

# THE BALOCH RACE.

BY

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

London, 1904



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**Sani H. Panhwar**

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## A HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SKETCH

**T**HE name Baloch is used in two distinct ways by travellers and historians. In the first place, it is employed as including all the races inhabiting the geographical area shown on our maps under the name of Balochistan; and in the second place, as denoting one especial race, known to themselves and their neighbours as the Baloch. It is in the latter signification that I employ the word. I take it as applying to the Baloch race proper, not as comprising Brahois, Numris and other tribes of Indian origin, nor any other races which may be found within the limits of the Khan of Kilat's territory, or the Province of British Balochistan. On the other hand, it does comprise the true Baloch tribes outside those limits, whether found in Persia on the west, or in Sindh and the Panjab on the east. In the native use of the word, apart from modern political boundaries, Balochistan includes Persian Balochistan, the Khanat of Kilat, and the British Districts of Dera Ghazi Khan (with the adjoining mountains), Jacobabad, and part of Shikarpur as far as the Indus. Applying the test of language, the true Baloches may be considered as those whose native language is (or was till recently) Balochi, and not Brahoi, Persian, Sindhi, Jatki, or Pashto. The spelling and pronunciation of the name have varied considerably, but the Baloches themselves only use one pronunciation – Baloch, with the short a in the first syllable and the o in the second. The tendency of Modern Persian to substitute 'u' for an older 'o' everywhere has had its effect in Western Balochistan, where the pronunciation Baluchis, I believe, heard. The sound 'o' is historically older, and is recognised in old Persian dictionaries.<sup>1</sup> Other tribal names, such as Koch, Hot, Dodal, are also frequently given wrongly as Kuch, Hut, Dudai.

The pronunciation of the vowel in the first syllable as a short 'i' is unknown among the people themselves, but common in India. The form Biluch or Biluch (Belooch) may be conveniently retained for such fragments of the race as are detached from the main stock and found isolated in India, such as the criminal tribe of the North-West Provinces and the Eastern Panjab, the camel-men of Lahore, or the Pashto-speaking Biluch of Paniala in Dera Ismail Khan.

The adjectival form Balochi is properly applicable to the language only, and not the people, who know themselves only as Baloch, which occasionally takes a plural form, Balochan, but generally is used either for the individual, or

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<sup>1</sup> See Vuller's *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s.v. He quotes the *Farhang-i-Shu'uri* for the sound 'o'.

collectively for the race. The form 'the Baluchis' or 'the Beloochees' frequently found is a mistake.

The Baloch race, in the present day, is divided into two main groups, which may be called:

1. The Sulaimani Baloches;
2. The Mekrani Baloches.

These groups are separated from each other by a compact block of Brahoi tribes, which occupy the country around Kilat. These Brahois are generally classed under two heads – as Jahlawans, or Lowlanders, and Sarawans, or Highlanders.<sup>1</sup> Although some Baloch tribes are occasionally included, it may be said that, on the whole, the Jahlawans and Sarawans are Brahois, and make use of the Brahoi or Kirdgali language, while both groups of Baloches, the Sulaimani to the north-east, and the Mekrani to the south-west and west, speak the Balochi language in distinct but mutually intelligible dialects.<sup>2</sup>

The Baloches found throughout Sind and the Panjab are an extension, by conquest and colonization, of the Sulaimani Baloches, and are more or less assimilated by their Indian neighbours, while those of Sistan must be classed rather with the Mekrani tribes. The tribal organization in Mekran and Sistan, with which I have no personal acquaintance, seems from all accounts to be much the same as that still prevailing among the tribes of the Sulaiman Mountains. Many of the same tribal names, such as Rind, Hot, Lashari, Maghassi, Buledhi, are found in both tracts, but the notes which here follow apply primarily to the north-eastern or Sulaimani tribes only.

The complete tribal organization is still retained by those tribes which inhabit the Sulaiman Mountains south of the thirty-first parallel of latitude to the plain of Kachi, and westwards to the Bolan Pass, the plain of Kachi itself (called on our maps Gandava or Kach-Gandava), and the territory stretching from the mountains and from Kachi towards the Indus, in some cases as far as the Indus itself, in others stopping short of it. The tribe is known by the name of *tuman*, and is presided over by a chief known as Tumandar. The post is hereditary, and is

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<sup>1</sup> From the Balochi words *jahla*, below, and *sara*, above, and *wan*, a man, which corresponds with the Persian *ban* or *wan*, as found in *Farsiwan*, *bughban*, *niguhban*, *pusban*, *darwdn*, *filwan*, etc. The derivation of Farsiwan from Farsi-zaban is incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> In the introduction to my 'Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language' (extra number J. A. S. B., 1880) I described the two dialects as mutually 'almost unintelligible.' I am now of opinion that this was too strongly expressed, as I have myself, speaking the northern dialect, been able to understand, and make myself understood by, persons speaking the Mekrani dialect.

always held by a member of one family belonging to one clan of the tribe.<sup>1</sup> Each tuman is made up of several distinct clans, known as *phara* (a Sindhi word meaning section or share), and these are again subdivided into septs known as *phalli*.<sup>2</sup>

The name *tuman* is from the Turkish *tuman*, ten thousand, which appears to have been first used as an appellation of the nomad tribes of Persia in the time of the Seljuk Sultans. Among the Baloches it is not so old, and never occurs in the heroic ballads which relate to the events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The oldest name for a tribe found in the poems is *bolak*,<sup>3</sup> also, like *tuman*,<sup>4</sup> a word of Turkish origin (T. buluk, a band or crowd). This word seems rather to refer to the original clans, and not to the modern composite tribe or *tuman*, which is built up of several clans, connected one with another mainly by acknowledging a common chief. Within the clan the members are supposed to be of the same kindred, and as a rule the nucleus of the *tuman* consists of a few clans which consider themselves to be closely connected by blood. These have served as a centre of attraction for other less powerful or unattached clans, which have lost their original tribes either through internal quarrels or through the tribe having been defeated and broken up. The new tie is not always a very strong one, and such members of a tribe are the first to leave it if it is defeated, and look for a more powerful protector. Sometimes mere discontent with the chief, or an internal feud, is sufficient to drive a clan from one tuman to another.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The clan to which the chief belongs is known as the *phagh-logh*, or house of the turban, the tying on of the turban being the outward sign of assuming the chieftainship. The *phagh-logh* answers to the *Khankhel* in Pathan tribes. Such sections are the *Balachani* among the *Mazaris* and the *Raheja* among the *Bughtis*.

<sup>2</sup> Among the *Marris* the clans are known as *takar* (from Sindhi *takaru*, mountain?), the septs as *phalli*, and the smaller subdivisions as *phara* ('Balochistan Census Report,' p. 122).

<sup>3</sup> This word frequently enters into Turki place-names in *Adharbajjan*, etc., such as *Kum-buluk*, *Kizil-buluk*, etc. It is found among the *Afghans* (*Utman-bolak*, near *Peshawar*), and a clan of *Rind Baloches* near *Sibi* is still called the *Ghulam Bolak*. It must not be confounded with the Turki *buluq*, a spring, which also occurs in place-names.

<sup>4</sup> These words *tuman* and *bolak* illustrate the Baloch tendency to shorten final syllables, and throw back the accent to the penultimate — e.g.:

Tuman from Tuman.  
Buluk from Buluk.  
Pattan from Pathan.  
Bakkhal, from Baqqal.  
Jaghdal from Jat-gal.

<sup>5</sup> As regards the political or military organization of the tribe compare Mr. Hughes-Buller's remarks on pp. iv and 8, and also in chap. viii. of the 'Balochistan Census Report, 1892.'

The oldest poems say that there were forty-four *bolaks*, of which forty were Baloches, and four were servile tribes dependent on them. There is no complete list of these bolaks. The oldest poem mentions seventeen Baloch and three servile clans, and a few others mentioned in other old ballads bring the number up to twenty-six, in addition to which three tribes with whom the Baloches were at war – the Langahs, Nahars, and Kungs – are mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Some of these tribes are not now known, and most of them are found as clans only, and not as organized tumans. The only names among them now found as tumans are Rind, Lashari, Drishak, Mazari, Dombki, and Khosa, to which list should be added the Hot tribe still found in Mekran, although broken up in the north. Many considerable tumans, such as the Lund, Leghari, Bozdar, Bughti, Kasrani, Buledhi (or Burdi), and Jakrani, do not appear at all in the older poetry.

The septs, or phallis, are the units out of which the larger organizations are built up, and may be compared to the gotras of a Hindu caste. In a few cases one of the larger clans composing a tuman appears to be rather a subordinate tribe than a clan, and has its own important sections, not all necessarily of the same blood. Sometimes there are more than one in this position. These may conveniently be known by the name of 'subtumans.' Such are the Haddiani section of the Legharis tribe, the Durkanis and Lasharis among the Gurchanis, the Ghulamans among the Bozdars, the Shambanis among the Bughtis, and the Mazaranis among the Marris. These subtumans are very independent, and not so obedient to their Tumandars as the ordinary clans. In many tumans one section, either clan or phalli, is found which has a hereditary feud with the chief, and is in habitual opposition to him. The Jindanis among the Khosas, the Haibatans among the Legharis, and the Mistakanis among the Mazaris are examples of this. In spite of this, however, the general feeling in a Baloch tribe is in favour of supporting the chief's authority, and if he is a moderately good man according to the Baloch standard, just, generous, and of an even temper, he can generally enforce it without much difficulty. What a really able and straightforward man can do is shown by the history of Nawab Sir Imam Bakhsh Khan, K.C.I.E., the Tumandar of the Mazaris, a tribe formerly considered irreclaimable robbers and pirates on the Indus who have now settled into a law-abiding and loyal tribe, and over whom he still successfully presides, though blind and eighty years of age.<sup>2</sup>

The Baloches are nomads by instinct, and still prefer the wandering and pastoral life wherever it is possible, but the population tends more and more to become

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<sup>1</sup> For details of these clans, see Appendix I.

<sup>2</sup> I regret to have to state that Sir Imam Bakhsh Khan has died since the above remarks were written.

fixed as cultivation extends. But town life does not suit them, and although the Tumandar has in every case a fixed residence, it never becomes the nucleus of a Baloch town. Where the chief has selected an already existing town with a non-Baloch population of Hindu traders and Indian Mohammedan artizans, this population continues much as it was before. Few Baloches live in the towns ; they prefer the open country. Their villages are collections of mud or stone huts, and in the mountains, where the population is still nomadic, a village or *halk* consists of a number of little enclosures 3 or 4 feet high, built of loose stones. On these a temporary roof is spread, generally composed of matting (thaghard) made of the leaves of the phish (*Chamerops Ritchieana*); and when the community moves to another grazing ground, the roof is carried off, and the walls left standing for another occupation. Often recesses or ledges in cliffs are utilized, and no walls are necessary. Their wealth consists in camels, cattle, sheep, and goats, and their life is absolutely primitive and uncivilized. Yet the arts of carpet-making and embroidery flourish among them, and lead one to compare them to the Turkoman tribes, with whom they must at some time in their history have been in contact. Robbers they were and to some extent still are; to be a successful leader in raids and cattle-theft was a title to esteem, and *Rahzan* or highwayman was a title of honour.

Such are the Baloches, and they have been described so often and with so much detail by so many travellers and frontier officers from Pottinger, Perrier, and Masson to Sir T. Holdich and Major Molesworth Sykes, that it is unnecessary for me to go into further details. What I wish to consider now is the question of the origin and history of this remarkable race, what their position is among the races of mankind, and how they came to occupy the countries where they now dwell. These are by no means simple questions, as will appear from the variety of opinions which have been held upon them by persons well qualified to judge. Briefly, the origins favoured by one or the other are as follows:

1. The Turkoman origin, as advocated by Pottinger and Khanikoff;
2. The Arab origin (probably the theory most frequently held by travellers), strongly advocated of late by Sir T. Holdich;
3. The Rajput origin, as put forward by the late Dr. Bellew; and
4. The Iranian origin, favoured by Sir B. Burton, Lassen, Spiegel, and others.

Opinions as to the appearance of the Baloches have varied as much as those regarding their origin. Pottinger compared them to the Turkomans,<sup>1</sup> while Khanikoff detected a strong resemblance to the Kirghiz, probably to one of the least Mongolian in appearance of the tribes included under this name. Pottinger

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<sup>1</sup> Pottinger's 'Travels in Beloochistan,' 1816, pp. 268, 269.

denied all resemblance to the Arabs, while, on the other hand, many travellers speak of their Arab features. Sir T. Holdich, who advocated their Arab origin in a paper on the 'Arabs of the North-West Frontier,' read before the Anthropological Society in 1899, considered the resemblance both in character and appearance very strong. Sir B. Burton, who knew the Baloches well and had an almost unrivalled acquaintance with the Arabs, did not favour this view. He says:<sup>1</sup> 'His appearance bears little resemblance to that of Ismail's descendants. The eye is the full, black, expressive Persian, not the small, restless, fiery Arab organ; the other features are peculiarly high, regular, and Iranian; and the beard, unerring indicator of high physical development, is long and lustrous, thick and flowing.' The general vague idea that the Baloches have Arab features seems to be based mainly on the fact that they have long aquiline noses, which are supposed to look Jewish; and they are, therefore, assumed to be Semitic and Arabs. But this is not the Arab type. The latter is well described by Von Luschan,<sup>2</sup> who remarks that the Beduins must be considered as pure descendants of the Old Semitic race: 'They have long, narrow heads, dark complexion, and a short, small, and straight nose, which is in every respect the direct opposite of what we are accustomed to call a typical Jewish nose.' To this it may be added that the Arab nose is very commonly depressed at the root, a characteristic hardly ever found among the Baloches. The great abundance of hair and beard among the Baloches is not an Arab feature. The hairiness is often extreme, and I have on several occasions seen Baloches whose backs were covered with hair.

