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THE LAST TWO DYNASTIES OF THE ŚĀHIS

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

by

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

Rehman 20.1.76

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 Śāhis - 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 Kshāyatiyānām Kshāyatiya (p.viii).¹

The earliest use of the word śāhi on the coins goes back to the time of the Kuṣāṇas. 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 Kashmīr, and the Hindū Kush mountains to the hills in eastern Panjāb. The districts of Rukhkhaj 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 Śāhi kingdom extended from Lamghān in the north-west to the borders of Kashmīr and Multān. The kingdom diminished

¹ All references are to the text of the present work.

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Abbreviations and the System of Dates

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

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 Afghānistān 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 Kābul were called 'Shāhī'¹ (Śāhi). 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). Iṣṭakhrī (A.D. 951) uses the form Shāh as a title for the pre-Ghaznavīd rulers of Kābul.³ The Dewai stone inscription of Bhīma⁴ (c. A.D. 921-64) and the *Rājatarāṅginī*⁵ (c. A.D. 1149) have the form Śāhi. The Kābul image (our no.1) and the Hātūn rock (our no.2) inscriptions give the spelling Śāhi.

The precise origin of the word Śāhi or Shāhi is nowhere recorded, but there is no doubt that this is the Indianised form of the Kuṣāṇa title *Shao* found on the copper coins of Kanīṣka. The full form of this title, *Shao nano shao*, occurs on the gold coins of the same king.⁶ The

¹ *Fī Tahqīq Mā l'il-Hind*, Hyderabad 1958, pp.348-51.

² *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, Leiden 1872, p.328.

³ *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, Leiden 1870, p.280.

⁴ See *infra*, p.244.

⁵ Translated by M.A. Stein, Indian repr. 1961, pp.217, 255, 339.

⁶ P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, Delhi 1969, p.29.

Kuṣāṇas also used the Greek title *Basileas Basileon*⁷ of which *shaonanoshao*, according to some writers, is an adaptation. If this be the case, the origin of the word *Śāhi* may be traced from *Basileos (sic) Basileon*. It seems more likely, however, that *shaonanoshao* 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 Kuṣāṇa adaption of the word.

The Indian equivalent of *shaonanoshao* is *rājarāja* or *rājadirāja*⁹ 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 *Śāhi* on the coins of the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas.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 Afghānistān, Gandhāra and the Panjāb preceded the establishment of the Ghaznavīd empire in these regions.

⁷ Ibid. A. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, 1962 Indian repr., p.126.

⁸ S. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors*, Calcutta 1941, p.140, verses 9-10; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, vol.1, Calcutta 1965, pp.3f.

⁹ See P.L. Gupta, op.cit., p.23.

¹⁰ Cunningham, op.cit., p.184.

¹¹ Some Ephthalite coins have the legends '*Shāhi Jabwla*' and '*Deva-Shahi Khinggila*' (Cunningham, op.cit., p.265); the Kura inscription mentions a Śāhi Toramāna. The names Vidyādhara Śāhi and Thakkana Śāhi are known from the *Rājatarānginī* (vii, 913; vi, 230). The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samūdra Gupta mentions a *devaputra Śāhi Śāhānsāhi* (D.C. Sircar, op.cit., p.266).

The history of the Eastern branch of the Turk Śāhis, with Kābul and Gandhāra as its centre of power, is very obscure. The Western branch of the family, which ruled in Zābulistān and Rukhkhaj under the title 'Rutbīl', 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 Balādhurī¹² (d. 892), Ya'qūbī¹³ (d. 897) and Ṭabarī¹⁴ (d. 923). Of these again only Balādhurī gives a connected account. Māmūn's invasion of Kābul is mentioned by Azraqī in detail.¹⁵

The accounts of Balādhurī and Ṭabarī are in general based on the works of al-Madāinī (d. 830), Ma'amar 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.¹⁶ Al-Madāinī is in fact known to have made use of even earlier works including those of the famous biographer of the Prophet, Ibn Ishāq, who is also said to have written a history of the Caliphs. Al-Madāinī's books on the conquests in Sijistan¹⁷ and Khurāsān¹⁸ 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,

¹² *Futūḥ al-Baldān*, Leiden 1866, pp.392-402.

¹³ *Tārīkh*, Leiden 1883; *Kitāb al-Baldān*, Leiden 1861.

¹⁴ *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, Leiden 1879-1901.

¹⁵ See *infra*, p.85, fn.126.

¹⁶ For a detailed notice of the works of these writers, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, 1964 Beirut repr., pp.93, 100.

¹⁷ Actually *Kitāb Futūḥ Sijistān* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *op.cit.*, p.103).

¹⁸ Actually *Kitāb Futūḥ Khurāsān* (*ibid.*).

trade, products, exports, etc., of the different parts of the Islāmic world. Some geographers undertook lengthy journeys to gather first hand information. While discussing the frontier regions of the Islāmic world they also briefly refer to the neighbouring non-Islāmic countries. Of these writers the works of Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hauqal, Mas'ūdī¹⁹ (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 *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*,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 Mīr Khwānd²⁶ (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 Shāhs with the Rutbīls and vice versa. The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*²⁷ gives a connected account of the events in more detail and also emphasises the role of a new power - the Khārijites - whose turbulent nature hampered

19 *Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahāb wā Ma'adin al-Jauhar* (ed. A. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille), Paris 1861-77.

20 *Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fi Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, E.J. Brill, 1906 repr.

21 See *infra*, p.17.

22 Ed. Manoochih Sotoodeh, Tehran 1962.

23 *Al-Kāmil fī l'-Tārīkh*, 1965 Beirut repr.

24 See *infra*, p.42, fn.39.

25 *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, Tehran 1336.

26 *Raudat aṣ-Ṣafā*, Iran 1339.

27 Ed. Bahār, Tehran 1936.

the progress of Islām in this region and also to some extent saved the Śāhis 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 Śāhis and very often tended to glorify their own masters. They treated the history of the Śāhis only where it was relevant to their account of their own compatriots.

Some information about the internal conditions of the Turk Śāhi kingdom is available from Chinese sources. The *Tang Shu*²⁸ records several embassies from different parts of the Śāhi kingdom. Similarly the reports of Huei Ch'ao (A.D. 726) and Wu K'ong²⁹ (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 Śāhis. The Muslim provinces on the frontiers of the Śāhi 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 Śāhis 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'*

²⁸ See *infra*, p.79, fn.96.

²⁹ For references see *infra*, p.39, fn.20-21.

al-Hikāyāt (A.D. 1228) mention a conflict between the Muslim governor of Ghazna and the *rāī* of Kābul in the time of 'Amr b. Laith.³⁰ The *Rājatarangīnī* mentions a Kashmīrian inroad into the Śāhi territory at the end of Lalliya's reign.³¹ Alaptigīn's invasion of Kābul and the defeat of its Indian ruler is described in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*³² (A.D. 1260), the *Siyāsat Nāmeḥ*³³ (A.D. 1091-2) and the *Majma' al-Ansāb*³⁴ (A.D. 1332).

For the later part of the history of the Hindu Śāhis we have the contemporary accounts of Albīrūnī, 'Utbī, Gardīzī and Baihaqī.³⁵ Unfortunately one of the most important works of Baihaqī, called *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*, sometimes also confused with 'Utbī'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 Trilocanapāla 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.³⁶

³⁰ See infra, p.116.

³¹ See infra, p.108.

³² Written by Abū 'Umar Minhāj ad-Dīn 'Uthmān b. Sirāj ad-Dīn Jūzjānī. H.G. Raverty's trans., vol.1, 1970 Indian repr., p.71 f.

³³ Composed by Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. 'Alī commonly known as Nizām al-Mulk. Ed. by M. Qazvīnī, Tehran 1344, p.163 f.

³⁴ Of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Alī b. ash-Shaikh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Abū Bakr. The text of this source is reproduced by Sa'īd Nafīsī in his *Dar Pīrāmūn Tārīkh-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 Śāhis merely against the evidence of their coins, which was imperfectly understood. Habīb³⁷ and Nāẓim,³⁸ while dealing with the history of Maḥmūd of Ghazna also refer to the Śāhis. Besides this, Nāẓim wrote a separate article³⁹ on the same subject and discussed the evidence of the *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*⁴⁰ for the first time. But these are only short accounts and do not deal with the history of the Śāhis 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 Śāhis of Afghanistan And the Punjab* (Patna 1972), is written by Professor Yogendra Mishra; and the second, *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab* (Delhi 1973), by Dr Deena Bandhu Pandey. Mishra's work deals primarily with the Hindu Śāhis while the Turks have been dismissed in two paragraphs. He has exploited the evidence of the *Rājataranḡiṇī* 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 Śāhis at some length but he does not seem to have studied, in original Arabic and Persian, the chronicles listed in the bibliography

³⁷ *Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznin*, Delhi 1951.

³⁸ *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931.

³⁹ 'The Hindu Shāhiya Kingdom of Ohind', *JRAS*, 1927, pp.485-95.

⁴⁰ The full title of this work is *Ādāb al-Ḥarb waḥ-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 Sulṭān 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 Kābul 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 Śāhi 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 Śāhi 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 Śāhis. 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 'Ibrahim bin Jabbal' (pp.32, 72); the name of the writer Muḥammad b. Manṣūr (Muḥammad the son of Manṣūr) is very often written as 'Mansur' (pp.78, 128, 249); the name Kashmīr 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 Sakāvanta in the time of Kamalavarman (p.122), that 'the village of Lahor has more mounds than Hund' (p.123) and that 'Trilochanapāla was the first Shāhi king to have been put to death by the Muslims' (p.113, fn.207), etc. Having visited both Lāhor 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 Śāhis. The result of this enquiry are the following eight chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with the ancient geography. The country of the Śāhis 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 Śāhis 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 Śāhis and the Hindu Śāhis separately.

The coinage of the Śāhis is the most involved question of their history. It has attracted the attention of very eminent numismatists⁴⁴ 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 Śāhi 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

⁴⁴ 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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Transliteration

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

اَ = ā	ذ = <u>dh</u>	ع = ' (vowel)	ي = i, ai, y
ب = b	ر = r	غ = <u>gh</u>	ه = ' (vowel)
پ = p	ز = z	ف = f	و = h
ت = t	س = s	ق = q	
ث = <u>th</u>	ش = <u>sh</u>	ک = k	
ج = j	ص = ṣ	ل = l	→ گ = g
ح = ḥ	ض = ḍ	م = m	
خ = <u>kh</u>	ط = ṭ	ن = n	
د = d	ظ = ḏ	و = w, u	

CHAPTER 1

Historical Geography

The extant literature dealing with the historical geography of the lands of the Śāhis is very meagre.¹ The tenth century Arab geographers mention only that part of the country of the Śāhis which had already passed into Muslim hands. The rest of the country was inaccessible and remained *terra incognita* till the arrival of Albīrūnī.

HIND

If there was any official name of the Śāhi country it has not come down to us. The areas under the control of the Śāhis are generally referred to as 'Hind' in the earlier Muslim literature.² 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 '*Hinduś*' as one of their provinces.³ As the Achaemenian empire never extended south of the Panjāb and the present province of Sindh, we may well assume that the name '*Hinduś*' primarily meant the valley of the Indus river. The pre-Alexandrian Greek name *Indos* also designated the

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 *Kāvyaṁmānsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No.1, Baroda 1934). It has been assumed by some scholars that Rājaśekhara wrote a separate work called *Bhuvanakośa* on world geography. The *Bhuvanakośa* in question is referred to at the end of the 17th chapter of *Kāvyaṁmānsā* but it was probably never written (*Kāvyaṁmānsā*, 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 'Induś' (ibid., p.93).

same area.⁴ Herodotus, 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 Scylax⁶ 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 Rukhkhaj, Bust, Zamīn Dāwar⁹ and

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).

⁵ *The Histories* (Penguin Classics), 1973, p.245.

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 Khurradādhbih counts 'Balharā, Jāba, the king of Ṭāfan, the king of Juzr and Ghāba and Ruhmī, the king of Qāmrūn, the king of Zābaj, the king of Nauba, the king of Habsha (sic), the king of the eastern islands and the king of Ṣaqālab'. (*al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, Baghdad repr., pp.16-17).

⁹ This may be inferred from Balādhurī, 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 Ṣaffarīd 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 Pishīn 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 'Sind' and therefore literally synonymous with it, Ibn Khurradādhbih invented the term '*as-Sind wa'l-Hind*'¹⁰ - an unwitting precursor of the present composite form Indo-Pak. By the time of the rise of the Ṣāhis, 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 Ṣāhis changed frequently. Shortly after the middle of the seventh century A.D., the Turk Ṣāhi kingdom extended from the borders of Sīstān¹¹ to areas

¹⁰ Op.cit., p.55.

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 Sijistān' (*Kitāb al-Baldān*, E.J. Brill 1892, pp.281, 283) but the term Sijistān was sometimes used in a loose sense for the areas stretching as far as the Oxus and the Indus rivers (Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, vol.i, E.J. Brill 1964, p.2705).

contiguous to Udabhāṇḍapura in northern Panjāb. The annexation of Swāt in about A.D. 745 brought the northern border of the kingdom close to the Hindu Kush mountains.¹² Strangely, the little Buddhist principality of Bāmiān, although situated close to the centre of the power of the Śāhis, seems to have preserved its independence as its ruler, the ash-Shīr, is always referred to as a king in his own right.¹³ The principal seat of government under the Turk Śāhis was Kābul, whereas Udabhāṇḍapura served as the winter headquarters.¹⁴

Under the Hindu Śāhis however the position was reversed and Udabhāṇḍapura became the main capital. Shortly before the end of Jayapāla's reign Kābul was lost for ever¹⁵ and his kingdom, having somewhat expanded in the south, extended, according to Firishta, from Sirhind to Langhān and from (the borders of) Multān to the Kashmīr hills.¹⁶ At the time of Ānandapāla's accession (A.D. 1002), the north-western boundary, having been pushed further in by the Ghaznavīd pressure, ran along the river Indus.¹⁷ The eastern boundary of the Śāhi kingdom in the reign of Trilocanapāla (A.D. 1010-21) was brought close to the upper Ganges valley.¹⁸

12 E. Chavannes, *Documents Sur Le Tou-Kiue (Turks) Occidentaux*, Petersberg 1900, p.132.

13 'The king of Bāmiān called Asad of which the Persian form is Shīr accepted Islām at the hands of Muzāḥam b. Bistām in the time of (the Caliph) Mansūr'. *Kitāb al-Baldān*, p.289.

14 This arrangement was evidenced by Hsüan Tsang in the seventh century and was probably retained by the Turk Śāhis.

15 There is no evidence to prove that the Śāhis had any contact with Kābul after A.D. 988-89.

16 J. Briggs, *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Calcutta, 1966 Indian repr., p.9.

17 As indicated by the fact that the first battle between Ānandapāla and Sulṭān 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

(1) Rukhkhaj

Rukhkhaj¹⁹ (Arachosia of the classical writers) was the westernmost district of the Turk Šāhis. It occupied the country around Qandahār along the banks of the rivers now known as the Tarnak and the Arghandāb. The exact limits of Rukhkhaj are not recorded but Ibn Ḥauqal places it between Balād-i Dāwar and Bālīsh.²⁰ 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.²¹ According to Maqdisī, Banjwāy got its water supply from the neighbouring river.²² 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.²³ One league to the west of Banjwāy was the fortress of Kūhak (the hillock) in the centre of a town of the same name.²⁴ Another town, Bakrābād²⁵ or Tekīnābād,²⁶ was

¹⁹ *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* (ed. M. Stodeh, Tehran 1340, pp.29, 103) has 'Rukhad' and 'Rukhadh'. Maqdisī (*Aḥsan at-Taqaṣīm* ..., E.J. Brill 1906, p.297) gives the variant 'Rakhod'.

²⁰ *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, Leiden 1873, p.302.

²¹ *Iṣṭakhrī*, *Kitāb al-Masālik al-Mamālik*, E.J. Brill 1927, pp.250-51.

²² *Op.cit.*, p.305.

²³ M.H. Shah, *Afghanistan*, Vol.XVII, No.3, 1962, p.26.

²⁴ Also called 'Be'r Kūhak' (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Baldān*, 1965 Tehran repr., Vol.IV, p.331); see also *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, p.104; and Ibn Ḥauqal, p.302.

²⁵ Maqdisī, p.349.

²⁶ *Iṣṭakhrī*, 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 Balādhurī 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 Yāqūt was Zamīn Dāwar which, he says, actually meant Balād ad-Dāwar.³² The *Ḥudūd* places Zamīn Dāwar between Ghūr on the one

²⁷ This spelling is given by Ibn Khurradadhbih (p.68).

²⁸ Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Baldān*, E.J. Brill 1968, p.434; Ṭabarī, i, p.2705.

²⁹ Balādhurī, 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 Balādhurī. According to Balādhurī (pp.434, 445) Hashām b. 'Amro, the governor of Sindh, having reduced Multān and Qandābīl, proceeded to Qandahar in boats. That Qandahār here stands for Gandhāra is made clear by Ya'qūbī (vol.ii, p.449) who says that the boats were in the river Indus (نهر السند).

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 Dāwar such as Darghūr, Darghash and Dartall, because of their location in front of the passes, have *Dar* as the first part of their names. Zamīn Dāwar therefore means 'land of the Gates'.

³² Op.cit., vol.ii, p.541.

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 Dartal³⁴ (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 Zūr, 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 unwallled 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 Rukhkhaj on the Zaranj-Banjwāy 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 Khاردارūy³⁶ (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 Iṣṭakhrī, p.245 and Yāqūt, vol.ii, p.541. The Ḥudūd (pp.43, 103) gives the forms 'Til' and 'Tak'.

³⁵ See *infra*, p.56.

³⁶ *Op.cit.*, p.304.

³⁷ Iṣṭakhrī, 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 *Hudūd* (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 Zāliqān⁴⁰ 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 Rukhkhaj. 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 Rukhkhaj. Its chief town was Ghazna or Ghaznīn. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang (seventh century) mentions Ghazna as *Ho(k)si(k)na*⁴³ (Ghaznīk) 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 *Hudūd*, p.103.

³⁹ Ibn Hauqal, p.304; and Iṣṭakhrī, p.248.

⁴⁰ Various spelt as Zālaqān (Ibn Hauqal, p.304), Sālaqān (Iṣṭakhrī, p.248), Talaqān (Maqdisī, p.297), and Jālakān (*Hudūd*, p.103). The form Zāliqān is known from the earlier chroniclers.

⁴¹ M.H. Shah, op.cit., vol.XVII, No.3, 1962, pp.23-27.

⁴² *Hudūd*, p.104; Iṣṭakhrī, p.248; and Ibn Hauqal, p.304.

⁴³ S. Beal, *Chinese Accounts of India*, 1958 Indian repr., vol.IV, p.470.

would go back to the second century A.D.⁴⁴ The parallel forms *Ghaznī* and *Ghaznīn* perhaps go back to forms like *Ghaznīk* and *Ghaznēn*. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal mention it as *Ghazna*. Maqdisī and the *Ḥudūd* have *Ghaznīn* and, according to Yāqūt, this is the correct learned form (والصحيح عند العلماء غزنين).⁴⁵

No adequate description of the buildings of *Ghazna* of the period of the *Ṣāhis* has come down to us. *Majma' al-Ansāb*⁴⁶ and *Siyāsat Nāmeḥ*⁴⁷ mention the city, its gates and a fort of the time when it was captured by Alaptigīn. Maqdisī describes the layout of *Ghazna* as it was in the days of Sabuktigīn. In the centre of the town was the citadel (*Qala'*, the modern *Bālā Ḥisār*) which contained the government house; the town proper (*Madīna*), 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*).⁴⁸

Ghazna itself was not a very fine place and had few gardens. Nevertheless it enjoyed freedom from noxious insects and had an invigorating climate.⁴⁹ In winter it got a lot of snow and it witnessed occasional floods in summer.⁵⁰ 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 Hsüan Tsang.

⁴⁵ The original form of the name may have been *Ganzak* < *ganja* (treasury). *EW*, vol.vii, 1957, p.255; and *Ency. of Islām*, vol.ii, Leiden 1965, p.1048.

⁴⁶ Text given by Sa'īd Nafīsī in *Dar Pīrāmūn Tārīkh-i Baihaqī* (abbreviated *DPB*), vol.i, Tehran 1342, p.23.

⁴⁷ *DPB*, vol.i, p.213.

⁴⁸ Maqdisī, p.304. The names of the four gates were as follows: (1) *Bāb al-Bāmiān*, (2) *Bāb Samnān* (سمنان), (3) *Bāb Gardīz* (actually 'Kardan' کردان, but it seems to be a corrupted form of *Gardīz* گردیز), (4) *Bāb as-Sīr*.

⁴⁹ Maqdisī, p.304; and Tha'ālibī, *The Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* (trans. C.E. Bosworth), Edinburgh 1968, p.137.

⁵⁰ Baihaqī gives a vivid description of a flood which caused extensive damage to Afghān *Shāl*, a suburb of *Ghazna* (*Tārīkh-i Baihaqī*, ed. A.A. Fayyād, Mashhad 1350, p.340).

mentioned *Amīrī* apples⁵¹ and *Pīl Amrūd*⁵² (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 Sabuktigīn. Of the towns mentioned by him the name of Gardīz still survives. According to the local tradition the founder of Gardīz was a certain Zamar⁵³ but, on the contrary, the *Tārīkh* (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 Hudūd.⁵⁴ In the tenth century A.D. this town was situated on the summit of a mound and had a strong fortress with three walls. Yāqūt 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.⁵⁵ The town of Maimand achieved fame in the Ghaznavīd period as the home of al-Maimandī, one of the famous ministers of Sultān Maḥmūd. Gardīzī mentions two other forts, Sāmād Kot (Sāmānd Kot) and Nāī Lāmān, as situated not far from Ghazna.⁵⁶

51 *Tha'ālibī*, p.137.

52 *Ādāb al-Ḥarb w' ash-Shujā'at* (ed. A.S. Khwansari), Tehran, 1346, p.152.

53 *Ency. of Islām*, vol.ii, E.J. Brill 1965, p.978.

54 P.71. See also Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhbār* (ed. A.H. Habībī), Iran 1347, p.139

55 Yāqūt, vol.i, p.348.

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 Qarābāgh. (*Zain al-Akhbār*, 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 *Kopphen* and *Kophes* 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-shi*⁵⁸ (Kapiśa) and, according to Ya'qūbī (d. A.D. 897), the chief city conquered by 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Samurah was called Jurwās.⁵⁹ Iṣṭakhārī (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 Śāhis whose sovereignty was considered incomplete unless they received investiture in that city.⁶¹ According to the *Hudūd* it had a temple (**تیمانه**)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 Kapiśa seems to have survived till the time of Albīrūnī (*Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, Hyderabad edn 1958, p.45).

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

⁶⁰ Iṣṭakhārī, p.280; Ibn Ḥauqal, p.328; Maqdisī, p.304; *Hudūd*, p.104 and *Kitāb al-Baldān*, p.290.

⁶¹ Abū l'Fidā, *Taqwīm al-Baldan*, Paris 1840, p.469; Iṣṭakhārī, p.280; Ibn Ḥauqal, p.328; *Hudūd*, p.104. See also Maqdisī, p.304.

⁶² P.104.

be the same as the Śāhi monastery seen earlier by Hwei Ch'ao in the eighth century A.D. Situated on the much-frequented highway between Hind and Bukhāra, Kābul was the great emporium of the Indian trade. Of the other towns belonging to this district the names of Ghūzak, Khushshak, Panjhīr, Jaifūr, Junzah, Hupyān, Parwān, and Andarāb are frequently mentioned. The exact positions of Khushshak and Junzah are not clear. Jaifur was situated adjacent to Kābul.⁶³ Parwān and Hupyān were situated towards the side of Panjhīr. Ghūzak⁶⁴ 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,⁶⁵ is the present Panjshīr. 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 valley⁶⁶ (from the side of Tukhāristān).

(6) Lohgar

The Lohgar⁶⁷ valley, situated between Ghazna and Kābul, witnessed fierce clashes between the Śāhis 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 Sakāwand⁶⁸ 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 Bārakī Bārak, the modern administrative

⁶³ *Albīrūnī's Tahdīd al-Amākin* (trans. Jamil Ali), Beirut 1967, p.86.

⁶⁴ See *Zain al-Akhbār*, p.204, fn.2.

⁶⁵ Maqdisī, p.303; and Yāqūt, vol.1, pp.743-44.

⁶⁶ Op.cit., vol.1, p.372.

⁶⁷ This is the present name. Maqdisī has the form 'Lahūkar'.

⁶⁸ Maqdisī, pp.50, 296; Ibn Hauqal, 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 Ḥāsāb,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 *Lambagā* 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.

⁷⁰ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, text in *DPB*, vol.i, p.14.

⁷¹ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (ed. Bahār), Tehran, n.d., p.215. The name Ḥāsāb 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 Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.215.

(8) Nagarahāra

This is the *Na-ki-lo-ho* of Hsüan Tsang,⁷⁵ *Nīrahara*⁷⁶ of Albīrūnī and Nangnehār of the present time. Hsüan Tsang describes it as 600 *li* (about 100 miles) from east to west and upwards of 250 *li* (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 Kābul 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 Sabuktigīn on the plains of Kindī. After his victory over the Śāhi, Sabuktigīn built a fort which came to be known as Rabāṭ-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 *Gāndhār* of Albīrūnī⁸¹ and *al-Qandahār* of other Muslim sources. The earlier Muslim writers spell Gandhāra as *Qunduhār*⁸² which is exactly the same as the spelling of its namesake in Afghānistan.

⁷⁵ S. Beal, op.cit., vol.ii, p.145.

⁷⁶ *Fī Tahqīq 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 *Kāvymīmānsā*, p.92.

⁸¹ Op.cit., pp.16, 217, 253.

⁸² Only Ibn Khurradādhbih (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*.⁸³ 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'.⁸⁴

Gandhāra is often described as forming part of the valley of the Indus river. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih Qandahār was one of the countries of 'Sind'. Mas'ūdī mentions the ruler of Qandahār as one of the kings of 'Sind' and its mountains.⁸⁵ 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 *li* (about 166 miles) from east to west and 800 *li* (about 133 miles) from north to south.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷ But the political boundaries were never fixed and seem to have changed from time to time.

Gandhāra was famous for its (war) elephants.⁸⁸ '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.⁸⁹

⁸³ *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (trans. and commentary by V. Minorsky), London 1937, p.245.

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 Śāhi rule *Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo* (Purushapura) 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 clepsydrae 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 *Śāṅkha*, in Persian *spēd-mūhra*. I have seen this in the town of Parshāwar'.⁹³

The absence of Peshāwar from the accounts of the Arab geographers suggests that, shortly after the establishment of the Hindu Śāhi rule, the city was superseded in importance by Udabhāṇḍapura,⁹⁴ which henceforth became the capital. Udabhāṇḍa is spelt *Wu-to-kia-han-cha* by Hsüan 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

⁹⁰ *Daily Maṣṣriq*, Peshāwar, dated March 20, 1971.

⁹¹ S. Beal, op.cit.

⁹² *Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, pp.215, 270. Another variant given in the same work (p.285) is 'Barshaur'.

⁹³ Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol.i, London 1914, pp.337-38.

⁹⁴ The name still survives in the form Hund, at present a small village on the right bank of the river Kābul.

⁹⁵ S. Beal, op.cit., vol.ii, p.165.

⁹⁶ Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* (1961 Indian repr.), p.338.

to be a rather strange name for a city. It seems the actual name was Ūrdhabhāṇḍa or, more correctly, Ūrdhvabhāṇḍa. Ūrdhva means 'elevated' or high; its Persian and Pashtū equivalents are *Bālā* and *Bar* respectively as may be noticed in the name Tahkāl Bāla or Bar Tahkāl (i.e., High Tahkāl), the name of a town in the suburbs of Peshāwar. The word *bhāṇḍa*, at present softened to the form *bāṇḍa*, is still commonly used in the NWFP as a name for small villages. Udabhāṇḍa therefore means 'high village', a name which it must have acquired before it grew up into a city. Uдахāṇḍa was probably another form of this name.⁹⁷ In the eleventh century A.D. the people of Gandhāra were also known as Uдахāṇḍas.⁹⁸

According to the *Ḥudūd* (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 Manṣūra.

On a preceding page (477) Maqdisī mentions Waihand as the provincial capital and enumerates its towns: V·dhān, Bī·r, Nūj, L·vār, 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. Bī·r is obviously the same as Bītur, a town situated at the confluence of the rivers Indus and Kābul, as mentioned by Albīrūnī.

⁹⁷ D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi 1960, p.233.

⁹⁸ *Vaijayantikōṣa* of Yādavaprakāśa (ed. Haragovind Śāstrī), Varanasi 1971, p.26.

L·vār 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

Balādhurī 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 Hsüan Tsang however gives the form *Fa-la-na* which is usually transliterated as *Varana*.¹⁰¹ That Bannah (modern Bannū) really formed part of the Śāhi 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 Maḥmūd. 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 Tochī pass to the west of Bannū.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ *Futūḥ al-Baldān*, p.432.

¹⁰⁰ Vol.i, p.747.

¹⁰¹ S. Beal, op.cit., vol.iv, p.468.

¹⁰² For the identification of Bannah with Bannū see O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, London 1958, p.97. For a brief history of Bannū see Y.K. Niazi, '*Sātūwīn Āthwīn aur Nawīn Sadī Hījrī men Bannū kī ahmiyyat*', *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, vol.IX, No.4, 1933, pt.1, pp.3-10.

¹⁰³ *Infra*, pp.143-46.

Muḥammad b. Manṣūr mentions a place called Jūjaihān which was probably situated on a route linking Gandhāra with Ghazna. Sulṭān Maḥmūd is said to have used this route for the invasion of Peshāwar.¹⁰⁴ Jūjaihān was probably close to Bardarī or Nardarī, the Afghān governor of which, according to the *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*,¹⁰⁵ defected from Jayapāla shortly before Maḥmūd invaded the Śāhi town of Peshāwar. The precise location of Bardarī too is not given.

Balādhurī¹⁰⁶ 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 Kashmīr (written Qashmīr), 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 Balādhurī'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 (العيسفان) when written in Arabic characters

¹⁰⁴ *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*, p.316.

¹⁰⁵ P.316.

¹⁰⁶ Op.cit., p.446.

closely resembles the word al-Qīqān (القِيْقَان), 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 Khurāsān.¹⁰⁸ Yāqūt's description fits well with the one given by Balādhurī as mentioned above.

(11) Tākeshar, Lauhāwar etc.

Of the important places belonging to these regions the names of Mārīgala, 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 Ghaznavīds Mārīgala 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 *Takkeśvara* 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 Nāṣirī*, text in *DPB*, vol.i, p.222; see also *DPB*, vol.i, pp.246, 284.

¹¹⁰ Sachau, op.cit., p.320.

¹¹¹ *Fī Ṭahqīq Mā li'l-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 Nārdīn by 'Utbi is generally identified with Nandan (or Nandana) in the Salt Range.¹¹⁴ Nagarkot (or *Nagarakotta*), also called Bhīmnaḡar 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 Sulṭān 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. Jalawat and Balawat were perhaps situated to the north-east of Multān¹¹⁷ 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 Nīmrūz (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

¹¹³ Op.cit., p.165.

¹¹⁴ *Infra*, p.159.

¹¹⁵ *Infra*, p.153.

¹¹⁶ *DPB*, vol.i, p.497.

¹¹⁷ V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (trans.), p.72.

¹¹⁸ *Infra*, p.165.

¹¹⁹ Op.cit., pp.157-58.

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 Sabuktigīn had to construct roads which were later used by his son Mahmūd.¹²⁰ In fact all the passes in the north-western hills stretching from Bājaur to Bannū were used in the time of the Śāhis 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 Śāhis 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 Panjhīr. We have the following itineraries for these roads.

(a) The Highway

1. Bust-Panjwāy section¹²¹

Bust to Fīrūzqand, 1 *marḥala* (1 day's journey); thence to Mīghūn, 1; thence to Rabāṭ Kabīr,¹²² 1; thence to Panjwāy, 1.

¹²⁰ See *Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.16.

¹²¹ *Iṣṭakhrī*, p.250; Ibn Ḥauqal, p.305; Maqdisī, p.349.

¹²² Maqdisī has *Kish* (کشر) or *Kishr* which is obviously a corrupted form of Kabīr of other sources.

2. Panjwāy-Ghazna section¹²³

Panjwāy to Tekīnābādh,¹²⁴ 1 *marḥala*; thence to Kharsāna,¹²⁵ 1; thence to Rabāṭ Sarāb, 1; thence to Rabāṭ Auqal, 1; thence to Jankalābādh (or Khinkalābādh)¹²⁶ 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,¹²⁷ 1; thence to Khashbājī, 1; thence to Rabāṭ Hazār, 1; thence to Ghazna, 1.

3. Ghazna-Kābul section

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

4. Kābul-Waihand section

Our main guide for this section is Albīrūnī, who starts the itinerary from the side of Waihand. Waihand to Peshāwar, 14 *farsakhs* (about 5 *marḥalas*); thence to Dunpūr, 15; thence to Kābul, 12.¹²⁹

5. Waihand-Lahore section

Starting from Mandahūkūr¹³⁰ to the river Chenāb, 12 *farsakhs* (4 *marḥalas*); thence to Jailam to the west of the river Biyatta, 8; thence to Waihand, 20.¹³¹

¹²³ Our guides for this section are again Iṣṭakhri (p.250), Ibn Hauqal (p.306) and Maqdisī (p.350).

¹²⁴ Maqdisī has 'Bakrābādh'.

¹²⁵ 'Kharsād' in Maqdisī.

¹²⁶ This variant is recorded by Maqdisī.

¹²⁷ Or 'Khāisār' as in Maqdisī.

¹²⁸ *Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.165.

¹²⁹ Op.cit., p.165.

¹³⁰ For various interpretations of this name see H. Frīdābādī, *Ma'athar Lahore*, Lahore 1956, pp.20-23.

¹³¹ Albīrūnī, op.cit., p.165.

(b) Branch Roads

1. Zamīn Dāwar Road¹³²

Starting from Bust to Sarwān, 2 *marḥalas*; thence to Dartal (Dartall), 1; thence to Darghash, 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 *marḥala*.

2. Panjwāy-Isfanjāy Road

Panjwāy to Rabāṭ Ḥajriyyah (Rocky fort), 1 *marḥala*; 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 *marḥala*; thence to Asnākh, 1; thence to Ḥans, 1; thence to (the borders of) Bāmiān, 1.¹³⁴

4. Ghazna-Waihand Road

Ghazna to Gardīz, 1 *marḥala*; thence to Ūgh, 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 *marḥalas*; thence to Kārbāyah, 3; thence to Panjhīr, 1; thence to Parwān,¹³⁶ 2.¹³⁷

RIVERS

The following rivers of the kingdom of the Śāhis 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 *marḥalas*. But in other places both Iṣṭakhrī (p.252) and Ibn Ḥauqal (p.307) calculate this distance as 3 *marḥalas*.

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

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,¹³⁸ Hīdamand,¹³⁹ Hīrmīd¹⁴⁰ and Hīdhmand.¹⁴¹ This is no doubt the Haētumat 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 Ghūr.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 Sijistān by boat.¹⁴³ The river Khārdarūy, mentioned by Maqdisī, is probably the modern Arghandāb - a tributary of the Helmand. The names of the other tributaries such as Khūd Rūd, Tirīn, Tarnak and Arghūn, which, together with the Helmand, drain the entire south-western Afghānistān, are not mentioned in the sources referring to our period.

2. The Kābul

The river Kābul (ancient Kubhā) is described by Albīrūnī in some detail. It had its source in the mountains bordering the kingdom of Kāyabīsh (Kapiśa) and was known in the tenth century as Ghūrwand on account of its many branches.¹⁴⁴ Ghūrwand was joined by a number of affluents such as the river of the pass of Ghūzak, the river of the gorge of Panjhīr, the rivers called Sharwat and Sāwa¹⁴⁵ and the rivers Nūr and Qīrāt.¹⁴⁶ Swelled

¹³⁸ Balādihurī, pp.393, 434; Ištakhrī, pp.242, 248.

¹³⁹ Ibn Hauqal, p.300. This appears to be closer to the original Avestan form.

¹⁴⁰ Maqdisī, p.304.

¹⁴¹ *Hudūd*, p.103.

¹⁴² Ibn Hauqal, p.300; Maqdisī, p.329.

¹⁴³ Abū al-Fida, *Taqwīm al-Baldān*, Paris 1840, p.59.

¹⁴⁴ *Fī Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.215. Albīrūnī's explanation of the etymology is not clear, for we know of no Persian or Arabic word ghūr meaning 'a branch'. Can it have some connection with Hindī-Urdū ghūrnā, 'to twist'?

¹⁴⁵ All in Afghānistān.

¹⁴⁶ Probably the rivers now called Panjkora and Swāt.

by the waters of these affluents the Ghūrwand looked like a great river opposite the city of Peshāwar, where it was called *Ma'abar* (i.e. crossing) because of a ford near the village of Mahanāsa (محناسه) on its eastern bank.¹⁴⁷ It fell into the river Sindh near the fort of Bītūr (بيتور).

3. The Sindh

The river Sindh (ancient Sindhu) originated in the mountains of Unang (اُننگ) in the territory of the Turks. From the time of the Vedic Āryans the Sindhu was a sacred river¹⁴⁸ and was still worshipped in the tenth century A.D.¹⁴⁹ Albīrūnī 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 (سند), Daradhā (دَرْدَه), Zindutunda (زِنْدُتُنْدَه), Gāndhāra (گاندھارہ), Rūras (رُورَس), Karūra (کَرُور), Sibapūr (سبپور), Indra (اِنْدَر), Marū (مَرُور), Basati (بَسَات), Saindwa (سیندو), Kubata (کُبَت), Bhaimarwara (بھیمروڑ), Mara (مَر), Marūna (مَرُون), Sukūrda (سکُورَد). The list was taken from a much earlier source¹⁵¹ and, being already out-of-date by the time of Albīrūnī, did not reflect political conditions of the time of the Śāhis.

Below the town of Arūr (present Rohrī) 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.

¹⁴⁷ Albīrūnī, op.cit., p.215.

¹⁴⁸ See R.T. Griffith, *Hymns of the R̥gveda*, 5th edn, Varanasi 1971, vol.i, pp.125, 127, 458; and ibid., vol.ii, p.490.

¹⁴⁹ *Infra*, p.312.

¹⁵⁰ Op.cit., pp.217-18.

¹⁵¹ *The Matsya Purāna* (ed. J.D. Akhtar), Delhi 1972, p.327. It says the countries of 'Darada, Urja, Guḍa, Gāndhāra, Aūrasa, Kuhū, Śivapaura, Indramaru, Vasati, Samtaijā, Sindha, Urvaśa, Barva, Kulatha, Bhīmaramaka, Śunamikha, and Urdhamaru' form the basin of the Sindhu stream.

4,5. The Biyatta and the Jandarāha

The river Biyatta (بيٹ), also called Jailam, from the city of the same name on its western bank, had its origin in the mountains of Haramkot (ہرمکوت) - the cold impenetrable regions where the snow never melted.¹⁵² The Biyatta met the river Jandarāh (جنڈرہ) nearly 50 (Arabian) miles above the town of Jharāwar (جھراور) and flowed to the west of Multān.¹⁵³

6. The Biyāh (بیاہ)

The river Biyāh (Beas) flowed east of Multān and afterwards joined the Biyatta and the Jandarāha.¹⁵⁴

7,8. The Īrāva (ایراوہ) and the Shatladar (شٹلدر)

The river Īrāva (Rāvī) was joined by the river Gaj (گج) which came from Nagarkot (نغرکوت) in the mountains of Bahātul (بھاتل).¹⁵⁵ 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 Multān 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.¹⁵⁶

MOUNTAINS

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

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.¹⁵⁷ 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 Śāhis, the Hindū Kush¹⁵⁸ of the later sources, are mentioned by Ibn Ḥauqal (p.329) as 'the mountains of the gold and silver mines'. The hills of *A-lu-no* mentioned by Hsüan Tsang as lying in *Kapiśa*¹⁵⁹ may be the *Aruna* range described by Albīrūnī as the source of the river *Shailūda*.¹⁶⁰ The name of another mountain belonging to *Kapiśa*, situated to the south-west of the capital, has been restored by Julien as *Pīlusāra*.¹⁶¹ The range which bounded *Kapiśa* on the East, West and South was called *Hei-Ling* (Black Range).¹⁶² Albīrūnī mentions *Bhātul* as the name of a mountain which formed the source of the river *Gaj*. The hills of *Kashmīr*, the Salt Range¹⁶³ and the hills bordering the north-western frontier of 'Hind' are clearly referred to in the contemporary sources, but without specifying their names

157 *Fī Tahqīq Mā l'il-Hind*, p.157.

158 This name is first mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as Hindū Kūsh (هندوكوش). C. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, *Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*, vol.iii, Paris 1855, pp.84-85.

159 T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol.i, London 1904, p.126.

160 Op.cit., p.462. S.M. Ali (*The Geography of the Puranas*, Delhi 1966, p.66) identifies the *Aruna* with the famous Ladakh or Leh range.

161 T. Watters, op.cit., p.129.

162 Ibid., p.123.

163 Part of this mountain was called 'Kūh-i Bālnāth' (Nizām ad-Dīn in *DPB*, vol.i, p.270). The mountain 'Jūd' mentioned by Bābar (Urdū trans. by R.A. Nadvī, Lahore 1969, 151) has also been identified with the Salt Range.

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

The climate of the Sāhi 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 Kashmīr to Dunpūr in Afghānistan, he notices copious rainfall during two and a half months beginning with the month of *Shrāban* (*Śrāvana*). In Bhātul in Nagarkot, he says, the *Barshakāl* began with the month of *Āshād*¹⁶⁵ (*Āṣāḍha*). But this information does not conform to our knowledge of the present day climate, for the monsoon breaks at approximately the same time throughout Pākistān and the adjoining regions.¹⁶⁶

AGRICULTURE AND STOCKBREEDING

Our information about the products of the country is scanty. According to Hsüan 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 (*ihlīlaj*)¹⁶⁹ but it was also known for its saffron,

¹⁶⁴ See Yāqūt, vol.iii, p.41; *Iṣṭakhārī*, pp.241-42.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.170.

¹⁶⁶ Generally the monsoon breaks in the period from July to September. See *Pakistan Geographical Review*, vol.IV, 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'ai Tsung sent a mission to that country to learn this art.

¹⁶⁹ Maqdisī, p.304.

cereals and fruits.¹⁷⁰ Zābulistān had prolific vegetation, and grew wheat, saffron and asa-foetida.¹⁷¹

The western towns such as Sharwān (Sarwān), Zāliqān and Rudhān are extolled for their abundance of fruits, particularly dates and grapes.¹⁷² 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. Iṣṭakhrī (pp.244-48) and Ibn Hauqal (pp.302, 304) mention the cotton and wool industries of Zāliqān (Ṣāliqān) and Rukhkhaj respectively. Silver ore was smelted at Andrāb¹⁷³ whereas Panjhīr was the centre of the silver mining industry.¹⁷⁴ Salt was produced in Rūdhān and Kuhak.¹⁷⁵

EXPORTS

According to Ibn Hauqal (p.328) Kābul enjoyed a brisk trade of indigo, the value of which was estimated at one million *dīnārs* (\$A25,000) in the time of Sabuktigīn. From Kābul again cotton cloth of very fine quality was exported to Khurāsān and China.¹⁷⁶ The best variety of myrobalan, which had a high reputation in the concoction of medicines in the middle ages,

170 T. Watters, op.cit., p.122.

171 Ibid., vol.ii, p.265.

172 Iṣṭakhrī, pp.244-48; Ibn Hauqal, pp.302-4; Maqdisī, p.304.

173 Yāqūt, vol.i, p.372.

174 Ibid., pp.743-44.

175 Hudūd, p.104.

176 Ibn Hauqal, loc.cit.

was called *Chebulio* (i.e. Kābulī) in Europe.¹⁷⁷ Dried fruits, grapes and dates were exported from Bust and Sharwān.¹⁷⁸ Silver may have been exported from Panjhīr 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*¹⁷⁹ 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.¹⁸⁰ The Turks living in the western provinces of the kingdom of the Śāhis are generally designated as Ghuzz, Khalaj and Bishlang.¹⁸¹ The tribes living in the hills on the western frontiers of India are mentioned by Albīrūnī under the name al-Afghāniyya.¹⁸² The predatory tribes called al-Qufṣ, of which the Baluṣ (Balūch) were in the forefront,¹⁸³ lived near the borders of Sīstān and Rukhkhaj 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 Śāhis.¹⁸⁴ 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 Ḥauqal, p.304.

¹⁷⁹ W. Fuchs, 'Huei Ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest Indien und Zentral Asien um 726', in *Sitzungsbericht der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol.xxx, 1938, pp.444, 447.

¹⁸⁰ See infra, p.37 f.

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

¹⁸² Op.cit., p.167.

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 Sahasīs in the area.¹⁸⁶

LANGUAGES

The literary language, as evidenced in the stone inscriptions and the *Bakhshālī* manuscript, was Sanskrit. Some inscriptions however, particularly in the western provinces of the Śāhis, show that *Tukhārian* was also used.¹⁸⁷ According to Hsüan Tsang the spoken language of Zābulistān differed from those of other countries,¹⁸⁸ but the language of *Kapiśa* 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 *Gujro*, 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.

186 See M.A. Shakur, *A Hand Book (sic) To the Inscriptions Gallery in the Peshawar Museum*, Peshawar 1946, pp.2-3. For the history of the Sahasīs (*Sānsīs*) see S.S. Sher, *The Sansis of Punjab*, Delhi 1965.

187 *Infra*, p.232 f.

188 T. Watters, *op.cit.*, vol.ii, p.264.

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

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

WRITING

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

RELIGIONS

At the time of the visit of Hsüan 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 Śāhis were definitely Saivites, as is shown by the inscriptional 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.

¹⁹² T. Watters, *op.cit.*, vol.i, p.202.

¹⁹³ W. Fuchs, *op.cit.*, pp.445-46.

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, Kābul 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

¹⁹⁷ For the various interpretations of the so-called god *Zūn*, *Zūr* or *Shuna* of Zamīn Dāwar see V. Minorsky, *Ency. of Islam*, vol. iv, 1934, p.1312; P. Daffinà, 'Gli eretici chi-to e la divinità di Zābul', *RSO*, vol. XXXVII, 1962, pp.279-81; and G. Gnoli, *Ricerche Storiche sul Sīstān Antico*, Rome 1967, pp.121-22.

¹⁹⁸ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol.V, Oxford 1908, p.46.

