RELIGIOUS TENSIONS IN SIND AT ARAB CONQUEST

The principal hypothesis of the thesis is that the reli-
gious tensions in Sind were delineated by certain socioeconomic
parameters. In particular, it is suggested that Buddhism in
the Sind was linked intrinsically with the mercantile sector of
the economy with its inter-regional commerce; Brahmanism, on
the other hand, had its base in an aristocracy associated with
the rural non-mercantile sector of the economy with its intra-
regional commerce. Further, that these communities came into
conflict at the time of the Arab conquest due to a contraction
in the mercantile sector resulting from the feudalization of
the economy and the decline in inter-regional commerce. Finally,
it is proposed that the mercantile classes, which were the pri-
mary support of Sindī Buddhism, were the same classes which
tended to convert to Islam. And with the defection of this
support, Buddhism was no longer viable in the Sind.

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Titre : Tensions religieuses dans la région du Sind a l'époque
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L'hypothèse principal de cette thèse est que les tensions
religieuses dans le Sind étaient délinée par certaines mesures
socio-économique. En particulier, on suggère que le Bouddhisme
le Sind était essentiellement lié à la section marchande de
l'économie avec son commerce inter-régional; le Brahmanisme,
de l'autre part, tenait sa base dans une aristocratie associée
à la section rurale non-marchande de l'économie avec son com-
merce intra-régional. De plus, que ces communautés sont entrées
en conflit à l'époque de la conquête Arabe à cause d'une res-
serrement dans la section marchande, résultat de la féodalité
de l'économie et du déclin du commerce inter-régional Finale-
ment, l'on propose que les classes marchandes, qui étaient le
support principal du Bouddhisme dans le Sind, étaient les mêmes
classes qui avaient tendences à se convertir à la relition d'
Islam. Et avec la perte de ce support, le Bouddhisme ne pouvait
plus survivre dans le Sind.

RELIGIOUS TENSIONS IN THE SIND

AT THE TIME OF THE ARAB CONQUEST

by

D.N. MacLean

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agencies.

TRANSLITERATION

For Arabic and Persian words, we have followed the system
of transliteration used by the Institute of Islamic Studies,
McGill University. When there is a variation in spelling in
the Arabic and Persian sources, we have followed the Chachnāmah:
thus Arūr not al-Rūr, Brahmanābād not Brahmanābādh, ect. In
the typing of the thesis, we have used the sign ' for hamzah
and ͨ for ͨayn.

Brahmanical and Buddhist terms from Indic sources are
rendered according to the index of Benjamin Walker's The Hindu
World (2 vols.; New York: Praeger, 1968) or T. O. Ling's A
Dictionary of Buddhism (New York: Scribners, 1972).

To facilitate reading, common words have been retained
in their Anglicized forms: Islam not Islām, Brahmin not brāh-
maṇa, Siva not Śiva, ect.

All dates are given in the Christian era except when
more precision is necessary.

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I.   INTRODUCTION

In A.D. 711 the Arab Muslim army, under the generalship
of the youthful Muhammad b. Qāsim, entered the Sind and, with
considerable celerity, conquered the entire area by the date of
his recall in 714. During the course of the occupation, the
Arabs came across Buddhist and Brahmanical religious communities
in an apparent state of tension. The crisis brought about by
the Arab incursion vividly illuminated this tension. It has
been generally acknowledged that religious tensions existed in
the Sind and that these contributed towards the rapid annexation
of the area. Many even argue that this animus was the primary
factor in the political collapse of Sind.[1]   Unfortunately,
however, in the vast bulk of secondary literature on Arab and
Indo-Muslim history serious work on religious tensions in Sind
has remained limited and of a very poor quality. There has been
no study exclusively on the tensions and very little contained
in works on the Arabs in Sind. When there is mention made of
religious conditions in Sind it is generally as an adjunct to
dynastic history[2]or, when specific, has tended towards vague
generalizations utilizing the designations "Buddhist" or "Hindu"
quite loosely and drawing for their information of these reli-
gions, at random, from all parts of India, including the south.[3]
In particular, the criteria for defining the religious communities
are deficient, as we shall see. Furthermore, the few authors who

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have studied the subject have, for the most part, done so with
a persistent and annoying communal note which, to our thinking,
seriously jeopardizes the quality of their work. Thus one group
writes from the perspective of official Indian (i.e., Hindu) cul-
ture,[4] another from an Indo-Muslim nationalist viewpoint.[5] There
seems to be no middle ground between these variations on a sin-
gle string. Both of these views are more political than histori-
cal in their treatment of religious modalities in the Sind. This
will obviously not do. We hope, therefore, to bridge these lacu-
nae by indicating precisely which religious groups were extant
in Sind during the period under analysis, on what basis they were
in conflict, and what the Arab Muslim impact was on these tensions.
This we will do with a view towards establishing the unique socio-
economic dynamics of that conflict.

Our principal hypothesis is that the tensions between the
religious communities in Sind were delineated by certain socio-
economic parameters. In particular, we suggest that Buddhism in
the Sind was linked intrinsically with the mercantile sector of
the economy with its inter-regional commerce; Brahmanism, on
the other hand, had its base in an aristocracy associated with
the rural non-mercantile sector of the economy with its intra-
regional commerce. Further, that these communities came into
conflict at the time of the Arab conquest due to a contraction
of the mercantile sector resulting from the feudalization of the
economy and the decline in inter-regional commerce. Finally,
we propose that the mercantile classes, which were the primary

support of Sindī Buddhism, were the same classes which tended
to convert to Islam. And with the defection of this support,
Buddhism was no longer viable in the Sind. We must here make
it explicit that, while our hypothesis may have implications
outside of Sind, we are maintaining it only for the Sind.

Specifically, the thesis has the following schemata.
First, we will adumbrate the religious communities and their
particular sectarian expression in the Sind. This will comprise
a discussion of their respective beliefs and customs, relative
numbers and dispersion prior to the Arab arrival. This is un-
avoidable as it would be impossible to begin to suggest that
religious tensions existed, let alone why, without explicitly
defining these religions in their specific expression in the
Sind. It has added urgency in view of the rampant mislabeling
in the secondary sources of these religious systems and their
adherents. We will clarify this situation by a detailed and
explicit examination of the religions and sects. In the second
chapter, we will indicate the socio-economic basis of the reli-
gious tensions. This will first entail an investigation of the
evidence which warrants the conclusion that there existed ten-
sions between the religious groupings. While this evidence is
not quantitatively large, it is nevertheless conclusive. We will
then designate the class alignment of the religions involved, spec-
ify historical changes in the Sindī economy, and direct attention
to altered relationships between these classes resulting from the
changes. Finally, we will examine the Arab Muslim impact on the

tensions. It will not be our purpose to discuss internal poli-
cies of the Arab khalāfah, but only those policies implemented
in the Sind which have some bearing on the religious tensions
there.

Survey of the Sources

Our major source of information is the Chachnāmah,[6] a
Persian translation of an original Arabic history of Sind. With-
out this work it would be very difficult indeed, if not impossible,
to reconstruct in depth the religious tensions in Sind. Since
it is of such prime importance to our work and since there is
some disagreement among scholars over its authenticity, antiquity,
and reliability, we will discuss it in detail here.

In A.D. 1216 a Persian scholar by the name of ᶜAlī b. Ḥāmid
b. Abī Bakr al-Kūfī arrived at the town of Arūr (al-Rūr) in the
Sind where he obtained from the Mawlānā' Qāḍī a history of Sind
written in Ḥijāzī Arabic.[7] According to the Mawlānā', this book
had been written in the hand of one of his ancestors who had par-
ticipated in the events of the Arab conquest. The text is un-
clear whether his ancestor wrote the book or merely copied it.
The original Arabic version is no longer extant, but al-Kūfī's
translation has survived and been referred to in latter works
variously under the titles of Fathnāmah, Ta'rīkh-i-Hind wa Sind,
Minhāj al-Masālik, and popularly as the Chachnāmah.[8] It contains
a history of the Buddhist and Brahmanical dynasties of pre-Islamic
Sind, an account of early Arab incursions into Sind and Hind, and
a detailed chronicle of the campaigns and conquest of Muḥammad b.

Qāsim.

Objections to the Chachnāmah as a source have taken various forms. The most serious criticism is of its authenticity and antiquity. Some scholars doubt its credibility as a translation of an older Arabic work and maintain that it is the opus of al-Kūfī himself, in spite of his contention to the contrary. Consequently, they feel it is unreliable as a source for early Sind.[9] A further depreciation is of the content of the Chachnāmah which some have found of dubious historical value.[10] It is interesting to note that, with the exception of Hussain Khan, none of the detractors of the Chachnāmah as a source have read it in the original. They have used Elliot's or Fredunbeg's translation. The few who accept its reliability have largely read it in the original Persian.[11]

The Chachnāmah can be better understood and evaluated if it is realized that it is not, nor does it purport to be, a monolithic whole by a single author. Indeed, it is possible to distinguish three substrata.

1. The first quarter of the book is a traditional historical chronicle of the Buddhist and Brahmanical dynasties of pre-Islamic Sind.[12] Thematically, this portion falls into a homogeneous whole. In contrast to latter sections, it contains no derogatory descriptions of the religions. Furthermore, no isnād is given for the information in this section; instead, it refers generically to "the reciters of stories" as its source.[13] Thus, this part of the work was probably an independent history,

possibly oral, similar to local chronicles of royal dynasties in other parts of India. This was probably incorporated with the other materials at the time the work was written down.

2. To this pre-Islamic chronicle was added a history of the conquest of Sind based on the accounts of Muslim and non-Muslim eye-witnesses to the events. For example, an account of Dāhar's assembly to decide whether they would resist the Arabs is prefaced by "the rāwī who has related this hadīth has said: 'I was present in that majlis and was one of the by-standers... I heard with my own ears.'"[14] Several times Brahmins are given as sources.[15] It is interesting and also corroborative of its authenticity that Brahmins from Arūr (where the owner of the manuscript lived) are given as the source for several events: e.g., the death of Dāhar[16] and the story of Jaysīyah's birth.[17] It is also important that the isnāds of the eye-witnesses are never more than three generations removed.[18]

3. To this basic material probably collated in the eighth century, apparently a few additions were made in the ninth or tenth centuries. The major source of these affixations came from the historian ͨAlī b. Muhammad b. ͨAbdullāh al-Madā'inī (d. c. A.D. 840) who is cited under various nisbahs as the source for several events.[19] The only other latter source quoted is Khwājah Imām Ibrāhīm who is given as the authority for one letter of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.[20] He has been identified with the Imāmī historian of the ninth century A.D.

Thus the Chachnāmah consists of three substrata, the bulk

of which is of great antiquity and probably dates from the late eighth century A.D. The following considerations, which relate to the first two sections as outlined above, permit this conclusion.

The authenticity of the work as a translation is supported, as Elliot first pointed out,[21] by the close resemblance between the ancestry of the Qāḍī of Arūr from whom al-Kūfī obtained the manuscript and the person appointed by Muḥammad b. Qāsim as Qāḍī of Arūr on the conquest of that town. The full name of the one appointed by Muḥammad was Mūsā b. Yaᶜqūb b. Ṭā'ī b. Muḥammad b. Shaybān b. ᶜUthmān al-Thaqafī.[22] That of the latter was Ismāᶜīl b. ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭā'ī b. Yaᶜqūb b. Ṭā'ī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Shahāb b. ᶜUthmān al-Thaqafī.[23] In addition, the titles of Mūsā and his descendent Ismāᶜīl are similar. Mūsā was called Ṣadr al-Imām al-Ajall al-ᶜĀlim Burhān al-Millat wa al-Dīn while Ismāᶜīl was titled Mawlānā' Qāḍī al-Imām al-Ajall al-ᶜĀlim al-Bāriᶜ Kamāl al-Millat wa al-Dīn.[24] This is supportive of the authenticity of the work since the ancestor of Ismāᶜīl was himself a participant in the occupation of Arūr.

Its authenticity and antiquity is further confirmed by its complete familiarity with normative religious practices and beliefs of Sindī Buddhists. The type of Buddhism described is consistent with that represented by Hiuen Tsiang who travelled through Sind just prior to the Arab arrival. It becomes obvious that at the time of its writing a large portion of the population of Sind was, or had recently been, Buddhist. This description

of Buddhism could absolutely not be from the thirteenth century
and probably was written before its extinction in the Sind--
i.e., shortly after the Arab conquest.

Conspicuous omissions attest to the antiquity of the work.
Nowhere is there any mention of such important ^cAbbāsid towns
such as al-Mansūrah, Maswāhī, Annarī, Sadūsān which find mention
in later histories and travellers' accounts. Brahmanābād is re-
ferred to repeatedly in the Chachnāmah but not the more important
^cAbbāsid capital of Sind, al-Mansūrah. It is interesting that
al-Balādhurī mentions Brahmanābādh (sic) but only in its rela-
tion to al-Mansūrah.[25] This town was founded either during the
reign of the ^cAbbāsid khalīfah al-Mansūr (c. 754-775)[26] or, as
is more likely, during the khalāfah of the Umayyad Hishām (c.
724-743).[27] It is probable, therefore, that the bulk of the
work was composed before this time.

Further confirmation of the early origin of the Chachnāmah
is found in its reproduction, in the original Hijāzī Arabic, of
early Arabic verses, its use of certain terms such as mawlā
which had passed out of usage in its old import by the thir-
teenth century, and its references to Arab tribes which were of
importance in the eighth and ninth centuries but not thereafter.
The poetry, which is reproduced verbatim in the original Arabic,
is remarkably similar in theme, content, and style, to the poetry
of the pre-Islamic Arabs and Umayyads.[28] The term mawlā is used
in its original sense of client or associate member of an Arab
tribe and applicable to Arabs as well as non-Arabs.[29] It is also

used in its secondary meaning of non-Arab Muslim. Thus the mawlā of Daybul is referred to as the mawlā of the Islamic community of Daybul and not of a tribe: Mawlā-i Islām-i Daybul.[30] The Arab tribes of importance in the conquest of Sind are tribes of consequence primarily in the eighth and ninth centuries: e.g., Azd, Bakr, Kalb, Qays, Thaqīf, Tamīm.[31]

In conclusion, while the Chachnāmah may have suffered in translation, there are sufficient data available to conclude that it is what it claims to be---a translation of an earlier work. And, furthermore, the bulk of the work probably dates from the eighth century. To this basic material there has been a few additions made in the ninth or tenth centuries. With this qualification in mind we can conclude that the Chachnāmah is a reliable and authentic source for the study of religious tensions in the Sind at the time of the Arab conquest.

We have also consulted other works by Muslim authors. Al-Balādhurī's chapter "Futūḥ al-Sind" is the most important of these.[32] While he is primarily interested in the political events surrounding the Arab conquest of Sind, he does mention the religious penumbrae encompassing the events. We have also occasionally consulted other historical chronicles, travellers' and geographers' accounts, and certain germane sectarian works of theology and philosophy which contain descriptions of religions in Sind or Hind. However, none of these works contain a great amount of information on religions in Sind. We have used them mainly in clarifying the accounts and terms of the Chachnāmah and al-

Baladhurī.

We have also utilized, in translation, accounts by cer-
tain Chinese Buddhist monks who travelled through the Sind or
northern India just prior to the Arab conquest. The most impor-
tant of these, for our purposes, is Hiuen Tsiang (c. 596-664)
who travelled throughout Sind (Sin-tu) and its adjacent areas.[33]
Fortunately, he was a particularly astute observer and gave de-
tailed information on the religious conditions of Sind on the
eve of the Muslim arrival. However, as a devout Buddhist pil-
grim, his interest was primarily in Buddhism; consequently, his
information on Brahmanism is somewhat limited. Furthermore, he
views the Buddhist sects themselves through a Mahāyāna perspec-
tive and is therefore somewhat biased against the Sammatīya
Nikāya which was predominant in Sind.[34] His account is especially
useful, in spite of the above qualifications, in his explicit
designation of the sects of Buddhism, the numbers of votaries,
and noteworthy local customs which differ from normative prac-
tices in other areas of India. This he also does, to a lesser
extent, with Brahmanism.

Of reduced value are the accounts of I-tsing (in India,
c. 671-695) and Chinese dynastic annals.[35] While I-tsing did
not travel through Sind, he does refer to sects of Buddhists
there and in contiguous areas. In addition, what he reports
is primarily the Vinaya (regulations of the Buddhist Order of
monks) of the Sarvāstivādins who are not found in Sind.[36] We
have also made reference to the earlier account of Fa-Hien (c.

fifth century A.D.) and certain dynastic annals containing information on Sind. These can be found listed in the footnotes and bibliography.

We have also examined, in translation, works from Indic languages. We have primarily confined ourselves to normative literature written in India during our period which either refers to Sind or contains information on sects which we know, from other sources, to have been extant in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest. Thus for the Sammatīya we have consulted the first chapter of the Kathā-Vathu[37] and the ninth chapter of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa.[38] For the Pāśupata, the major Brahmanical sect in Sind, we have seen the Śiva-Purāṇa[39] and the Pāśupata Sūtram with the Panchārtha-Bhāṣya of Kauṇḍinya.[40] We have also had recourse to other Buddhist and Brahmanical works of minor value to our thesis.

These literary sources have been supplemented by the use of epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological material, where such has been available and published.

I.   NOTES

[1]H.M. Elliot, Historians of Sind, ed. J. Dowson (3 vols.;
2d ed.; Calcutta: Susil Gupta Ltd., 1955-56), III, 106-109;
Mawlana Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, Indo-Arab Relations, trans. M.
Salahuddin (Hyderabad, India: The Institute of Indo-Middle East
Cultural Studies, 1962), pp. 11-14; Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava,
The Sultanate of Delhi(Including the Arab Invasion of Sind), 711-
1526 A.D. (2d ed.; Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala Ltd., 1953), pp. 21-
22; C.V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India (Being a His-
tory of India from 600 to 1200 A.D.) (3 vols.; Poona: Oriental
Book-Supplying Agency, 1921), I, 173-74.

[2]In addition to those mentioned above see, e.g., S.M.
Ikram, Muslim Civilization in India, ed. Ainslie T. Embree (New
York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 3-21; R.C.Majumdar
et al.,The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III:
The Classical Age (3d ed.; Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
1970), pp. 164-75, 445-62; Ishwari Prasad, A Short History of
Muslim Rule in India from the Advent of Islam to the Death of
Aurangzeb (rev. ed.; Allahabad: The Indian Press Ltd., 1970),
pp. 29-36; Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the
Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947): A Brief Historical Anal-
ysis ("Columbia University Publications in Near and Middle East
Studies," Series A, Vol. I; 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1962),
pp. 34-59; Hem Chandra Ray, The Dynastic History of Northern
India (Early Mediaeval Period) (2 vols.; 2d ed.; New Delhi:
Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973), I, 1-54.

[3]For this mislabeling see chap. II of this thesis. The
secondary literature has, for the most part, been satisfied with
leaving their designations as "Buddhist" or "Hindu" (which is
unsatisfactory and, as we shall see, unnecessary) and then gen-

eralizing from a wide range, in space and time, of secondary
sources which concern these religions in India and applying
them to Sind. The result is misplaced data and faulty conclu-
sions.

[4]The primary example of this is R.C. Majumdar, III, 166-
175, 455-62.

[5]Qureshi; S.M. Jaffar, "The Arab Administration of Sind,"
Islamic Culture, XVII (1943), 119-129; Hussain Khan, "The Role
of the People of Sind in the Struggle between Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim
and Raja Dahir," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, XIV
(December 1969), 325-241.

[6]Chachnāmah, ed. ᶜUmar b. Muhammad Dā'udpūtah (Haydarābād,
Dakkan: Maṭbaᶜah Laṭīfī Dihlī, 1939). All quotes from the Chach-
nāmah in this thesis are from this excellent edition unless other-
wise cited. Since our copy of the edition is missing pages 211-
223 we have relied on Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg's translation
(Karachi: Commissioners Press, 1900) for these parts.