Resemblances in general character and in customs, both to the Arabs and the Turkomans, have been pointed out. On the whole, the resemblance to the Turkomans seems the strongest, but that to the true Persian nomads is strongest of all. In any case, it must be remembered that a nomadic life in a parched-up country is likely to develop similar customs, even in distinct races. The fondness for horses characterizes the races of Central Asia and the Persian Plateau as strongly as the Arabs. The Baloches, when we first hear of them, were mounted archers, like the Parthians; they wore long red boots; they had striped rugs and carpets – all characteristics referring rather to Northern Persia than Arabia. When they came to close quarters they alighted and fought on foot, like the warriors of the Shahnama, a custom they still maintain. In one point of character they differ strikingly from the Arabs. They are an open-hearted race, easily pleased, and fond of jokes and laughter, while in religious matters they are free from fanaticism, sensible and tolerant, and willing to discuss opinions with an open mind. Their numerous ballads, legends, and traditions are singularly free from

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<sup>1</sup> Burton's 'Sind Revisited,' 1877, vol. ii. p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in 'Man Past and Present,' by A. A. Keane, 1900, p. 502.

the supernatural element. It would be hard to find a greater contrast than that which they offer to the intense, concentrated, fanatical Arabs.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Bollew's attempt to identify the Baloches with the Rajputs was based on philological grounds only, and, as far as I am aware, no comparison has been made as to their appearance. Indeed, it would not be easy to make out any strong resemblance. The difference between the Baloch and the Mohammedan Rajput or Jatt of the Indus valley is very clearly marked, both physically and mentally, and I need not enlarge upon it.

There remains the theory that the Baloches are Iranians, and this I believe to be the true one. Burton's views have already been alluded to, and Lassen, Spiegel, and Trumpp have come to the same conclusion. I shall here endeavour to show that it is borne out by anthropological and historical inquiries, and by evidence derived from the legends and language of the people themselves.

The Eastern Iranians are considered by modern anthropologists to be what is generally, for want of a better name, called the Aryan race, and to be strongly affected by that branch of the Caucasian race which has been named *Homo Alpinus*, which extends through Central Europe and Asia Minor to the highlands of the Hindu Kush. One of the most distinguishing features of this race is its consistent brachycephaly, and its purest examples are found among the Tajiks of Turkestan and the Ghalchas of the Hindu Kush.<sup>2</sup> The Baloches seem to be an offshoot of this race. They certainly, as I shall show further on, came into their present locations in Mekran and on the Indian border from parts of the Iranian plateau further to the west and north, where they would naturally have been associated with other Iranian nomads, such as the Bakhtiaris of the present day. They have brought with them a language of the Old Persian stock, with many features derived from the Old Bactrian rather than the Western Persian, and have intruded into a region which was always in ancient times regarded as part of India, and not of Persia, and which, both before and after the Mohammedan

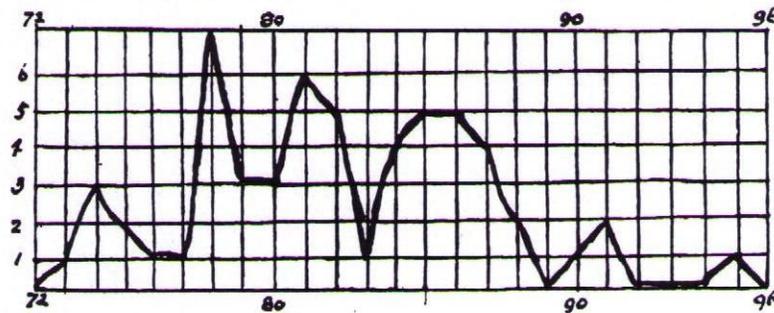
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<sup>1</sup> Since these remarks were written my attention has been drawn to Colonel E. Mockler's paper on the 'Origin of the Baloches' in .T.A. S. B., 1895. His contention is that the mass of the Baloch are the ancient inhabitants of Mekran, and are identical with the Gedrosii of the Greeks, and that the Rinds are not in origin Baloch at all, but Arabs of the 'Alafi tribe. He considers it probable that they are descended from the sons of Al Harith al 'Alafi, who fought against Al Hajjaj, and were finally driven into Sindh about A.H. 86. Their descendants were well known in Sindh for two hundred years later. Colonel Mockler also is of opinion that the supposed origin from Aleppo (Halab) is connected with the name 'Alftfi. While it is quite possible that some families among the Binds or other tribes are descended from these or other Arab settlers, I do not think that there is sufficient evidence to justify the adoption of this theory, or to separate the Rinds in origin from the mass of the Baloch race. As regards the connection between Baloch and Gedrosia, see p. 22.

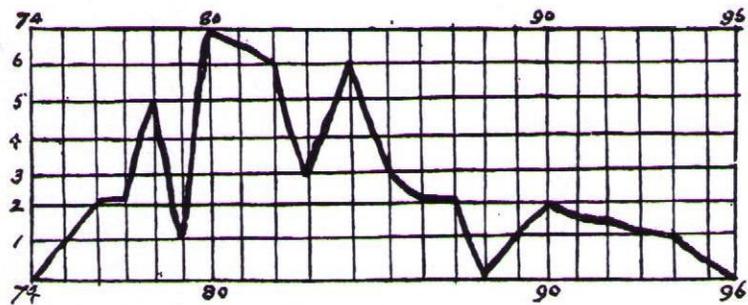
<sup>2</sup> Ujfalvy, 'Las Aryens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou Kouch.' The subject is exhaustively discussed in this work.

conquest, was peopled by Indian tribes—Rajputs, Jatts and Meds. But the Baloches still retain their brachycephaly, although Afghans to the north, Indians to the east, and Arabs to the south and on the Persian Gulf are all dolichocephalic.

The Arabs have a mean cephalic index of from 74 to 76, and the Afghans about the same. The natives of India have a still lower index. Twenty-three castes of the North West Provinces, as given by Mr. Risley, average 72.8 and seven of the Punjab 73.1.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Risley gives the index for the Baloches as 80, but this is misleading, as his figures include several Baloches from Lahore and the neighbourhood, where they have long been assimilated by their Indian surroundings, and have lost all their national characteristics. Taking only the Baloches of the Trans-Indus districts as fairly representative of the race, I find the mean index to be 81.5. This is most remarkable, as no cephalic index approaching 80 is to be found throughout Northern India for two thousand miles, till we reach the Thibetans of the Darjiling Hills or the aboriginal tribes beyond Chittagong.



GRAPHIC CURVE OF CEPHALIC INDICES OF 60 TAJIKS.



GRAPHIC CURVE OF CEPHALIC INDICES OF 45 BALOCHES.

The Tajiks of different parts of the Iranian plateau have an index varying from 81 to 84, the Darwazis 81.4 and the Ghalchas 85. The figures given by M. de Ujfalvy for Bakhtiaris, Kurds, and Gilanis are 88, 86, and 84, although these are based on too small a number of cases to be altogether trustworthy. The index of the Bombay Parsis, who have kept distinct amid their Indian neighbours, is 82.3 The curve for 60 Tajiks given by M. de Ujfalvy is given here for convenience of

<sup>1</sup> Risley, 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal,' vole. i. and ii.: Anthropometric Data.

comparison with that of 45 Baloches from the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. The correspondence is certainly striking, the highest index in each case being the remarkable figure 95 or 96.<sup>1</sup>

The nasal index for the same 45 Baloches is 68.8 It is clear, therefore, that as far as the shape of the head is concerned the Baloches must be classed with the brachycephalic Iranians, and not with the dolichocephalic Arabs or Indians. This applies to the Baloches west of the Indus, while those who have settled east of that river show a tendency to approximate to the Indian type.<sup>2</sup>

In their organization and customs they certainly show signs of Turkoman influence, probably without much mixture of blood. The adoption of Turki names for tribes (*tuman bolak, el, and u1us*), for beasts of burden (*lagh* and *olak, T. ulagh*), and certain proper names (Chakar, Sanjar, Ghazan, Zangi), points towards such a contact, probably in the time of the Seljuk monarchy.

In his remarks on Sir T. Holdich's paper, 'The Arabs of our Indian Frontier,'<sup>3</sup> Mr. Kennedy gave it as his opinion that the Baloches might be descended from the Sakas, who settled in Drangiana, and gave it its later name of Sakastanê (Sijistan, Sistan). That the Baloches may be descended from the Sakas, or from some other race of Central Asian invaders, is no doubt possible, but I do not think that we have at present sufficient evidence on which to base any definite conclusions. M. de Ujfalvy finds the descendants of the Sakas in the Baltis of Baltistan, and supposes them to be a remnant of that race left behind during the invasion of India by the Karakoram passes. The Baltis are, like the Baloches, a race of horsemen, with abundant curly hair; but, on the other hand, they are extremely dolichocephalic, having a mean index as low as 72. In spite of this, however, it might be quite possible for the Baloches to be derived from the branch of the race settled in Sistan if we could prove that that province was the cradle of the Baloch race. But although I formerly believed that this was the case, I have been obliged by historical evidence to come to the conclusion that their connection with Sistan is of comparatively modern date, and that their origin must be looked for further north, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea— in ancient Parthia, in fact. Some connection with the Parthians seems possible, even probable; but more than this cannot be asserted. In any case, even if the Baloches have originally sprung from some Scythian or non-Iranian race, they have long since been absolutely assimilated by the Iranians.

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<sup>1</sup> Nur Hassan of Dera Ghazi Khan. Cephalic length, 155; breadth, 148; index, 95.4

<sup>2</sup> Since the above remarks were written I find that Professor Keane, in 'Man Past and Present' (Plate XI., p. 554), gives a Baloch as an illustration of the Lowland Tajik type.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 1899, vol. xxix., p. 18.

Sporadic cases of the settlement of Arab families among the Baloches probably occurred during their residence in Karman and Mekran, as such cases occurred throughout Persia, Turkistan, Afghanistan, and Northern India; but in such cases the ultimate effect on the general population is but small. Isolated instances of the survival of Arab features may perhaps be pointed out, and it seems to be the general opinion of travellers in Mekran that the families of the chiefs show such features rather than the greater number of their tribesmen. But among the tribes along the Indian Frontier—'the Arabs of the Indian Border,' as Sir T. Holdich calls them—with whom I can claim a long and intimate acquaintance, I am convinced that there is no such distinction. The typical and characteristic Baloch face is found equally among chiefs and tribesmen, and true Arab features are very rare.

The Rajput origin advocated by the late Dr. Bellow<sup>1</sup> deserves some consideration, but his attempt to prove that all Baloches, jointly with a very large section of Pathans, were of Indian descent was doomed to failure. If he had confined himself to stating that there are some Rajput and Jatt elements in the present Baloch nation, and that the Pathan tribes of the Sulaman range are, to a considerable extent, of Indian origin, he would have obtained general assent; but he attempted to show, on philological grounds mainly, that every tribe or clan whose name he could ascertain was descended from some Indian caste or got, and he displayed a good deal of ingenuity in comparing these names with those of their supposed Indian progenitors.

He commences with the name Baloch, which he considers identical with the Balaecha (Balaicha) clan of the Chauhan Rajputs, and at the same time he finds a clan of the Afghan Durrani named Bahrech, which he identifies with another Chauhan clan, the Bharaecha (properly, Bhuraicha). Leaving the Afghan identification, with which I cannot deal here, that of the words 'Baloch' and 'Balaicha' rests on no evidence except the similarity of the sounds. Even on philological grounds it is improbable, for although original o and i are frequently converted in Balochi into 'e' and 'i' the reverse process never takes place. This objection applies also to the derivation from Mlechha. The Chauhans were at no time one of the Rajput tribes occupying the Indus Valley, either in Sindh or the Panjab. The great mass of Chauhans is still found on the site of their ancient kingdom, in Karnal and Ambala, in the United Provinces and Eastern Rajputana. The Varaich, who probably represent the Balaicha clan, are at present a strong Musalman Jatt community in the Gujrat and Sialkot districts of the Panjab. There is no evidence whatever that they migrated westward at any time, and forsook

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<sup>1</sup> 'Ethnography of Afghanistan,' by H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., 1891, pp. 171, 172, and 175-187,

their fertile plains for the arid ridges and plateaus of Mekran. But, although Baloch is now the name for the whole race, and has been so since it has been known to history, Dr. Bellew thought that the Baloch were originally only a branch, and that the whole race was known as Rind, a name which he derives from the Rann of Kach. His words are: 'The name "Rind" is a territorial designation applied to the Baloch or Balaecha and other Choh Rajput tribes, whose original seats were in the Chohan country on the banks of the Loni,' the actual meaning of the words 'Rind' and 'Baloch' being thus reversed. Rind is, in fact, the title of one branch of the Baloch, as I shall show below, and is a nickname, like many other tribal I names, meaning 'scoundrel' or 'cheat' (like the Indian Thag). Nor is there any evidence to show that the Chauhans were ever settled on the river Loni, nor in the neighbourhood of the Rann of Kach.

Dr. Bellew then proceeds to consider what he calls the three main divisions of the Baloch—viz., the Brahoi, the Numri, and the Rind. I shall not follow him as regards the first two, neither of which has any right to the name Baloch. They differ from the true Baloch in every respect, and I am only dealing with the latter, which Dr. Bellew here calls Rind. The true historical name is Baloch, and I shall be able to show how the Rinds obtained their prominence among the Northern Baloches, which has led to the confusion of names. When he comes to the Baloch properly speaking, he gives a list of forty-two names of tribes, which he proceeds to deduce from various Indian originals. I say Indian, as he does not confine himself to Chauhans, or even to Rajputs, but includes Brahmans, Jatts, and low-caste tribes. Out of the forty-two names, eleven are unknown to me—viz., Ban, titan, Kaodai (perhaps a Sindhi method of writing Korai), Katwar, Korwa, Landi, Latti, Malai, Men, Sajod and Raksh. The last-named perhaps stands for Rakshani, a Brahoi tribe and small Baloch clan. None of those can be found either as tribal or clan names.

Of the remainder, six—viz., Gichki, Khetrān, Loni, Mamasani, Med, and Mekran strictly be called Baloch.