¹⁹⁹ H.H. Smith and others, *Area Handbook for Afghanistan*, Washington 1969, p.57.

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.²⁰¹

Judging by this phenomenal rate of growth the number of people living in Afghānistān, NWFP and the Panjāb 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 Śāhis may be estimated at about 5 millions for Afghānistān and 3 to 4 millions for NWFP. The population of the Panjāb 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 Hauqal²⁰² has however preserved the following details of the revenues collected in the time of Sabuktigīn from different parts of the country.

		<i>dīnārs</i>	<i>dirhams</i>
1)	Rukhkhaj and Sīstān (annually)	100,000	300,000
2)	Bust and surroundings "	100,000	800,000
3)	Ghazna and Kābul "	<u>100,000</u>	<u>600,000</u>
	Total	300,000	1,700,000
		(\$A75,000)	(\$A42,500)

²⁰¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol.XX, 1908, p.280.

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 Śāhis, would be four times as much as from Afghānistān.

DRESS AND MARRIAGE

The dress of the people of Gandhāra and Kapiśa 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 Nīlāb (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 *Kapiśa* 'married in a miscellaneous manner'.²⁰⁶

203 W. Fuchs, *op.cit.*, p.445.

204 *Ibid.*

205 Firishta (Briggs), vol.i, p.104.

206 T. Watters, *op.cit.*, vol.i, p.123.

CHAPTER 2

The Origin of the Śāhis

(a) Turk Śāhis

The origin of the Turk Śāhis is still obscure. Albīrūnī 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'u Chüeh*.

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 Śāhis 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 'Āmar, the governor of Baṣrah in A.D. 649-659, was despatched by the

¹ *Fī Tahqīq Mā l'il-Hind*, Hyderabad edn., 1958, p.348.

² H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia*, London 1923, p.10.

³ *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (Gibb Mem.), London 1937, p.362.

⁴ J. Marquart, *Ēransāhr in Gesellschaft Der Wissenschaften Zur Göttingen*, Berlin 1901, p.239, fn.6.

latter to fight the Hayāṭila⁵ (or Turks) in Kūhistān,⁶ near modern Herāt. Another commander⁷ of Ibn 'Āmar, fighting on the Hind frontier, was killed by the Turks in Qīqān⁸ (modern Quetta and Pishīn Valley). In Qīqān again Muhallab - the famous ancestor of the Muhallabī 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 Baṣrah, 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 Maṣṣūr (A.D. 754-75) Ma'n b. Zāida received from the Rutbīl the usual tribute, comprising camels, Turkish felts (قباب) and slaves.¹⁴ In the

⁵ Hayāṭila (هياطلة), the plural of Haiṭal (هيطل), is the Arabic form of 'Ephthalites'. According to one tradition the Hayāṭila met by Aḥnaf were Turks. See Balādhurī, p.403.

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

⁷ Named: 'Abd Allāh b. Sawwār.

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

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

¹⁰ Ṭabarī, ii, p.190.

¹¹ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (ed. Bahār), Tehran, n.d., pp.105-6.

¹² Ṭabarī, ii, pp.1036-37.

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

¹⁴ Balādhurī, p.401. Ma'n was Maṣṣūr'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 Rukhkhaḡ.¹⁵ Soon after this event the Arabs had to send another expedition to Rukhkhaḡ to disperse the Turkish hordes.¹⁶ 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. Ṭāhir.¹⁷ The Rutbīl is said to have had bodyguards enlisted from the local Turks, at-Turk ad-Dāwarī.¹⁸ The *Tang Shu* records a mixed population of the T'u Chüeh and the people of *Ki-pin* (Kapiśa) in Zābulistān.¹⁹ Huei Ch'ao has unequivocally noted the T'u Chüeh domination over Gandhāra, Kapiśa and Zābulistān.²⁰ Wu K'ong records to have seen some monasteries in Gandhāra known after the names of the T'u Chüeh king and his wife.²¹ 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, Bistām and Sīstān.²² According to Iṣṭakhrī the Khalaj of Zamīn Dāwar had kept their customs, external appearance

¹⁵ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.152 f. Ṣadaqah was the son of 'Uthmān b. 'Amāra b. Khazīma al-Mazani, the governor of Sīstān in 172 (788).

¹⁶ Ibid., p.154.

¹⁷ Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, E.J. Brill 1889, p.37.

¹⁸ Cf. C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, p.36.

¹⁹ E. Chavannes, *Documents sur le Tou-Kiue (Turks) Occidentaux*, Pétersberg 1900, p.160 f.

²⁰ W. Fuchs, 'Huei Ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest Indien und Zentral Asien um 726' in *Sitzungsbericht der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol.XXX, 1938, pp.445-49.

²¹ S. Levi and E. Chavannes, 'L'Itineraire d'ou-Kong', *JA*, 1895, p.356 f.

²² Cf. Frye and Sayili, 'Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs', *JAOS*, vol.63, 1943, p.203.

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 Sabuktigīn, when he won a victory over Jayapāla.²⁶ Subsequently they formed an important element in the armies of the Ghaznavīds, Ghūrīs and Khwārazmshāhs.²⁷ Maqdisī records that the Turks of Bust and Ghazna used to send tribute to the Sāmānīds of Bukhāra.²⁸ The name Khalaj probably survives in the modern name Ghilzaī.²⁹ The famous Khaljī 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. Iṣṭakhrī 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,

²³ *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, E.J. Brill 1927, p.245; and Ibn Hauqal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, Leiden 1873, p.302. See also Yāqūt, *Kitāb Mu'jam al-Baldān*, Beirut repr, vol.iv, 1957, p.220.

²⁴ Cf. Frye and Sayili, op.cit., p.203.

²⁵ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.215.

²⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, viii, p.687.

²⁷ C.E. Bosworth, op.cit., p.36.

²⁸ *Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, E.J. Brill 1906, p.337.

²⁹ R.N. Frye, 'Ghalzay', *Ency. of Islam*, vol.iii, London 1965, p.1001; and O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, London 1958, p.131.

³⁰ On the history of the Khalaj see Marquart, *Ērānsāhr*, pp.251-3, *ibid*, 'Das Reich Zābul' in *Festschrift Sachau*, p.258, fn.1; V. Minosky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, London 1937, pp.347-8; A.Z. Validi, *ZDMG*, 90, 1936, p.34; Barthold, 'Khaladj' in *Ency. of Islam*, vol.ii, 1927, p.876.

³¹ Ibn Khurradādhbih, op.cit., p.31.

dress and language'.³² Mas'ūdī speaks of the Turkish tribes 'Ghūz and Kharlaj living towards Gharsh (Gharchistān) and Bust in (the region) adjoining Sijistān'.³³ If Iṣṭakhrī and Mas'ūdī place the Khalaj on the middle course of the Helmand (i.e. Zamīn Dāwar), the author of the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam (A.D. 982) locates them in the region of Ghazna and the adjoining districts.³⁴ 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'.³⁵

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 K-njīna are their remnants'.³⁶

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

³² Iṣṭakhrī, op.cit., p.345; and Ibn Hauqal, op.cit., p.302.

³³ Cf. V. Minosky, 'The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj', *BSOAS*, vol.X, 1940-42, p.430.

³⁴ Ḥudūd al-'Ālam (ed. M. Sotoodeh), Tehran 1962, p.104.

³⁵ The name is misspelt in the MS as خَلَج and it is probable that the author has mixed up the Khallukh (خَلَج) with Khalaj (خَلَج).

³⁶ Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm (ed. G. van Vloten), E.J., Brill 1968, pp.119-20. The other variants in this passage are خَلَج and خَلَج. But the similarity of خَلَج Khallukh (Qarlūq) and خَلَج Khalaj is a source of endless confusion in Arabic script.

that area is fairly well known.³⁷ 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.³⁸ It may well be argued, therefore, that the word Turk (plural: Atrāk), as used by the Arab chroniclers in the early Islamic period, meant Turkish speaking Ephthalites, or a mixed population. The expression 'Turk Sāhis' may also be understood in the light of this information.

Which particular tribe of the Khalaj, the descendants of the Ephthalites, the Turk Sāhis 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,³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, however, has a useful clue. Referring to the same event, he

³⁷ On their history see R. Ghirshman, *Le Chionite Hephthalites*, Cairo 1948, p.91; and M.A. Shaban, 'Khurāsān at the time of the Arab Conquest', *Iran and Islam* (ed. C.E. Bosworth), Edinburgh 1971, pp.479-90; Enoki, 'The Origin of the White Huns or Hephthalites', *EW*, 1955, pp.231-37; *ibid*, 'On the Nationality of the Hephthalites', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No.18, 1959, pp.1-58; see also 'A Survey of the Expansion of Islam into Central Asia During the Umayyad Period', *Islamic Culture*, vol.XLV, No.2, 1971, pp.95-113.

³⁸ *Op.cit.*, p.207.

³⁹ *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Beirut repr. 1968, vol.6, p.403. See also *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* (de Slan's trans.), London repr., 1961, vol.IV, p.302.

⁴⁰ Ibn Khurradādhbih (*op.cit.*, p.31) enumerates the following tribes: 'The Toghuzghuz whose country is the most extensive among the Turks, and borders on China, Tibet, and the Kharlukh; the Kīmāk (or Kaimāk), the Ghuzz, the Jafr, the Bajānāk, the Turkish (Türgish), the Adhkish, the Knifshāk, the Khirkhīz, where musk is found, the Kharlukh and the Khalaj, and these (latter) are on this side of the river (Oxus)'.

says that Ya'qūb conquered 'the Khalaj, Zābul and other (lands) but I do not know the year in which it happened'.⁴¹ 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 Rutbīls 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 Rutbīl a descendant of the Kidāras or 'little Kushāns', suggested that the word *Darārī* should be emended to *Kidārī*.⁴² Another possibility is that *Darārī* is a corruption of the word *Durānī* or *Durrānī* (دُرّانی) due to a small scribal error, which is a common phenomenon in Arabic manuscripts.⁴³ 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 *Durānīs* still lies in obscurity and the proposed identification may not be pressed any further. Elliot connected *Darārī* with *Darra* (دَرّ) (i.e. hill pass) and interpreted it as an allusion to the inhabitants of the hill passes.⁴⁴ It seems however that the expression *at-Turk ad-Darārī* (الترك الدرّاری) is a

⁴¹ Ibn al-Athīr, vii, p.326. In the ninth century the Khalaj seem to have already spread from Zamīn Dāwar to Rukhkhaj, 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 Rukhkhaj.

⁴² CMI, Indian repr., Varanasi 1967, p.59.

⁴³ Mason (*Travels in Balochistan*, 1842, vol.I, p.xiii) connects the *Durānīs* through Abdālī or Avdālī, as the *Durānīs* 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 *Darraī* and its Pashtū equivalent is *Dara-wāl* but not *Darārī*.

corrupted form of *at-Turk ad-Dāwarī* (الترك الداوری). 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*.⁴⁵ The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (p.407) mentions a fort called *Qala'-i Dāwarī*.

Jūzjānī also refers to *Ya'qūb's* invasion of *Rukhkhaj*, but the name of the king (i.e. of the *Rutbīl*) is recorded as 'Lakan the Lak'.⁴⁶ 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*.⁴⁷ But in view of the Turkish origin of the *Rutbīls* of whom 'Laken the Lak' was the last representative in *Rukhkhaj*, 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'il 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*.⁴⁸ There is a *Lak* pass near *Quetta*. A certain *Nāsir Lak* was *Sultān Maḥmūd's* governor of *Kūhistān*.⁴⁹ *Lak* may also be seen in the name of the last Turk *Šāhi* ruler, *Lakatūrmān* (*Lak* + *Turmān*).

⁴⁵ Cf. C.E. Bosworth, op.cit., p.36.

⁴⁶ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (H.G. Raverty's trans.), 1970 repr. Delhi, vol.i, pp.317-8.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.317.

⁴⁸ A town called *Lak* is situated near *Bhalwāl*. The *Laks* in *Multān* claim *Punwār* origin and kinship with the *Langāhs*. 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.

⁴⁹ See *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* of *Qādī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī*, Tehran 1299 (1881), p.501. See also extracts of the same work in *Dar Pīrāmūn Tārīkh-i Baihaqī*, ed. Sa'id Nafīsī, Tehran 1342, pp.740-41.

Nothing is known about the origin and spread of the Laks in this area. In the Panjāb, where they are known as notorious cattle-lifters, they speak a western Punjābī 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 Rutbīls.

Albīrūnī's statement that the Turk Śāhis originated in Tibet⁵⁰ does not find support in the known evidence. The Tibetans, recorded as Tubbat (تُبَّت) by the Muslim geographers, are invariably referred to as living beyond the Oxus.⁵¹ About A.D. 722 they were repulsed from Gilgit (little P'o lü) 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 Kābul Valley.⁵²

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

The date of the visit of Hsüan Tsang (A.D.644)⁵³ on the one hand and that of Huei Ch'ao (A.D.726)⁵⁴ on the other mark the two ends of the chronological bracket for the rise of the Turk Śāhis. According to Hsüan

⁵⁰ *Fī Tahqīq Mā l'il-Hind*, p.348.

⁵¹ For the location of 'Tubbat' see Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, 64, 7 seq, quoted in *BSOAS*, vol.VI, 1930-32, p.947; Ibn al-Athīr, vol.IV, p.509; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, E.J. Brill repr. 1969, p.528; H.W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, vol.VI, 1930-32, p.947; and Barthold's preface to *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (V. Minorsky's trans.), p.39.

⁵² See A. Stein, 'A Chinese Expedition Across the Pamīrs and Hindu Kush', *The Geographical Journal*, vol.LIX, 1922, pp.112-31.

⁵³ S. Beals, *Chinese Accounts of India*, Indian ed., vol.i, 1957, p.8.

⁵⁴ W. Fuchs, *op.cit.*, p.426.

Tsang the king of *Kia-pi-shi* (Kapiśa) was a *Ksatriya* who had extended his rule to Gandhāra and other neighbouring countries.⁵⁵ Hsüan Tsang is admirably borne out by Huei Ch'ao who says that Gandhāra was formerly under the control of *Ki-pin* (Kābul). 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ In A.D. 726, the ruler of Zābulistān (i.e. the Rutbīl) was a nephew of the Kābul Shāh.⁵⁸ 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,⁵⁹ 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 Sāhis, who succeeded the Turk Sāhis at Kābul.⁶⁰ 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 *Fī Tahqīq Mā l'il-Hind*, p.350.

assume that the Rutbīls and their relations, the rulers of Kābul, were the Turk Šāhis of Albīrūnī.

The history of this Turkish family can be traced back to at least A.D. 666, when a Rutbīl is for the first time mentioned in the Arabic chronicles.⁶¹ The date of Barhatigīn, who, according to Albīrūnī, was the founder of the Turk Šāhi dynasty, must therefore fall about A.D. 666. It would seem that Barhatigīn and the first Rutbīl 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 Khallikān's information that the Rutbīls belonged to a tribe of Dāwarī 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 Kābul branch of this dynasty, about A.D. 843, can be inferred from inscriptional records of the period of the Hindu Šāhis.

(b) Hindu Šāhis

Nothing is known about the ethnological background of the Hindu Šāhis. 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

⁶¹ The exact date is not recorded, but it is easy to work it out. The Rutbīl appears for the first time just after the dismissal of Ibn Samurah. Ṭabarī (ii, p.73) tells us that Ibn Samurah was dismissed by Ziyād who proceeded to his headquarters at Baṣrah in the year 55 (666). Ziyād allowed Ibn Samurah to remain in office for a few months and replaced him with ar-Rabī' (Balādhurī, 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 Raīd, one of the five rivers which form the Mihrān of Sind. Kandahār (Gandhāra) is called the country of the Rahbūt (Rājput)'.⁶²

The word transliterated by Elliot as 'Hahaj' (حج) is given without vowel marks and can be read in many different ways: *J·haj, Jahaj, Ch·hach, Chahach* etc. A. Cunningham however accepts Elliot's reading and connects it with Janjū'a (جانجوا), the name of a well known tribe of the Salt Range.⁶³

The history of the Janjū'as⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ The country to the west of their dominions as far as the Aral Sea, and including parts of Afghānistān and north-eastern Īrān 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.⁶⁶

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

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 *Ā'in-i Akbarī* and the *Ma'āsir* as *Jānuha* (جانوها). The spelling *Janjū'a* is the current local form and has been correctly adopted in the Urdū translation of *Tuzuk-i Bābarī* (trans. Rashīd Akhtar Nadvī, 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.

⁶⁵ G. Clauson, *Acta Orientalia*, vol.XXXII, 1970, p.54.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Janjū'as,⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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 𑀘𑀓 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 Udabhāṇḍapura, the Śāhi capital. In the early medieval

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.

⁶⁹ O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, Suffolk 1970, p.501.

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 tribe⁷⁰ which, as Firishta tells us, formed a very significant part of the Śāhi armies.⁷¹ 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 J.haj) 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 sultān of Lahore.⁷² When the Ghūrīd sultān Shahāb ud-Dīn was occupied in Khurāsān they gathered in great numbers once again and marched on Lahore.⁷³ 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 Kuṣānas.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.27.

⁷² Ibid., p.89. *Ibrat Nāmeḥ* 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 Nāsir ad-Dīn Maḥmūd is said to have taken a severe revenge on the Ghakhars 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 Haider, a chief of the Gakhars, invaded Panjāb and killed the viceroy of Lahore.⁷⁶ Having defeated the king of Kashmīr, Jasrat Gakhar in 824 (1421) attempted to capture the throne of Delhi.⁷⁷ Many other similar examples can be cited. The Gakhars were not in fact completely subjugated till the arrival of the Sikhs.

Mas'ūdī's statement that Gandhāra was a country of the Rājputs 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 Sāhi 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 Kashmīr.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 Rājataranginī, VI, 176-78; and Ibid., VII, 103. Kalhana's reference (VIII, 3230) to numerous Kṣatriyas who lived in Kashmīr but traced their origin to the royal family of Udabhāṇḍapura also supports Mas'ūdī's information.

⁷⁹ EI, vol.XXI, p.299. In the Hund slab inscription Bhīma is said to be of 'terrible valour' 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. 843.⁸⁰ 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.

CHAPTER 3

The Expansion of Arab Rule into Sīstān

The conquest of Sīstān¹ 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 'Umar² (A.D. 634-44), they made no real progress till the arrival of Ibn 'Amar³ as the governor of Baṣrah - the headquarters for military operations in eastern Īrān. On his way to Khurāsān in the year 30 (650), the youthful governor detached a force to Sīstān under Rabī'⁴ 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 *dihqān* (governor), who is said to have bought back his freedom with an enormous amount of gold and silver.⁵ This was the first great success for Arab arms on this frontier. Encouraged

¹ Sijistān of the Arab writers. The present name Sīstān can be traced back, through several changes to a middle-Iranian form Sakastān or 'seat of the Sakas'. P. Daffina, *L'Immigrazione dei Sakā Nella Drangiana*, Rome 1967, pp.1-4. G. Gnoli (*Ricerche Storiche sul Sīstān Antica*, Rome 1967, pp.125-41) gives a detailed bibliography on ancient Sīstān.

² Ṭabarī, i, 2705; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p.44; and *Guzīda*, p.18.

³ Full name: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amar b. Kuraiz b. Rabī b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd ash-Shams.

⁴ Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Baldān*, E.J. Brill, 1968, p.392. The full name of Rabī' is: Rabī' b. Ziyād b. 'Anas b. ad-Dayyān al-Hārithī.

⁵ Balādhurī, p.393.

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.⁶ 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.⁷ The next town, Sharwādh, fared no better before him.⁸ 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.⁹

Tall, wide-mouthed and distinctively marked with a dark complexion, Rabī' had an awe-inspiring personality¹⁰ 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,

⁶ Ibid., p.393.

⁷ Loc.cit.

⁸ Loc.cit. The town was captured.

⁹ Balādhurī, p.394; and *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (ed. Bahār), Tehran, n.d., pp.81, 82.

¹⁰ Balādhurī, p.394.

he instructed his commanders to be seated in a similar way¹¹ at the time of the reception of Abarwīz,¹² the satrap of Zaranj. As Abarwīz 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 Hārith 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-Rukhkhaj which is between it and the province of ad-Dāwar'.¹⁸ On

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Loc.cit. According to the *Tārīkh* (pp.81-2) the satrap of Zaranj was known as Īrān b. Rustum b. Āzādkhū b. Bakhtiār.

¹³ Balādhurī, p.394.

¹⁴ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.83. Balādhurī (p.394) gives al-Qaryatain which is obviously a copying mistake for al-Qarnīn, the well known birth-place of Ya'qūb b. Laith.

¹⁵ Balādhurī, p.394.

¹⁶ Full name: 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Samurah b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd ash-Shams.

¹⁷ Balādhurī, p.394.

¹⁸ Balādhurī (Murgotten's trans. *The Origin of the Islamic State*, New York 1924), p.143.

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*.¹⁹ As he entered victoriously into the sacred precincts of the temple, also called Zūr or Zūn,²⁰ 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'.²¹

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.²² After this quick round of victories Ibn Samurah retired to Zaranj and remained there until the downfall of the Caliph 'Uthmān,²³ 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,²⁴ 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

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 *الزوزن, الرون, الزون*. See also P. Daffinā, *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 Ḥasaka²⁵ and 'Umrān²⁶ who reached there in search of riches in the year 36 (656).²⁷ For a while the bandits tightened their hold over the Sīstān capital and killed 'Abd ar-Raḥmān,²⁸ 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.²⁹

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)³⁰ 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'.³¹ In 44 (664-65) Ibn Samurah marched into Kābul through Merv³² and invested the city for some months, pelting stones with catapults until a breach was made in the defensive wall.³³ The Kābul Shāh put up a tough resistance and successfully repulsed a night attack of the Arabs led by 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣain. At dawn the defenders made a brave sortie and brought elephants

25 Full name: Ḥasaka b. 'Attāb al-Ḥabaṭī.

26 Full name: 'Umrām b. al-Faṣīl 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-Raḥmān b. Jaz' aṭ-Tāī. The *Tārīkh* (p.85) wrongly states that 'Abd ar-Raḥmān went to join 'Alī.

29 Balādhurī, p.395.

30 Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p.436.

31 Murgotten, op.cit., p.146.

32 Firishta (Briggs trans.: *Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*) (1966 Indian Repr.), vol.i, p.2.

33 Balādhurī, p.396.

in the forefront. After some hard fighting, however, they were forced to retreat to the safety of the city walls.³⁴ 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 'Umair³⁵ and Muhallab³⁶ to his chief with the news of the victory.³⁷ A treaty seems to have been concluded but the terms are not known.

From Kābul Ibn Samurah marched to Khwāsh³⁸ and then to Qūzān³⁹ and Bust which he took by force. He then proceeded to Razān and Khushshak, which capitulated without much struggle. At Rukhkhaj he won a victory and marched to Zābulistān, whose people had violated the agreement. After this brilliant round of victories he returned to Kābul 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.⁴⁰ Balādhurī does not give us many details about the second invasion of Kābul, but *Tarjuma-i Futūhāt*⁴¹

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Full name: 'Umair b. 'Ubaid Ullah b. Ma'mar.

³⁶ Full name: Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah.

³⁷ Balādhurī, 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 Balādhurī, p.397.

⁴¹ Also called *al-Futūh* written by Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. A'tham 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 Balādhurī, 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 Ṣufrah, 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 (d.157/773) that Muhallab personally took part in the battle and that after the victory he was sent to Ibn 'Amar in Baṣrah with the booty (Balādhurī, p.396).

⁴⁴ Balādhurī, p.432. Ibn al-Athīr (iii, p.446) has 'Sind' instead of India. Firishta (Briggs, vol.i, p.2) makes Muhallab penetrate as far as Multan. 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 Kābul. 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 Kābul. 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 Kābul changed the course of subsequent history. On the one hand the power of the local rulers of Kābul and Zābulistān was completely shattered and, on the other, Sīstān grew up as a powerful base for further attacks on the neighbouring territories.

⁴⁵ *The Pathans*, London 1958, p.97.

CHAPTER 4

The Turk Śāhis

(c. A.D. 666-843)

The Turkish dynasty known to Albīrūnī as 'ash-Shāhiyya of Kābul' and called Turk Śāhi¹ in the modern accounts remained in power for approximately 177 years.² The date of the beginning of the rule of the Turk Śāhis, 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 inscriptional records of the time of the Hindu Śāhis.³ The rule of the western branch of the Turk Śāhis, the Rutbīls of our sources - generally described as the rulers of Rukhkha and the adjoining areas - lasted a little longer than this, till the rise of Ya'qūb b. Laith. The last of the Rutbīls mentioned in history, a fugitive in Kābul or Zābulistān, was captured in A.D. 870.⁴ The political history of the Turk Śāhis 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 Rutbīls or, alternatively, the new rulers of Gardīz called Khārijites in the Muslim sources had settled deep into the Śāhi 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 Shāhi'. But, on the analogy of the term 'Hindu Śāhi', we prefer the form Turk Śāhi. For the title Śāhi, 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 Kaniṣka. 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 Śāhis. Traditionally they were the enemies of the Sīstān governors but they never seem to have softened their attitude towards the infidel Śāhis either.

The founder of the Turk Śāhi 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

5 A. Cunningham, *Coins of Indo-Scythians, Sakas and Kushans*, pp.67, 86, 87.

6 As conjectured by Reinaud. Cf. Elliot, vol.ii, p.40.

7 Emel Esin, *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol.xvi, no.1, 1972, pp.14-36. E. Esin thinks that *Bōritigīn* means 'wolf Tegīn' and that it can be connected with the name of the 'Bōri Turks'.

8 *Fī Tahqīq Mā li' 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 Kapiśa, 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.⁹ 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 grace* to Kapiśa 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 Kapiśa (who in fact may be *Ko-chieh-chih* of the *Tang-Shu* or *Khingāla* of the Kābul image inscription) was killed and the T'u Chüeh ruler (i.e. Barhatigīn) proclaimed himself the king of

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.¹⁰ Barhatigīn then seems to have extended his rule to Zābulistān and appointed his brother as its first governor, under the title Rutbīl¹¹ (i.e. Sāmanta).

What actually prompted Barhatigīn to invade Kābul is not known. Perhaps *Ko-chieh-chih's* humiliating defeat and his acceptance of Islām at the hands of Ibn Sāmurah¹² were the immediate causes. As the new Kābul Shāh it was therefore incumbent upon Barhatigīn to ameliorate the situation by throwing off the yoke of the Muslim hegemony. Balādhurī 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 Rukhkhaḥj and Bust.¹³ The new Turkish king, it seems, had grand designs in view.

But the arrival of Rabī' 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), Rabī' marched forth to meet the enemy at Bust. In the ensuing battle the Rutbīl suffered defeat and fled to Rukhkhaḥj pursued hot on the heels by the troops of Rabī'.¹⁴ The next action took place at Rukhkhaḥj, but the Rutbīl was again put to flight.¹⁵ With success greeting him at every stage, Rabī' continued his advance and subdued the chief city (i.e. Dartal) of ad-Dāwar.¹⁶ In the year 51 (671-72) Rabī' was transferred¹⁷ to Khurāsān and 'Ubaid Allāh b. Abī 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 Balādhurī, op.cit., p.397.

¹⁵ Ibid. According to the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (p.91) the Rutbīl fled 'to the land of the Hindus'.

¹⁶ Balādhurī, p.397.

¹⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, iii, p.489; and *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.92.

reached as far as Razān,¹⁸ where he was contacted by the Rutbīl, who solicited peace in return for 1,200,000 *dirhams*.¹⁹ 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*.²⁰ '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 Ziyād²¹ in the year 53²² (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 Šāhi 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 Šāhis of Kābul and Zābulistān. The payment of tribute was in fact

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, Rukhkhaḥ 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 Rutbīls and the Arab governors of Sīstān. 'Abbād stayed in Sīstān till the date of the Caliph Mu'āwiya²³ 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.²⁴ Salm in turn placed the charge of Sīstān in the hands of his brother Yazīd b. Ziyād in about 61²⁵ (680-81). Ṭabarī 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.²⁶ 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 (Barhatigīn), apprehensive of the Rutbīl's influence and hold over Zābulistān and the adjoining areas, arbitrarily decided to remove the latter²⁷ from the government of Rukhkhaj.

²³ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.97.

²⁴ Balādhurī, p.397.

²⁵ Ṭabarī, i, p.2706.

²⁶ Ṭabarī, 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 Ṭabarī the Rutbīl was chased out of these areas by the Shāh. Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, 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 Rukhkhaj and Zābulistān, of which all the members were known as the Rutbīls.²⁸

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.²⁹ 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 Šāhi 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 Šāhi. He was met by the enemy forces at the battlefield of Junzah.³⁰ In the ensuing battle the Muslim army was completely routed; Yazīd and many of his chiefs lay dead on the battlefield.³¹ 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.³²

²⁸ See also *infra*, p.180.

²⁹ Balādhurī, p.397.

³⁰ This name is not reported by the geographers. It may be the corruption of Ghazna pronounced Jazna (*جَزَنَة*) by the Arabs. See Yāqūt, vol.iii, p.798). Junza is also mentioned by Ṭabarī, ii, p.488.

³¹ Balādhurī, p.398; Ṭabarī, ii, p.488; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.97. According to *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (p.100) Abū 'Ubaidah was captured in this battle. This, coming from a less reliable source, is evidently incorrect.

³² Balādhurī, p.398.

During Ṭalḥah's term of governorship the western frontier of the Ṣāhi 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.³³ 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 Ṣāhi kingdoms.³⁴

THE ṢĀHIS LAUNCH AN OFFENSIVE

The unsettled political conditions in the Muslim world presented the Ṣāhis with an opportunity to launch an offensive against the Arabs of Sīstān. In preparation, the Rutbīl enlisted the active support of Turkish armies³⁵ and also aided and abetted the opposite factions of Zaranj in their struggle to take control of the city.³⁶ The subsequent events indicate that the Rutbīl was already either in or in the vicinity of Zaranj when 'Abd al-'Azīz³⁷ came to restore order in Sīstān in about A.D. 684-85.³⁸ The new governor was compelled to stop in the capital city because of the fear of

³³ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 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 *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.105. Evidently the Turks of *Zamīn Dāwar* are meant.

³⁶ Balādhurī, p.398. The main contestants in the struggle for power were the Banū Yashkur and the Muḍarites of Sīstān.

³⁷ Full name: 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmar b. Kuraiz (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.105).

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' (Balādhurī, p.398) who was appointed governor of Baṣrah in 65 (684-85) (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.210).

the Rutbīl's reprisals.³⁹ And when he eventually came to measure swords with the Śāhis, his success seemed to be in jeopardy.⁴⁰ 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-Māzanī⁴¹ retrieved the situation by delivering a powerful combined attack. The Rutbīl was killed by Abū 'Afrā' and the Śāhi 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.⁴²

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 Rutbīl was succeeded by his son, whose name is not known but who is designated by Balādhurī (p.399) as Rutbīl 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*⁴³ to make peace with the

³⁹ Balādhurī (Murgottens trans.), p.149.

⁴⁰ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.105.

⁴¹ This form of the name is recorded by Balādhurī (p.398). The *Tārīkh* (p.106) gives the name 'Umar b. Shān al-'Ārī.

⁴² *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 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 Muṣa'ab (*Tārīkh*, p.107) who was killed in the year 71 (690-91) (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.323).

⁴³ Balādhurī, p.399.

Arab commander. But the negotiations fell through as the exorbitant demands of 'Abd Allāh increased further.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.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 Śāhi territory or burn or lay waste as long as he was in charge of Sīstān.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.⁴⁷

'UBAID ALLĀH'S DEBACLE

In the year 78 (697-98) Sīstān was attached to the dominions of Ḥajjāj, the Governor-general of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate, who despatched 'Ubaid Allāh to take charge of the government of Sīstān.⁴⁸ The accounts of Balādhurī, Ibn al-Athīr and the *Tārīkh* differ in detail as to the arrival of 'Ubaid Allāh in Zaranj. According to Balādhurī, the

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

⁴⁵ Balādhurī, p.399.

⁴⁶ Ibid. The *Tārīkh* (p.107) wrongly gives an opposite account.

⁴⁷ Balādhurī, p.399.

⁴⁸ Tabarī, 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 'Ubaid 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 *Tārīkh* has openly exposed. 'Ubaid 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, 'Ubaid 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 Šāhis, 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 Šāhis who, on perceiving this weakness, either slowed down or partly withheld the payment of tribute.⁵³ 'Ubaid 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 'Ubaid Allāh's familiarity with Sīstān in recommending his name for the governorship of that place (see Ṭabarī, ii, p.1033 ff.).

⁵¹ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp.110-11. Further details of this event have been mixed by the *Tārīkh*.

⁵² Ṭabarī, ii, p.1033; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.450.

⁵³ Ṭabarī, ii, p.1036; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.450.

⁵⁴ D. Price, *Mahomedan History*, vol.i, London 1811, p.454.

⁵⁵ Ṭabarī, ii, p.1036; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.450.

on from Rukhkhaj and encamped in the vicinity of Kābul.⁵⁶ As 'Ubaid Allāh proceeded, the Turkish armies of the Rutbīl artfully retreated, leaving the country open to the invader till he went far into it.⁵⁷ 'Ubaid Allāh soon discovered the folly of being imprudently adventurous, when he found himself encircled. The enemy blocked the mountain passes against him and the Rutbīl also joined them.⁵⁸ Exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, the Arab condescended to purchase the liberation of himself and his followers for a ransom of 500,000⁵⁹ and pledged himself to send three of his sons as hostages, and not to raid the Rutbīls country as long as he was the governor of Sīstān.⁶⁰ However a commander of 'Ubaid Allāh, Shuraiḥ b. Hānī - the chief of the army of Kūfa - disdained to avail himself of this ignominious compromise and bravely perished by the sword of the enemy.⁶¹ Having deposited the stipulated sum in the hands of the Rutbīl's agents, 'Ubaid Allāh withdrew without molestation. But many of his troops perished of thirst and hunger on their way back. On reaching Bust, 'Ubaid Allāh himself died of grief at the disaster which he had brought upon his men.⁶² So thorough was the dessication and so pitiable the condition of the survivors of the Muslim army that it came to be known

⁵⁶ Balādhurī, p.399. According to the *Tarīkh* (p.111) the battle took place at Bust.

⁵⁷ Ṭabarī, p.1037.

⁵⁸ Balādhurī, p.399.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Ṭabarī (ii, p.1037) and Ibn al-Athīr (iv, p.450) have 700,000 *dirhams*.

⁶⁰ According to Balādhurī the Śāhi chief sent his sons as hostages to 'Ubaid Allāh. But H.C. Ray (*The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta 1931, p.68) rightly doubts the truth of this statement, since the hostages are said to have had Arabic names.

⁶¹ Balādhurī, p.399.

⁶² Ibid.

as the *Jaish al-Fanā'*⁶³ (the 'Doomed Army'). Perhaps the only other comparable incident occurred in 1842 when the Afghāns, using the same tactics, brought a similar disaster upon the British army.⁶⁴

THE EXPEDITION OF IBN AL-ASH'ATH : THE
ŚĀHIS 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 Baṣrah 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 Śāhis. 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 *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.111. In his report to the Caliph, Ḥajjāj vividly describes the ruined state of this army (see Ṭabarī, ii, p.1038).

⁶⁴ A. Forbes, *The Afghan Wars*, London 1892, pp.105-21.

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 *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.112.

soldiers on whose valour and experience he could safely rely.⁶⁸ With these precautions he foiled the designs of his adversary.

Having subjugated a great portion of the country of the enemy,⁶⁹ Ibn al-Ash'ath returned to Sīstān laden with spoil, but incurred the displeasure of Ḥajjāj by not remaining there long enough to consolidate the conquests.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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.⁷²

⁶⁸ *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, Tehran 1339, vol.iii, p.281.

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

⁷⁰ *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, 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 *Tārīkh* (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. 'Amar, an influential chief of Sīstān, 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; Ṭabarī, ii, p.1055; and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, p.462.

⁷² Ṭabarī, loc.cit.

After some vicissitudes of fortune, however, the rebel general was signally defeated in the year 83 (702-03)⁷³ and fled to Sīstān 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.⁷⁴ The Rutbīl, being apprised of this ignominious behaviour of the commandant, hastened at the head of his troops to intervene.⁷⁵ 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'.⁷⁶ 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 seven⁷⁷ years, during which the Śāhi would also be exempted from paying any tribute.⁷⁸

⁷³ Ṭabarī, ii, p.1103; and Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh* (1969 E.J. Brill repr.), vol.ii, p.333.

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-Madā'inī and Ma'mar b. Muthanna in the same place.

⁷⁷ Ma'mar 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.⁷⁹

QUTAIBA'S INVASION

Ḥajjāj 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.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.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.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?'⁸³ Qutaiba understood the justifiable position of the Śāhi and decided not to deal harshly with him. Contenting himself with accepting tribute in kind, he

79 Balādhurī, p.400; and Ma'mar b. Muthanna (Ṭabarī, ii, p.1135).

80 Balādhurī, loc.cit.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid. Ya'qūbī (ii, p.343) says that Qutaiba was instructed by Ḥajjāj to march to Sīstān.

83 Ya'qūbī, loc.cit.; see also Balādhurī, loc.cit.

returned without forcing the new demand through.⁸⁴ On his way back he removed his brother from the government of Sīstān.⁸⁵ The irresistible danger was thus cleverly averted and the Śāhis soon stopped paying tribute even in kind.

THE ŚĀHIS 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 Khārijites once again raised their heads and assumed a dangerously threatening attitude towards the Umayyad governors of Sīstān. In about A.D. 725 Bashar al-Ḥawārī, a commandant of the Sīstān army, was assassinated by a group of the Kharijite resurgents.⁸⁶ Soon after that Yazīd b. al-Gharīf, the governor of Sīstān, was murdered in his camp by a similar group.⁸⁷ In A.D. 734 the Khārijites were still a strong force which necessitated the change of a Sīstān governor. Political instability reached its highest pitch about 126 (743-44), when the whole population of Sīstān 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.⁸⁸ Battles took place nearly

⁸⁴ Balādhurī, p.400. Qutaiba told his officers to accept the terms because Sīstān was a notoriously inauspicious frontier. For similar remarks see Ya'qūbī, ii, p.343 and *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, vol.iii, p.281.

⁸⁵ The *Tārīkh* (pp.119-20) gives more details on this point. According to this source Qutaiba's first governor of Sīstān was 'Abd ar-Rabb. After the detachment of Sīstān from Khurāsān, however, 'Abd ar-Rabb was dismissed and his place was taken by Ash'ath b. Bashar al-Yarbū'ī, who made peace with the Rutbīl. But this action was disapproved of by Ḥajjāj who dismissed Ash'ath and once again attached Sīstān to Khurāsān. Qutaiba, the governor of Khurāsān, gave the charge of Sīstān to his brother 'Amrū, who, on reaching Sīstān, opened hostilities with the Rutbīl. The latter eventually agreed to pay 800,000 *dirhams*.

⁸⁶ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.126.

⁸⁷ Ya'qūbī, ii, p.383.

⁸⁸ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.131.

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 Śāhis 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 Khārijites 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 Śāhi 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 Khārijites violence. In the year 108 (726-27) Aṣfaḥ 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 Śāhi 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 *Tārīkh-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. Aṣḥaḥ himself received head injuries and died on reaching Sīstān.⁹⁴ We hear of no other attempt to gain control of the Śāhi kingdom till about A.D. 768.

INTERNAL TROUBLES OF THE ŚĀHIS

As the external threat diminished, internal tensions between Kābul and Zābulistān built up quickly. Since the separation of Zābulistān from the main Śāhi 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 Kapiśa 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 Kapiśa to act as *Ka-lo-ta-chih-t'e-k'in* (= 'Tigīn of Arokhaj').⁹⁷ Whether Kapiśa actually overran Zābulistan to reach as far as Rukhkhaj 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 Hwei Ch'ao (W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.448) the ruler of Zābulistān, although a nephew of the king of Kapiśa, was not subordinate to his uncle.

⁹⁶ N.C. Sen, 'Accounts of India and Kashmir in the Dynastic Histories of the T'ang Period', *Visva-Bharati*, 1968, p.13.

⁹⁷ Chavannes, *Documents Les Tou-Kiue (Turks) Occidentaux*, p.132. See also L. Petech, 'Note su Kāpiśi e Zābul', *RSO*, vol.xxxix, 1964, p.292.

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 Kapiśa 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 Kapiśa's claim on Rukhkhaj. 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 Hsüan 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 Kapiśa had been united under one rule.¹⁰¹ The king had two capitals: in summer he used to live in Kapiśa, whereas in winter he moved to Gandhāra. The king of Kapiśa 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 Kapiśa upon *Po-fu-chun*. He was also honoured with the title *Tso-Hsiao-wei-Chiang-Chün* ('the brave general

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').¹⁰³ Kapiśa 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,¹⁰⁴ 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 Kanīśka.¹⁰⁵ But Wu K'ong seems to have erroneously confused the Turks with the Kuṣāṇas. Perhaps the Chinese pilgrim recorded, without investigating the historicity of the matter, the claim of the ruling house to be descended from the famous Kanīśka.

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 ash-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.¹⁰⁶ The Rutbīl despatched 'camels, Turkish tents, and slaves, reckoning each at double its value'.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ N.C. Sen, op.cit., p.13.

¹⁰⁴ See Lévi and Chavannes, *JA*, series 9, vol.6, No.2, 1895, pp.356-57.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.356f.

¹⁰⁶ Balādhurī, p.401; *Tārīkh-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 Balādhurī, p.401.

The Šāhi 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 Rukhkha.j.¹⁰⁸ On his arrival, he discovered that the Rutbīl had already withdrawn to Zābulistān to spend the summer.¹⁰⁹ Ma'n reduced Rukhkha.j and secured 30,000 captives.¹¹⁰ A lieutenant of the Rutbīl, named Māwand,¹¹¹ asked for safe conduct to be taken to the Caliph Mansūr. Ma'n granted the request and sent him off to Bagh^hdad accompanied by a large bodyguard, consisting of Šāhi troops. The Caliph treated him generously and granted him and his chiefs valuable pensions.¹¹² As the winter was approaching, Ma'n withdrew to Bust, but soon fell victim to a Khārijite plot.¹¹³ 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, Sīstān once more lapsed into confusion, murders and rebellions, easing thereby a great deal of the tension on the Šāhi borders. The Khārijites 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 Sīstān.¹¹⁴ In about 160 (777) he sent his son Fayyād to Bust, perhaps

¹⁰⁸ Balādhurī, p.401.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.144.

¹¹¹ According to the *Tārīkh* (p.144), 'Māwaid' (Māwand) was the son-in-law of the Rutbīl.

¹¹² Balādhurī, loc.cit.

¹¹³ Balādhurī, pp.401-02.

¹¹⁴ See *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp.149-50.

in order to renew hostilities with the Śāhis. 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, Rutbīl, referred to by Ya'qūbī as the *malik* of Sijistān, and ash-Shīr the *malik* of Bāmiān.¹¹⁵

The restoration of peace in Sīstān brought the usual threat to the peace of the Śāhis. Early in the year 169 (785) Tamīm b. Sa'īd, the then governor of Sīstān, marched to Rukhkha] 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 despatched 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 Baghdād 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 = *Śāhi vihāra*). The city of Ghūrwand, situated to the north of Kābul, was conquered, according

¹¹⁵ Ya'qūbī, ii, p.479.

¹¹⁶ Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.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 *Śāhi 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. Khālīd b. Barmak got the governorship of Khurāsān.¹¹⁸

In the year 172 (788) fighting again flared up in Rukhkhaḥj, 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 Ṣadaqaḥ, 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 Maṭraf b. Samurah al-Qāḍī.¹²⁰ In a battle that took place somewhere in Rukhkhaḥj a great number of Turks were put to the sword. After the victory Ṣadaqaḥ 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 Tārīkh, 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 *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.152.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.153.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.154.

governorship of Khurāsān, reached Kābul in pursuit of the Khārijite Ḥamza ash-Shāri and killed him in battle.¹²³ In Sīstān however 'Alī 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 Āmin, 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 Sāhi 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 Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh.¹²⁸

123 Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Baldān*, 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. Ghaffoor 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 Kābul and Qandahār were annexed to Khurāsān and a postal service was established between Bāmiān and Qandahār.¹²⁹ For the first time the Caliph sent his own *wālīs* to rule over these cities. What actually happened to the Iṣṣahbadh Kābul 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.¹³⁰

Encouraged by the astounding success they had achieved at Kābul, 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 *Rājataranginī*, which contains references to a certain 'Mummuni' who was vanquished by Lalitāditya three times in battle.¹³¹ If 'Mummuni' of the *Rājataranginī* is the same as Māmūn,¹³² the Abassid Caliph (A.D. 813-33), then Kalhaṇa 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 Balādhurī, p.402.

¹³¹ *Rājataranginī*, iv, 167.

¹³² A. Stein (*Kalhaṇa's Rājataranginī*, 1961 repr., vol.1, p.137), thinks that he is not.

we have to accommodate Lagatūrmān, the last of the Turk Śāhis 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 ŚĀHIS

Spalapatideva (or 'Mahrab') was presumably succeeded by Lagatūrmān, who is mentioned by Albīrūnī 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 Albīrūnī's work it is clearly written as Lagatūrmān (لکتورمان). 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. Ṭāhir'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 *Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.350.

¹³⁴ *Op.cit.*, ii, p.420.

¹³⁵ *CMI*, 1967 Indian repr., p.55.

¹³⁶ *Ency. of Islam*, vol.iv, 1974, p.356.

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.¹³⁹ 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 Kābul; Zābulistān continued to be ruled by the Rutbīls for some time longer. On the basis of the information of the Hund slab inscription, the end of the Kābul branch of the Turk Śāhis may be placed about A.D. 843.

¹³⁸ continued.

quotes Murgotten's translation of Ṭabarī, p.155, but the relevant passage *استقامت بعد ذلك* 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 *Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.350.

CHAPTER 5

The Hindu Śāhis

The Turk Śāhis were succeeded by another dynasty, known to Albīrūnī as *ash-Shāhiyyat al-Hindiyya*,¹ 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 dynasty² but the list does not seem to be exhaustive; some of the names known from coins and the *Rājataranginī*,³ 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.⁴ 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

¹ *Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.351.

² The following names are mentioned: Kallar, Sāmand, Kamalū, Bhīm, Jaipāl, Anandpāl, Tarojanpāl (Trilocanapāla) and Bhīmpāl.

³ Such as Khudarayaka, Lalliya and Vakka.