[7]Ibid., pp. 9-10. The following information is taken
from al-Kūfī's own introduction, pp. 1-14.

[8]S.M. Jaffar, "End of Imād-ud-dīn Muhammad ibn Qāsim, the
Arab Conqueror of Sind," Islamic Culture, XIX (1945), 57.

[9]Thus Majumdar (III, 457), Ray (I, 3) and Vaidya (I, 161),
as well as Vasudeva Upadhyay (The Socio-Religious Condition of
North India /Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1964/) con-
sider it a product of the twelfth century and consequently unli-
able as a source for early Sind. Hussain Khan, "The Motive be-
hind the Arab Invasion of Sind as Gleaned from the Fatuh al-Buldan,"

<u>JASP</u>, XIV (April 1969), pp. 59-60, feels it is a much later work than al-Balādhurī's and as such of less reliability. His rationale is that, while both works base their accounts on al-Madā'inī, the <u>Chachnāmah</u> only consulted two of al-Madā'inī's three works while al-Balādhurī must have had knowledge of all three since he knew al-Madā'inī personally. It is difficult to accept this since while the <u>Chachnāmah</u> does mention al-Madā'inī as a source for several events (see p. 6 of this thesis) it does not mention any of his works (similar to al-Balādhurī). Muhammad Ishaq, "A Peep into the First Arab Expeditions to India under the Companions of the Prophet," <u>IC</u>, XIX (1945), 114, also prefers al-Balādhurī as a source since the Arabic original of the <u>Chachnāmah</u> and the "name of its author has been lost." He goes so far as to conclude that certain secondary literature "do not bear any scrutiny, since they are based on the <u>Chach Nāma</u>."

[10]Sailendra Nath Dhar, "The Arab Conquest of Sind," <u>Indian Historical Quarterly</u>, XVI, 3(September 1940), 598, has called it "a product of the times, and betrays in every page the prejudices and shortcomings of the age in which it was composed . . . embedded in layers of questionable materials, such as scandulous gossips, and hearsays of various kinds." H.C. Ray (I,3) says it is "more fanciful and romantic than historical in its treatment of events."

[11]For example, Elliot, I, 32-38, who first judged the work genuine. See also, Irfan Habib, "A Study of Ḥajjāj Bin Yūsuf's Outlook and Policies in the Light of the <u>Chachnāma</u>," <u>Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies (Aligarh)</u>, VI-VII (1962-63), 34-48.

[12]See <u>Chachnāmah</u>, pp. 14-70. M.R. Haig, <u>The Indus Delta Country</u> (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1894), p. 40, says "this part of the chronicle is no doubt merely an embodiment of

the local traditions current in the country about the time of
the conquest." R.C. Majumdar is apparently referring to this
portion of the work when he writes of genealogical chronicles
in Sind "on which the Chachnama was based." R.C. Majumdar, "Ideas
of History in Sanskrit Literature," Historians of India, Pakistan
and Ceylon, ed. C.H. Philips (London: Oxford University Press,
1961), p. 17. See also B.D. Mirchandani, "Sind and the White
Huns and Identification of Hiuen Tsiang's Sin-tu Kingdom,"
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay (New Series), XXXIX/
XL (1964-65),61-62.

[13]Chachnāmah, p. 14.

[14]Ibid., p. 140.

[15]Ibid., pp. 144-45, 179, 206, 234 et passim.

[16]Ibid., pp. 144-45.

[17]Ibid., p. 234.

[18]for example, Ibid., p. 110, where Ḥakam heard from his
grandfather who participated in the taking of Daybul; see also,
Ibid., pp. 181, 185, 190, 192 et passim.

[19]Ibid., pp. 78, 79, 81, 94, 102, 157, 221, 234, 239 et
passim. For a discussion of the historian al-Madā'inī see Carl
Brockelmann, "al-Madā'inī," EI[1], III:1, 81-82, and D.S. Margo-
liouth, Lectures on Arabic Historians (Rep.; New York: Burt
Franklin, 1972), pp. 85-91. For an extreme view see N.A.Baloch,
"Fateh Nama and Its Source," Proceedings of the Pakistan History
Conference, Fifth Session (Karachi, 1955), pp. 79-82. He feels
that al-Madā'inī authored the Chachnāmah, but this seems unlikely.

[20]Chachnāmah, p. 151; for this historian see Margoliouth, pp. 97-98; Habib, Bulletin..., p. 35.

[21]Elliot, I, 35-36.

[22]Chachnāmah, p. 235.

[23]Ibid., p. 9.

[24]Ibid., pp. 9, 235.

[25]al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, ed. M.J. de Goeje(Rep.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), p. 439.

[26]Elliot, I, 37.

[27]Nadwi, p. 182; Qureshi, p. 43.

[28]For some of these poems see Chachnāmah, pp. 74-75 extolling the tribe of Qays; p. 80 on ^cAbdullāh b. ^cAbd al-Raḥmān al-^cAbdī's loyal horse; pp. 83 on the heroism of Sinān b. Sulmah; p. 85 on the generosity of Ḥakim b. Mandhur; pp. 94, 97 on al-Ḥajjāj and Muhammad's nobility and bravery; pp. 183, 185, the battle hymn of the poet; p. 189, contains a long verse worthy of the Mu^callaqāt.

[29]For mawāli who are Arabs see Ibid., pp. 177, 180, 220. For non-Arab mawāli see Ibid., pp. 191-2, 136-37, 218. For a general discussion of the term see Ignaz Goldziher, Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien), ed. S.M. Stern, trans. C.R. Barber and S. M. Stern (2 vols.; London: Allen & Unwin, 1967-71), I, 101-136.

[30]Chachnāmah, pp. 136-37.

[31]Ibid., pp. 101, 106, 175-76, 189, 192 et passim. For these tribes see the relevant articles in EI[1] and EI[2] as well as Julius Wellhausen's The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall (trans. Margaret Graham Weir; Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1927), pp. 397-492, and M. A. Shaban, Islamic History A.D. 600-750(A.H. 132): A New Interpretation (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), passim.

[32]al-Balādhurī, pp. 431-446. For a discussion of the work as a whole see Margoliouth, pp. 116-19, and C.H. Becker and F. Rosenthal, "al-Balādhurī," EI[2], I, 971-72. For comment on its use for Sind see Yohanan Friedmann, "Minor Problems in al-Balādhurī'< Account of the Conquest of Sind," Rivista degli Studi Orientali XLV, fac. iii-iv (1970), 253-269, and Francesco Gabrieli, "Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab Conquest of Sind," East and West XV (1964-65), 281-95.

[33]Hiuen Tsiang, Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, trans. Samuel Beal (2 vols.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1884). An excellent account of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims in India during our period is found in René Grousset, In the Footsteps of the Buddha, trans. J.A. Underwood (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971). See also Catherine Meuwese et al., L'Inde du Bouddha vue par des Pèlerins Chinois sous la Dynastie Tang (VIIe siècle) (Paris: Calman-Levy, 1968).

[34]For this school see pp. 26-31 of this thesis.

[35]I-tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695), trans. J.A. Takakusu (Rep.; Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966).

[36]I-tsing, p. 20.

[37]Katha-Vathu, trans. Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs Rhys Davids as Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse (Rep.; "Pali Text Society Translation Series," No. V; London: Luzac and Co., 1960), pp. 8-98.

[38]Vasubandhu, Abhidharmakośa, trans. Louis de la Vallée Poussin as L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, ed. Étienne Lamotte (6 vols.; 2d ed. rev.; "Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques," Vol. XVI; Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1971), V, 227-301. We have also consulted the translation by Theodore Stcherbatsky (The Soul Theory of the Buddhists /Rep.; Varanasi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakasan, 1970/). For a discussion of Vasubandhu see Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1962), pp. 280-85.
      Unfortunately, both the Katha-Vathu and the Abhidharmakośa were written by opponents of the Sammatīya and are consequently biased. However, this is the only literature on this sect which we have been able to find in translation.

[39]The Śiva-Purāṇa, trans. by a board of scholars, ed. J.L. Shastri (4 vols.; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970). For an inquiry into this work see The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. II: Itihāsas, Purāṇas, Dharma and Other Śāstras, ed. S.K. De et al. (Rep. 2d ed. rev.; Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1969), 282-83; Maurice Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I: Introduction, Veda, National Epics, Purāṇas, and Tantras, trans. S. Ketkar (2d ed. rev.; New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1972), pp. 553-54.

[40]Pāśupata Sūtram with Panchārtha-Bhāsya of Kauṇḍinya,

trans. Haripada Chakraborti (Calcutta: Academic Publishers, 1970).

II. RELIGIONS IN THE SIND

At the time of the Arab conquest there were three major religious systems represented in the Sind: Buddhism, Brahmanism, and to a much lesser degree Islam. We will examine each of these in a separate section.

Buddhism in the Sind

It is usually conceded that an important segment of the population of Sind at the time of the Arab arrival was Buddhist. This conclusion of the secondary literature has been based on an analysis of the various forms of the words budd and sumanīyah which occur in the Muslim sources. Unfortunately, these have been interpreted to mean various things. In the interests of precision we will scrutinize these terms, as they have been utilized in the primary sources with reference to Sind, in order to come to a conclusion regarding the extent to which Buddhism was adhered to in the Sind and the peculiarities of its expression.

H.M. Elliot has alleged that since Buddhism was the prevalent religion in Sind when the Arabs arrived "it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name /i.e., budd/ and not to the Persian but, 'an idol,' which is itself most probably from the same source."[1] He further adds that the use of this term to designate Brahmanical temples indicates "the mani-

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fest confusion which prevailed amongst the Arabs regarding the respective objects of Brahman and Buddhist worship."[2] Reinaud also attributes the origin of this word to Buddha and further observes that the budd al-Daybul was not only Buddhist but a stūpa.[3] Certain scholars have endorsed this judgement and have identified Buddhists when the term budd occurs in the sources.[4] However, recent research has challenged this consensus and suggested that budd is an Arabised Persian word denoting exclusively "idol" or "temple", not necessarily Buddhist.[5] The evidence of our sources on Sind tends to support this view. While the word may have originally derived from Buddha, it is apparent that it is not used to designate the Buddhists or their structures but refers generically to a temple or idol.

In Daybul, where the Arab expedition commenced, the temple is described by al-Balādhurī as

> a great budd on which there was a tall mast. And on the mast a red flag which flew over the city when the wind blew. And they say the budd has a great minārah which is utilized as a structure in which there is an idol (ṣanam) of theirs or idols which they may make famous.[6]

al-Ya°qūbī gives a similar name along with an abbreviated description.[7] The Chachnāmah adds a dome (gunbad) in its report on the structure and mentions that it contained seven hundred beautiful girls under the protection of budd.[8] Practically all scholars have adduced from the use of the term budd and the descriptions given it in the sources that the temple was a Buddhist stūpa.[9]

However, the description could equally apply to a Saivite temple with the minārah perhaps representing the spiral śikhara.[10] That the term budd could refer to a Saivite temple is supported by the later source of al-Dimashqī who speaks of the budd of Sūmanāt which was destroyed by Maḥmūd b. Sebuktigin.[11] This is the well-known Saivite temple at Somatha-Patan which was surmounted by a massive dome and śikhara.[12] In addition, we have the account of Hiuen Tsiang who reports at Daybul a temple to Mahēśvara Dēva (Siva) inhabited by Pāśupata Saivites.[13] Also, recent excavations at Banbhore, the site of Daybul, have uncovered several votive Siva lingas complete with yoni and traces of a Saivite temple under the main mosque.[14] Thus budd used relative to Daybul does not indicate Buddhists.

Al-Balādhurī also uses the term with reference to the temple at Multān:

> The budd al-Multān was a budd which procured to it
> treasure. The Sindis dedicated to it offerings and
> made pilgrimages and circumambulated it. And they
> shaved their heads and beards before it.[15]

Apparently basing his conclusion on the use of the term budd by al-Balādhurī, I.H. Qureshi suggests that this temple "seems to have been a buddhist shrine."[16] However, it is well-known that this temple was not Buddhist but rather a temple to the Sun. Hiuen Tsiang specifies it as belonging to the "Sun-Dēva",[17] while al-Bīrūnī says it was dedicated to Āditya, the Sun-God.[18] We will describe this temple and the Sun-worshippers in a further section. For our purposes here, it is obvious that budd

as used with reference to the temple of Multān does not indicate Buddhists.

The term also denotes the general usage of idols or temples in Sind. Al-Balādhurī uses the term in this sense when he says "... and everything connected with the way of worship is, according to them, /called_7 budd as is the idol itself."[19] In another passage, the Sindī budds are likened to the churchs of the Christians and Jews and the fire-temples of the Magi.[20]

This usage of the word is fully consistent to the practices of other Arab writers. Ibn al-Nadīm likewise uses budd as a generic term referring to idols in general.[21] Indeed, when he indicates actual images of Buddha at Bamiyan he does not call them al-budd or al-bidada but asnām and suwar.[22]

It must be mentioned in passing that al-Bīrūnī describes what he terms ashab al-budd as being sumanīyah who no longer survive in India.[23] He is obviously designating Buddhists as he does not include them with the Brahmins, and the sumanīyah, as we shall see, are Buddhists. Also, al-Shahrastānī refers to the ashab al-bidada in a passage which is clearly describing the beliefs of the Buddhists.[24]

These examples notwithstanding, we will understand the term budd as used by the Muslim sources relative to Sind to be a common generic term for Sindī temples or idols unless there is additional information which would permit another reading. Without such supplementary specifications this term cannot be used to authenticate the religion or sect it describes. We

will now discuss the term sumanīyah.

For some time it has been suggested by orientalists that the word sumanīyah denotes, to the early Muslim authors, Buddhists.[25] The sole exception to this consensus which we have been able to find is Louis Massignon who calls them "matérialistes hindouistes"[26] and an "école philosophique de sceptiques hindouisants."[27] Accordingly, we find Muṭahhar al-Maqdisī classifying the Indians into two major sects (niḥlatāni): the barāhima (Brahmins) and the sumanīyah (Buddhists).[28] And al-Bīrunī writes that there are two denominations (ṭā'ifatāni) in India: the hindu and the sumanīyah.[29]

The word is apparently derived from the Sanskrit śraman which designates not only a monk but specifically a Buddhist: "Buddha, and his gospel in its original form was 'Śramanism' as different and distinguished from 'Brāhmanism'".[30] This opposition "Brahmanism-Śramanism" was commonly used in this sense in India from ancient times. Asoka in his Inscriptions contrasts Śramaṇas with Brāhmaṇas in the sense of Buddhist-Brahmanism.[31] The Greeks used the terms in this connection and it is thought that the Muslim authors adopted the term from them.[32] Consequently, we feel it safe to assume that when the Muslim chronicles of Sind write of the sumanīyah they are intending to refer to the Buddhists.

The Sumanīyah were apparently in the majority on the west side of the Indus. Here they also held important offices. Nīrūn had a Buddhist governor representing Buddhist inhabitants.[33]

They also sent delegates to other Buddhist areas on behalf of the Arabs.[34] In the conquest of the area between Nīrūn and Sīwistān, Buddhists were in the plurality and sent monks to negotiate with the Arabs.[35] Several towns in the vicinity of Sīwistān are mentioned as Buddhist.[36] At Sīwistān itself, the preponderance of the populace were Buddhists although the governor was not.[37] North of Sīwistān, at the villages of Sīsam and Budhān, Kākah b. Kūtak, the paramount chief of the area, was a Buddhist.[38] Armā'īl, in the west, had a Buddhist governor and population.[39]

For the east side of the Indus, we have several references to Buddhists. The town of Arūr had a famous Buddhist vihāra (butkhānah nawbihār) and a portion of the townspeople were Buddhist.[40] There were a large number of Buddhists at Brahmanābād. The chief Buddhist monk of the area is said to have been the qutb (spiritual guide) of the governor, Akham Lūhānah.[41] The people of the area are also said to have been his followers (mutābiᶜ).[42] It is possibly some of these Buddhists who Muhammad b. Qāsim allowed to beg among the houses of Brahmanābād as was their custom.[43] The inhabitants of the area of Sāwandī were also Buddhist.[44]

The Muslim sources are also of some value in describing the general practices of Buddhists in Sind. It is said, for example, of the Buddhist monk, Buddah Rakū:

> He is an ascetic (nāsik) who lived with other ascetics. And he is one of the philosophers of Hind and looks after the Nawwihār /sic., i.e. vihāra/. According to the Buddhists (Sumaniyān) he has attained sublimity (jalālat)

and consummation (kamālat). In sorcery and legerdemain
he is to such an extent /expert/ that he can conquer the
world and command over them. And in every way, his desires
are fulfilled through talismans (tilism).[45]

There are several things of interest in this passage. In Bud-
dhist terminology it might be said that he had reached the fourth
dhyāna which is characterized by sublimity and consummation.[46]
However, what is more surprising is the supernatural powers
attributed to him.   In another passage, he is even referred
to by Chach as "that Buddhist sorcerer (sāhir)."[47]   In addition,
we find references to the astrological sciences. The Buddhist,
Kākah b. Kūtak, concludes "from the books of Budhān and from the
calculation of the stars I have judged that Hindūstān will be
conquered by an army of Islām."[48]   Thus in contradistinction
to normative Indian Buddhism, Sindī Buddhism had apparently
become somewhat associated with supernatural powers, astrology,
and other such popular concepts.

However, the value of the Muslim sources in delineating
the particular sectarian belief systems of Buddhism in the Sind
is not great. Fortunately, we do not have to rely solely on
these sources. We have the account of Hiuen Tsiang who visited
Sind just prior to the Arab conquest. According to him, the
most populous sect of Buddhism in all India was the Sammatīya
Hīnayāna sect which numbered more than 65,000 monks in some
1,000 monasteries out of a total of more than 200,000 monks in
7,000 monasteries.[49]   In Sind itself, it was not only the most
populous and important sect, but the Sind was one of their major

centres in all of India.[50] There were 20,000 Sammatīya monks
in 350 monasteries in Sind. We have listed these in Table 1
along with their reference in Hiuen Tsiang. We find that the
majority of the adherents of this sect were concentrated on the
west bank of the Indus down to the Indus Delta. This, in turn,
complements and confirms the information contained in the Muslim
sources.

The presence and puissance of the Sammatīya in Sind is
confirmed by other reports. According to I-tsing, they are the
predominant Buddhist sect in Sind and their principal centre in
India (the secondary centre in the Gangetic basin). [51] We also
have the report of Bhavya and Vinītadeva that in the seventh
century A.D. the Sammatīya was divided into two schools: the
Avantaka and the Kurukula.[52] Commenting on this, Bareau says
that "les Avantaka étaient peut-être les Sammatīya de l'Avanta
ou Avanti, c'est-à-dire de la région située au nord de la Nar-
bada et à l'est du bas-Indus."[53] This Avanti is possibly Hiuen
Tsiang's 'O-Fan-Ch'a which was subject to Sind and contained
Sammatīya votaries and monasteries.[54] Consequently, it is pos-
sible to conclude that not only were the Sammatīya the major
Buddhist sect in the Sind, but the area was one of the two
centres of this most populous sect in India. We shall now
examine the distinguishing features of this sect.

The majority of the extant traditions list the Ārya
Sammatīya Nikāya as one of the four sub-sects of the Vatsīputrīya
which was itself an off-shoot of the Sthaviras.[55] The Sammatīya

TABLE 1

SAMMATĪYA IN SIND
ACCORDING TO HIUEN TSIANG

Place	Monks	Monasteries	Reference
Sin-tu (Sind)	10,000	200	II, 272-74
'O-tien-p'o-chi- lo (Indus Delta)[56]	5,000	80	II, 276
Pi-to-shi-lo[57] (Pitasila)	3,000	50	II, 279
'O-fan-ch'a[58] (Avanta)	2,000	20	II, 280
Total	20,000	350	

are often termed Pudgala-Vādins (or "Personalists") after what is considered their most diagnostic feature: emphasis on the existence of a _pudgala_ or "person". Since this is their most distinctive tenet, we will discuss it at some length.

