewhat younger than the Śāradā inscription mentioned above.

B. BACTRIAN CURSIVE SCRIPT

1. The inscriptions of Uruzgān. Two rock inscriptions in Bactrian Cursive script from Uruzgān, about 175 miles to the north-west of Qandahār, have been discussed by A.D.H. Bivar (JRAS, 1954, pp.112-18). The inscription referred to by him as Uruzgān 2 is situated about two miles to the west of Uruzgān 1. The former refers to a certain Tegin. The inscriptions do not seem to have been associated with any monument or structure.

2. Jagatu rock inscriptions: two in all. They were found on separate rocks at Jagatū, to the north-west of Ghazna. They were reported and discussed by U. Scerrato and A. Bombaci (East and West, vol.17, 1967, pp.11 ff.). See also H. Humbach 'Two inscriptions in Graeco-Bactrian

3. TochI valley inscription of the year 632. It forms part of the Sanskrit inscription no.5 mentioned above. The Bactrian text of the inscription mentions a certain 'Phromo Šahi'.

4. TochI valley inscription of the year 635. It forms part of an Arabic inscription. The stone bearing this inscription, now in the Peshawar Museum, was received from Major Keen, who found it at Shertalao in the TochI Agency (*H. Humbach, op.cit., pp.114 ff.*; *Ancient Pakistan*, vol.1, 1964, pp.132 f.).

5. Another TochI valley inscription of the year 635. (*H. Humbach, op.cit., p.117.*)

(For a detailed analysis of these inscriptions, see Chapter 7 on Palaeography.)
APPENDIX I

Catalogue of the Coins Illustrated
in Plates II-V

TURK ŚĀHIS

Vahitigina/Barhatigīn (Pl.II, 1-4)

Silver

Obv. Within an inner circle bust of king shown in three-quarters frontal position. King wears a diadem, necklace, ear-pendants and a crown marked by triśūla emblems. Ends of the diadem float in the air. Bactrian legend to r. reads CPI POYO (= Śrī Śāhi). In the margin between the inner and the outer circles legend in proto-Śāradā characters reads Śrī Hitivira Kharalāva Parameśvara Śrī Vahitigina.

Rev. Within an inner circle bust of deity wearing a necklace, bunches of flowers and a crown which shows converging flames ascending to a point. The Pahlavī legend to the right and left of the deity reads Tkyn’ hwī’s’n Mlk’ (= Tekin Khurāsān Shāh) and hept hept’ t (= 77).

1. As above. (Göbl, Dokumente ..., vol.III, Pl.48, 29).
2. As above. (Ibid., Pl.48, 30).
3. As above. (Ibid., Pl.48, 34).
4. As above. (Ibid., Pl.48, 35).
Billon

Obv. Within dotted circle bust of king to r. King wears a necklace, ear-pendants and a crown showing triśūla marks and wings with crescent-and-star design on the top. Ends of the diadem float in the air at the back of the head. The Bactrian legend to the right reads CPI TOINO BÖYO (= 'Śrī TigIn Sāhi').

Rev. Fire-altar flanked by two devotees wearing loose Indian dress. Central portion of the fire-altar bears a small inscription which reads as 'Śrī Yadevi/Śahi Śrī'.

5. As above. (Göbl, op.cit., Pl.46, Em. No.206, 1).
6. As above. (Ibid., Pl.46, Em. No.206, 2).
7. As above. (Ibid., Pl.46, Em. No.206, 3).
8. As above. (Ibid., Pl.46, Em. No.206, 4).

Khiṅgala/Khinjil (Pl.II, 9-10)

Silver

Obv. Bust of king to r. within dotted circle, wearing a necklace, ear-pendants and a conical cap. Ends of the diadem float in the air. At the back of the head is the symbol ṣ or one of its many variants. The legend in Indian characters is much disfigured on the examples illustrated here, but on the better examples it clearly reads Khiṅgi(śa). The letter ī in the present examples seems to have been merged with the stroke for medial ī.

Rev. Fire-altar flanked by two devotees. In most cases the reverse of these coins is obliterated.

9. As above. Weight: 3.41 gms (Göbl, op.cit., Pl.20, Em. No.57, 3).
10. As above. Weight: 3.53 gms (Ibid., Pl.20, Em. No.57, 3).
Spalapatideva (Pl.III, 1-12)

Silver

Obv. Recumbent humped bull l., with trident on rump and star below neck.
   Above legend Śrī Spalapatideva.

Rev. King on horseback r. holding lance in r. hand. Legend in corrupt
   Bactrian script reads CPI CΠAYABAA (= 'Śrī Ispahbadh' = 'Śrī
   Spalapati').