⁴ *Supra*, p.52.

their stronghold.⁵ 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 Śāhis migrated to Kashmīr, where they continued to enjoy the favours of that country for some time.⁶ Kalhaṇa in his time knew of many Kṣatriyas who lived in Kashmīr and claimed descent from the Śāhis.⁷

Both Albīrūnī⁸ and Kalhaṇa⁹ passionately admire the grandeur and noble sentiments of the Śāhi 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 Albīrūnī, they are nowhere treated directly in the Muslim sources. Since we know a little more about them than we do about the earlier Śāhi dynasty, we treat the history of this period reign by reign.

1. KALLAR

(c. A.D. 843-850)

Kallar,¹⁰ the founder of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty, is known only from Albīrūnī's list. The precise circumstances which led to his rise are

⁵ Infra, p.139 f.

⁶ Infra, p.322 ff.

⁷ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, viii, 3230.

⁸ Op.cit., p.351.

⁹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 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 Kashmīr 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. Albīrūnī's information that Kallar by accident found hidden treasures which gave him influence and power¹¹ 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 Albīrūnī, 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 Lagatūrman 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

¹¹ Op.cit., p.350.

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

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

According to Cunningham Kallar had the designation *Spalapati*¹⁵ - a name or title known from the coins of the period of the Śāhis. 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.

¹³ A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 1961 Indian repr. vol.ii, p.336; Ch. Seybold, 'Zu Bīrūnī's Indica', *Z.D.M.G.*, xlvi, p.700; and Cunningham, *ASI*, vol.V, p.83.

¹⁴ Infra, p.109.

¹⁵ *CMI*, p.58.

¹⁶ *The Hindu Śāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Patna 1972, pp.19 ff.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Infra, p.187.

of Azraqī¹⁹ and Albīrūnī shows that Iṣṣpāhbādh/Spalapati was the title specifically taken by the Kābul Shāhs and not by their feudatories.²⁰ 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 Kābul Shāhs founded by Barhatigīn had family relations with the Rutbīls of Rukhkhaj and Zābulistān.²¹ Its overthrow by Kallar must have affected the mutual relations of Kābul 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 Kābul 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 Kābul.²²

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 *Fī Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.471; and supra, p.85.

²¹ Supra, p.46.

²² D.B. Pandey, *The Hindu Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, 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 Panjābī 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 Panjāb, 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 Śāhi ruler. Indeed, there are numerous places in the Panjāb 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 Panjāb. 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 Śāhis during the later reigns of this dynasty. It may have been included in the Śāhi 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 Śāhi territories.²³ Albīrūnī's statement that the pedigree of the Turk Śāhis existed in Nagarkot²⁴ suggests that their kingdom extended at least to that point in the south. As the immediate successor of the Turk Śāhis in Kābul and the Panjāb, 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 *Fī Tahqīq Mā li' l-Hind*, p.349.

2. SĀMANTADEVA

(c. A.D. 850-870)

Sāmand, the successor of Kallar, is the second Hindu Śāhi king in Albīrūnī's list. The word *Sāmand* was probably used as a title and not as the proper name.²⁵ The title may also be recognised in the place called 'Sāmand Kot' (Sāmanta Kota) mentioned by Gardīzī.²⁶ Sāmand has been correctly identified with Sāmanta of the Hindu Śāhi coins, though it would be wrong to assume that all the coins with the legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva* were struck by him. Presumably he ascended the throne of Kābul around A.D. 850, after the death of Kallar,²⁷ who may have been his father though the precise nature of their relationship is nowhere recorded.²⁸

Unfortunately we have no details of the life of Sāmand to enable us to put him into proper historical perspective. Some writers doubt even his existence. Sāmand in Albīrūnī's list, says D.W. Macdowall, is probably a name falsely inferred from the existence of so many coins bearing the legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva*.²⁹ But the argument is not wholly convincing. Had it been really the case, one wonders why Albīrūnī 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 Sāmanta as the greatest of the earlier Hindu Śāhis.³⁰ 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 Śāhi kings.

²⁹ 'The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara', *NC*, vol.viii, 1968, p.211.

³⁰ 'On the Coins of the Dynasty of the Hindū Kings of Kābul', *NC*, vol. ix, 1848, p.18 f.

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 *Sāmantadeva* 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.³¹ He seems to have adhered to the old practice of the Kābul Shāhis of not using their names on the coins.

End of the Western Branch of the Turk Śāhis

Zābulistān and Rukhkhaj, 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 Sāmanta 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 Shāh 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 Tochī valley situated east of Ghazna on the Pākistānī side of the Pāk-Afghān 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 Hayy³² b. 'Amār (or 'Ammār). We know about 'Ammār from the Tārīkh: he was a Khārijite who

31 Cf. supra, p.93.

32 This name is variously read as 'Hayy' (A.H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, vol.1, 1964, p.130) and 'Fayy' (H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, vol.1, Wiesbaden 1966, p.107).

revolted against Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr, the self-appointed ruler of Bust.³³ Ṣāliḥ's force moved under the command of his chiefs Kathīr b. Raqqād,³⁴ Ya'qūb b. Laith and Darham b. Naḍr 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 Ṭāhirīd governor of Sīstān, but fared no better.³⁵ In 247 (861) he still wielded considerable power and was appealed to by Ya'qūb, the Ṣaffārid who by this time had emerged as the undisputed ruler of Sīstān,³⁶ 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,³⁷ not very far from the Tochī valley.

In the wake of the Khārijite depredations rose a bigger storm which finally engulfed the Turk Ṣāhis of Rukhkhaj and inflicted severe blows upon the Hindu Ṣāhis of Kābul. In the van of this storm was Ya'qūb b. Laith, a coppersmith (Ṣaffār) of Qarnīn, whose high spirits revolted at this peaceful occupation and forced him to resort to highway robbery.³⁸ About 232 (846) he joined forces with Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr (or Naḍr) against Bashār b. Sulaimān, an upstart of Bust, who had driven al-Qūsī's son, Aḥmad, out of the city.³⁹ Bashār was killed and Ṣāliḥ became the undisputed master of Bust and the surrounding areas. He then proceeded to Zaranj

³³ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp.193-203. Full name: 'Ammār b. Yāsir, see Ibn Ḥauqal, p.303; and Iṣṭakhrī, p.247.

³⁴ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp.196-97. Iṣṭakhrī (p.246) and Ibn Ḥauqal (p.303) report this name as 'Raqqāq'.

³⁵ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.197.

³⁶ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp.202-03. 'Ammār was killed in 251 (865).

³⁷ *Infra*, p.101.

³⁸ Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akḥbār*, p.139.

³⁹ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.192.

in company with Ya'qūb and took control of the city through a clever stratagem. This brilliant success however heralded Ṣāliḥ's downfall. The Sīstān troops led by Ya'qūb and Sarbātak split off from the main force when Ṣāliḥ ordered the plundering of al-Qūsī's palace and wanted to remove the treasures to Bust.⁴⁰ In the fierce battle that followed Ṣāliḥ's army, consisting mainly of the people of Bust, was completely routed but he himself escaped and went underground. The Sīstān army on its return raised a certain Darham b. Naḍr 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.⁴¹ In the year 247 (861) the people Sīstān 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. Ṭāhir, 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. Ṭāhir the patent (*manshūr*) to rule over Sīstān, Kābul, Kirmān and Fārs.⁴²

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

⁴⁰ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.198.

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

⁴² *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 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 Ṣāliḥ, who had moved to Rukhkhaj at the head of a huge army. On this occasion Ṣāliḥ 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 Tegīn Ābād (Tekinābād), where he faced huge hordes of the enemy.⁴⁶ But for his personal dash and intrepidity the success of the Ṣaffārid 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 Ṣāhis, including

⁴³ Ibid., p.205.

⁴⁴ *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, p.371. This source has confused the Rutbīl with the Kābul Shāh.

⁴⁵ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.205.

⁴⁶ Gardīzī, op.cit., p.139.

⁴⁷ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.205. According to the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, however, the Rutbīl was treacherously murdered by Ya'qūb when they met to conclude a treaty. See also *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (Raverty's trans.), 1970 Indian repr., vol.1, p.317.

⁴⁸ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (Raverty's trans.), p.318.

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, vol.vii, p.326. G. Scarcia (*AION*, xvi, 1966, pp.283-85) maintains that 'Lakan the Lak' and 'Kbtīr' are variants of the same name.

Aharpatī,⁵⁰ 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'⁵¹ (or Kīr) who was kept in imprisonment at Bust. The spoils captured by the victor comprised 4,000 horses, a silver throne and the Rutbīls treasures, besides numerous camels, mules and elephants.⁵²

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 Rukhkhaj, Ya'qūb returned to Sīstān.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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

⁵⁰ Actually احرسی (*Tārīkh-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 کبر (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.215). Bahār reads it 'gīr' 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 *Tārīkh-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 Aflah 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 Rukhkhaḥ 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 Rukhkhaḥ.⁵⁷ Towards the end of the same year, Ya'qūb marched to Rukhkhaḥ, but he could not catch the son of the Rutbīl who made his way to Kābul. He chased the fugitive Śāhi to a place called Ḥāsāb, 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

55 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, loc.cit.

56 Gardīzī, op.cit., p.139

57 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.215.

58 Tārīkh-i Sīstān, p.215.

59 Ibn al-Athīr, vol.vii, p.326; and Tārīkh-i Sīstān, loc.cit.

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 Rutbīl' took his position in the fort of Nāī 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 Śāhis 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 *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafa* 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.

61 Ṭabarī, iii, p.1841; Ibn al-Athīr, vol.vii, p.247.

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 Panjhīr 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 Baihaqī⁶⁶ and Gardīzī⁶⁷ in their accounts of the history of the Ghaznavīds; 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 Panjhīr, the place he is known to have visited, he must

⁶⁴ See Gardīzī, op.cit., loc.cit. See also Aḥmad 'Alī Kohzād, *Da Afghānistān Pakhwānī Tārīkh*, vol.ii, Kābul 1339, p.566-74; and *ibid.*, *Bālā Hiṣār Kābul*, vol.i, Kābul 1336, p.17.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, vol.vii, p.247. Gardīzī refers to a certain 'Pīrūz' (Fīrūz) who was captured by Ya'qūb during this campaign. M. Nāzim took 'Pīrūz' for a place name but A. Habībī (*Zain al-Akḥbār*, p.139) suggests that it could have been the name of a person. Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, vol.4, p.173) refers to a certain Fīrūz b. Kank as the ruler of Zābulistān. If this is correct the name Kīr may be a clerical mistake for Fīrūz.

⁶⁶ *Tārīkh-i Baihaqī* (ed. Dr 'Alī Akbar Fayyād), Mashhad 1350, pp.558, 737.

⁶⁷ *Zain al-Akḥbār*, p.204.

⁶⁸ A. Habībī, *Zain al-Akḥbār*, 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 Tabarī 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 Sīstān*, p.216.

⁷⁰ *Murūj*, viii, pp.125-26.

⁷¹ Tabarī, 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 as-Şafā, was made prisoner.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; Kābul was still in the hands of Ya'qūb's governor in 265⁷⁴ (878-79).

3. KHUDARAYAKA

(c. A.D. 870-880)

What arrangement Ya'qūb made to govern Kābul 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 Kābul valley had a Şaffārīd *'āmil* in 265 (878-79) at the time of the death of Ya'qūb.⁷⁵ It seems therefore that the conqueror, instead of reinstating the vanquished Śāhi ruler, appointed his own governor to rule over the former Śāhi 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 Śāhi princes who were favourably inclined to the Muslim rule.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 Śāhi coins have not been so far convincingly identified. Of them the name Śrī Khudarayaka (correctly *Kṣudra rājaka*) is the most puzzling.⁷⁷ The metrological evidence of

⁷³ Vol.iv, p.12.

⁷⁴ *Infra*, fn.75.

⁷⁵ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.233.

⁷⁶ A similar example may be found in the appointment of Şālih b. Ḥajar, the uncle of the Rutbīl 'Kbtīr', in the government of Rukhkhaj when the latter was killed by Ya'qūb. See *supra*, p.99 f.

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.⁷⁸ Significantly, the weight standard of these coins is different from that of the Śāhi coins and conforms to the standard weight of the Arabic *dirhams* of the reformed currency first introduced by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik⁷⁹ (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,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. 870.⁸¹ 'Awfī's information that the Lohgar valley formed part of the Śāhi dominions towards the end of the reign of

78 Op.cit., p.198.

79 Ibid. See also J. Walker, *Arab Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, cxlvii ff.

80 Macdowall, op.cit., p.210.

81 Supra, pp.104-05.

'Amr b. Laith,⁸² Ya'qūb's successor in Sīstān, shows that the Śāhis 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 Śāhis, and was probably overthrown early in the reign of 'Amr, about A.D. 880.

4. LALLIYA

(c. A.D. 880-902)

Lalliya⁸³ is the first Śāhi 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 Śāhi 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 Kashmīrians 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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* are often quoted to support this identification.

⁸² Elliot, ii, p.172. For the Persian text of the relevant part of the *Jawāmi' al-Hikāyāt* see J. Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. E. Thomas), vol.i, London 1859, pp.317-18.

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

⁸⁴ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (trans. R.S. Pandit), first published in 1935, 1968 Sahitya Akādemi edition, p.198.

⁸⁵ Supra, p.92.

Rājat., v, 152-55: Alakhāna's support, the illustrious Lalliya Śāhi - who (placed) between the rulers of the *Darads* and *Turuṣkas* as between a lion and a boar, resembled Āryāvarta (as it lies) between the Himālayas 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 (Śaṃkaravarman, the Kashmīrian 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 Gopālavarman - the successor of Śaṃkaravarman) plundered the riches of the amorous (queen) and vanquished the Śāhi kingdom at Udabhāṇḍa. He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Śāhi upon Toramāṇa, Lilliya'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 Śāhi' mentioned in verse 233. Stein's view that the phrase actually refers to Sāmand⁸⁷ of Albīrūnī's list, though credulously followed by many subsequent writers, is not wholly borne out by the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The context in which these words are used points rather to Lalliya, whose timely help to Alakhāna turned the Kashmīrian 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.

⁸⁷ *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol.ii, p.336.

Gurjaras,⁸⁸ was viewed with grave concern in Kashmīr. 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 Kashmīrian 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 Gopālavarman.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 904,⁹⁰ we must assume that this was also the date of Lalliya's dethronement. Now, should Lalliya be identified with Kallar who heads Albīrūnī'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. 843.⁹¹ 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.⁹² Another point of difference between Kallar and Lalliya is that they are referred to as ruling from

88 B.N. Puri, *The Gurjara-Pratihāras*, Bombay 1957, pp.66, 72.

89 *CMI*, p.57.

90 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v, 233.

91 *Supra*, p.52.

92 *Supra*, p.94.

different capitals, the former from Kābul and the latter from Udabhāṇḍa. 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 Gopālavarma's invasion.

Conflict with the Saffārīd 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. 900,⁹³ it is mentioned as part of the Śāhi dominions. The

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 Khurāsān and the replacement of Muḥammad b. Ḥamadān b. 'Abd Allāh, the governor of Ghazna, with another officer named Fardaghān,⁹⁴ prompted certain Indian kings whose names, reported in a very corrupt form, can be restored as Āṣata⁹⁵ and Toramāṇa,⁹⁶ to combine their forces and launch a united invasion of Ghazna about A.D. 900. Fardaghān 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.⁹⁷ When Fardaghān 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 *rāī* of Hindūstān, proceeded with a huge force for retaliation, but then hesitated to engage Fardaghān, for the latter cleverly spread the

⁹⁴ Actually Fard 'Alī (فرديالی). The form Fardaghān (فردغان) 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 Bāsad
 باسد Bāsdev *باسديو* Vāsudeva *واسوديو*, a well known Indian name, but this involves the addition of a full syllable. The most likely interpretation is that Nāsad (through *آشت* *دآشد* *دآسد*) is a clerical error for Āṣata (*آشت*), a name known from *Firishta*. See also *infra*, pp.131-32.

⁹⁶ Actually Ālaman (آلمان). 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 *rāī*.

The historicity of Toramāna/Kamalū is already well established. The name is known from more than one source and is discussed by us in detail in the following section.⁹⁸ It is difficult however to determine the true identify of Āṣata at the present level of our information. But, knowing that Kābul was in the hands of the Śāhis by this time and that Kamalū'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 Lalliya 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 Kamalū.

Both Āṣata and Kamalū are mentioned in the *Tārīkh* as *Shāhs* which may be taken to mean that they were independent kings by this time. But the fact that Lalliya 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 Turuṣkas 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 Lalliya, to move against the Muslims, they were mistaken by the latter for two independent rulers.

Lalliya's alliance with Alakhāna has been viewed as a step to meet the Muslim threat from the west.⁹⁹ But Lalliya's recovery of Kābul in

⁹⁸ *Infra*, pp.114-120.

⁹⁹ H.C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol.1, Calcutta 1931, p.75.

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.¹⁰⁰

End of Lalliya's Rule

Lalliya's relations with Kashmīr seem to have remained strained throughout his life. Śamkaravarman 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 Kashmīr valley for a second round of conquests,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.¹⁰² But he did not live long enough to accomplish his plan and was killed in Uraśa (Hazāra) by the arrow of a *Śvapāka*.¹⁰³ The hidden hand of Lalliya in manipulating the death of his mighty foe has been rightly suspected by some scholars.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 Kashmīrians a fortune,¹⁰⁵ but it had a soothing effect on their relations with the

¹⁰⁰ For details see Gardīzī, pp.142-44; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, pp.325, 414-16, 426, 500, 516; and *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafa*, pp.15-20.

¹⁰¹ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v, 214-219.

¹⁰² *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v, 215. For a brief history of Śamkaravarman see S.C. Ray, *The Early History of Kashmir*, New Delhi 1969, pp.58-60, and P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, 2nd edition, New Delhi 1973, p.135.

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

¹⁰⁴ H.C. Ray, op.cit., p.75.

¹⁰⁵ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v, 238.

subsequent generations of the Śāhis. Never were they so amicably allied with each other as after this incident.

5. TORAMĀṆA/KAMALŪ

(c. A.D. 903-921)

Toramāṇa, the son of Lalliya, was raised to the throne of Udabhāṇḍa and then renamed Kamaluka by Prabhākaradeva, the Kashmīrian minister of Gopālavarma¹⁰⁶ (A.D. 902-04). Kamaluka was correctly identified with Kamalū, the third ruler in Albīrūnī's list, by Stein¹⁰⁷ and this identification has since been generally accepted. *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt* records the name as Kalmū¹⁰⁸ which is undoubtedly a corrupt form of Kamalū. The Dewai stone inscription mentions a certain Kala (Kamala) varman¹⁰⁹ who is generally identified with Kamalū of Albīrūnī's list. The *Tārīkh* (p.255) records the name as Ālamān (آلان) - evidently a clerical error for Toramāṇa (تورمان).¹¹⁰ Putting together the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, v, 232-33.

¹⁰⁷ 'Zur Geschichte der Gāhis von Kābul', *Festgrüss an Rudolf von Roth Zum Doktor-Jubiläum*; ed. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1893, p.200. For the English translation of this article see Gustav Glaesser, 'A Contribution to the history of the Śāhis of Kabul', *EW*, NS, vol.23, Nos 1-2, 1973, pp.13-20.

¹⁰⁸ E. Thomas, op.cit., p.318. Cunningham, *CMI*, p.59, also records the form Qamalū but he does not indicate his source.

¹⁰⁹ *EI*, vol.xxi, pp.299 ff.

¹¹⁰ The *Tārīkh* is replete with similar clerical errors. That Ālamān (آلان) here stands for Toramāṇa is above question for the same incident is described by 'Awfī, 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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 *rāzī* by 'Awfī, to the time of Prabhākaradeva's intervention when, according to Kalhaṇa, 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 Gopālavarmaṇ as given by Kalhaṇa should be corrected by a few years.¹¹¹ Ray is followed by D.B. Pandey, who takes the information of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 Kalhaṇa 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

¹¹¹ Op.cit., p.77, fn.3.

¹¹² *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Delhi 1973, p.93.

¹¹³ *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol.1, pp.217-18.

¹¹⁴ Elliot, ii, p.424.

for about seven years, when Kamalū regained the throne with Kashmīrian 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 Gurgān on the way to his last encounter with Ismā'īl, the Sāmānīd ruler of Transoxiana. In Rabī' al-Ākhar, 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 Gurgān 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

¹¹⁵ Y. Mishra, *The Hindu Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Patna 1972, pp.41-46.

¹¹⁶ Op.cit., p.46.

¹¹⁷ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.256; and *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, p.373. However Ṭabarī (iii, p.2194), Gardīzī (p.145) and Ibn al-Athīr (vol.vii, p.500) mention the month of Rabī' al-Awwal (March).

¹¹⁸ He died (or was killed) in Jamādī al-Awwal, 289 (April-May, 902). Ṭabarī, iii, pp.2207-08; and Ibn al-Athīr, vol.vii, p.516.

has been discussed above.¹¹⁹ It may be further remarked that 'Awfī's reference to him as *rāī* 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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

Why Kamalū particularly and not Āṣata 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 Kashmīr. There is some ground therefore to conjecture that the former was favourably inclined and his presence suited the expansionist plans of the Kashmīrians whereas the latter antagonistically followed the hard line policy of his father, and looked upon the Kashmīrian presence in the areas bordering the Śāhi kingdom with grave concern. Alternatively Kamalū may have deliberately invoked Prabhākaradeva's support, depicted by Kalhaṇa as an invasion of the Śāhi 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 Ṣaffārīds

The main period of Kamalū's reign coincided with the weakness of the Ṣaffārīd rule in Sīstān 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 Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad on the throne, but his sway did not extend beyond Sīstān.¹²⁰ In 296 (908-09) the new Ṣaffārīd ruler was seized by a rebel chief and despatched as a prisoner to Baghdād.¹²¹ Ṭāhir's successor, named Laith

¹¹⁹ Supra, p.112.

¹²⁰ *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, vol.iv, p.20.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp.20-21; and *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.272.

b. 'Alī b. Laith Ṣaffār, ruled for a short while¹²² and was followed by his brother Mu'addal, who was seized by the Sāmānīd *amīr*, Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl in 298 (911) and carried to Bukhāra.¹²³ The Khārijites of Sīstān, however, under their leader Muḥammad b. Hurmuz, revolted against the Sāmānīd rule and raised 'Amr b. Ya'qūb, a great grandson of 'Amr b. Laith, to the throne. 'Amr was defeated in Dhū al-Ḥajj, 300 (July, 913) and brought to Bukhāra as a prisoner.¹²⁴ Sīstān henceforth became part of the Sāmānīd empire. The glory of the Ṣaffārīd house revived to some extent under Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, but it had little bearing on the history of the Śāhis.

The Rise of the Lawīks

Taking advantage of the weakness of the Ṣaffārīds, the Śāhis 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 Anūk¹²⁵ 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 Āṣata, 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 Sa'd aṭ-Ṭālaqānī.¹²⁶ In the

¹²² See Ibn al-Athīr, vol.viii, p.57. In the year 297 (909-10) Laith was taken prisoner and carried to Baghdād.

¹²³ Ibid., p.61.

¹²⁴ *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, vol.iv, p.21; and Ibn al-Athīr, op.cit., pp.69-70. See also *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, pp.299-302.

¹²⁵ This name is variously recorded as *کوبک*, *امیرالو بکر*, *الوک*, *ابوک*, *الوک*, *لو بک*, *الو بکرلو بیل*, *لو بیل*, *امیرعلی کوبک*. The form *امیرعلی* and *الو بکر* are undoubtedly Arabic, which may suggest that the Lawīks were Muslims, but Yāqūt (vol.1, p.348) says that each member of the nobility living around Ghazna had both Muslim and Indian names.

¹²⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, vol.viii, p.79.

following year Sa'd was defeated and taken prisoner by the forces of Khālid b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā and Muḥammad b. Tuḡhrīl, the officers of the Caliph al-Muqtadir.¹²⁷ In the year 303 (915) Muḥammad b. Tuḡhrīl died and Khālid became the ruler of Sīstān and Zābulistan.¹²⁸ In the following year Khālid 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. Aḥmad b. Shahfūr, a one time companion of Khālid, seems to have survived the disaster that befell the army of the latter and succeeded in extending his sway over Sīstān for a while.¹²⁹ Kathīr was however killed in the year 306 (918) by two of his erstwhile companions - Aḥmad b. Qadām and Ṭarābīl.¹³⁰ Muḥammad b. Qāsim, Kathīr's governor of Zābulistān, was killed shortly afterwards. At this stage we lose sight of Ghazna till the arrival of Alaptigīn, who defeated the Lawīk and captured the city in about A.D. 962.¹³¹ 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 Ṭarābīl. 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 *Tārīkh* (p.309) as the 'commander of the Hindus'.¹³² If he was the ancestor of the Lawīks -

¹²⁷ *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, p.305. Muḥammad b. Tuḡrīl joined Khālid after the death of Fadl b. Hamīd, 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 Ṭarābīl. The Arabic initial **b** suggests the Indian retroflex **ṭ**, but if we attribute this to erroneous pronunciation the word might be restored as *Tārāvīra*, 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 Lawīks 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 950.¹³³ It has been recently argued that the shortage of the coins of Kamalavarman 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 *Sāmanta* legend continued to be struck till even after the end of the Śāhis. The Ghaznavīd Sultān Mas'ūd, for instance, is known to have struck coins with the *Sāmanta* legend¹³⁵ but obviously we cannot place him soon after Sāmand 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

¹³³ See Cunningham, *ASI*, 1872-73, vol.v, p.82; *Ibid.*, *NC*, third series, vol.xiii, 1893, p.196; *Ibid.*, *CMI*, p.62; and H.C. Ray, *op.cit.*, p.103.

¹³⁴ D.B. Pandey, *op.cit.*, p.93.

¹³⁵ E. Thomas, 'On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazna', *JRAS*, 1858, pp.170-71.

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 Albīrūnī's list. Kalhana mentions him distinctly as the Śāhi ruler of the town of Udabhāṇḍa.¹³⁹ Bhīma's name and his association with Udabhāṇḍa 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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (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 Kashmīr (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, Bhīmakeśava, 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. Vaidya¹⁴³ and H.C. Ray¹⁴⁴ whose guess remains close to that of Cunningham. Thus the evidence of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vii, 1081.

¹⁴⁰ *Infra*, p.309 ff.

¹⁴¹ *Festgrüss an Rudolf von Roth Zum Docttor-Jubiläum*, p.201; and *EW*, NS, vol.23, Nos 1-2, 1973, p.19.

¹⁴² *ASI*, vol.v, 1872-73, p.82; *The Later Indo-Scythians*, 1962 Indian repr. (from *NC*, 1893-94), p.196; and *CMI*, p.62.

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. 900.¹⁴⁵ 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.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. 928.¹⁴⁷ 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. 892-93.¹⁴⁸ 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 Udabhāṇḍa about A.D. 903. This gives us a *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* can be established on the basis of the evidence of the Hund slab inscription, which suggests that Bīma must have died about A.D. 963.¹⁴⁹ 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,¹⁵⁰ the beginning

¹⁴⁵ D.B. Pandey, op.cit., pp.93-95.

¹⁴⁶ See also *infra*, pp.196-201.

¹⁴⁷ Y. Mishra, op.cit., p.60.

¹⁴⁸ According to D.G. Ganguly (*The Age of the Imperial Kanauj*, 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.

¹⁴⁹ *Infra*, p.309 f.

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 Albīrūnī, was started by Bhīma to commemorate his accession.¹⁵¹ 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 Kashmīr

We have no information about the male offspring of Bhīma. The existence of a daughter, however, can be safely inferred from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (vi, 176-78). Her name is not explicitly mentioned but she was married to Simharāja, the Lohara chief of southern Kashmīr. Considering the fact that Diddā, the Śāhi'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 known¹⁵² - the effectiveness of Kashmīr 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 Śāhi-Kashmīrī friendship went on steadily improving and was finally cemented when in the later part of

¹⁵¹ Op.cit., p.65. The year 0 of this era falls in A.D. 921-22.

¹⁵² D.B. Pandey's view (op.cit., p.95) that the Śāhi kingdom at this time was threatened by both the Muslims of Ghazna and the Kashmīrians 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.¹⁵³ For the subsequent Śāhis Kashmīr 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 Panjāb may have threatened Kīra (the Kangra valley) which, according to the Khajūraho stone inscription of Dhanga¹⁵⁴ of V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954-55), belonged to a certain Śāhi whose name is not mentioned but who is generally identified with Bhīma Śāhi. Bhīma's association with the Kangra valley may also be seen in the name of Bhīmāgar (Bhīma nagara), the present day Nagarkot.¹⁵⁵ 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 Panjāb) and Ramathas (whose location is not known) by the forces of Mahīpāla suggests that his arms reached close to the Śāhi borders.¹⁵⁶ Moreover the Kīrarājā, 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 Kashmīr were vassals of Kanauj, is taken by B. Prakash, as indicating the direct invasion of these places.¹⁵⁷ 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.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *infra*, p.153.

¹⁵⁶ *Prancaṇḍa 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,¹⁵⁸ would not have failed to mention them. The information in the *Ḥudūd* does not seem to be trustworthy on this point. It seems the *Ḥudūd* has vitiated, by interpolating the words 'rājā of Kanauj', everywhere in the account of the Indian cities copied from other sources.¹⁵⁹ This source states that the royal standard of the rājā 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 Alaptigīn, 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* Manṣūr. If we are to believe the *Majma' al-Ansāb*, Alaptigīn 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.¹⁶⁰ What steps the Śāhis took to strengthen the defence of Kābul to ward off this danger is not known. The comparative ease, however, with which Alaptigīn 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 nomenclature¹⁶¹ and probably also

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

¹⁵⁹ See V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, London 1937, p.254.

¹⁶⁰ *DPB*, p.21f.

¹⁶¹ *Yāqūt*, vol.1, p.348.

some Muslim social customs. According to the *Ḥudūd* the Kābul Shāh, with his more than thirty wives whom he had taken from Muslims, Afghāns and Hindus, cleverly made a show of accepting Islām.¹⁶² We do not know the exact name of this Kābul Shāh, but he may have been Āsata, mentioned above as the brother of Kamalū. The *Siyāsat Nāmeḥ* informs us that a son of this Kābul Shāh was the son-in-law of the king of Ghazna¹⁶³ who, in the *Majma' al-Ansāb*, is called *Kāfir*¹⁶⁴ (infidel). With his leanings towards Islām the Kābul Shāh could hardly expect the sympathy of the devotedly vaiṣṇavite 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 Śāhis of Kābul and those of Udabhāṇḍa.

Alaptigīn's Invasion of Kābul and Ghazna

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

162 *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Tehran 1340, p.72.

163 Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmeḥ*, ed. Muhammad Qazvīnī, Tehran 1344, p.135.

164 Text in *DPB*, p.23.

165 The *amīr* is said to have made another abortive attempt but failed to crush the power of Alaptigīn.

166 *Majma' al-Ansāt (DPB)*, p.22; and *Siyāsat Nāmeḥ*, p.134. The precise meaning of the word Shīr is not clear. Ya'qūbī translates it as 'lion', but Marquart (*Ēransāhr*, 79) thinks that it represents Old Persian *xšaθriya*.

167 *Ibid.*

From Bāmiān Alaptigīn proceeded to the country of the Kābul 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 Kābul 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 Alaptigīn 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 Alaptigīn's troops. The Lawīk could not long withstand the siege and after 20 days of hardship submitted unconditionally.¹⁷⁰ According to the *Siyāsat Nāmeḥ* (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 Alaptigīn became the undisputed master of Ghazna.

Having established himself firmly in Zābulistān, Alaptigīn 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 Nāmeḥ* (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 Ishāq 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 Śāhi armies¹⁷⁴ and put Abū Ishāq 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 (Udabhāṇḍa) 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 Śāhis. The glowing tribute paid to Bhīma however shows that his memory was still fresh in the minds of the people of Udabhāṇḍa 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

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

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. Actually Indian armies.

¹⁷⁵ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (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 - Kashmīr, Kanauj, Ghazna - surrounding the Śāhi country at this time, the Kashmīrians 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 - Pratihāras 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 Lawīk 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.

¹⁷⁶ See A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājataranginī*, vol.1, pp.102-05.

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 Mansūr, the Sāmānīd *amīr*, and forced the Lawīk once more to flee precipitately to Hind in search of assistance.¹⁷⁹ Our inscription does not refer to this incident. On the contrary it reads that Bhīma burnt himself through Śīva's desire but not through the terrible enemy (verse viii). One may assume therefore that Bhīma dedicated himself to the god Śīva 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 965.¹⁸⁰

7. JAYAPĀLADEVA

(c. A.D. 964-1002)

Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī Jayapāladeva¹⁸¹ succeeded Bhīma in about A.D. 964. Jayapāla's relationship to his predecessor is not known. It is regrettable that Albīrūnī, 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.

¹⁷⁹ *Fasīhī*, f.2896; and *Jahān Ārā*, f.82a. Cf. M. Nāzīm, op.cit., p.26, fn.6.

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 (*Rājataranginī*, vi, 231, 236) who was defeated and captured by the Kashmīrian 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 Barīkot inscription. *EI*, vol.xxi, 1938, p.301. In the Muslim sources the name is variously spelt as جیبال, جیبیل, اجیبال, سینال, جیبال و دیرال. The correct form of the name, Jayapāladeva, is known from the inscriptional records.

According to Cunningham,¹⁸² Elliot¹⁸³ and Sachau,¹⁸⁴ 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 Śāhis 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, Nāẓim, 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 Albīrūnī'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.¹⁸⁵ According to the *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (pp.390-92) Jayapāla was the son of 'Haitāl'. Firishta records 'Ashtpāl' or 'Hatpāl' as the name of Jayapāla's father.¹⁸⁶ The *Tārīkh-i Khairāt* gives it as 'Jaipāl wa Haitāl'¹⁸⁷ which is obviously a corrupted form of 'Jaipāl bin Haitāl' which occurs in the

¹⁸² CMI, p.62.

¹⁸³ *History of India*, vol.ii, pp.425-26.

¹⁸⁴ *Alberuni's India*, London 1914, vol.ii, pp.393-94.

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 Hutpāl¹⁸⁸ (Hatpāl) as 'Jetripal' but the Arabic letters *h* (ه) and *j* (ج) are unlikely to be interchanged. Moreover it is easy to demonstrate that Hatpāl (هتپال) and Haitāl (هیتال) are in fact the corrupted forms of *Ashtpāl* (اشتپال),¹⁸⁹ correctly *Āṣatapāla*. The *h* in the Persian word can be accounted for from the fact that the equivalent of Sanskrit *aṣṭa* (eight), by that time probably pronounced without the final vowel, is *hasht*. The other changes are easily accountable as copyists' errors. The name *Āṣata* 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 *Āṣata* 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/Toramāṇa to those of *Āṣatapāla*, 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 Bamhī' who is mentioned by 'Utbī as the ruler of the areas adjoining Kashmīr at the time of Maḥmūd's invasion of the Ganges valley in A.D. 1018-19.¹⁹² The name is variously reported as 'Habālī-'bn-Shāsnī',¹⁹³ 'Chankī bin Samhī'

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.

¹⁹³ J. Reynolds, *Kitab-i-Yamīni*, London MDCCC, LVIII, p.451.

(چنگی بن سہمی)¹⁹⁴ and 'Changī bin Māhak',¹⁹⁵ 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.¹⁹⁶ It seems, he adds, that the name refers to Thakkana the Śāhi chief who was vanquished by the commander-in-chief of the Kashmīrian 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 Śāhis of Udabhāṇḍa.¹⁹⁷ 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 Ishāq in A.D. 965 once again put the kingdom of Ghazna upon its feet. Abū Ishāq, however, did not live long after this event and died on 25th Dhū al-Qa'da, 355¹⁹⁸ (12th November, 966). He was succeeded by Bilkātigīn who died in 364 (974-75) during the siege of Gardīz. The successor of Bilkātigīn, known to the Muslim chronicles as *amīr* 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 Śāhis promptly seized upon the opportunity and despatched an army to intervene on behalf of the people of Zābulistān. Thus Abū Alī

¹⁹⁴ Jurbādḥqānī, *Tarjuma-i Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*, ed. J. Sha'ār, Tehran 1345, p.378.

¹⁹⁵ *DPB*, p.123, fn.1; See also *Tārīkh-i Baihaqī*, pp.72, 181, 703.

¹⁹⁶ *Op.cit.*, p.96.

¹⁹⁷ *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangīnī*, vol.1, p.255, fn.230.

¹⁹⁸ M. Nāzīm, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, Cambridge 1931, p.26; and *Majma' al-Ansāb (DPB)*, p.25.

¹⁹⁹ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Raverty), vol.1, p.73. See also the Persian text of this work in *DPB*, p.14.

Lawīk and a son of the Kābul Shāh marched on Ghazna at the head of a huge force, of which the number is said to have been about 40,000 men.²⁰⁰ As the Turks learnt about the strength of this army, it took the spirit out of them. But for the personal intervention of Sabuktigīn, a slave and son-in-law of Alaptigīn, who boosted up their morale by exhorting them to fight a religious war, they would have scattered before going into battle.²⁰¹ As the Indian army reached Charkh it was engaged by the Turkish troops of Ghazna, Gardīz, Bust and Bāmian.²⁰² The Muslims were evidently outnumbered, but the powerful cavalry attacks of a body of 500 Turks under the command of Sabuktigīn turned the tables on the Hindus, who gave way after a number of their troops were killed.²⁰³ *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 Śāhis. After this the war actually never ceased and eventually cost the Śāhis their kingdom.

Both Abū 'Alī Lawīk and his ally were killed.²⁰⁴ 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 Sabuktigīn, who was consequently raised to the throne of Ghazna on 27th

²⁰⁰ *Majma' al-Ansāb* (DPB), p.25. The number seems to be exaggerated.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (Raverty), vol.1, p.73.

²⁰⁴ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, text in DPB, p.14.

Sha'abān, 366²⁰⁵ (20th April, 977) by a unanimous decision of the Turkish nobility. In the following year he added Bust and Qusdar to his kingdom and then, turning his face to Hind, he captured some frontier forts.²⁰⁶

The Battle of Ghūzak

As the border territories started gradually slipping out of his hands Jayapāla became seriously apprehensive about the security of his north-western 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)²⁰⁷ to decide the issue for ever. As he reached Ghūzak²⁰⁸ 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'.²⁰⁹ But the hardy Turks seem to have better withstood the ravages of the weather than their Indian counterparts, who were more

205 Ibid.

206 Ibid. *Jurbādhqānī*, p.27; and *Khulāsat al-Akhhār* (DPB, p.710). This can also be inferred from the *Majma' al-Ansāb* (DPB, p.27) which says that Jayapāla wrote to Sabuktigīn demanding the restoration of the forts captured by the latter.

207 M. Nāzim, op.cit., p.29. See also 'Utbī in Elliot, ii, p.19.

208 This name is variously spelt. Ibn al-Kathīr (DPB, p.970) has 'Bāghūrak'; Badāonī (*Muntakhab at-Tawārīkh* (Urdū trans.), Lahore 1962, p.35) gives the form 'Kuh-i Jūd'; Ibn al-Athīr, vol.viii, p.686, has 'Ghūrak'.

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.²¹⁰ The negotiations, however, nearly fell through as prince Maḥmūd, 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.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.²¹² It was agreed that Jayapāla would pay an indemnity of 1,000,000 Shāhī dirhams, besides fifty war elephants, and cede some of the frontier forts to the Muslims.²¹³ In order to ensure the full implementation of the terms of the treaty Sabuktigīn kept some of the relations of the Śāhi as hostages.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.²¹⁵ The result was another war.

The Battle of Lamghān²¹⁶

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

²¹⁰ Jurbādhqānī, p.29.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid., p.30.

²¹³ Ibid.; and *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (Text in *DPB*), p.801.

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.

²¹⁵ Jurbādhqānī, p.31.

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 Śāhi territory and plundered Lamghān 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 Lamghān. As the two armies drew nearer to each other Sabuktigīn 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 Śāhis 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. *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (DPB, p.801) and *Tārīkh-i Haidarī* (DPB, p.434) have confused the name Lamghān with Multān.

²¹⁸ *Infra*, p.335 f.

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

²²⁰ Jurbādhqānī, p.32.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

Sabuktigīn ordered a general assault and drove Jayapāla and his allies pell-mell back to the Indus.²²²

Consequently the Afghān and Khaljī tribes living in this region also submitted and were enrolled in the Muslim army.²²³ The districts between Lamghān and Peshāwar were annexed to the kingdom of Ghazna.²²⁴ Sabuktigīn appointed his own tax collectors over the conquered territories and, according to Firishta, a garrison comprising 2,000 horse²²⁵ 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 Śāhis, or perhaps it was withdrawn by Sabuktigīn to serve in Khurāsān. In any case Peshāwar remained in the hands of the Śāhis till it was finally conquered by the successor of Sabuktigīn.

Sabuktigīn died in August, 997. With his death ended the first phase of the successive defeats in store for Jayapāla and his successors. The Śāhi 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 Sabuktigīn except a small incident which may have happened about 380 (990-91), shortly after the battle of Lamghān. According to the *Majma' al-Ansāb*,²²⁶ when the king of 'Ajam (Sabuktigīn) imprisoned prince Maḥmūd 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

²²² Firishta (Briggs), vol.i, p.11.

²²³ Jurbādhqānī, p.33.

²²⁴ Firishta, loc.cit.

²²⁵ *DPB*, p.324. Briggs gives the number 'ten thousand'.

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 Śāhi by calling him a dog and a *kāfir* (infidel), he wrote: 'My father is my master (*Khudāwand*) and my leader (*sayyid*). 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'.²²⁷

Jayapāla and the Rājās of Lahore

As the successive defeats of Jayapāla deprived the Śāhis 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 Tākes_har.²²⁹ On hearing the news, Ānandapāla, the Śāhi governor of the Panjāb, was instructed by his father to repel the invader. In the ensuing battle that took place in the vicinity of Tākes_har, the army of Lahore gave way after some initial fighting and Bharat was taken prisoner. Ānandapāla, following up his success, advanced to Lahore and took control of the city. The nobility of Lahore however interceded

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Variouslly spelt in the manuscript as 'Badrat' (بدرت), 'Tahzat' (تھزت) or 'Tahanrat' (تھنرت). 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 Śāhis. 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 Śāhi 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 Śāhis 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 Sāmūtla (? 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 Śāhi 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.

rājā 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 Maḥmūd Bin Sabuktigīn

In the war of succession that followed the death of Sabuktigīn, Maḥmūd 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 Śāhi officer named Adīra Afghān,²⁴¹ Maḥmūd 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 Sulṭān was in Nīshapūr in 391 (1000-01).

²⁴⁰ Gardīzī (p.175) is the only contemporary authority to have mentioned this expedition. See also Nizām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.267) and Badāonī (Urdū trans.) p.36. According to Firīshṭa (Briggs, vol.i, p.20) Maḥmūd appointed his own governor over these areas.

²⁴¹ *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*, p.316. Adīra was the governor of Nardarī or Bardarī.

²⁴² Firīshṭa, DPB, p.336; Badāonī, op.cit., p.36. *Majma' al-Ansāb* (DPB, p.39) incorrectly says that Jayapāla invaded the country of Maḥmūd.

(September, 1001) at the head of 15,000 picked horse.²⁴³ The exact route followed by the Muslim army is not clear, though Adīra is said to have brought it through a place called Jūjaihān. Jayapāla brought 12,000 cavalry, 30,000 foot and 300 war elephants in the field²⁴⁴ and took up his position in the fort of Begrām (Peshāwar) from where he issued instructions to his commanders.²⁴⁵ The two armies met on the plains of Peshāwar on Thursday,²⁴⁶ 8th Muḥarram, 392 (27th November, 1001). According to 'Utbī Jayapāla used evasive tactics in the hope of receiving reinforcements. But Ṣultān Maḥmūd 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 5,000²⁴⁷ men and 15 elephants²⁴⁸ lying dead on the battlefield.²⁴⁹ Jayapāla 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 Jayapāla was valued at 200,000

²⁴³ Jurbādhqānī, p.208; and Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.169. Gardīzī (p.177), Nizām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.267), Badāonī (loc.cit.) and Firishta (loc.cit.) give the number 10,000.

²⁴⁴ Almost all our sources agree on these figures.

²⁴⁵ *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*, p.317.

²⁴⁶ Firishta has 'Monday' and Nizām ad-Dīn, Badāonī and Gardīzī mention 'Saturday'.

²⁴⁷ Jurbādhqānī, p.208; Gardīzī, p.177; Badāonī (op.cit., p.36) and Firishta (loc.cit.). But Elliot (vol.ii, p.26) gives the number 15,000 and *Majma' al-Ansāb* (DPB, p.39) has 6,000.

²⁴⁸ Jurbādhqānī, loc.cit. J. Reynolds, op.cit., p.282 has '50 elephants'.

²⁴⁹ The exact location of the battlefield is not known. According to the *Ādāb al-Ḥarb* (p.317) the battlefield was pebbly and strewn with stones. This description suits the area near the present campus of the University of Peshāwar. 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 Peshāwar Cantonment. See supra, p.16.

dīnārs.²⁵⁰ 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.²⁵¹

The Battle of Hund

His brilliant victory at Peshāwar spurred the Sultān on to a further encroachment deep into the Śāhi country. He advanced as far as Hund, the Śāhi capital,²⁵² and carried the town by a powerful assault.²⁵³ Demoralised and completely broken, the Śāhi troops fled to the safety of the mountain passes²⁵⁴ but they were chased hot on their heels and dispersed with great slaughter. Meanwhile some of the cavalry columns of the Ghaznavīd 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, Jayapāla's defence arrangements to the west of the Indus proved incredibly weak. Maḥmūd was on his way home in about April, 1002 and must have accomplished the task of subjugating the lower Kābul valley in about four months following his victory at Peshāwar.

The Release of Jayapāla and his Death

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

²⁵⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.169; *Majma' al-Ansāb* (DPB), p.40; and Elliot, ii, p.25. Gardīzī, Nizām ad-Dīn, Badāonī and Firishta however give the number '180,000 *dīnārs*'.

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

²⁵² Gardīzī, loc.cit.

²⁵³ Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.170.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. See also infra, pp.267-68 for the hill fortresses.

1. 'Unṣurī, a court poet of Maḥmūd, says:²⁵⁵
 'The lord of Khurāsān (Maḥmūd) on the plain of Parshāwar,
 scattered his enemies in one attack.'
 'They sold the shāh of the Hindus at (?) Mirand²⁵⁶ in front
 of the camp of the Shāhānshāh, 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 (Maḥmūd)
 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 'Iṣāmī in his Futuḥ as-Salāṭīn, written about A.D.
 1350, reports:²⁵⁹
 'He (Maḥmūd) 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 (Maḥmūd) they
 sold Jaipāl as a slave for 80 *dīnārs*, and deposited the money
 realised by the sale in the treasury.'