At the heart of the issue of the _pudgala_ is the question of _ātman_ (self) versus its absence, _anātman_. The generally accepted Buddhist doctrine is that there "is not" (_an_) an absolute or permanent "self" (_ātman_) within each individual being except as a _karmic_ illusion (_māyā_). This is the third of the "three marks of all conditioned beings" (_Tri-laksana_) and is cardinal to Buddhism.[59] Normative Buddhist theory taught that there was no self or soul inhabiting the individual which could be thought of as an agent of the individual's actions. Rather, the individual is perceived of as a temporary collection of five _skandhas_ ("aggregates") which are not enduring and stand in a causal relationship to each other. The perception of individuality is, in theory, caused by the flux of these _skandhas_.[60] This is the "Truth of _Anātman_" which is considered by Buddhists as the most abstruse of all doctrines.

This doctrine held two fundamental difficulties for the Sammatīya: intellectual and moral. The intellectual problem was ably posed by the Punjabi King Milinda:

> If there is no such thing as a soul, what is it then which sees forms with the eye, and hears sounds with the ear, and smells odours with the nose . . . or perceives qualities with the mind?[61]

Furthermore, to insist upon the illusory nature of the "self" is to operate upon an a priori detached real "self" which is somehow able to differentiate between reality and unreality, and come forth with the statement "there is no self". This could obviously not be true on its own authority since it de-denunciates its own validity. The moral problem is that of validating responsibility and ethical relationships in the absence of a "self":

> If, most reverend Nāgasena, there be no permanent indi-
> viduality (no soul). . . . Who is it who lives a life
> of righteousness? . . . Who is it who lives an evil
> life of worldly lusts, who speaks lies. . . .[62]

The Sammatīya sought to reconcile these difficulties by postulating the existence of a "person" (pudgala) which was the subject of the activities of the individual and responsible for all its actions. It was this pudgala which transmigrated and, therefore, not identical with the skandhas which did not.[63]

The importance of this pivot point of Sammatīya doctrine is that, in contradistinction to the sophistry of normative Abhidharmic theories, it is eminently comprehensibile by the masses.[64] It is interesting to note that the concept of pudgala is analogous to the Brahmanical jīvātman (the soul of an indi-vidual being)[65] and can be seen as an attempt to compete with this religion at the village level.

Besides the theoretical, there are other indications of the mass orientation of the Sammatīya in Sind. We have noted references in the Muslim sources to supernatural powers of

Buddhist monks in Sind. Hiuen Tsiang observed that certain
Sammatīya monks in Sind

> shave their heads and wear the Kashāya robes of Bhikshus,
> whom they resemble outwardly, whilst they engage them-
> selves in the ordinary affairs of lay life. . . . The
> changed times have weakened their virtue . . . but
> though they wear the robes of religion, they live with-
> out any moral rules, and their sons and grandsons con-
> tinue to live as worldly people without regard to their
> religious profession.[66]

This is referring to the institution of married monks which was
also found in Kashmir.[67]

While the Sammatīya were the major sect of Sindī Buddhism
in terms of numbers and influence, there are some indications
of small communities of other sects of Buddhism in the area.
Hiung Tsiang mentions the presence of adherents of Hīnayāna
in parts of Sind although he does not specify their school.[68]
These are very sparse, however. He does mention a Sarvāstivādin
monastery in the area just adjacent to Sind (Barmer) which con-
tained a hundred monks.[69] According to the Chachnāmah, this
area was part of Sind at the time of the Arab conquest.[70]
I-tsing reports a small number of adherents of this school in
Sind where they co-existed with other schools.[71] However, this
group was more important in the Gangetic plain.

I-tsing also attests the presence of small numbers of fol-
lowers of the Sthaviras and Mahāsanghikas in Sind.[72] Hiuen
Tsiang does not indicate any in Sind proper but lists a concen-
tration of Sthaviras in Kathiawar[73] and Mahāsanghikas in Kashmir[74]

and northwest of Sind.[75] Neither of these schools appear to
have been very popular in Sind but probably had a few adherents.

I.H. Qureshi informs us that "when Hiuen Tsiang visited
the subcontinent in the middle of the seventh century, he still
found Mahāyana Buddhism the prevailing religion in western areas."[76]
He further suggests that the reason Buddhism was losing out to
Brahmanism was that "Mahāyana had gone so far in making compro-
mises with Brāhmanism that it had lost its stamina."[77] Thus, he
concludes, they welcomed the Arabs. This statement is in need
of some revision. As we have shown, Hiuen Tsiang has quite ex-
plicitly specified Sammatīya Buddhists as the most important
sect in western India and the Sind. He mentions the numbers of
Mahāyāna Buddhists only in Fa-la-na (Varana) where there were
"some tens of saṅghārāmas, but they are in ruins."[78] They are
also found in mixed communities in Long-kie-lo (Langala)[79] and
Po-fa-to (Parvata).[80] These two places had unspecified numbers
of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhists studying together. Com-
pared with the Sammatīya, this is quite a minor community. It
is apparent, therefore, that the Mahāyāna was neither as wide-
spread nor influential as is commonly thought.[81] Accordingly,
any conclusions proffered must be on the basis of the Sammatīya
being in the plurality.

Brahmanism in the Sind

The term Brahmanism is generally used in opposition to Śramanism. Śramanistic systems, as we have seen, are those heterodox religions in India which are defined in contradistinction to the Brahmanical or orthodox systems.[82] Briefly stated, what we mean by Brahmanism is that religious system which, no matter what smriti (non-vedic scripture) is utilized, traces its authority (as well as its smriti) to the śruti (vedic scripture) and is predicated on a class basis having as its apex the Brahmins. We do not use the term Hindu since this is, for our period, a geographic or ethnic term and not a religion. In addition, it must be pointed out that our definition is meant to be substantially different from that of the original Vedic Brahmanism which was based solely on śruti texts and, with its emphasis on sacrifices, was a different system from that which we are describing here.[83]

The Chachnāmah makes numerous references to the existence of Brahmins in the Sind. Chach and the dynasty he founded are not only mentioned repeatedly as Brahmins by name, but descriptions of that family's practices establish beyond a doubt their Brahmanical background. For the most part, we find them conforming to the normative pattern set for Brahmins by the smriti literature. For example, Chach tells the ḥājib of Rāy Sāhasī b. Sīharas that he (Chach) is a Brahmin and "I have on the tip of my tongue all four books of Hind: Rig, Jaj, Asām, Atharīn."[84] These are undoubtedly the four Vedas--Rig, Yajur, Sāma, and

Atharva--which make up the Brahmanic śruti, or revealed know-
ledge.[85] In fact, the Brahmins had a complete monopoly on the
recitation of these Vedas.[86] The Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhimihira
distinguishes between Brahmins according to which Veda they be-
long: a Brahmin skilled in the recitation of a single Veda is
termed Śratriya, one well-versed in all four Vedas is called
Cāturvīdya.[87] This latter is quite rare and indicates that Chach
considered himself a Cāturvīdya Brahmin.

Also of interest are those passages in the Chachnāmah
which relate to conduct as perceived by certain Sindī Brahmins
as normative for their varṇa (caste). For example, when Rāy
Sāhasī's wife Sūnhindyū conspires to bed and board the Brahmin
Chach, he (Chach) replies

> In particular, we are from the community (jamā^{c}at) of
> Brahmins, and my father and brother are monks (rāhib).
> At present they are sitting in seclusion (mu^{c}takif) and
> contemplation (mutaraṣṣid) in the temple (ta^{c}budgāh).[88]

And so he refuses, albeit temporarily, this infidelity as un-
becoming to a Brahmin. Later, when Chach's grandson Jaysīyah
visits the king of Kīruj, he refuses to partake of the sister of
the king since he was a Brahmin.[89] This is apparently referring
to the Brahmanical ideal of austerity and asceticism wherein the
Brahmin should not "attach himself to any sensual pleasures."[90]
Also included is the concept of impurity which is invoked by
adultery and for which due penance is prescribed in the smritis.[91]
This was an important consideration to the Brahmins of Sind and
is entirely consistent with the practices of normative Brahmanism.

Another feature of Brahmanism in the Sind is the wide-
spread prevalence of beliefs in supernatural power, omens, and
imprecations. In fact, it seems to have been an inseparable
part of their system of beliefs and, as such, much more promi-
nent and characteristic of Brahmanism than Buddhism.

The office of astrologer attached to the Brahmanical state
was a sine qua non of the Chach dynasty. Chach and his descen-
dents consulted state-supported astrologers on the occasions of
birth of sons and daughters,[92] before undertaking military cam-
paigns,[93] and for deciding state affairs.[94] It is said of Dāhar's
official astrologer that

> He is an astrologer from the community of Brahmins, and
> he is a scholar and wise man in astrology. His conclu-
> sions are wise and accurate, and his proofs are in accor-
> dance with experience.[95]

A king who did not honour and patronize astrologers was destined
for destruction. As Dāhar's astrologer told him:

> It should be considered a necessity to visit them
> /i.e., astrologers/and try to respect them. Because
> their pleasure is the means of increasing grandeur
> and magnificence and the permanence of their exalt-
> edness and respect.[96]

This patronage of astrologers was accompanied by a con-
comitant propitiatory worship of the planets.[97] This was done
in order to ward off certain malefic effects of bad omens and
portents. Dāhar, for example, consulted an astrologer before
engaging the Arab army. He told Dāhar that the Arabs would win
since they had Venus (zuhrah) behind them.[98] So Dāhar had a

figure of Venus made from gold and tied it to his horse so that
"Venus might be behind his back and the victory his."[99]   This
is quite consistent with non-sectarian Brahmanical practice.
In campaigns throughout North India, the image of a planet was
carried by an army while on expedition.[100]

        We also find omens and portents, both good and bad, allot-
ted some importance in Brahmanical Sind. When the Arab army
reached Jaypūr, Dāhar's wazīr Siyākir interpreted it as a bad
omen:

> O the evil is done. /They have arrived at/ that town
> of Jaypūr, which is to say "place of victory". When
> the army has arrived in the region, triumph and victory
> is theirs.[101]

However, Dāhar opinioned that it was a good omen since "/Muḥammad/
has encamped at Had Bārī. That is a place where all their bones
will scatter."[102]

        Thus we find that belief in supernatural powers and events
were a characteristic feature of Sindī Brahmanism. Al-Bīrūnī,
at a later date, indicated that this was a salient trait of the
Brahmanical system: "As regards charms and incantations, the
Hindus have a firm belief in them, and they, as a rule, are much
inclined towards them."[103]

        Another practice mentioned of Brahmanism in the Sind is
that of satī. Al-Balādhurī reports that a wife of Dāhar's "was
afraid of being taken and so she set herself and her followers
and belongings aflame."[104] According to the Chachnāmah, their
motive in undertaking this act was   that they would meet their

husbands in the other world.[105] This is in keeping with smṛiti statements indicating that satī would reunite the wife with her husband in eternal bliss in heaven.[106]

We are now prepared to examine the sectarian expression of Brahmanism in the Sind. While Hiuen Tsiang does not mention numbers of Brahmanical votaries, he does specify 299 Brahmanical temples in Sind. Fifty-eight of these were inter-sectarian temples,[107] and one was the Sun temple at Multān, which we will discuss later. The other 240 were all inhabited by Pāśupata Saivites. Since this sect was of such importance to the Sind, we will here point out the geographic distribution of the sect after which we will direct some attention to its distinctive beliefs.

Hiuen Tsiang found a concentration of Pāśupata temples in Long-kie-lo (Langala) where there was also a famous temple to Maheśvara Siva.[108] This area has been identified with Eastern Makrān: the valleys west of the Indus Delta.[109] There is other evidence of Saivites in the area. The temple of Hiṅgulā, on the Hingul river, is celebrated as one of the spots where Satī's limbs (here, the forehead) fell when she died.[110] Satī was a wife of Rudra Siva;[111] she is still known in the area by the name of Mahāmāyā, i.e., Siva's Śakti as the source of spells.[112] The temple contains a liṅga of Siva.[113]

The Indus delta was also a centre of Pāśupata Saivism.[114] In the capital city of Daybul there was a temple to Maheśvara Siva.[115] We have previously discussed why this temple could not

have been Buddhist.[116] There are other indications of Saivism
in the delta. The Śiva-Purāṇa mentions the Indus River as one
of the seven sacred Gaṅgās (rivers)[117] and as a place where
"ablution therein accords perfect knowledge."[118] The holy lake
of Nārāyana, at the juncture of the Indus and the sea, is con-
sidered a place of great sanctity to the Saivites.[119] Al-Bīrūnī
confirms the worship of the liṅga: ". . . in the south-west of
the Sindh country this idol /ī.e., Siva's liṅga7 is frequently
met with in the houses designed for the worship of the Hindus."[120]

Hiuen Tsiang also reports twenty Pāśupata temples in Pi-
to-shi-lo (Pitasila),[121] five in 'O-fan-ch'a (Avanta),[122] and
five in Fa-la-na (Varana).[123] However, these areas seem to have
been primarily Buddhist.

The Pāśupata was a Saivite sect associated with Siva in
his aspect of "the Herdsman" (Paśupati).[124] We find what is of-
ten termed the proto-Paśupati Siva as early as the Mohenjo-daro
seal in Harappan Sind.[125] The peculiarities of the Pāśupata
system are as follows.

First, Paśupati Siva is seen as the ultimate cause, cre-
ator, maintainer, and destroyer of all things. He is the Great
God (Mahā-deva) who is beginningless, unborn, and eternal. As
the ultimate cause (kārana) he is regarded as independent of
Purusha (primal spirit) and Prakṛti (primal matter) which are
considered effects (kārya).[126] This belief in the omniscience
of Paśupati Siva is perhaps what the Sindī Brahmin is referring
to when he describes his belief in the "one God, the Inexplicable,
the Infallible, and Creator of the Universe."[127] Fredunbeg feels

that the monotheism attributed to the Brahmin in this passage
could not be accurate since it is inconsistent with other por-
tions which portray him as an idol-worshipper.[128]   However,
the two are not necessarily exclusive; the attributes and func-
tions of other deities could be, and apparently were, subsumed
in that of the One God--Paśupati Siva in the Sind. As V. B.
Mishra points out about early medieval North Indian Saivism:

> Numerous attributes, properties and functions belonging
> to various deities of the Hindu pantheon were unified
> in the person of Śiva. He practically swept other gods
> off their feet.[129]

Secondly, there are a series of unique vidhi (rituals or
practices) through which yoga (union) leading to duhkhānta (de-
liverance) is achieved.[130] These rituals are generally divided
into two types: vratas (duties) and dvāras (doors). The duties,
which were to be performed in secret, consist of certain prac-
tices associated with ashes and oblation.[131] The devotee is
enjoined to bathe in ashes three times a day.[132] He must also
sleep in ashes on other occasions for "penance, for purification
or for rest."[133] For this reason they are often called the "ash-
sprinklers". The six types of oblation (upahāra) which should
accompany the worship of Paśupati are laughter, songs, dances,
muttering the holy sound of Siva's bull, adoration, and inaudible
repetition of mantras.[134] It is possible that the Chachnāmah is
referring to some of these practices when it reports of the Sindī
tribe of Sammahs who had "an old custom among them to come for-
ward playing and dancing and making merry."[135] However, this

may just be some local custom. The six doors (dvāras) are certain practices—e.g., pretending to be asleep when actually awake or speaking nonsensically—which are performed in order to elicit abuse from people. This allows the Pāśupata adept to gain merit and obtain a proper perception of his self.[136]

The successful practice of these rituals gives the devotee deliverance (duḥkhānta). To the Pāśupatas this included the attainment of certain miraculous powers of Siva.[137] A peculiarity of the Pāśupata system lies in this ideal which grants to the adept certain higher magical powers. This includes such things as being able to hear and see all sounds and objects, take different shapes, and the possession of power second only to Siva who also creates.[138] It is probably these faculties which the Chachnāmah attributes to the "sorceress (sāhirah) of the Hindu Jūganī class."[139] She is said to have travelled all over the earth by magical means and is hinted to have had possession of other powers. It is interesting that in the Brahmanical tradition it is Siva who is considered the perfect yogi (Mahā-Yogi).[140] This is also in accordance with our earlier observations on the prevalence of belief in super-natural powers among the Brahmanical Sindīs.

The second most popular Brahmanical sect in the Sind appears to have been the Sun-worshippers. This sect apparently had a foreign origin (though incorporating aspects of Vedic solarity) and was derived from the Iranian worship of Mithra.[141] The story of the importation of Sun worship into the Sind is told in several

Purāṇas.[142] Śamba, a son of Krishna, was cured of leprosy by the intercession of Sūrya, the Sun god, and for this reason built a temple to the Sun at Mūlasthānapura (Multān). When he was unable to find any Brahmin to officiate over the worship of the Sun at Multān, he brought Maga priests from Śakadvīpa (Eastern Iran) to the Sind. According to Varāhimihira, these Magas were the sole persons qualified to serve the Sun god.[143] This has been confirmed by al-Bīrūnī who states that the priests who ministered to the Sun idol were Magas.[144] They were integrated into the Brahmanical system as Brahmins.[145] The Chach branch of Brahmins may well have belonged to this group since "their tradition of devotion and fire-worship is well-known and wide-spread."[146] And, furthermore, when Chach conquered Multān he went to the temple and "made prostration to the idol (but) and gave alms (sadaqah)."[147]

The centre of Sun worship in the Sind was at the renowned temple of Multān. Hiuen Tsiang has given an excellent description of it:

> There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnicent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sundeva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. . . . Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to it. . . . The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to this Deva). . . . Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so. On the four sides of the temple are tanks with flowering groves where one can wander about without restraint.[148]

It has also attracted the attention of many Muslim writers who have described it quite vividly.[149] The Chachnāmah portrays the idol as "made of gold"[150] while al-Bīrūnī reports that it is called Āditya.[151] In our period, Āditya was a synonym for the Sun and was usually represented by a gold image.[152]

The Sun was worshipped in its form as orb three times a day with pūjā (ritual ceremonies) and repetition of mantras.[153] It was connected to vegetation and fecundity of all life.[154] In this respect, it was worshipped to cure diseases. Ibn al-Nadīm discloses that to the Sun-idol came "persons with maladies. . . . They stand by it and spend nights before it, worshipping, making suplication and praying that it may cure them."[155] It may be in this connection that pilgrims came to the temple at Multān.

There were other local Brahmanical sub-sects extant in the Sind at the time of the Arab conquest. Folk tales and ballads attest to an old cult of the Indus river.[156] There is the story of Uderolāl who is thought to have been an incarnation of Varuṇa, the god of waters. He came to the rescue of Sindī Hindus in order to prevent, by his miraculous powers, their conversion to Islam. S.K. Chatterji considers the word Uderolāl to be derived from the Prākṛit Uḍḍa-yara, "the creator of the waters."[157] This river cult has survived in Sind with the Daryā Panth and the veneration of Khwājah Khiḍr.[158] Since Varuṇa is usually portrayed as standing on a crocodile, perhaps the Sindī cult of the crocodile is a remnant of this aspect of the river

deity.[159] However, all this is tantalizing rather than definitive. Our sources for the period do not mention these sub-sects. Perhaps they were contained within the literate Brahmanical systems (i.e., Pāśupata or Saura) which our sources do name.

Islamic Elements in the Sind

There is some evidence of the existence of a small number of Arab Muslims in the Sind prior to the Arab conquest. There were Arabs in the Sind long before the conquest. During the reign of Chach, a certain ᶜAyn al-Dawlah Rīhān Madanī was appointed by him in temporary charge of the fort of Sikkah.[160] While he is not mentioned as being Arab, the evidence of his name would support this conclusion. However, there is no indication that he was a Muslim. The Chachnāmah also mentions a group of five hundred Arab mercenaries who had entered the service of Dāhar around the year A.D. 704 and had been given important military commissions.[161] That they were Muslim is evinced by their refusal to fight against the Arab Muslim army on the grounds that they themselves were Muslim and if they fought other Muslims their reward would be hell-fire.[162] However, these Muslims were a small and, except for their military advice, comparatively uninfluential segment of the population of Sind before the Arab conquest.

