

History of Sindh During Pre-Mughal Period

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HISTORY OF SINDH

DURING PRE-MUGHAL PERIOD

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ABSTRACT

Sindh, the cradle of one of the great ancient civilizations of the world has played a very significant role in the making of our history. Its cities and towns have been centre of culture and religion since almost the dawn of the history in the region.

From the geographical points of view, the main importance of Sindh lies in the fact that it was the gateway of India and had served as a conduit through which many foreign communities including Arabs were able to establish commercial and cultural relations with India. The Arab rulers used it as a base for the military operations to conquer the region further north of Sindh.

Before the Arab conquest, Sindh was an independent kingdom ruled by Raja Dahar. Muhammad bin Qasim conquered it in 712 A.D., and made it a part of the Umayyad Empire. Apart from being a part of the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphate for about two hundred years, it had been under the rule of different independent dynasties mainly Habbari, Banu Sama, Ismailis, Sumirahs and the Sammahs. It was incorporated into Delhi Sultanate and for long it was ruled by the governors appointed by Delhi Sultans. Afterward, it came under the rule of Arghuns of Central Asia in 1520 A.D., before passing into the hands of the Mughals during the reign of Akbar.

The present thesis deals with the history of Sindh in pre-Mughal period. It has been divided in seven chapters (i) Sindh under the Arabs (ii) Sindh under the Ghaznavids (iii) Sindh under the Delhi Sultanate (iv) Sindh under the Sumirah (v) Sindh under the Sammah (vi) Socio-cultural life of Sindh (vii) Economic conditions of Sindh.

The first chapter deals with the history of Sindh from the Arab conquest in 712 A.D., till the disintegration of the Central Arab authority in the region and the rise of some local Arab dynasties. The second chapter concerns with the history of the Ghaznavid rule in Sindh. The main importance of the Ghaznavid rule lies in the fact that it was during this period that the Ismailis who had entrenched themselves in the region were finally rooted out. The third chapter relates to the establishment of the control of Delhi Sultanate over the region. The fourth chapter describes the history of Sumirah rule over the region and their rise and fall as a ruling dynasty of lower Sindh. The fifth chapter narrates the history of the Sammah rule, their rise to power and their conflict with the Tughluqs for the control of the region in which they ultimately succeeded. These Sammahs better known as Jams of Sindh, continued to rule over the region till they were finally overthrown by the Arghuns of Central Asia in 1520 A.D. The sixth chapter recapitulating the socio-cultural life of the region, tries to identify different components of the Sindhi society including the tribal population. Educational institutions played an important role in the cultural developments of the region and gave a strong impetus to

social Mobility. Sindh was also the centre of Suhrawardi *Silsilah* of *sufis* and Suhrawardi saints along with *sufis* of other *silsilahs* made enormous contribution to the shaping of cultural and religious pattern of the region. These aspects as well as Sindh's style of architecture have been taken note of. The seventh chapter highlights the economic history of the region. Their main professions, items of export and import, particular kinds of product which were necessitated by the peculiar geographical terrain and climatic conditions of the region have been discussed at length.

In the light of the above discussion a clear picture of the history of the region of Sindh during the pre-Mughal period had emerged enabling us to identify main lines of political, cultural and economic developments in the region.

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PREFACE

In recent years historians have been increasingly attracted to the study of regional history. Serious and sustained efforts have been made to harness the enormous potential that this kind of study holds out for a better appreciation of the evolution of different political and administrative institutions, dynamics of various historical processes and ideological forces, emergence of social and cultural patterns and behaviors and shaping economic formations. Such in depth studies at regional levels have been found to be extremely rewarding and have yielded fascinating results throwing fresh light on many obscure and hitherto little known aspects of History.

The region of Sindh provides a fascinating opportunity for such a study as it is not only the cradle of one of the most ancient civilizations of the world but it has also witnessed many ethnic and cultural developments which are in a way peculiar to it. Moreover, it has produced an amazing pattern of socio-economic and political structure which provides a healthy environment for the study of the different kinds of historical development of the region. But this kind of study for the region of Sindh is beset with serious problem of the paucity of information specially about the pre-Mughal period. The scanty information which is available about this period is scattered in the literary books, memoirs of the travelers, geographical accounts and regional histories. The relevant information has been shifted from these varied sources and an attempt has been made to present a coherent and connected account of the history of the region prior to its occupation by the Mughals by analyzing it and piecing it together.