The Gichki are an assimilated tribe of Mekrān, now speaking the Balochi language, and commonly classed as Baloch; but they are known to be of comparatively recent Indian origin—some accounts say Sikh, and some RAjpüt. Their settlement in Mekrān was not earlier than the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is very likely that the tribe comprises some true Baloch elements. Dr. Bellew makes Gichki equivalent to Xajki, and derives it from the Kachwāha Bajpnts, which is clearly impossible on philo.. logical grounds. The termination ki, commonly used in Sindh to form adjectives (such as Balochki, Jatki, Brahuiki, etc.), shows that the name must be of Sindhi origin.

The Khetrans are also a tribe of undoubtedly Indian origin, occupying a tract in the Sulaiman Mountains, between the Baloch and Pathan tribes, and still speaking their original Indian language—a dialect peculiar to themselves and akin to Sindhi and Jatt with which I have some acquaintance. It is hardly necessary to observe that their name cannot be derived, as Dr. Bellew supposes, from Khater, 'mercantile Rajput,' but means 'cultivator,' and must be referred to Khetr (Ski. Kshetra), 'a field.'

The Med, or Medh, are the aboriginal, non-Baloch fisher tribe of the Mekran and Sindh coast, known long before the appearance of the Baloches, who use the name as a term of contempt; and those near the Indus apply it to the fishermen of that river, and couple it with the name Machhi. A bard, in hurling a taunt at his adversary of another tribe, tells him that Medhs and Machhis are not fit companions for Mir Hamza!

The Lori are the same as the Doms, the hereditary minstrels of Indian origin, known in Persia and Balochistan under this name Lori, or Luri—that is, probably, natives of Lur, or Luristan. The picturesque legend told in the 'Shahnftma' of their introduction from India into Persia by Bahram Gor is well known. They are attached as bards to Baloch tribes, but are not, and do not pretend to be, of Baloch blood themselves. Their customs and appearance are those of the Doms or Mirasis of India.

The Marwaris are the well-known Indian banking caste originating in Marwar. I do not know how the name found its way into a list of Baloch tribes.

The Mamasani of Sistan are, I believe, Brahois, and not Baloch. This is Dr. Bellew's own opinion (see 'From the Indus to the Tigris,' 1874, p. 257).

The remaining twenty-five names on his list are Baloch, but a large number of well-known names is omitted. A few specimens of the method of derivation, on which the argument as to their Indian origin is founded, will be sufficient.

In the list occur two names, Bolidi and Burdi. These refer in reality to the same tribe, the Buledi or Buledhi, a name derived undoubtedly from the Boleda Valley in Mekran. Burdi is the Sindhi form, due to the fondness of that language for changing 'l' to 'r' and throwing the accent back to the antepenultimate; but the Burdis of Sindh are never spoken of in Balochi by any other name than Buledhi. Dr. Bellew gives distinct origins for the two names. He says: Bolidi (mentioned by Ptolemy) is the same as the Puladi or Faoladi of the Hazarah, and has given its name to a district in Mekran. The original name seems to have been Bol, Bola, or

Pola (whence the Bol temple of Multan, Bolan Pass, and Plilaji<sup>1</sup> Shrine not far from it) for Bala Brahman, and the form Bolida<sup>2</sup> is the Sindhi correlative of the Hindi Bolika, of the Bola, Pola, or BaJa.' Dr. Bellow explains Burdi as representing the Bhurta Solanki Rajput. So that the Buledhi tribe in one form of its name is Bala Brahman, and in the other Bhurta Rajput.

Another example is the name Nutkani, as to which Dr. Bellow observes: 'Natka or Natkani is for Nat Indian tribe of gypsies, conjurers, rope-dancers, etc.' This is a most baseless conjecture. The name is not Natka or Natkanl, but Nutkani, as pronounced by outsiders, and Nodha kani in Balochi. *Ani* is the genitive plural termination used to form patronymics. Nodhak is a common proper name of Baloches, a diminutive of Nodh, 'a cloud,' a word which enters into other proper names, as Nodho, Nodhbandagh. Nodhakani or Nutkani simply means 'the descendants of *Nodhak*.'

Mazari means the son of Mazar, the 'tiger,' a true Baloch form. Dr. Bellow identifies the tribe with the Mysari, 'Indian Desert Tribe.' I have not been able to obtain any information as to the Mysari, but the name, if correctly given, looks like a corruption of Maheswari (like Mysore, from Maheswar) Dr. Bellew also derives the Pathan tribe of the Sulaimans, known as Zmari, from a Hindu tribe Maisari, perhaps the same. He does not note that Mzarai or Zmarai in Pashto means the same as Mazar in Balochi, 'a tiger.'

It is not necessary to go further through this list. I can only find one case among all those given by Dr. Bellew in which a Baloch tribe is really connected with the Indian ancestry assigned to it – that is, the case of the Jakrani from the Jakhar Jat a tribe of comparatively late adoption into the Baloch confraternity.<sup>3</sup>

There are, however, cases of adoption of Indian tribes not noticed by him. The most important of these is the case of the Dodai and their descendants, the modern Gurchani tribe, who are, undoubtedly, to a great extent sprung from the Somra Rajputs of Sind, as I shall show further on.

It is, no doubt, also possible to urge that the tribes which bear territorial names derived from localities in Mekran may have been derived from the original Jatt of that region, and not from the Baloch invaders, but there is no evidence that this was the case. There are several names of this type, for instance:

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<sup>1</sup> The correct form of this name is 'Phuleji'

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that 'da' denotes the genitive in Panjabi but is not a Sindhi termination.

<sup>3</sup> See Eastwick, 'Dry Notes from Young Egypt,' 1851, p. 110.

Buledhi, from Boleda.  
Lashari, from Lāshār.  
Magassi, from Magas.  
Kulachi, from Kolanch.  
Gishkhauri, from the Gish Khaur, the name of 'a torrent.'  
Dashti, from one of the numerous Dashts, or tablelands, found throughout the country.  
Kahiri from the name of a 'torrent,' so-called from the Kahir (*Prosopis spicigera*), which grows along its course. There are several so called.

The Buledhi have been alluded to already. The Lashari are one of the main divisions of the Baloch race, and the Magassi a tribe generally classed as a branch of the Lashari. It may be noted that Magas is a place situated in a tract of country called Laehar in Persian Balochistan.<sup>1</sup> Magassi is sometimes used as a term interchangeable with Lashari; Ferrier ('Caravan Journeys,' p. 481) divides the Baloches of Sistan into Nervuis (Naruis), Rinds, and Mekees (i.e., Magassis).

Kulachi is probably from the Kolanch Valley in Mekran. This tribe, once powerful, but now of small importance, has left its name on the map. The town of Kulachi, in Dera Ismail Khan, though now belonging to the Gandapur Afghans, bears it, and the great seaport of Karachi has the same name, with the usual Sindhi change of 'l' to 'r'.

The name of the Kahiris, who are in the present day a Levitical tribe with certain peculiar attributes, is probably derived from one of the Kahiri torrents. The legend given in the *Tarikh-i-M'asumi* (1600 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> derives the name direct from the Kahir-tree, asserting that one of the ancestors of the tribe rode on a tree of this sort, making it move like a horse when he struck it with a whip.

Perhaps the Kalmati should be added to this list. Sir T. Holdich supposes them to derive their name from Kalmat, and this is, *prima facie*, probable. They are stated to be a peculiar tribe with certain religious superstitions attached to them, and it seems possible that their name may be derived from the Karmati or Karmatian heretics, who were driven into Mekran by Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammed bin Sam.<sup>3</sup> Neither Kahiri nor Kalmati are probably Baloches by origin, though long associated with them and mentioned in old ballads.

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<sup>1</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Major P. Molesworth Sykes.

<sup>2</sup> E. D. i. 238.

<sup>3</sup> E. D., i., pp. 459, 492.

It is not necessary to go further into Dr. Bellew's lists of subdivisions or of what he calls Jat Baloches. Only two Baloch tribes, the Jatoi and Jakrani, are included in the latter list. The rest are the names of miscellaneous Indian tribes with no claim to be called Baloch.

I may here allude to the derivation of the word 'Baloch' from the Sanskrit 'Mlechha,' which Mr. Crooks brought forward in the discussion on Sir T. Holdich's paper above alluded to. The derivation is not a new one. Von Bohlen suggested it long ago, and Lassen dismissed it<sup>1</sup> as resting on an unsupported guess. He added: 'It is sufficient to remark that Mlechha was never specially used in Indian writings of the non-Indian races to the west of the Indus, but applied to all barbarians without distinction. Also the difference between the two names is so great that no comparison should be made without the strongest reasons.'

To this it may be added that the word Baloch was in use long before the movement of the tribes to the Indian frontier, or even into Mekran. It is found in the Arab chroniclers of the early part of the tenth century and in the 'Shahnama,' and its origin should be sought rather in Persia than in India.

No explanation of the name Baloch as yet given appears to be satisfactory. Natives of India in the present day say that it comes from 'bad-log,' or bad people, regarding which explanation no remarks are necessary! The Baloches themselves say it is a corruption of 'bar-luch,' *bar* meaning the wilderness, and *luch* naked, owing to their progenitor, the offspring of Mir Hamza and a penri, having been found abandoned in the wilderness.

R. B. Hetu Ram, in his 'Balochi-nama,' says: 'In the language of Halab, dwellers on the skirt of the hills and in the mountains are called Baloch.'<sup>2</sup>

Fenner ('Caravan Journeys') says it is from *be*, without, and *leuct*, naked.

Colonel E. Mockler<sup>3</sup> mentions another popular derivation of the name, according to which Baloch is compared to Bad-roch, or 'evil day.' This is another of the punning and abusive nicknames given to the race by others who had suffered from their depredations. Colonel Mockler, however, thinks that Badroch, or Badrosh, in Balochi may be taken as 'equivalent to Gadrosh, or Gadros, of the more ancient Pehlevi, or Zend, and to Gadros-ii, or Gedrosii, of the Greeks.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Z. f. d. K. d. M.,' 1842, Band iv., p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Douie's 'Translation of Balochi-nama,' p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. B. B., 1895.

Badroch, from the interchangeability of the liquids 'r' and 'l', is equivalent to Badloch, out of which the 'd' must naturally drop, leaving Baloch equivalent to "the Gedrosii."

With regard to this derivation, it may be remarked that no such word as 'bad' or gad' is found in the ancient languages, and that while a modern 'g' or 'gw' often represents in Persian (and still more often in Balochi) an original 'v', the reverse process is unknown. An ancient 'G', such as is found in the name Gedrosia, dating from the fourth century B.C., can hardly be represented by a 'B', as in Baloch. If I have been successful in showing that the Baloch name was not known in Mekran before the thirteenth century, it seems a useless task to attempt to associate them with the Gedrosii of sixteen hundred years before.

Baloch is a Persian word, which, in addition to its use as a proper name, means, as explained in the Burhan-i-Qati' and other dictionaries, a cockscomb or crest. It seems possible that the proper name was originally a nickname derived from the use of such a crest or badge; many tribal names are uncomplimentary nicknames, like our Whig and Tory, and others applied to religious sects. A passage in the 'Shahnama' affords some support to this theory. In the enumeration of the warriors of Ka Khusran's army, the poet comes to the Baloch led by Ashkash, and in one text he describes them as

### سکالیده جنک و بر آورده خوچ

'Intent on war, with exalted cockscomb crests.<sup>1</sup> This may be considered as evidence that in the traditions or poems made use of by Firdausi the Baloches were represented as wearing such crests, and as the words 'Baloch' and 'Khoch' have the same meaning, it seems that Baloch must be a nickname.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is an example of the extraordinary variety of readings in the text of the 'Shahnama.' In Mohl's text the passage reads (ii., p. 586),

سپا هي ز گردان کوچ و بلوچ—سکالیده جنکد مانند خوچ

which he translates: Il était acompagne des braves de Cutch et de Beloudjistan, qui sont avides de combats comme des béliers.'

Vullers, in his Persian Dictionary (a.v. سکالیدن) gives it as quoted above in the text, and this also is the reading of the oldest MS. of the poem in the British Museum (21,103, addi., f. 70). In his edition of the 'Shahnama,' however, Vullers does not give this reading, but the following (ii. 780),

سکالیده جنک مانند خوچ

which is also given in the Bombay lithographed edition.

Macan's Calcutta edition omits the whole passage as to the numbering of the armies, which is of great interest throughout.

The words خوچ and قوچ both mean 'ram,' but as قوچ ends in a ق and not چ, it is improbable as a rhyme to بلوچ. The reading in the text seems preferable to both.

The reputation of being raiders and robbers which the Baloch have always borne among their neighbours has earned them many uncomplimentary epithets, which are found among the tribal names.

The following are examples:

Rind (Per.), knave, dabauchee, wanderer.

Lund (Per.), similar meaning. A legend explains it as meaning 'fool,' but I cannot find that the word ever bore this signification.

Khosa (Sindhi), a robber; also a fever.

Mari (Sindhi), a plague or epidemic.

Leghar (Balochi), foul or dirty.

The name of the Koch, the race always coupled with the Baloch in the earliest accounts, also means 'nomad' in Persian (*cf.* Pashto Kochai, 'a wanderer').

Some of the clan names also are either nicknames or (possibly) have a totemic origin. I may mention the following:

Syah-phadh (Blackfeet), a clan of the Durkani Gurchanis.

Gul-phadh (Flowerfeet), a clan of the Drishaks.

Gandagwalagh (the small red ant), a clan of the Durkani.

Syah-laf (Blackbellies), all the Mazaris, with the exception of the Balachani.

Kalphur (an aromatic plant, *Glinus lotoides*), a clan of the Bughtis.

The tribal names. Hot (*hero*) and Mazari (*sons of tigers*) are examples of epithets of another kind.

Bozdar means goatherds.