II. NOTES

[1]Elliot, III, 106.

[2]*Ibid.*, III, 108.

[3]M. Reinaud, <u>Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs a l'Inde, antérieurment au XIe siècle de l'ère Chrétienne</u> (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1845), p. 193; <u>idem, Mémoire Géographique, Historique et Scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement au milieu du XI[e]siècle de l'ère Chrétienne</u> (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1849), pp. 89-90, 177, 290.

[4]See, for example, Nadwi, pp. 11-14, 121-26; Qureshi, pp. 37-43; Ram Kumar Chaube, <u>India as Told by the Muslims</u> (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1969), p. 135.

[5]H.W. Bailey, "The Word 'But' in Iranian," <u>Bulletin School of Oriental and African Studies</u>, VI (1930-32), 279-83; Daniel Gimaret, "Bouddha et les Bouddhistes dans la Tradition Musul-mane," <u>Journal Asiatique</u>, CCLVII, Nos. 3/4 (1969), 274-78; B. Carra de Vaux, "Budd," <u>EI</u>[2], I, 1283-84.

[6]al-Balādhurī, p. 437.

[7]al-Ya[c]qūbī, <u>Kitāb al-Buldān</u>, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (2 vols.; rep.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), II, 345-46.

[8]<u>Chachnāmah</u>, pp. 104, 108.

[9]Elliot, III, 106-107; Gimaret, <u>Journal Asiatique</u>, CCLVII,

275;   Qureshi, p. 38;   Vaidya, I, 170-171;   A.S. Bazonee Ansari, "Daybul," EI², II, 188-89.   The only exception is Abdul Ghafur Muhammad, "Fourteen Kufic inscriptions of Banbhore, the site of Daybul," Pakistan Archaeology, III (1966), pp. 73-74.

[10]The Saivite temple at Kannaneru had "flags waving from its golden spires" (Ajay Mitra Shastri, India as Seen in the Brhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira /Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969/, pp. 402-403).   See also V.N. More (ed.), Somanatha Temple (Calcutta: Aryavarta Samskrti Samsad, 1948);   Benjamin Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India (Rep. 3d ed; rev.;   Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1970), 293-95.

[11]al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, trans. A.F. Mehren as Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age (Copenhague: C.A. Reitzal, 1874), pp. 230-231.   His description of the budd is consistent with Saivism: "Le nom 'Bouddh' signifie une idole de pierre, que les Indes adorent;   elle représente les parties sexuelles de l'homme et de la femme en pierre, en or ou en fer, et on l'appelle cause la plus immédiate de l'unité du genre humain."

[12]More, pp. 32-36 et passim;   Nundo Lal Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India (Rep.;   New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1971), pp. 157-58.

[13]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 276.

[14]Abdul Ghafur, Pakistan Archaeology, III, 73-74;   S.M. Ashfaque, "The Grand Mosque of Banbhore," Pakistan Archaeology, VI (1969), 188, 198-199;   "Excavations at Banbhore," Pakistan Archaeology, I (1964), 53;   "Banbhore," Pakistan Archaeology, V (1968), 183-84.

[15]al-Balādhurī, p. 440.

[16]Qureshi, p. 43. Elliot (III, 106, 108-109) also mentions that it was mislabeled Buddhist by the Arabs which, according to him, indicates their lack of knowledge about Buddhism.

[17]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 274.

[18]al-Bīrūnī, Kitāb Tahqīq mā li al-Hind, trans. E. Sachau as Alberuni's India (2 vols.; London: Trubner, 1888), I, 156-57.

[19]al-Balādhurī, p. 437.

[20]Ibid., p. 439.

[21]Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, trans. Bayard Dodge as The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: a Tenth Century Survey of Muslim Culture (2 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), II, 831.

[22]Ibid., II, 827 n. 4.

[23]al-Bīrūnī, Kitāb Tahqīq mā li al-Hind, ed. E. Sachau (London: Trubner, 1887), pp. 59, 284.

[24]al-Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-Milal wa al-Nihal (Cairo: Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1381/1961), III, 240-42. Also see the translation by Theodir Haarbrücker, Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen (2 vols.; Halle: C.A. Schwetschke, 1850-51), II, 358-60. For an interpretation of al-Shahrastānī's outlook see Bruce B. Lawrence, "Shahrastānī on Indian Idol Worship," Studia Islamica, XXXVIII (1973), 61-73.

[25]On the Sumanīyah see Gimaret, Journal Asiatique, CCLVII, 288-306; Maqbul Ahmad, Indo-Arab Relations (New Delhi: Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1969), pp. 19-24; Edwin E. Calverly, "Sūmaniyyah," Muslim World, LIV, No. 3 (July 1964), 200-202; Ignaz Goldziher, Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam, trans. Felix Arin (Paris: P. Geuther, 1920), p. 132; Max Horten, "Der Skeptizismus der Sumanija nach der Darstellung des Rāzī," Archiv Für Geschicte der Philosophie (Berlin), XXIV (1911), 141-66; P. Kraus, "Beitrage zur Islamischen Ketzergeschichte: Das Kitāb Az-Zumurruḏ des Ibn Ar-Rāwandī," Rivista degli Studi Orientali, XIV (1934), 335-79; V. Minorsky (trans. and ed.), Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), 124-25, 141-42; J. Sauvaget (trans. and ed.), Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde (Paris: Société d'Édition 'les Belles Lettres', 1948), p. 65, n. 64; Josef Van Ess (trans. and ed.), Die Erkenntsnislehre des ᶜAḍuddadīn al-Īcī ("Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Veröffentlich-ungen der Orientalischen Kommission," Band XXII; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag Gmbh., 1966), pp. 256-265.

[26]Louis Massignon, Recueil de Textes inédits concernant l'Histoire de la Mystique en Pays d'Islam ("Collection de Textes inédits relatifs à la Mystique Musulmane," Tome 1er; Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929), p. 210.

[27]Massignon, Essai sur les Origines de Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane (Rev. ed.; Paris: Urin, 1954), p. 83.

[28]Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir al-Maqdisī, Kitāb al-Bad' wa al-Ta'rīkh, ed. C. Huart (6 vols.; Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1899-1919), I, 144, 197.

[29]al-Bīrūnī, Arabic text, pp. 4, 124.

[30]Lalmani Joshi, _Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India (During the 7th and 8th Centuries)_ (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1967), p. 416, n. 144.

[31]_The Edicts of Asoka_, ed. and trans. N.A. Nikam and R. Mc Keon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 27 _et passim_.

[32]Megasthenes uses Brahmanes and Sarmanes with reference to sects in India as does Clement of Alexandria and Alexander Polyhistor, see Calverly, _Muslim World_ LIV, 200-202. For a comparison of the Sarmanes of Megasthenes with the Sanskrit Śramaṇa and the Boutta of Clement of Alexandria with Buddha, see Sylvain Lévi, "Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs," _Revue de l' Histoire des Religions_, XXIII (1891), 36-40. See also J.P. Asmussen, X^uāstvānīft: _Studies in Manichaeism_ ("Acta Theologica Danica," Vol. VII; Copenhagen: Prostant Apud Munksgaard, 1965), pp. 135-36.

[33]al-Balādhurī, p. 438; _Chachnāmah_, pp. 93, 116-18, 131-32.

[34]_Chachnāmah_, pp. 118, 132, 155.

[35]al-Balādhurī, p. 438.

[36]_Chachnāmah_, pp. 118-23.

[37]_Ibid._

[38]_Ibid._, pp. 122-23.

[39]_Ibid._, p. 48; Cf. al-Balādhurī, p. 436.

[40]Chachnāmah, pp. 224-26; Cf. al-Balādhurī, p.439.

[41]Chachnāmah, p. 42.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid., trans. Fredunbeg, p. 169.

[44]Ibid., trans. Fredunbeg, p. 173.

[45]Ibid., p. 44.

[46]T.O. Ling, A Dictionary of Buddhism (New York: Charles Scribners, 1972), p. 151; Mircea Eliade, Yoga: Immortality and Freedom, trans. Willard R. Trask (Rep. 2d ed.; "Bollingen Series," Vol. LVI; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 167-73, 396-99.

[47]Chachnāmah, p. 44.

[48]Ibid., pp. 121-22.

[49]André Bareau, Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule ("Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient," Vol. XXXVIII; Saigon: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1955), p. 38. Cf., Sarvāstivādin, 16,000 monks in 500 monasteries; Sthavira, 20,000 in 200; Mahāsanghika, 1,000 in 20; miscellanious Mahāyāna, 70,000 in 1,000.

[50]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 272-82.

[51]I-tsing, pp. xxiii-xxiv, 8-9.

[52]quoted in Bareau, p. 122.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 280.

[55]For the following discussion on the Sammatīya we are primarily indebted to the following secondary sources: Bareau, pp. 15-30, 121-126; Edward Conze, Buddhist Thought in India (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), pp. 119-58; Nalinaksha Dutt, Buddhist Sects in India (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1970), pp. 194-226; Étienne Lamotte, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien: Des Origines à l'Ère Śaka ("Bibliothèque du Muséon," Vol. XLIII; Louvain: Institut Orientaliste Université de Louvain, 1958), pp. 571-606.

[56]Haig (pp. 36-37) believes this to be Cutch with its capital at Koteshwar. However, Hiuen Tsiang reports it as west of the Indus and near the sea. H.T. Lambrick (Sind: A General Introduction /Hyderabad, Pakistan: Sindi Adabi Board, 1964/, p. 148) has proven to our satisfaction that this place is the Indus Delta.

[57]Probably present-day Sehwan, see Lambrick, p. 149.

[58]Lambrick (p. 150) identifies this place as the area south of present-day Larkana. The stupa reported by Hiuen Tsiang is probably that of Mohenjo-daro.

[59]Ling, pp. 254-55; H. Saddhatissa, Buddhist Ethics (New York: George Braziller, 1970), pp. 40-46.

[60]These _skandhas_ are _rūpa_ (physical form), _vedanā_ (feeling), _samjnā_ (perception), _samskāra_ (will), _vijñāna_ (consciousness). See Ling, pp. 156-58.

[61]_Milinda-Panha_, trans. T.W. Rhys Davids as _The Questions of King Milinda_ (2 vols.; Rep.; "The Sacred Books of the East," Vols. XXXV-XXXVI; New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1963), I, 133. Cf., _Kathā-Vathu_, p. 26.

[62]_Milinda-Panha_, I, 41; _Kathā-Vathu_, pp. 43-50. For a discussion of the ethical dimensions of this problem see Peter A. Pardue, _Buddhism: A Historical Introduction to Buddhist Values and the Social and Political Forms they have Assumed in Asia_ (New York: MacMillan, 1971), pp. 13-16,22-23 _et passim_.

[63]_Kathā-Vathu_, pp. 8-32; Vasubandu, V, 227-331.

[64]Conze, pp. 130-31. See the intense intellectuality of the arguments against the Pudgala-Vādins contained in _Kathā-Vathu_ (pp. 8-98) and Vasubandhu (V, 227-301). It would certainly be unintelligible to the hoi polloi.

[65]Benjamin Walker, _The Hindu World: An Encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism_ (2 vols.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), II, 425-26.

[66]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 273-74.

[67]Joshi, pp. 52-53, 387.

[68]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 266, 277.

[69]Ibid., II, 269-70. The Sarvāstivādins (Sarva-all, asti-exists: the "all-exists school") are distinguished in their belief that all phenomena--including past, present, and future--exist. See Conze, pp. 134-144.

[70]Chachnāmah, pp. 15-16.

[71]I-tsing, p. 9.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 268-69.

[74]Ibid., I, 162.

[75]Ibid., I, 121; II, 286-87.

[76]Qureshi, p. 37.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 281.

[79]Ibid., II, 277.

[80]Ibid., II, 275.

[81]It is probable that the extent of Mahāyāna influence in India at this time has been exaggerated in the secondary sources due to the survival of more Mahāyāna literature than other schools

and the fact that later commentators tended to Mahāyāna views.
The evidence of Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing indicate that the Mahā-
yāna was not widespread during our period. Taranatha even makes
the interesting remark that Buddhists of the early schools were
in the majority in India as late as the twelfth century. See
A.K. Warder, Outlines of Indian Philosophy (Delhi: Motilal
Banarsidass, 1971), p. 701.

[82]For a discussion of Śramanism-Brahmanism see p. 24 of
this thesis.

[83]Walker, I, 168-74.

[84]Chachnāmah, pp. 17-18.

[85]Walker, II, 556-59; John Dowson, A Classical Dictionary
of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Litera-
ture (10th ed.; "Trubner's Oriental Series"; London: Routledge
and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961), pp. 344-52.

[86]"Let the three twice-born castes, discharging their (pre-
scribed) duties, study (the Veda); but among them the brāhmin
(alone) shall teach it, not the other two; that is an established
rule." The Laws of Manu quoted in Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and
Charles A. Moore (eds.), A Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy (Rep.;
Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp.
175-76. See also Upadhyay, pp. 43-44.

[87]Shastri, p. 195.

[88]Chachnāmah, p. 22.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

[90] Manu quoted in Radhakrishnan and Moore, p. 181.

[91] Vibhuti Bhushan Mishra, <u>Religious Beliefs and Practices</u> <u>of North India during the Early Mediaeval Period</u> ("Handbuch der Orientalistik: Zweite Abteilung, Indien," Ergänzungsband III; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 107-110.

[92] <u>Chachnāmah</u>, pp. 27, 55 <u>et passim</u>.

[93] <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 33, 130-31, 167-68.

[94] <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 55.

[95] <u>Ibid.</u>

[96] <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 155-56.

[97] Mishra, pp. 120-23.

[98] <u>Chachnāmah</u>, pp. 167-68.

[99] <u>Ibid.</u> However, it didn't work.

[100] The <u>Bṛhatsaṁhitā</u> has a similar belief that if Mercury is seen behind the army then the invaders would win the battle; also, the sight of Venus at mid-day in conjunction with the moon was believed to have inspired dissension in the king's army. See Shastri, p. 355.

[101]Chachnāmah, p. 167.

[102]Ibid.

[103]al-Bīrūnī, trans., I, 193.

[104]al-Balādhurī, p. 439.

[105]Chachnāmah, p. 195. Vaidya (I, 180) feels that this is the "first immolation of Indian women in its history." This is not the case as not only do the Indian epics mention this practice but so do the Greeks (Walker, II, 461-66).

[106]Brij Narain Sharma, Social Life in Northern India (A.D. 600-1000), (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966), pp. 20-23. Cf. al-Bīrūnī, trans., II, 155.

[107]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 272-75: this breaks down to 30 in Sind (II, 272), 8 in Multān (II, 274), and 20 in Parvata (II, 275).

[108]Ibid., II, 277.

[109]Lambrick, pp. 148-49.

[110]Walker, I, 399.

[111]Alain Daniélou, Hindu Polytheism ("Bollingen Series," Vol. LXXIII; New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), pp. 224-25, 321-22.

[112]Dey, pp. 75-76; Dowson, pp. 280-87.

[113]Dey, pp. 75-76.

[114]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 276.

[115]Ibid.; see Lambrick, p. 148, for the identification of this town with Daybul.

[116]See pp. 21-22 of this thesis.

[117]Siva-Purāṇa, I, 91.

[118]Ibid., I, 76.

[119]Ibid., I, 329: "There /i.e., the Indus Delta/ they came to the holy lake Narayana where the celestial Sindhu has its confluence with the ocean. On touching the holy water, their intellect was sharpened. The Dharma of holy ascetics eradicated all their impurities." See also Ibid., IV, 1630: the sage Vyasa visits the "holy center Sindusanga" where "he took ablutions . . . and performed penance."

[120]al-Bīrūnī, trans., II, 141.

[121]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 279.

[122]Ibid., II, 280.

[123]Ibid., II, 281. See Lambrick, p. 150.

[124]The following discussion on the Pāśupatas is based on the _Pāśupata Sūtram,, passim_; Daniélou, pp. 188-231; Mishra, pp. 20-22, 46-49; R.G. Bhandarkar, _Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems_ (Rep.; Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1965), pp. 119-127; Sukumari Bhattacharji, _The Indian Theogony: A Comparative Study of Indian Mythology from the Vedas to the Purāṇas_ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 112-14, 135-48, _et passim_.

[125]Bridget and Raymond Allchin, _The Birth of Indian Civilization: India and Pakistan before 500 B.C._ (Baltimore: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), pp. 137-38, 311-12.

[126]Bhandarkar, pp. 121-23.

[127]_Chachnāmah_, p. 41.

[128]_Chachnāmah_, trans., p. 32n.

[129]Mishra, p. 21. For an excellent study of Hindu polytheism and monotheism, see Daniélou, pp. 4-13 _et passim_.

[130]_Pāśupata Sūtram_, pp. 52-53.

[131]_Ibid._, p. 138.

[132]_Ibid._, pp. 56-57.

[133]_Ibid._, pp. 57-58.

[134]_Ibid._, pp. 60-61.

[135]Chachnāmah, trans., p. 174.

[136]Pāśupata Sūtram, pp. 128-34. These six dvāras are: (1) Krāthana (snoring): pretending to be asleep when actually awake; by doing this he gains whatever merit the people have who might insult him thinking he is asleep; (2) Spandana (trembling): to tremble the limbs of the body as if having an attack thus gaining the merit of those who might attack him thinking him ill; (3) Mandana (limping): walking like a cripple thus evoking assault and gaining merit; (4) Śṛṅga-raṇa (wooing): exhibiting signs of desire and making amorous advances to a beautiful young woman so that people will say he has lost self-control, thereby he gains merit; (5) Avitat-Kāraṇa: performing acts which are considered abnormal or impure thus gaining merit from the resulting criticism; (6) Avitad-Bhāṣaṇa: speaking nonsensically or contradictorily which causes people to revile and discount his speech which gives him merit.

[137]Ibid., pp. 30-31. See also Bhandarkar, pp. 123-24; B. Sharma, p. 139.

[138]Ibid. These magical powers are of two kinds: knowing and acting. Those of knowing have five divisions: (1) Darśana: being able to see and touch all objects anywhere; (2) Śravaṇa: being able to hear all sounds; (3) Manana: knowing all thoughts; (4) Vijñāna: knowing all treatises; (5) Sarvajñatva: knowing all scientific and mystical principles. The powers of acting are three (although considered one): (1) Manojavitva: the ability to do actions instantaneously; (2) Kāmarūpitva: the power of taking different shapes or possessing bodies; (3) Vikraman-Adharmitva: the possession of omniscient power.

[139]Chachnāmah, p. 233.

[140]Daniélou, p. 202.

[141]Bhandarkar, pp. 151-55; Bhattacharji, p. 227 et passim.

[142]Varāha, Bhaviṣya and Sāmba Purāṇas, see Bhattacharji, pp. 227-28; Upadhyay, pp. 256-57.

[143]Shastri, pp. 139-42.

[144]al-Bīrūnī, trans., I, 164.

[145]Upadhyay, pp. 29-32.

[146]Chachnāmah, p. 30.

[147]Ibid., p. 37.

[148]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 274-75.

[149]For example, al-Balādhurī, p. 440; Ibn al-Nadīm, II, 833-34; Ibn Hawqal, Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ, ed. J.H. Kramers (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1938), pp. 321-22; al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, trans. S. Maqbul Ahmad (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), pp. 38, 148; al-Iṣṭakhrī, Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1870), pp. 174-75; al-Maqdisī, Kitāb Ahsan al-Taqāsim fī Ma^crifat al-Aqālīm, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1906), pp. 483-84.

[150]Chachnāmah, pp. 239-40.

[151] al-Bīrūnī, trans., I, 156.

[152] Bhattacharji, pp. 225-35.

[153] Ibn al-Nadīm, II, 833.

[154] Mishra, pp. 34-37.

[155] Ibn al-Nadīm, II, 833. For this aspect see Upadhyay, pp. 255-56.