The present study seeks to bring into focus significant aspects of Pre-Mughal history. The entire span of the history of the region from the conquest of Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 A.D., till the appearance of the Arghuns on the scene who captured it in 1520 A.D., has been taken into account. For the sake of convenience this vast period has been divided into seven chapters including the geo-political and socio-economic aspects of the region. The first chapter deals with the history of Arab conquest of the region and traces their accounts till their downfall. The second chapter discusses the history of Sindh under Ghaznavids. The third chapter traces the history of Sindh under Delhi Sultanate. The fourth, chapter is about the history of Sumirahs and their subsequent rule over Sindh. The fifth chapter discusses the history of Sammahs of Sindh and their dominion over the region. The sixth chapter examines the socio-cultural aspects of the history of the region and the seventh and last chapter is devoted to the economic condition of Sindh during the pre-Mughal period.

It is my most pleasant duty to thank Professor Zameeruddin Siddiqi, Chairman, Department of History for the interest, he evinced in the progress of my work and the

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INTRODUCTION

The name of Sindh is most probably derived from the word 'Sindhu', the Sanskrit name of Indus. It has been recorded in the Vedas as a self-moving river of golden hue, coming down the snow-clad mountain and after traversing a vast expanse of plain it finally spreads into the sea. It is a mighty river which is fed by branches on both sides. It has been also explained in term of Sapta-Sindhavah, the land, 'par excellence' in the Rigveda.¹

Sindh is indeed a creation of mighty Indus, without which it would have been a continuation of Thar desert.² Thus it seems that the word Sindhu which in the beginning denoted the areas fed by the Indus or the whole region beyond the Sindhu came to denote a certain region.

Sindh, the land of one of the great ancient civilizations of the world consists of several cities and towns which have played a very significant role in the making of our history. While Harrappa and Mohen-jo-daro are treated as the twin capitals of what the world knows as Indus civilization, its cities have been the centers of cultures and religion since almost the dawn of the history in the region. Sindhis had created an influential culture within the orbit of upper Sindh region which extended north east to Kashmir and South to Gujarat. They evolved a very highly developed urban system with a flourish and economic affluence. The prosperity of the region was based on a rich agricultural soil watered by the mighty Sindhu on whose bank the great city of Mohenjodaro stood. This was the base and home of one of the earliest civilizations of the mankind. The strategic importance of this region is quite evident from the writings of the Chinese and Arabian travelers and geographers. The important cities of Sindh were Alore, Debal, Brahmanabad, Banbhore, Uchh, Mansurah and Multan. Hiuen Tsang records sin-tu (Sindh) and Mu-lo-san-Pu-Lu (Multan) to be the centre of culture and social life.³ Multan, the *Bait-uz-Zahab*⁴ of the Arabs, is a place of great antiquity and cultural wealth. The socio-cultural contact between the Arabs and the local people and the assimilation of the two cultures helped not only in the rapid spread of Islam, but also paved the way for academic and cultural relations, intellectual collaboration and understanding between the Muslims and the Hindus. Moreover, Multan has been a religious centre of great importance since the ancient time being the abode of the Hindu god Surya. Hiuen Tsang, who visited these regions tells us to have seen as many as thirty Hindu temples

¹ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II, London 1912, See Under Sindhu, p.450.

² Ibad Ur Rahman Khan, 'Some Geographical Factors in the History of Sindh', *Muslim University Journal*, 1936, p.101.

³ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India*, II, reprint Delhi 1961, p. 252.

⁴ Abul Hasan Ahmad bin Yahya Balazuri, *Futuh-ul-Baldan*, ed. M. Rizwan, Cairo, 1932, p.427.

in existence in Sindh.⁵ In Multan there were a number of Hindu temples, including the most celebrated Surya temple.⁶ It was an important centre of religious significance for the Hindus. The devotees came from all over North, Central and Western India to visit the sun temple of Multan.⁷ Sindh appears to have been a rich country in those days, mainly due to its flourishing trade. It was also rich culturally on accounts of its diversified religious pattern.

The province had also commercial significance from ancient times because there was a sea port of Debal. Through the Arabian sea this region was connected with the sea ports of the Muslim world. Hence Sindh was a gate for the commercial activities with the Muslim world and India. It was actually the geographical importance of the region from commercial point of view that impressed on the minds of Arabs in the very beginning of Islamic history the need to establish their control over this region. Apart from the well known harbors that existed in the Arab world, they were in search of new ports to extend their influences to other regions. For this purpose, Sindh appeared to be very useful to them. Most probably, this factor had prompted the Arabs to venture for the conquest of Sindh much before the final conquest by Muhammad bin Qasim.