The Balochi is, as is well known, an Iranian idiom, nearly related to modern Persian, but at the same time showing many points of resemblance to the Zend, or Old Bactrian, rather than to the Old Persian.<sup>1</sup> The vocabulary has borrowed a large number of words from the neighbouring settled races speaking Modern Persian on one side, or the Indian idioms Sindhi and Jatki on the other. Brahoi has furnished a few words, and has itself borrowed extensively from Balochi. The Arabic element is not very extensive, and mainly consists of such religious and abstract terms as are common to all Muhammadan nations. Most of these have been introduced through the medium of Modern Persian. Had the Arab element been an important or ruling one, we should expect to find the words

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<sup>1</sup> 'Die Sprache der Balutschen,' by W. Geiger, No. VI., in the 'Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie,' gives a full summary of the literature of the subject.

relating to government, tribal organization, war, weapons, horses, and other matters in which the ruling caste of a nomad race mainly concerns itself, largely derived from the Arabic, much as in English the corresponding class of words is derived from Norman-French. But hardly a single word of this class comes from Arabic, though Sindhi has been drawn on to some extent. Most words of this class belong to the original Iranian element; a few are Turkish.

Certain indications as to origin may also be deduced from the proper names in use among Baloches. All Muhammadans have to a great extent abandoned their original nomenclature, and adopted the system of religious names drawn from the Quran, the various divine names, the Prophet, the early Khalifas, and other persons famed in the history of the religion. Nevertheless, original names have survived in many languages, especially in Persian; and Persian, as well as Arabic names, are in use throughout India, Afghanistan, and Balochistan. There is among the Baloches also a very large and important element which cannot be derived from either of these sources.

I have made a list of 190 proper names, including all the names I have found in the older poetry and in the genealogies. Of these only fifty-three are Arabic names, twenty are Persian or compound Persian and Arabic (as Dost Muhammad, Imam Bakhsh, etc.), four are Turkish, and twenty-three seem to be of Indian origin, although mostly not identical with modern Hindu names. The remaining ninety are names peculiar to the Baloches, of which a good many are capable of explanation from Balochi or from the older Iranian languages, and I am of opinion that the Arabic element is less important than among most Muhammadan races:

The names of places afford little information. The Baloches, as recent immigrants into Mekran and the Sulaimans, have accepted most names as they found them. The majority seem to be of Indian origin. A few Balochi names are found, such as Suhraf ('red water'), Syahaf ('black water'), Geh ('good '), Nafuskh ('step-daughter'), Chighard ('acacia'), Dehgwār, Gandakindaf; and names commencing with the letters 'gw', such as Gwadar, Gwattar, Gwajak, Gwarokh, are probably of Baloch origin, as 'gw' in that language stands for an original 'v' or 'w', which in modern Persian becomes 'b'. The total number of such names is small.

The Balochi language is rich in terms for the natural features of a mountainous country – mountains, streams, valleys, spurs, cliffs, passes, etc. The only apparently Arabic word among these is *Khaur*, 'a torrent bed' (Ar. *Khor*), found also in Pashto in the form *Khwar*. The common Arabic words *wadi* and *jebel*, which are to be found from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean, never occur away from the coast which is navigated by Arab sailors.

## HISTORY AND LEGEND.

**T**he first mention of the Baloches in history is found in the Arabic Chronicles of the tenth century, the fourth of the Hijri era; but Firdausi, whose great poem, the 'Shahnama,' was finished in A.H. 400, refers to an earlier period than any of these. The latter part of this poem, relating to the Sassanians, must be regarded as mainly historical – at least, as much so as the narratives of the prose chronicles, such as those of Mas'udi and Tabari and the Rauzatu's-safa, which embody quite as much legendary matter as the 'Shahnama.' The earlier part of the 'Shahnama' is, of course, mainly mythical. The Baloches are introduced as forming part of the armies of Kai Kaus and Kai Khusrau; and this means no more than that their name occurred among others in the ballads or legends which Firdausi drew upon. Kai Kaus is shown as employing 'the warriors of Pars and of the Koch and Baloch, the troops of Gilan and of the plain of Saroch.'<sup>1</sup> The passage describing the assembly of the warriors by Kai Khusrau for his expedition against Afrasyab is also note worthy:

'After Gustaham came Ashkash . . . . His army was from the wanderers of the Koch and Baloch, intent on war and with exalted cockscomb crests, whose back none in the world ever saw. Nor was one of their fingers bare of armour ... His banner bore the figure of a tiger..... This passage is interesting as showing the crest borne by the Baloches, alluded to above as possibly explaining the meaning of their name.'<sup>2</sup>

The allusion under Naushirvan is more important historically. This King is not a mythical personage, he is the Chosroes of the classical writers who fought against Justinian, and was only kept within bounds by the genius of Belisarius; and Firdausi described his exploits as accurately as was possible to him. He represents Naushirvan as making war against the Alans, who lived near the Caspian Sea; he then transports him suddenly to the river of Hindustan (no doubt the Indus), whence he returned after receiving the submission of the people. On his return he was met by the news that the country was being laid waste by the Baloches and Gilanis and determined to subdue them. Turning first

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همي پهلي پارس و کوچ و بلوچ

<sup>1</sup> ز گیلان جنکی و دشت سرۆچ

<sup>2</sup> Major P. Molesworth Sykes has drawn my attention to the fact that the tiger-banner also furnishes a valuable indication as to the home of the Baloch, the tiger being found only on the shores of the Caspian.

against the Baloches, he learnt from a Dehkan that his predecessor, Ardashir (presumably Ardashir Babakan), had in vain tried to subdue them. Nauahirvan however, surrounded their mountains with his troops, and ordered them to destroy every Baloch,<sup>1</sup> great or small. This was carried out, so that there was not a Baloch left on the mountains, and their oppressions and tyranny disappeared. (This is the reading of the oldest MS.;<sup>2</sup> but the text used by Mohl reads **ستم کردن و رنج**, 'the oppression of the Koch,' instead of **ستم کردن کوچ**, 'oppression and grief.') Later on, however, we find that the Baloches were by no means exterminated, but were serving in Naushirvan's army, and, together with the men of Gil, were drawn up armed with golden shields to receive the ambassador of the Khaqan of Chin. On another occasion we find that the King's friends and freemen marched towards Adhar-badagan (Adharbaijan) with a force made up of contingents from Gil Dailaman, the mountains of the Baloch, the plain of Saroch, and the swordsmen of Koch. Then, in some texts, but not in the best MS., follows a passage to the effect that up till that time, since the world was the world, there had never been a single Koch who did not pillage and burn the towns.<sup>3</sup> The narrative, after relating the conquest of the Baloches by Naushirvan, continues to give an account of his war against the men of Gil and Dailarn—that is to say, of Gilan and Adharbaijan. This association of the Baloch with the races near the Caspian Sea seems to make it probable that they were then located in a more northerly province than Karman, where they are next heard of. Firdausi must have drawn this description from the traditions. Had he been describing the Baloch simply as they were in his own time, he would certainly have shown them as occupying Karman and the Lut, and plundering the routes leading towards Sistan and Khurasan; there would not have been any especial association with the Gilanis.

The fact that the names of Baloch and Koch are frequently coupled by Firdausi is not necessarily a proof that this was anything more than a method of speaking prevalent in his day. In the oldest MS. of the poem the name 'Koch' occurs very seldom, and not at all in the passage describing the conquest of the Baloch by Naushirvan. It is probable that in many passages later copyists introduced the name, as the phrase 'Koch and Baloch' had become customary in their time; and this association of names was due simply to the fact that the two races had settled near each other in Karman, although (as the allusion in Yakat shows) they were by no means on friendly terms.

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. have 'every Koch,' and some add 'the Kurda' as well.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, 21,108, addl. Dated about A.H. 675.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that all the passages in which the name Koch appears are subject to great variation in the MSS., while the name Baloch appears throughout without variation.

The cause of the migration of the Baloches to Karman may have been their conquest by Naushirvan, or more probably the invasion of the Ephthalites or White Huns, which took place at that period, and who are also alluded to in the 'Shahnama' under the name of Hayital. The Arab conquest of Karman took place in A.H. 23, or only sixty-five years after the death of Naushirvan. The conquest was carried out by 'Abdu'llāh, under the orders of the Khalif Umar; and all the accounts agree that the Arabs found the mountains of Karman occupied by a race known as Koch (in Arabic Qufj or Qufs), and some add the Baloch. None of the authorities are contemporary or nearly so. The earliest writers who deal with the subject are: Al-Bilazuri, who died in A.H. 279 (A.D. 892); Tabari,<sup>1</sup> who wrote about A.H. 820 (A.D. 932); Masudi whose work is dated A.H. 332 (A.D. 943); and Istakhri, *circa* A.H. 340 (A.D. 951). The first two of these, in describing the conquest, only mention the Koch or Qufs; while Masudi and Istakhri whose works are geographical and deal with their own times, speak both of Koch and Baloch. Weil ('Geschichte der Chalifen,' i. 95), following Tabari, only mentions the Kufedj or Kufess. Elliott and Dowson (i. 417) state that when 'Abdullah conquered the capital of Karman, the aid of the men of Kuj and Buluj (i.e., Koch and Baloch) was in vain solicited by the Karmanis. The authority for this statement appears to be the Tarikh-i Guzida, which was not written till A.H. 730 (A.D. 1329), and has not much weight. The best geographical authorities are Istakhri and Mas'udi, the valuable work of Idrisi (A.H. 543 – A.D. 1151), and the gazetteer of Yakut, who wrote in A.H. 615, but relies on earlier authorities.

It may be considered as established that the Baloches were settled in Karman at the commencement of the fourth century of the Hijra; and it is possible, but not proved, that they were already settled there when the Arab conquest took place three hundred years before. The Baloch occupied a territory adjacent to that of the Koch, but were quite distinct from them. Masudi<sup>2</sup> only says that he is not able to give any account of the Qufs the Baloch, and the Jatt (Zutt), who dwell in the regions of Karman. He is the only writer who mentions Jatts in Karman, all other accounts showing them as occupying Mekran at that period. Istakhri gives fuller details.<sup>3</sup> He describes the Koch as living in the mountains, while the Baloch inhabited the desert. Both races spoke languages of their own distinct from Persian, which was the ordinary language of Karman. The version translated by Ouseley puts the desert inhabited by the Baloch to the south of the mountains, and towards Mekran and the sea; and one passage in the Arabic version bears this out—viz.: 'Karman is bordered on the east by Mukaran, and the desert

<sup>1</sup> Zotenberg's 'Tabari,' iii. 516, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Masudi, French translation, iii. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Mordtmann's 'Istakhr (Hamburg, 1845, pp. 77,78), and Ouseley's 'Ibn Haukal,' pp. 148, 146. (This is a Persian version of 'Istakhri.')

between Mukaran and the sea towards the Bulus (Baloch)'; but further on it says: 'The Bulus live on the tableland of the Qufs Mountains, and no one else enters these mountains; they have cattle and tents like the Beduin, and the routes through their country are not unsafe.' 'The Qufs it says, 'are believed to be of Arab descent, and live under their own chiefs.' Further south, again, lives another race, apparently distinct from both Koch and Baloch. According to the Persian version they inhabit the mountains near Hurmuz, and are robbers, said to be Arabs by origin; while in the Arabic version we read: 'The inhabitants of the Qaran or Barfen<sup>1</sup> Mountains were Zoroastrians during the rule of the Amawi Khalifas they would not submit, and were more cunning than the inhabitants of the Qufs Mountains. They were converted under the rule of the 'Abbasi Khalifas.' This race is evidently the Ahwas or Hawas of Idrisi. The Persian version adds that Qufs in Arabic is the same as Koch in Persian, and that these two peoples—one in the mountains and the other in the desert—are commonly spoken of jointly as Koch and Baloch. Both versions agree in describing the Baloch as better behaved than their neighbours, and as not infesting the roads; but it is impossible to accept this statement as fact. It is perhaps due to the accidental use of a negative by a copyist, and one authority has probably reproduced it from another without question.

Istakhri also, in his account of Sijistan, gives a list of the provinces of that country, among which two (Nos. 19 and 22) are described as 'country of the Baloch' (بلوچ)<sup>2</sup> The desert infested by the Baloch seems in reality to have been not that to the south of the Karman Mountains, but the great desert now known as the Lut, which lies north and east of Karman, and separates it from Khorasan and Sistan. Idrisi, who was a careful writer, says that the Koch Mountains were inhabited by a savage race—a sort of Kurds—while the Baloch live to the north, and some to the west of them.<sup>3</sup> He adds that they are prosperous, have much cattle, and are feared by their neighbours, and also confirms the statement that they do not infest the roads. Yakut is in substantial agreement with Idrisi.<sup>4</sup> He also compares the Koch to the Kurds, and quotes an Arabic poem as follows: 'What wild regions have we traversed, inhabited by Jatts (Zutt), Kurds, and savage Qufs! He gives a long account of the Qufs quoted from er-Rohini, in which he traces them to pre-Islamic Arabs of Yemen, and says they have never had any religion, either pagan or Muhammadan. He speaks of them as irreclaimable savages, and says it would be well to exterminate them. He adds that they do show some respect to

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<sup>1</sup> The جبال البردة, or Cold Mountains, according to Idrisi.

<sup>2</sup> Mordtmann's. 'Istakhri,' p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Jaubert's 'Edrisi,' i. 428, 429.

<sup>4</sup> I owe the reference to Yakut to the kindness of Mr. Ellis.

Ali, but only out of imitation of their neighbours. This gives rise to a suspicion that they may have been Shias, and that er-Rohini had some grudge against them. Yakut also quotes el-Bishari as classifying the mountains of Karman into those of the Koch, the Baloch, and the Qaran, which corresponds with the description of Istakhri. He says that the Koch (Qufs) are tall, slender people, who call themselves Arabs, given to all sorts of wickedness, barbarous and cruel, and living by plunder. The Bulus were formerly the most terrible of the marauding tribes, but were destroyed by Adad-u'd-daula,<sup>1</sup> who also slew a great number of the Quf. They call themselves Musalmāns (this apparently refers to the Qufs but are more bitter against Musalmans than are the Greeks and Turks.