[156] For these stories see Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 156; Lal Singh Ajwani, History of Sindhi Literature (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1970), pp. 19-42; Sunti Kumar Chatterji, "An Early Arabic Version of the Mahabharata Story from Sindh: and Old Sindhi Literature and Culture," Indo-Asian Culture, VII, No. 1 (July 1958), 50-71; Yusuf Husain, L'Inde Mystique au Moyen Age: Hindous et Musulmans (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1929), pp. 15-35; M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967), p. 12.

[157] Chatterji, Indo-Asian Culture, VII, 70.

[158] Y.Husain, pp. 16, 23-25.

[159] Mujeeb, p. 12.

[160] Chachnāmah, p. 36.

[161] Ibid., pp. 70-71, 86-88.

[162] Ibid., pp. 160-161.

III.   THE SOCIOECONOMIC BASIS OF
RELIGIOUS TENSIONS

In this chapter, we will examine the socioeconomic basis
of the religious tensions in the Sind. We will first disinter
the evidence which permits the conclusion that Buddhism and Brah-
manism were in conflict in the area. We will then specify the
class alignment of the religions involved in this conflict. For
analytical purposes, we have defined class relative to certain
socioeconomic indicators; in particular, the means of production.
Thus we are speaking of "production classes" not "status classes".[1]
We will describe the units of religious action explicitly in terms
of this type of class. Having shown the classes involved, we will
note diachronically the changes in the economic structure of the
Sind. We will take as our start the time when we know both Bud-
dhism and Brahmanism to have existed in the Sind. Fundamental
socioeconomic changes up to the time of the Arab conquest will
then be considered. At that point we will discuss the relation-
ship of our classes to these socioeconomic changes in order to
come to a conclusion on the nature of the tensions displayed.
By doing this we hope to show the relationship between the vari-
ous religions in the Sind and the economic structure which would
display vividly the socioeconomic dynamics of religious tension
in the Sind.

Evidences of Religious Tensions

We have shown that sects of both Buddhism and Brahmanism existed in the Sind. However, it was by no means a congenial relationship. It becomes apparent that Buddhism was involved in a rencontre with Brahmanism and did not appear to be winning. The secondary sources are unanimous on this point.[2] This conclusion is based, for the most part, on the demonstrated behavior of the Brahmin dynasty towards the Buddhists and the fact that adherents of Buddhism rather than Brahmanism tended to actively welcome the Arab conquest.[3]

The first definite indication of religious tension in the Sind surfaces when the Brahmin Chach usurps the kingdom from the Buddhist Sīharas dynasty.[4] It has been disputed whether this was a religious or political revolution.[5] Regardless, the conflict revealed features of hostility between these two major religions. The primary antagonists of the Chach Brahmin dynasty were Buddhists.[6] The Buddhist monk, Buddah Rakū, kept Chach from appropriating the city of Brahmanābād for over a year.[7] After taking the city, Chach contrived to kill the Buddhist monk in his vihāra.[8] He does not succeed in this stratagem due to the timely appearance of a fierce apparition which safe-guarded the monk.[9] It is also possible that the reports of the Javanese chronicles of Buddhist emigration from Sind and Gujarat in the seventh century reflect a Buddhist response to the accession of the Brahmanical dynasty in Sind.[10]

However, the most cogent indication of religious tensions

is the disparate response of these communities to the Arab conquest. There are numerous examples of Buddhist cooperation with the Arabs, but very few instances from the Brahmanical community. Moreover, Buddhists are never mentioned as resisting the Arabs; Brahmins are. We feel that this is indicative of a serious breach between these religious communities.

Nīrūn, which was under a Buddhist governor and contained a plurality of Buddhists, had previously sent Buddhists as representatives of the town to al-Ḥajjāj and had undertaken to pay tribute.[11] When Muḥammad b. Qāsim arrived at Nīrūn he was welcomed by Bhandarkan, the governor of the area, who told him: "I and these people are subjects of the dār al-khalāfah."[12] Accordingly, he welcomed the Arabs, surrendered the town, and gave the army supplies and horses.[13] Buddhists from this area also assisted the Arabs in the further conquest of Sind.[14]

Similarly, Buddhists from Sarbīdas (north of Nīrūn) came to Muḥammad "to make peace in the name of their followers."[15] At Sadūsān, near Sīwistān, it was the Buddhists who initiated and concluded peace with the Arabs.[16] The Buddhists of the fort of Mawj, just outside of Sīwistān, requested Bajhrā b. Chandar, the Brahmin governor of the fort, to submit to the Arabs.[17] When he refused, the Buddhists invited Muḥammad and the Arab army to take the fort and concluded a pact (ᶜAhd) with him.[18] At Budhān, near Sīsam, Kākah b. Kūtak, the Buddhist chief of the area, advised his followers to submit without a fight since he had concluded "from the Buddhist books and the calculation of

the stars, that Hindūstān will be conquered by an army of Islam."[19]
When he turns the fort over to the Arabs, he and his followers
are received with distinctions said to be consistent with the
customs of Buddhists.[20] When the Arabs crossed the Indus, it
was with the assistance of the Buddhists in the area.[21] The
town of Arūr was taken with the support of the Buddhist popula-
tion.[22] The inhabitants of the town of Musthal were Buddhist
and actively aided the Arabs.[23]

The evidence of Brahmanical cooperation or collaboration
with the Arabs is very limited and these seem to be of a dis-
similar nature to those of the Buddhists. The primary example
is Mūkah Basāyah, the Brahmin governor of Sūrtah and a distant
relative of Dāhar.[24] He defected to the Arabs and was given
the _iqtāᶜ_ of Bīt along with a considerable sum of money.[25] His
brother also defected at a later date.[26] However, these cases
are substantially different from the Buddhists. First, they
are individuals who submit, not entire groups as is often the
case with Buddhists. Second, they defect after a major portion
of the Arab conquest had been completed and it looked as if the
Arabs would emerge the winners. This is not the case with the
Buddhists. Third, in the case of Mūkah, it is said that he joined
the Arab army because he was on bad terms with Dāhar.[27] Thus it
was from personal policy considerations that they defected to
the Arabs.

We are not maintaining that all Buddhists necessarily col-
laborated with or welcomed the Arabs. What we are suggesting,

and what the sources indicate, is that the Buddhists tended to actively welcome the Arabs while the Brahmanical community did not. And, further, that this is indicative of tensions between these religious groupings.

Classes Involved

The Chachnāmah conveys the very definite impression that Sindī Buddhism was, for the most part, vitally connected with merchants, tradesmen, and artisans: i.e., the mercantile sector of the economy. On the death of Akham Lūhānah, the Buddhist governor of Brahmanābād before Chach's rebellion, the chief Buddhist monk of the area is said to have "become anxious and afraid lest the possessions (milk), goods (asbāb), and estates (diyāᶜ) should pass from my hands."[28] Thus, in direct contradiction of the vinaya regulations, we find individual wealth in the hands of a Buddhist monk.[29] The Buddhists of Mawj request Bajhrā to submit to the Arabs so that they would not be deprived of their wealth (māl): "We are afraid that these people /i.e., the Arabs/ will come, and thinking that we are your subjects they will plunder us and deprive us of our lifes and wealth."[30] Their desire to keep their wealth is so important that they repeat their request to Bajhrā twice: "lest our life and wealth be ruined owing to your obstinacy."[31] When Bajhrā proves obdurate, the Buddhists send a message to Muḥammad b. Qāsim telling him that merchants (tijār) and artisans (sanāᶜ) are on his side.[32] The implication is that the interests of these classes correlate those of the

Buddhists of Mawj. Furthermore, their hope of keeping their wealth is met by the Arabs after taking the fort. In an interesting passage, Muḥammad b. Qāsim is said to have confiscated gold and silver from everyone except the Buddhists:

> Then wherever there was gold and silver, he took it away. Silver and ornaments and specie (nuqūd) were all confiscated except from the Buddhists with whom he had a firm pact (ᶜAhd).[33]

Not long after the Arabs had conquered Sīwistān, there was a Brahmanical revolution under Chandarām Hālah. Muḥammad defeated him and entered the town where "Buddhists, merchants, artisans, and other respectable people came to meet him."[34] The residents of the area around Sāwandī are listed as Buddhists, artisans, and merchants.[35] Two Buddhists are appointed by the Muslims to collect taxes in the area.[36] In Arūr, the traders, artisans, and other professional people mentioned as giving up allegiance to the Brahmanical dynasty[37] are probably Buddhists since after they open the city to Muḥammad they go to a Buddhist vihāra to worship.[38]

The mercantile interests of the Buddhist inhabitants of Nīrūn are evidenced by their opening the gates of the town in order to make bargains with the Arabs.[39] Moreover, the Buddhist governor evinces a knowledge of inter-regional commerce since he supplies the Arab army with certain supplies which they couldn't find in the area.[40] This Buddhist is later made the superintendent of supplies for the Arabs.[41]

The importance of this data is that while merchants and

artisans are occasionally mentioned by themselves, they are never mentioned in connection or in a list with Brahmins. This could not be merely fortuitous. We are not suggesting, however, that all Buddhists were merchants or artisans, or vice versa, but that Buddhism, not Brahmanism, tended to be associated with this sector of the economy.

Further corroboration of the mercantile interests of the Buddhist community can be found through an analysis of the location and contents of the Buddhist structures in Sind. It has been suggested by D.D. Kosambi that some of the western Deccan Buddhist monasteries had a vital economic function connected with the trade routes.[42] This was to provide capital loans and provisions to the trade caravans and guilds. While he is the first to mention this in connection with India, several studies concerning Central Asia and China have suggested that Buddhist monasteries in these areas were located on trade routes and provided capital loans and facilities for merchants utilizing these routes.[43] The data suggest that this theorem can be extended to the Sind. The literary evidence we have already cited as well as the archaeological evidence tend to support this contention.

The main inter-regional trade route through Sind went up the west side of the Indus to either the Bolan or Mula pass to the Kandahar region, or, as was most often, to the Khyber pass and thence on to Balkh where it connected with the main trade route eastwards to China or westwards to the Middle East and

Europe.[44] Another trade route went from the Indus Delta across Thar to Mathura where it joined the main Indian trade route down the Ganges and to other parts of India.[45] The major Buddhist monasteries and centres are found along these routes.

The Buddhist monastery at Mirpur Khas is located in the middle of the Thar desert far from the major urban areas of Sind.[46] Its position as a thriving and, from the evidence of the ruins, wealthy monastery can best be understood from its location on the main inter-regional trade route connecting lower Sind to central and eastern India. According to a Jātaka story, it was along this route that a former Buddha made a mercantile excursion.[47]

The main centres of Buddhism in Sind, however, were located along the main trade route up the west side of the Indus.[48] These are also the areas where Buddhists are generally mentioned in connection with merchants and artisans. Even the termini of this trade route (i.e., Gandhara and Balkh) were Buddhist towns of the same sect as in Sind--viz., Sammatīya.[49] The Buddhist centre of Nīrūn, for example, was located on the main trade route north, the road connecting with Brahmanābād, and the route through the desert. Even at a later date, Ibn Ḥawqal,[50] al-Iṣṭakhrī,[5] and the Ḥudūd al-ᶜĀlam[52] mention the importance of this town as a centre of trade and speak of the mercantile nature of its inhabitants. This corresponds precisely with the information we have previously cited about this area.

Towns along the inter-regional trade route through the Bolan

and Mula passes to the Kandahar region have recently been excavated and have proven to be, in the pre-Islamic era, thoroughly Buddhist.[53]

Furthermore, hoards of coins, gold and silver specie, as well as manufactured commodities have been discovered in Sindī Buddhist monasteries.[54] These structures also contained storerooms for the keeping of wealth.[55] This would seem to indicate the presence of substantial wealth in the monasteries and is supportive of their involvement in mercantile enterprises.

Brahmanism, on the other hand is never explicitly or implicitly linked with mercantile enterprises in the sources. The Chachnāmah generally mentions them in two connections: as rulers and administrators, and as a rural-based gentry. More importantly, both of these had roots extending to the village level economy. In this respect, again as a class, they are in sharp opposition to the Buddhists.

Brahmins in Sind were distinguished from the exemplar of their counterparts in the rest of India by their occupational pattern.[56] They had succeeded in superseding the traditional role of the Kshatriya and becoming not only warriors but ministers of kings and, finally, kings themselves. Brahmin as Kshatriya warrior is evinced by Chach himself who conquers all of Sind and even engages in personal combat with the king of Chitūr; he kills him after telling him that "I am a man of the Brahmins and unable to fight on horseback."[57] The king of Chitūr obvi-

ously did not expect a Brahmin to fight since he went along with Chach's suggestion and was killed. Nor do the Brahmin brothers Dāhar and Daharsīyah hesitate to take up arms against each other.[58] Mūkah Basāyah was both the governor of the province of Bīt and the general of its armies.[59] It is the Brahmins, furthermore, who form the principal military leadership against the Arabs.

Brahmins as ministers of kings are also found. The wazīr of the Buddhist king Sāhasī was a Brahmin by the name of Rām.[60] Throughout the Chach dynasty's rule we find Brahmins as ministers of state. Muḥammad b. Qāsim himself appoints Brahmins as ministers and military leaders: e.g., Kaksah b. Chandar b. Sīlā'ij.[61]

Then there is the foremost example of Chach and his descendants revolting against the Buddhist dynasty and setting up a regimen of their own as kings over Sind: a Brahmin dynasty. That this was opposed by the Kshatriya is evidenced by the defensive reply of Chach to the ruler of Brahmanābād:

> You consider yourselves, with your power and majesty, birth and genealogy, kings of the time. Although I have not inherited this kingdom and dominion, wealth and affluence, authority and power, from my ancestors, and the kingdom was not ours, but the best grace and my prosperous circumstances are due to God (Khudā).[62]

Thus, by this time, they had partially superseded the Kshatriya in the exercise of executive prerogatives over the Sind. It appears that their main strength came from their privileged position among the rural commonalty. Unfortunately, the literary sources are largely silent on rural Sind. Their interest is pri-

marily in the urban expression of the religions; hence, their emphasis on the administrative elite of Brahmanism. However, enough data are available to support our contention.

As we have previously mentioned,[63] Hiuen Tsiang noted some 299 Brahmanical temples in Sind. However, only the remains of Daybul and Multān have been uncovered in spite of extensive archaeological work.[64] All other Brahmanical architecture post-dates the Arab conquest.[65] The inference is that the Brahmanical temples mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang were, for the most part, built of perishable materials consonant with rural practices: i.e., they were probably village Brahmanical structures. Thus they are in acute contrariety to the magnificent Buddhist remains which have been uncovered. This is also in keeping with the previously mentioned fact that neither Brahmins nor Brahmanical temples are mentioned in the sources relative to mercantile activities; again in contradistinction to the Buddhists and their structures.

Further evidence of the rural orientation of Brahmanism in the Sind is found in the Chachnāmah. When Chach identifies himself to the wazīr Rām, he says: "my brother and my father are both from the rural area (mazāri[c]) of the town of Arūr; they are still in the idol-temple there."[66] Thus the family of Chach was based in a rural temple. Indeed, Chach's brother Chandar was reluctant to leave the village to take up an administrative post in Arūr.[67]

Moreover, in an interesting, but confusing, passage rela-

ting to the settlement of the area of Brahmanābād by Muḥammad b. Qāsim, the rural basis of Sindī Brahmanism is evidenced.[68] Muḥammad gives "the management of all the affairs of State, and its administration"[69] to the Brahmins. However, this arrangement was not completely satisfactory to certain others from rural areas.[70] They explained to Muḥammad that "all our affairs, on occasions of mirth or mourning, are conducted and completed through their /i.e., the Brahmins7 medium."[71] They ask him to allow them to carry on their worship as previously "and then our Brahimins /sic7 will receive enough from us for their living."[72] Muḥammad concurs with this request and allows them "to continue their offerings to their Brahmins, as in ancient times, and to give three out of every hundred dirams of revenue to them."[73] Thus the Brahmins are represented as being directly tied to the agrarian society and economy. Here again they are in opposition to the Buddhists who are not mentioned as having such ties.

Thus Buddhism in the Sind was associated with mercantile interests in general while Brahmanism was primarily connected with a relatively self-contained rural society and administrative elite. However, it does not necessarily follow that for this reason they were in conflict. Why then is it that the economic expressions of these religions would come into conflict in the Sind during the seventh and eighth centuries? We feel this can best be understood with reference to changes in the socioeconomic structure of the Sind both prior to and contemporaneous with the Arab conquest. By examining the historical socioeconomic changes

we can come to an understanding of why these might have resulted in tensions expressed in religious terms in the Sind. This is the aim of the next section.

Socioeconomic Changes in the Sind

While there is no definite evidence as to when Buddhism first entered the Sind, it certainly became established as an important alternative to Vedic Brahmanism under the Mauryan state. Hiuen Tsiang noted twenty-three stūpas built by Aśoka Maurya (r.c. 273-236 B.C.).[74] He adds that Upagupta, who converted Aśoka to Buddhism, used to visit the Sind frequently and built monasteries and stūpas wherever he went.[75] The economy of the Sind displays remarkable homogeneity from the Mauryans up through the Kushāns until the later Guptas. It was during this period that the majority of Buddhist structures were built and Buddhism flourished in the Sind. Thus it is necessary to understand the economic dynamics of this period before looking at subsequent changes under the Sīharas and Chach dynasties.

The Mauryan state, in brief, was distinguished, in its economic aspects, by centralized control and administration of practically all productive economic activities.[76] A major portion of state's land was settled as well as farmed under the direct supervision and control of the centralized state. This regularization of the agrarian economy encouraged urbanization, the organization of large-scale inter-regional trade, and the emergence of a mercantile community occupied in commodity pro-

duction and exchange. In particular, inter-regional commerce was of such importance to the state that it formed a major source of its revenue.[77] Consequently, the state actively patronized this sector of the economy.

The major consequence of this development to the Sind was that it stimulated, through the unification of the trade routes of North India and Central Asia and the increase in commodity production, large-scale inter-regional commerce partially cycled through Sind. It was during this period (second century B.C. to fourth century A.D.) that the Indus valley acquired prominence as an international entrepôt of global importance. While some of the trade originated from commodity production within the Sind itself, the main volume was transit trade between several major trade areas.

In terms of volume and value of goods in transit through Sind, the routes of importance were those connected with Central Asia and China. It was the position of Sind intermediary between these areas and the West--the Persian Gulf (for transhipment to Palmyra or Petra), the Arabian Peninsula, the Red Sea, and Western ports--which gave the main fillip to this commerce.[78] The trade was of some antiquity. Agatharchides (second century B.C.) writes of merchants from Potana (Patala) on the Indus visiting the Fortunate Islands (Socotra).[79] Chang Ch'ien, an ambassador of the Chinese emperor Wu (r. c. 140-87 B.C.) reported that

> When I was in Ta-hsia /Bactria/. . . I saw bamboo canes
> from Ch'iung and cloth made in the province of Shu /Szech-
> wan/. When I asked the people how they had gotten such

articles, they replied, 'Our merchants go to buy them
in the markets of Shen-tu /Sind7.' [80]

It is doubtful that the Bactrians would have purchased articles
from Szechwan in Sind since Bactria is closer to Szechwan (un-
less one assumes a north-east route through Assam in which case
the goods would not have been routed through Sind). Chang Ch'ien
probably confused these objects originating in Sind with similar
objects from Szechwan with which he was acquainted. At all events,
this is indicative of very early inter-regional trade between the
areas and presupposes established and well-frequented trade routes
between these areas at this early date.