BOUNDARIES:

In view of the insufficient material on the history of the period and varying information about the boundaries of Sindh it is very difficult to fix the exact limits of Sindh or to arrive at definite conclusion about it. However, an attempt is made here to discuss the problems in the light of available sources. The region covered by the mighty river is bordered by three deserts, Rajasthan in the east, Baluchistan in the West and Cutch in the South. The Greek historians have not defined any clear boundary of Sindh. But the Greek accounts show that during Alexander's expedition Sindh was divided into several independent states.⁸ The northern most was Alor, while Kachch-Gandhava and the Arabii (the Purali) formed the boundary of West. Later, Hiuen Tsang defined the region 'sintu' (Sindh), West of the Indus including Cutch and Multan to the east as a part of a separate kingdom.⁹

In the period of Chach (652-691 A.D.), the boundaries of Sindh extended, on the north to the mountains of Kiknan and Kurdan and on the South to the coast of Arabian sea and Debal. On its east is Kashmir; on the West is Makran.¹⁰

⁵ T. Watters, II, p.252.

⁶ T. Watters, II, p. 254.

⁷ Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 15-18.

⁸ Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 286-87, 296-97, 349, 352.

⁹ T. Watters, II, pp. 252-54.

¹⁰ Ali bin Hamid Kufi, *Chach-Namah* ed. N. A.Baloch, Islamabad, 1983, p.10, Trans. Mirza Kalich Beg, Reprint, Delhi, 1979, p. 11.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Sindh, Makran and the most of the Western Hills had already come under the orbit of the Arab rule. Later, the Arab writers calling it as-Sindh used it in a much wider sense. They included Multan in as Sindh and meant from as Sindh the whole of the lower Indus Valley from Multan down to the sea, including nearly the whole of modern Baluchistan.¹¹ Balazuri (9th century) describes al-Kiknan (modern Qalat in Baluchistan) as a part of Sindh.¹² However, the Arab travelers and geographers mentioned the kingdom of Mansurah (*i.e.* Sindh) as extending up to Alor in the north, while Turan and Budha were on its West, and in the east the boundaries extended upto the river Shakira (Sindh sagar) and Fahmal.¹³ According to Istakhri (10th century A.D.) and Ibn Haugul (10th century A.D.) from Saimur to Fahmal in Hind and from Fahmal to Makran and Budha and beyond as far as the territories of Multan all belong to Sindh.¹⁴ Another geographical account Hudud-al-Alam (compiled 982 A.D.) defines the boundaries of Sindh as on its east is the river Mihran, south of it is the great sea and the West of it is the province of Kirman and on the north of it the desert extended up to the territories of Khurasan.¹⁵

The next important change in the boundaries of Sindh occurred after the Ghorid conquest, when for a short while during the rule of Odbacha a political control of Sindh extended up to Tabarhind, Kuhram and Sarsauti. Later, as a province of Delhi Sultanate the boundaries of Sindh recorded no great change.

After the disintegration of the Tughluq empire, Sindh became independent under the Local dynasty of Sammah. During the last half of 15th century A.D., the territories of Sindh towards catch, at one time remained upto Sindh Sagar, while the areas of Morji, Keri, Sathalpur, Wagnikot (Wanga) and Morowah were under the dominion of Gujarat.¹⁶ It shows that during the Sammah hegemony the western boundary of Sindh extended from the territories of Makran¹⁷ up to the desert of Sibi, through the region of Sibi was not actually under Sindh.¹⁸

¹¹ Istakhari, al-Masalik-wal-Mamalik, ed. M.Jabir Husaini, U.A.E. 1961, p.102.

¹² Balazuri, p.421.

¹³ Masudi, Murui-al-Eahab-wa Maadin al-Jawahir, I,ed. De Courteille, Paris 1859, P.378.; Istakhri, Kitab-Suwar at-Aalim, ed. M.De Goeje, E.J.Brill 1967, p.170.

¹⁴ Istakhri, p. 102; Ibn Hauqal, Kitab-al-Mamalik, ed. De Goeje, Leiden,1873, p.226; see for details, Maaki, The Arab Accounts of India, Delhi 1981, p.66.

¹⁵ Anonymous, Hudud-al-Alam, Eng. Trans. V. Minorsky, London, 1937, p.122.