Variety I: Bactrian legend recognisable.

1. As above. Standard of horseman shows floating streamer (British
   Museum).

2. As above. With Π above horse's rump (British Museum).

3. As above. Standard of horseman shows several streamers (British
   Museum).

4. As above. With bow and arrow instead of streamers (British Museum).

5. As above. With Φ above horse's rump (British Museum).

Variety II: Bactrian legend further deteriorates.

6. As no.5. With Φ above the horse's rump (British Museum).

7. As above. With floating streamers. The Bactrian legend can no
   longer be recognised (British Museum).

Variety III: Corrupt remains of the Bactrian legend resemble
   Arabic Numerals.

8. As no.7. With Φ above the horse's rump (British Museum).

9. As above. With Φ above the horse's rump (British Museum).

10. As above. With Φ above the horse's rump (British Museum).

11, 12. As above. The Bactrian legend disappears altogether (British
   Museum).
HINDU ŚĀHIS

Sāmantadeva (Pl.III, 13-19)

Silver

Obv. Recumbent humped bull 1. with trident on rump and a star below neck. Above legend Śrī Sāmantadeva.

Rev. King on horseback holding a lance in r. hand, with bhī in the field to 1. Corrupt remains of Bactrian legend resemble Arabic numerals.

13. As above. Bhī looks more like ḳṭ, with bha having solid loop (British Museum).

14. As above. Figure of horseman more stylised. Bactrian legend turns into irregular stroke. Remnants of CPI take the form of a plume over horse’s head (British Museum).

15. As above. With conch-shell symbol over horse’s head (British Museum).

16. As above. Loop of bhī opens to r. (芰) (British Museum).

17. As above. Loop of bhī opens to l. (ENCIL) (British Museum).

18. As above. Plume turns into a three-pointed symbol (роме) (British Museum).

19. As above. Plume turns into the letter ta (蛭) (British Museum).

Copper

Obv. Elephant walking left. Above legend Śrī Sāmantadeva.

Rev. Lion to r. with tail curved over back.

20. As above (British Museum).

21. As above. With a flower in the bend of tail (British Museum).

22. As no.20 above (British Museum).

23, 24. As no.21 above. (British Museum).
Khudarayaka (Pl.IV, 1-6)

Silver

Obv. Recumbent humped bull to l. Above legend Śrī Khudarayaka.

Rev. King on horseback with lance in r. hand. In the field to l. is the letter da or ma and to r. remains of the Bactrian legend.

1. As above. With $^4$ over horse's head (Peshawar Museum).
2. As above. (Peshawar Museum).
3. As above. But the sign over horse's head resembles the Arabic word 'adl (Peshawar Museum).
4. As no.1 above. (British Museum)
5. As no.3 above. (British Museum)
6. As above. But with $^*$ over horse's head (British Museum).

Vakkadeva (Pl.IV, 7-12)

Copper

Obv. Caparisoned elephant walking l. Above legend Śrī Vakkadeva.

Rev. Lion to r. with tail turned over back.

7. As above. With a diamond-shaped design (probably śrīvatsa sign) on the lion's rump. (British Museum).
8. As above. With ra beneath the lion (British Museum).
9. As above. With a flower in the bend of lion's tail (British Museum).
10. As above. (British Museum)
11. As above. Without the flower (British Museum).

Bhimadeva (Pl.IV, 13-16)

Silver

Obv. Recumbent humped bull to l. with trident on rump. Above legend Śrī Bhimadeva.

Rev. King on horseback r., holding lance in r. hand.
13. As above. With the disfigured letter bhl (تسجيل) in the field to l. (British Museum)

14. As above. The loop of bhl opens to r. (تسجيل) (British Museum).

Copper

Obv. Elephant walking to l. Above legend Śrī Bhīmadeva.
Rev. Lion to r. with tail curved over back.

15. As above (Macdowall, NC, 1968, Pl.XIX, 44).

Gold

Obv. Within circle of minute dots - bearded king, wearing dhotī, seated cross-legged on throne, extending r. hand to a person standing to r. Between the human figures is a trident symbol. Above legend (?) Śāhi Śrī Bhīmadeva; with aksara go below throne.
Rev. Within circle of minute dots - bearded king, seated in rājalīlā pose with r. hand raised and l. hand resting on thigh; Lakṣīmi seated to r. holding lotus in l. hand. Above legend (?) Śrīmad Guṇanidhi Śrī Sāmantadeva.