Yakut speaks of the Baloch under a separate heading (بلوچ) and gives a more favourable account of them. He says they resemble the Kurds, live between Fars and 'Karman, and are dreaded by the savage Qufs who fear no one else. The Baloch, he says, are richer and more civilized than their neighbours, live in goatskin tents, and do not plunder and fight like the Qufs.

In addition to Adadu'd-daula Dailami, his uncle Mu'iz zu'd-daula, who died A.H. 356, also came into collision with the wild tribes of Karman, called by some Kurds and by others Koch and Baloch. He lost his left hand and the fingers of the right in conflict with them, and was thence known as Aqta (اقطع), or maimed.<sup>2</sup>

The Baloch, no doubt, possessed horses and raided far afield, as their descendants have done ever since. They crossed the desert into Khorasan and Sistan, and the fact that two of the provinces of Sistan were already in Istakhri's time known as Baloch country shows that they had begun to establish themselves there. During the reign of Mahmud Ghaznwi they roused the wrath of that monarch by robbing his ambassador on the way to Karman, between Tabbas and Khabis. Mahmud sent his son Mas'ud against them, who finally defeated them near Khabis, which lies on the edge of the desert, at the foot of the Karman Mountains.<sup>3</sup> On another occasion these robbers were disposed of by allowing them to capture several loads of poisoned apples, which they devoured. The chronicler approves of this as a pleasant and ingenious scheme for getting rid of them.

Firdausi, who lived at this time at Tus, near Meshhed, in Khorasan, must have been familiar with the name of these marauders, and this knowledge must have given point to the descriptions in the 'Shahnama' already alluded to. It is

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<sup>1</sup> The Dailami (Buwaihi), who reigned A.H. 338-372 (A.D. 949-982).

<sup>2</sup> Tarikh-i-Yafai, quoted by Raverty, 'Tabakat-i-Nasiri, i. 60 (note).

<sup>3</sup> Jami-ul-hikayat in E. D., ii. 198, 194.

possible that permanent settlements may have been made by the Baloches in Khorasan as well as in Sistan. Even in the present day, according to Lord Curzon, there is a considerable Baloch population as far north as Turbat-i Haidari.<sup>1</sup>

Certain it is that soon after the above-quoted accounts were written there was a wholesale migration of the Baloches from Kerman, and there is some reason to believe that before establishing themselves in Mekran and on the Sindh frontier they made a temporary settlement in Sistan. Such a movement had already begun, as the names of the provinces in Sistan given by Istakhri show; and later on the author of the 'Tabakat-i-Nasiri' notes that he halted in Sistan at a place called Gumbaz-i-Baloch, a slight indication, but sufficient to show their presence in the country. There is, however, no historical evidence as to what happened to the Baloches during this period previous to their appearance in Sindh, which is first mentioned in the middle of the thirteenth century.

It seems probable that there were two movements of the Baloch race in this period, each of which corresponded with a conquest affecting a great part of the Asiatic world. The first was the abandonment of Karman and the settlement in Sistan and Western Makran, corresponding with the Seljuq invasion and the overthrow of the Dailami and Ghaznawi power in Persia; the second move was to Eastern Mekran and the Sindh border, corresponding with the invasions of Changiz Khan and the wanderings of Jalalu'ddin Mangbarni in Makran.

This second movement introduced the Baloches first into the Indus Valley, and prepared the way for the third and last migration, by which a great portion of the Baloch race was precipitated into the plains of India. The last movement corresponds in its commencement with the conquests of Taimur, and in its later developments with the invasions of India by Babar and the Arghuns.

Although historical data are wanting, their place is to some extent supplied by tradition, which among the Baloches, especially the tribes of the Sulaiman Mountains, is full and circumstantial, and contained in numerous heroic ballads of ancient data.<sup>2</sup> The traditional narrative, as far as it possesses any value, may be said to commence with the sojourn in Sistan. Before that the legend simply asserts that the Baloches were descended from Mir Hamza, the Prophet's uncle, and from a Pari, and that they took part in the wars of 'Ali's sons against Yazid and fought at Kerbela. This is merely the introduction, the descent from some Muhammadan notable or from someone mentioned in the Quran, which is

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<sup>1</sup> Curzon's 'Persia,' 1892, i. 203.

<sup>2</sup> As far as I am aware, all the ballads of this nature have been collected among the Northern Baloches, and none in Mekran.

considered necessary to every respectable Musalman race, just as the Kalhoras of Sindh and the Daudpotras of Bahawalpur claim descent from Abbas, and the sons of Hindus converted to Muhammadanism are called Sheikh and blossom into Qureshis of the purest blood. Between Kerbela and Sistan there is a gap, and the settlement in the latter is really the starting-point of the legend. The Baloches are represented in the old ballads, as I have always heard the tale related, as arriving in Sistan and being hospitably received by a King named Shamsu'd-din. After a time another King arose named Badru'd-din, who persecuted and drove them out. Now, there really was a Malik of Sistan, an independent ruler of the dynasty claiming descent from the Saffaris, named Shamsu'd-din, who died in A.H. 559. He is described as a cruel tyrant, hated by his people.<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that he may have utilized the services of the Baloches, who were certainly settled to some extent in Sistan at this time, as mercenaries to uphold his power. Badru'd-din is not so easily identified.

About thirty years after Shamsu'd-din's death Sistan became tributary to the Ghori kings (A.H. 590), who maintained their power until Changiz Khan devastated the country, but the Maliks of Sijistan continued to rule under them. There was a Badru'd-din Kidani among the Maliks of Ghiyasu'd-din Ghori, but it is impossible to say whether he ever had power in Sistan. But it seems most probable that the convulsions attending Changiz Khan's invasion forced most of the Baloch tribes out of Sistan, and also drove east any who may have still lingered in Karman. The whole legend is by some authorities located in Karman, and not in Sistan.<sup>2</sup> But I have never myself met with this version among the Baloches. That a great migration among the tribes took place at this period does not admit of doubt. Within thirty or forty years we read; of Baloches raiding in Sindh, where they had previously been unknown.

The legend is to the effect that Badru'd-din demanded a bride from each of the forty-four *bolaks* of the Baloches. They pretended to agree, but sent him forty-four boys dressed as girls, and themselves marched out of the country to avoid his vengeance when the deception was discovered. He, however, sent the boys back to their families, but pursued the tribes into Kech-Makran, and was defeated by them there. In Makran the Baloches fought against a ruler named Harm or Harun, probably an Arab of the coast, as the place where the fight took place is named Harin-bandar, or the port of Harun. Another name in the ballads is Jagin, which is a place on the coast of Makran, not far from Jask. The original tribes of Makran seem to have been mainly Jatts, and at the time of the Arab conquest they are

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<sup>1</sup> See Raverty's 'Tabakat-i-Nasiri,' i. 189.

<sup>2</sup> See Hetu Ram, 'Belochi-nama.' Trans. Douie; Lahore, p. 161, 1885. H. R. gives the name of the Baloch leader, under Sham su'd-din, as Ilmash Rumi, and that of his son, under Badru'd-din as Gul Chiragh.

frequently alluded to under the name of Zutt; and no doubt some Arab settlements had been made then, as now, on the coast. That some of these tribes were destroyed and others absorbed and assimilated by the Baloch invaders is extremely probable, but we are without any information as to what extent this took place. But the legendary account refers the origin of the main divisions of the Baloch race to this period. Mir Jalal Khan, son of Jiand, is said to have been ruler over all the Baloches. He left four sons, named Rind, Lashar, Hot, and Korai, and a daughter named Jato, who was married to his nephew Murad. These five are the eponymous founders of the five great divisions of the race, the Rinds, Lasharis, Hots, Korais, and Jatois. There are, however, some tribes which cannot be brought within any of these divisions, and accordingly we find ancestors duly provided for them in some genealogies. Two more sons are added to the list—Ali and Bulo. From Bulo are descended the Buledhis, and from Ali's two sons, Ghazan and Umar, are derived the Ghazani Marris and the Umaranis (now scattered among several tribes). I may here note that the genealogies given in the 'Tuhfatu'l-Kiram<sup>1</sup> seem to be apocryphal, and are not in accordance with Baloch tradition. It is there asserted that Jalálu'd-din was one of fifty brothers, and that he received one-half of the inheritance, the rest taking half between them, and that, while the descendants of the other brothers mingled with the people of Makran, those of Jalalu'd-din came to Sindh and Kachhi, and their descendants are spread through the country. The actual tradition of the Baloches, however, represents that the tribal divisions originated in the performance of Jalal Khan's funeral ceremonies. Rind had been appointed by his father successor to the *Phagh* or Royal Turban, and proposed to perform the ceremonies and erect an *asrokh*, or memorial canopy. His brother Hot, who was his rival, refused to join him, whereupon the others also refused; each performed the ceremony separately, 'and there were five *asrokh*s in Kech. Some of the bolaks joined one and some another, and so the five great tribes were formed. In reality it seems probable that there were five principal gatherings of clans under well-known leaders, and that they became known by some nickname or descriptive epithet, such as the Rinds ('cheats'), the Hots ('warriors'), the Lasharis ('men of Lashar'), etc., and that these names were afterwards transferred to their supposed ancestors. The Buledhis, or men of Boleda,<sup>2</sup> probably joined the confederacy later, and the same may be said of the Ghazanis and Umaranis. One very important tribe—the Dodai—is not included in any of these genealogies, the reason being that this tribe is undoubtedly of Indian origin, and that its a to the Baloch stock did not

<sup>1</sup> See E. D., i. 336. This is the tradition alluded to by Colonel Mockler (*J. A. S. B.*, 1895, par. i., p. 34). The 'Tuhfatu'l-Kiram' is a late eighteenth-century compilation.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Mookler (*J. A. S. B.*, 1895, p. 85) suggests the Arabic name Budail as an origin for Bulaidi, either directly or through the town of Bulaida. This is quite possible; as such transpositions are not uncommon. It seems most probable that the tribal name comes from that of the place, which, again, may be from Budail. This name, in its original form, is not now found as a proper name among Baloches, but may be represented by the modern Badhel or Batil.

take place until the movement to Sindh had begun. To explain this it is necessary to return to the historical narrative.

Sindh was under the rule of the Rajput tribe of Somra, which had succeeded to the power of the Arab conquerors. There is a long list of Somra kings in the Chronicles, no less than five of whom bore the name of Doda. The chronology is very uncertain, but Doda IV. seems to have reigned about the middle of the thirteenth century (A.H 650).<sup>1</sup> In the time of his father Khafif a body of Baloches entered Sindh, and allied themselves with two local tribes, the Sodhas and Jharejas. When Doda IV. succeeded, the Baloches and Jharejas forsook the Sodha alliance, and supported him. In the time of Umar, the next king, we again find the Baloches entering into a combination with the Sammas, Sodhas, and Jatts (Jharejas), but this did not last long. The Sammas made terms for themselves, and their allies had to submit, which probably means that the Baloches retired into the mountains. There is no evidence that they made any permanent settlement in the plains at this time. In the reign of Doda V. the Somra rule was finally overthrown, and the power passed into the hands of the Sammas, who established what is known as the Jam dynasty. This event took place probably at the end of the thirteenth century, while 'Alau'd-din Khalji was reigning at Delhi. A story, evidently derived from popular folklore, is told in the *Tarikh-i-M'asumi* (written *circ.* A.D. 1600) about Doda's extraordinary adventures.<sup>2</sup> He wins the favour of Sultan Maudud of Ghazni by his power of seeing through men's bodies, which enables him to fish out two snakes which the Sultan had swallowed, and is finally restored to his dominions. Possibly the legend referred originally to Doda I., who lived while the Ghaznavi dynasty still existed (his death is placed in A.H. 485, while Mas'ud III. was reigning).<sup>3</sup> This story begins with the escape of Doda from his enemies and his crossing the river Indus.

To turn now to the Baloch legend of the origin of the Dodais. Doda Somra was turned out of Thatha by his brethren, and escaped by swimming his mare across the Indus. He came half frozen in the morning to the hut of a Rind named Salhe, who took him down from the mare, and, to revive him, put him under the blankets with his daughter *Mudho*. He afterwards married him to *Mudho*, and, as the ballad says, 'For the woman's sake the man became a Baloch, who had been a Jatt, a Jaghdal, a nobody; he dwelt at Harrand under the hills, and fate made him the chief of all.' His descendants were the Dodai tribe, which took a leading place

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<sup>1</sup> See *Tarikh-i-M'asumi*, E. D., i.; also E. D., i. p. 484, appendix; *Muntakabu't-tawarikh*, Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> E. D., i. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Raverty, *J. A. S. B.*, 1892, p. 225 (note), says that Doda was contemporary with 'Abdu'r-rashid of Ghazni (A.H. 440). He does not mention the authority.

among the Baloches in the South Panjab, and his son Gorish gave his name to the Gorshani, or Gurchani, tribe.

It may be conjectured that at the break-up of the Somra power a section of the tribe, headed by their chief Doda, allied itself with the Baloches, who were then in Mekran and in the mountains adjoining Sindh, and, becoming gradually assimilated, ultimately took their place as a Baloch tribe. Although they are Baloches in appearance, and speak the Balochi language, it has always been recognised that the Gurchanis (now the principal tribe of Dodai origin) are not of pure blood. The Mirranis, another Dodai tribe long of great importance, whose chiefs were for two hundred years Nawabs of Dera Ghazi Khan, are now broken up and decayed.

In addition to the five main tribes and the others just mentioned, there are also a few tribes of lower status which are supposed to represent the four servile *bolaks*, which were associated with the forty Baloch bolaks. These are the Gopangs, Dashtis, Gadhis, Gholos, and perhaps some others. The Baloch nation, therefore, as it appeared in the fifteenth century, on the eve of the invasion of India, was made up of the following elements:

- (1) The five main bodies of undoubted Baloch descent— viz., the Rind, Lashari, Hot, Korai, Jatoi;
- (2) The groups afterwards formed in Mekran—viz., the Budedhis, Ghazanis and 'Umaranis;
- (3) The Dodais; and
- (4) The servile tribes.