¹⁶ These territories were captured by Sultan Mahmud Baigra in 1472 A.D.; Shaikh Sikandar, Mira'at-e-Sikandari, ed. S.C. Misra, Baroda 1961, PP. 126-7; Ali Muhammad Khan, Miraat-i-Ahmadi, ed. S. Nawab Ali, Baroda, 1928, p. 57.

¹⁷ Makran was not a part of Sindh, Yusuf Mirak, Mazhar-i-Shahlahani, ed. S. Husamuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1962,p.28.

¹⁸ Sibi desert was difficult to be crossed without guide. Mir Masum, Tarikh-i-Masumi, ed. U. M. Daud Pota, Poona, 1938, pp. 104,112; Mir Tahir Nisyan, Tarikh-i-Tahiri, Ms. Or. 1685, fol. 9.

The eastern frontier appeared to have settled down from the regions of Bhakkar and the borders of Jaisalmer to Umerkot and Waage, while Nagarparkar and Suleman Nagar (Catch) were outside the Jurisdiction of Sindh.¹⁹

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

Within its present boundaries, as a province of Pakistan Sindh lies between 23° 35' and 28° 30' north and 66° 42' and 71° 10' east having an area of 34.86 million acres and a population of (1972) 14 million.²⁰ In the term of popular geography Sindh has been divided into three climatic regions: Siro (Upper Sindh) Vichola (middle Sindh) and lar (Lower Sindh):²¹ Physically, Sindh is divided into these areas. (a) Western high lands (Kirther, Kohistan) (b) Lower Indus Valley (Western, Eastern Delta) (c) Desert (Pat, Thar).

WESTERN HIGHLANDS:

Kirther:- These comprise the range of the mountains which separate Sindh from Baluchistan. The hills attain heights between 4000 and 5000 feet, but some peaks rise to nearly 7000 feet.²² Apparently barren but it affords grazing to large herds of cattle.

Kohistan:- It runs parallel from north to south with deep broad valleys, with scanty rains and limited cultivation. Out of the entire area under cultivation is seven thousand square miles of Sindh, Kohistan may not amount to more than two thousand acres in an average year. The crops grown here are *Jwar* and wheat in different seasons. The inhabitants are nomadic, living in tents moving with their flocks of goats and sheep in search of water and grass.²³

Lower Indus Valley:- It is again divided into the following regions: (a) Western (b) Eastern (c) Delta.

(a) The Western Valley:- Situated in the north west corner of the plains, it is formed mainly of older alluvium plains (Bhangar) with few outcrops of lime stone. The most productive region of lower Indus valley is about 160 miles north to south enclosed between the Indus and the Western Nara. It has kirther range on the West and the Thar on the east.²⁴

¹⁹ Masumi, p. 208.

²⁰ Ishrat Husain, "*The Economy of Modern Sindh*", in H. Khuhro (ed.) *Sindh Throuah the Centuries*, Karachi, 1981, pp.205,209.

²¹ M. R. Haig, *Indus Delta Country*, London,1887, p.1.

²² *M.U.J.*, p. 103; Kute-jialabar in Larkana district is 6878 feet.

²³ H. T. Lambrick, *Sinde a General Introduction*, Hyderabad Sindh, 1975, p. 48.

²⁴ O.H.K. Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, *India and Pakistan*, Britain, 1967, p. 507.

(b) The Eastern Valley:- It is the ancient abandoned bed of Indus, a great Doab in recent alluvial sands and clays falling from 250 feet to 50 feet in 200 miles, spread over eastward from Indus to eastern Nara.²⁵

The area also comprises of three hill ranges including the Makli hill near Thatta. Drainage is faulty, however, numerous small alkaline lakes are found along the eastern Nara. The sand hills serve as a dividing barrier between the Indus and the dry Hakra.