The Periplus (c. A.D. 80) alludes to the important inter-
regional trade through the Sind.[81] This trade centered on Barari-
cum, the main port of Sind and one of the two major ports of North-
ern India (the other being Barygaza /Broach7 which served Western
India). The list of exports of Sind attests the importance of
inter-regional trade to the Sind. They are, according to the
Periplus, silk yarn, seric skins, lapis lazuli, turquoise, lycium,
costus, bdellium, nard, cotton cloth, and indigo.[82] Among these,
we can designate Central Asia or China as the probable source of
silk yarn, seric skins, lapis lazuli, turquoise, lycium and costus.
The major commodity of this trade was silk from China. Seric skins
probably came from Turkestan or Tibet;[83] lapis lazuli from Bukhārā;[84]
turquoise from Khurāsān near Nīshāpūr where "a natural trade route
from this locality would have been down the Kabul river, thence by
the Indus to its mouth";[85] lycium and costus from Kashmīr or cer-
tain high valleys of Central Asia.[86] None of these are found in

Sind itself. In addition, gold is listed as a Sindī export in some sources.[87] Since gold is not known as being mined in Sind, this is probably transported gold from Tibetan or Central Asian mines. Sandalwood was also exported from Sind.[88] Sandalwood is not reported as indigenous to either Sind or Northern India; hence this must have come from either China or Southern India where it is plentiful. Since Southern India had its own ports and did not need to tranship in Sind, it probably originated in China.

The Chinese sources for this period are well-acquainted with the commercial importance of Sind in inter-regional commerce. The Ch'ien Han Shu (covering the period 206 B.C. to A.D. 24, written c. 100 A.D.) mentions ambassadors from Sind (Kushānas) coming to China; however, they were "all mean men carrying on commerce. They wish to open up commercial relations for the sake of the trade."[89] The Hou Han Shu (covering the period A.D. 25-220, written c. 445 A.D.) mentions the trade by the people of Ta Ts'in (the oriental provinces of the Roman empire) with the Sind "par la voie de mer; (dans ça commerce) le gain est de dix pour un. Les gens de ce pays /Sind7 sont honnêtes et francs; en affaires, ils n'ont pas deux prix."[90] The Chin Shu (covering the period A.D. 265-419, written c. 635 A.D.) also mentions this trade from China through the Sind and westwards.[91]

According to Jerome Carcopino, Chinese silk came to Rome either by land routes through Central Asia or from Bactria to the Indus and thus down to the coast where it went by sea either

to the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea.[92] There were several rea-
sons for the importance of this latter route through Sind. First,
it would by-pass Parthian or Sāsānian territory; they were, at
times, antagonistic to this trade westwards and, at any rate,
unreliable.[93] Thus trade passing through Sind would be more de-
pendable and secure for the parties involved. The surety of this
route was of such importance to Rome that a special high value
of gifts from Rome to the rulers of Sind is recorded.[94] Another
reason for the prominence of this route was that it faced a mini-
mal number of tariff posts thus lowering the costs of inter-re-
gional trade.[95] This was further compounded by the fact that
the Sind was under a strong central government which included
parts of Central Asia.[96] In addition, during this period, sea
transport was preferred over land transport even if the distance
was greater.[97] Thus Central Asian trade was cycled through Sind,
the nearest Indian port to the Silk Route, rather than continued
overland.

Another indication of extensive inter-regional trade and
an affluent mercantile community conjoined to this trade is
found in the numismatic evidence. It can be said with some
degree of certainty that while inter-regional trade does not
necessarily lead to the introduction of coinage, coinage remains
a distant possibility without such trade. Therefore, when we
find voluminous coinage we can logically assume an advanced
stage of inter-regional commerce. Furthermore, since silver
and gold are not found in appreciable quantities in Sind, coin-

age in these metals presupposes inter-regional commerce of quantity. Thus we find, extending over this period, a multiplicity of silver and gold coinage.[98] The wide circulation of this currency is evidenced by hoard finds throughout Asia and Europe. Kushān (ruled Sind and parts of Central Asia c. A.D. 50-200) gold coins have been found throughout the Sind, North-west India, Central Asia, Middle East, Europe, as well as Africa.[99] A large hoard of their coins was disintered from an old monastery in Ethiopia indicating trade between the Sind and that area.[100] Roman coins have not been found in any quantity in the Sind; this has lead some scholars to suggest that the Sindī-Roman trade could not have been of much importance.[101] We see no reason to agree since the literary sources we have previously cited are quite explicit in referring to the large volume of trade through Sind. Furthermore, the Periplus reports that, while Roman coins were exported to ports in Southern India as well as Barygaza (Broach) in the North, bullion, not coinage, was imported into the Sind.[102] This was in gold and silver plate. The inference is that bullion was minted into coins in the Sind (unlike in the South where Roman coins were utilized as legal tender) or that, since the trade was transit not terminal, the bullion was sent on as payment for goods in transit. Since Roman coins were not legal tender in Central Asia or China, the presence of bullion along with indigenous coinage confirms our contention of extensive inter-regional commerce through Sind.

The mercantile sector of the economy had apparently been eclipsed in importance by our period by the relatively self-contained village with its production of cottage industries intended for consumption primarily on the regional level. Intra- rather than inter- regional trade was important to this rural economy. This development can best be understood with refer- ence to the feudalization of the era.

Several recent studies of the economy of early medieval North India have established the feudal basis of this period (c. fifth century A.D. to the Arab conquest in Sind) within the generally accepted meaning of the word.[103] We see no difficulty in using the term if we make explicit, at the beginning, just what is meant. When we speak of feudalism we mean a system where- in the administrative structure is organized on the basis of land and wherein the peasant producers serve landed intermediaries while paying "rent" in kind or labour to the state authority. We agree with Rushton Coulborn that "there should never have been doubt as to the occurence of a feudal period and that there is no room for a special concept of 'para-feudal' institutions in India."[104]

According to R.S. Sharma, feudalism in India began with land grants made to Brahmins, temples, and monasteries for which he cites epigraphic evidence beginning in the first century A.D.[105] These multiply by Guptan times when entire villages, along with their fields and inhabitants, fiscal, administrative, and judi- cial rights were abandoned by the state to religious and secular

beneficiaries.[106] Hiuen Tsiang reports that "the governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support."[107] There are sufficient references to both religious and secular grants of land in pre-Islamic Sind to warrant the conclusion that the development of feudalism in Sind was consonant with that in the rest of North India. We have previously mentioned Chach's statement that his family came from a temple attached to the fields of Arūr.[108] This is probably referring to a praedial Brahmanical temple supported by a land grant. The Buddhist monk, Buddah Rakū, is said to have possessed landed estates (Diyā⁻ᶜ).[109] Also, after the conquest of Brahmanābād, rural fiscal and administrative rights to the Brahmins were customary in the area.[110]

As for secular land grants, the pre-Islamic state of Sind was organized in a similar feudal manner. The Sind was divided into four sections each with a governor (malik) having his own capital.[111] The duties of these governors and their reliance, in turn, on feudal assignees (iqtā⁻ᶜāt) are outlined in a passage of the Chachnāmah:

> Each of these governors was ordered to keep in preparation war equipment, horses, and weapons. He ordered them to safe-guard the government and peasants so that the government and feudal assignees would be protected.[112]

There is also mention made of landed intermediaries (dihqāns) who collected taxes in the villages.[113]

These religious and secular grants of land revenue became increasingly the base of the state with the emergence of a local

self-sufficient economy. This was accompanied by increasing de-urbanization, paucity of silver and gold coinage, and the increase in the importance of intra-regional vis-à-vis inter-regional commerce.

Hiuen Tsiang vividly portrays the de-urbanization of the area. This is particularly evident when compared with the account of Fa-Hien who was impressed by the extensive and prosperous cities of fourth century A.D. India.[114] When Hiuen Tsiang arrived, the populous cities of Magadha were largely deserted, the great cities of North-west India had dwindled, the Sind itself had few large cities.[115]

Along with this de-urbanization, we find that the economy had become starved for money. No hoards and few specimens of gold or silver coinage have been found for the post-Guptan age in either Sind or Northern India.[116] Obviously, the total amount of liquid currency in circulation would not have been sufficient to support a large mercantile sector. It is also indicative of the decline of inter-regional commerce through the area. Gold and silver coinage are not necessary for the village economy which is constructed around a type of barter. Hiuen Tsiang observes that "in fact they /i.e., Indians/ always barter in their commercial transactions, for they have no gold or silver coins, pearl shells, or little pearls."[117] This type of barter economy became typical throughout North India and the Sind, eclipsing the monetary economy. In the closed barter economy of the village, production was communal and meant primarily for consumption

and exchange within the village or, at best, within a cluster
of villages. It was not commodity production nor was it sup-
portive of inter-regional trade or a large mercantile sector.
It must be mentioned, in passing, that we are not maintaining
that the village was completely self-sufficient, only relatively.
A barter economy between villages, which specialized in exchange
in salt, certain metals, cloth, and like materials did exist.
However, this was intra-regional commerce and did not promote
commodity production or exchange. Consequently, the importance
of the mercantile sector declined in this type of economy. Thus
while inter-regional trade never stops entirely, it is surpas-
sed in volume and importance by intra-regional barter type com-
merce.

In addition, the continual feudal wars mentioned in our
sources must have been detrimental to inter-regional trade.[118]
The absence of a strong central government also led to the in-
crease in piracy. It is significant that while Fa-Hien in the
fourth century is never bothered by robbers, Hiuen Tsiang in
the seventh is twice molested by bandits.[119] The port of Day-
bul participated regularly in piracy. It was robbers from this
port who captured the Arab boats in transit from Ceylon, thus
providing the casus belli for the Arab conquest.[120] And when
al-Ḥajjāj complained, Dāhar replied: "This is the work of a
band of robbers. No one is more powerful than they. They do
not submit to our authority either."[121] This would certainly
add to the insecurity of the trade routes passing through the

area. Thus, with the feudalization of the economy, inter-regional trade suffered. Whatever trade and commerce still existed had to be in conformation with the emergent feudal structure. And this was intra-regional commerce where the needs of the village were met locally.

External factors also adversely affected this inter-regional trade. In particular, trade with the Byzantine Empire declined precipitously during the sixth and seventh centuries. As we have seen, the most important article of this trade through Sind was Chinese silk. This trade suffered due to several factors. The efforts of the Byzantines to bypass Sāsānian territories in this trade led to their establishing a northern route from the Crimea.[122] In the sixth century, their commercial negotiations with the Turk-sih-Kazar state (which controlled the silk route from China to the Crimea) successfully led to the regular use of this route.[123] This, of course, bypassed the Sind. Also, the route from Sind to the Red Sea was inactive during this period. Byzantine efforts to reopen this route to the South through the Abyssinians proved unsuccessful.[124] Moreover, Sāsānian intervention in al-Yaman rendered the Red Sea route unpredictable for Byzantine-Sindī trade.[125] The trade in silk also suffered when the Byzantines introduced the silk worm industry into their territories towards the end of the sixth century.[126] The Central Asian trade route to and from China, which was of such consequence to Sind, was disrupted by the Tibetan expansion in the seventh century.[127] This further accentuated the trend for Chinese goods to go by

the sea route via Ceylon rather than overland.[128] The land-route from China to India was so insecure that, beginning with the latter half of the seventh century, Chinese pilgrims came to India only by the maritime route.[129] This is in sharp inversion to the earlier route overland. Furthermore, the expansion of the Arabs must have diminished, at least in the initial period, the volume of international commerce.[130]

Conflict in the Sind

It is now possible to come to some conclusions about the socioeconomic nature of the religious tensions in the Sind. For one thing, Sindī Buddhism was intrinsically linked to the mercantile sector of the economy. The accumulated monastic wealth would provide liquid capital to merchants and traders participating in inter-regional trade. The amassing of this wealth was facilitated by the Buddhist monastic system. The ideology as well as the economy of that system was based on the idea of exchange.[131] Money or goods were donated to the monastic community; in return, the gift of the law (dharma) was given to the layman. This is what formed the rudimentary ideological basis of Buddhist monastic capitalism. While the donation of wealth to the monastic community was a religious act for the purpose of gaining merit,[132] it had important economic consequences. The assets thus aggregated were available for large scale capital investment in productive mercantile pursuits. This was one of the major economic differentiae between the monastic Buddhist and Brahmanical econ-

omies. While the Brahmanical temples also received gifts in return for sacrifices and other duties, this was not linked to large scale accumulation of capital since it was primarily on a local level.

Monastic Buddhism and Brahmanism did not come into economic conflict as long as the Sindī economy was expansive. The villages and the Brahmanical ideology they supported were probably not threatened by the mercantile prosperity of Sind. The two communities can be said to have operated in mutually exclusive economic spheres or at least not to have come into profound conflict over their respective areas. Thus we find Brahmanism and Buddhism coexisting with no apparent antagonism until the sixth or seventh centuries A.D.[133]

However, with the feudalization of the economy and the decline in inter-regional commerce Buddhist monastic capitalism became a drain on the economy of the area rather than a stimulus. As we have seen, the mercantile sector was contractive during this period. The inter-regional trade was surpassed in volume by the predominantly regional barter trade in essentials. And, furthermore, this emergent feudal economy was under a totally different class of merchants and supportive of a different ideology. Accordingly, the Brahmin ruling class, which had its base in the non-mercantile rural sector of the economy, had no interest in patronizing the mercantile community and, indeed, were actively antagonistic towards it.

Compounding this basic problem, we find the Sindī Buddhist

monasteries inconveniently situated for the decentralized trade, at least on a scale consonant with their support. Hiuen Tsiang attests to the dramatic decline of the monasteries in Sind; they were in decay and in some places actually falling down.[134] The Buddhist monk, Buddah Rakū, tells Chach that the _vihāra_ of Brahmanābād was in need of much repair.[135] Furthermore, the monasteries were permanent fixtures and could not be shifted. Thus, the socioeconomic basis of Sindī Buddhism was seriously eroded.

If Buddhism were to survive in the new economy of the Sind it would have to modulate. It was necessary for it to become equally as broad-based as Brahmanism. There is evidence that such a sea change was occurring. It is important that the majority of Buddhists in Sind belonged to a newly emergent sect—the Sammatīya. This sect, we have said, is distinguished in its belief in a self which is the subject of all actions and responsible for them. The theory would be readily intelligible to the rural layman. We mentioned other instances of the mass orientation of Sindī Buddhism. Certain Buddhist monks had become householders. Some were now in competition with Brahmins as magical specialists. This can all be seen as a response to the changing economic situation in Sind. Buddhism was now competing with Brahmanism at the village level; albeit unsuccessfully.

III. NOTES

[1] We are concerned here with what Max Weber termed "property class" and "acquisition class" rather than his typal "status class". Max Weber, _The Theory of Social and Economic Organization_, trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Talcott Parsons (Rep.; New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 424-29. For a discussion of various problems connected with "class" see Bernard Barber, _Social Stratification: A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process_ (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1957); Reinhard Bendix and Symour Lipset (eds.), _Class, Status, and Power: Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective_ (2d ed. rev.; New York: Free Press, 1966).

[2] The only exception to this consensus is S.N. Dhar, _Indian Historical Quarterly_, XVI, No. 3, 596-604.

[3] We are not interested here with Buddhist-Brahmanical hostility as reflected in the normative North Indian texts; only the tensions actually expressed in Sind. For this textual antagonism see L. Joshi, pp. 394-418 and P.K. Chaudhary, "Heretical Sects in the Purāṇas," _Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute_, XXXVII (1957), 234-44.

[4] While the Sīharas dynasty is not explicitly denoted as Buddhist in the _Chachnāmah_, it is generally assumed that it was. For one thing, Hiuen Tsiang, who is a reliable observor, mentions that the king of Sind at the time of his visit was a Buddhist (II, 272). Furthermore, the supporters of the Sīharas dynasty are mentioned as being Buddhists in the _Chachnāmah_ (pp. 42-44, 48 _et passim_).

[5] Ray, I, 4-6; Vaidya, I, 161-67.

[6]Chachnāmah, pp. 42-44, 46, 48 et passim. It sh
mentioned in this connection that Chach's brother and :
Chandar, has often been denominated Buddhist in the se..ondary
literature (e.g., Nadwi, p. 13, "a zealous Buddhist. He resorted
to force in converting to Buddhism those that belonged to the
Brahmanic religion."; Qureshi, p. 42; Vaidya, I, 166). This
is not the case. While the Chachnāmah, p. 50, does call him a
rāhib and nāsik, being a monk and ascetic does not make him Bud-
dhist. According to a letter Chach sent Chandar, it is apparent
that he was a Brahmin ascetic attached to a rural temple (Ibid.,
pp. 22, 30).

[7]Ibid., pp. 42-46.

[8]Ibid., pp. 43-44.

[9]Ibid., p. 46.

[10]Radha Kumud Mookerji, Indian Shipping: A History of the
Sea-borne Trade and Maritime Activity of the Indians from the
Earliest Times (2d ed. rev.; Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1957),
pp. 105-107.

[11]al-Balādhurī, p. 438: "The inhabitants of /Nīrūn/ had
delegated two Buddhists from amongst them to al-Ḥajjāj to make
peace with him."
Chachnāmah, p. 93: "At that time, the governor of Nīrūn
was a Buddhist by the name of Sundar. Without the knowledge of
Dāhar, he sent representatives to the court of Ḥajjāj and re-
quested indemnity and fixed the tribute (māl) on himself which
he would pay regularly."

[12]Chachnāmah, p. 117.

[13]Ibid., pp. 117-18, 131; Cf. al-Balādhurī, p. 438.

[14]Ibid., pp. 118-19, 132, 155.

[15]al-Balādhurī, p. 438.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Chachnāmah, pp. 118-19.

[18]Ibid., p. 120.

[19]Ibid., p. 122. For other Buddhist prophecies on the duration of the faith in India see Milinda-Panha, I, 185-190; Vinaya-Pitaka, trans. I.B. Horner as The Book of the Discipline (6 vols.; "Sacred Books of the Buddhists,"; London: Luzac & Co., 1949-66), III, 325; Hiuen Tsiang, I, 103, 237.

[20]Ibid., p. 123.

[21]Ibid., p. 132.

[22]Ibid., pp. 224-26.

[23]Ibid., trans., p. 173.

[24]Ibid., pp. 133-34.

[25]Ibid., pp. 135-36.

[26] Ibid., pp. 165-66.

[27] Ibid., p. 165.

[28] Ibid., p. 42.

[29] Vinaya-Pitaka, II, 99-105; V, 407-30; VI, 53-54, 235-36. Also see I-tsing, pp. 189-195.

[30] Chachnāmah, pp. 118-119.

[31] Ibid., p. 119.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., p. 120.

[34] Ibid., p. 146.

[35] Ibid., trans., p. 173.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 224.

[38] Ibid., p. 226.

[39] Ibid., pp. 117, 131.

[40] Ibid.

[41]Ibid., p. 155.

[42]D.D. Kosambi, Ancient India: A History of Its Culture and Civilization (New York: Meridian Books, 1969), pp. 182-87; idem, "The Basis of Ancient Indian History," Journal of the American Oriental Society, LXXV (1955), 35-45, 226-37; idem, Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1962), pp. 100-114.

[43]Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 251-268; Annemarie von Gabain, Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien ("Handbuch der Orientalistik," I, VII, 2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), pp. 496-514; Jacques Gernet, Les Aspects Economiques du Bouddhisme dans la Société Chinoise du Ve au Xe siècle (Saigon: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1956), passim; Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China (2d ed. rev.; "American Geographical Society Research Series," Vol. XXI; New York: American Geographical Society, 1951), pp. 177-78 et passim; B.A. Litvinsky, "Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia," Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R. ("Soviet Indology Series," Vol. III; Calcutta; Indian Studies, Past & Present, 1970), pp. 53-132; D.W. Twitchett, "The Monasteries and China's Economy in Mediaeval Times," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XIX, 3(1957), 526-549; L.S. Yang, "Buddhist Monasteries and Four Money-raising Institutions in Chinese History," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, XIII (1950), 174-191.

[44]Gobinda Lal Adhya, Early Indian Economics: Studies in the Economic Life of Northern and Western India, c. 200 B.C.-300A.D. (London: Asia Publishing House, 1966), pp. 101-113; A. Foucher, La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila (2 vols.; Paris: Mémoire de la Délégation Archéologique

Français en Afghanistan, 1940-47), passim; J. Innes Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire: 29 B.C. to A.D. 641 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 144-49; V. Mishra, "Sea and Land Trade Routes as Revealed in the Buddhist Literature," Journal of Indian History, XXXII (1954), 117-27; B.N. Mukherjee, The Economic Factors in Kushāna History (Calcutta: Pilgrim Publishers, 1970), pp. 52-71.