And since that period the Gichkis in Mekran, and the Jakranis in Sindh, seem to have been assimilated in comparatively modern times.

Nothing more is heard of the Baloches in Sindh after the fall of the Somras for nearly a hundred and fifty years, although there may have been occasional raids which are not recorded. Their next appearance there is in the reign of Jam Tughlaq (A.D. 1428-1450), when they are recorded as raiding near Bhakhar. There was at this period a new feeling of restlessness abroad, of which Taimur's invasion of India was the instigating cause, as the conquests of the Seljuqs and of Changiz Khan had been of the earlier movements. The remains of the once powerful Tughlaq monarchy of Dehli disappeared, and a succession of feeble rulers allowed the Lodi Afghans to seize the sovereignty, and opened a tempting prospect to needy adventurers from beyond the border. This led to invasions of

India from three distinct sources. First, those of Baber and his Turks, so-called Mughals, which culminated in the establishment of the Mughal Empire; secondly, those of the Arghuns, headed by Shah Beg, which established a temporary dynasty in Sindh, sweeping away the Samma Jams; and, thirdly, that of the Baloches, which, though it did not establish any dynasty, contributed a more important element to the population of Northern India than either of the others.

Before their final descent into India the Baloches seem to have been in occupation of the Kilat highlands, now held by the Brahois. It seems at least probable that their wars with the Brahois had some connection with their onward movement, but their own tradition tells us nothing of it. It is commonly asserted by writers on the subject that a Hindu tribe called Sewa was in possession of Kilat, and that they called in the services of the Brahois to protect them against the Baloches. Some hold the Brahois to be aborigines of the country, and this idea seems to be based on the fact of their language containing a strong Dravidian element, but they themselves claim, like the Baloches, to have come from Halab. It is at least a theory worthy of some consideration that they are identical with the Koch, the neighbours of the Baloch in Karman. The Koch, as we have seen, were often described as very like the Kurds, and were sometimes even called Kurds. There is still a powerful tribe among the Brahois bearing the name of Kurd, or Kird, and a clan of Kirds is even found among the Baloch Mazari. The Brahoi language is still called by the Baloches Kur-gali, or Kir-gali—that is, the language of the Kurds—although it has no connection with the Kurdish language, which is an Iranian dialect with some points of resemblance to Balochi. It is, however, at present impossible to do more than state, as a probability, that the Brahois came from the west, and that their occupation of the highlands had something to do with the Baloch descent on the plains. The separation between the Northern Baloches and those of Mekran dates from this period.

The movement of the tribes took on this occasion a northerly direction, their objective being rather Multan and the Southern Panjab than Sindh strictly so called.

The Rajput tribe named Langah,<sup>1</sup> long since converted to Muhammadanism, had established an independent kingdom at Multan under their chief Rai Sehra (A.H. 847 =A.D. 1443), who took the title of Qutbu'd-din. He was succeeded in A.H. 874 by his son, Shah Husain, who reigned till A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502). It was during his reign that the first settlement of Baloches in the Panjab was made by Malik Sohrab Dodai, who came to Multan with his sons Ghazi Khan, Fath Khan, and Ismail Khan, and a large number of Baloches. Shah Husain encouraged them and

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<sup>1</sup> Firishta calls them Afghans, but there seems no doubt that they were Rajputs.

gave them a jagir extending from Kot Karor to Dhankot, evidently on condition of military service. Other Baloches, hearing of this, came flocking in, and gradually obtained possession of the whole country between Sitpur and Dhanko is to say, the present district of Muzafargarh between the Indus and the Chanab. The chief authorities for these events are Firishta's history of the Kings of Multan and the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*.<sup>1</sup> Firishta calls the newcomers both Dodais and Baloches, and says that they came from Kech and Makran. Soon after this two brothers belonging to the Samma tribe, Jam Bayazid and Jam Ibrahim, who had quarreled with Jam Nanda (or Nzamu'd-din) the Samma ruler of Sindh, came as refugees to Shah Husain, and also obtained jagirs—viz., Uchh and Shor (i.e., Shorkot, now in the Jhang district). Jam Bayazid became a person of great influence and commander of the Shah's armies. After Shah Husain's death and the accession of Shah Mahmud he went into rebellion. A temporary reconciliation took place, but there seems to have been a good deal of friction between Malik Sohrab Dodal and Jam Bayazid. This circumstance is connected with the second settlement of Baloches under Mir Chakar Rind, whose name is celebrated among all Baloches up to the present day.

Mir Chakur Rind<sup>2</sup> and his son Mirza Shahdad (or, according to some, his two sons Shahid and Shuhda) came from Sivi (Sibi) seeking service and lands. Malik Sohrab Dodai, out of jealousy, prevented Shah Mahmud from accepting his services; whereupon Jam Bayazid took up his cause, and assigned him lands from his own jagir of Uchh. According to the legends, Mir Chakur had two sons named Shahzad and Shaihak. Shahzad was of miraculous origin, his mother having been overshadowed by some mysterious power. A mystical poem in Balochi on the origin of Multan is attributed to him, as well as one on the sack of Dehli. It is remarkable that Shahdad is said by Firishta to have been the first to introduce the Shi'a creed into Multan. The rivalry between the Rinds (Chakur's tribe) and the Dodais is also the subject of many poems.

Other poems, forming the bulk of the legendary ballads, deal with the war which took place between the Rinds and Lasharis and also between both of them and the Turks, and assert that it was the loss of Sibi and Kachhi which forced Mir Chakur and his Rinds to migrate to the Panjab. To understand the true meaning of these legends it is necessary to go back to the invasion of Sindh by the Arghuns—the Turks of the Baloch story. The Arghuns were a Mughal family who claimed descent from Changiz Khan. Zu'n-nun Beg Arghun rose to power

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<sup>1</sup> E. D., v. 470.

<sup>2</sup> The name is variously written. Briggs, in his translation, gives Mir Jakar Zand; the lithographed Luoknow edition of Firishtagives **میر حماد کروڑی** : while the British Museum MS., No. 6572, Or. f.614, gives it as **میر جلو کورند** . The *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (in E. D., iv. 889.897) gives Chakur Rind correctly.

as Minister under Sultan Husain Baikara of Herat, one of the descendants of Taimur. He obtained the Government of Qandahar, where he made himself practically independent. The first invasion of Kachhi, by way of the Bolan Pass, took place in .u. 890 (A.D. 1485). Shah-Beg commanded on behalf of his father, and penetrated as far as the Indus; Jam Nanda, the Summa Chief, opposed him and defeated and drove him back at Jalugir in A.D. 1486.<sup>1</sup> After Zu'n-nun Beg's death in war against the Uzbegs, Shah Beg, who succeeded him, was driven out of Qandahar by Babar in A.D. 1507, and took refuge in Shal and Mustang at the head of the Bolan Pass, where he must have come into contact with the Baloches. Shah Beg ultimately lost Qandahar, and determined to build up a new throne for himself in India. He invaded Sindh in A.H. 917 (A.D. 1511) and A.H. 927 (A.D. 1520), overthrew the Sammas, and established his power.<sup>2</sup> He enlisted the services of some of the hill-tribes, probably Baloches, and we also read of a force of 3,000 Baloches serving under Jam Feroz; so that it is probable that rival Baloch tribes fought on opposite sides. This is borne out by Baloch legend as to the rivalry between the Rinds and Lasharis, in which the Turks under Zunu (Zu'n-nun Beg) and the King of Sibi, Jam Ninda, play an important part.<sup>3</sup> The Rinds were under Mir Chakur and the Lasharis under Gwaharam, who were rivals for the hand of the fair Gohar, the owner of large herds of camels. Gohar preferred Mir Chakur, and this led to a quarrel. A horse-race, in which the Rinds are stated to have won by trickery, precipitated the outbreak. Some Lasharis killed some of Gohar's young camels, and Chakur thereupon swore revenge. A desperate war began, which lasted for thirty years. At first the Rinds were defeated, and they seem to have called on the Turks for aid, but after various fluctuations Chakur with most of his Rinds left Sibi, and made for the Panjab. The Lasharis remained at Gandava, and some Rinds maintained their position at Shoran, both places not far from Sibi in the plain of Kachhi. These events constitute the Iliad of the Baloch race, and form the subject of numerous picturesque ballads which have been handed down verbally to the present day.<sup>4</sup>

It has been shown above how Mir Chakur arrived at Multan, and how the rivalry arose between the Rinds and the Dodais. The legendary lore deals with this

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<sup>1</sup> For a good sketch of the history of this period, see General Haig's '[The Indus Delta Country](#),' 1894, p. 84. (Also available for free download at [www.panhwar.com](http://www.panhwar.com) )

<sup>2</sup> See also Erakine's 'Lives of Babar and Humayun,' 1854, i. 352, etc.; and the Tarikh-i-M'asumi in E. D., i. 286.

<sup>3</sup> One ballad represents Chahur as taking refuge with Sultan Shah Husain of Harev (i.e., Sultan Husain of Herat).

<sup>4</sup> Some of these I published with a translation in my 'Sketch of the Northern Balochi Language' (*J. A. S. B.*, extra number, 1881), and others in 'The Adventures of Mir Chakur,' included in Temple's 'Legends of the Punjab,' vol. ii. Others have been printed and translated by the Rev. T. J. L. Mayer (Fort Munro and Agra, 1900 and 1901).

subject also, and it is stated that Chakur joined Humayun after wards on his march to Dehli, and at last settled down at Satgarha (in the Montgomery District of the Panjab). His tomb still exists there, and there is a considerable Rind settlement in the neighbourhood. In the Tarikh-i-Sher Shah of 'Abbas Khan, a valuable authority, we find Chakur Rind established at Satgarha in Sher Shah's time,<sup>1</sup> and the Baloches in possession of the whole Multan country, from which Sher Shah expelled them. It is evident that they would have been on this account disposed to join Humayun in his expedition to recover his kingdom from the Afghans, and although there is no historical evidence of the fact, the legend makes it very probable that they did so.

It is not very clear how the Baloches came to be in complete possession of the Multan country. Shah Beg Arghun, after overthrowing the Sammas of Sindh, turned his arms against the Langahs of Maltan, and was opposed at Uchh by an army of Baloches and Langahs. He was victorious, and advanced on Multan in A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524) where Shah Mahmud Langah was reigning. The army which opposed him is said to have been composed of Baloch, Jat, Bind, Dodai and other tribes.<sup>2</sup> The Shah was poisoned by Sheikh Shuja', his son-in-law, and the historian says: 'The army, which consisted chiefly of Baloches, being thus deprived of its head, the greatest confusion reigned.' The son of the deceased king was placed on the throne, but the place fell into the hands of the Arghuns.<sup>3</sup> The conquest of Dehli by Babar followed almost immediately, and Shah Beg admitted his supremacy.

It is evident that the Baloches were in great force in the South Panjab at this period, and they were in complete possession of the country, as has been seen, in Sher Shah's time. The Rinds seem to have spread up the valleys of the Chenab, the Ravi, and the Satlaj, and the Dodais and Hots up the Indus and the Jehlam. Babar found the Baloches, as he states in his autobiography, as early as A.D. 1519 at Bhera and Khushab; and it may be inferred that these were Dodais, for when Sher Shah arrived at Khushab in A.D. 1546, in pursuit of Humayin, he was met by the three Sons of Sohrab Khan—viz., Ismail Khan, Fath Khan and Ghazi Khan—and he confirmed to them the 'country of Sindh,' by which must be understood Sindh in the local use of the word—that is, the lands lying along the Indus, the Derajat, where these brothers had formed settlements.<sup>4</sup> The three towns of Dora Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Fatl Khan still bear their

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<sup>1</sup> E. D., iv. 399, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Tarkhsn-nama in E. D., i. 814. Dodai should evidently be read for Dadi.

<sup>3</sup> Darmesteter ('Chants des Afghanes,' p. 172) mixes up the Arghuns and the Baloch. He says: 'Elle (i.e., la dynastie des Langahs) est renversie par la dynastie bélucie des Arghuns, et la tribu des Langahs est exterminiee.' The Langah tribe still exists in the neighbourhood of Leia.

<sup>4</sup> Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, E. D., iv. 388.

names, and Ghazi Khan's tomb is at the village of Churatts, near Dera Ghazi Khan. The date is lost, but it bears an inscription of Akbar's time. Ismail Khan had to give up the lands belonging to a holy man named Sheikh Bayazid Sarwani, of which he had been in possession since the time of the Langahs, and received in exchange the pargana of Ninduna in the Ghakhar country.<sup>1</sup>

In Akbar's time there are occasional notices of expeditions against the Baloches. They do not seem to have entered his military service as the Persians, Mughals, and Afghans did, and Baloch names are conspicuous by their absence in the list of *mansabdars* in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, in which only one name occurs—viz., Pahar Khan Baloch, commander of two hundred. Even this name is not Balochi in origin.

After the Rinds had left Kachhi the Lasharis seem to have accompanied Shah Beg Arghun and his successor Shah Husain in his wars against Jam Feroz, whom he pursued towards Gujarat, as the legend represents them as invading Gujarat, and afterwards returning to Kachhi and obtaining a grant of Gundava from the king. The Maghassi tribe, a branch of the Lasharis, still occupies that neighbourhood. Other Lasharis must have joined the invaders of the Panjab, as a strong Lashari clan is still attached to the Gurchanis (Dodais), and the Jistanis, a clan of the Lasharis, established a principality at Mankera, in the Sindh-Sagar Doab. In fact, the early successes of the Rinds and Dodais seem to have led to something like a national migration. The poems describe it in picturesque language:

'The noble Rinds were in Bampur, in the groves of Kech and Makran, with the Dombkis, the greatest house among the dwellings of the Baloches. The Rinds and Lasharis made a bond together and said: "Come, let us leave this barren land; let us spy out the running streams and sweet waters, and distribute them among us; let us take no hood of tribe or chief." They came to their homes, the chiefs called to their slaves, "Loose the slender chestnut mares from their stalls, saddle the young fillies—steeds worth nine thousand—drive in the camels from the passes." The warriors called to their wives: "Come ye down from your castles, bring out your beds and wrappings, carpets and red blankets, pillows and striped rugs, cups cast in the mould, and drinking-vessels of Makran; for Chakur will no longer abide here, but seeks a far land." So the generous Rinds rode forth in their overcoats and long red boots, with helmets and arm pieces, bows and quivers, silver knives and daggers—forty thousand of them rode at the Mir's call.'