(c) Delta:- The delta of the Indus commences below Thatta, which spreads to cope-Mong in the West and to Rann of Cutch in the South east with a straight coastal line of 125 miles, so the delta covers an area of 2000 to 3000 square miles.²⁶ Its annual average increase is only 41 yards. It has increased only about 97 square miles at the mouth of the Indus between Gharo and Kori creeks between 1873 and 1904 A.D.²⁷

Desert:- (a) Pat (b) Thar

(a) Pat:- This is the name of a small area of 30 miles lying between the town of Shikarpur and the Bolan pass. There are no means of irrigation in this sandy tract. These areas are covered with sand hills *i.e.* 'Pats'. Little vegetation can grow, and that only after receiving some showers of rain. The common plants are kundi and those having thick fleshy stem and leaves with very long roots.²⁸

(b) Thar:- The eastern portion of the province is occupied by the desert or the desert of Rajputana, covering large portions of Sukkur, Nawabshah, Khairpur and Thar Parker districts. On the introduction of canal irrigation, the western segments of this area have been transformed into fertile territory.²⁹ The desert is full of sand dunes and being windblown. The sand in the Thar, Rann of Cutch and the delta of the Indus is blown over by the south West winds from the sea during the summer. It forms the irregular and parallel ridges of Sand dunes which may rise to about 150 feet.³⁰

CLIMATE:

Due to absence of rainfall, the climate of Sindh is variable but generally hot. It has two seasons, cold and hot. There is practically no rainy season.

²⁵ Spate, p. 507. Nara is an old bed of the Indus converted into a canal since 1857. (M.U.J. pp. 110-12).

²⁶ M.U.J., p. 107.

²⁷ Lambrick, p. 23.

²⁸ Spate, p.507; see also M. B. Pithawalla "A Geographical Analysis of the Khairpur State", Journal of Sindh Historical Society, Vol. I, Part IV, 1935, p. 44.

²⁹ M.U.J., p.106.

³⁰ Lambrick, pp. 11-12.

The region was more fertile and received greater rainfall during the ancient times.³¹ But a drift in the monsoon range had resulted in substantial reduction to rainfall, drying up the weather of the region.

RIVERS:

The main river of Sindh is Indus. It enters Sindh at 28° 26' North and 69° 47' East near Kashmore. It flows with a depth of 4 to 6 at low water at Daryasheih. The Indus runs 580 miles within Sindh and then it falls into Arabian Sea. Its average width is 480 to 1600 yards during the winter season. Its depth varies from 4 to 24 feet.³²

The only other Perennial Stream is river Hab, which sets the Sindh Baluchistan boundary. There are many other dried channels called Fuleli, Ren, Hakara, Sakra and others are found in the Indus delta.

LAKES:

The largest lake is Manchhar on which the Historic town of Sehwan is situated. During inundations it measures a direct distance of 80 miles and covers an area of 150 miles. It is drained through Aral river into the Indus.³³ The lake provides much fishing in summer³⁴.

HISTORY OF SINDH IN THE EARLY PERIOD:

The history of Sindh is generally traced back to the Indus civilizations which had flowered approximately two thousand years before the Aryans who settled on the Indus between 1000 B.C. and 500 B.C.³⁵ During the ancient period for long stretches of time Sindh experienced foreign domination. In 516 B.C. the region of Sindh was annexed to the Persian empire by Darius Hystaspes (522-486 B.C.).³⁶ It was the twentieth satrapy of the vast Achaemenian empire. Sindhu was considered the prosperous and more populous satrapy of the Persian empire, paying immense tribute of three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust.³⁷ The Achaemenian ruled it for about two centuries till 326 B.C.

³¹ John Marshal, *Mohenio-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Delhi 1973, pp. 1-2.

³² M.U.J., pp. 107-10.

³³ H.G.Raverty, 'The Mihran of Sindh and its Tributaries', in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, L.XI Part 1, 1892 PP. 310-13.

³⁴ Spate, P. 507.

³⁵ A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* London, 1982, p. 31.

³⁶ A. K. Majumdar, *Concise History of Ancient India*, I, Delhi, 1977, p. 129.

³⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, ed. E. J. Rapson I, Cambridge, 1922, p. 307: See also Rawlinson, p.54.

Alexander crossed Indus in February 326 B.C. and appointed Peithon, son of Agenor, the governor of the region.³⁸ His mercenaries mutinied and killed the governor. However, the Greek could not hold the territory and returned to his homeland in 317 B.C.