[45]Adhya, p. 105; A.L Basham, The Wonder that was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-continent before the Coming of the Muslims (Rep.; New York: Grove Press, 1959), p. 223; Jean Deloche, Recherches sur les Routes de l'Inde au Temps des Mogols (Étude Critique des Sources), ("Publications de l' École Française d'Extrême-Orient," Vol. LXVII; Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1968), p. 15, maps II, III.

[46]Debala Mitra, Buddhist Monuments (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971), pp. 130-133.

[47]Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, ed. V. Fausböll, trans. T.W. Rhys-Davids as Buddhist Birth Stories or Jataka Tales ("Trübner's Oriental Series,"; 2 vols.; London: Trübner & Co., 1880), I, 147-152.

[48]See pp. 24-25 for the location of these towns.

[49]Hiuen Tsiang, I, 43-49, 97-109.

[50]Ibn Hawqal, p. 323.

[51]al-Istakhrī, p. 375.

[52]Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, trans. V. Minorsky as Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, 'The Regions of the World': A Persian Geography, 372 A.H.- 982 A.D. (2d ed.; "E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series," Vol. XI; London: Luzac & Co., 1970), pp. 122, 372.

[53]Pakistan Archaeology, I (1964), 10-14.

[54]Mitra, pp. 130-33.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Hiuen Tsiang mentions Brahmins as rulers at Ujjayanī (II, 270), Chitor (II, 271), and Maheśvarapura (II, 271-272). The Hindu Shahis were also Brahmins (D.B. Pandey, The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab /"Indo-Afghan Studies," Vol. III; Delhi: Historical Research Institute, 1973/, pp. 78-80). It is interesting that all these areas are adjacent to the Sind.

[57]Chachnāmah, p. 28.

[58]Ibid., pp. 60-68.

[59]Ibid., pp. 134-36.

[60]Ibid., p. 17.

[61]Ibid., pp. 235-36.

[62]Ibid., p. 41.

[63]See pp. 37-38.

[64]Pakistan Archaeology, I (1964), 49–55; III (1966), 65–90; V(1968), 176–85; VI (1969), 117–209.

[65]F.A. Khan, Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan: Prehistoric, Protohistoric, Buddhist and Hindu Periods (Karachi: Elite Publishers, 1969), pp. 129–49; R.E.M. Wheeler, Five Thousand Years of Pakistan: an Archaeological Outline (London: Christopher Johnson Ltd., 1950), pp. 55–60.

[66]Chachnāmah, p. 17.

[67]Ibid., p. 30.

[68]Ibid., trans., pp. 165–69.

[69]Ibid., trans., p. 166.

[70]Ibid., trans., pp. 167–68.

[71]Ibid., trans., p. 168.

[72]Ibid., trans.

[73]Ibid., trans., p. 169.

[74]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 272–282. This breaks down to 10 in Sin-tu, 4 in Parvata, 6 in the Indus Delta, 1 (the great stūpa at Mohenjo-daro) at Pitasila, and 2 in Avanda.

[75]Ibid., II, 273.

[76]This discussion on the economics of the Mauryan state
is based primarily on Kauṭilya's <u>Arthaśāstra</u>, trans. R. Shama-
sastry (5th ed.; Mysore: Sri Rahuveer Printing Press, 1956);
B.C. Sen, <u>Economics in Kauṭilya</u> ("Calcutta Sanskrit College
Research Series," Vol. LIII; Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1967);
Romila Thapar, <u>Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryans</u> (London:
Oxford University Press, 1961); <u>idem</u>, "The Role of the Economy
in Mauryan Politics," in B.N. Ganguli (ed.), <u>Readings in Indian
Economic History</u> (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 19-
29.

[77]Kauṭilya, pp. 114-16, 132-36, 152-58 <u>et passim</u>.

[78]In addition to the sources cited pp. 91-92, n. 44, see,
for this commerce, K. Walton Dobbins, "The Commerce of Kapisene
and Gandhara after the Fall of Indo-Greek Rule," <u>Journal of the
Economic and Social History of the Orient</u>, XIV, 3(December 1971),
286-302; J. Filliozat, "Les Échanges de l'Inde et de l'Empire
Romain aux Premier Siècles de l'Ère Chrétienne," <u>Revue Historique</u>,
CCI (1949), 1-29; R.A. Jairazbhoy, <u>Foreign Influence in Ancient
India</u> (London: Asia Publishing House, 1963), pp. 110-162; M.
Loewe, "Spices and Silk: Aspects of World Trade in the First
Seven Centuries of the Christian Era," <u>Journal of the Royal
Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</u>, II (1971), 166-71;
C. Margabandhu, "Trade Contacts between Western India and the
Graeco-Roman World in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era,"
<u>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</u>, VIII
(1965), 316-22.

[79]George F. Hourani, <u>Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean
in Ancient and Early Medieval Times</u> ("Princeton Oriental Studies,"
Vol. XII; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951),
pp. 18-23; H.G. Rawlinson, <u>Intercourse between India and the</u>

Western World, from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome (Rep. 2d ed.; New York: Octagon Books, 1971), pp. 93-95.

[80]Ssu-Ma Ch'ien, Shih Chi, trans. Burton Watson as Records of the Grand Historian of China (2 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), II, 269, 293-94. For a somewhat different translation see C.P. Fitzgerald, China: A Short Cultural History (3d ed.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1961), pp. 181-182.

[81]The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, trans. Wilfred H. Schoff (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912), secs. 38, 39, pp. 37-38.

[82]Ibid., sec. 39.

[83]Ibid., Schoff's commentary, pp. 171-72.

[84]Ibid., pp. 170-71.

[85]Ibid., p. 170.

[86]Ibid., pp. 168-69.

[87]Atindra Nath Bose, Social and Rural Economy of Northern India: 600 B.C.-200 A.D. (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1961), pp. 264-66; Maurice Lombard, Monnaie et Histoire d'Alexandre à Mahomet ("Civilisations et Sociétés," Vol. XXVI; Paris: Mouton & Co., 1971), pp. 136-43.

[88]Bose, p. 263.

[89]Ch'ien Han Shu, partially trans. A. Wylie, "Notes on the Western Regions, translated from the Ts'een Han Shoo," Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, X (1881), 37. For the identification of Chi-pan with the Kushān empire see W.W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India (2d ed.; Cambridge: University Press, 1951), pp. 469-71. Also see W.M. McGovern, Early Empires of Central Asia (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), pp. 209, 484; and the map in A. Hermann, Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien: Beiträge zur alten Geographie Asiens (Leipzig: Hirth, 1910), map I.

[90]Fan Yeh, Hou Han Shu, trans Edouard Chavannes, "Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou," T'oung Pao, série II, Vol. VIII (1907), 184.

[91]J.I. Miller, p. 224; F. Hirth, China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their Ancient and Mediaeval Relations as Represented in Old Chinese Records (Leipzig: G. Hirth, 1885), pp. 42-45; W.H. Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), pp. 274-75.

[92]Jerome Carcopino, La Vie Quotidienne à Rome à l'Apogée de l'Empire (Paris: Hachette, 1939), p. 200.

[93]". . . whenever Parthian hostility intervened the Kuśans could divert the caravans southwards from Balkh to the Indus Delta, whence the goods could complete their journey by sea." David Bivar, "The Nomad Empires and the Expansion of Buddhism," in Gavin Hambly (ed.), Central Asia (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969), p. 47. See also Adhya, pp. 109-111, 130; J.I. Miller, pp. 138-39; B.N. Mukherjee, pp. 15-16, 53; Warmington, pp. 30-34, 50; Freya Stark, Rome on the Euphrates: the Story of a Frontier (London: John Murray, 1966), pp. 261-62.

[94]R.K. Mookerji, pp. 97-98.

[95]B.N. Mukherjee, p. 15.

[96]Gavin Hambly (ed.), pp. 35-63.

[97]J.I. Miller, p. 198; The Periplus, Schoff's commentary, pp. 70, 171.

[98]For this coinage see Sachindra Kumar Maity, Early Indian Coins and Currency System (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1970), pp. 22-40; Edwards James Rapson, Indian Coins ("Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde," II. Band, 3. Heft, B; Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1897), pp. 7-24; Upendra Thakur, "Economic Data from the Early Coins of India," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, XIV, 3(December 1971), 269-285.

[99]Ibid., and Richard N. Frye, Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana ("Numismatic Notes and Monographs," No. CXIII; New York: American Numismatic Society, 1949), pp. 4-16.

[100]Derek Matthews and Antonio Mordini, "The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethipia," Archaeologia, XCVII (1959), 53.

[101]Robert Sewell, "Roman Coins found in India," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXXVI (1904), 591-637; see also Adhya, pp. 134-39.

[102]Periplus, compare sec. 49 with 39.

[103]Lallanji Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, c. A.D. 700-1200 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965); idem, "Socio-economic Implications of Feudalism in Northern India (700-1200 A.D.)," in O.P. Bhatnagar (ed.), Studies in Social History (Allahabad: St. Paul's Training School, 1964), pp. 56-78; Sachindra Kumar Maity, Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period (cir. A.D. 300-550), (Rev. 2d ed.; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970); L. de la Vallée Poussin, Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux Invasions Mussulmanes ("Histoire du Monde," Vol. VIb; Paris: Boccard, 1935); Ram Sharan Sharma, Indian Feudalism, c. 300-1200 A.D. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1965); idem, "Land Grants and Early Indian Economic History," in B.N. Ganguli (ed.), Readings. . . pp. 12-18; idem, Social Changes in Early Medieval India (circa A.D. 500-1200), ("The First Devraj Chanana Memorial Lecture,"; Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969); D.D. Kosambi, Ancient India . . . , pp. 166-98.

[104]Rushton Coulborn, "Feudalism, Brahmanism and the intrusion of Islam upon Indian History," Comparative Studies in Society and History, X (1967-68), 356. Romila Thapar (A History of India ⎰Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1966⎱, p. 242) says ". . . Indian feudalism did not emphasize the economic contract to the same degree as certain types of European feudalism, but the difference is not so significant as to preclude the use of the term feudalism for conditions prevailing in India during this period."

[105]R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism . . . , pp. 2-76.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Hiuen Tsiang, I, 88.

[108]Chachnāmah, p. 17.

[109]Ibid., p. 42.

[110]Ibid., trans., pp. 166-169.

[111]Ibid., text, p. 15.

[112]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[113]Ibid., p. 209. This is similar to the practice in Khurāsān(see M.A. Shaban, pp. 172-85).

[114]Fa-Hien. Fa Hien Chuan, trans. by James Legge as A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline (Rep.; New York: Paragon Books Reprint Corp., 1965), passim.

[115]Hiuen Tsiang, I, 54-55; II, 138-49, 272-82 et passim.

[116]R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism . . . ., pp. 63-66; L. Gopal, The Economic Life . . . ., pp.179-224; S.K. Maity, Early Indian Coins . . . ., pp. 29-48; U. Thakur, JESHO, XIV, 282-85.

[117]Hiuen Tsiang, I, 90.

[118]Throughout the period covered by the Chachnāmah there was endemic warfare between different kings (pp. 20-26), brothers (pp. 59-67), feudal lords within Sind (pp. 33-36, 40-43), feudal lords from outside of Sind (pp. 16, 26-27, 50-51, 69).

[119]Hui Li, _Ta Thang Tzhu_, trans. S. Beal as _The Life of Hiuen Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li with an Introduction containing an Account of the Works of I-tsing_ (London: Kegan Paul, 1911), pp. 86-90.

[120]_Chachnāmah_, pp. 89-91.

[121]_Ibid._, p. 91.

[122]Archibald R. Lewis, _Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1100_ ("Princeton Studies in History," Vol. V; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 33.

[123]Wilhelm von Heyd, _Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge_ (2 vols.; Paris: Furcy Raynaud, 1885-86), I, 12-16; S.A. Huzayyin, _Arabia and the Far East: Their Commercial and Cultural Relations in Graeco-Roman and Irano-Arabian Times_ (Cairo: La Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, 1942), p. 147; Joseph Needham, _Science and Civilization in China_, Vol. I: _Introductory Orientations_ (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), pp. 186-87; Sir Henry Yule, _Cathay and the Way Thither_, Vol. I: _Preliminary Essay on the Intercourse between China and the Western Nations previous to the discovery of the Cape Route_ (New ed. rev.; "Hakluyt Society Publications," XXXVIII; London: Hakluyt Society, 1915), pp. 205-212.

[124]The story is from Procopius, _De Bello Persico_, trans. H.B. Dowing as _History of the Wars_ (7 vols.; London: William Heinemann, 1914-40), I, 193-94. Also see Hourani, pp. 43-44; Huzayyin, p. 133; Lewis, pp. 33-34; de Lacy O'Leary, _Arabia before Muhammad_ (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co Ltd., 1927), p. 114; Philip K. Hitti, _History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present_ (Rep. 10th ed.; London:

MacMillan Press Ltd., 1972), pp. 62-66.

[125]O'Leary, p. 159; Sidney Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XVI, 3(1954), 451-68; Huzayyin, p. 134, says "Thus, were it not for the interference of the Sasanids, the Red Sea would have favourably competed with the Persian Gulf."

[126]Procopius, V, 227-31; von Heyd, I, 12; Hourani, p. 44; Huzayyin, pp. 195-97; Lewis, p. 34; Needham, I, 185-86; Yule, I, 23-24, 203-205; G.F. Hudson, Europe and China: A Survey of their Relations from the Earliest Times to 1800 (London: Arnold, 1931), p. 121; R.S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," Speculum, XX (1945), 1-43.

[127]Needham, I, 187; Yule, I, 61-62, 72-73; L. Carrington Goodrich, A Short History of the Chinese People (4th ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 121-23; R.A. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, trans. J.E. Stapleton Driver (Stanford: University Press, 1972), pp. 56-66; Buddha Prakash, "Tibet, Kashmir, and North India, 647-747," Bulletin of Tibetology, VI, 2(July 1969), 39-48; Huzayyin (p. 148) points out that "towards the end of the VIIth century the land-relations between E. and Western Asia as a whole were much severed. This was not due to the expansion of the Arabs . . . but rather to the disturbances on the Tibetan border. . . . Thus, they were able to close the important 'Southern Route' which was practically abandoned by trade."

[128]Yule, I, 72-73; Gopal, The Economic Life . . . , p. 108.

[129]Ch'en, p. 238.

[130]L. Gopal, The Economic Life . . . ., p. 105; R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, p. 69.

[131]For an excellant discussion of the economics of normative Theravāda Buddhism see Melford E. Spiro, Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes (New York: Harper Paperbacks, 1972), pp. 425-68.

[132]For example, Chachnāmah, p. 46, where the Buddhist monk Buddah Rakū says "since you have determined in this matter to do good deeds and increase virtue. This Buddah Nawhār /vihāra/ is an ancient idol-house and for a long time, due to the passage of time, some damage has appeared, that it should, therefore, be repaired."

[133]It is interesting that Buddhism and Brahmanism did not come into conflict in Bengal until the tenth or eleventh century. There was an extensive inter-regional trade in the area to Southeast Asia until that time when the mercantile community contracted in somewhat similar fashion of sixth and seventh century Sind. See R. C. Majumdar, The History of Bengal (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1943), I, 411-25.

[134]Hiuen Tsiang, II, 272-81.

[135]Chachnāmah, p. 46.

IV.   THE ARAB MUSLIM IMPACT ON RELIGIOUS
TENSIONS IN THE SIND

The problem of the Arab Muslim impact on the tensions be-
tween the Buddhist and Brahmanical communities in the Sind ap-
pears, at first glance, to be simple. They are all converted
to Islam, thus terminating the religious tensions. This has
been the customary treatment in diverse secondary literature.
Some characterize the Arab Muslims as offering the inhabitants
the choice of "Islam or the sword". Prominent among these is
R.C. Majumdar who alleges that "the conversion of the people of
Sindh to Islam was mainly due to the policy of humiliation and
terrorisation, deliberately adopted by the Muslim conquerors
towards the non-Muslims."[1] Others represent that adherents of
these religions converted as a result of being confronted by a
superior religious system.[2] However, as we shall see, neither
of these rather tendentious answers approaches the reality of the
situation as revealed by our sources.

The arrival in Sind of a third major religion affected
Buddhism and Brahmanism dissimilarly. Buddhism, as a viable
religious system, disappears completely not long after the Arab
conquest; Brahmanism continues to survive, in varying conditions
of prosperity, down to the present day.

We can infer that Buddhism ceases to exist in the Sind

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since we no longer hear anything about it in Muslim Sind despite the numerous travellers passing through the area. References to Buddhists postdating the Arab conquest are conspicuous in their absence. Even such an astute scholar as al-Bīrūnī was unable to find any Buddhist informants for his work and was consequently forced to rely on Brahmanical scholars for his information.[3] Furthermore, no new Buddhist structures date from this period. With the exception of the Buddhist vihāra at Mirpur Khas which continued in use until the tenth century, none of the Buddhist monasteries can be dated with confidence as inhabited beyond the eighth century.[4] This evidence permits the conclusion that Buddhism vanished as a viable religious system in the Sind not long after the Arab conquest.[5]

On the other hand, Brahmanism proved inexpugnable in the Sind. Even today over a quarter of the Sindī speaking population of Indo-Pakistan consists of Brahmanical sects.[6] The archaeological remains of Brahmanical temples in Sind are all, with the exception of those at Daybul and Multān, dated later than the Arab conquest.[7] Indeed, the most dynamic period of this architecture dates from the eighth to the tenth century: i.e., directly following the Arab arrival. Several excellent Saivite temples of the ninth and tenth centuries have been found in the lower Sind.[8] In addition, the travellers through Sind are aware of Brahmanical sects. Al-Maqdisī (c. 985) mentions that the dhimmīs of Sind are mushrikūn (polytheists).[9] This designation has never been used for Buddhists in the Sind: for example, al-

Balādhurī calls the Brahmins of Multān mushrikūn.[10] Al-Maqdisī also indicates the presence of kāfirūn throughout Sind.[11] This term usually denotes Brahmanical adherents in the Sind. Ibn Hawqal (c. 978) also refers to mushrikūn in the Sind.[12] The historical chronicles likewise attest to the continued presence of Brahmanical sects in Sind. Al-Balādhurī records Brahmanical revolts under Jaysīyah b. Dāhar during the governorship of Habīb b. al-Muhallab (c. 715);[13] during the governorship of Junayd b. ᶜAbd al-Rahmān(c. 725);[14] under Tamīm b. Zayd al-ᶜUtbī (c. 728) when there was a resurgence of Brahmanism;[15] and even later during the khalāfah of al-Muᶜtasim when the governor of Sind, ᶜAmrān b. Mūsā, had to reconquer al-Qīqān and Arūr from resurgent Brahmans.[16] He re-imposed on these people precisely the same obligations as Muhammad b. Qāsim had over a hundred years previously.[17] Accordingly, Brahmanism was sedulously making itself heard at this late date. There also exists a considerable body of Sindī Brahmanical literature and legends primarily concerned with post Islamic events.[18] The legend of the River Deity who became incarnate as Uḍerolāl in order to save the Hindus from conversion to Islam is a prominent example.[19] Thus Brahmanism did not disappear in the Sind as a result of the Arab Muslim rule. However, while it did not vanish, the long-range contact between Islam and Brahmanism resulted, on the one hand, in a partial merger and accommodation (e.g., the belief in a River Deity is accommodated in Islam in the Daryā Panth and the veneration of Khwājah Khiḍr)[20] and, on the other, tended towards being submerged in the

realm of folk religion (as opposed to literate religion).

We now have a provisional answer to what the Arab Muslim impact was on the religious tensions in Sind. Buddhism tended to displacement, as a religious system, by Islam; Brahmanism remained viable although, in the long run, it tended towards a partial merger and accomodation and gradual displacement into folk religion. Thus we have modified the original observation. Religious tensions between Buddhism and Brahmanism cease to exist because Buddhism disappears. This is replaced by a certain modicum of tension between the Muslim and Brahmanical religious communities.