Kuṣāṇo-Sāsānian coins (Pl.V, 1-2)

Obv. Bust of bearded king r. within dotted circle. King wears a necklace, ear-pendants and a crown showing curved horn on one side and stepped design on the other with palm leaves and globule on the top. Ends of the diadem are elongated and float in the air. The circle leaves a wide margin on the outside. Enlarged. (Compare, Gōbl, op.cit., Pl.9, Em. 1, 1).

Rev. Fire-altar flanked by two devotees wearing loose upper garments and trousers and each holding a hooked object.

1. As above (Gumbatūna).
2. As above (Gumbatūna).
Pl. V, 3. Spalapatideva's turban compared with that of a (?) Bodhisattva (Pl. V, 4) from Taxila.
APPENDIX J

Key to Fig.4: Individual letters and other marks on the Šahi coins

All the references are to D.W. Macdowall, NC, 1968, Pl.XVII-XIX, unless quoted otherwise.

I₁, infra, Pl.III, 7.
I₂, Pl.XVII, 2.
I₃, infra, Pl.III, 9.
I₁₃, infra, Pl.IV, 1.
I₄, infra, Pl.IV, 2.
I₁₅, Pl.XVIII, 2.
I₁, Pl.XVII, 1.
I₂, Pl.XVII, 7.
I₃, infra, Pl.III, 5.
I₄, infra, Pl.III, 8.
I₁₂, infra, Pl.III, 7.
I₂, infra, Pl.III, 4, 6.
I₃, Pl.XVII, 7.
I₄, Pl.XVII, 10.
I₅, Pl.XVII, 11.
I₆, Pl.XVII, 13.
I₇, infra, Pl.III, 10.
I₈, Pl.XVII, 19.
I₉, infra, Pl.III, 17, 18.
I₁₀, Pl.XVIII, 30, 33.
I₁₁, Pl.XVIII, 22, and Peshawar Museum.
I₁₂, E. Thomas, JRAS, vol.IX, 1848, Plate facing p.177, no.3.
I₁₉, infra, Pl.IV, 14.
I₂₀, Pl.XVIII, 29.
I₂₁, Pl.XVIII, 28.
I₁, Pl.XVII, 1.
I₂, Pl.XVII, 4.
I₃, Pl.XVII, 8.
I₄, Pl.XVII, 14.
I₈, Pl.XVII, 19.
I₉, Pl.XVII, 23.
I₁₀, Pl.XVIII, 22.
I₁₁, Pl.XVIII, 24.
I₁₂, infra, Pl.III, 13.
I₁₃, Pl.XVIII, 20.
I₁₄, infra, Pl.IV, 1.
V₈, Pl.XVIII, 25.
V₉, infra, Pl.III, 18.
V₁₀, Thomas, op.cit., no.3.
V₁₁, Pl.XVIII, 26.
V₁₃, infra, Pl.IV, 5.
V₁₄, Cunningham, CMI, Pl.VII, 15, 16.
V₁₅, Pl.XVIII, 20.
V₁₉, Pl.XVIII, 28.
V₁₈, Pl.XVIII, 27; infra, Pl.III, 19.
VI₉, Pl.XVIII, 30.
VI₁₀, Pl.XVIII, 31; infra, Pl.III, 15.
VI₁₁, Pl.XVIII, 32.
VI₁₉, Pl.XVIII, 29; infra, Pl.IV, 14.
VII₁, Pl.XVII, 7.
VII₂, Pl.XVII, 5.
VII₃, infra, Pl.III, 5.
VII₄, Pl.XVII, 17.
VII₅, Pl.XVII, 9.
VII₆, Pl.XVII, 8.
VII₇, Pl.XVII, 16.
VII₁₆, infra, Pl.IV, 8.
VII₁₇, ibid., 12.
VII₁₈, ibid., 9.
VII₁₉, ibid., 16.
VIII₁, infra, Pl.III, 2.
VIII₂, ibid., 5.
VIII₃, ibid., 10.
VIII₄, ibid., 7.
VIII₅, ibid., 6.
VIII₆, ibid., 18, 24.
VIII₉, ibid., 17, 20.
VIII₁₀, ibid., 16.
VIII₁₁, ibid., 14.
VIII₁₆, infra, Pl.IV, 10.
VIII₁₇, ibid., 7.
VIII₁₈, ibid., 15.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian Scripts (Proto-Sarada and Sarada)</th>
<th>FIG. 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Table: Indian Scripts (Proto-Sarada and Sarada)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Script</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proto-Sarada</td>
<td>A primitive form of the Sarada script</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarada</td>
<td>A more developed form of Proto-Sarada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### FIG. 1

Legend or additional notes related to the table.
### Bactrian Cursive Script

**Fig. 2**

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**Uruzgan and Jagatg Inscriptions**