As is evident 'Unṣurī 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 Ustād 'Unsurī Balkhī*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Sayāqī, Tehran 1342, p.117.

256 Actually میرند. British Museum MS reads می زنده.

257 Raverty's trans., vol.1, p.82.

258 The other recorded variant is من برید.

259 Edited by A.S. Usha, University of Madras 1948, p.35. For the English translation see A.M. Hussain, *Shāh Nāmah-i Hind*, Bombay 1967, p.82. See also *JRAS*, pt.iii, 1927, p.494.

Mīrand or Man-Yazīd.²⁶⁰ 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 'Unṣurī, who was probably an eye-witness, that Jayapāla was sold in front of the camp of Maḥmūd. 'Unṣurī is borne out by Firishta, who says that Jayapāla and other prisoners were released when Maḥmūd was on his way back to Ghazna.²⁶¹ 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 sultān carried on negotiations with Jayapāla to fix the final sum of money the latter was prepared to pay for obtaining his release.²⁶² We know the time of Maḥmūd's departure from Hind. According to Gardīzī (p.177), Niẓām ad-Dīn²⁶³ and Firishta,²⁶⁴ 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 Mīrand. 'Unṣurī does not show its precise location but the name sounds strikingly similar to Mīran or Mīran Shāh, a small town between Ghazna and Bannū. It seems therefore that the Sultān returned by way of Bannū and released the prisoners of war at Mīran 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;

²⁶⁴ Briggs, vol.i, p.21.

according to Firishta, he attacked the Afghāns and killed many of their chiefs.²⁶⁵ As the Afghāns living in the hills between Peshāwar and Lamghān had already submitted to Sabuktigīn and were enrolled in the Ghaznavīd armies, those who were subjugated on this occasion were obviously the Afghāns 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 Ghaznavīd sultān 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 Śāhi monarch was ever put to auction. *Majma' al-Ansāb* correctly says that Jayapāla purchased his release by paying an enormous sum of 250,000 *dīnārs*,²⁶⁶ besides 50 elephants, which he undertook to hand over to the victor.²⁶⁷ He was therefore allowed to go, but his son was detained as a hostage for a while.²⁶⁸

On his return Jayapāla wrote to Ānandapāla, 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.²⁶⁹ As the elephants reached the Sultān 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

²⁶⁵ Op.cit., p.21.

²⁶⁶ *DPB*, p.40.

²⁶⁷ *Jurbādḥqānī*, p.209.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ 'Utbi, *at-Tārīkh al-Yamīnī* (with commentary entitled *al-Fath al-Wahbī* by Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Manīnī), Cairo 1286, p.366.

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,²⁷⁰ set it on fire and nobly perished in the flames.²⁷¹ With him perished the glory of Hund. Some time after this event the capital was shifted to Nandana.²⁷²

At the time of Jayapāla's death²⁷³ the Śāhi possessions to the west of the Indus were lost. The fertile valley of Peshāwar was annexed and the districts of Swāt, Dīr and Bājaur were cut off from the main country and must have suffered a similar fate in a later expedition.

8. ĀNANDAPĀLA

(c. A.D. 1002-1010)

Ānandapāla,²⁷⁴ the son of Jayapāla,²⁷⁵ ascended the throne about March-April, A.D. 1002. He is known to have served as the governor of the Panjāb under his father since some time before A.D. 990, when he led his first invasion of Lahore. It is difficult to determine the Śāhi

²⁷⁰ Perhaps Hund is meant here. See Ibn Kathīr (*DPB*, p.971), who says that Jayapāla committed suicide when he reached his capital city. The city of Hund is distinctly referred to by Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.268) and Badāonī (*Urdū trans.*, p.37) as the capital of Jayapāla.

²⁷¹ According to Jurbādḥqānī (p.210) the Hindu rulers, once taken prisoner by their enemy, as happened in the case of Jayapāla, 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 Jayapāla's death by suicide. See also *Firishta* (Raverty), vol.1, p.21.

²⁷² M. Nāzim, *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 *انديال*, *انديال*, *بنديال*, *اننديال*, *اننديال*, *انديال* و *انديال*.

²⁷⁵ This relationship is known from many authorities: 'Utbī (p.366), Gardīzī (p.178), Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.268), Badāonī (*DPB*, p.294), *Ādāb al-Ḥarb* (p.308), *Majma' al-Ansāb* (*DPB*, p.40), *Firishta* (*DPB*, pp.337-39), Haider Rāzī (*DPB*, p.962), and Harsukh Rāī (*DPB*, p.521).

capital of the Panjāb during the time of his governorship. The cities of Jailam (Jhelun), Tākes^har (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 Tākes^har was supplied to Jayapāla by the chiefs of these places implies²⁷⁶ Ānandapāla's absence from them and thus rules out the possibility of any of them being the provincial capital. It seems therefore that Ānandapāla ruled the Śāhi possessions in the Panjāb from Nandana which became the national capital at the beginning of his reign.²⁷⁷

The entire reign of Ānandapāla is nothing but a dismal story of successive reverses and loss of territory for the Śāhis. He is the first, and also perhaps the last Hindu Śāhi ruler, to accept a tributary 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 Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on his way to punish Dāūd, the ruler of Multān, asked the permission of Ānandapāla to pass through his territory.²⁷⁹ Having been instructed by past misfortunes, the Śāhi had good reason to suspect the intentions of Maḥmūd. The request was therefore peremptorily turned down

²⁷⁶ *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*, pp.308-09.

²⁷⁷ According to 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.146) the city of Nārdīn (Nandana) was the capital (*دارمکھیا*) in 404 (1013).

²⁷⁸ Gardīzī (p.178); Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.268); Badāonī (loc.cit.); and Firishta (*DPB*, p.338).

²⁷⁹ Jurbādhqānī (p.279) says that the Sulṭān 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.²⁸⁰ 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'.²⁸¹ Ānandapāla suffered a severe defeat and, deserting his capital, took to flight. He was pursued as far as Sodra,²⁸² at present a small town to the east of Wazīrābād, where he eluded the Sulṭān by escaping into the hills of Kashmīr. At this point the Sulṭān relinquished the pursuit and resumed his march to Multān. The comparative ease with which Ānandapāla 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 Sulṭān 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 Sukhpāl (or Sukhapāla), he went flying back to meet the invader.²⁸³

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

²⁸⁰ Y. Mishra (op.cit., pp.132-33) however suggests that Ānandapāla 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-Sāgar Doāb, he would have certainly visited Nandana.

²⁸¹ 'Utbī, vol.ii, pp.73, 74; and Jurbādḥqānī, p.279.

²⁸² Firishta (Briggs), vol.1, p.23.

²⁸³ Infra, p.326 f.

in the Peshāwar valley, but instead of co-ordinating their efforts, they went the opposite way. As Sukhapāla abjured Islām and raised the standard in revolt,²⁸⁴ Ānandapāla sent the following letter to Maḥmūd offering his services to fight against the Turks of Khurāsān.²⁸⁵ 'I (Ānandapāla) have learnt that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khurāsān. 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 Sukhapāla's rebellion reached Maḥmūd in Rabī' al-Ākhar, 398 (January, 1007) while he was in pursuit of the vanquished army of Īlak Khān. 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.²⁸⁶ Sukhapāla is said to have offered some resistance but, finding it difficult to hold his ground against the superior numbers of the Ghaznavīd army, he fled to Kashnūr (probably the modern Kashmūr in southern Balūchistān). But he was overtaken and brought to Maḥmūd, who, having exacted the sum of 400,000 *dirhams* from him, handed him over to the treasurer (*Tigīn-i Khāzan*), who kept him in prison till he died.²⁸⁸

284 Gardīzī, p.179; and Jurbādhqānī, p.291.

285 Albīrūnī (op.cit., p.351).

286 Firishta (DPB, p.242).

287 Written as کشنور. M. Nāzīm (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 Kishtūr in Kashmīr.

288 Infra, p.326 f.

The Battle of Chhach

Having subjugated Multān and the neighbouring principality of Bhāṭiya,²⁸⁹ the Sultān 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-Ākhar, 399²⁹⁰ (31st December, 1008), the Sultān 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,²⁹⁴ each side hesitating to come out in the open field. Getting apprehensive of the ever increasing numbers of the Śāhi troops, the Sultān at last

²⁸⁹ بہاٹیہ. A. Rashid (*Historical Dissertations*, Karachi 1962, pp.43-44) identifies this place with Hatiyān (ہٹیاں), near the Indus. But Albīrūnī's description of Bhāṭiya does not suit this place. For the correct identification, see M. Nāẓim (op.cit., pp.197-202).

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



²⁹¹ 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.96. Actually ابراہمن پال بن اند پال. 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  According to A. Rashīd (*op.cit.*, p.24) the name stands for  Khokhar. But the form Gakhar seems to be more probable. For Gakhars, see *supra*, p.50 f.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ *Jurbādḥqānī*, p.292; 'Utbī, vol.ii, p.96.

²⁹⁸ M. Nāzīm, *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 *Albīrūnī*, *op.cit.*, p.351.

³⁰⁰ *Gardīzī*, pp.179-80; and *Jurbādḥqānī*, p.292.

The Capture of Bhīmnaḡar

The Sultān, having won a victory at Chhach, took up the pursuit of the fugitive Hindu troops and followed them to the fort of Bhīm³⁰¹ or Nagarkot in the Kāngra valley.³⁰² Situated on the promontory of a lofty hill and encircled by the waters of the Mājhi 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.³⁰³ Overawed by the superior strength of the Ghaznavīd troops and their eagerness to fight,³⁰⁴ the garrison capitulated after fighting for three days³⁰⁵ and opened the city gates. The Sultān entered the fort and appointed Āltūntāsh and Asightigīn, 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.³⁰⁶ The spoils consisted of (i) 70,000,000 Shāhī *dirhams*³⁰⁷ 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 Pāṇḡava

301 Ibid.

302 For a description of the location of Bhīmnaḡar, see *infra*, p.319 f.

303 *Firishta* (Briggs), vol.1, p.28.

304 See 'Utbī, ii, p.97.

305 *Gardīzī*, p.180.

306 *Jurbādhqānī*, p.293.

307 Ibid. *Firishta* gives a different figure and, moreover, writes gold *dīnārs* instead of *Shāhī dirhams*.

dynasty.³⁰⁸ With this vast booty the Sultān returned to Ghazna about the end of the year 399 (June, 1009). According to 'Utbi Bhīmāgar was placed in charge of Maḥmūd's confidential officers,³⁰⁹ but subsequent events show that the place was probably recovered by the Śāhis.

Unlike their predecessors, the Turk Śāhis, 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 Śāhis 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 400³¹⁰ (October, 1009) Maḥmūd marched on Nārāyanpūr³¹¹ 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 capital³¹²

³⁰⁸ 'Unṣurī, p.85; Gardīzī, p.180. See also Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.269) who refers to more than one throne.

³⁰⁹ Elliot, ii, p.35; and Jurbād_hqānī, p.294.

³¹⁰ *Infra*, p.156.

³¹¹ Actually بزانہ. According to Albīrūnī (*Sachau*, i, p.202) Bazāna was called Nārāyan by the Muslims. The place has been identified by Cunningham (*ASI*, vol.ii, p.243) with Nārāyanpūr in the former Alwar state of Rājasthān.

³¹² Haider Rāzī, *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 and³¹³ (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 Sulṭān 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 Nārāyanpūr but 'Utbi's (Elliot, ii, p.36) reference to the *rājā* in question as having had several contests with the Sulṭān points to Ānandapāla alone, as Nārāyanpūr is mentioned only once.

313 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.121. Jurbādhqānī (p.312) mentions 30 elephants. See also *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, vol.iv, p.102; Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.213.

314 Ibid; *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, 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 'Utbī (vol.ii, p.121), Jurbādhqānī (p.312) and the *Rauḍat-aṣṣafā* (vol.iv, p.101) that the above mentioned treaty was concluded soon after the Sulṭān 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 Thānesar when the Sulṭān 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

³¹⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.213.

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.

courageous³²⁰ and a great patron of scholars.³²¹ His long stay close to the borders of Kashmīr led to matrimonial relations with the family of Tuṅga, the famous prime minister of the notorious queen Diddā.³²²

9. TRILOCANAPĀLA

(c. A.D. 1010-1021)

Trilocanapāla³²³ succeeded his father Ānandapāla³²⁴ 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 Siwālik 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 Albīrūnī, was well-inclined towards them.³²⁵ He honoured the treaty concluded by his late father and tried

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'.

³²¹ Albīrūnī (op.cit., p.105) gives a story about Ugrabhūti, the teacher of Ānandapāla, whose book named *Śiṣyahitavṛitti*, a work on the science of grammar, met with little success in Kashmīr. The matter was reported to the Śāhi who arranged to despatch the lavish sum of 200,000 *dirhams* and other presents of similar value to Kashmīr 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 Hsüan Tsang (Beal, op.cit., p.115) and seems to be popular in the apocryphal history of the area.

³²² *Rājatarāṅginī*, vii, 103.

³²³ This name is variously recorded as *تروچنپال*, *بروجمپال*, *نروچمپال*, *نروچمپال*, *تروچنپال*, *جیپال*, *پیرمپال*, *تروچنپال*, or simply *پال*. The correct Sanskrit form of the name, Trilocanapāla, is known from the *Rājatarāṅginī*, vii, 47-63.

³²⁴ This relationship is recorded by Albīrūnī (op.cit., p.351); Firishta (*DPB*, p.350); *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (*DPB*, p.811); Haidar Rāzī (*DPB*, p.442); and Bādāonī (*DPB*, p.295).

³²⁵ Op.cit., p.351.

to keep his relations with Maḥmūd friendly and trustworthy. The first test of his loyalty came in 402 (1011-12) when Maḥmūd 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 Sulṭān 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 Maḥmūd, who went ahead with his designs.³²⁸ The failure of the Śāhi to dissuade Maḥmūd 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 *Guzīda* (p.393), stopped sending tribute and came out in open rebellion against the Sulṭān. 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 Nandana³²⁹

Resolved to crush the power of Trilocanapāla, the Sultān marched from Ghazna about the end of Autumn, 404³³⁰ (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.³³¹ Perforce the Sultān 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.³³²

As soon as Trilocanapāla learnt about the intentions of the Ghaznavīd Sultān, he put Bhīma in charge of Nandana and hurried to Kashmīr 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 Saṅgrāmraja, the Kashmīrian monarch (A.D. 1003-28), who despatched Tuṅga, his prime minister, with a strong force to assist the Śāhis.³³³

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.³³⁴ With his wings protected by the side

³²⁹ 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.146) and Jubādḥqānī (p.331) give the form Nārdīn (ناردین). Reynolds (op.cit., p.388) has 'Nazīn'. Gardīzī (p.181), Nizām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.270) and Badāonī (DPB, p.295) have 'Nandana' (نندنه). This place is also mentioned by Albīrūnī (*Qānūn-i Mas'ūdī*, vol.ii, Hyderabad 1955, p.562). It was situated on a hill called 'Kūh-i Bālnath' (Nizām 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.

³³⁰ Gardīzī, p.181, and 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.147.

³³¹ Jurbādḥqānī, p.332.

³³² 'Utbi, loc.cit.

³³³ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vii, 47.

³³⁴ Jurbādḥqānī, p.332.

hills and his rear resting in the narrow defile, he threw a line of elephants to strengthen his front.³³⁵ 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 Sultān 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' Afghān spearmen around in order to provoke the Śāhis 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.³³⁶

Meanwhile the number of Bhīma's troops increased considerably.³³⁷ 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 sharpshooters poured a terrific shower of arrows on their trunks and eyes.³³⁸ 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'.³³⁹ It was a crushing defeat for the Śāhis. Bhīma

³³⁵ 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.149.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Jurbādhqānī, p.333.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.152.

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.³⁴⁰ Demoralised and broken, the garrison surrendered and the Sultān 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.³⁴¹ '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 Buddha³⁴² on which an inscription was written purporting that the temple had been founded forty thousand years ago. The Sultān 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 Sultān 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 Sārāgh³⁴³ or Sārigh³⁴⁴ and the Ghaznavīd army proceeded to the 'Kashmīr pass' in search of Trilocanapāla.³⁴⁵ The Sāhis 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 ب (Budd.). This is Arabicised as بت (But).

³⁴³ Gardīzī, loc.cit.; and Niḡām ad-Dīn (DPB, p.270).

³⁴⁴ Badāonī (DPB, p.296).

³⁴⁵ Gardīzī, loc.cit. According to Jurbādḡānī (p.334) the 'army of Islam' went back to Ghazna.

The Battle of the River Tausi

Meanwhile Trilocanapāla took up his position on the left bank of the Tausi (modern Tohī), a tributary of the river Jailam. He was accompanied by a Kashmīrian contingent of considerable strength under the command of Tuṅga.³⁴⁶ Kalhaṇa gives a vivid description of the impetuosity of the Kashmīrian 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.³⁴⁷ The next morning, however, his pride received a rude shock as the leader of the *Turuṣkas* 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 Kashmīrian chiefs, rallied the troops and made a supreme effort to retrieve the situation, but it was too late.³⁴⁸ 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 Tausi was annexed by Maḥmūd.³⁴⁹ 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 Śāhis would receive the final blow.

³⁴⁶ *Rājataranginī*, vii, 48. It is regrettable that Kalhaṇa 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 Rāī of Sharwa³⁵⁰

Trilocanapāla's efforts to expand further in the Siwālik hills brought him into sharp conflict with Chandar Rāī 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,³⁵¹ 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 Rāī's daughter for his son Bhīma. The Rāī 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 Rāī, stopped encroaching upon the latter's territory. Stray battles, however, took place from time to time between the two rulers, until Maḥmūd, 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 Rāī to evacuate the fort and hide somewhere in the jungle, for he feared that the latter, if caught by Maḥmūd, might be forced to accept Islām.

In a quick round of victories the Ghaznavīd Sultān, after reducing some forts on the way, took Baran, Mahāban and Mathura,³⁵² and then marched on Kanauj and defeated its Pratihāra ruler, Rājyapāl.³⁵³ On his way back he reduced and plundered Munj, Āsī and Sharwa.³⁵⁴ We do not hear of the Śāhis during this campaign. Trilocanapāla was probably still licking his wounds somewhere in the Siwālik hills. As the Sultān approached Sharwa,

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 Rājyapāl 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 Siwālik 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 Rāmgangā, 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

³⁵⁵ 'Utbī, vol.ii, p.303.

³⁵⁶ *IA*, vol.18, pp.33-35.

³⁵⁷ See Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.272) and Badāonī (*DPB*, p.297).

³⁵⁸ Gardīzī, p.184; Nizām ad-Dīn (*loc.cit.*); and Badāonī (*loc.cit.*). Ibn al-Athīr (vol.ix, p.308), however, places it in the year 409 (1018-19).

³⁵⁹ 'Utbī, 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' (Badāonī, *loc.cit.*). *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (*DPB*, p.833) has the form 'Āb-i Sind' and Ḥaidar Rāzī (*DPB*, p.462) has 'Āb-i Hind'. The upper course of the river Rāmgangā is called Ruhut (*IGI*, 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.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.³⁶¹ Encouraged by this example the whole army managed to get to the other side without the loss of a single life.³⁶²

Having come to know that the Śāhi 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.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.³⁶⁴ Rich spoils, besides 270 elephants³⁶⁵ and many precious stones, were captured by the victor. Among the prisoners were two wives and two daughters of the Śāhi.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.³⁶⁷

360 'Utbi, vol.ii, p.307.

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

362 Jurbādhqānī, p.391.

363 Ibid.

364 Gardīzī, p.184.

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'. Badāonī (DPB, p.297) gives 580.

366 Farrukhī, *Dīwan*, ed. M.D. Sayāqī, Tehran 1349, p.64.

367 Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.

If he ever reached the camp of Nanda, the proud Śāhi, 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 Sulṭān 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 troops³⁷⁰ in the year 412³⁷¹ (1021). The precise reason behind this tragic death is not recorded. One may suspect the hand of the Rāī 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 Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.274); and Firishta (*DPB*, p.359).

³⁷⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.309.

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 Rahīb.

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 بھیمال

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 'Utbī (vol.ii, p.149) in fact refers to him, and not Trilocanapāla, as the *malik al-Hind* (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-Ṭāī, the commander of the Ghaznavīd vanguard, in which the latter was seriously wounded and rescued by the bodyguards of the Sulṭān.³⁷⁴

Some time after the battle of Nandana, as noticed above, it was planned that he should marry a daughter of Chandar Rāī of Sharwa. But whether this marriage was ever consummated is not known. He was thrown into prison by the Rāī when he went to Sharwa to fetch the bride.³⁷⁵ He seems to have escaped from prison in January, 1019, when Maḥmūd attacked the Rāī 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

³⁷⁴ See 'Utbī, vol.ii, p.151.

³⁷⁵ Jurbādhqānī, p.384.

³⁷⁶ See Albīrūnī, loc.cit.

CHAPTER 6

Coinage

The Śāhis 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.¹ The type had a wide diffusion throughout Northern India and appears to have gained popularity among the local rulers.² These coins are found in various forms of execution and fabric and remained current long after the end of the Hindu Śāhi 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.³ 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 Śāhi coins and have been excluded from this discussion.

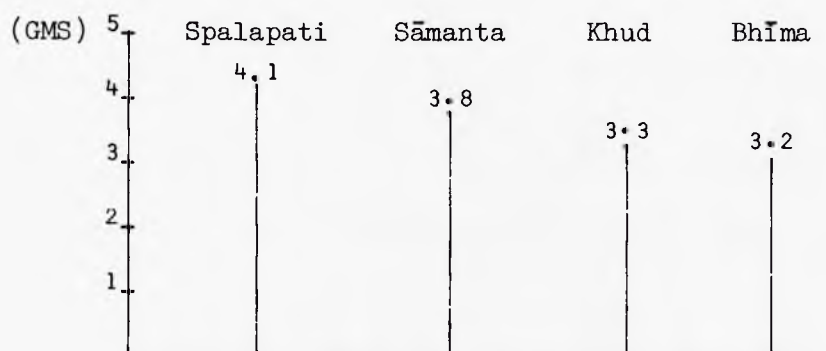
The enigmatic problem of the coinage of the Śāhis is that most of the legends do not correspond with the names of the rulers. Similarly

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



Showing gradual reduction in weight (in grammes)

Panjhīr 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 control⁵ 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.

⁴ 'The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara', *NC*, 1968, p.

⁵ The areas around Panjhīr were lost after the battle of Ghūzak in A.D. 986-87.

⁶ *Infra*, p.173.

Private Mints

Unlike their Muslim contemporaries, the Śāhis 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 *sāhūkārs* (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 Sāmantadeva*, as a matter of necessity. The existence of at least one such mint in the former Śāhi territories is known from 'Awfī.⁷ During the reign of Yamīn ad-Daula Maḥmūd, '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 Mas'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.⁸ 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 Maḥmūd. Apparently this was added by

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 *Jawā'al-Hikāyāt* (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 Bahmanī 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 Śivājī'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

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.

¹⁰ M.G. Ranade, *Miscellaneous Writings*, Bombay 1915, pp.330-42; and S. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marāṭhas*, Calcutta 1925, p.319.

¹¹ Ranade, op.cit., p.331; and D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Patna 1968, pp.234-35.

¹² Ranade, loc.cit.; and S. Sen, op.cit., p.318.

¹³ *A memoir of Central India*, 3rd edn, vol.ii, London 1832, p.80.

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 *purāṇa* were issued by private agencies in the age of the Śātavāhanas 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 Śāhis. 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 Śāhi 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 *sāhūkārs* 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.

¹⁶ *Op.cit.*, pp.83-84.

increase in others of the weight standard, depending on the degree of pecculation 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: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 coins¹⁸ 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

¹⁷ Op.cit., pp.81-83.

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 Śāhis. If this be the case, it is not difficult to visualise the actual cause behind the gradual deterioration of type and legend of the Śāhi coins. It is against this background that we shall now proceed to consider in detail the coins of the Turk Śāhis and the Hindu Śāhis separately.

1. THE TURK ŚĀHIS

The coinage of the Turk Śāhis 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 Śāhi coins are biased in favour of the more famous Hindu Śāhis and conveniently leave the Turks without coinage. The fact however that the Turk Śāhis paid on several occasions huge sums of coined money to the Muslims¹⁹ 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 Panjhīr could have sufficiently met the local demands.

¹⁹ See supra, pp.65, 70.

A List of the Names of the Turk Śāhis

Of the numerous difficulties which beset this problem the most serious is the absence of an authentic list of the names of the Turk Śāhi rulers. It is regrettable that the royal pedigree preserved in Nagarkot could not be retrieved by Albīrūnī, whose ardent desire to acquaint himself with it remained unrealised.²⁰ Nevertheless he records three names: (1) Barhatigīn, the founding father of the Turk Śāhi dynasty; (2) Kanak, whose historicity in the present context may be considered doubtful if he is to be identified with the famous Kanīṣka; and (3) Lagatūrmān, whose reign marked the end of this dynasty. Of the Arab chroniclers Ya'qūbī has preserved the name of a certain Khinjil (حجل) who was a contemporary of the caliph al-Mahdī²¹ (A.D. 775-85). Azraqī records 'Mahrab Pālī Dūmī' (مهرب بنی دومی) as the name of the Iṣṣahbadh Kābul Shāh who suffered defeat at the hands of the caliph al-Māmūn²² (A.D. 813-33). The Rutbīl killed by Ya'qūb b. Laith in A.D. 864, according to Jūzjānī, was called Lakān the Lak.²³ Ibn al-Athīr also refers to the same incident, but records Kbtīr (کبتیر) as the name of the Rutbīl.²⁴ The *Tārīkh* (pp.206-07) mentions Sāliḥ b. Ḥajar as the name of the Rutbīl of Rukhkhaj who committed suicide in 253 (867), when his capital was besieged by the Ṣaffārīd 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 Nāī Lāmān was probably called

²⁰ *Fī Taḥqīq Mā li'l Hind*, p.349.

²¹ Ya'qūbī, ii, p.479.

²² *Supra*, p.

²³ *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (Raverty), vol.1, p.317.

²⁴ *Op.cit.*, vol.vii, p.326. The reading is uncertain.

'Kbr' or 'Kīr'.²⁵ The same individual is probably referred to by Gardīzī (p.139) under the name 'Pīrūz' (Fīrūz).

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. 642,²⁶ probably shortly before the advent of the Turk Śāhi rule. The ruler of Ki-pin in A.D. 719 was Wu-san-te'kin-sha who had the title *Ko-lo-ta-tche-te'kin*. Wu-san-te'kin-sha was succeeded by his son Fo-lin-ki-po or Pou-fou-tchoen in A.D. 745.²⁷ The ruler of Zabulistan in A.D. 720, according to the *Tang-shu*, was Tche-kiu-eul.²⁸

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.²⁹ 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'-li but they are apparently not connected with any royal house.

A few other names can be gleaned from the inscriptional records. A certain 'Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Śāhi Kṅgāla, alias Otyāta Śāhi', is mentioned in the Kābul image inscription of an uncertain

²⁵ Supra, pp.101-03.

²⁶ Chavannes, *Documents* ..., p.131.

²⁷ Ibid., p.132.

²⁸ Ibid., p.161.

²⁹ S. Levi and Chavannes, *JA*, series 9, vol.6, No.2, 1895, pp.356-57.

date.³⁰ The Hātūn Rock Inscription mentions Paṭoladeva,³¹ who may have been only distantly related, if at all, to the Turk Śāhis of Kābul. The bilingual Tochī Valley inscription dated Saṃvat 38 (A.D. 863) mentions a Tigīn Śāhi³² 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, Vrahitigīna or Śāhitigina of the following coins with Barhatigīn of Albīrūnī's list.³³ 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 *triśūla* emblem and a wolf-head design on the top.³⁴ 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 *CPI P OYO* (= Śrī Śāhi). The margin of the coin, marked by the inner and outer circles, contains the Indian legend *Śrī hitivira Kharalāva paramēśvara Śrī Vahitigīna*

³⁰ *EI*, vol.xxxv, pt.1, 1963, pp.44-46.

³¹ See List of Inscriptions, no.2.

³² H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, vol.i, Wiesbaden 1966, p.110.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.18, 60.

³⁴ The wolf is considered to be the legendary progenitor of the Turkish races (see Emel Esin, 'Tös and Moncuğ', *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol.xvi, No.1, 1972, pp.14-36).

*deva kārītaṃ*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 others³⁶ 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-stringed 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 Pahlavī inscriptions which read as *Tkyn' hwl's'n Malk* (= Tigīn king of Khurāsān) and *hept' hept't* (= '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 Mānikyāla.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*, 1911 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 Mānikyāla 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 Diwāij 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 Hindū 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 Vahitigina, Vrahitigīna or Sāhitigina with Barhatigīn. The commencement of Barhatigīn'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 Albīrūnī (Barha-) is by no means close.

⁴⁰ *Later Indo-Scythians*, 1962 Indian repr., pp.267-70.

⁴¹ *Le Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1948, p.

⁴² R. Göbl, *Dokumente Zur Geschichte Der Iranischen Hunnen*, vols. i-iv, Wiesbaden 1967. For discussion see *ibid.*, vol.ii, pp.71-88.

⁴³ *Op.cit.*, p.268.

⁴⁴ *Supra*, pp.45-47 for details.

As is evident from the Indian legend of the coins, Barhatigīn 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.⁴⁵ 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 Barhatigīn 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 *hitivira* is used here in the sense of an honorific title and seems to be the Indian form of the Turkish *eltābir*, corrupted by the Arabs into Rutbīl.⁴⁶ *Eltābir* 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 *eltābir*/*Rutbīl* of Zābulistān under the Kābul Shāh (Barhatigīn) was his own brother,⁴⁷ 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 Rukhkhaj and Zābulistān. Hereafter the Kābul Shāh had no control over Zābulistān for any practical purposes. By taking the title *hitivira*/*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

⁴⁵ See H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia*, 1970 New York repr., pp.16-17.

⁴⁶ Ṭabarī, i, p.2706. See also H. Humbach, op.cit., p.60.

⁴⁷ *Supra*, pp.45-47.

position than that of a king, Barhatigīn 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 Barhatigīn 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 Barhatigīn.

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 TOFINO P̄OYO/Wu-san-te'kin-sha

The identification of Wu-san-te'kin-sha of the *Tang-shu* with CPI TOFINO P̄OYO of the following coins (Pl.II,5-8) is also due to Humbach.⁴⁸ But Humbach goes a step further and connects these names with Vahitigin/Barhatigīn. This however is not supported by the evidence of the coins, for the bust of the king on the coins of CPI TOFINO P̄OYO 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 TOFINO'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

⁴⁸ Op.cit., p.60.

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 𐎧𐎺𐎠⁴⁹ (= Śrī Tigīn 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 Pahlavī 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; Göbl, 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 Khingāla 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 Khingila and its abbreviation Khingi 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 Khingila.

Petech has recently suggested the identification of Khingila of the coins illustrated by Cunningham with Khinjil of Ya'qūbī.⁵⁵ Much earlier Cunningham attributed the same coins to Khinkhila the Kashmīrian 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  and to the right of the bust is the solar wheel  or symbol of the sun-god. Significantly, remnants of the shoulder flames


54 Chavannes, *Documents* ..., p.131.

55 'Note Su Kāpiśi E Zabul', *RSO*, vol.xxxix, 1964, pp.287 ff.

56 *Op.cit.*, p.265.

57 Cunningham, *op.cit.*, Pl.vii, no.11; Göbl, *op.cit.*, vol.iii, Pl.XXV, no.81.

or halo, a peculiar motif of the earlier coinage, still persist.⁵⁸ The legend in Brāhmī letters starts at 9 o'clock and reads *deva Sāhi Khingila*. The reverse of these coins is obliterated. As mentioned above, these coins were attributed by Cunningham to Khinkhila of Kashmīr. 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  takes its place above the ends of the diadem. To the right of the face of the king is the Brāhmī legend *Khingi*.⁵⁹ 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 Sāhi coins.⁶⁰ The exact find-spots of group ii are not recorded. Wilson found one specimen from 'Hidda Topes' in Afghānistān.⁶¹ According to Cunningham these and other cognate types belong to the north western region of the sub-continent.⁶² 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).

61 Op.cit., p.398 and Pl.XVI, no.8.

62 Op.cit., p.266.

D. Spalapatideva (Pl.III,1-12)

The well known bull and horseman type bearing the legend *Śrī Spalapatideva* has been correctly attributed to Afghānistān and the north west of Pākistan. 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'.⁶³ Prinsep read the legend as *Syalapati* and associated it with Siālkot in the Panjāb. Prinsep's interpretation was followed by Wilson without further comments.⁶⁴ A detailed account of these coins was first given by Thomas, who identified Syalapati with Kallar of Albīrūnī.⁶⁵ Thomas also conjectured that most coins of Syalapati were melted down by Sāmanta who, from the motive of individual vanity, recoined 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.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ 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

⁶³ *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. E. Thomas), vol.1, London 1858, p.313.

⁶⁴ See *Ariana Antiqua*, pp.428-30.

⁶⁵ *JRAS*, vol.ix, 1848, p.197.

⁶⁶ 'Remarks on certain Dates occurring on the coins of the Hindu Kings of Kābul, Expressed in the Gupta Era and in Arabic (or Quasi-Arabic) Numerals', *NC*, 3rd series, vol.ii, 1882, pp.128-65.

⁶⁷ *IA*, vol.xv, 1886, pp.185 ff.

Bactrian legend, as first suggested by Cunningham⁶⁸ and finally established by Ghirshman.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.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.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,⁷² whom Smith had no intention of identifying with Kallar. Furthermore, it is strange that all the dates

68 *CMI* (1967 Indian repr.), p.63.

69 *Op.cit.*, p.40, fn.1.

70 *CMI*, p.58.

71 *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, vol.i, Oxford 1906, p.244.

72 Compare *CMI*, Pl.VII, no.17.

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 meaning⁷³ 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 prakṛitised form of the Sanskrit word *Samarapati* meaning 'war-lord'.⁷⁴ 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 tigīn 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*.⁷⁵ Azraqī reads this name variously as 'Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh', 'Mahrab Patī Dūmī' and 'Patī Dūmī'.⁷⁶ The name *Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh* is obviously the Arabicised form of the prakṛit 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 Mahrab (مهراب) is written as *faharaba* (فهراب) which is

⁷³ See infra, pp.202, 203; and supra, p.180.

⁷⁴ CMI, p.58.

⁷⁵ *Fī Tahqīq Mā li'l 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 Iṣpahbadh 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 Iṣpahbadh 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).⁷⁷ 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 Śāradā 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 turban⁷⁸ which turns round the lower part of his globular cap (*kuḷāh*) 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'.⁷⁹

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.

⁷⁹ Op.cit., p.213.

In the later examples however the streamers are changed to bow-and-arrow and various other designs and finally into the Śāradā letter *ka*.⁸⁰ 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 *ṛ*.⁸¹ Running along the margin in front of the horseman is the Bactrian legend which in one case has been read as $\text{CPI C}\Pi\text{AAABAA}$ ⁸² or $\text{CPI C}\Pi\text{AAA}\Pi\text{ATI}$ ⁸³ but in fact may be the corrupt remains of the legend $\text{CPI C}\Pi\text{AYOBAA}$ which may be restored as Śrī Iṣpahbadh.⁸⁴ The letters are in a very bad state of preservation but most of them can still be recognised.⁸⁵

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 Brāhmī characters. In stage iii the letters deteriorate further and their original shape is no longer recognisable.⁸⁶ Each stage is struck to a slightly lower weight standard and betrays traces of progressive type deterioration,⁸⁷ which indicates that the coins continued to be issued and re-issued over a long period of time, even after the death of Spalapati/Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh. If stage i was issued in the life-time of Spalapati/Iṣpahbadh

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.

86 Op.cit., pp.193-94.

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.⁸⁸ Tod promised to give a full account of these coins in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*⁸⁹ 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 1833⁹⁰ and described them two years later in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*.⁹¹ With this the Śāhi coins, then designated as Rājput, 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,⁹² 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

⁸⁸ *Rajasthan*, London 1822, vol.ii, p.309.

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 Munshī Mohan Lāl's collection made at Kābul.

⁹¹ Cf. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p.429.

⁹² *Scriptural Geography*, Philadelphia 1835, p.151.

1837 that certain types of the coins 'extended upwards to the Brahmanical rulers of the Panjāb, and probably of Kābul' put them accurately in their proper general context.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ Wilson designated these rulers the Pāla princes of the Panjāb⁹⁵ 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 Albīrūnī'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.⁹⁶ 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*.⁹⁷ Reinaud was

⁹³ Cf. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, vol.lx, 1848, p.178.

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 Rājput 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.⁹⁸ Thomas' attributions left no coinage for the 'Pālas'. Thomas was in general followed by Bayley,⁹⁹ Fleet¹⁰⁰ and Cunningham.¹⁰¹ 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 Śāhis was considered doubtful. V.A. Smith in 1906 tackled the question of attributions in a different way, as noted above.¹⁰² Cunningham and Smith were heavily drawn upon by later writers such as Bidyabinod,¹⁰³ Vaidya¹⁰⁴ and H.C. Ray.¹⁰⁵

Some coins bearing the legend Asaṭapāla were commented upon by Vogel¹⁰⁶ and Fleet¹⁰⁷ and more recently by S.C. Ray¹⁰⁸ but they do not fall within the provenance of the Śāhi coins and have therefore been

⁹⁸ *JRAS*, vol.1x, 1848, p.197.

⁹⁹ *NC*, vol.ii, 3rd series, 1882, p.128.

¹⁰⁰ *IA*, vol.xv, 1886, pp.185 ff.

¹⁰¹ *CMI*, pp.55-65.

¹⁰² *Supra*, p.187.

¹⁰³ *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, vol.i, Calcutta 1923, pp.60 ff.

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.

¹⁰⁶ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt.1, Calcutta 1911, p.268.

¹⁰⁷ *IA*, vol.xlii, 1913, pp.308 ff.; see also Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p.65.

¹⁰⁸ *JNSI*, vol.xvi, pt.1, 1954, pp.109 ff.

left out of this account.¹⁰⁹ A. Ghose has discussed a gold coin which he ascribes to Śrī Bhīmadeva.¹¹⁰

A number of studies on the subject have appeared recently.¹¹¹ But, with the only exception of Macdowall,¹¹² 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

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).

¹¹⁰ *NC*, 1952, pp.133 ff.

¹¹¹ H. de S. Shortt, *JNSI*, vol.xvi, 1956, pp.313 ff; A.A. Bykov, *JNSI*, vol.xxvii, pt.2, 1965, pp.146 ff; L. Gopal, *Early Mediaeval Coin Types of Northern India*, Varanasi 1966, p.28 ff., and p.70 ff; *Ibid.*, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Varanasi 1965, pp.215 ff; A.K. Shrivastava, 'A Note on the Coins of Sāmanta Dev', *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, no.10, 1972, pp.45-48; D.B. Pandey, 'Study of the Types of Coins of North Western India', paper submitted to the seminar on the *Early Mediaeval Coins of Northern India*, organised by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, on January 4, 1968; *Ibid.*, 'Economic Information from Post-Foreign Invasion Coinages of India', paper submitted to the seminar on the *Coins as Source of Economic History*, organised by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, on October 29, 1969; *Ibid.*, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, pp.179-225. For brief references see S. Sahay, 'A Note on the Coins of Shāhis of Ohind', paper submitted to the above mentioned seminar at Patna; S. Prakash, *JSNI*, vol.xxii, 1960, pp.276 ff; D.C. Sircar, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (for the year 1954-55), pp.94 ff; *Ibid.*, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Patna 1968, pp.234-35; A.K. Bhattacharyya, *Indian coins in Musee Guimet*, Calcutta 1971, p.37. For a discussion of the coins of the caliph al-Muqtadir with the bull and horseman type see A.S. Altekar, 'A Bull and Horseman type of Coin of the Abbasid Caliph AL Muqtadir Biliyah (sic) Ja'afar', *JNSI*, vol.viii, pt.1, 1946, pp.75-78. See also Najī Al Asil, 'Dirham of Al Muqtadir', *JNSI*, vol.viii, pt.2, 1946, pp.152-54.

¹¹² *Op.cit.*

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 Śāhis.

The Geographical Distribution

The geographical distribution of the Śāhi coins, though their exact findspots are not known in every case, was commented upon by Thomas long ago.¹¹³ 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 Śāhi 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.¹¹⁴

Metals

The use of different metals is distributed as follows:

Sāmanta:	AR	Æ	-
Khudarayaka:	AR	-	-
Vakka:	-	Æ	-
Bhīma:	AR	Æ	AV

¹¹³ *JRAS*, 1848, p.181. For the Śāhi coins in different museums in Afghānistān, see D.C. Sircar, op.cit., p.306. The Lahore Museum in Pākistān 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.

¹¹⁴ Op.cit.

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 *Ṭaṅkas* of three *māshas*.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 *Ṭaṅka* in the sub-continent, as a coin denomination, seems to be of a later date. It is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (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. Sāmantadeva (Pl.III, 13-24)

Śrī Sāmantadeva of the 'bull and horseman' series is commonly identified with Sāmānd of Albīrūnī's list. But there are difficulties in regarding Sāmānd 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 Sāmantadeva, 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 Gāhaḍavāla coins of Madanapāla (A.D. 1080-1115) have the word *Mādhava*¹²¹ and those of the Cāhamāna rulers of Sākambarī - Someśvaradeva (A.D. 1162-66) and Prithvirāja (A.D. 1162-92) - have *Āsāvarī* before Śrī Sāmantadeva.¹²² Similarly Śrī Pipala of some unknown dynasty used the prefix *Kutāmāna*.¹²³ But these later types are thick and dumber 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 Śāhis.

The precise date of the origin of the Sāmanta series is not known. Assuming however that the series started in the reign of Sāmānd, when it succeeded and replaced the earlier Spalapati series, it seems that a large number of Sāmanta'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/Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh that his name was most probably similarly used by his two successors. Apparently the successors of Sāmānd, 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 Anānga.

¹²¹ Ibid., p.260. Mādhava is a name of the demi-god Kṛiṣṇa.

¹²² Ibid., p.261. Thomas explains Asāvarī 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 Sāmantadeva*. 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 Sāmantadeva* on the posthumously issued coins therefore indicates nothing but a convenient numismatic convention.

The Sāmanta 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 ( or ). In the field to the left of the horseman is the letter *bhī* with solid (), hollow () or hooked () loop. In the earlier examples it resembles the letter *ka* 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 *ta*, a conch-shell or the numeral 8 (). 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 *triśūla* and the star-shaped pendant

¹²⁴ For details see infra, Fig.4.

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.

¹²⁷ Cf. Prof. F.C. Thompson and Miss P. Mcquilkin, 'Spectrographic Analysis of Coins of the Shahis', *NC*, 1968, p.222.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Op.cit.*, p.222.

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 Sāmānd 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 Sāmānta finally degenerated into billon with weights ranging between 3.1 gms (48 gr) and 3.7 gms (51 gr).¹³¹ The billon coins show a silver content of 25 to 30 per cent,¹³² which marks a sharp reduction as compared to the 61 to 67 per cent of the silver *dirhams*. Significantly there is no indication of any progressive deterioration in the coinage to bridge this gap.¹³³ 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 sultān Mas'ūd III¹³⁴ (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 *Sāhūkāra*s, who were allowed to run their own private mints, as recorded by 'Awfī, 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 billon coins bearing the name *Śrī Sāmāntadeva* 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 Sāmānta 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).¹³⁵ 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 Sāmānta 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 Sāmānta. The production of these coins therefore must have stopped with Sāmānta'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 Śāradā letter *ma* (𑀢) 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).¹³⁶ Typologically the coins must be placed early in the Sāmanta series.

The precise identification of Khudarayaka¹³⁷ (*Kṣudra rājaka* = small rājā or Sāmanta) has not been finally settled. Cunningham associated him with Kamalū, the successor of Sāmand in Albīrūnī's list.¹³⁸ Macdowall on the contrary maintains that 'Khudavayaka' of the coins may well be Ya'qūb, the Muslim conqueror of Kābul.¹³⁹ 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 Sāmanta¹⁴⁰ 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.

¹³⁹ *Op.cit.*, p.211.

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 Kābul under Ya'qūb.

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),¹⁴¹ a fact which indicates that they represent two different denominations. Some of the coins bear an individual letter, *ra* (र), *va* (व), *vi* (व्) or *da* (द्), 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'.¹⁴² Sanskrit *vaka* from Irānian *vaga* and Sanskrit *bakana* from Irānian *vagana* are attested in Mathura inscriptions.¹⁴³ Baka was also the name of Mihirakula's son as recorded by Kalhaṇa and seems to be the Sanskritised form of the Irānian *vaga*.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ See chart, Fig.10.

¹⁴² 'The Iranian Tradition of the Hindu Shahis of Udabhāṇḍapura', *Bhārati*, Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, nos. X and XI, 1966-68 (Central Asia Number), pp.7-9.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (Stein's trans.), vol.1, p.79, fn.36.

Thomas connects Vakka with Kanak of Albīrūnī and assigns him to the beginning of the Turk Śāhi dynasty.¹⁴⁵ Cunningham also considers Vakka as one of the Turk Śāhis, but places him at the end of the dynasty.¹⁴⁶ But the typological evidence of Śrī Vakka's coins, as seen above, suggests a different context. Moreover Kanak is generally identified with Kaniṣka, the famous Kuṣāṇa monarch, and cannot be regarded as one of the Turk Śāhis. Nor does the name Lagatūrman, mentioned by Albīrūnī as the name of the last Turk Śāhi ruler of Kābul, show any resemblance with Vakka.

Vakka and Bhīma are the only two exceptions¹⁴⁷ 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,¹⁴⁸ 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.

iv. Bhīmadeva

Śrī Bhīmadeva of the coins is generally identified with Bhīm of Albīrūnī. 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 *dhōti* (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 *triśūla*, 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 *Jajñapavita* (*sic*) (sacred thread), and clad in *dhōti*, seated in *rājalilā* 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


¹⁴⁹ A. Ghose, 'A Unique Gold Coin of The Hindu Kings of Kabul', *NC*, series 6, vol.12, 1952, pp.133-35.

¹⁵⁰ Or pouring something into a small fire-altar.

¹⁵¹ The reading is uncertain, see *infra*, p.206.

(? *rājdaṇḍa*) and in her left hand lotus with long stalk'.
The inscription reads 'Śrīmad gunanidhi Śrī Sāmanta
Deva'.¹⁵² 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 śāradā characters.