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<sup>1</sup> The author of the 'Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi,' who records this, was grandson of Sheikh Bayazid.

So they swarmed down into the plains, seizing the fertile lands and grazing-grounds, and always, if possible, keeping near to a screen of hills as a shelter.<sup>1</sup> Some tribes wandered far afield. Among the first must have been the Chāndyas, who gave their name to the tract known as Chandko along the Indus, just where the Panjab and Sindh meet. The Hots pressed northwards, and settled with the Dodais at Dera Ismail Khan, which they held for two hundred years, until deprived of it by Pathans; and the Kulachis founded the town which bears their name near by. It now belongs to the Gandapur Afghans, but the Kulachis still inhabit the countryside. The Jistkanis, as has been seen, settled in the sandy waste of the central Sindh-Sagar Doab, and south of them the Mirrani Dodais, who were also Nawabs of Dera Ghazi Khan till the time of Nadir Shah. Mazaris are still found at Chatta Bakhsha in Jhang. The Rinds are in large numbers in the districts of Multan, Jhang, Muzafargarh, Montgomery, and Shahpur; the Jatois and Korais are spread over the same districts, while the Gopangs and Gurman are concentrated in Muzafargarh. These represent the descendants of the tribes which followed Mir Chakur, but others stayed behind, and some are said to have turned back from Tulumba in Multan and recrossed the Indus, wishing to keep near the mountains. Chakur is said to have incited the Dodais to attack the tribes that refused to follow him, and this war is also the subject of many ballads. The tribes which remained on the right bank of the Indus are those which have retained their language and their tribal constitution, while the rest have in varying degrees become assimilated to their Jatt and Rajput neighbours; and as those who speak Balochi say: 'Those who followed Chakur have become Jatts while those who stayed behind have remained Baloches.' And this also explains the prominence obtained by the Rinds. The Hots, Jatois, and Korais passed on, and their descendants are found scattered, as I have already stated. Most of the Lasharis stayed behind in Mekran or Kachhi. But the organized tumans, which remain to the present day in the Sulaimans and the Derajat – viz., the

Marri,  
 Bughti (including Shambani),  
 Mazari  
 Drishak,  
 Lund (two tumans),  
 Leghari  
 Khosa,  
 Nutkani,  
 Bozdar,  
 Kasrani

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<sup>1</sup> The extent of the migration may be judged from the fact that a recent census (1891) showed 985,000 Baloches in Sindh and the Panjab Only 80,000 have been enumerated in the Kelat territory, while the figures for Mekran and Persian Balochistan, not accurately known, may be roughly put at 200,000.

- are mainly Rinds; while one – viz., the  
Gurchāni
- is Dodai, with Rind and Lashari clans attached to it. Of the tribes in Kachhi and Northern Sindh, the following are Rinds:
  - Rind (of Shoran), including the
  - Ghulam Bolak of Sibi,
  - Dombki, Umarani,
  - Khosa, Chandya.

The Maghassi are Lasharis, the Buledhi (or Burdi) a separate Baloch stem, and the Jakrani assimilated Jatt; the Kahiri, possibly Sayyids by origin, also now assimilated.

The Buledhi seem to have accompanied the Rinds into the Sulaiman Hills; and there the country, now occupied in part by Marris, Bughtis, and Gurchanis, was long a bone of contention between them and the Gorgezh Rinds, and probably the Kalmati, too. The struggle between Gorgezh and Buledhi forms the subject of song and legend.<sup>1</sup> After they were expelled from the hills they settled near the Indus, where they had many wars with the Mazari Rinds. Their country is known as Burdika. One of the songs attributed to Balach Gorgezh in his war with the Buledhis is worth quoting, as it expresses the very spirit of the Baloch of the mountains:

‘The mountains are the Baloches’ forts; these hills are better than an army. The lofty heights are our comrades, the pathless gorges our friends. Our drink is from the flowing springs, our cups the leaf of the ph our beds the thorny brush, the ground our pillow. My horse is my white sandals. For my sons you may take the arrows, for my brethren the broad shield, for my father the wide- wounding sword.’

The Gorgezh have also passed away from the country where this struggle took place, and only a fragment of the tribe is now found at Thali, near Sibi. The Kalmatis afterwards held the country, and were succeeded by the Hasani, who were broken up about seventy years ago by a combination between the Marris and Bughtis. Only a small body of Hasanis now remains as a clan among the Khetrans. The deserted villages of the Hasanis may still be seen on the plan of Nesao.

The settlement of the Baloches in Sindh was very extensive, and perhaps a quarter of the population of that country claims Baloch descent, but, like those settled in the Panjab plains, they are more or less assimilated to their Indian

<sup>1</sup> See the story of ‘Balach and the Buledhis in Folklore,’ 1893, p. 200.

neighbours. The Talpur (properly Talbur) Amirs who ruled Sindh after the overthrow of the Kalhoras, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, are believed to be descended from a branch of the Legharis of Choti, near Dera Ghazi Khan, where there is still a Talbur phalli.<sup>1</sup> They seem to have been in a humble position when they first came to Sindh, nor is the Leghari phalli one of any importance. The name occurs in a fragment of an old ballad in a list of servile tribes, said to have been presented by Mir Chakur to his sister Banari as a wedding portion, and set free by her:

'The Kirids, Gabols, Gadahis, the Talburs, and the Marris of Kahan, all were Chakur's slaves, and he gave them as a dowry to Banari on the day of washing her head (*i.e.*, seven days after the wedding); but she set them free, and would not accept the gift in God's name.'

Leech gives another version of this, including a tribe named Pachalo, and a third version adds 'the rotten-boned Bozdars'; but evidently a rhyme like this is liable to be varied according to the prepossessions of the reciter. Leech's version, however, was obtained at Kalat fifty years before mine, and my two versions were obtained from different tribes, so that it is probable that the names, in which all agree, are old. The word 'talbur' means 'wood cutter,' from *tal*, 'a branch,' and *bur-agh*, 'to cut.' A Lund bard, with a great command of genealogies, traces Mir Bijar Khan Talpur to an eponymic Talbur, grandson of Bulo, which would make them Buledhis in origin; but, as already stated, the Amirs themselves considered that they were Legharis.

Most of the clans which took part in the great migration left some of their members behind, and in Mekran at the present day are found Binds, Lasharis, Hots, Gishkauris, and Buledis. The great Naushirvani tribe may perhaps be classed as Baloch, although generally stated to be Persians. The Buledis retained for long an important position as the ruling race in Mekran, but in the early eighteenth century they were displaced by the Gichkis, a tribe said to be of Indian origin, and variously stated to be descended from Sikhs or Rajputs. They are now classed as Baloches, and speak the Baloch language. This affords a later instance of assimilation, of the same nature as that which took place with regard to the Dodais in earlier times.

But little detailed information as to the Baloch tribes of Mekran<sup>2</sup> is to be gathered from the accounts of travellers.<sup>1</sup> As to BistAn also, accounts are vague and

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<sup>1</sup> See the interesting account, by Mir Nasir Khan Talpur of Haidarabad in Eastwick's 'Dry Leaves from Young Egypt,' 1851, Appendix VI. - Also General Haig's 'Indus Delta Country,' pp. 121, 122.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, Mekran was not included in the scope of the census of 1901, and Mr. Hughes Buller's report, issued in 1902, does not give any details as to the tribes of this province.

contradictory. It is, however, generally admitted that the Baloches hold a position of great importance there, though not considered aboriginal. Ferrier, however, thought that the Baloches were the aborigines of Sistan, and classed them as follows:

Nervuis (Nahricis),  
Rinds,  
Mekais (i.e., Maghassis),

and he also includes the Sarbandis as Baloches; but this seems doubtful. The Sanjarani or Toki are, all agree, an important Baloch tribe, but it is left doubtful whether the Mamassanis are Baloch or Brahui. The Shahrkis and Sarbandis are said to have been brought into Sistan by Nadir Shah, but that is no reason for holding them non Baloch; and the name of the Shahrki chief, Mir Chakar, certainly points to a Baloch origin.

It cannot evidently be asserted that any of the Baloch tribes now in Sistan have maintained their position ever since the first settlement there. It is more probable that they are later immigrants from Mekran or Persian Balochistan.

It is not my object at present to go at length into the later history of the Baloches. I hope that I have succeeded in giving some idea of their origin and wanderings, and in showing how they came to occupy the positions they now hold. Briefly, the conclusions I have come to are as follows:

1. That the Baloches are an Iranian race, judging by their physical and mental characteristics, and that they should be classed with the Tajiks and other original races of the Iranian tableland.
2. That historically they may be traced first to the north of Persia, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, in the time of the later Sassanians.
3. That their settlement in Kerman probably did not take place till after the Muhammadan Conquest, and that in Sistan not before the beginning of the tenth century.
4. That the movement into Sistan and Western Mekran was probably caused by the Seljuq invasion, and that the further advance eastwards was due to the pressure of Changiz Khan's conquests.

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<sup>1</sup> The best accounts are those of St. John in 'Eastern Persia,' 1876; Bellew (regarding Sistan) in 'From the Indus to the Tigris,' 1874; Goldsmid (in 'Eastern Persia'); Ferrier ('Caravan Journeys'); and Pottinger (1816). There is nothing in the works of Macgregor or Floyer. Major Molesworth Sykes has lately paid attention to this subject.

5. That the final move into the Indus Valley took place during the period of unrest and disruption of governments which followed on Taimur's conquests, and that it synchronized with the invasions of India by Babar and the Arghuns.

It may be added that the Baloch settlement in Sindh and the South-West Panjab has profoundly affected the mass of the population beyond the limits of the tribes which are nominally Baloch. Traces of Baloch blood are frequently met with among the Jats and Rajputs, who are Musalman by religion; and not only among them, but even among the commercial Hindu population in the Trans-Indus tracts, where Baloch features are strikingly common in Aroras of the villages and smaller towns.

In Appendix I. I give a list of the clans, or bolaks, mentioned in the early heroic poems, with some notes as to their present distribution, and also of the more important tribes not so mentioned.

Appendix II. contains a list of the organized tumans now existing, with the clans of which they are made up, and, in some cases, the phallis or septs also.

Appendix III. consists of genealogies derived from the legends, and from verbal statements of Baloches who are reputed among their people to have a good knowledge of such matters. My principal authorities have been Ghulam Muhammad, Balachani Mazari, of Rojhan; Baga, Shalamani Lashari (Gurchani), of the Sham; and Ahmad Khan Ludhiani, Gadharoani Lund, of Rohri. The Marri pedigree is abstracted from the very full tree given by Colonel O. T. Duke in his 'Report on Thal-Chotiali and Harnai' (Calcutta: Foreign Department Press, 1883). Pedigrees of the descent of the Talpur Amirs of Sindh from the Leghari Talpurs will be found in Eastwick's 'Dry Leaves from Young Egypt,' London, 1851.

## APPENDIX I

### I. CLANS, or bolaks, named in early poetry, with particulars as to present distribution.

*Bulmat.*—Mentioned in one poem as at war with the Kalmati. Not now known.

*Chandya.*—Now found chiefly in Upper Sindh, in the tract known as Chanduka or Chandko. Part of this tract is held by Mazaris. Chandyas are also numerous in the districts of Muzafargarh and Dera Iamal Khan. There is a Chandya clan in the Leghari tribe—Dera Ghazi Khan.

*Dashti.*—Mentioned as a servile tribe. Now found scattered in small numbers through Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Isma Khan, and Muzafargarh.

*Dodai.*—This once important tribe is not now found under this name. Its most important representatives are the Mirrani of Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Iamail Khin, and Jhang, and the Gurchani tribe, of which the most important part, including the Shaihakani, Hotwani, Khalilani and Alkani Durkani clans, is of Dodai descent.

*Dombki, or Domki.*—Said in the ballads to be the 'greatest house among the Baloch.' Chakur speaks of them as great in 'guftar'—i.e., song or speech—and they are still called the 'Daptar,' or recorders of Baloch genealogy. Owing to this fact and the similarity of name, some accuse them of being Doms; but their high rank, admitted by all, seems to preclude this idea. A satirical Gurchani bard says: 'The Dombkis are little brothers of the Dome.' Their present head quarters are at Lehri in Kachhi. Their name is said by some to be derived from a river in Persia named Dumbak.

*Drishak.*—Now an organized tribe in Dora Ghazi Khan. Headquarters at Asni. Said to be descended from a companion of Chakur, nicknamed 'Drishak,' or strong from holding up a roof that threatened to collapse on some Lashari women who were prisoners. Possibly connected with Dizak in Mekran.

*Gabol.*—A servile tribe, now of small importance. Pound mainly in Muzafargarh.

*Golo, or Ghola.*—A servile tribe; said to have fought against Chakur; now the principal clan among the Buledhi.

*Gopang.*—A servile tribe, now scattered through Muzafargarh, Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Kachhi, chiefly the former.

*Gorgezh.*—A branch of the Rinds, formerly of great power, but much reduced through their wars with the Buledhi; now found at Thali in Sibi, and considered a clan of the Dombki tribe.

*Hot.*—One of the original main sections of the Baloch. Very widely spread. They form a powerful tribe still in Mekran, and ruled at Dera Ismail Khan for two hundred years. Part of the Khosa tribe and the Balachani Mazaris are said to be of Hot descent. They are found also wherever the Baloches have spread, and are numerous in Dera Isrnail Khan, Muzafargarh, Multan, and Jhang. Name sometimes wrongly spelt lint.