**Coin Legends (Turkish Period)**

**Tocht Valley Inscriptions**

(Continued)

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### Palaeographical Chart of the Śāhi Coins

| Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra | Vaktra | Bhitra |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| A | KHA | GA | TA | DA | NA | PA | BHA | MA | YA | RA | LA | VA | SA | SA | HA |
| A | KHA | GA | TA | DA | NA | PA | BHA | MA | YA | RA | LA | VA | SA | SA | HA |
| A | KHA | GA | TA | DA | NA | PA | BHA | MA | YA | RA | LA | VA | SA | SA | HA |
| A | KHA | GA | TA | DA | NA | PA | BHA | MA | YA | RA | LA | VA | SA | SA | HA |
### INDIVIDUAL LETTERS AND OTHER MARKS ON THE SÂHI COINS

#### FIG. 4

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**MARKS TO THE LEFT OF HORSEMAN**
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- II
- III

**MARKS TO THE RIGHT**
- IV
- V
- VI
- VII

**OTHER MARKS**
- VIII

*GROUP I*, *GROUP II*, *GROUP III*:
- MARKS BENEATH THE ANIMALS

**FOR REFERENCES SEE APPENDIX J**
### Chart Showing the Use of Medial Vowels in the Śāhi Inscriptions

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(Based on weights listed by D. H. Macdonald and coins in the Lahore and Peshawar Museums)
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BASH QALA' (FORT): GROUND PLAN

DEOLAI GHAR
(MOUNT DEOLAI)

DEFENSIVE WALL

MACHO VALLEY
GUMBATUNA: SECTION OF TRENCH C2

ROUGH DIAPER WALL

PERIODS II AND III

STONES AND GRIOTS

BROWNSH EARTH

ASHES AND CHARCOAL

FALLEN STONES

BURNED CLAY

STUPA

INDEX

LOOSE SOIL
COMPACT EARTH
ASHES
CHARCOAL
POTTERY
FALLEN STONES
VEGETATION

ASHER AND CHARCOAL

SCALE:

0 1 2 3 FEET
FIG. 19

NANDANA FORT

(AFTER A. STEIN)
FIG. 21

MALAT: TEMPLE AND GATEWAY

TEMPLE

GATEWAY

(AFTER A. CUNNINGHAM)
Plate I

Hund: slab inscription of the time of Jayapaladeva

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
Plate II

Turk Shahi Coins

Barhatigün

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Topico boyo

Khińila
Plate IV

HINDU ŚĀHI COINS

KHUDARAYAKA

10 BHIMADEVA

YAKKADEVA

11
12

BHĪMADEVA

15
16
A. Kuşano-Sassanian Coins from Gumbatūna

1.

2.

B. Showing resemblance between the turbans

3. Spalapatideva

4. Head of a rāja from Taxila.
Plate VI

Gumbatūna: marble slab inscription
A. Kamāl Khān Chīna: a circular bastion

B. Kat Qala': a square bastion with towers
Plate VIII

FORTS AND CITADELS

A. Haibat Rām (near Thāna)

B. Haibat Rām (near Thāna)
Plate IX

FORTS AND CITADELS

A. Kulangî Kandre

B. Kulangî Kandre: a close view
A. Damkot: defensive wall on the top

B. Damkot: defensive wall on the river side
Plate XI

FORTS AND CITADELS

A. Dīgadhāi: a group of structures

B. Dīgadhāi: Bāchā Māne
Plate XII

FORTS AND CITADELS

A. Dīgādhāi: a partly exposed niche

B. Skhā Chīna
Plate XIII

FORTS AND CITADELS

A. Gumbatūna: A general view of Stargo Māñe

B. Gumbatūna: A close view of Stargo Māñe
Hindu Temple

1. Kāfir Kot North

2. Kāfir Kot South (Bilot)

4. Nandana

5. Kāfir Kot South
British Museum: Terracottas from (?) Panjāb
Pl. XVI

Sculptures

Damkot: Terracotta plaque showing Buddha
1. Attock: Viṣṇu in marble (front view) 2. Viṣṇu in marble (back view)

3. Female bust in limestone

4. Bambolai: Terracotta head

5. Bambolai: Three terracotta heads

1. Attock: Śiva and Pārvatī
2. Khair Khāneh: Sūrya in marble
3. Gardīz: Head of Śiva in marble
4. Peshāwar District: Pārvatī in potstone
5. Peshāwar District: Śiva and Pārvatī in potstone
6. Attock: Kārttikeya in stone
7. Gardīz: Head of Durgā in marble
Pl. XIX

Sculptures

1. Kashmir Smats: Dancing Śiva

2. Kashmir Smats: Śiva as medicant