The silver coins of Bhīma are not very many¹⁵³ (Pl.IV, 13,14). The obverse of these coins shows a couchant bull and the legend Śrī Bhīmadeva in neat śāradā 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.¹⁵⁴ In the field to the left of the horseman is the much disfigured letter *bhī*.¹⁵⁵ The animals in some cases still retain a plasticity and roundness of features¹⁵⁶ comparable to the earliest coins of Sāmanta'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).¹⁵⁷

The copper denomination of Bhīma (Pl.IV,15) similarly follows the 'elephant and lion' type of Sāmanta and Vakkadeva.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 Śāhi 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.

¹⁵⁷ See chart, Fig. 10.

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,I) 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 *da* 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 *ī*, looks very much like the *ka* of the Spalapati series. It seems that the letter *ka* of the Spalapati series was read as *bha* 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 *tī*.

Khudarayaka's coins show the letter *da* or *ma* (𑀢) and its variants (𑀣, 𑀤). This letter does not occur on the coins of Sāmanta and was obviously derived from the Spalapati series.

Bhīma's coins have two varieties of the letter *bhī*. Variety i (𑀥) is of the open-looped type and variety ii looks very much like *tī* (𑀦) 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* (𑀧). The loop of *rho* was first given an angular form (𑀨) and then eliminated altogether (𑀩). 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 (𑀪). The different changes in this group were brought about by changing the position of the verticals in relation to the connecting bar (𑀫, 𑀬, 𑀭, 𑀮, 𑀯, 𑀰, 𑀱). In group ii the right vertical was curved and then changed into a semicircle and the horizontal bar further lengthened to the right (𑀲). This sign has many varieties (𑀳, 𑀴, 𑀵) and on some coins takes the form of the Arabic word '*adl*' (𑀶). 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 *ta* (𑀷), the conch-shell (𑀸) etc.

The single letters occurring beneath the horse and the lion are not very many and seem to have developed from the peg-like (𑀹) 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 *ra* (𑀺). Towards the end of the Spalapati series the letter *ra* was given a medial *i* stroke to the right (𑀻). None of these forms appear on the Sāmanta series.

Vakkadeva's coins have the same *ra*, but his coins also have the letters *va* (**𐬕**) and *da* (**𐬔**). 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/Barhatigīn's coins show a human bust with head surrounded by flames. No such motif is seen on the coins of the subsequent Turk Śāhi rulers who had their own distinctive devices. The motif was derived probably from the Sāsānian coinage where a human head in flames first appears on top of the fire-altar on the coins of Hormazd II¹⁵⁹ (A.D. 303-09). Some of the coins of Varhrān IV¹⁶⁰ and Yazdgird I¹⁶¹ 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.¹⁶² 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.¹⁶³ This full bust type was adopted by Vahitigin for his own coinage.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ See Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik*, Braunschweig 1968, Pl.V, nos 80-87.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., Pl.VIII, no.142.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., Pl.IX, no.149.

¹⁶² Ibid., Pl.IX, nos 153-58.

¹⁶³ Ibid., Pl.XIV, nos 217-19.

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.¹⁶⁵ Cunningham's view, however, is based on his attribution of these coins to the pre-Muslim Hindu rulers of Sindh - a view which the Sāsānian origin of the motif renders untenable.

B. The Fire-altar

The coins of the Turk Śāhi ruler TOFINO 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺/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 Afghānistān¹⁶⁶ and bear some resemblance to the early Bukhāran coins.¹⁶⁷ It is generally believed that the Bukhāran type was borrowed from the coinage of the Sāsānian ruler Varhrān V.¹⁶⁸ But the recurrent type of fire-altar on Varhrān's coins has a circular and not a rectangular shaft.¹⁶⁹ Among the Sāsānian coins the rectangular type occurs, at the latest, on the coins of Yazdigird I (A.D. 399-420) - the predecessor of Varhrān V.¹⁷⁰ 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 TOFINO 𑀧𑀺𑀢𑀺 for his own coinage. The fire-altar also occurs on the coins of another Turk Śāhi ruler Khiṅgi(la), in a

¹⁶⁵ *Later Indo-Scythians*, 1962 Indian repr., p.268.

¹⁶⁶ Compare Göbl, op.cit., vol.iii, Em.198-203.

¹⁶⁷ Compare R.N. Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, New York 1949, Pl.(w/n).

¹⁶⁸ R.N. Frye, op.cit., p.24.

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 Śāhi 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.¹⁷¹ A bull couchant to left occurs on a seal coming from the Panjāb, dated by Bivar to the third century B.C.¹⁷² The motif was adopted by Skandagupta¹⁷³ of the Gupta dynasty and also by Paśupati of Nepāl,¹⁷⁴ 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 Padmāvati¹⁷⁵ and is also seen to figure on the coins of Kriṣṇarāja,¹⁷⁶ the Kalacūri ruler of Mālwa, whose actual date is not

¹⁷¹ J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, 1967 Oxford repr., silver punch-marked coins, pp.36-38 and Pl.XXVI, no.4.

¹⁷² 'An Unknown Seal Collector', *JNSI*, vol.xxiii, 1961, p.316 and Pl.VII, no.6.

¹⁷³ J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, Oxford 1914, p.ci.

¹⁷⁴ A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, 1963 Indian repr., p.117 and Pl.XIII, no.8.

¹⁷⁵ A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Varanasi 1957, p.253. See also H.V. Trivedi, 'Some Unpublished Nāga Coins', *JNSI*, vol.xv, pt.2, 1953, p.131; Ibid., 'Coins of Some New Kings from Padmāvati', *JNSI*, vol.xvii, pt.1, 1955, p.54; A. Cunningham, *CMI*, pp.23-24 and Pl.II, nos 17-18. Nāga rulers had also the walking bull type.

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.¹⁷⁷ According to Bāna the emperor Harṣavardhana had a seal with the bull for its emblem.¹⁷⁸ The bull was also the emblem of the coinage of the Senapatis of Valabhi.¹⁷⁹ A couchant bull facing right is found on the seals of the early Pahlavas and seems to have survived down to the time of Cālūkyā Mūlaraja (c. A.D. 941-996).¹⁸⁰ 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 Śāhi 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 Śaivism. The earlier Turk Śāhis 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

¹⁷⁷ R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Age*, Bombay 1954, pp.194-95.

¹⁷⁸ *Harṣacarita*, trans. E.B. Cowell and P.W. Thomas, 1961 Indian repr., p.198.

¹⁷⁹ H.D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujrat*, Bombay 1941, p.190.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.183.

Greek¹⁸¹ and the Indo-Parthian¹⁸² coins which show the animal in a variety of different forms. It also occurs on the coins of a certain 'Soter Megas'.¹⁸³ The Guptas¹⁸⁴ and the Ephthalites¹⁸⁵ 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.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.¹⁸⁷ Subsequently it was adopted, probably in imitation of the Śāhi coins, by the Caliph al-

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- 181 P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, Chicago 1966, Pl.V, nos 6-9 and Pl.VI, nos 1-4: Coins of Eucratides; Ibid, Pl.VIII, no.13: Lysias; Ibid, Pl.XIII, no.3: AntimachusII; Ibid., Pl.XIII, nos 6-9: Philoxenus.
- 182 G.K. Jenkins and A.K. Narain, *The Coin Types of the Saka-Pahlava Kings of India*, Varanasi 1957, pt.1.
- 183 B. Chattopadhyaya, *The Age of the Kushāṇas*, Calcutta 1967, pp.50 f.
- 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: Prakāśaditya.
- 185 A. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl.VII, nos 6-9.
- 186 R.N. Frye, loc.cit., nos 1-4.
- 187 R.B. Whitehead, *Indo-Greek Numismatics*, Chicago 1969, Pl.VIII, no.15.

Muqtadir for one type of his *dirhams*.¹⁸⁸ Elsewhere the horse also occurs in combination with the elephant and the lion.¹⁸⁹

D. The Elephant and Lion

i. 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 Lakṣmī, are also emblems of prosperity and good luck. The motif occurs on the punch-marked coins,¹⁹⁰ the local coins of Taxila, Erana, Kauśāmbhī, Ujjainī, Ayodhyā etc.,¹⁹¹ the coins of the Indo-Greeks,¹⁹² the Parthians,¹⁹³ the Sātavāhanas¹⁹⁴ and the Śākas. An elephant appears on a lotus on the coins of Jayagupta (or Jayanāga) Prakāṇḍayaśa in the post-Gupta period.¹⁹⁵ It was also adopted by the Pāṇḍyas and Ceras.¹⁹⁶

188 *JNSI*, vol.viii, pt.ii, 1946, pp.152-53.

189 P. Gardner, *op.cit.*, Pl.XXI, no.2 and Pl.XIII, no.6.

190 J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction 22, p.xxvi. For specimens see *ibid.*, pp.11 ff., 30, 38, 43, 50, 58f., 60ff., 63, 64f., 66ff., 75, 76ff., 79ff., 82.

191 *Ibid.*

192 A.K. Narain, *op.cit.*, p.6, no.1-2: Coins of Antimachus I; *Ibid.*, p.15, no.10: Menander; *Ibid.*, p.21, nos 1-2: Helioclese II; *Ibid.*, p.22, no.4: Archebius; *Ibid.*, p.25, no.1: Lysius; *Ibid.*, p.27, no.1: Apollodotus; *Ibid.*, p.30, nos 2-5: Zoilus.

193 G.K. Jenkins and A.K. Narain, *op.cit.*, p.2, nos 29, 30, 38: Maues; *Ibid.*, p.14, nos 23-26: Azes; *Ibid.*, p.24, no.4: Zeionises.

194 M. Rama Rao, *List of published Sātavahana Coins*, Varanasi 1958.

195 P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi 1969, pp.62-63.

196 V. Prakash, *Coinage of South India*, Varanasi 1968, pp.59, 102.

On the Śāhi 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 Hiranyakaśipu. 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 Śāhi Sāmāntadeva. On typological and palaeographical grounds the coin is datable to the post-Hindu Śāhi 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.

²⁰² G.K. Jenkins and A.K. Narain, op.cit.

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 I²⁰⁵ and on some of the unassignable²⁰⁶ 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.

205 P.L. Gupta, *Coins*, p.78.

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 TOFINO 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎;⁵ its complete absence from our inscriptional 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.

³ *Infra*, p.241, no.13.

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,⁶ are represented both on the coins and the stone inscriptions and seem to have been used simultaneously throughout the period of the Turk Śāhis.

The Bactrian cursive is last evidenced in the Tochī valley bilingual inscriptions⁷ 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 Śāhis 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.⁸

The local Indian script, however, continued to flourish uninterruptedly till after the end of the Hindu Śāhi rule in Gandhāra and the Panjāb.⁹ It shows two distinct phases of development which may be described as proto-Śāradā and Śāradā. Phase 1 ends with the appearance of Śāradā on the coins of Spalapatideva (c. A.D. 814-15). The details are as follows:

⁶ First known from the Ephthalite coins and some manuscript fragments found in Central Asia. For details see *infra*, p.232.

⁷ H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, vol.1, pp.114 ff.

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 Śāhi 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-ŚĀRADĀ AND THE BACTRIAN CURSIVE SCRIPTS

A. Proto-Śāradā

Proto-Śāradā in Afghānistān and Gandhāra marks the intermediate stage through which Brāhmī script of the Ephthalite period (an evolved form of the Gupta Brāhmī) developed into Śāradā. 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.¹⁰ But the style of the Ephthalite records, as may be seen from the archaic forms of the letters *ṇa* (𑀭), *ya* (𑀹), *ra* (𑀲) and *la* (𑀻) in the Kura (correctly Khewrā) inscription of Toramāṇa, remains closer to the Gupta prototypes. A clear transition from Gupta Brāhmī to the proto-Śāradā may be seen in the Kābul image inscription,¹¹ where the old and the new forms occur together.¹² Significantly, the tendency towards cursiveness which eventually led to the Śāradā forms is also noticeable, though in a less pronounced degree, in the same inscription.

The development of Brāhmī into Śāradā in Afghānistān and Gandhāra seems to have taken place on different lines from that in eastern Panjāb, where an intermediate style called *Kuṭila*¹³ is also noticed. The *Kuṭila*

¹⁰ See A. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythian*, Pls. VII-IX. 'Kura Stone Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa', *EI*, vol.1, pp.239-40; 'Wartir (Mālākand) Image Inscription', A. Shakur, op.cit., p.45; *Ibid.*, 'Wano Stone Inscription', p.42.

¹¹ *EI*, vol.XXXV, pt.1, 1963, pp.44-47.

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 'Kuṭila' by J. Prinsep on the evidence of the Dewal praśati 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 Panalī Nālā inscription in eastern Panjāb.¹⁴ It shows no influence in the known inscriptions of the Turk Śāhi 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

¹⁴ J.Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba*, Calcutta 1911, pp.137, 146.

¹⁵ For references see *infra*, p.338 f.

¹⁶ Cf. *infra*, p.222.

¹⁷ Compare the letters *da*, *na*, *pa*, *ya*, *la*, *śa* and *sa*.

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.

ascribable 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 Tochī 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 Kṅgāla, but the beginning of this reign cannot be fixed with certainty. The tripartite form of the letter *ya*, 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 Dubī 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.

²⁰ D.C. Sircar (*Indian Epigraphy*, Motilal Banarsidas 1965, p.206), however, dates it to the sixth century A.D. M.K. Dhavalikar, 'A Note on Two Gaṇeśa Statues from Afghanistan', *EW*, N.S., vol.21, Nos.3-4, 1971, p.332, attributes it to the early sixth century.

²¹ *EI*, vol.ix, Plate between pp.286 and 287.

²² *Ibid.*, vol.xxx, pp.287 ff.




²³ *Ibid.*, Plate facing p.4.


















of Bhatti dated in the Harṣa year 73 (A.D. 679). The number 13 in the inscription is written with the symbols for 10 and 3. In some cases (cf. *Ṣāhi pādaiḥ*) 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* (𑀅) 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 Māl̄wā 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 𑀅 *nā*). In case of *mā* (𑀅), however, the sign for medial *ā* is attached to the dexter upright. The letter *ṣā* (𑀅), 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 *jā* (𑀅). This method is very common in the Śāradā but very rare in earlier inscriptions. In a few cases the sign for medial *ā* takes the form of a top slant (cf. *ṣā*). This is an archaic method and does not occur in the Śāradā inscriptions.²⁴ The curves of medial *i* and *ī* are generally long and compare well with their Śāradā and Nāgarī equivalents. The hook of medial *u* is turned to the left (cf. 𑀅 *śu*). Medial *e* has two varieties: no.i takes the form of a *pristhamātra* sign (small wedge attached to the left top of the mātrikā) (cf. 𑀅 *re*); no.ii is a top slant (cf. 𑀅 *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

²⁴ Compare A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford 1963, pl.XIIb.

of a top slant and the *prīṣṭhamātra* sign to the left of the *mātrikā* (cf. ). The latter is made up of a top slant and the *prīṣṭhamātra* sign to the right top of the *mātrikā* (cf.  *yo*). The medial *au* is comprised of the combination of a top slant and wedge signs on both sides of the head-mark (cf.  *lau*).

Turning to the consonants, *ka* has a full length loop to the left of the vertical and a curved tick to the right (). As the first element in ligatures *ka* reverts to the Brāhmī type ( *kla*). The letter *kha* () has a rounded top and a small tail at the base. *Ga* () is flat-topped and shows a foot-mark under the left limb. *Ca* () is almost triangular with a concavity at the left hand corner. The letter *ja* () 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 *ṣṭa* (), it looks like a loop opening downwards. The right limb of *ta* () is prolonged and curved in to the left. But in the conjunct *ttra* () it takes an angular form. The letter *da* () is of the double curve type, though in some cases ( *di*) the curves are not well pronounced. *Dha* ( *dhi*) is broad at the top and narrows down to a point at the bottom. The letter *na* ( *nā*) has a bent base which shows a tendency to lengthening the right end. The left arm of *pa* () is slightly bent out. The letter *bha* () shows a triangular loop to the left. The base of *ma* () slopes to the right. *Ya* () 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.  tyā).²⁶ As in the inscriptions of Meruvarman of Chambā,²⁷ ra () has a thickening at the bottom end, but in some cases it retains the old form of a straight vertical (). As the final element in a compound, ra is represented by a slanting stroke projecting to the left at the base of the letter (cf. ttra). The letter la retains a horizontal base²⁸ (cf. kla) which in one case markedly slopes to the right (cf. lau). Va () looks like ba of the Śāradā script.²⁹ The letter śa ( śu) is rounded on top and shows a triangular foot-mark on the left side. The left limb of the akṣara śa may be rounded or angular (cf. Śāhi). But for its triangular loop under the left upright, the letter sa may be confused with ma. The middle portion of ha () 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.³⁰ The script of this inscription appears to be older than that of the inscriptions of Brahmor and Chatrahi³¹ 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 Śāradā inscriptions. The sloping base finally led to the Śāradā form of the letter.

²⁹ Compare Kameśvarīdevī's inscription (Shakur, op.cit., Pl.V. no.1).

³⁰ Op.cit., pp.82-83.

³¹ Compare Vogel, op.cit., Pl.X.

consonant preceding the letter *ya* is doubled (cf. *amāṭṭya*, *maddhnye*). The letters in general show a definite development from those of the Kābul image inscription.³² 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 Kābul image inscription; (ii) the same, but showing a cavity at the top of the right vertical (𑀓); (iii) the same, but with a horizontal head-mark on the right vertical (𑀔). The medial vowels are the same as seen in the Kābul image inscription. However, the sickle-shaped curves of medial *i* and *ī* become comparatively broader. The medial *u* has two varieties: (i) is the curved variety of the Kābul image inscription; (ii) takes the form of an angular loop (cf. 𑀕 *pu*). The medial *ū* likewise has two forms: (i) is the usual curved symbol for medial *u* in combination with a slanting stroke on the right (cf. 𑀖 *tu*); (ii) is a continuation of the old Kuṣāṇa tradition of an angular or curved appendage opening down from the bottom end of the consonant of which it makes a part (cf. 𑀗 *pū*).³³ The medial *ri* is made up of a curved hook opening to the right (cf. 𑀘 *kri*). The medial *o* in general retains the old form of the Kābul image inscription but in one case it approaches the circumflex-shaped symbol (cf. 𑀙 *nso*).

The letter *gha* (𑀚) retains the Gupta form with three uprights. The middle upright occurs both with and without the head-mark. *Na* is found only in combination with *śa* (cf. 𑀛 *ñśa*) and also retains the Gupta form. The *akṣara ca* shows a protuberance to the left (cf. 𑀜 *śca*). *Ja* (𑀝) retains the archaic shape with three arms projecting to the right, and takes the medial *ā* sign on the upper arm (𑀞 *jā*). *Na* (𑀟) has a curved base and a hook on the right. This shows a definite development on the flat-based *na* of the post-Gupta inscriptions.³⁴ The *akṣara tha* (cf. 𑀠 *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 *da* (𑀢) are now well pronounced. *Dha* (𑀣 *dh*) looks triangular in shape. The right end of the base of *na* (𑀤) becomes vertical. This became the standard form of the Śāradā inscriptions. The loop of *bha* (𑀥) is expressed by a small notch to the left. *Ya* (𑀦 *yā*) shows an archaic form of the bipartite variety and takes the medial *ā* sign on the right top of the *mātrika*. The subjoined *ra* is expressed by a slanting stroke. The letter *la* has two varieties: (i) the base slopes to the right and joins the right vertical at the bottom;³⁵ (ii) it joins the right vertical almost in the middle (𑀧 *li*). The letter *va* (𑀨) is flat-topped but in some cases it looks rather angular. The loop of *śa* is expressed by a hook (cf. 𑀩, 𑀪 *śri*). The verticals of *ṣa* (𑀫) become equal. The loop of *sa* (𑀬) is open to the left. *Ha* retains the middle portion (𑀭) but in most examples this part of the letter is suppressed (𑀮 *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 *i* (𑀯) 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. *Ka* has a full-length loop. In combination with the vowel *u*, however, it reverts to the old Brāhmī form (cf. 𑀰 *ku*). *Ga* is flat-topped and shows a foot-mark under the left limb. The left limb of *gha* (cf. 𑀱 *ghri*) looks angular. *Ja* is of the two-armed type but does not show the characteristic protuberance. The letter *ṭa* (𑀲)

35 Compare the Kābul image inscription which shows the same form.

is expressed by a semi-circle. *Dha* (ढ) looks like the Nāgarī form of the letter, with a curled lower end. The letter *ṇa* (ण) has a solid base, which seems to be very common in the Kuṣāṇa but rare in the early Śāradā inscriptions. *Ya* (य) is of the bipartite variety and remains much the same in Śāradā inscriptions. The *akṣara ra* loses its bottom serif in the compound *rdha* (र्ध). The letter *śa* (श) is flat-topped and shows the characteristic foot-mark under the left limb. The middle portion of *sa* (स) slopes to the right and joins the right vertical at the bottom end. The loop of *ha* is suppressed.

Fig.1,4,5: is taken from the Tochī 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 Kashmīr 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 Tochī 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 *a* is of the hooked variety. The vowel *i* is the same as seen in the above mentioned inscription. The letters *ka* and *kha* tend to become angular. *Ja* is of the three-armed type. *Tha* is quadrangular and

³⁶ The Sanskrit text of the inscription gives the date in *Lokakāla*.

da (𑀢) in some cases has a tail under the lower curve (𑀣). *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 (𑀤 *yā*) rather than on top of the *mātrikā* as seen in our earlier inscriptions. The letters *śa* (𑀥 *śu*) and *sa* (𑀦) 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 Śāradā records. The medial vowel *o* is expressed by an inverted circumflex with curved arms. The peculiar wedge-shaped protuberance of the letters *ja* and *na* may again be noticed here. The letter *śa* is flat topped. Most interesting is the letter *ṇa* (𑀧) which shows a cursive form not found in our earlier inscriptions. But it is still without the characteristic tail of its Śāradā counterpart.

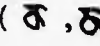








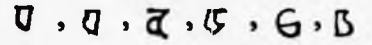
(ii) Coin Legends

The Indian legends on the coins of the Turk Śāhi rulers Vahitigīn, TOGINO BOYO and Khiṅgi(1a)³⁷ 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 Vahitigīn has been read differently by Prinsep,³⁸ Thomas,³⁹ Wilson,⁴⁰ Cunningham⁴¹ and Göbl.⁴² The reading *Śrī hitivira Kharalāva Parameśvara Śrī Vahitigina deva Kārīta(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 *ā* is expressed by lengthening the top of the *mātrikā* to the right (cf. *kā*, *lā*). The curves of the medial vowels *i* and *ī* do not reach the bottom end of the consonants. Medial *e* is expressed by the usual *pristhamātra* sign (cf. *de*). The shape of the letter *ka* is very irregular and shows many variants (). The left limb of *kha* () is made up of a small projection. The left limb of *ga* () 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 akṣara *na* () has a bent base and remains the same throughout the series. The right vertical of *pa* () is suppressed. The letter *ma* () can hardly be distinguished from *da* and *pa*. *Ra* () shows a clear bottom serif. The letter *la* () has a flat base which, in a few cases, slopes to the right (). The akṣara *va*, in the name *Vahitigina*, has many variants () which have

³⁸ 'Sri hitivira Airāna cha parameswara Sri Vahitigān devajānita', quoted by Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p.269.

³⁹ 'Sri hitivira kharala cha parameswara Sri Shahitina devanārita', quoted by Cunningham, *op.cit.*, loc.cit.

⁴⁰ 'Sri Hinivira Rajadhiraja (?) Parameswara (?) Sri cha Hinivira deva janita', *Ariana Antiqua*, p.401.

⁴¹ 'Sri Hitivi cha Airān cha parameswara Sri Shāhi Tigin Devajānita', 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. Śa is flat-topped and occurs only in combination with ra and va. In the conjunct śva (𑀓, 𑀓, 𑀓) it is placed side by side with va, obviously because of lack of space. The middle portion of ha (𑀕) is suppressed.

The Indian legend of CPI TORINO 𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀭's coins is even more confused and difficult as will be shown by the following readings:

- a) *Sri ... devi, pava Sri* (Junker)⁴³
- b) *Srimad deva bhadra Sri* (Wilson)⁴⁴
- c) *Śri Yadevi - māne Śri* (Cunningham)⁴⁵
- d) *Śrīma Dive/Pare Śrī* (Göbl)⁴⁶
- e) *Śrī Sāhi tigina Śrī* (Humbach)⁴⁷

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 *Yādevi śāha (Śāhi)*. The medial ā in the letter śā is attached to the right top of the mātrikā 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* (𑀢 *de*) and *va* (𑀕 *vi*) are clearly recognisable. The akṣara śā (𑀓, 𑀓, 𑀓, 𑀓) has many variants which differ from coin to coin, though the basic form can still be

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'.

⁴⁵ Op.cit., p.289.

⁴⁶ *Dokumente zur Geschichte Der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, vol.1, p.140.

⁴⁷ *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, vol.1, p.60.

recognised. *Ya* (𑀮, 𑀮̄ *yā*) shows an archaic form of the bipartite type. The reading of the letter *ha* (𑀯) with its several very dissimilar variants (𑀯, 𑀯̄, 𑀯̅, 𑀯̆) 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* (𑀲 *khi*) is still without the tail. The left limb of *ga* (𑀳) is turned up at the lower end. The letter *ṅa* in the syllable *ṅi* (𑀴) 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 Kuṣāno-Sāsānian coins and recognised as a corrupt form of Greek script, in which all the vowels were represented 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 *ζ* and *E*, he says,

⁴⁸ *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (ed. E. Thomas), vol.1, p.129. Also cf. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p.167.

⁴⁹ *Ariana Antiqua*, p.379.

have become ζ and ϵ on some coins and ζ and E on others. Similarly M has turned into H , Y becomes V and Ω is represented by ω .⁵⁰ But Wilson did not make a distinction between P (*rho*) and \bar{P} (*san*) and wrongly read the legends $\bar{P}AO\ NANO\ \bar{P}AO\ KANNH\bar{P}KI\ KO\bar{P}ANO$ as '*Rao nānā rao Kanerki Korano*' and $AP\Delta OK\bar{P}O$ 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 '*Vāsu Deva*'. On the earliest coins bearing the name of $BAZO\ \Delta HO$ (*Vāsu Deva*), Cunningham remarks, 'the Greek legends show little debasement excepting in the letters Z , H , and N . The H , he further points out, becomes \mathbb{H} and the N takes the form \mathbb{N} , while the Z looks like the Indian numeral 2 and the letters A and Δ 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

50 Op.cit., p.332.

51 Op.cit., pp.358-61.

52 Cunningham ('Coins of the Kushāns', *NC*, vol.xii, 1892, p.15) also read $\bar{P}AO$ as *Rao*.

53 *Later Indo-Scythians*, p.115.

characters, curiously recalled the writing of the White Hūna coins.⁵⁴ No new and startling discoveries have since been made. But the writing was studied in more detail by E. Herzfeld⁵⁵ (1930) and R. Ghisshman⁵⁶ (1948) who have also prepared comparative tables showing the development of the individual letters as seen on the Scytho-Pārthian, Kuṣāṇo-Sāsānian and the Ephthalite coins. It was briefly noticed by F.W. Thomas⁵⁷ (1944), A.D.H. Bivar⁵⁸ (1954) and B.J. Stavisky⁵⁹ (1960) who have also given important readings of some inscriptions. More recently it has been discussed by R. Göbl⁶⁰ and H. Humbach.⁶¹

Hsüan 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',⁶² 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'.⁶³ Hsüan 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.

⁵⁸ *JAOS*, 1954, pp.112-18.

⁵⁹ *JNSI*, vol.xxii, 1960, pp.102-12.

⁶⁰ *Op.cit.*, vols i-iv.

⁶¹ *Op.cit.*

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 *Toung Pao*, 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 β (*san*) which seems to have been adopted from the Kharoṣṭhi *sa* (β).

The script under discussion seems to have passed through two distinct stages of development before the advent of the Turk Śāhi 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 Kanīška. But a clear transition to cursive is found on the Kuṣāṇo-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 Śāhi 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 Afghānistān. 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.

⁶⁵ U. Scerrato, 'A Note on the Pre-Muslim Antiquities of Gagatu', *East and West*, vol.17, 1967, pp.16 ff. See also H. Humbach, 'Two Inscriptions in Graeco-Bactrian cursive script from Afghanistan', *East and West*, vol.17, 1967, pp.25 f.

⁶⁶ Bivar, op.cit.

to be older than the Uruzgān 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*, *Šāhi* 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 - *γαμωο βοδο / γαμωο δουαρμο / γαμωο σαγγοι* - as ably discerned by O. Hansen.

The Uruzgān 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* (∞) is made up of two conjoined circles. The letter *β* (8) 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 (ζ̣̣̣), probably intended for the sound of the Persian *ž*. It might be suggested that the use of the three *nuqtas* over the Arabic letter *ra* to represent this sound was adopted from the Bactrian script. The letter *E* (ƒ) is made up of a straight vertical joined by a small stroke to the right. The vowel *i* (cf. *mi*) looks like a flourish curved to the left. *Kappa* (κ) in Uruzgān 1 remains close to the classical form. The letter *lambda* (λ = lo) takes the form of a cross. But another variety of this letter shows a small tail at the back (λ̣). *Mu* has two upstrokes and a tail under the left limb. *Nu* resembles μ but without the tail. The letters *rho* (ρ), *san* (σ) and *phi* (φ) remain close to

their classical form. *Sigma* (ϣ = sa) is expressed by a curved stroke opening to the right. *Epsilon* (ϛ) is made up of two conjoined curves. *Omega* (Ω) has three upstrokes of equal height.

(ii) Coin Legends

These are taken from the coins of Vahitigin and TORINO **ϣ** OYO. 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. γ = gi) is here less pronounced. The vowel *i* is nearly the same as seen above. The letter *nu* (ϛ = no) is made up of two upstrokes and a tick to the left. The vertical of *rho* (cf. ϣ = sri) shows a foot-mark. The letters *san* (ϣ), *sigma* (cf. sri), *tau* (cf. ϣ = to) and *epsilon* (ϛ) also occur but show no significant change.

PHASE 2: ŚĀRADĀ AND THE BACTRIAN CURSIVE SCRIPT

A. Śāradā

The term *Śāradākṣarāṇi*, of which the word *Śāradā* seems to be an abbreviation, means 'letters sacred to Śāradā or Sarasvatī' - the Hindu goddess of learning.⁶⁷ It is not definitely known whether the term *Śāradā* in the sense of writing, was used in the time of the Hindu Śāhis. Most probably it was not. Albīrūnī mentions *Śāradā* only as the name of

⁶⁷ Bühler, 'Kashmīr Report', *JBBAS*, 1877 (1969 Bombay repr.), p.31; A. Stein, *Rājataranginī*, vol.ii, p.286.

a famous goddess of Kashmīr.⁶⁸ This association of the goddess Śāradā with Kashmīr is also suggested by expressions such as Śāradādeśa, Śāradāmaṇḍala and Śāradākṣetra, found in the works⁶⁹ 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 Kashmīrian goddess of learning. But, as learning took expression through letters, the particular style of writing prevalent in Kashmīr, 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.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 Kashmīr. But Dr Elmslie, in his *Kaśmīrī Vocabulary*, tells a story that the alphabet was introduced into Kashmīr by one (Shāradah Nandan', a companion of a brother of Vikramāditya of Ujjain, who is said to have emigrated to the valley.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 Kashmīr valley. If that be the case, the most likely place where Śāradā could have been developed was the renowned capital of the Hindu Śāhis, Udabhāṇḍapura, described in an inscription as 'the home of learned men who lived there in the form of communities'.⁷²

⁶⁸ *Fī Taḥqīq Ma li'l Hind*, p.89. Albīrūnī speaks of the wooden idol of Śāradā as much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.

⁶⁹ Such as *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, *Rājāvaliptākā*. See also Bühler, loc.cit., and Grierson, *JRAS*, 1916, p.678.

⁷⁰ Cf. Bühler, loc.cit.; J.Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p.43.

⁷¹ Cf. Bühler, loc.cit.; and Grierson, op.cit., p.672.

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 alphabets⁷³ 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 Kashmīr to Kanauj, he says, was called *Siddhamātrikā*.⁷⁴ If the word Kanauj is here used for the kingdom of the Pratihāras 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.⁷⁵ This aspect of Albīrūnī's information has been ignored by earlier writers, who were invariably tempted to identify *Siddhamātrikā* with the so-called *Kuṭila* or 'acute angled' script.⁷⁶ But, as we have already seen, there is no evidence of the existence of *Kuṭila* 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.⁷⁷ One wonders therefore how Albīrūnī can be taken to have written about a script,

73 Op.cit., p.135. The list includes the following eleven names: 1. سیدما ترک (Siddhamātrikā), 2. نائز (Nāgarī), 3. آرد ناگاری (Ardhanāgarī), 4. ملقاری (Malwārī), 5. سیدب (Saindhava), 6. کرنات (Karnāṭa), 7. انگری (Āndhrī), 8. دیروری (Dirwarī), 9. لاری (Lārī), 10. گوری (Gaurī), 11. بیکشت (Baikshukī).

74 Loc.cit.

75 See infra, p.240.

76 Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, p.76; A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford 1963, p.113.

77 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 Kashmīr 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 (Afghānistān), Sabz Piṇḍ (West Panjāb), Pālam (Delhi), East Panjāb, Kashmīr and Ghagai⁷⁸ (Swāt).

Bühler⁷⁹ and Hoernle⁸⁰ describe Śāradā as a descendant of the 'western Gupta' alphabets. Vogel, however, as noticed above, marks an intermediary stage called *Kuṭila*. But how far *Kuṭila* was actually responsible for the development of Śāradā in Gandhāra and Afghānistān has already been commented upon. The evidence of our inscriptional 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 Kashmīr. For an inscription of Queen Diddā of Kashmīr, see S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmīr*, Calcutta 1957, p.148.

⁷⁹ Op.cit., p.76.

⁸⁰ *Indian Antiquity*, 1892, p.38.

⁸¹ Op.cit., p.36.

⁸² *Bhāratīya Prāchīna 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 Kashmīr 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 Śāradā, 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 Ratnamañjarī'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 *ka* to the right of its loop (क) is curved inwards. The letter *na* (न) shows

⁸³ Infra, Pl.1.

⁸⁴ Infra, p.255.

⁸⁵ A. Cunningham, *CMI*, p.45.

⁸⁶ Op.cit., p.76; and 'Kashmīr Report', p.31.

⁸⁷ For details see infra, p.318.

⁸⁸ *East and West*, vol.XX, 1970, p.103f.

a long tail. *Ta* (ढ , ढ) with or without loop can be easily distinguished from *na* (न , न). The letters *ba* and *va*, however, can be easily confused. *Ra* in some inscriptions has a large hollow loop (र) which can be mistaken for *va* in conjunction with *ra*. To avoid this confusion a separate sign for *ra* in the conjunct *rva* (र्व) was invented and added to the left of *va*. The letter *la* (ल) has three unequal legs with a tendency to lengthen the one on the extreme right. The akṣara *śa* 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 1837⁸⁹ and by Burnes in 1842.⁹⁰ 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 *ṣa*, which makes the copy extremely faulty. The shape of the extant letters show that the *jihvāmūliya* (cf. ङ ह्क्या) and the *upadhmanīya* (cf. ङ फ्रा) 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 Śāradā records purely on palaeographical grounds.

The tick to the right of the loop of *ka* (क , क) is still without the curve of the developed Śāradā form of the letter. This, together with the fact that the letter *na* still retains the old flat-based variety

⁸⁹ *JASB*, vol.vi, pt.ii, pp.876-79.

⁹⁰ *Cabool*, London 1842, p.120.

(२) along with the Śāradā form (𑀓 ṅā), suggests an early date for the inscription. The uprights of *gha* (𑀧) show head-marks. The letter *ṅa*, seen only in combination with *ga*, is without the protuberance, which may be an omission on the part of the copyist. *Ta* (𑀧) in most cases resembles the arabic numeral 3. The letter *da* is of the double curve type. *Na* (𑀧) retains the archaic form. *Pa* is both open (𑀧) and closed (𑀧) on the top. The middle portion of *ha* (𑀧) 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.⁹¹ 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.⁹² 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* (𑀧) 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 *ī* (𑀧), which of all our inscriptions occurs only here, looks like the letter *ra* flanked by two dots. The letter *ḍa* (cf. 𑀧 ṅḍa) 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 akṣara *pa* (𑀧) is open at the top. The left portion of *la* (𑀧) takes the form of a narrow curve opening downwards. *Śa* (cf. 𑀧 śva) is flat-topped. The type of *ṣa* (𑀧) with short right vertical still persists.

⁹¹ H. Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1923-24, p.69; and A. Shakur. op.cit., p.11 and Pl.IV,2.

⁹² Cf. Hargreaves, loc.cit.


Fig.1,9: is taken from Śrī Kulaśaṅka's inscription from Dewal.⁹³ The inscription is neatly carved and bears the date *samvat* 108⁹⁴ 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* (𑀅) 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. 𑀕 *mu*) and the loop (cf. 𑀕 *pu*). The tick of *ka* to the right of the vertical (𑀓) is now turned inwards. The akṣara *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* (𑀚) and *da* (𑀛) are generally hollow. The right leg of *na* becomes a straight vertical. *Pa* (𑀣) is generally open on the top but in two cases it is closed (cf. 𑀣 *pu*). The serif of *ra* is changed into a loop. The letters *śa* (𑀭 *śi*) and *sa* (𑀮) show large triangular loops. The middle portion of *ha* (𑀇) is occasionally suppressed (𑀇).


















Fig.1,10: comes from the Dewai stone inscription of the Śāhi king Bhīmadeva.⁹⁵ 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)lavarman*. 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* (𑀛 *dā*) with its hollow loop and elongated right arm resembles the letter *ma* (𑀛). 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 Kulaśaṅka. 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.

⁹⁵ D.R. Sahni, *EI*, vol.xxi, no.44, 1931-32, p.298 f.

Fig.1,11: is taken from Ratnamañjarī's inscription of the time of a certain Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vijayapāladeva.⁹⁶ The inscription is dated *samvat* 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 Udabhāṇḍa. Although the inscription shows all the characteristics of the Śāradā 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.  *ha*).

The triangular loop under the right vertical of the initial *a* () takes the form of a solid wedge. The medial *i* is occasionally expressed by a bent stroke on top of the *mātrikā* (cf.  *li*). The medial *u* is invariably expressed by a pointed loop (cf.  *su*), whereas *ū* takes the form of a long flourish (cf.  *pū*) resembling the sign for subjoined *ra*. Owing to the peculiar form of the wedge-shaped loop, the vertical of *ka* () is only to be seen in the upper half of the letter. The right portion of *kha* () becomes a solid thick line. The base of *ca* () slopes to the right. The letter *ṭha* () is a circle and *ṇa* () is without the tail. The akṣara *tha* () looks like a compartmented quadrangle. The letter *dha* (), with its straight sides, can now be easily distinguished from *va* ( *vi*). The loop of *bha* () is also turned into a peculiar wedge-shaped sign. *Ya* shows some variants (, , ) but the basic bipartite shape remains unchanged. As subscript however it looks like a sickle-shaped curve (cf.  *śya*). *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 *om svasti*,

⁹⁶ *East and West*, xx, 1970, p.103 f.


the loops of śa (cf.  śrī) and sa (cf. su, above) become solid marks. The uprights of śa are equalised.

Fig.1,12,13: are taken from the two inscriptions of the time of Jayapāladeva. No.12 comes from Barīkot⁹⁷ (Swāt) and is much encrusted and therefore difficult to read. No.13 belongs to Hund⁹⁸ 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 samvat 146, which, counting from Kallar's revolution in about A.D. 843, comes to about A.D. 989.





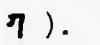





No change occurs in the vowel marks. The curved tick of ka () can be seen in this inscription as well. The left limb of gha () is inclined outward. Na occurs only in combination with ga ( ngu) and shows a small protuberance on the right of the top line. The letter da in the ligature nda is of the same shape as seen above in no.8. Dha () looks like the Śāradā numeral 8. Na is of the tailed variety. The akṣara na shows some variants (). The protuberance, characteristic of the letters ja, ta and na may be noticed here as well. The loops of śa () and sa () in some cases are left open. The jihavāmūliya () and upadhmanīya () 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 rva is attached to the curve of va.

Fig.1,14: is taken from Mahārājñī Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī's inscription of Hund.⁹⁹ The inscription is neatly carved on a stone slab and shows a good state of preservation. The date of the inscription, samvat 159,

⁹⁷ D.R. Sahni, op.cit., p.301.

⁹⁸ Infra, Pl.1.

⁹⁹ D.R. Sahni, 'A Śāradā inscription from Hund', *EI*, xxii, p.97; and A. Shakur, op.cit., p.12 and Pl.V,1.

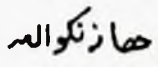
according to our computation comes to A.D. 1002, the year of Jayapāla's death. The letters of this inscription bear close resemblance to the one mentioned above. The head-marks are expressed by horizontal lines. Of all our inscriptions, *na* occurs only here in the ligature *janā* () and looks like the arabic numeral 3. The letter *na* is almost flat on top. The arms of *ma* are equalised.


The inscription mentions the Brāhmana, Śrī Pillaka, who was the *pañcakula* (? headman) and the son of a certain Śrī Virāditya. 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.¹⁰⁰ An eye-copy of the inscription, together with our no.7 above, was published by Prinsep long ago.¹⁰¹ 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 kī hogī* ('shall be made beautiful'), which is clearly Hindī 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 name¹⁰² which seems to be a later addition, nor can we place much faith

¹⁰⁰ Op.cit., p.120.

¹⁰¹ Op.cit., p.876.

¹⁰²  (? Hāzan Kūllah). It is not certain whether the name was accurately copied. 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 Śāhis. However, a comparison of the eye-copy of the inscription with that of Mahārājñī Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī 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 -'*naṁpaka ... tirtiye ... pra ... yanyamtattra Śrī Tillaka: Brāhmaṇa: / .. stha krihe sutra kī hogī*'- as *Navakarmapatī Upendraputra Jaya(antarāja Ānantiko sūryadvijo: // Paṁcakula Śrī Vīrādi)tya putra Śrī Pillaka Brāhmaṇa: // Kāyastha Śrī Vihendaputra Śrī Bhogi(ka sūryadvija)*. This solves the problem of the correct attribution of this inscription. Apparently it belongs to the same temple complex to which Mahārājñī Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī 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 *jihvāmūliya* form of the visarga ( *hki*) 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 Peshāwar, 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.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 *Bombay Gazette* of Wednesday, August 13th, 1881. It was then communicated by Bühler 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'.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 *Indian Antiquity*.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 conference¹⁰⁷ and then, with some additions, in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1888.¹⁰⁸ 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 *New Imperial Series* (vol.XLII) of the Archaeological Survey of India.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ See *infra*, p. 250.

¹⁰⁵ See the official report of the Congress, Pt.1, p.79.

¹⁰⁶ Vol.xii, pp.89 f.

¹⁰⁷ Verhandlungen des vii Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses, Arische section, 127 seq.

¹⁰⁸ Vol.xvii, pp.33-48 and 275-79.

¹⁰⁹ *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 Kanīṣka.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹ 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 Bakhshālī 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.¹¹² He adduced the following points in support of this date.¹¹³

1. The letter *ṇa* in the Sarāḥan praśasti (c. 9th century A.D.) has a horizontal connecting stroke (𑂔, 𑂕, 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 (𑂖, our var.ii). The Bakhshālī manuscript shows no example of either. (This however is a misstatement, as we shall see below).
2. The sign for medial *ā* in the letter *jā* is attached to the right top of the head-mark (𑂗 *jā*) in one case. This form is said to have come into fashion about A.D. 1200.
3. The curves of the medial vowels *i* and *ī* are generally the same as their Nāgarī equivalents. But in two or three cases the older method of forming them by sickle-shaped curves (as in 𑂘, *ki*, for instance)








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.

¹¹² Op.cit., p.84.

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. , 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.  *te*, our var.ii) was not in general use in the fifteenth century A.D. In the manuscript, however, it is represented by '269'¹¹⁴ examples.
5. Of the two varieties of medial *ai* which occur in the manuscript, variety ii, consisting of a *pristhamātra* sign combined with a top slant (cf.  *kai*), developed about A.D. 110 into variety i, which is expressed by two top slants (cf.  *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.  *ko*); whereas variety ii is made up of a top slant and a wedge-shaped sign in front of the mātrikā (cf.  *ko*). Variety iii consists of the *pristhamātra* sign for *e* and a similar sign in front of the mātrikā (cf.  *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 *na*, alleged by Kaye to be absent from the manuscript, is represented by at least ten examples.¹¹⁵ The chronological

¹¹⁴ According to our calculation this figure should be corrected to 300. But, in any case, it does not change the main argument.

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.).¹¹⁶ In our stone inscriptions it appears in the tenth century records.¹¹⁷ As the Bakhshālī 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 Śāradā inscriptions of Chamba, which show that the tailed variety of ṇa occurs sparingly in the tenth century but more frequently towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.¹¹⁸

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 inscriptions¹¹⁹ (c. first century B.C.) and was also sparingly used in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja¹²⁰ (c. 876 A.D.), the Pehoa praśati (c. A.D. 800) and the Hātūn rock inscription¹²¹ (c. seventh century A.D.).

That the use of the sickle-shaped curves of the medial vowels ī and ī̄ 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

¹¹⁶ Compare A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Pl.XIIa, 11, 12. The letter ṇa in the Bower MS and the Horiuzi palm-leaf MS has the form ṇā, and ṇā 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 *i* and *ī* may be seen in the Sarāḥan praśasti¹²² (c. 9th century A.D.) and Mahārājñi 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 *e* (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.¹²³ Nor is the other half of Kaye's argument so convincing. Our examination of the Śāradā inscriptions of Chamba shows that the *prīṣṭhamātra* method of forming medial *e* (our var.ii) was less popular in the tenth and eleventh centuries and dropped out in the twelfth century A.D.¹²⁴ This applies equally well to the Bakhshālī 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 *ai* do not show specific concentration at any given period and may be untrustworthy for the purpose of chronology.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 Sarāḥan praśati but, during the eleventh century, it gradually died out.¹²⁶ Towards the middle of the

¹²² J.Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pl.XV, lines 1, 17. 20.

¹²³ Compare various inscriptions from Chamba (Vogel, op.cit., and Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt.II, Delhi, 1957).