*Jatoi.*—One of the original main sections. Not now an organized tribe, but found wherever the Baloches have spread, chiefly in Muzafargarh, Montgomery, Dora Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Jhang, Shahpur and Lahore; also in Northern Sindh, near Shikarpur.

*Jistkani.*—Formerly a powerful tribe in the Sindh Sagar Doab, with headquarters at Mankera, and still numerous there. Found as a clan in the Gurchani and Drishak tribes. Believed to be a branch of the Lasharis.

*Kalmat, or Kalmati.*—Formerly of great importance, and fought with the Maris; now found at Pasni in Mekran, and in Sindh. A Levitical tribe, probably non-Baloch. Derived either from Khalmat in Mekran or from the Karmati (Karmatian) heretics.

*Kird, or Kurd.*—The name of a powerful Brahoi tribe. Found as a clan in the Mazari tribe. Mentioned in a ballad as one of the slave tribes given by Chakar to Banari, his sister, and set free by her.

*Khosa.*—A very important tribe forming two distinct tumans—one near Jacobabad in Upper Sindh, and the other with its headquarters at Batil, near Dera Ghazi Khan. Also a sub-tuman of the Rinds of Shoran, and a clan of the Lunds of Tibbi. Said to be mainly of Hot descent. The Isani clan of the Dera Ghazi Khan tribe is of Khetran origin, and the small Jajela clan, probably aboriginals of the Jaj Valley, which they inhabit.

*Korai.*—One of the main original sections; not now an organized tuman, but found wherever the Baloches have spread in the Panjab, principally in Muzafargarh, Multan, and Dera Ismail Khan. Still form a tribe in Mekran (spelt by some Kaudai).

*Lashari.*—One of the main original sections, said to have settled in Gandava after the war with the Rinds, and to be now represented by the Maghasis of Jhal in Kachhi. Borne Lasharis in Kachhi keep their own name, and form the largest clan-of the Maghassi tribe. Others are found in Mekran and Sistan, where they are identified with the Maghasis. The Jistkanis also are of Lashari descent. There is a strong sub tuman of Lasharis in the Gurchani tribe, and other Lasharis of Drigri in Dera Ghazi Khan are apparently Jatts and Lasharis only in name. Lasharis are found wherever the Baloches settled in the Panjab, chiefly in Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Muzafargarh and Multan.

*Mazari.*—An organized tribe of importance, with its head quarters at Rojhan, in the south of Dera Ghazi Khan. The ruling clan, the Balachani, are said to be Hots, and the remainder of the tribe, with the exception of the Kirids, Rinds. The name is apparently derived from Mazar, 'tiger,' like the Pathan 'Mzarai.'

*Mirali.*—Recorded as having fought with the Rinds against the Lasharis. Probably identical with the Mehrali clan of the Rinds of Kachhi; sometimes identified with the Buledhi.

*Namurdi.*—Not now found except as a phalli in the Bozdar tribe.

*Noh, Nuhani.*—Not now found. Said to have been on the side of the Lasharis against the Rinds.

*Phuzh.*—A clan of Rinds to which belonged Bijar, one of Chākūr's companions. They were of great iu and the name is said by some to be an old name of the whole Rind tribe. Now found at Kolanch, in Mekran, and in small numbers in Kachhi, or near the Bolan, but not elsewhere. The Bijarani Marris are supposed to be descended from Bijar Phuzh.

*Rashkani.*—Mentioned once, probably as a subsection only. Now found only in small numbers near Quetta, and classed as a clan of the Rinds. There is a large Brahoi tribe of Bakshāni.

Rind.—The most important of the main divisions of the Baloches, and sometimes loosely used to include others. Most of the tribes of Rind descent are known by their distinctive names, but the Rinds of Mand in Mekran and Shoran in Kachhi adhere to the name Rind, which is also used by large numbers of Baloches out side the tumans in Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Muzafargarh, Multan, Jhang, Shahpur, and Montgomery. The Ghulam Bolak of Sibi is a clan of Rinds. There is also a Rind clan in the Lund tribe of Tibbi in Dera Ghazi Khan.

- II. To this list the following names may be added of tribes not mentioned in the ancient poems, but now of importance.

## ORGANIZED TUMANS

**Bughti.**—A tribe made up of various elements, mainly of Rind origin, having its headquarters at Syahaf (also called Dera Bibrak and Bughti Dera), in the angle of the Sulaiman Mountains, between the Indus and Kachhi. Said to be descended from Gyandar, cousin of Mir Chakur. Gyandar's son, Raheja, is said to have given his name to the Raheja clan, but the name appears to be of Indian origin. The *Nothani* clan have Levitical powers. The *Shambani* are a sub tuman, sometimes considered distinct from the Bughti.

**Buledhi (Buledi, Bulethi, Burdi)** — Derived from Boleda, in Mekran, and long the ruling race until ousted by the Gichki. Found also near the Indus in Upper Sindh, in the tract called Burdika, and in the Kachhi territory of Kalat.

**Bozdar.**—A tribe living in the Sulaiman Mountains, north of Dera Ghazi Khan. Probably partly of Rind descent. The name means 'goatherd.'

**Gurchani.**—A tribe of mixed origin, having its headquarters at Lalgarrh, near Harrand, in Dera Ghazi Khan. The principal part of the tribe is Dodai (*q.v.*). The *Syahphadh* Durkani are Rinds; the Pitafi, Jogani, and Chang probably partly Rind; the Lashari sub-tuman (except the Gabols and Bhandas) and the Jistkani are Lasharis; the Suhriani and Holawan are Bulethis. This seems to be the composition of this tribe. There is a Gurchani clan among the Lunds of Sori.

**Hasani.**—A tribe of uncertain origin, which at one time occupied a considerable part of the country now held by the Marris. They were destroyed in wars with the Marris, and a fragment only remains, now forming a clan among the Khetrans, near the Han Pass. Colonel O. T. Duke considers that they were Pathans by origin, but it seems probable that they were, like the Khetrans, an aboriginal Indian tribe, but more thoroughly assimilated by the Baloches. The remaining Hasanis speak Balochi, not Khetrani.

**Jakrani**—A. tribe now in Kachhi and North Sindh. Probably of Jatt origin, though some deduce them from Gyandar (see under Bughti). There is a *Syahphadh* clan among them, probably of Rind origin (see under Gurchani). They are said to admit the supremacy of the Rind Chief of Shoran. Ahmad Khan derives the Jakranis from Gyandar, the ancestor of the Bughtis (Appendix III., v.).

**Kahiri.**—A small tribe in Kachhi, now classed as Baloch, but probably non-Baloch in origin. Mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-M'asumi* (A.D. 1600). The author derives the name from the Kahir-tree (*Prosopis spicigera*), which was ridden as a horse by one of their ancestors (E. D., i., p. 238).

**Kasrani**—Sometimes written Qaisarani, as it is supposed to be a patronymic from Qaisar, but always pronounced Kasrani. The most northerly of all the organized tumans, occupying part of the Sulaiman Mountains and the adjoining plains in Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. Of Rind descent.

**Leghari.**—An important tribe, with its headquarters at Choti in Dera Ghazi Khan. Also found in Sindh. The name is derived from 'Leghar,' dirty, and various legends are told to explain it. The ancestor Kohphrosh, whose name was changed to Leghar, was by descent a Rind. The principal part of the tribe is descended from him. The Chandya clan is separate, and the Haddiani and Kalois, the sub-tuman of the mountains, are said to be of Bozdar origin.

**Lund.**—A large tribe divided into two tumans, both in Dera Ghazi Khan—the Lunds of Sori and the Lunds of Tibbi. Both claim descent from Ali, son of Rehan, Mir Chakur's cousin. The Sori Lunds are a large tribe living in the plains, with their headquarters at Kot Kandiwala. This tribe contains a clan of Gurchanis. The Tibbi Lunds are a small tribe with a clan of Lunds and one of Khosas, to which a third clan, called Rind, but of impure blood, is also attached.

**Marri.**—One of the best known among Baloch tribes for their marauding propensities. Of composite origin. The Ghazani section are supposed to be descended from Ghazan, son of Ali, son of Jalal Khan, and the Bijaran from Bijar, who revolted against Mir Chakur. The Mazarania are said to be of Khetrani origin, and the Loharanis of mixed descent. No doubt some Jatts and also some Kalmatis, Buledhis, and Hasanis have been absorbed, and perhaps some Pathan elements also among the Bijaranis.

**Raisani.**—A powerful Brahoi tribe, said by some Baloches to be of Baloch descent, and traced to Rais, cousin of Mir Chakur. This genealogy is, perhaps, only due to the similarity of name.

**Shambani.**—A small tribe, sometimes classed as a clan of the Bughti occupying the hill country adjacent to the Bughti and Mazari tribes. Traced, like the Lunds, to Rehan, cousin of Mir Chakur.

**Umarani.**—A small tribe in Kachhi, and also a clan or sept of the Maghassi, Marri, Lund, and Khosa tribes.

*Zarkani.* – Another name for the Bughti (*q.v.*). It is noticeable that a neighbouring Kakar Pathan clan (of Kolu) bears the name Zarkan.

## TRIBES NOT ORGANIZED AS TUMANS

*Ahmdani.* – A tribe formerly of importance, with its head quarters at Mana, in Dera Ghazi Khan. There is also a large Ahmdani clan among the Sori Lunds, and among the Haddiani Legharis. The Mana Ahmdanis are said to descend from Gyandar (see Appendix III., v.).

*Gishkhauri.* – Now found scattered in Dera Ismail Khan and Muzafargarh also in Mekran. Said to be descended from one of Chakur's companions, nicknamed Gishkhaur, who was a Rind. The name appears to be really derived from the Gishkhaur, name of a torrent in the Boleda Valley, Mekran, so this tribe is probably of common descent with the Buledhi. There is a Gishkhauri sept among the Lashari sub-tuman of the Gurchani, and a clan among the Dombki.

*Talpur, or Talbur.* – The well-known tribe to which the Amirs of Sindh belonged, still represented by the Mirs of Khairpur. Identified by themselves, and by most other accounts, with the Talbur clan of the Legharis, but by some derived from an eponymic Talbur, grand son of Bulo, and hence supposed to be of common origin with the Buledhis.

*Pitafi.* – Of uncertain origin. Found in considerable numbers in Dera Ismail Khan and Muzafargarh and as a clan of the Gurchanis in Dera Ghazi Khan.

*Nutkani, or Nodhakani.* – A compact tribe, which till quite lately was organized as a tuman, occupying the country of Sangarh, north of Dera Ghazi Khan.

*Kulachi.* – Probably derived from Kolanch, in Mekran. They accompanied the Dodais and Hots, and settled near Dera Ismail Khan. The town of Kulachi still bears their name, and they are most numerous in that neighbourhood. There seems some probability that they were a branch of the Dodai.

*Gurmani.* – This tribe is scattered through Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, and Muzafargarh but nothing is known of its history.

*Mashori.* – An impure race, now found mainly in Muzafargarh. There is a Mason clan among the Bughti but there is probably nothing in common between them.

*Mastoi.* – Probably one of the servile tribes, though not mentioned in old poems. Found mainly in Dera Ghazi Khan, where they have no social status.

*Kupchani* – Mainly in Dera Ismail Khan.

*Sanjarani.* – In Dera Ghazi Khan.

*Hajani.* – In Dera Ghazi Khan.

*Suhrant.* – In Muzafargarh.

*Laskani.* – In Muzafargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismail Khan.

*Qandrani.* – In Muzafargarh.

*Kaloi* – Found as a clan among the Legharis of Dera Ghazi Khan and the Kachhi Rinds.

## APPENDIX II.

### ORGANIZED TRIBES OR TUMANS.

The following list of tribes still organized as tumans, with their clans, and, wherever possible, their septs or sub sections, has been compiled from various sources. For the information regarding the tribes of the Dera Ghazi Khan district and the adjoining hill country I am mainly responsible, but I have also drawn on Bruce's 'Notes on the Baloch Tribes of the Dora Ghazi Khan District.' The details regarding the tribes of Kachhi, and some of those regarding the Marris and Bughtis, are taken from Mr. Hughes Buller's recently issued report on the Balochistan census, which has enabled me to fill in the gaps in the list of the Northern Baloch tribes. I would draw especially attention to the full details given of the Dombki, Maghassi, and Rind tribes. Unfortunately, the Balochistan census did not extend into Mekran, and no details of subdivisions can be given for this country, nor for Persian Balochistan, although the Rind, Hot, Lashhari, Korai, Gichki and Buledi there form large organized tribes. The same remark applies to Sistan and Kharan. I am also without full details as to the Khosas, Jakranis, and Burdis (Buledhis) of Northern Sindh.

TRIBE	CLAN	SEPT.
Bughti, or Zarkani.	Raheja.	Bibrakzai. Karmanzai. Kasmani. Mandwani. Sahagani Syahinzai. Jobhazai.
	Nothani: 1. Zimakani, or Durragh. 2. Pherozeni	Haibatani. Mehranzai Chakrani Chandramzai. Haiwani. Nohkani. Pherozeni. Phish-bur. Ramezai.

TRIBE	CLAN	SEPT.
		Shalwani.
		Sundrani.
	Masori	Bagriani.
		Bakshwani.
		Pherozaï.
		Gurriani.
		Jafarani.
		Nohkani.
	Kaiphur	Hotakani.
		Fadlani.
	Phong, or	Darwani.
	Mondrani.	Gyandarani
		Hajiani.
		Phong
	Shambani or	Kiazai
	Kiazai	Shambani
		Saidani

TRIBE	CLAN	SEPT.
Buledhi, or	Gola.	
Burdi.	Jafuzai.	
	Kahorkhani.	
	Kotachi (Kulachi ?).	
	Lulai.	
	Pitafi.	
	Raite.	
Bozdar.	Bakhri.	
	Rustamani.	
	Dulani.	
	Ladwani	
	Chakarani	
	Sihani.	
	Shahwani.	
	Jafirani.	