However, we are not prepared to leave the issue there. The further question arises of why Buddhism and not Brahmanism dies out in the Sind. If this can be explained, perhaps it may provide a key to understanding the continued tensions between Islam and Brahmanism. Preliminary to answering this question, we must understand how the Arab Muslims treated the respective religious communities. That is, is there something in their treatment of these religions that might explain the continuance of Brahmanism and not Buddhism? This requires us to define the limits of our discussion rigorously. What we are concerned with is not the Arab Muslim treatment of the inhabitants of the Sind, but rather their treatment of the inhabitants only in relation to specific religious beliefs. We make this distinction explicit since it has not generally been observed in the secondary sources which have drawn sundry conclusions based on the general

Arab attitude towards the populace and extended these conclusions to attitudes towards specific religions. Hence it is alleged that the Muslims were intolerant of Sindī religions since they killed the inhabitants of Daybul and ravished the temple.[21] However, this "slaughter" is not mentioned in our sources in connection with the beliefs of the people but only in relation to their militant resistance.[22] On the other extreme, S.M. Jafar gives instances of Arab toleration to Sindīs and concludes that this indicates religious toleration.[23] Our criterion for defining the Arab Muslim attitude towards Buddhism and Brahmanism in the Sind is that a specific policy or act must be mentioned in connection with one or the other or both of these religions.

The Arab Muslims extended to both the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions the customary rights of muᶜāhadūn. According to al-Balādhurī, when Muḥammad b. Qāsim had taken the town of Arūr

> He concluded peace on /the conditions/ that he would not kill them nor enter their temple (budd). And he said: "The budd will not be unlike the churchs of the Christians and Jews, and the fire-temples of the Majūs." And he imposed on them al-kharāj.[24]

Thus they were ranked by Muḥammad as Ahl al-Kitāb and obliged to pay al-kharāj. The Chachnāmah explicitly denotes the Sindīs as dhimmīs.[25] This application was extended equally to Buddhist[26] and Brahmanical votaries.[27] The obligations incumbent on both religions are defined in the Chachnāmah:

As for the rest of the subjects, tribute (māl) was
fixed on them according to the traditions (sunun) of
the Prophet. . . . Everyone who was honoured by the
dignity of Islam was exempted from slavery (bandagī)
and the capitation tax (māl-o-gazīd). Whoever did
not accept the faith was compelled to pay tribute in
three categories: the first and greatest category,
48 dirams in weight of silver; the intermediate cat-
egory, 24 dirams in weight; the lowest category, 12
dirams in weight was established. /Muhammad b. Qāsim/
ordered: "Go now. Those who become Muslims and ac-
cept Islam, their tribute is exempted. Those who are
covetous of their own religion must accept the gazīd
and jizyah to keep the religion of their ancestors.[28]

This gives the same rate for the capitation tax which was later
systemized by the jurists.[29] Thus those who kept their own reli-
gion were considered dhimmīs with the primary obligation of pay-
ing the poll-tax. Nor does the passage single out either reli-
gion for these considerations. The implication is that it applied
to both communities equally.

There is further evidence that members of both religions,
after paying the jizyah, were entitled to participate in the
practice of their religion and even build new temples. Muhammad
b. Qāsim asked al-Hajjāj whether or not the Sindīs could carry
on their worship and construct new temples if they had paid the
capitation tax. Al-Hajjāj replied

. . . with regard to the request of the chiefs of
Brahminabad about the building of Budh temples and
toleration in religious matters, I do not see . . .
what further rights we have over them beyond the

usual tax. Because after they have become zimmīs /sic7
. . . we have no right to interfere with their lives or
their property. Do, therefore, permit them to build the
temples of those they worship. No one is prohibited or
punished for following his own religion, and let no one
prevent them from doing so, so that they may live hap-
pily in their own homes.[30]

Muḥammad takes a liberal interpretation of al-Ḥajjāj's letter
and allows Sindīs not only to build their temples but to patron-
ize religious mendicants, celebrate all religious festivals (ᶜĪd),
and to give their customary offerings—up to three out of every
hundred dirams of revenue.[31] These passages attest the Arab Mus-
lim disinclination to actively engage in the conversion of the
Sindīs to Islam. Al-Ḥajjāj's letters of advice to Muḥammad b.
Qāsim are remarkably secular in content. He gives few religious
exhortations; the emphasis is on economics and practical con-
siderations.[32] While Muḥammad b. Qāsim's speechs to his own
soldiers contain references to jihād,[33] his correspondence
with al-Ḥajjāj does not. Furthermore, he consistently reinter-
prets al-Ḥajjāj's already liberal commands in a latitudinarian
fashion even more tolerant to the religious sectarians in Sind.
Al-Ḥajjāj even expresses disapproval over Muḥammad's lenience.[34]
His rationale is that too much leniency would increase the expen-
ditures of the campaign.[35]

Thus, the Arab Muslims did not seem to have exercised enor-
mous pressure (besides the jizyah) on either the Buddhist or Brah-
manical communities to convert to Islam. Why then does Buddhism

die out? We can hazard an hypothesis in light of the evidence presented in the previous chapter of this thesis. Provisionally, we suggest that there were certain similarities in the class support of Buddhism and Islam in the Sind. It is possible that the mercantile classes might have hoped that the Arab conquest would reopen old inter-regional trade routes connected with Western and Central Asia and indirectly cause a revivification of Buddhism. Certainly, the political and economic unity of all the areas from Sind to North Africa under mamlakat al-Islām restored the trade routes from Sind westwards and must have contributed towards the revival of the mercantile sector in Sind. The Sind was an integral political and economic part of this union from the time of its annexation until at least A.D. 871 when it became independent of the disintegrating khilāfah.[36]

That this trade was restored and of a considerable volume finds support in two different lists of treasury receipts from the [c]Abbāsid provinces during the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (c. 786-809) which have been preserved by Muhammad b. [c]Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī[37] and by Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāt.[38] These two accounts contain a list of revenues and exports from Sind to the khilāfah. According to al-Jahshiyārī, 11,500,000 dirams were received from Sind. This compares quite favourably with the amounts sent from other provinces.[39] Over and above, food stuffs, spices (primarily aloe, cloves, nutmeg), textiles and certain semi-manufactured articles (e.g., slippers, gloves) are listed.[40]

Geographers' accounts also indicate that the area was fre-

quented by merchants involved in large-scale inter-regional commerce. Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that articles from Sind were sold in Khurāsān and Fārs.[41] Ibn Khurdādhbah sets forth a detailed account of the roads from Fārs to Sind.[42] Al-Maqdisī states that the area of Quzdār and Būdīn (Budhān?) in Sind are frequented by merchants from Khurāsān, Fārs and Kirmān.[43] He further represents that the entire area of Sind is particularly prosperous as a commercial centre:

> This is the clime (province) of gold, commerce, drugs, instruments of various types, sugar-candy; of nice things, rice, bananas and many other wonderful things. It has cheap prices and wealth. . . . It has special qualities, advantages, commercial goods, profits, means of performing glorious deeds, commercial centres and industries.[44]

And in Multān, although the people are Arab speakers, they understand Persian for commercial purposes.[45] The Ḥudūd al-ᶜĀlam also mentions the "numerous merchants" of Sind.[46]

The evidence of coins also attests to a sizable mercantile community. Compared to the relative paucity of gold and silver coinage of pre-Islamic Sind, the finds of early Muslim silver coinage have been impressive. At Daybul, a large hoard of post-reform silver coins of the Umayyads and ᶜAbbāsids has been uncovered.[47] Some of these coins were minted in Samarqand, al-Wāsiṭ, and Egypt.[48] As we have already mentioned, the presence of silver coinage implies inter-regional commerce. The ubiquity of these coins throughout Sind is particularly salient in comparison to the minimal coinage in the rest of Northern India.[49]

It is important that, at least in the initial period of
Muslim rule in Sind, this inter-regional trade was primarily
oriented towards Western and Central Asia, not North India.[50]
What trade there was with India was largely confined to Southern
India and Ceylon.[51] The Gurjara-Pratīhāras who neighboured Sind
were actively hostile to the commercial expansion of the Arabs
into their territories.[52] Furthermore, we have been unable to
find reports of Arab coins being uncovered in Northern India.
Thus we can postulate that the economic advantage accruing to
the Buddhist monastic trade routes and the mercantile community
which was supportive of both this trade and the Buddhist reli-
gious system, became associated with that inter-regional trade
affiliated with Western and Central Asia. In addition, this
trade in Central and Western Asia was in the hands of the Mus-
lim mercantile community.[53] It is possible, therefore, that
the opening of these inter-regional routes to Islamic areas
would then link the mercantile classes whereby the Buddhists
were supported in Sind indirectly with the Muslim economic
structure and the ideology it supported. Hence, it would not
be surprising to find the mercantile community, which had been
supportive of Buddhist monastic capitalism, converting to the
ideology of the Muslim bourgeoisie. And if this community con-
verted, surely monastic Buddhism would not long surive.

In conclusion, we suggest that those mercantile classes
who were the primary support of Sindī Buddhism were the same
classes which tended to convert to Islam, and that with the

defection of this support Buddhism was no longer viable in the
Sind. It is within an Islamic framework that these classes are
subsequently found. This is not the case with Brahmanism whose
support came from a different sector of the population which was
not immediately superseded by Islam.[54] However, in the absence
of conclusive data, this must remain provisional.

IV. NOTES

[1]Majumdar, The History and Culture . . . , III,458 . Also see Ajwani, pp. 5-8; Prasad, pp. 33-35.

[2]for example, S.M. Jaffar, Islamic Culture, XVII, 119-29; Nadwi, pp. 11-14 et passim.

[3]al-Bīrūnī, trans. Sachau, I, 335-36: ". . . I have never found a Buddhistic book, and never knew a Buddhist from whom I might have learned their theories. . . ."

[4]Mitra, 132-33.

[5]It must be pointed out that we are referring to Buddhism as a religious system in Sind itself; Buddhists who had originated in Sind are mentioned by later sources. Epigraphic evidence dated in the reign of the Bengal Pāla king Śūrapāla bare dedicatory inscriptions recording the installation of two images by Pūrṇadāśa, a Buddhist monk from Sind. See Ray, I, 298, 305.

[6]Murray T. Titus, Islam in India and Pakistan: A Religious History of Islam in India and Pakistan (Rep. 2d ed. rev.; Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1959), pp. 4-5.

[7]F.A. Khan, pp. 129-49; Wheeler, pp. 55-61.

[8]F.A. Khan, pp. 134-37; Wheeler, pp. 58-60.

[9]al-Maqdisī, pp. 474, 481.

[10]al-Balādhurī, p. 439.

[11]al-Maqdisī, p. 479 _et passim_.

[12]Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 325-26.

[13]al-Balādhurī, p. 441.

[14]_Ibid._, p. 442.

[15]_Ibid._, pp. 443-44.

[16]_Ibid._, pp. 445-46.

[17]_Chachnāmah_, pp. 169-71.

[18]For an interpretation of this Sindī Brahmanical litera-
ture written by a Hindu Sindī see Ajwani, pp. 1-42 _et passim_.

[19]Ajwani, pp. 19-21; Y. Husain, pp. 15-16.

[20]Y. Husain, pp. 15-35.

[21]Majumdar, _The History and Culture . . ._, III, 454-62.

[22]al-Balādhurī, p. 437; _Chachnāmah_, pp. 105-110.

[23]S.M. Jafar, _Islamic Culture_, XVII, 119-29.

[24]al-Balādhurī, p. 439.

[25]Chachnāmah, trans., pp. 168-69.

[26]al-Balādhurī, p. 438; Chachnāmah, 131-32 et passim.

[27]Chachnāmah, trans., pp. 168-69 et passim.

[28]Ibid., text, pp. 208-209.

[29]see Cl. Cahen and P. Hardy, "Djizya," EI^2, II, 559-62; Daniel C. Dennett, Conversion and the Poll-tax in Early Islam ("Harvard Historical Monographs," XXII; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950); Frede Løkkegaard, Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period (Copenhagen: Branner and Korch, 1950). P. Hardy doubts the antiquity of this passage since it "antedates the differentiation between kharādj as land-tax and djizya as poll-tax. . ." (EI^2, II, 566-567). However, D.C. Dennett and F. Løkkegaard have conclusively shown that these two taxes were distinctive from a very early period, although their labels may have accrued to them at a later date.

[30]Chachnāmah, trans., pp. 168-69.

[31]Ibid., trans., p. 169.

[32]Ibid., text, pp. 115-17, 127, et passim.

[33]Ibid., pp. 113-14 et passim.

[34] Ibid., pp. 151-52.

[35] Ibid., p. 152.

[36] See G. Hourani, chap. ii: "Trade Routes under the Caliphate," pp. 51-84.

[37] Muhammad b. ᶜAbdūs al-Jahshiyārī, Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa al-Kuttāb, ed. Hans von Mžik (Leipzig: Heims, 1926), 179b-182b. For a partial translation see Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam (Rep. 2d ed. rev.; Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 316-20.

[38] Khalīfah Ibn Khayyāt, Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh, folio on revenues of provinces reproduced and translated by Sāleh Ahmad El-ᶜAlī, "A New Version of Ibn al-Mutarrif's List of Revenues in the Early Times of Hārūn al-Rashīd," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, XIV, 3(December 1971), 303-310.

[39] al-Jahshiyārī. Compare, for example, 4,200,000 from Kirmān; 4,600,000 from Sijistān; 11,000,000 from Isfahān; 12,000,000 from Rayy; 28,000,000 from Khurāsān; and 87,000,000 from the Sawād of Iraq.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibn Hawqal, p. 323.

[42] Ibn Khurdādhbah, Kitāb al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik, trans. and ed. M.J. de Goeje (Rep.; "Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum," VI; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), pp. 55-56, 62, 153-54.

[43]al-Maqdisī, p. 478.

[44]Ibid., p. 474. translation by S. Razia Jafri, "Description of India (Hind and Sind) in the works of al-Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal, and al-Maqdisi," Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, V (1961), 31.

[45]Ibid., pp. 480-81.

[46]Hudūd al-ᶜĀlam, pp. 122-23.

[47]Pervin T. Nasir, "Coins of the Early Muslim Period from Banbhore," Pakistan Archaeology, VI (1969), 117-81. For a partial listing of other Arab coins found in Sind see E. Thomas, "Coins of the Arabs in Sind," in James Burgess (ed.), Report on the Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh. . . (Rep.; Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1971), pp. 71-79. Unfortunately, the find spots of these coins are not listed.

[48]P.T. Nasir, Pakistan Archaeology, VI, 122, 123, 124, 133, 140, et passim.

[49]R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism. . . ., pp. 65-66, 129-30, 269, 257-60.

[50]Ibid., pp. 248-49, 254-55.

[51]Hourani, pp. 61-79; Maqbul Ahmad, pp. 69-70.

[52]L. Gopal, The Economic Life . . . ., pp. 117-18; Ray, I, 577-580, 595-96.

[53]For the Muslim mercantile bourgeoisie see S.D. Goitein, "The Rise of the Middle Eastern Bourgeoisie in Early Islamic Times," *Journal of World History*, III (1957), 583-604, also in idem, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Rep.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), pp. 217-42; Subhi Y. Labib, "Capitalism in Medieval Islam," *Journal of Economic History*, XXIX (1969), 79-96; Aly Mazaheri, *La Vie Quotidienne des Musulmans au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Librarie Hachette, 1951); D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloquium* ("Papers on Islamic History," II; Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 11-35.

[54]It can be postulated that Brahmanism tended to be accommodated in Islam, possibly from a later period, when Islamic inter-regional commerce and the mercantile sector contracts. Then Muslims spread out into the rural areas of Sind and, as Sufis, are in direct competition with Brahmins as religious specialists. However, these later developments are outside the scope of the present study.

V. CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, the burden of our argument has been that religious tensions in the Sind at the time of the Arab conquest were delineated by certain socioeconomic constraints. It will be helpful to synopsize our findings before considering the limitations of this type of study.

Our first concern was with the accurate designation of those Sindī religions and sects extant at the time of the Arab arrival in the area. Strangely enough, the rigorous definition of these religious communities has not been previously undertaken. We established that the majority of Buddhists belonged to the Sammatīya Nikāya while the primary Brahmanical sect was the Pāśupata Saivites.

We then examined the evidence which permitted us to agree with the secondary literature that there were indeed tensions between these two religious groupings. The major support was found in the variant response of these religions to the conquest. The Buddhists tended to either collaborate with or at least actively welcome the Arabs. The Brahmanical community, conversely, formed the major opposition.

Buddhism in the Sind, we found, was vitally connected with the mercantile sector of the economy with its concomitant inter-regional commerce. Brahmanism, on the other hand, had its base

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in an aristocracy which, moreover, had roots extending to the rural non-mercantile sector of the economy with its intra-regional trade in essentials. The suggestion was not that only Buddhists were merchants but that Buddhism, not Brahmanism, was linked to this sector of the economy.

Historical changes in the Sindī economy were then noted. This was from a prosperous mercantile economy based on the position of Sind on major international trade routes, to a feudalized non-mercantile economy based on the relatively self-contained village with its adjunctive intra-regional commerce. The feudalized economy was marked by increasing de-urbanization, paucity of gold and silver coinage, and the relative increase in the importance to the total economy of intra versus inter regional commerce. This was further affected by external factors.

It was suggested that this economic sea change formed the background of the religious tensions in the Sind. Specifically, Buddhism, which was linked to the fortunes of the mercantile sector, declined in importance along with it. An adjustment to the exigencies of the feudalized economy was the context in which we viewed the emergence of the Sammatīya sect and the increasing ruralization of Buddhism. However, the Brahmanical sects, in particular the Pasupatas, prospered under this decentralized economy since their primary economic, as well as ideological, base was in the village.

Finally, these same contradictions resulted in the extinction of Buddhism with the coming of the Arab Muslims. This was

not due, however, to aggravation by the Arabs. We postulated
that the mercantile classes, which were the primary support of
Sindī Buddhism, were the same classes which tended to convert
to Islam. And, further, that with the defection of this vital
support, Buddhism was no longer viable as a unique religious
system in Sind. This was not the case with Brahmanism whose
support came from the rural sector of Sind which was not imme-
diately affected by the expansion of the Arab Muslims.

In this thesis, we have utilized, for analytical purposes,
a typology of the religious groupings in Sind in which we have
taken the socioeconomic changes as the key independent variable.
This is not to imply that these were the sole determinants of
the tensions. We have recognized throughout the work other
variables as pertinent, but have chosen to emphasize the rela-
tionship between the religions—and their tensions—to the
changing economic structure. Furthermore, the unit of analysis
has been societal rather than individual. Thus we have searched
for tendencies and generalized our data somewhat. This has been
done in order to provide material which would have some meaning.
History, like any other science, must simplify in order to clar-
ify.[1]

In addition, we have not suggested that the "world view"
of the religions implied certain modes of economic and social
action. Max Weber has argued that certain doctrines of Buddhism
inhibit rational economic action.[2] This may or may not be the

case with Buddhism as reflected in the normative texts; it is
certainly not the case of Buddhism in the Sind at the time of
the Arab conquest. Thus we have only considered the religions
in their actual manifestation at this place and time. We make
no claim for the application of our conclusions to other areas
and times. It is important, we feel, to examine a religion
not just as a set of abstracted doctrines from the normative
texts but in its unique social setting. This we have done for
religious tensions in the Sind at the time of the Arab conquest.

V. NOTES

[1]Fernand Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences," in Peter Burke (ed.), *Economy and Society in Early Modern Europe: Essays from Annales* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 11-42; E.J. Hobsbawm, "From Social History to the History of Society," in Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (eds.), *Historical Studies Today* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1972), pp. 1-26.

[2]Max Weber, *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, trans. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 216-19 *et passim*; *idem*, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischoff with an introduction by Talcott Parsons (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 266-68. See also Kurt Samuelsson, *Religion and Economic Action: A Critique of Max Weber*, trans. E. Geoffrey French (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

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