¹²⁴ Cf. *infra*, Fig.7.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

twelfth century variety i became extremely popular, almost to the exclusion of the other two. In the Bakhshālī 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 Suṅgal copper plate inscription datable to the tenth century A.D.¹²⁷ Thus palaeographically there is nothing in the manuscript which can be invoked to show a date much later than the date of the Suṅgal 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 *i* is curled at the head. The vowel *u* is made up of the usual *u* sign (𑀓) and a streamer at the back (𑀔). The initial *e* is triangular and shows a tail in some cases. *Ri* (𑀕) looks like the letter *da*. 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 *na*, *ja* and *ṭa* is quite well pronounced. The letter *jha* (𑀖) occurs only in combinations such as *jjhi*, *jjha*. *ṅa* (𑀗) can be seen in the ligatures *jṅa*, *ṅca* etc. The letters *ṭa* (𑀘) and *ḍa* (𑀙) retain the same shape as described above. *Dha* (𑀚) can hardly be distinguished from *pha* (𑀛). *Na* occurs with (𑀜) and without the tail (𑀝). *Ta* (𑀞) shows no loop to the left. *Tha* (𑀟) is compartmented, but in the ligatures such as *stha* (𑀠) and *tthya* (𑀡) it takes different forms. The akṣara *pa* (𑀢) occasionally has a tail. *Ba* (𑀣) is virtually the same as *va*. The loop of *bha* (𑀤) in some cases is open to the right (𑀥). 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 *upadhmanīya* forms of the *visarga* and the *virāma* 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. *Śrī*) 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 century¹²⁸ 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 *ī* are drawn down to the bottom end of the letters. The medial *e* (cf. *de*) is of the *prīṣṭhamātra* variety. The letter *ta* (cf.  , *ti*) is generally shown without the loop to the left, although the looped variety (cf.  *ti*) can also be occasionally seen. The bottom end of the curve of this letter is invariably turned to the right. The letter *da* () shows a small tail under the right arm. *Pa* () has an acute angle between the left and the right arms. In the

¹²⁸ Compare Sarāhan inscription where *ya* () takes the mature form of its Śāradā counterpart.

syllable *spa* (𑀮𑀸), however, its shape is very often distorted because of lack of space. *Ra* occurs only in the conjunct *śrī* (𑀲𑀸) and is expressed by a long stroke which joins the vertical of *śa* to the left. The letter *la* (𑀯, 𑀰) 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 (𑀮) and occurs only in the early Śāradā inscriptions. In some cases the base of *la* is omitted altogether (𑀯). The letter *va* (𑀶) 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 Lakṣanā image and the Sakti image inscriptions¹²⁹ (7th to 8th century A.D.).

Fig.III,2: is taken from the coins of Sāmanta. The legend was read by Prinsep¹³⁰ and Wilson¹³¹ as *Sāmagra* and *Samagu* respectively. Shortly afterwards, however, Prinsep modified his opinion and accepted the reading *Sāmanta*. The medial vowel *ā* in *sā* (𑀲) is expressed by lengthening the right vertical of the consonant. The medial vowels *i* and *e* and the consonants *da*, *ra* and *va* remain much the same. As in the Śāradā inscriptions of the tenth century, the left leg of *na* (cf. 𑀮𑀸 *nta*) is detached from the right one and joins the head-mark separately. The subjoined *ta* is of the looped variety and generally shows a flourish at the lower end. The right upright of *ma*¹³² is curiously higher than the left one (𑀮). 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 *ma* 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 *Ksudra-rājaka*). The syllable *śrī* continues to be the same as noted above. The tick of *ka* (क), as in the early Śāradā inscriptions, does not show the inward incline. The letter *kha* (cf. क्ख *khu*) is flat topped and the base stroke of *da* (द) slopes markedly to the right. *Ya* (य) shows an archaic variety of the bipartite form, which occurs in Meruvarman's inscriptions¹³³ (c. 8th century) in east Panjāb. *Ra* (र)¹³⁴ has a large triangular loop and compares well with its counterpart in Mulaśaṅka's inscription described above.

Fig.III,4: is taken from the coins of Bhīma. The loop of *bha* is generally open to the right (भि *bhī*) but the other variety with a solid triangular loop (भि *bhī*) can also be seen. The right vertical of the letter *ma* (म), 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 *Vanka*¹³⁸ 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.

¹³⁶ E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, p.58.

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* () loses its lower portion. As the second member in the same ligature however it retains its full form.

(iv) Miscellanea

i. The *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* signs

The *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* 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 *jihvāmūliya* is expressed by two conjoined triangles or a 'double-axe' sign ( *ḥka*)¹⁴⁰ which, in the Pardi Plates of Dahrasena¹⁴¹ (A.D. 457) loses the top line ( *ḥka*) and looks like a triangle with extended sides. Subsequent developments seem to have changed the triangle into a loop ( *ḥka*), as is seen in the copper plate inscription from Kanheri¹⁴² (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 ( *ḥka*) on the outside.¹⁴³ In the Ābhona plate of Śaṅkaragaṇa (A.D. 597) the ends are separated from each other ( *ḥka*) 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,¹⁴⁴ in which the angularity of the letters is most pronounced, the *jihvāmūlīya* sign appears to the left of a vertical line ( *hka*). This seems to have led to the Śāradā form of the *visarga* ( *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 akṣara *kha* in combination with the *jihvāmūlīya* however retains its head-mark ( *hkha*). This is the form which occurs in our inscriptions.

A similar development can be traced in the case of the *upadhmanīya*. In the early Gupta inscriptions it is made up of two loops placed horizontally over the top of *pa*¹⁴⁵ (). A different variety of this sign, made up of a compartmented circle, became popular in Western India ( *fpa*). Under the influence of the 'box-head' style the circle changed into a compartmented square ( *fpa*).

From about the beginning of the seventh century A.D., the *upadhmanīya* sign began drifting to the left top of the *mātrikā*¹⁴⁶ ( *fpa*). A further simplification turned the loops into two conjoined circles¹⁴⁷ ( *fpa*). This, together with the cursive form of *upadhmanīya* in which the sign resembles the letter *na* ( *fpa*), was used in Gandhāra, where the *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 *upadhmanīya*, which also appears in Central India in the seventh century, is open on the top and shows curled ends¹⁴⁸





¹⁴⁴ Ibid., vol.V, p.63.

¹⁴⁵ Bühler, op.cit., Pl.IV, iii, 46.

¹⁴⁶ See the Vandhir Plates of Duddarāja: year 360. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol.IV, p.47.



¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.53.

¹⁴⁸ Bühler, op.cit., p.75.

( *ḥpa*). In a later variant the right limb of *pa* is first elongated upwards and then turned to the left ( *ḥpa*). In the Nesasika grant of Govinda III¹⁴⁹ (A.D. 805), the *upadhmanīya* looks very much like the letter *ṣa* ( *ḥpa*) with which it was often confused. In some Nāgarī examples, it is placed in the concave side of the letter *pa*¹⁵⁰ ( *ḥpa*). But none of these varieties extend to Gandhāra. Its use was dropped in the thirteenth century.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,¹⁵² who must have seen it in the manuscripts of his time, stands for the *praṇava* 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.¹⁵³ It is likely that the symbol was pronounced as *om siddhiḥ* in which case Albīrūnī might have taken it simply for *om*.¹⁵⁴

Our inscriptions show two different varieties of this symbol. Variety i has a curled head () with the tail turned to the right, whereas variety ii is made up of a hook () 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.

¹⁴⁹ *EI*, vol.xxxiv, p.123.

¹⁵⁰ *EI*, vol.xxxvii, p.45.




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 *kṛitamṣkarana* (the letter *ṣ-* is here confused with the *visarga*). A similar example was noted by Vogel, op.cit., p.170. See also *EI*, xxxiv, p.123; xxxv, pp.105,131.

¹⁵² *Fī Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.135. Albīrūnī gives the form .

¹⁵³ *EI*, vol.xvii, p.352.

¹⁵⁴ D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Patna 1965, p.93.


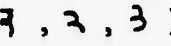



iii. *Visarga*, *Virāma* and other Punctuation Marks

The visarga (:) is of the usual form and is expressed by two dots placed one above the other. The virāma (cf.  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 (| = *daṇḍa*) and that of a stanza of poetry by two *daṇḍas* (||). 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



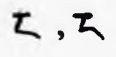


Some of the numeral figures in our records resemble Śāradā letters, but the resemblance seems to be only superficial. The numeral 1 () looks like a small hook. 2 () has several variants. The sign for 3 () shows three projections to the left. The more ornate examples of this numeral, however, show an additional curve on the top.¹⁵⁷ The lower portion of the numeral 4 () resembles the Śāradā letter *ka*.¹⁵⁸ 5 () looks like the letter *pa* and shows

¹⁵⁵ R.B. Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, Varanasi 1957, p.150.

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 *ka* () . Kuṣāṇa examples show a head-mark () . In the Bower MS it has a loop () .

a flourish under the right arm. The numeral 6 () is made up of a hollow, or occasionally solid, loop joined to the right by a thin stroke like that of *virāma*. The hook of 7¹⁵⁹ () is invariably longer than that of 1. The numeral 8 () is a simple curve hanging down from a horizontal head-mark. 9 () looks like a tailed loop. A separate sign for 10 () occurs only in the Kābul image inscription, where it resembles the flat based variety of the letter *na*. It seems that after the seventh century, the probable date of the Kābul 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 *Sāradā* are the reverse legend of the coins of Spalapati and the Tochī 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. Ghoshman, who called the writing 'Tokharienne'¹⁶² - now known as a

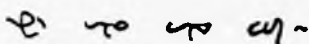

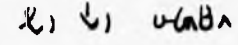
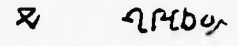
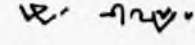
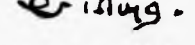



¹⁵⁹ In the Tochī valley inscription this numeral has a very unusual form.

¹⁶⁰ For a complete text of the inscriptions see H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, vols. I, II, pls. 24-27 and pp. 110-117.

¹⁶¹ *CMI*, p. 63.

¹⁶² *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p. 40, fn. 1.

cursive form of the Bactrian script - and suggested the reading CPI C ΠAAABAA. D.W. Macdowall however thinks that it is equally possible to read CPI C ΠAΛAΠATI¹⁶³ 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.  (Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII,1)
2.  (Cunningham, CMI, Pl.VII,5)
3.  (Ibid., no.7)
4.  (British Museum)
5.  (Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII,4)
6.  (British Museum)
7.  (Macdowall, op.cit., Pl.XVII,4 bis)
8.  (Cunningham, op.cit., Pl.VII,9)
9.  (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.

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 ϱ̣. 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 CΠA, however, the *sigma* compares well with the Tochi valley examples.¹⁶⁴ 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 BAΔ, for the *delta* is often confused with *alpha* in our records. Thus the legend may be restored as CPI CΠAYABAΔ 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, β) is generally inclined to the left. The letters *gamma*, *tau*, *iota*, *mu* and *nu* undergo no significant change. *Sigma* (cf. σ = si), in one example, is exactly the same as its counterpart in the name Spalapati.¹⁶⁵ *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. ν = 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 (ρ̣̣̣). Similar dots can be seen above the letter *gamma* (γ̣̣̣ = Bogo) in one instance. The loop of *san* (σ, σ) 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.¹⁶⁶ The curves of *upsilon* become more open (cf. υ = mavo). *Phi* (φ) has a foot-mark similar to that seen in the case of *san*. No change occurs in the letter *khi* (χ).

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 1863-64¹ and 1872-73² 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'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.³ The Hindu Śāhi coins are also known from Kallar Kahār and Kūṭānwāla or Kahūṭānwāla Piṇḍ, situated halfway between Chakwāl and Kallar Kahār, and from Bhurārī, on the right bank of the river Jailam (Jhelum) to the north east of Aḥmadābād.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

1 Vol.II, 1972 repr., pp.188-92.

2 Vol.V, 1966 repr., pp.85-97.

3 Op.cit., p.93. The coins ranged from the pieces of the early 'Indo-Scythians' to those of the Kashmīrian rājās and the 'Jajuha Princes' (= Śāhi) of Gandhāra.

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 mintages of the Śāhi rulers, in whose time the site was probably abandoned.⁵ That Barīkoṭ flourished till about the end of the Hindu Śāhi 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), Kāt 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 Śāhis. An approximate

⁵ *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, Calcutta 1930, p.22.

⁶ *EI*, vol.xxi, 1938, p.301.

⁷ *Op.cit.*, pp.34-41.

⁸ D. Faccenna and G. Gullini, *Reports on the Campaigns 1956-1958 in Swāt (Pākistān)*, Rome 1962, pp.325-26.

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 Damkoṭ and Rāja Girā's castle. The ruined fort of Haibat Rām near Thāna (Pl.VIII) can also be dated to the Śāhi period on similar grounds. In a recent article on the archaeology of the Hindu Śāhis A.H. Dani ascribes the forts of Gala or Pehūr (opposite Tarbela), Kamāla (opposite Hiṣār Bābā in Mālākand) and Baṭa (about one mile to the south of Baṭkhela) to the time of the Śāhis.¹¹ 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 Śāhi 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 Ḥusain.

The names of certain sites in Pākistān suggest some kind of association with the period of the Hindu Śāhis. Apart from the two well known places called Kāfir 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 Śāhi which survives in the place names such as Shāhi, Bin Shāhi and Shāh Dherī in Dīr, Shāh Jī Kī Dherī near Peshāwar and Shāh Koṭ in Mālākand.

¹¹ *Ancient Pakistan*, vol.IV, 1968-69, pp.27-32.

¹² A. Stein, 'Report on Archaeological Survey Work, N.W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan', 1905, pp.14 ff.

¹³ *Ancient Pakistan*, vol.IV, 1968-69, pp.29-30.

It is interesting to note that all the sites except Hund and Yār Husain 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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 *hujra* 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 Katās and about the same distance to the south of Kallar Kahār in the Salt Range.¹⁶ 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 Rājā 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 Shāhgarh¹⁷ 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

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 Kashmīrian style of architecture.¹⁸ 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 Kashmīr. 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.¹⁹ 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 Kashmīrian 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.

¹⁹ Cunningham thinks that a lingam was probably once enshrined in the centre of the room.

iii. Nandana

Nandana,²⁰ which became a stronghold of the Śāhis after the loss of Hund, is situated close to Bāghānwāla 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, 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

²⁰ The following details are taken from A. Stein, *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Irān*, 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 'Utbi 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 Bīr Kot²² (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.²³

v. Rāja Girā's Castle

Rāja Girā's castle²⁴ 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

²² For a detailed description of this site, see A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, Calcutta 1930, pp.19-23.

²³ For similar 'rock-cut passages', see *infra*, p.279.

²⁴ The following details are taken from A. Stein, *op.cit.*, pp.34-37.

height of nearly 2,000 feet above Udegrām. 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 Pākistān,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 Dhammakotṭa) fort is situated on the right bank of the river Swāt 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 Khādakzai. 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.²⁶ 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 Śāhis. 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.²⁷ 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)²⁸ is about seven miles to the west of Dargai (or Darragai) and about one mile to the north of Hariān Kot. 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 Kot. 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 Damkot. 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 14 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

(Pl.XI,B). 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.²⁹ 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 (Pl.XII,A).

viii. Gumbatūna (Pl.XIII)

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

²⁹ For a similar cave or passage at Barīkoṭ, 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 Mañe (= 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 phases³⁰ (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

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 A1, where the strata seem to be much disturbed, were found two Kuṣāṇo-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 Śārādā 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 Kashmīr. Cunningham in fact assigns all the Śāhi temples in the Salt Range to the Kashmīrian style

³¹ Compare Göbl, *Dokumente Zur Geschichte Der Iranischen Hunnen*, vol. III, Pl.IX, 1.

with its fluted pillars and peculiar trefoil arches.³² Fergusson mentions the temples of Maloṭ and Kathwai (near Piṇḍ Dādan Khān) in his chapter on Kashmīr, although he seems to have made some distinction between the 'Kashmiri' and the 'Punjabi' styles of architecture.³³ According to Coomaraswamy the trefoil arch as an integral architectural form is found only in parts of the Panjāb which were subject to Kashmīr in the eighth and the ninth centuries, particularly at Maloṭ and Kāfir Koṭ.³⁴ Stein refers to the temple of Maloṭ as 'a comparatively well-preserved Hindu temple of Kashmirian style'.³⁵ In a recent article Walliullah Khan describes these temples as 'affiliated to the Kashmir style'.³⁶ Percy Brown mentions them as 'provincial offshoots' of Kashmīr architecture and classifies them into three groups.³⁷ The first group, according to this classification, consists of the temples in the Salt Ranges such as those at Āmb, Katās, Maloṭ and Nandana; the second of those at Kāfir Koṭ South (Biloṭ); and the third of that at Kāfir Koṭ North. The important details which the temples of the Śāhi period share with those of Kashmīr are (a) the general plan in which a massive gateway faces the shrine, as in the case of the larger Kashmīrian 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

³² Op.cit., vol.V, p.84.

³³ J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London 1899, p.296.

³⁴ A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian And Indonesian Art*, London 1927, p.143.

³⁵ *Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Irān*, p.58.

³⁶ 'The Origin and Development of Arch Construction in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent in Muslim Period', *The Museums Journal*, vol.VII, 1955, pp.12-22.

³⁷ *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay 1965, p.161.

that the influence flowed only from the side of Kashmīr and not vice-versa.

Shortly before 1959 J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw visited Kāfir Koṭṣ and studied the temples on the spot.³⁸ 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.³⁹ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw singles out the temple of Maloṭ as a rare example showing strong Kashmīrian influence and puts the rest of the temples of the Salt Range and those at Kāfir Koṭ North and Bilot (Pl.XIV,1-3) together as a separate group under the designation 'the medieval architecture of North-West India'.⁴⁰ This group shows more points of difference than similarity to the architecture of Kashmīr. The most important difference is the roof, which, instead of showing the pyramidal form of the Kashmīrian 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 Kashmīr. There are some grounds therefore to consider the existence of a separate school of architecture which flourished under the Śāhis 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.

³⁸ 'An Ancient Hindu Temple in Eastern Afghānistān', *Oriental Art*, N.S., vol.V, No.1, 1959.

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 Rukhkhaj, Sakāwand, Kābul, Nandana and Bhīmgar, 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

⁴¹ W. Fuchs, op.cit., pp.445-48.

⁴² S. Levi and E. Chavannes, 'L'itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong', *JA*, vol.6, 1894, pp.356-57.

⁴³ See supra, pp.111, 153, 161. For Rukhkhaj, see Ibn al-Athīr, vol.VII, p.326.

⁴⁴ W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.448; *Kitāb al-Baldān*, p.290.

temples at Chigha Sarāī in the Kunar valley⁴⁵ and Gardīz⁴⁶ 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.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.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

⁴⁵ Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, op.cit.

⁴⁶ Cf. infra, p.289.

⁴⁷ W. Fuchs, op.cit., p.445; and S. Lévi and E. Chavannes, op.cit., pp.356-57.

⁴⁸ *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*, Calcutta 1940, pp.9-12.

sculptures have been assigned by Goetz,⁴⁹ Barrett,⁵⁰ Tucci,⁵¹ Lohuizen-de Leeuw⁵² and Taddei⁵³ 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 Afghānistān. The best known site for this kind of material in Afghānistān is Fundukistān in the Ghūrwand valley.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 Kashmīr.⁵⁵ The only positive evidence however for the dating of Fundukistān is the coins of the Sāsānian 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 Kashmīr terracottas

49 'Two Early Hindu Śāhi Sculptures', *Sarūpa Bharati*, Hoshiarpur 1954, pp.1 ff.

50 'Sculptures of the Shāhi Period', *Oriental Art*, vol.III, no.2, 1957, pp.54-59.

51 'An Image of a Devi Discovered in Swat And Some Connected Problem', *East and West*, vol.14, 1963, pp.146 ff.

52 Op.cit.

53 'A Liṅga-shaped Portable Sanctuary of the Śāhi Period', *East and West*, vol.15, nos.1-2, 1964-65, pp.24f.

54 For the full excavation report, see J. Hackin, 'Le Monastère bouddhique de Fondukistan', in *Diverses Recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan*, MDAFA, VIII, 1959 (published in English in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol.VII, 1940).

55 B. Rowland, *Ancient Art From Afghanistan*, U.S.A. 1966, p.118. For the Kashmīr terracottas see C. Fabri, 'Akhnur Terra-cotta', *Marg*, vol.VIII, no.2, 1955, pp.53-64.

for the presence of Sāsānian 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 Sāhis to Kashmīr 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 Peshāwar. A similar group of 31 pieces exists in the Lahore Museum in Pākistān.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 Ushkūr.⁵⁸ Later, however, he rejected this attribution for subsequent enquiries into the matter convinced him that 'not one of the Baramula (Ushkūr) heads ... ever reached Lahore'.⁵⁹ Almost similar terracotta and clay figurines have now been found in the excavations of Bambolai and Damokot.⁶⁰ It is highly probable therefore that the Lahore terracottas come either from the North West Frontier Province or the Panjāb. Some

⁵⁶ Cf. D. Barrett, *op.cit.*, p.58.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ 'Buddhist Baroque in Kashmir', *Asia*, October 1939, plate facing p.594.

⁵⁹ *Marg*, vol.viii, no.2, 1955, p.58.

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 Rāwalpindī.

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 8½ 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 back rest 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 leogryphs 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)⁶¹ from Kashmīr Smats, some eight miles to the north-west 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 *devadāruvana* legend, according to which Śiva, disguised as a mendicant, seduced the wives of the ṛiṣis, 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 Kābul Museum contains some examples, of which the marble finds

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 1934,⁶³ 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)⁶⁴ 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 Gayā 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 Aruṇa, corresponds closely to representations of the deity in the temples of the Gupta period.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶

Other examples in marble worth noticing come from Gardīz and Tagāb. They include a head of Śiva⁶⁷ (Pl.XVIII,3), a relief of Durgā overcoming *Mahiṣasura*,⁶⁸ and a smaller head of Durgā⁶⁹ (Pl.XVIII,7). None of these

⁶³ J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Recherches archéologiques au col de Khair Khaneh*, MDAFA, VII, 1936.

⁶⁴ Reproduced from B. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan*, London 1971, no.167.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.49-50.

⁶⁶ 'Le marbre Scorretti', *Arts Asiatiques*, Tom II, 1955, p.116. For a discussion on the date of these coins, see R. Ghirshman, *Le Chionites-Hephtalites*, pp.51-54.

⁶⁷ Schlumberger, *op.cit.*, Fig.2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl.1.

⁶⁹ B. Rowland, *Ancient Art From Afghanistan*, no.88.

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 Afghānistān.

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 *ūrdhva-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 liṅga 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 (Kashmīr).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

70 Op.cit.

71 Ibid., Fig.10. The piece comes from Gandhāra.

72 *The Shāhis 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.

ūrdhva-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 Kashmīr Smats is a Kārttikeya figure (Pl. XVIII, 6) in the British Museum.⁷⁷ 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 Vaikuṅṭha marble sculpture⁷⁸ (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 Kashmīr in the ninth century A.D.⁷⁹ 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.

three headed Viṣṇu image in terracotta is mentioned by J. Burgess to have been collected at Peshāwar.⁸⁰

A little earlier in date than the Viṣṇu image is a female bust (Pl. XVII, 3) of white sheared limestone.⁸¹ 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 Kashmīr and the late Gupta art styles. H. Goetz recognises even Sino-Byzantine influence in the wooden panels from Kashmīr Smats discussed by him.⁸² 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.⁸³

80 *The Gandhara Sculptures*, London 1899, Pl.20, 5.

81 D. Barrett, *op.cit.*, Fig.2.

82 *Studies in the History And Art of Kashmir And The Indian Himalaya*, Wiesbaden 1969, p.98.

83 *East and West*, vol.14, 1963, pp.181 f.

Summary and Conclusion

The pre-Muslim rulers of Kābul and Gandhāra were called Śāhis - 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 Kshāyatiyānām Kshāyatiya (p.viii).¹

The earliest use of the word *śāhi* on the coins goes back to the time of the Kuṣāṇas. 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 Kashmīr, and the Hindū Kush mountains to the hills in eastern Panjāb. The districts of Rukhkhaj 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 Śāhi kingdom extended from Lamghān in the north-west to the borders of Kashmīr and Multān. The kingdom diminished

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 Panjāb was lost in A.D. 1014 after Trilocanapāla's defeat at the hands of Maḥmūd. 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 Rukhkhaj. 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 Panjāb, 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 Hitivira* 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 Kābul in A.D. 719 was a certain Wu-san te'kin-sha who may be identified with TOFINO 𑖀𑖄𑖂𑖄 (Tigīn Shāh) of another group of the so-called Ephthalite coins (p.181).

The coins bearing the name Khiṅgi(1a) (p.182) were probably struck by Khinjil, mentioned by Ya'qūbī as the king of Kābul 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 Kābul in A.D. 814-15 was called Iṣpahbadh Kābul Shāh or 'Mahrab Patī Dūmī' (= Mahārājā Pati Dhamma or Dharmapati) (p.185 f.). This Kābul Shāh, according to Albīrūnī's information as well, was called Iṣpahbadh. This word (in the form CPI CNAYABAA) also occurs on the coins of Spalapatideva (p.264). This, together with the fact that Spalapati's coins show inscriptions in early Śāradā characters (p.256) suggests that Iṣpahbadh 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 Fī Tahqīq Mā li'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 Rutbīls is better known. The Rutbīl (= governor) of Zābulistān and Rukhkhaj 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 Rutbīls, except those of the last few recorded as 'Kbtīr', Ṣāliḥ 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 Rutbīls 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 Śāhi 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 aṣ-Saffār at the end of A.D. 870 at the fort of Nāī Lāmān (p.104).

The coin legends and inscriptional records show that the Turk Śāhis inherited three different systems of writing from their Ephthalite predecessors (p.218). Of these Pahlavī 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-Śāradā in Afghānistān and Gandhāra marks the intermediate stage through which the Brāhmī script of the Ephthalite period developed into Śāradā. The forms of the letters *ṇa*, *ya*, *ra* and *la* show that the Brāhmī of the Ephthalite period remained closer to the Gupta prototypes (p.220). A clear transition from the Gupta Brāhmī to the proto-Śāradā that characterises the early part of the period of Turk Śāhi 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 Brāhmī into Śāradā in Afghānistān and Gandhāra seems to have taken place on different lines from that in eastern Panjāb, where an intermediate style called *Kuṭīla* is also noticed (p.220).

Śāradā appears towards the end of the Turk Śāhi rule and is first seen on the coins of Spalapati (p.219).

The stone inscriptions ascribable to this period comprise (1) the Kābul image inscription, (2) the Hātūn rock inscription, (3) the Rānīgat slab inscription, (4) the Gumbatū^a slab inscription, and (5) the Tochī valley bilingual inscriptions (p.221). The coins of Vahitigina, TOϜINO ϘOYO and Khiŋgi(1a) have also legends in Indian characters.

The Bactrian cursive is to be seen at Jagatū and Uruzgān (pp.235-36) in Afghānistān and the Tochī valley (p.264) in Pākistān. It is variously named as the Ephthalite script, the Central Asian script, the Bactrian Greek cursive script, Graeco-Bactrian cursive writing, or Tokhārian (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* (Ϙ) 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 Śāhi 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 Kanīṣka (p.235). A clear transition to cursive is found on the Kuṣāṇ - 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 Śāhis 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 Śāhis 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 Tochī valley bilingual

inscriptions. There is no evidence to prove that this script extended as far as the Peshāwar valley.

Little has been done on the archaeology of the Turk Śāhis. The levels preceding the cultural material of the time of the Hindu Śāhis at Damkoṭ, Gumbatūna, Rāja Gira's castle and Digadhāi 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 Kashmīr (p.287).

According to the Chinese accounts the Turk Śāhi 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 Kārttīkeya were also worshipped (pp.288-92).

The Hindu Śāhi dynasty probably had its origin in the Gakhars (p.50). It was founded by Kallar, who overthrew the last Turk Śāhi 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 Kābul 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 Kābul (p.106). At the time of Ya'qūb's death in 265 (A.D. 878-79) Kābul was still under the control of a Ṣaffārīd 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 Ṣaffārīds (p.107).

The name of the prince just referred to is not known. But the fact that the Śāhi prince mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* as the contemporary of the Kashmīrian king Śaṅkaravarman (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 Kābul probably by removing Khudarayaka and appointing one of his own sons in his place (p.112). Lalliya vigorously opposed the Kashmīrian expansion in the Panjāb by helping Alakhāna against them (p.108). In A.D. 900, towards the end of his reign, the temple of Sakāwand was attacked and razed to the ground by Fardaghān, the Ṣaffārīd governor of Ghazna (p.111). In the same year Kamalū and Āṣata, who in the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* are described as 'Indian kings' but may in fact have only been governors of Gandhāra and Kābul, led a counter-attack against Ghazna (p.111). According to 'Awfī, Fardaghān cleverly averted the danger (p.112) but the *Tārīkh* says that he suffered a crushing defeat. Lalliya was attacked and deposed by the Kashmīrian Prabhākaradeva in the reign of Gopālavarman (A.D. 902-04)(p.113).

Lalliya's successor was his son Toramāna, 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 'Ashatpāl' 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 Śāhi 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 *kāfirs* (infidels) (p.126). The origin of the Lawīks is not known. The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* mentions a certain Ṭarābīl (Tarāvīra) who figures prominently in the period between A.D. 918 and 922 (p.119). Ṭarābīl 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 Kashmīr (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 (Udabhāṇḍa). With the help of the Śāhi armies he returned in A.D. 963 and put Abū Ishaq, the son of Alaptigīn, 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 Sabuktigīn 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 Sabuktigīn. In about A.D. 988 he suffered a defeat at Lamghān (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 Peshāwar (p.147). In the spring of the following year, Jayapāla committed suicide (p.147).

He was succeeded by his son Ānandapāla (p.147) who in his father's lifetime was the governor of the Panjāb (p.146). Ānandapāla 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). Ānandapāla 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 Tauṣi (p.162). He seems to have expanded his kingdom a little further into the Siwālik hills, which brought him into sharp conflict with the *rāṭ* of Sharwā (p.163). He made a serious attempt to patch up his differences with the *rāṭ* by accepting the hand of the latter's daughter for his own son Bhīma(pāla). But his efforts were wrecked by the deceitful *rāṭ*, who put Bhīma into prison when the latter went to fetch the bride. In the year 1019 Trilocanapāla was defeated by Maḥmūd 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 Kashmīr 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 Afghānistān, Gandhāra and the Panjāb in the time of the Śāhis seems to have been approximately 26 millions or less. The revenues from Rukhkhaj, Sīstān, Bust, Ghazna and Kābul collected by Sabuktigīn 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 Udabhāṇḍapura, 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 Sāmantadeva*. 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 *Sāmantadeva* coins gained wide currency (p.196) and were readily accepted by merchants in the neighbouring countries. Because of their wide acceptability the subsequent *Sāhūkārs* continued to copy and reproduce these coins in large numbers. The use of the legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva* on the coins issued after the reign of Sāmanta therefore indicates nothing but a convenient numismatic tradition.

The *Sāmantadeva* 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 *Sāmantadeva* 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 Albīrūnī in his list of the Indian scripts. But it was the name of the Kashmīrian goddess of learning. The association of the goddess Śāradā with Kashmīr is also suggested by expressions such as Śāradādeśa, Śāradāmaṇḍala and Śāradākṣetra (p.238). As learning took expression through letters, the particular style of writing, prevalent in Kashmīr 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 Udabhāṇḍapura, 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 Kashmīr to Kanauj as known to Albīrūnī 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 *Bakhshālī* (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 ^{the} Damkoṭ (p.276), Rāja Girā's Castle (p.275), Digadhāi (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 Digadhāi 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 Maloṭ shows definite influence from Kashmīr (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 Kashmīr. The most important difference is the roof, which, instead of showing the pyramidal form of the Kashmīrian 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 Afghānistān 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 Albīrūnī, who is unlikely to have been prejudiced in their favour, they never slackened in the ardent desire of promoting the right cause. Ānandapāla's letter to Mahmūd 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 Bhīmnaḡar alone proved to be beyond the wildest calculations of the victors. There were not enough camels to carry the treasures which,

according to 'Utbi'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 'Utbi'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 Kashmīr 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

² *Rājataranginī*, 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 Mullā 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 Mullā, 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 śāradā 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 10½ x 8 inches and the average height of the letters is approximately ¼ inch.

The inscription is mostly in śloka verses, with the exception of the third and eleventh verses, which are upajāti-īndravajra and īndravajra 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 vilocanaṃ
yasmāt² Kāmasya saṃ[2]dāhād bibhyaty adyāpi śatravaḥ /
- ii. Praṇamya³ śirasā Śarvaṃ śāsvaraṃ [3] Paṅgulātmajaḥ
ālaye Śitikaṇṭhasya khyātiṃ kuryām svaśakti[4]tāḥ //
- iii. Asty uttarenākhila-puṇya-rāśeḥ
nāmnōadhāṇḍaṃ jagatī[5]ha Sindhoḥ
vidvaj-janair yaś⁴ ca vidhāya saṅghaṃ
kṛtāspadaṃ Merur i[6]vāmarādyaiḥ //
- iv. Sevate yasya satataṃ vibhāgaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ nadī /
pā[7]rśvaṃ Malaya-śailasya velā-vāri-nidher⁵ iva //
- v. Yatra Sindhus sadā [8] lokais sevyate puṇya-hetunā /
sannihityēva candrārkaḥ balād gr[9]hṇati dānave //
- vi. Yatra Sindhau sadā kuryus tāpitās sūrya-raśmibhiḥ
[10] nidāghe dantino mattās tāmtā bībhṛāmya tṛśṇayā⁶ //
- vii. Tatrāsīd bhūbhṛ[11]tāṃ mukhyo Bhīmo bhīma-parākramaḥ
nirjitya para-sainyāni [12] yena saṃrakṣitā mahī //
- viii. Bhīmenāpi svadagdhasya sambhavo 'sti [13] Pinākina /
saṃkalpa-yones saṃkalpān, na tu bhīmena vairiṇā //

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 *Udabhāṇḍam*, 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 *bhr̥śṭayā* 'by roasting (heat)'. In either case the *ś* is an error, found in other inscriptions of the period, for *ṣ*.

- ix. [14] Yasya nāryas sapatnānām keśa-pāśam rirād⁷ api /
kavarī-racana-[15]hīnam vahanty adyāpi duḥkhitāḥ⁸ //
- x. Yasya⁹ vairi-vilāsinyo niryāntyo [16] nagarād iha /
idam ūcur mahōdyānam¹⁰ tu dronas¹¹ saṃgatam tvayā //
- xi. Ta[17]syāsti rājā Jayapāladevo
dehōdbhavāj¹² janma-vṛtē¹³ ka-vi[18]rah,
hitvā divam yasya yaśas suśuddham
Brahmāspadam nityam i[19]ti prapannam //
- xii. Tasya Śrī-Jayapālsya rājye Paṅgula-sūnu[20]nā /
Śaṅkarasya pratiṣṭhēyam kṛtā Caṅgulavarmanā //
- xiii. Saṃvva[21]tsara-śate purṇe¹⁴ ṣaṭ-catvāriṅśad¹⁵-uttare /
Mādhave śukla[22]-paṃcamyām Umānāthaf¹⁶ pra tiṣṭhitaḥ //

-
- 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 *bhirād*.
- 8 This unusual conjunct represents the *Jihvāmūlīya* form of *visarga*.
- 9 Before the *ya* appears a faint *tra*, possibly an error of the engraver which was partially erased.
- 10 This line seems fairly clear, but the sense is obscure. Possibly *dahodyānam*.
- 11 Assuming that *dro* is correct, this syllable should read *ṇas*.
- 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.

Prose Kṛtir iyam prati[23]ṣṭhā¹⁷ ca kāyastha-Pādhida-pautrasya
Paṅgula-sūnoḥ Caṅu[24]las(y)a.¹⁸

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 Udabhāṇḍa, 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. Udabhāṇḍa) 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.¹⁹

17 There is a small mark at the top right of the *akṣara* 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 Pinākin (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'.²⁰
- 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, Caṅgulavarman, 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 (*tithi*) 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 Pāḍhida 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.

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.²¹ This, according to M.A. Shakur, is dated in the *Vikrama saṁvat* 708 (A.D. 651).²² 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.²³ 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 *matha* by a lady called Ratnamañjarī in the reign of a certain Vijayapāladeva.
3. An inscription from Hund recording the construction of a temple by Mahārājñi Kāmeśvarī Devī.²⁴ The building was commenced in the year 158 and completed in 159.²⁵ D.R. Sahni, and after him Shakur, refer these dates to the *Harsa* era, but the palaeography suggests a much later date.

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.XXII, 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.XXII, 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 Maḥmūd 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 Maḥmūd'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 Nāzim.²⁹ Since Maḥmūd 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 Śāhi 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.

²⁹ Op.cit., p.29.

³⁰ Supra, p.133 f.

fact that the Śāhi king Bhīma is referred to in the Kashmīr Chronicle (vi, 178) as the maternal grandfather of the notorious queen Diddā, who was *de facto* ruler of Kashmīr from 958 to 1003.³¹ Bhīma is also said to have endowed a temple known as Bhīmakeśava during the reign of Kṣemagupta of Kashmīr, which lasted from 950 to 958,³² 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 'Alī Lawīk is however known to have won a victory at Ghazna in A.D. 963 with the help of the Śāhi armies.³³ It was an astounding though temporary victory, which sent Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, 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.

Mahārājñī Kāmeśvarī 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.³⁴ But

31 'Zur Geschichte der Cāhis von Kābul', in *Festgrüss an Rudolf Roth* (Stuttgart, 1893), p.200.

32 A. Stein, *Rājatrāṅgiṇī*, pp.248-49.

33 *Supra*, p.128 f.

34 See M.A. Shakur, *op.cit.*, p.12.

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 Sultān Maḥmūd.³⁵ 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 reign³⁶ 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 Śāhis 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 Tākes^har and Lauhāwar', he states, 'begin the year with the month of Margāśīrsha, and reckon our gauge year (the year 400 of Yazdigird = A.D. 1031-32) as the 108th year of their era. The people of Lambagā, i.e. Langhān, follow their example.'³⁷ 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

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 *Fī Tahqīq Mā 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 Albīrūnī 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 Albīrūnī's own notes.

If this suggestion is acceptable the initial year of the era as referred to by Albīrūnī 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 Śāhis. It may have been established by Kallar or his successors to commemorate the foundation of their dynasty.

APPENDIX B

Notes on the Location of Bhīmnaḡar

There is some controversy about the location of Bhīmnaḡar, the place subdued by Maḡmūd soon after the battle of Chhach. Ever since Firishta¹ and Badāoni² identified it with Nagarkot in the Kāngra valley, this view has consistently held the field and was accepted by Elliot,³ Cunningham⁴ and Nāẓim.⁵ The validity of this identification has however recently been questioned by A. Rashid who, on military and geographical grounds, considers Nagarkot as synonymous with Langarkot (old Śrīkot), near Tarbela.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 Bhīmnaḡar situated so close to Hund, its well known wealth would have certainly attracted the attention of Maḡmūd. By identifying Bhīmnaḡar with Śrīkot we can save Maḡmūd the trouble of a long journey to Kāngra, 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, Maḡmūd went as far into the Śāhi territory as Sodra.⁸ Had Bhīmnaḡar been in his way,

1 *DPB*, p.344.

2 *DPB*, p.295.

3 Vol.ii, p.445.

4 *ASI*, Report for the year 1872-73, 1966 Varanasi repr., p.162.

5 *Op.cit.*, p.90.

6 *Op.cit.*, p.42.

7 *Op.cit.*, pp.150-54.

8 See *supra*, p.149.

as Śrīkot is, the Sultān 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 Bhīmnaḡar 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), Bhīmnaḡar was situated on a lofty hill encircled by deep water. This description fits well with Nagarkot of the Kāngra 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 Bhīmnaḡar submitted after fighting for three days.

Thus Firishta's identification of Bhīmnaḡar with Nagarkot in the Kāngra valley still seems feasible. The assumption that Kāngra at this time was not part of the Śāhi territories is incorrect for the following reasons.

- i. According to Ḥaidar Rāzī¹¹ and *Tārīkh-i Alfī*¹² the 'fort of Bhīm' belonged to Pāl Andpāl (Ānandapāla) who was the ruler of that area.

⁹ *Fī Tahqīq Mā li'l-Hind*, p.349.

¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p.16.

¹¹ *DPB*, p.442.

¹² *DPB*, p.811.

- ii. The existence of a genealogical table of the Turk Śāhis in Nagarkot was known to Albīrūnī. It is difficult to explain why this table was kept in Nagarkot if the Kangra valley was not within the Śāhi dominions.
- iii. The spoils captured by Maḥmūd included a large sum of Shāhī (Śāhi) *dirhams*.¹³
- iv. Whenever Ānandapāla and his successors suffered defeat they invariably fled to the neighbourhood of Kashmīr, which evidently points to the Kāngra valley and the adjoining areas.¹⁴
- v. This area later on became the stronghold of Trilocanapāla.

¹³ Supra, p.153.

¹⁴ Supra, pp.157, 161.

APPENDIX C

The Śāhis as Refugees in Kashmīr

With the decline of their power in the Panjāb, some of the Śāhi princes seem to have migrated to Kashmīr and settled there.¹ Kalhana 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 *Rājatarāṅginī*, 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 Kashmīrian kings took their wives from amongst its members.

First Generation: Rudrapāla and his Brothers

During the early part of the reign of the Kashmīrian 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 Kalhana, exhausted the revenues of the country. Rudrapāla alone is said to have received 150,000 *dīnāras* daily for his maintenance.² Diddāpāla and Anaṅgapāla also drew similar large sums in their salaries. And yet, Kalhana says, the spendthrift Śāhis suffered from financial troubles. One of them even thought of breaking up sacred objects such as gold idols³ to meet the extravagant demands of his family. Rudrapāla went to the extent of protecting robbers, thieves, *chaṇḍālas* and the like⁴ with a view to acquiring more funds. The king Anantapāla, himself

¹ It is not explicitly mentioned that they belonged to the royal family of the Hindu Śāhis. But in the *Rājatarāṅginī* they are referred to as 'Śāhiputrāḥ' which, Stein maintains, suggest their Śāhi origin (op. cit., p.279).

² *Rājatarāṅginī*, 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,⁵ 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 Kashmīrian 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 exorbitant 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.⁶ This small incident however led to a dangerous revolt. Brahmarāja allied himself with some disaffected Dāmara chiefs and Acalamāṅgala, king of the *Daradas*, and invited seven other *Mleccha* chiefs to invade Kashmīr.⁷ As the invaders reached a place called Kṣīraprṣṭha, they were opposed by the Kashmīrian 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.⁸ The fame of the Śāhis rose even higher.

Rudrapāla died of a contagious disease called *lūtā*. The other princes too found an early death.⁹

⁵ Ibid., 150-52. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*, p.117) identifies this name with Indracandra of the genealogical lists of Kāngra.

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, Pāja and 'another'¹⁰ - who rose into prominence under the Kashmīrian 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 Kashmīr.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 Kashmīrian 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 Kashmīr 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.¹⁵ 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 Kashmīr.¹⁶

Third Generation: Queen Vasantalekhā 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, Vasantalekhā, as a wife of the Kashmīrian king Harṣa¹⁷ (A.D. 1089-1101). Some other Śāhi princesses are referred to in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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 Kashmīrian *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 *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 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.

APPENDIX D

Sukhapāla

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' ('Utbī, 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 'Utbī (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 (نواسه شاه) was changed into 'Zāb Shāh' (زاب شاه),¹ Rāb Shāh (راب شاه)² and 'Āb Bāshā Nīr' (آب باشا نیر)³ or simply Nawāsha (نواسه).⁴

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 Ghaznavīd Indian possessions when Maḥmūd marched to Khurāsān to face Īlak Khan.⁸ The *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*

1 *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (DPB, p.809).

2 *Tārīkh-i Haidarī* (DPB, p.442).

3 *Firishta* (DPB, p.340). Here the word *Nīr* is actually a corrupted form of the Persian word *nīz*, meaning 'also'. Curiously, it has been wrongly read by the editor as part of the name 'Āb Bāshā'.

4 *Guzīda*, p.393.

5 *Nizām ad-Dīn* (DPB, p.268).

6 *Badāonī* (DPB, p.295).

7 *Firishta*, loc.cit.

8 *Supra*, p.149 f.

(p.302) mentions the same incident but records 'Sandbāl' (سندبال) 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 'Utbī (loc.cit.), he was the scion of one of the Indian kings (اولادملوک ہند). The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (loc.cit.) and the *Tārīkh-i Haidarī* (loc.cit.) also give the same phrase (اولادملوک ہند) and may have taken this information from 'Utbī. Niẓām ad-Dīn (loc.cit.) replaces the word *Nawāsa* with the word *Nabīra* (i.e. son's son) and says that 'Sūkpāl' was a *Nabīra* of the rājā of Hind (نبیره راجہ ہند). According to Firishta⁹ 'Sukhpāl' was the son (پسر) of one of the rājās of Hind. Badāonī makes him the *Nabasa* of the rājā of Sind.¹⁰ The *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (p.393) and the *Tārīkh-i Khairāt*¹¹ omit the phrase, which shows his relationship with the Indian rājās, and say that 'Nawāsha' was the ruler of Multān (صاحب ملتان). The *Ādāb al-Ḥarb* (p.302) however explicitly mentions Sandbāl as the 'grandson of Jayapāla'.

According to Gardīzī 'Shūkpāl' was among the prisoners of war captured by Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī from Maḥmūd at Nīshāpūr (نیشاپور).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 Sīmjūrī died in A.D. 997, earlier than the conquest of Peshāwar by Maḥmūd (A.D. 1001-02). M. Nāzīm suggests that Sukhapāla was probably among those kinsmen of Jayapāla who were left

9 Loc.cit.

10 Loc.cit.

11 DPB, p.677.

12 Loc.cit.

as hostages with Sabuktigīn in A.D. 986-87 after the battle of Ghūzak.¹³ Nothing is known about the fate of these hostages. Jayapāla's relations with Sabuktigīn worsened immediately afterwards and resulted in another war.¹⁴ It is likely therefore that the hostages were sent to Nīshāpūr to be placed in the custody of Maḥmūd, at that time the governor of Khurāsān. In A.D. 995, however, Maḥmūd was driven out of Nīshāpūr by Abū 'Alī Sīmjurī.¹⁵ It was probably at this time that Sukhapāla fell into the hands of Abū 'Alī and professed Islām.¹⁶ Shortly afterwards he was released and seems to have joined the Ghaznavīd armies.

In the year 398 (1007) he revolted as the Ghaznavīd viceroy in India, but suffered defeat.¹⁷ Having been captured, he was subsequently handed over by the Sultān to the treasurer (*Tigīn-i Khāzan*), who kept him in imprisonment till the Śāhi breathed his last.¹⁸

¹³ Op.cit., p.98, fn.1.

¹⁴ For details see supra, p.136.

¹⁵ Gardīzī, p.170.

¹⁶ Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.268).

¹⁷ 'Utbī, ii, p.94.

¹⁸ Gardīzī, p.179; Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, pp.268-69); Badāonī (*DPB*, p.295); and Firishta (*DPB*, p.343).

APPENDIX E

Candrapāla (Sandbāl)

(A.D. 1043)

A little known scion of Śāhis seems to have lingered on in his diminished possessions in the Siwālik hills. The *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*¹ informs us that, after the incident of Mārīgala in which the Ghaznavīd Sulṭān 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 *rāīs*, *thākkurs* 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.²

In an earlier context the same source mentions a Sandbāl, the 'grandson' of the Shāh of Kābul' (Jayapāla), who revolted in Hind while the Sulṭān Maḥmūd was fighting in Khurāsān³ 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

1 Pp.254-56.

2 Ibid.

3 P.302.

Sandbāl is a corrupt form of 'Sukhpāl' of the other historians.⁴ He was left in charge of the Ghaznavīd possessions in India when the Sultān marched to Khurāsān to crush the power of the Turks under Īlak Khān. But this Sukhapāla (Nawāsa Shāh) was captured by the Sultān, as soon as the latter returned from Khurāsān, and thrown into prison, where he breathed his last.⁵ 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.⁶ Of the three the names of 'Devpāl Hariāna'⁷ and 'Tāb Māl Rāī',⁸ two small chiefs in the Siwālik region, are mentioned in many sources but not in the *Ādāb al-Ḥarb*. On the contrary the *Ādāb al-Ḥarb* 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); Haidar Rāzī (DPB, pp. 500-01); and *Tārīkh-i Ālfī* (DPB, pp. 919-20).

⁷ This name is variously recorded as *بروبال صربانه* (Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.), *دیو پال صربانه* (Haidar Rāzī, loc. cit.) and *دیبال صربانه* (Gardīzī, p. 201). He was the ruler of Sonīpat.

⁸ *Tārīkh-i Ālfī* (loc. cit.) and Haidar Rāzī (loc. cit.). Ibn al-Athīr (loc. cit.) gives the form *مانت بالری*.

APPENDIX F

The Rājās of the Doāb at the timeof Mahmūd's Invasions

Sultān Mahmūd's campaign in the Ganges Doāb in A.D. 1018-19 turned out to be a sweeping round of victories for the Ghaznavīd arms. Several little kingdoms through which he passed submitted to him. The poet 'Unṣurī 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 Gardīzī, our principal chroniclers, closely agree with the sequence of this list. The poet Farrukhī 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 Sultān. 'Utbi (vol.ii, p.265) does not explicitly mention its name and only says that the Sultān took some hill forts on the way.³ Similarly Gardīzī (p.183) even fails to mention the 'hill forts' and refers to a certain 'Bakūra', the 'ruler of the border of the kingdom of Qanauj' (*amīr sarḥad-i Qanauj*), as the first Indian chief who submitted to Mahmūd. However, both 'Utbi and Gardīzī place this event before the capture of Baran, which suggests that Bakūra was probably the rājā of these hill forts. This sequence is followed by Niẓām ad-Dīn (DPB, pp.271-72), Badāonī (DPB, pp.296-97) and the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* (DPB, pp.828-29). It is obvious therefore that Firishta (DPB, pp.352-53), and after him Harsukh Rāī (DPB, p.521) have made an error in describing 'Kūra' (or Bakūra) as the ruler of Kanauj. Apparently they have omitted the word

¹ Op.cit., p.233.

² Dīwān, p.33. He gives the following names: Shāh, Nandā, Rām, Rāī, and Gūr (Kūr).

³ See also Jurbādhqānī, p.379.

sarḥad (border) from the phrase '*amīr sarḥad-i Qanauj*', which explains their wrong attribution. 'Unṣurī (loc.cit.) mentions a place-name, '*Shirsāwa*', at the top of his list. *Shirsāwa* is not reported by any of our chief chroniclers and may have been a corrupted form of some other name. If, however, 'Unṣurī has not confused this name with *Sharwa*, the place attacked by Maḥmūd at the end of his campaign, there is some reason to assume that Bakūra was the ruler of *Shirsāwa* (possibly *Sirsāwa*),⁴ which may have been a hill fort situated on the border of the kingdom of Kanauj.

The Sulṭān then marched to the fort of Baran, the headquarters of the rāī Hardat (Nizām ad-Dīn, *DPB*, p.271).⁵ Baran, written as *Barna* (*برنه*) by most of our chroniclers, but *Parna* (*پرنه*) by Nizām ad-Dīn (*DPB*, p.271) and *Mīrat* (*میرت*)⁶ by *Firishta* (*DPB*, p.352), was the old name of the modern town of *Bulandshahr*.⁷ The name *Hardat* (*هردت*) has the variants *Hardab* (*هردب*, *Jurbādhqānī*, p.379; 'Utbi, iii, pp.265-66), *Barwat* (*بروت*, *Badāonī*, *DPB*, p.296) and *Harwat* (*هروت*, *Firishta*, *DPB*, p.352), but they present no serious orthographical difficulty and are easily explainable as clerical errors.

From Baran the Sulṭān proceeded to the fort of *Mahāban*, generally written by the Muslim historians as *Mahāwan* (*مهاون*). The name of the ruler of this place is recorded as *Kulchand* (*کلچندر*, *Jurbādhqānī*, p.379; 'Utbi, ii, p.267), *Kuljand* (*کلچند*, *Ibn al-Athīr*, vol.ix, p.266), *Gulkhand* (*گلخند*, *Rauḍat aṣ Safā*, vol.iv, p.113), and *Kulchandar* (*کلچندر*, *Gardīzī*, p.183).

⁴ For the antiquity of this place see Cunningham, *ASI*, vol.xiv, p.79. *Sirsāwa* is also mentioned by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (quoted by M. Nāzim, op.cit., p.106).

⁵ See also *Jurbādhqānī*, loc.cit.; and *Gardīzī*, loc.cit.

⁶ This form resembles Meerut, another town of the Doāb. If the resemblance is not accidental, *Firishta* would seem to have confused the two names.

⁷ *IGI*, vol.vi, p.428.

The Sultān then marched to the sacred city of Mathura. This name is recorded as Maharat al-Hind (مهرات الهند, 'Utbi, ii, p.272), Maharat (مهرات, Subkī, *DPB*, p.554), Mātūra (ماتوره, Gardīzī, p.183), and Matūra (متوره, Niẓām ad-Dīn, *DPB*, p.271). *Firishta* (*DPB*, p.353) and Badāonī (*DPB*, p.297) give the form Mathurā (مئورا), the correct Indian form. The name of the ruler of this city is not mentioned.⁸

Leaving the bulk of his army at Mathurā, the Sultān proceeded against Kanauj, the capital of the Pratihāra kingdom. The name of the ruler of this place is recorded as Rājaipāl (راجیپال, 'Utbi, ii, p.276), Rājayāl and Rāhayān (راجیال, راحیان, Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.267), and Jaipāl (جیپال, *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, 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 Śāhi 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 Sultān 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 بھور, 'Utbi, ii, pp.279-80), Jandbāl Bhūr (چندبال بھور, *Jurbādḥqānī*, p.383), Chandpāl (چندپال, *Firishta*, *DPB*, p.353). M. Nāẓim restores it as 'Chandar Pāl Bhūr'.¹⁰ Thence Maḥmūd proceeded to the country of 'Chandar Rāī' of Sharwa. At this point the campaign ended and the Ghaznavīd 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 Maḥmūd at the river Rāhib is recorded

⁸ According to *Firishta*, Mathura belonged to the kingdom of the rājā of Delhi.

⁹ *IA*, XVIII, 33-35.

¹⁰ *Op.cit.*, p.109.

as Barūjaipāl (بروجیپال, 'Utbī, ii, p.306), Tarūjaipāl (تروجیپال, Ibn al-Athīr, vol.ix, p.309), Narūjaipāl (نروجیپال, Nizām ad-Dīn, DPB, p.272), Jaipāl (جیپال, Badāonī, DPB, p.297) or simply Pāl (Haidar Rāzī, DPB, p.462). This Barūjaipāl was known to be the son of Ānandapāla¹¹ and the grandson of Jayapāla.¹² Nizām ad-Dīn states that 'Narūjaipal' was routed by the Sultān on several occasions¹³ before the battle of Rāhib'. Obviously he is no other than Trilocanapāla, the Śāhi.

There is no confusion about Nanda, whose name is fairly consistently reported as such. A variant of this name, Bīdā (بیڑا), is reported by Ibn al-Athīr (vol.ix, p.309) and *Majma' al-Ansāb* (DPB, p.45). Nanda was the rājā of 'Khajūrāha' (Ibn al-Athīr, loc.cit.) and is generally identified with Vidyādhara, the Chandella ruler of Kālañjara.¹⁴

¹¹ Haidar Rāzī, loc.cit.; and *Tārīkh-i Alfi* (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.

APPENDIX G

The So-Called Confederacy of the Hindu Princes

Sabuktigīn'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 Śāhis 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.

Jurbādhqānī: '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.'¹

Mīrkhwānd: '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.'²

Nizām 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.'³

Tārīkh-i Alfī: 'When the *malik* Jaipāl became aware of the (dangerous) situation (caused by Sabuktigīn'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.'⁴

1 P.32.

2 Vol.iv, p.92.

3 Text in *DPB*, p.266.

4 Text in *DPB*, p.801.

Haidar Rāzī: 'He (Jayapāla) despatched messengers to all directions of Hindūstān and requested armies. He collected 100,000 troops in a short while.'⁵

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.⁶

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 *Rājataranginī*, 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 *Turuṣkas* or Turks. Moreover the eastward expansion of the Śāhis 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 Maḥmūd's invasions. It is all the less likely that they would have bothered to help the Śāhis who from their point of view were remote and perhaps as dangerous as the *Turuṣkas*. As a distant point of comparison, the present tensions between Pākistān and Bhārat (India), the successor states of the Śāhis and the *rājās* of the Doāb, may be reminiscent of the old mistrust. The existence of a confederacy as implied from the statement of Firishta, therefore, seems doubtful. The rulers referred to in the earlier sources as assisting the Śāhis were probably minor chiefs of the region, who were more or less subordinate to them in any case.

APPENDIX H

A List of Inscriptions

A. INDIAN SCRIPTS

1. Kābul image inscription of Khiṅgāla Śāhi: engraved in two lines on the pedestal of a marble image of the Hindu god Gaṇeśa. At present the inscription lies in the Dargāh Pīr Ratan Nāth at Kābul but it is reported to have been brought from Gardīz, about 70 miles south of the capital. The inscription mentions a *Paramabhṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śāhi* Khiṅgāla (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 *Paramabhṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Paṭoladeva Śāhi in whose reign, on the 13th day of the bright half of Pausa in the year 47, the inscription was engraved (*EI*, vol.xxx, 1953-54, p.226 ff.).
3. Rānīgat slab inscription: engraved on a fragmentary white marble slab. It was found by Major Deane in A.D. 1894 at Rānīgat 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. Tochī valley inscription of the *Laukika* year 32. This is a bilingual Arabic and Sanskrit inscription. It was found by a Mr Pears in the Tochī 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 *samvat* 32, in the month of Kārtika (September-October), the second day of the dark fortnight. The inscription lies in the

Peshāwar Museum (M.A. Shakur, op.cit., pp.43 ff.; A.H. Dani and others, *Ancient Pakistan*, vol.1, 1964, pp.125-35; H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, vol.1, pp.105-10).

5. Tochī valley inscription of the *Laukika* year 38. This was found by Captain A.H. Barnes at a place called Khazāna about four miles from Mīr 'Alī on the Īdak-Spinwām road in the Tochī 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(vī)na-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 *kṛiṭam kṛiṭi* 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 *saṃvat* 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 Mahārājādhirājā Parameśvara Śāhi Śrī Bhīmade(va)*, son of Śrī Kāla(kama)lavarman (*EI*, 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 Gaṇeśa, which is followed by the date: *saṃvat* 120, etc. The purpose of the inscription is to commemorate the foundation of a *maṭha*, located in Marmalika, by Ratnamañjarī, daughter of a certain ruler who bears the title

- Mahārājādhirājakirātapakṣābhīmukha*. 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 Swāt. 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 *Parambhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja 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 Mahārājñi Śrī Kāmeśvarīdevī. The work on the temple was commenced on Saturday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvina in the year 158. The temple was consecrated on Thursday (?), the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha 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 Panjkora (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 *saṃvat* 84 Śrāvāṇa *va ti* 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 *Tegīn*. The inscriptions do not seem to have been associated with any monument or structure.
2. Jagatū 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

- cursive script from Afghanistan' (*East and West*, vol.17, 1967, pp.25 f.) for more details.
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 Śāhi'.
 4. Tochi valley inscription of the year 635. It forms part of an Arabic inscription. The stone bearing this inscription, now in the Peshāwar 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 Illustratedin Plates II-V

TURK ŠĀHIS

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' hwł'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).

TO 𑀓 INO 𑀧 OYO/Wu-san-te'kin-sha (Pl.II, 5-8)


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 TO 𑀓 INO 𑀧 OYO (= 'Śrī Tigīn Śāhi).
- 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).

Khingala/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  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 *Khingi(la)*. The letter *na* in the present examples seems to have been merged with the stroke for medial *i*.
- 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  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  above horse's rump (British Museum).

Variety II: Bactrian legend further deteriorates.

6. As no.5. With  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  above the horse's rump (British Museum).
9. As above. With  above the horse's rump (British Museum).
10. As above. With  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 l. 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 l. Corrupt remains of Bactrian legend resemble Arabic numerals.

13. As above. *Bhī* looks more like *kī*, 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. () (British Museum).
17. As above. Loop of *bhī* opens to l. () (British Museum).
18. As above. Plume turns into a three-pointed symbol () (British Museum).
19. As above. Plume turns into the letter *ta* () (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 *h* over horse's head (Peshāwar Museum).
2. As above. (Peshāwar Museum).
3. As above. But the sign over horse's head resembles the Arabic word *'adl* (Peshāwar Museum).
4. As no.1 above. (British Museum)
5. As no.3 above. (British Museum)
6. As above. But with *h* 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).

Bhīmadeva (Pl.IV, 13-16)

Silver

Obv. Recumbent humped bull to l. with trident on rump. Above legend *Śrī Bhīmadeva*.

Rev. King on horseback r., holding lance in r. hand.

13. As above. With the disfigured letter *bhī* (𑀧) in the field to l.
(British Museum)

14. As above. The loop of *bhī* opens to r. (𑀧) (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 dhoti, seated cross-legged on throne, extending r. hand to a person standing to r. Between the human figures is a trident symbol. Above legend (?) *Ṣāhi Śrī Bhīmadeva*; with akṣara *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; Lakṣmi seated to r. holding lotus in l. hand. Above legend (?) *Srīmad Guṇanidhi Śrī Sāmantadeva*.

16. As above. (A. Ghose, *NC*, 1952, p.133).

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, Göbl, *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 Śāhi coins

All the references are to D.W. Macdowall, *NC*, 1968, Pl.XVII-XIX, unless quoted otherwise.

I ₁ , infra, Pl.III, 7.	III ₁₉ , infra, Pl.IV, 14.
I ₂ , Pl.XVII, 2.	III ₂₀ , Pl.XVIII, 29.
I ₃ , infra, Pl.III, 9.	III ₂₁ , Pl.XVIII, 28.
I ₁₃ , infra, Pl.IV, 1.	IV ₁ , Pl.XVII, 1.
I ₁₄ , infra, Pl.IV, 2.	IV ₂ , Pl.XVII, 4.
I ₁₅ , Pl.XVIII, 2.	IV ₃ , Pl.XVII, 8.
II ₁ , Pl.XVII, 1.	IV ₄ , Pl.XVII, 14.
II ₂ , Pl.XVII, 7.	IV ₈ , Pl.XVII, 19.
II ₃ , infra, Pl.III, 5.	IV ₉ , Pl.XVII, 23.
II ₄ , infra, Pl.III, 8.	IV ₁₀ , Pl.XVIII, 22.
III ₁ , infra, Pl.III, 7.	IV ₁₁ , Pl.XVIII, 24.
III ₂ , infra, Pl.III, 4, 6.	IV ₁₂ , infra, Pl.III, 13.
III ₃ , Pl.XVII, 7.	IV ₁₃ , Pl.XVIII, 20.
III ₄ , Pl.XVII, 10.	IV ₁₄ , infra, Pl.IV, 1.
III ₅ , Pl.XVII, 11.	V ₈ , Pl.XVIII, 25.
III ₆ , Pl.XVII, 13.	V ₉ , infra, Pl.III, 18.
III ₇ , infra, Pl.III, 10.	V ₁₀ , Thomas, op.cit., no.3.
III ₈ , Pl.XVII, 19.	V ₁₁ , Pl.XVIII, 26.
III ₉ , infra, Pl.III, 17, 18.	V ₁₃ , infra, Pl.IV, 5.
III ₁₀ , Pl.XVIII, 30, 33.	V ₁₄ , Cunningham, <i>CMI</i> , Pl.VII, 15, 16.
III ₁₁ , Pl.XVIII, 22, and Peshāwar Museum.	V ₁₅ , Pl.XVIII, 20.
III ₁₂ , E. Thomas, <i>JRAS</i> , vol.IX, 1848, Plate facing p.177, no.3.	V ₁₉ , Pl.XVIII, 28.
	VI ₈ , 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.
VIII₈, *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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INDIAN SCRIPTS (PROTO-SARADĀ AND SARADĀ)

FIG. 1

Script Name	𑀀	𑀁	𑀂	𑀃	𑀄	𑀅	𑀆	𑀇	𑀈	𑀉	𑀊	𑀋	𑀌	𑀍	𑀎	𑀏	𑀐	𑀑	𑀒	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳	𑀴	𑀵	𑀶	𑀷	𑀸	𑀹	𑀺	𑀻	𑀼	𑀽	𑀾	𑀿	𑁀	𑁁	𑁂	𑁃	𑁄	𑁅	𑁆	𑁇	𑁈	𑁉	𑁊	𑁋	𑁌	𑁍	𑁎	𑁏	𑁐	𑁑	𑁒	𑁓	𑁔	𑁕	𑁖	𑁗	𑁘	𑁙	𑁚	𑁛	𑁜	𑁝	𑁞	𑁟	𑁠	𑁡	𑁢	𑁣	𑁤	𑁥	𑁦	𑁧	𑁨	𑁩	𑁪	𑁫	𑁬	𑁭	𑁮	𑁯	𑁰	𑁱	𑁲	𑁳	𑁴	𑁵	𑁶	𑁷	𑁸	𑁹	𑁺	𑁻	𑁼	𑁽	𑁾	𑁿	𑂀	𑂁	𑂂	𑂃	𑂄	𑂅	𑂆	𑂇	𑂈	𑂉	𑂊	𑂋	𑂌	𑂍	𑂎	𑂏	𑂐	𑂑	𑂒	𑂓	𑂔	𑂕	𑂖	𑂗	𑂘	𑂙	𑂚	𑂛	𑂜	𑂝	𑂞	𑂟	𑂠	𑂡	𑂢	𑂣	𑂤	𑂥	𑂦	𑂧	𑂨	𑂩	𑂪	𑂫	𑂬	𑂭	𑂮	𑂯	𑂰	𑂱	𑂲	𑂳	𑂴	𑂵	𑂶	𑂷	𑂸	𑂹	𑂺	𑂻	𑂼	𑂽	𑂾	𑂿	𑃀	𑃁	𑃂	𑃃	𑃄	𑃅	𑃆	𑃇	𑃈	𑃉	𑃊	𑃋	𑃌	𑃍	𑃎	𑃏	𑃐	𑃑	𑃒	𑃓	𑃔	𑃕	𑃖	𑃗	𑃘	𑃙	𑃚	𑃛	𑃜	𑃝	𑃞	𑃟	𑃠	𑃡	𑃢	𑃣	𑃤	𑃥	𑃦	𑃧	𑃨	𑃩	𑃪	𑃫	𑃬	𑃭	𑃮	𑃯	𑃰	𑃱	𑃲	𑃳	𑃴	𑃵	𑃶	𑃷	𑃸	𑃹	𑃺	𑃻	𑃼	𑃽	𑃾	𑃿	𑄀	𑄁	𑄂	𑄃	𑄄	𑄅	𑄆	𑄇	𑄈	𑄉	𑄊	𑄋	𑄌	𑄍	𑄎	𑄏	𑄐	𑄑	𑄒	𑄓	𑄔	𑄕	𑄖	𑄗	𑄘	𑄙	𑄚	𑄛	𑄜	𑄝	𑄞	𑄟	𑄠	𑄡	𑄢	𑄣	𑄤	𑄥	𑄦	𑄧	𑄨	𑄩	𑄪	𑄫	𑄬	𑄭	𑄮	𑄯	𑄰	𑄱	𑄲	𑄳	𑄴	𑄵	𑄶	𑄷	𑄸	𑄹	𑄺	𑄻	𑄼	𑄽	𑄾	𑄿	𑅀	𑅁	𑅂	𑅃	𑅄	𑅅	𑅆	𑅇	𑅈	𑅉	𑅊	𑅋	𑅌	𑅍	𑅎	𑅏	𑅐	𑅑	𑅒	𑅓	𑅔	𑅕	𑅖	𑅗	𑅘	𑅙	𑅚	𑅛	𑅜	𑅝	𑅞	𑅟	𑅠	𑅡	𑅢	𑅣	𑅤	𑅥	𑅦	𑅧	𑅨	𑅩	𑅪	𑅫	𑅬	𑅭	𑅮	𑅯	𑅰	𑅱	𑅲	𑅳	𑅴	𑅵	𑅶	𑅷	𑅸	𑅹	𑅺	𑅻	𑅼	𑅽	𑅾	𑅿	𑆀	𑆁	𑆂	𑆃	𑆄	𑆅	𑆆	𑆇	𑆈	𑆉	𑆊	𑆋	𑆌	𑆍	𑆎	𑆏	𑆐	𑆑	𑆒	𑆓	𑆔	𑆕	𑆖	𑆗	𑆘	𑆙	𑆚	𑆛	𑆜	𑆝	𑆞	𑆟	𑆠	𑆡	𑆢	𑆣	𑆤	𑆥	𑆦	𑆧	𑆨	𑆩	𑆪	𑆫	𑆬	𑆭	𑆮	𑆯	𑆰	𑆱	𑆲	𑆳	𑆴	𑆵	𑆶	𑆷	𑆸	𑆹	𑆺	𑆻	𑆼	𑆽	𑆾	𑆿	𑇀	𑇁	𑇂	𑇃	𑇄	𑇅	𑇆	𑇇	𑇈	𑇉	𑇊	𑇋	𑇌	𑇍	𑇎	𑇏	𑇐	𑇑	𑇒	𑇓	𑇔	𑇕	𑇖	𑇗	𑇘	𑇙	𑇚	𑇛	𑇜	𑇝	𑇞	𑇟	𑇠	𑇡	𑇢	𑇣	𑇤	𑇥	𑇦	𑇧	𑇨	𑇩	𑇪	𑇫	𑇬	𑇭	𑇮	𑇯	𑇰	𑇱	𑇲	𑇳	𑇴	𑇵	𑇶	𑇷	𑇸	𑇹	𑇺	𑇻	𑇼	𑇽	𑇾	𑇿	𑈀	𑈁	𑈂	𑈃	𑈄	𑈅	𑈆	𑈇	𑈈	𑈉	𑈊	𑈋	𑈌	𑈍	𑈎	𑈏	𑈐	𑈑	𑈒	𑈓	𑈔	𑈕	𑈖	𑈗	𑈘	𑈙	𑈚	𑈛	𑈜	𑈝	𑈞	𑈟	𑈠	𑈡	𑈢	𑈣	𑈤	𑈥	𑈦	𑈧	𑈨	𑈩	𑈪	𑈫	𑈬	𑈭	𑈮	𑈯	𑈰	𑈱	𑈲	𑈳	𑈴	𑈵	𑈶	𑈷	𑈸	𑈹	𑈺	𑈻	𑈼	𑈽	𑈾	𑈿	𑉀	𑉁	𑉂	𑉃	𑉄	𑉅	𑉆	𑉇	𑉈	𑉉	𑉊	𑉋	𑉌	𑉍	𑉎	𑉏	𑉐	𑉑	𑉒	𑉓	𑉔	𑉕	𑉖	𑉗	𑉘	𑉙	𑉚	𑉛	𑉜	𑉝	𑉞	𑉟	𑉠	𑉡	𑉢	𑉣	𑉤	𑉥	𑉦	𑉧	𑉨	𑉩	𑉪	𑉫	𑉬	𑉭	𑉮	𑉯	𑉰	𑉱	𑉲	𑉳	𑉴	𑉵	𑉶	𑉷	𑉸	𑉹	𑉺	𑉻	𑉼	𑉽	𑉾	𑉿	𑊀	𑊁	𑊂	𑊃	𑊄	𑊅	𑊆	𑊇	𑊈	𑊉	𑊊	𑊋	𑊌	𑊍	𑊎	𑊏	𑊐	𑊑	𑊒	𑊓	𑊔	𑊕	𑊖	𑊗	𑊘	𑊙	𑊚	𑊛	𑊜	𑊝	𑊞	𑊟	𑊠	𑊡	𑊢	𑊣	𑊤	𑊥	𑊦	𑊧	𑊨	𑊩	𑊪	𑊫	𑊬	𑊭	𑊮	𑊯	𑊰	𑊱	𑊲	𑊳	𑊴	𑊵	𑊶	𑊷	𑊸	𑊹	𑊺	𑊻	𑊼	𑊽	𑊾	𑊿	𑋀	𑋁	𑋂	𑋃	𑋄	𑋅	𑋆	𑋇	𑋈	𑋉	𑋊	𑋋	𑋌	𑋍	𑋎	𑋏	𑋐	𑋑	𑋒	𑋓	𑋔	𑋕	𑋖	𑋗	𑋘	𑋙	𑋚	𑋛	𑋜	𑋝	𑋞	𑋟	𑋠	𑋡	𑋢	𑋣	𑋤	𑋥	𑋦	𑋧	𑋨	𑋩	𑋪	𑋫	𑋬	𑋭	𑋮	𑋯	𑋰	𑋱	𑋲	𑋳	𑋴	𑋵	𑋶	𑋷	𑋸	𑋹	𑋺	𑋻	𑋼	𑋽	𑋾	𑋿	𑌀	𑌁	𑌂	𑌃	𑌄	𑌅	𑌆	𑌇	𑌈	𑌉	𑌊	𑌋	𑌌	𑌍	𑌎	𑌏	𑌐	𑌑	𑌒	𑌓	𑌔	𑌕	𑌖	𑌗	𑌘	𑌙	𑌚	𑌛	𑌜	𑌝	𑌞	𑌟	𑌠	𑌡	𑌢	𑌣	𑌤	𑌥	𑌦	𑌧	𑌨	𑌩	𑌪	𑌫	𑌬	𑌭	𑌮	𑌯	𑌰	𑌱	𑌲	𑌳	𑌴	𑌵	𑌶	𑌷	𑌸	𑌹	𑌺	𑌻	𑌼	𑌽	𑌾	𑌿	𑍀	𑍁	𑍂	𑍃	𑍄	𑍅	𑍆	𑍇	𑍈	𑍉	𑍊	𑍋	𑍌	𑍍	𑍎	𑍏	𑍐	𑍑	𑍒	𑍓	𑍔	𑍕	𑍖	𑍗	𑍘	𑍙	𑍚	𑍛	𑍜	𑍝	𑍞	𑍟	𑍠	𑍡	𑍢	𑍣	𑍤	𑍥	𑍦	𑍧	𑍨	𑍩	𑍪	𑍫	𑍬	𑍭	𑍮	𑍯	𑍰	𑍱	𑍲	𑍳	𑍴	𑍵	𑍶	𑍷	𑍸	𑍹	𑍺	𑍻	𑍼	𑍽	𑍾	𑍿	𑎀	𑎁	𑎂	𑎃	𑎄	𑎅	𑎆	𑎇	𑎈	𑎉	𑎊	𑎋	𑎌	𑎍	𑎎	𑎏	𑎐	𑎑	𑎒	𑎓	𑎔	𑎕	𑎖	𑎗	𑎘	𑎙	𑎚	𑎛	𑎜	𑎝	𑎞	𑎟	𑎠	𑎡	𑎢	𑎣	𑎤	𑎥	𑎦	𑎧	𑎨	𑎩	𑎪	𑎫	𑎬	𑎭	𑎮	𑎯	𑎰	𑎱	𑎲	𑎳	𑎴	𑎵	𑎶	𑎷	𑎸	𑎹	𑎺	𑎻	𑎼	𑎽	𑎾	𑎿	𑏀	𑏁	𑏂	𑏃	𑏄	𑏅	𑏆	𑏇	𑏈	𑏉	𑏊	𑏋	𑏌	𑏍	𑏎	𑏏	𑏐	𑏑	𑏒	𑏓	𑏔	𑏕	𑏖	𑏗	𑏘	𑏙	𑏚	𑏛	𑏜	𑏝	𑏞	𑏟	𑏠	𑏡	𑏢	𑏣	𑏤	𑏥	𑏦	𑏧	𑏨	𑏩	𑏪	𑏫	𑏬	𑏭	𑏮	𑏯	𑏰	𑏱	𑏲	𑏳	𑏴	𑏵	𑏶	𑏷	𑏸	𑏹	𑏺	𑏻	𑏼	𑏽	𑏾	𑏿	𑐀	𑐁	𑐂	𑐃	𑐄	𑐅	𑐆	𑐇	𑐈	𑐉	𑐊	𑐋	𑐌	𑐍	𑐎	𑐏	𑐐	𑐑	𑐒	𑐓	𑐔	𑐕	𑐖	𑐗	𑐘	𑐙	𑐚	𑐛	𑐜	𑐝	𑐞	𑐟	𑐠	𑐡	𑐢	𑐣	𑐤	𑐥	𑐦	𑐧	𑐨	𑐩	𑐪	𑐫	𑐬	𑐭	𑐮	𑐯	𑐰	𑐱	𑐲	𑐳	𑐴	𑐵	𑐶	𑐷	𑐸	𑐹	𑐺	𑐻	𑐼	𑐽	𑐾	𑐿	𑑀	𑑁	𑑂	𑑃	𑑄	𑑅	𑑆	𑑇	𑑈	𑑉	𑑊	𑑋	𑑌	𑑍	𑑎	𑑏	𑑐	𑑑	𑑒	𑑓	𑑔	𑑕	𑑖	𑑗	𑑘	𑑙	𑑚	𑑛	𑑜	𑑝	𑑞	𑑟	𑑠	𑑡	𑑢	𑑣	𑑤	𑑥	𑑦	𑑧	𑑨	𑑩	𑑪	𑑫	𑑬	𑑭	𑑮	𑑯	𑑰	𑑱	𑑲	𑑳	𑑴	𑑵	𑑶	𑑷	𑑸	𑑹	𑑺	𑑻	𑑼	𑑽	𑑾	𑑿	𑒀	𑒁	𑒂	𑒃	𑒄	𑒅	𑒆	𑒇	𑒈	𑒉	𑒊	𑒋	𑒌	𑒍	𑒎	𑒏	𑒐	𑒑	𑒒	𑒓	𑒔	𑒕	𑒖	𑒗	𑒘	𑒙	𑒚	𑒛	𑒜	𑒝	𑒞	𑒟	𑒠	𑒡	𑒢	𑒣	𑒤	𑒥	𑒦	𑒧	𑒨	𑒩	𑒪	𑒫	𑒬	𑒭	𑒮	𑒯	𑒰	𑒱	𑒲	𑒳	𑒴	𑒵	𑒶	𑒷	𑒸	𑒹	𑒺	𑒻	𑒼	𑒽	𑒾	𑒿	𑓀	𑓁	𑓂	𑓃	𑓄	𑓅	𑓆	𑓇
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BACTRIAN CURSIVE SCRIPT

FIG. 2

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	O	Π
URUZGĀN AND JAGATŪ INSCRIPTIONS 1	o o	8 B))	o		z z̄))	k	+ l	μ μ	u	o	
COIN LEGENDS (TURKISH PERIOD) 2	▲ o		f						))				u	o	
TOCHT VALLEY INSCRIPTIONS 3	o o o o	f a b	))	▲ o o	f	z z z	h		))	l	l l	μ μ	u u u	o o o	
(CONTINUED)															
	P	β	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ω							
1	p p	β	c	τ	ς ς	φ φ		ω	BO BO ∞	BOGO μ μ μ μ	HO LO	GOLO yolo	TO yo	SAGO rogo	
2	e e	f f f	c	τ	ς ς				SRI ∞		HO LO	HO yo	TO yo	SANO fogo	
3	e e e ē	f f f	c c	τ	ς ς	f	ff	ω	ROO ∞	BOZO Bojo (= BAGO)	HOHO μ μ	GO yo	STOHO yo	SI M	

FIG.3

PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART
OF THE ŚĀHI COINS

	A	KA	KHA	GA		TA	DA	NA	PA	BHA	MA	YA	RA	LA	VA	ŚA	SA	HA
VAHITIGINA		क ख ग घ च	ख घ च	ग घ च		क ख	ल DE ल DE ल DE	न न	प प प		म म म म		र र	ल ल ल	व व व व	श श श श श श श		ह ह
SPALAPATI		क				क ख	म		प प					ल ल	व	श श	म म	ह ह
KHUDARAYA		क	ख KHU				म				म	य य	र			श श		
SĀMANTA							म	न NTA		श श BHT	म म				व व	श श	म म	
VAKKA		क					ल								व व	श श		
BHĪMA	अ	क ख ग				क ख	ल ल	न		श श श BHT	म म म		र		व व	श श		

INDIVIDUAL LETTERS AND OTHER MARKS ON THE ŚĀHI COINS

FIG.4

		MARKS TO THE LEFT OF HORSEMAN			MARKS TO THE RIGHT			OTHER MARKS	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
SPALAPATI	1	५	५	५	५			१	५
	2	५	५	५	५			०	५
	3	५	५ ५ ५	५	५			१	५
	4		५	५	५			१	५
	5			५	५			१	५
	6			५	५			१	
	7			५	GROUP I	GROUP II	GROUP III	१	
SĀMANTA	8			५	५	५	५	↑ MARKS BENEATH THE ANIMALS ↓	५
	9			५ ५	५	५	५		५
	10			५ ५	५	५	५		५
	11			५ ५	५	५	५		५
	12			५	५				
KHUDARAYANA	13	५			५	५			
	14	५			५	५			
	15	५				५			
VAKKA	16							५	५
	17							५	५
	18							५	
BHĪMA	19			५		५	५	५	५
	20			५					
	21			५					
	22								

(FOR REFERENCES SEE APPENDIX J)

FIG. 5

CHART SHOWING THE USE OF MEDIAL VOWELS IN THE ŚĀHI INSCRIPTIONS					
	KĀBUL IMAGE INSC.	HĀTŪN ROCK INSC.	RATNAMAŅJ- -ARĪŚ INSC.	HUND SLAB INSC. OF JAYAPĀLA'S TIME	KĀMEŚVARĪDEVĪŚ INSC.
Ā	HĀ JĀ 𑀓 𑀕	NĀ JĀ KĀ 𑀎 𑀕 𑀓	RĀ JĀ 𑀠 𑀕	MĀ PĀ NĀ JĀ 𑀓 𑀕 𑀎 𑀕	RĀ 𑀠
ī	PI 𑀧	TI DHI 𑀧 𑀢	TI LI 𑀧 𑀢	PI ŚI 𑀧 𑀢	DI 𑀧
ī	ŚRĪ 𑀢	DĪ NĪ ŚRĪ 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢	ŚI 𑀢	BHĪ VĪ 𑀢 𑀢	VĪ ŚRĪ 𑀢 𑀢
u	ŚU 𑀢	ŚU KU SU 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢	MU KU 𑀢 𑀢	GU PU RU KU RYU 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢	PU KU YU 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢
ū		BHŪ TŪ 𑀢 𑀢	PŪ 𑀢	BHŪ SŪ 𑀢 𑀢	SŪ 𑀢
e	RE ME 𑀢 𑀢	RE DE NE 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢	NE DE 𑀢 𑀢	KE RE 𑀢 𑀢	LE DE 𑀢 𑀢
ai	DAI 𑀢			KAI SAI 𑀢 𑀢	
o	YO 𑀢	PO TO 𑀢 𑀢	GO LO 𑀢 𑀢	LO MO HO KHYO 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢	KO TO 𑀢 𑀢
au	LAU LAU 𑀢 𑀢			RKAU PAU 𑀢 𑀢	NAU 𑀢
ri		TRIM KRI KRI 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢	GRI KRI 𑀢 𑀢	KRI TRI BHRI VRI 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢 𑀢	VRI 𑀢

NUMERALS

FIG. 6

	KĀBUL IMAGE INSC.	TOCHĪ VALLEY INSC.		HĀTŪN ROCK INSC.	DEWAL INSC. OF MŪLĀSĀN- -KA	RATNAMĀN- -JARĪS INSC.	KĀMESVARĪ DEVĪS INSC.	BAKHSĀLĪ MS.
		A	B					
1				𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓	𑀓 𑀓
2		𑀔		𑀔		𑀔	𑀔	𑀔 𑀔
3	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕 𑀕				𑀕 𑀕
4				𑀖				𑀖 𑀖
5							𑀗	𑀗 𑀗
6								𑀘 𑀘
7			𑀙	𑀙				𑀙 𑀙
8	𑀚		𑀚		𑀚		𑀚	𑀚 𑀚
9							𑀛	𑀛 𑀛
10	𑀜							

FIG. 7

CHART SHOWING FREQUENCY OF VARIETIES OF THE MEDIAL VOWELS U, Ü, E, AI AND O AND THE LETTER NA IN BARADA INSC.

VARIETIES	MEDIAL VOWEL <u>U</u>																				
	C. A. D. 900-1000. SARAHAN PRASASTI	C. A. D. 1000 RATNAMANJAR'S INSC.	C. A. D. 1000 BANSHALI MS.	C. A. D. 989 HUND SLAB INSC. OF THE TEMPLE OF JAYAPALA	10 TH CENT. SUNGAI COPPER-PLATE INSC.	10 TH CENT. BRAMHAR COPPER-PLATE INSC.	C. A. D. 1000 TOG IMAGE INSC.	A. D. 1041 DADVAR IMAGE INSC.	C. A. D. 1050 BANHOTA FOUNTAIN INSC.	C. A. D. 1050 KULAIT COPPER GRANT	A. D. 1065 THUNDU COPPER GRANT	A. D. 1070 CHAMBA COPPER GRANT	A. D. 1071 SIYA FOUNTAIN INSC.	C. 11 TH CENT. BHATKAR AND HUNDAN INSCS.	C. A. D. 1150 MULKIHAR FOUNTAIN INSC.	A. D. 1178 SALHI AND MAL INSCS.	A. D. 1105 LUT INSC. AND SOME OTHERS CENTRE/READY RECORDS	C. A. D. 1159 RATANAK NAGAPALAS INSC.	A. D. 1164-1215 SAI FOUNTAIN INSCS.	C. A. D. 1300-1300 BHARARA FOUNTAIN INSC.	FOUR 12 TH CENT. INSCS. FROM THE PANTAB
VAR. I (cf. <u>U</u> <u>RU</u>)	26	4	305	10	22	17	5	6	4	23	13	29	4	2	13	10	7	9	4	5	3
VAR. II (cf. <u>U</u> <u>RU</u>)	39	16	213	13	30	7	6	3		24	21	54	2	1	28	6	9	14	6	3	5
VAR. III (cf. <u>U</u> <u>RU</u>)	-	-	24	1	4	3	1	3	2	4	3	6	6	3	4	2	2	1	-	4	4
TOTAL	65	20	542	25	56	27	12	12	6	51	37	89	12	6	45	18	18	24	10	12	12
	MEDIAL VOWEL <u>Ü</u>																				
VAR. I (cf. <u>Ü</u> <u>RÜ</u>)	17	-	63	7	12	4	-	-	-	6	4	33	-	-	7	-	-	1	-	-	3
VAR. II (cf. <u>Ü</u> <u>RÜ</u>)	7	3	137	-	6	5	-	1	-	10	9	14	-	-	4	3	3	-	1	-	-
TOTAL	24	3	200	7	18	9	-	1	-	16	13	47	-	-	11	3	3	1	1	-	3
	MEDIAL VOWEL <u>E</u>																				
VAR. I (cf. <u>E</u> <u>RE</u>)		4	360	22	55	33	2	14	7	18	4	37	4	5	23	24	26	15	21	18	18
VAR. II (cf. <u>E</u> <u>RE</u>)		2	300	5	14	13	5	6	-	18	16	51	9	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL		6	660	27	69	46	7	20	7	36	20	88	13	7	23	24	26	15	21	18	19
	MEDIAL VOWEL <u>AI</u>																				
VAR. I (cf. <u>AI</u> <u>RAI</u>)	-	-	37	6	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	5	1	-	-
VAR. II (cf. <u>AI</u> <u>RAI</u>)	4	-	102	1	4	1	-	3	-	5	4	8	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
TOTAL	4	-	139	7	4	2	-	3	1	5	4	9	-	-	2	1	-	7	1	-	-
	MEDIAL VOWEL <u>O</u>																				
VAR. I (cf. <u>O</u> <u>RO</u>)	10	3	204	1	34	2	3	5	3	8	14	23	-	-	25	7	9	17	2	6	4
VAR. II (cf. <u>O</u> <u>RO</u>)	4	2	23	15	10	17	-	1	-	16	6	13	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
VAR. III (cf. <u>O</u> <u>RO</u>)	19	-	40	1	1	-	-	-	-	4	2	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	33	5	267	17	45	19	3	4	3	28	22	42	1	-	25	9	11	17	2	6	4
	VARIETIES OF THE LETTER <u>NA</u>																				
VAR. I (cf. <u>NA</u>)	-	-	330	2	25	1	-	-	-	16	13	18	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
VAR. II (cf. <u>NA</u>)	-	-	10	2	2	10	4	2	2	6	1	5	5	5	15	-	2	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	-	-	340	4	27	11	4	2	2	22	14	23	5	5	15	-	6	-	-	-	-

(FIGURES INDICATE THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION)

FIG. 11

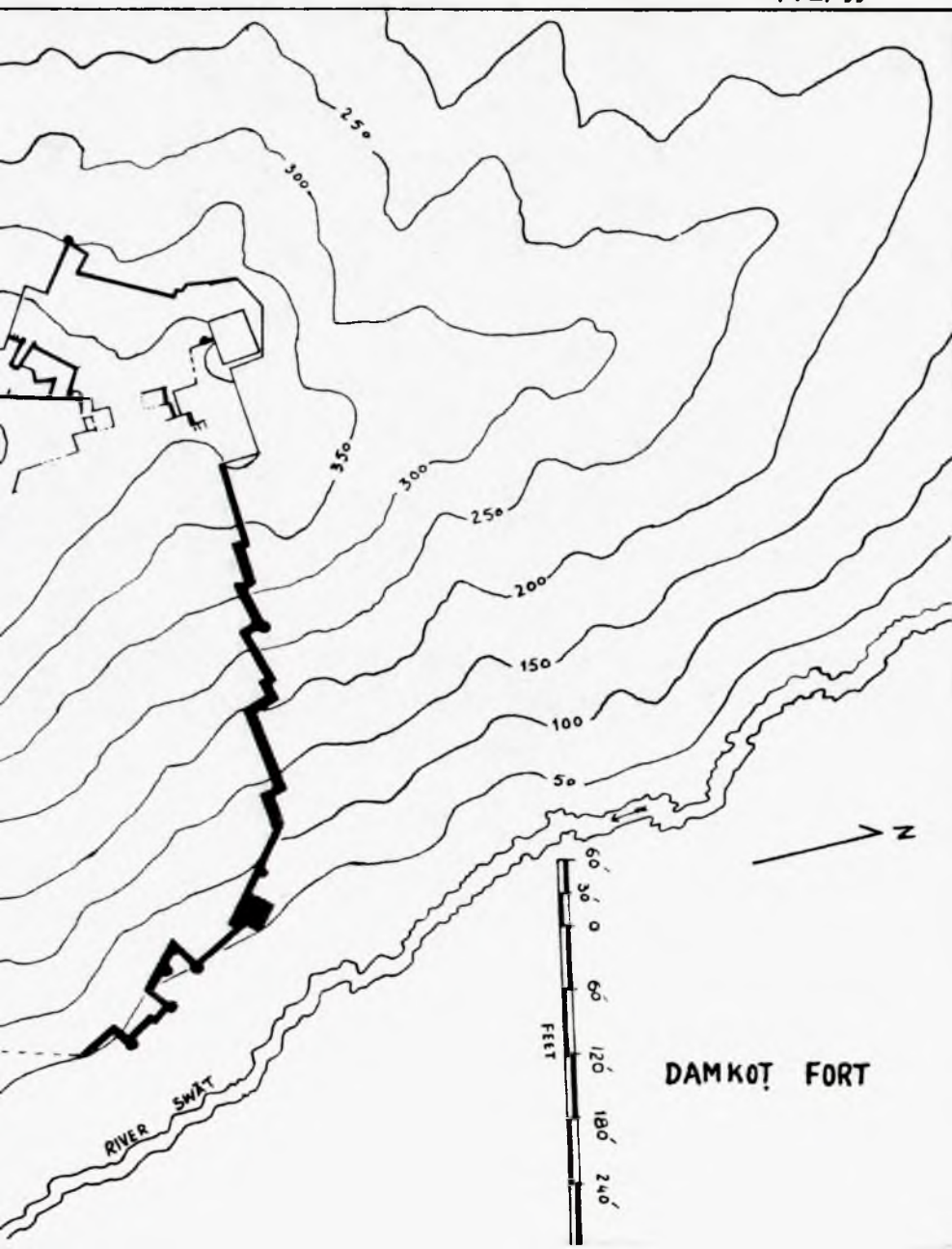
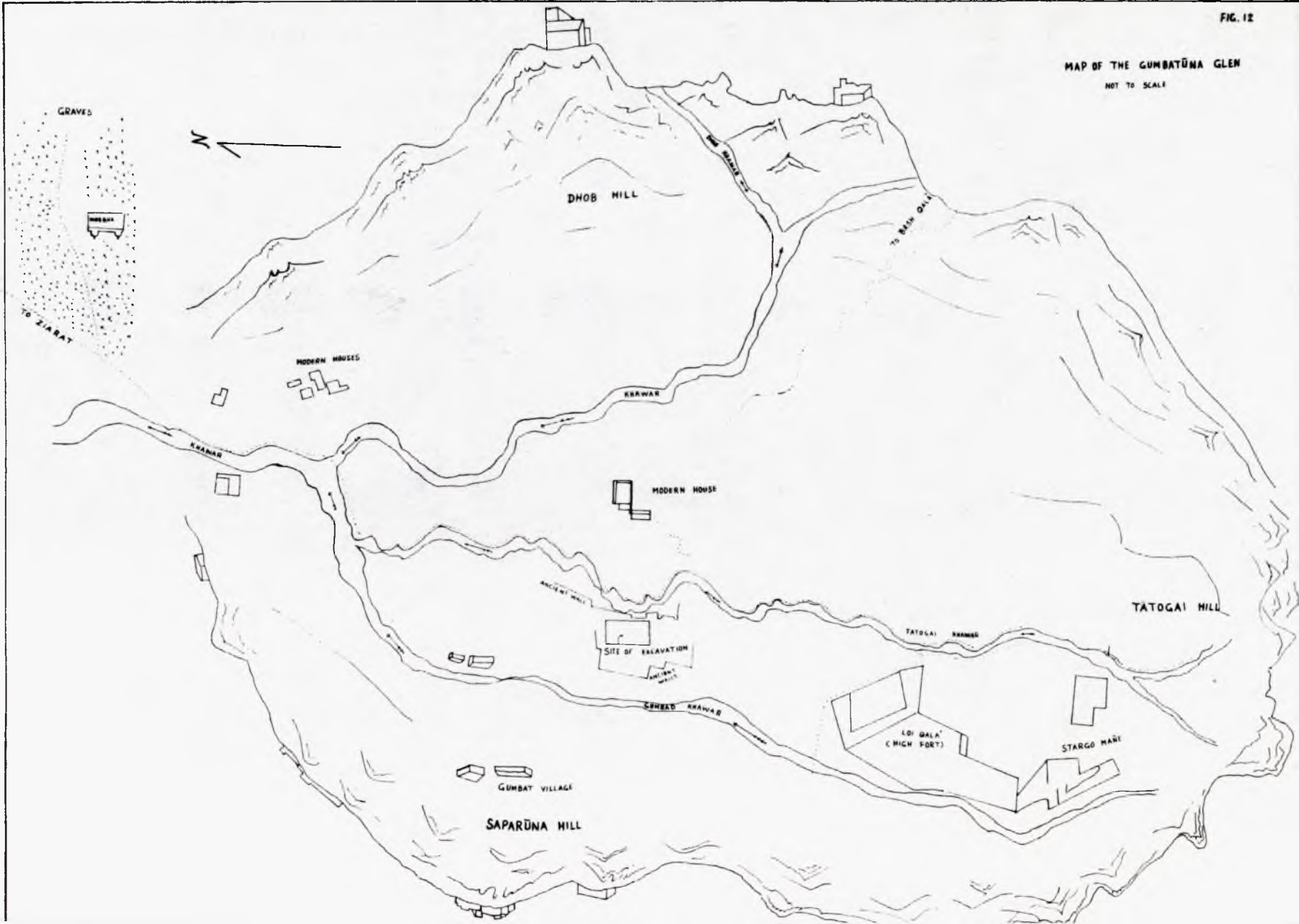


FIG. 12

MAP OF THE GUMBATŪNA GLEN
NOT TO SCALE



ROAD 13 ENKABONGA

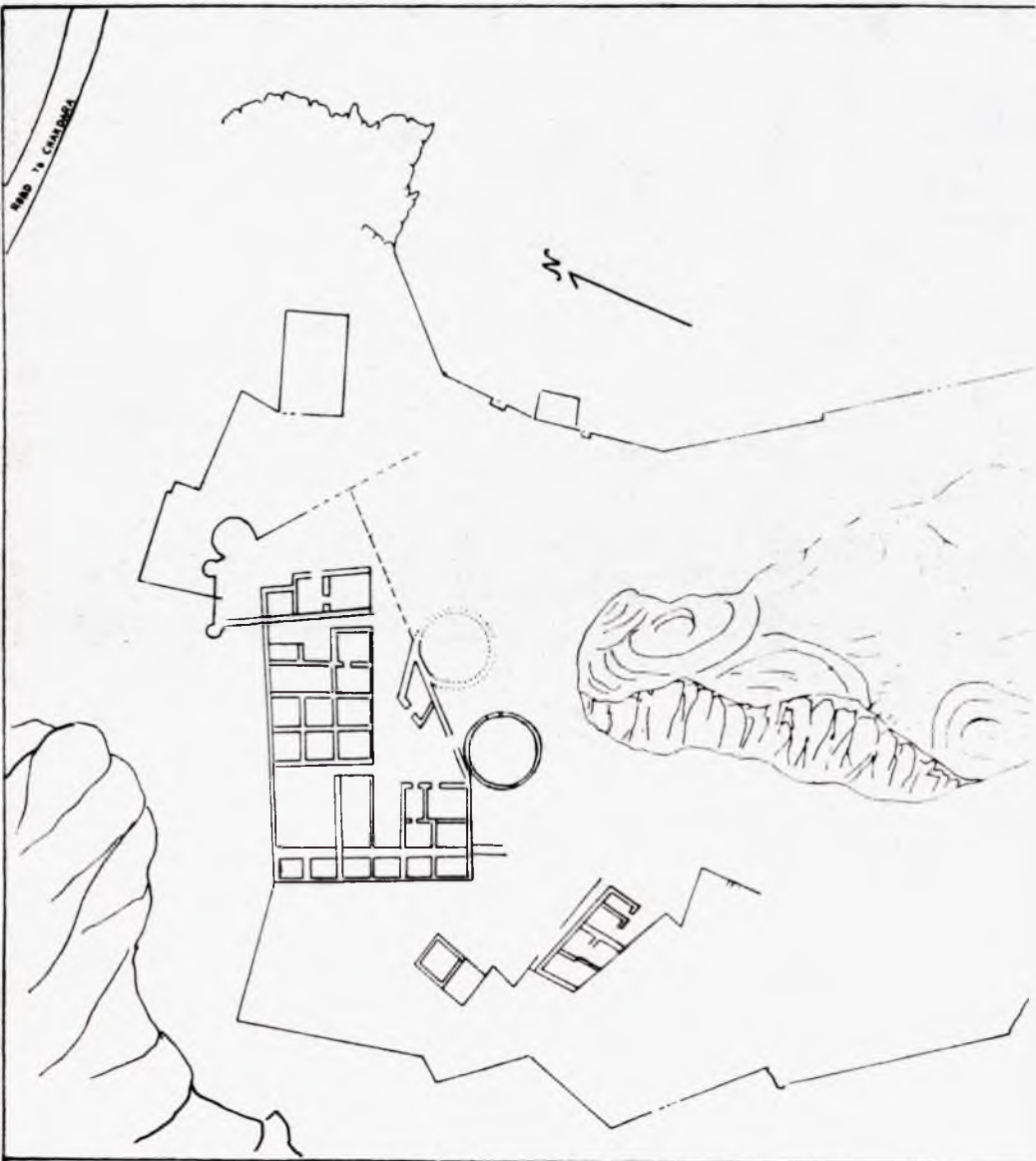
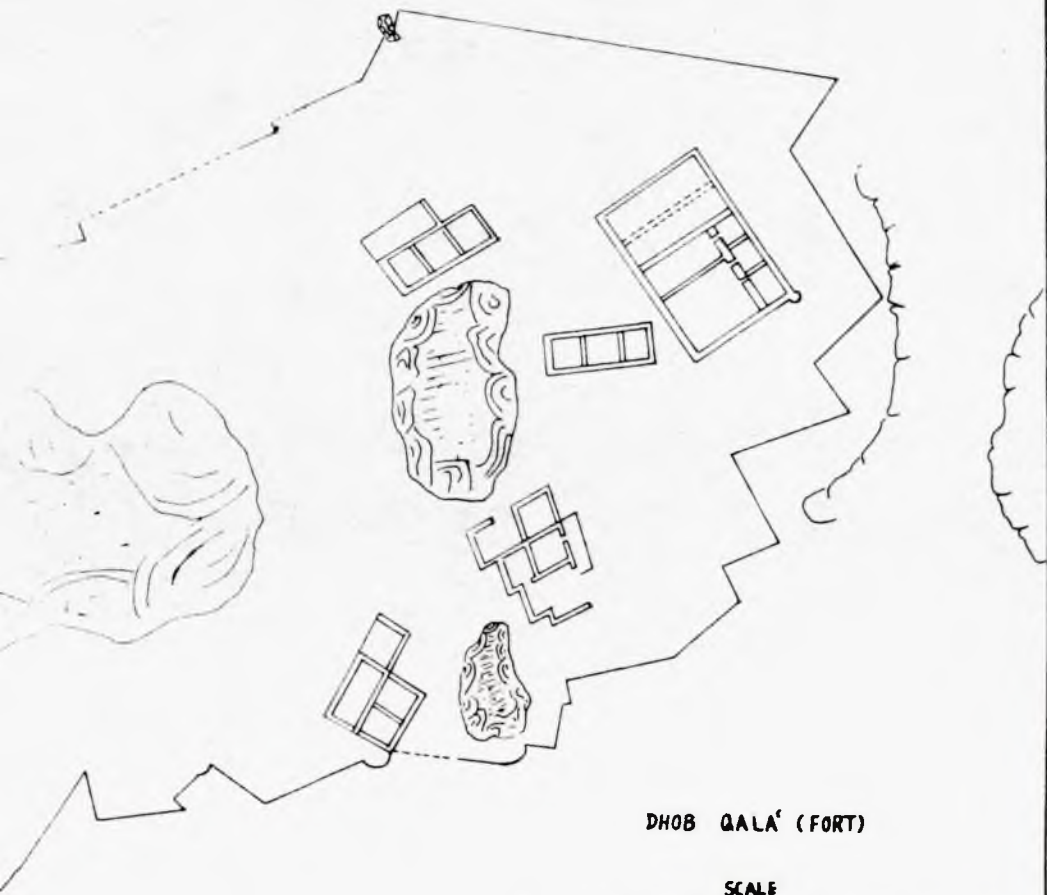


FIG. 13

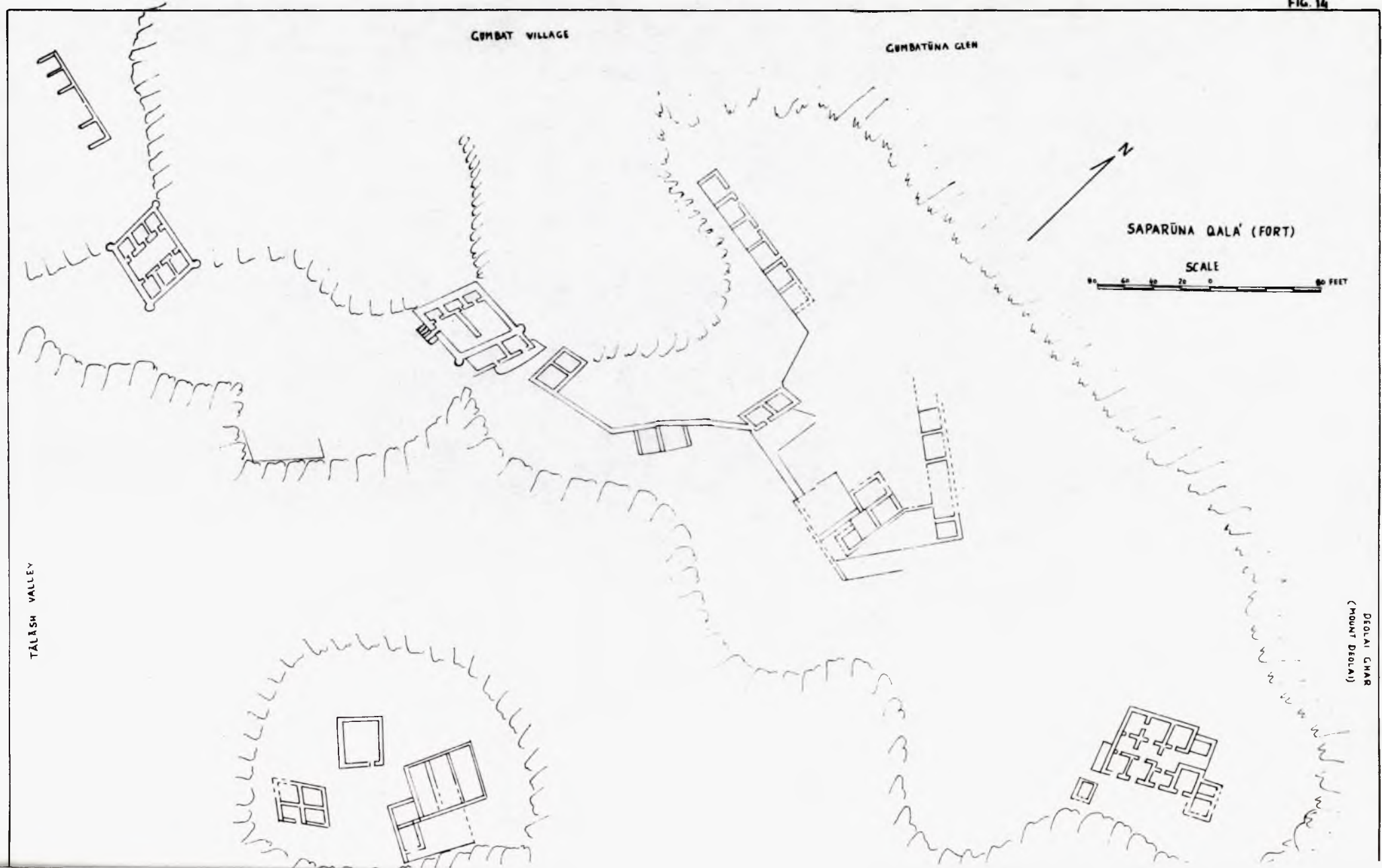


DHOB QALA' (FORT)

SCALE



FIG. 14



SCALE: 40 20 0 40 60 80 FEET

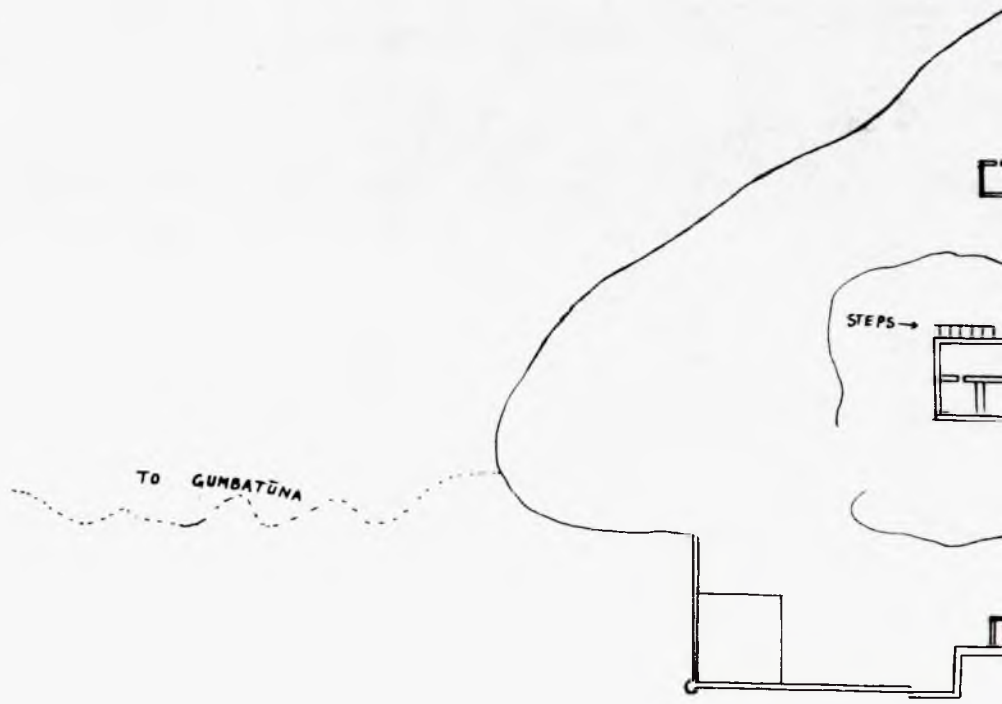


FIG. 15



BASH QALA' (FORT): GROUND PLAN

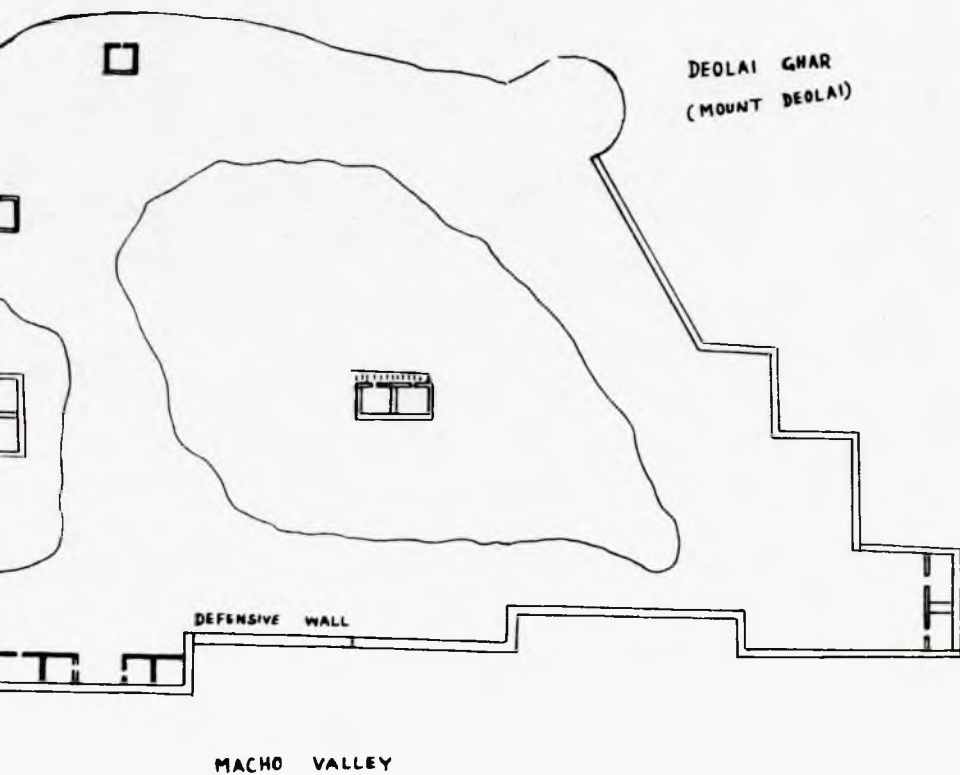


FIG.16

GUMBATŪNA: SECTION OF TRENCH C2

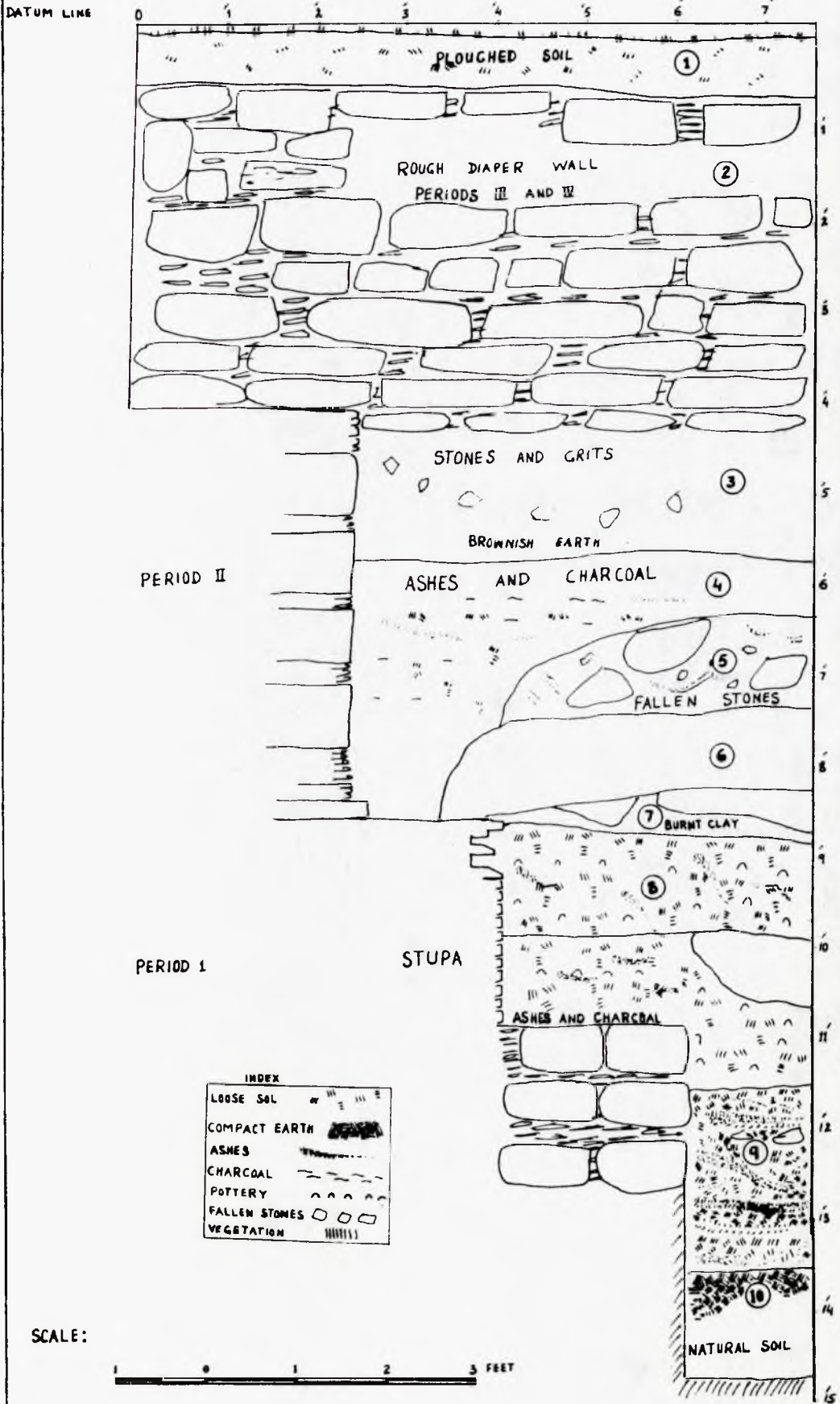
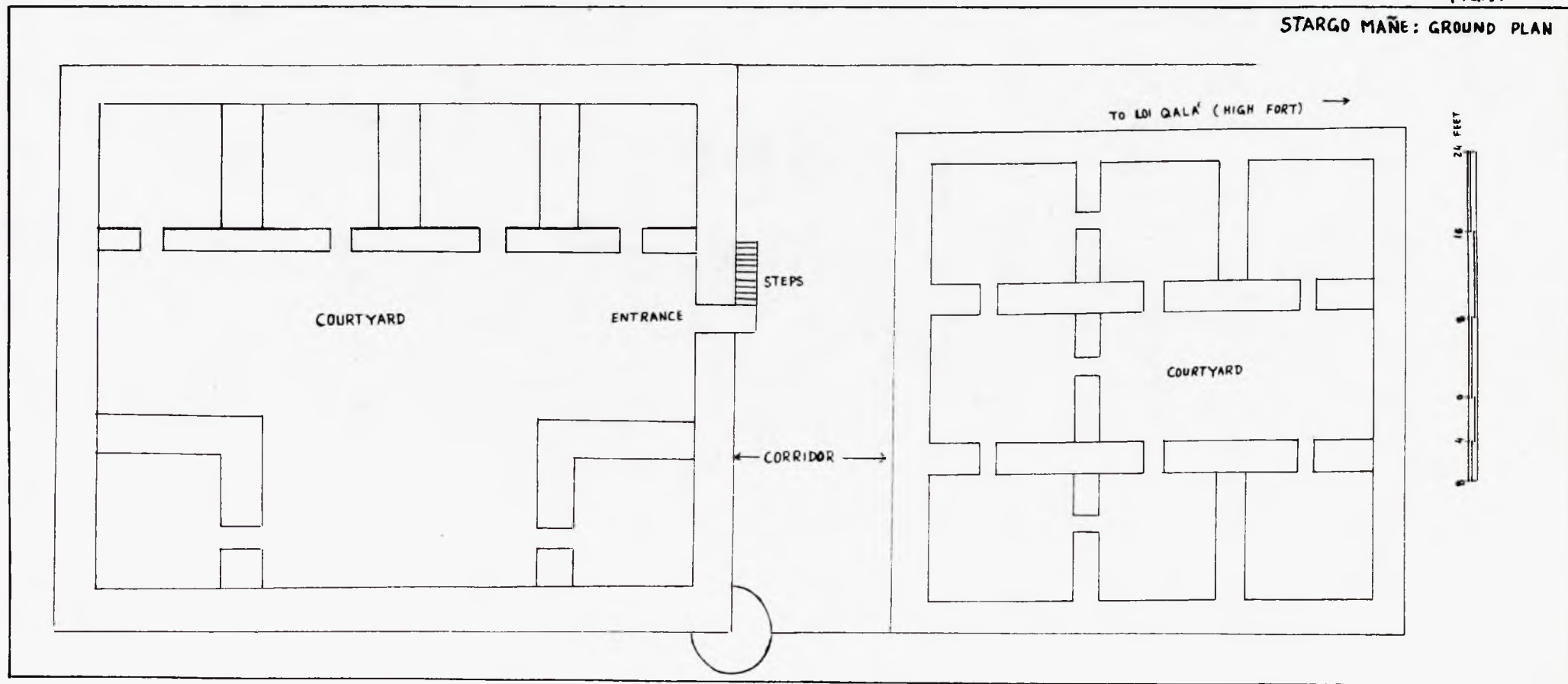


FIG. 17

STARGO MAÑE: GROUND PLAN



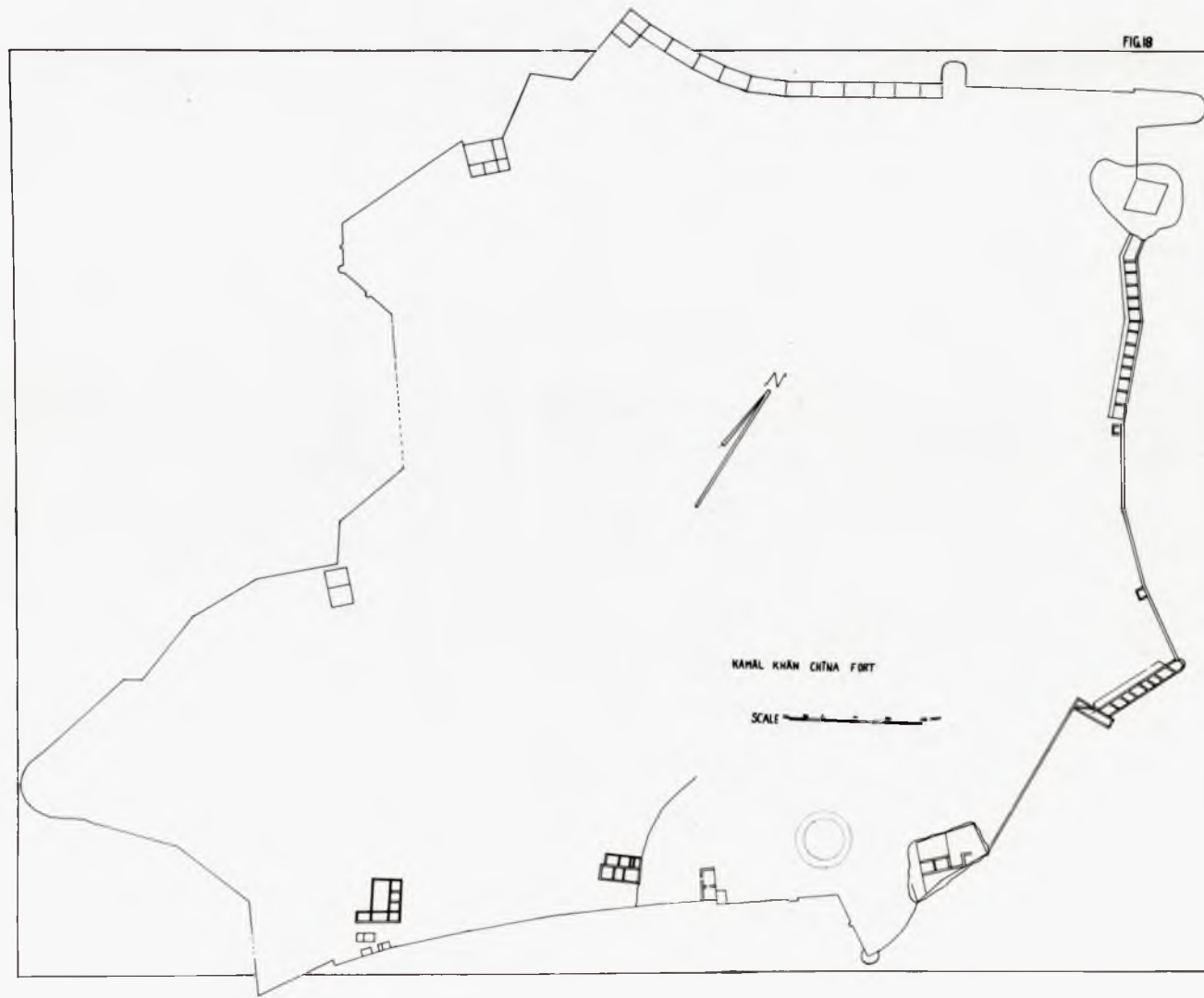
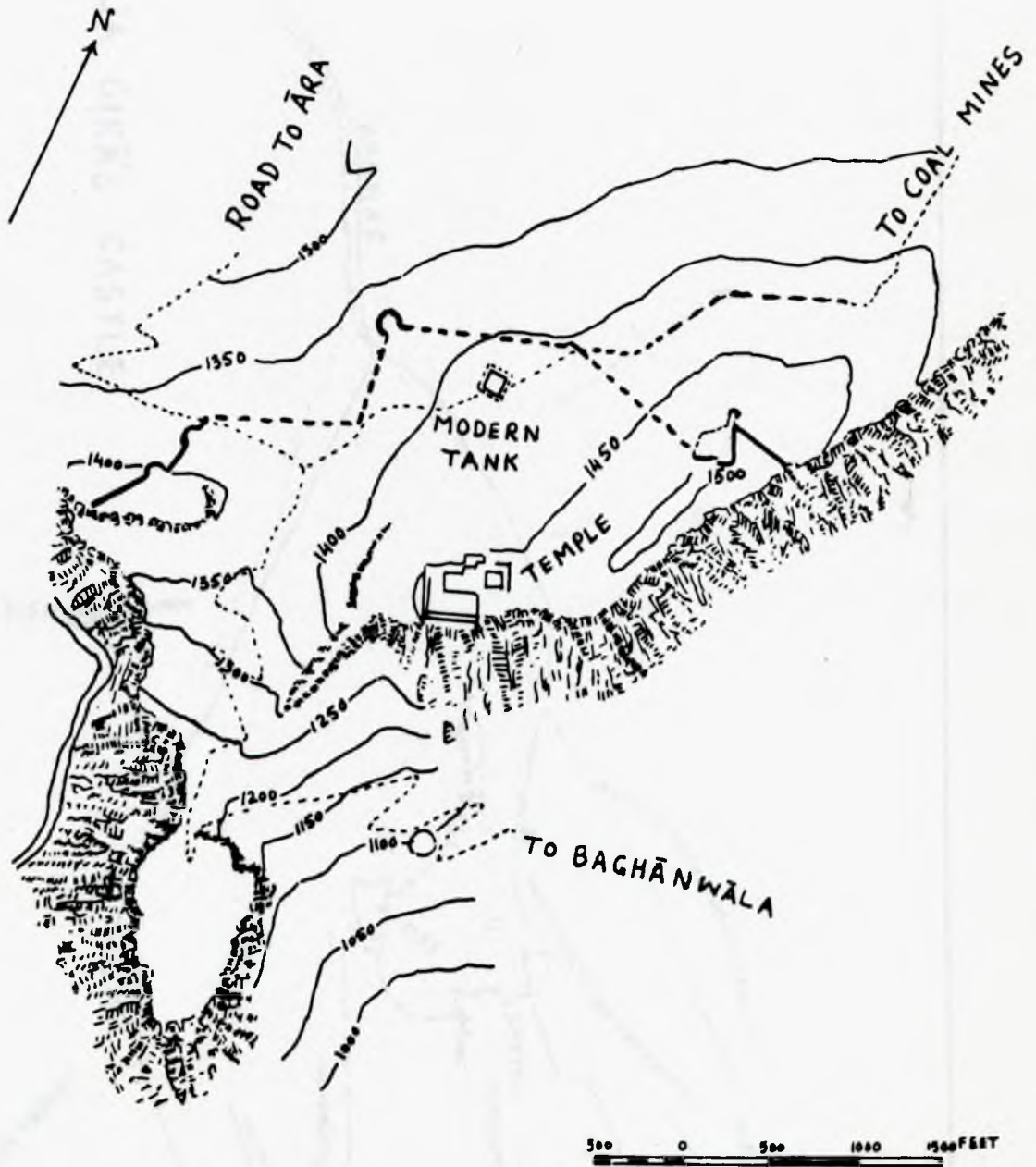


FIG. 19

NANDANA FORT



300 0 500 1000 1500 FEET

(AFTER A. STEIN)

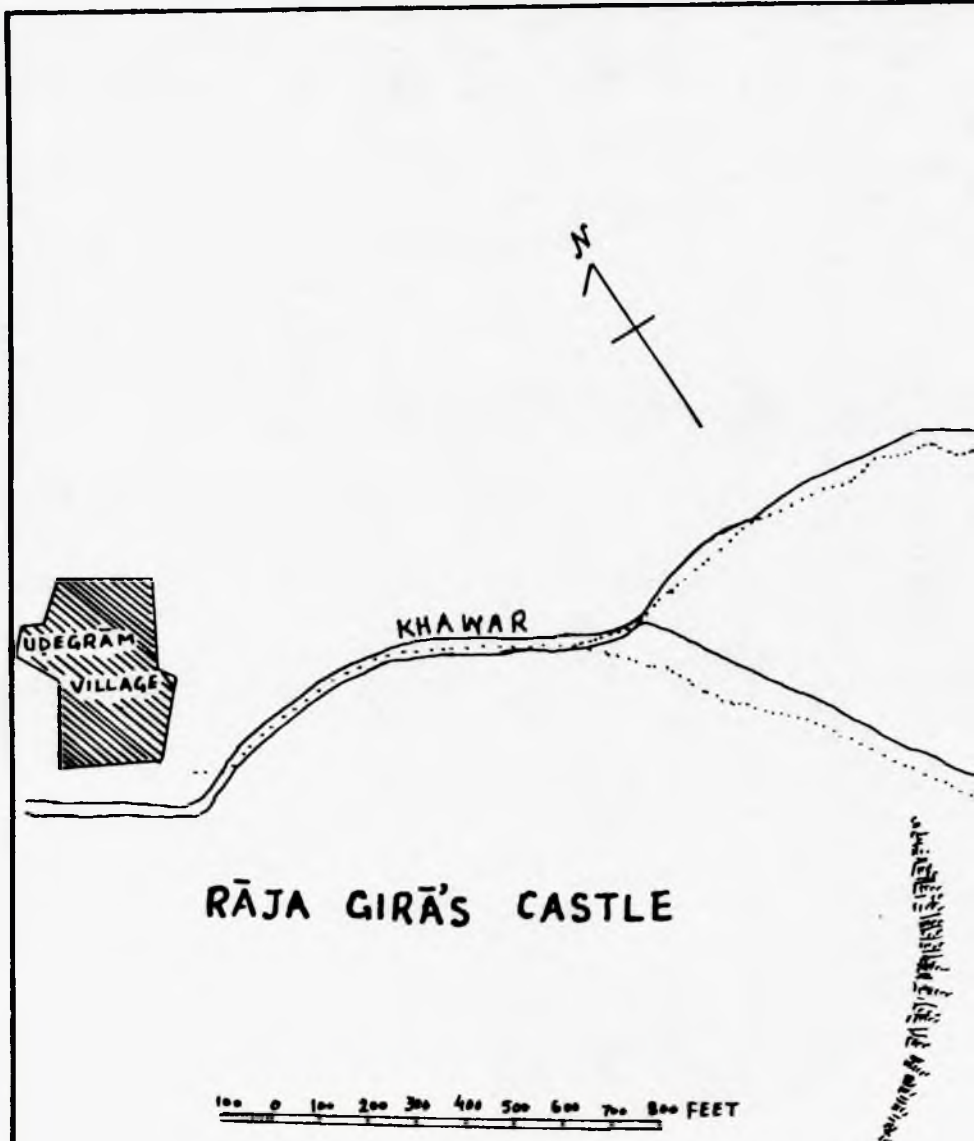


FIG. 20

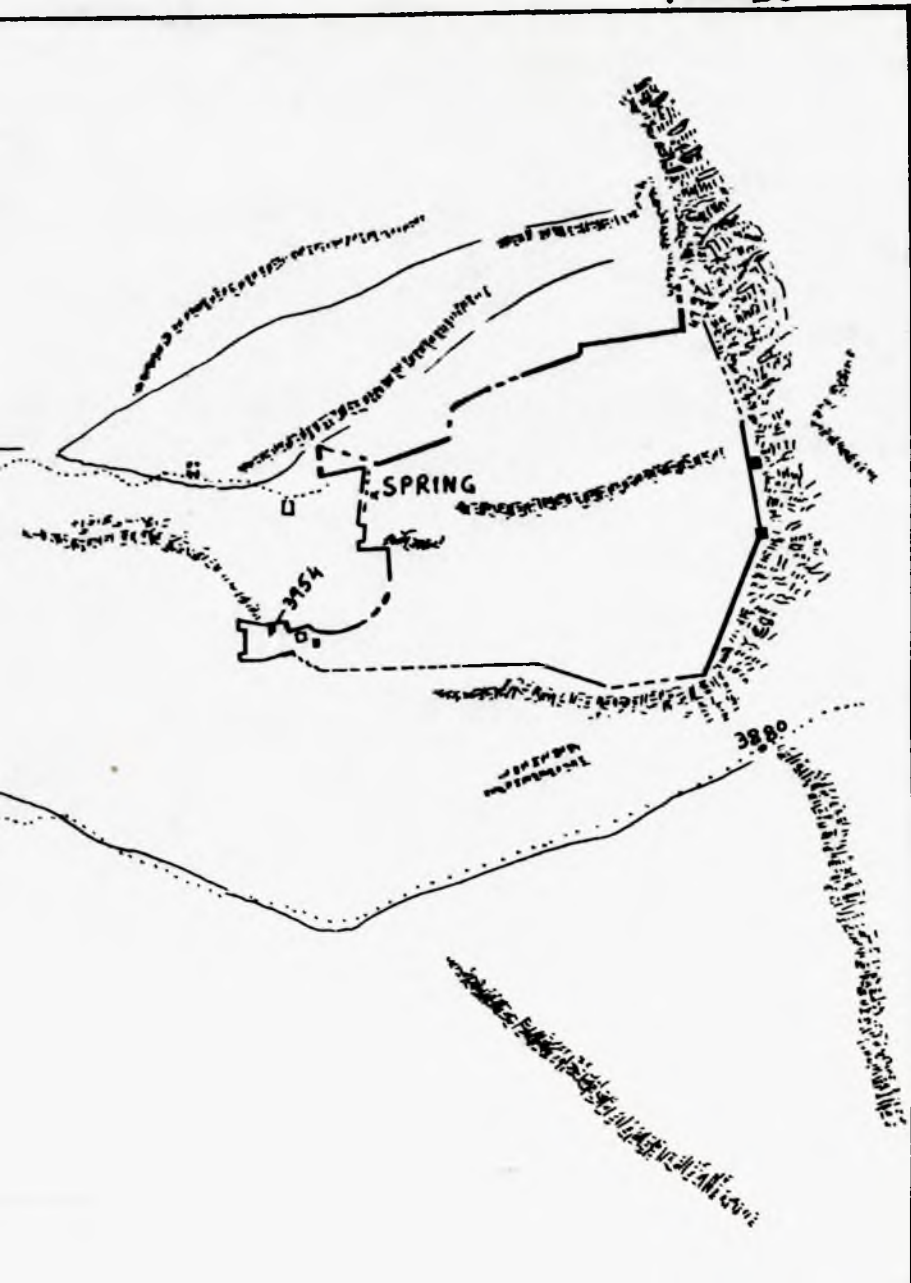
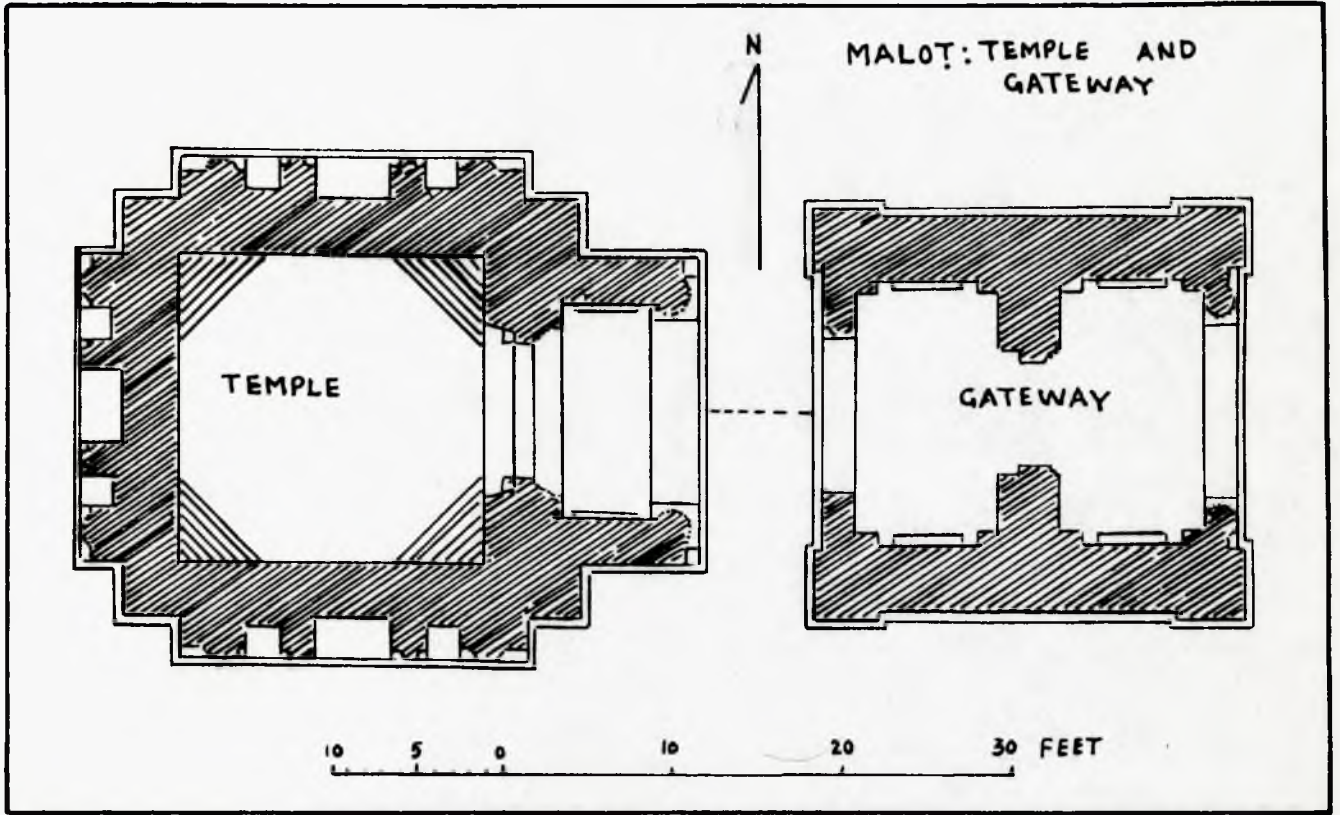


FIG. 21



(AFTER A. CUNNINGHAM)

Hund: slab inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva

1	ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	1
2	सुप्रसन्नचित्तोऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	2
3	पुत्रोऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	3
4	उत्तमोऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	4
5	दुर्मित्रोऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	5
6	वधोऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	6
7	संमत्तोऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	7
8	लेकेऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	8
9	दुर्मित्रोऽयं श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	9
10	विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	10
11	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	11
12	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	12
13	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	13
14	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	14
15	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	15
16	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	16
17	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	17
18	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	18
19	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	19
20	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	20
21	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	21
22	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	22
23	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	23
24	श्रीमद्विष्णुः श्रीमद्विष्णुः ॥	24

Plate II

TURK ŚAHI COINS

BARHATIGĪN



1

2

3

4

TQI INO PŌYO



5

6

7

8

KHINGILA



9

10

HINDU ŚĀHI COINS

SPALAPATIDEVA



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

SĀMANTADEVĀ



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24

Plate IV

HINDU ŚĀHI COINS

KHUDARAYAKA.



1

2

3

4

5

6

VAKKADEVA



7

8

9

10

11

12

BHĪMADEVA



13

14

15

16

Coins

A. Kuṣāno-Sāsānian 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



Plate VII

FORTS AND CITADELS



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)

FORTS AND CITADELS



A. Kulangī Kandre



B. Kulangī Kandre: a close view

FORTS AND CITADELS



A. Damkot: defensive wall on
the top

B. Damkot: defensive wall on the river side



FORTS AND CITADELS



A. Dīgaḍhai: a group of structures



B. Dīgaḍhai: Bāchā Māñe

Plate XII

FORTS AND CITADELS



A. Digadhai: a partly exposed niche



B. Skhā Chīna

Plate XIII

FORTS AND CITADELS



A. Gumbatūna: A general view of Stargo Māne



B. Gumbatūna: A close view of Stargo Māne

Hindu Temple



1. Kāfir Kot North



2. Kāfir Kot South (Bilot)



5. Kāfir Kot South



4. Nandana

Sculptures



1.



2.



3.

British Museum: Terracottas from (?) Panjāb



4.



5.



6.

Sculptures



Damkot: Terracotta plaque showing Buddha

Sculptures



1. Attock: Viṣṇu in marble (front view) 2. Viṣṇu in marble (back view)



3. Female bust in limestone



4. Bambolai: Terracotta head



6. Fundukistān: Terracotta statue of a *devatā*.



5. Bambolai: Three terracotta heads

Sculptures



1. Attock: Śiva and Pārvatī



2. Khair Khāneh: Sūrya in marble



3. Gardīz: Head of Śiva in marble



4. 5. 6.

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

Sculptures



1. Kashmīr Smats: Dancing Śiva



2. Kashmīr Smats: Śiva as medicant