The region of Sindh was then subjugated by Chandragupta Maurya after 321 B.C., who after gaining victory over Seleucos in 305 B.C. had occupied the large districts west of the Indus. The Mauryan dynasty began to disintegrate in 185 B.C. and the Bactrian Greeks began to occupy the region across the Hindukush.³⁹ The province of Sindh was again occupied by the Sakes or Scythians (130-48 B.C.). They ruled the northern part of the sub-continent⁴⁰ till the arrival of the Kushans. It was also a part of the empire of the greatest Kushan ruler, Kanishka (120-160 A.D.). He was a Mahayana Buddhist and naturally strengthened the Buddhist tradition in Sindh.⁴¹ However, the Buddhist tradition survived much longer. With the collapse of the Kushan empire in the third century A.D., and the advance of the Sassanians into the Indus delta, the picture gradually changed. In the fifth century A.D., the White Huns gradually intruded in the region of Sindh. This period saw the beginning of the resurgence of the Brihminism.⁴²

However, the region of Sindh became independent once again at the close of fifth century A.D. under the Rai dynasty. Raja Diwaj founded this dynasty with its capital at Alor in about 485 A.D. The origin of this ruling family are not known to history, but after gaining power the founder extended his realm in the east to Kashmir. On the West to Makran, on the south to the part of Debal and on the north to the mountains of Kiknan and Kurdan.⁴³

The king made his headquarter the centre of the kingdom with its capital Alor, while the rest was divided in four administrative divisions with their head-quarters at Brahmanabad, Siwistan, Askandah and Multan. Each province was ruled by a governor.⁴⁴ History reveals that five rulers of the Rai dynasty ruled this vast region. They were, Rai Diwaj, Rai Sahiras I, Rai Sahsi I, Rai Sahiras II, Rai Sahsi II, each being the son of his predecessor. According to *Chach-Namah*, Rai Sahsi I was assassinated in an encounter with the Persian king of Himruz at Kirman and was succeeded by his son, Rai Sashi I. After his death his son Rai Sahiras II and Rai Sahsi II ruled the region successively.

³⁸ H. G. Rawlinson, *India*, London, 1965; p.61; See also R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 76.

³⁹ G. N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*, London, 1919, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Rawlinson, p.9 2: See also A. K. Majumdar, p. 182.

⁴¹ Rawlinson, PP. 93,95: See also A. K. Majumdar, pp.1 88-89.

⁴² Rawlinson, p. 111.

⁴³ *Chach-Namah*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

During the period of Rai Sahsi II, a Brahman named Chach, son of Silaij, was employed by the king's chamberlain, and he was soon promoted to a high rank. Muhammad Ali Kufi gives a detailed account of his service and his entry into the king's service, his love affairs with the Queen Sohandi Devi and the events which followed in usurping power. He then married the Queen.⁴⁵

The provincial governors regarded Chach an usurper and revolted against him in order to take revenge of the cold-blooded murder of their king and to challenge the new king's power. They united themselves under the banner of Bajerah, a near relation of the deceased king and the governor of Multan. However the artful Queen soon realized the danger and persuaded the Brahman Chach to proceed to Multan to suppress the rebellious governors. Chach marched towards Multan and defeated the governor at Sakkah and then at Multan. After this, Bajehra submitted an apology to Chach. The new ruler restored him to the governorship of Multan.

After a glorious reign of forty years Chach died and his brother Chander ascended the throne. He ruled the region successfully for seven years, and after his death, Chach's sons, Dahar and Daharsiya divided the vast kingdom among themselves with their respective capitals at Alor and Brahmanabad. The kingdom was again united when Daharsiya died and Dahar became the ruler of the vast region. In the last part of his reign the Arabs gained foothold in 712 A.D.

In Sindh the rule of raja Dahir came to an end in 712 A.D., as a result of the conquest of this region by Muhammad bin Qasim in the reign of Umayyad Caliph Walid B. Abdul Malik (705-715 A.D.). Sindh remained under the rule of Muhammad bin Qasim as a province of Umayyad Caliphate.⁴⁶

Afterward, other governors used to be appointed here to rule over the province and this position remained till the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate in 750 A.D. The Abbasid Caliphs also treated it as a part of their caliphate and they retained the same administrative set-up for this province as was established under the Umayyads. In the latter period when the Abbasid caliphate witnessed the signs of weakness, their control over Sindh also became weak and they could not rule over this province effectively.⁴⁷ Consequently, different parts of the province again passed under the occupation of local Hindu Chiefs and only Multan and Mansurah remained under their control. This situation developed mainly from the second half of the ninth century A.D., and Multan and Mansura emerged as independent states, the first under the rule of Banu Samah⁴⁸ and the second under the rule of Habbari dynasty. Banu Samah continued to rule over

⁴⁵ *Chach-Namah*, p. 20.

⁴⁶ *Chadh-Namah*. pp. 185-86.

⁴⁷ Balazuri, p. 431.

⁴⁸ Istakhri, pp. 103-4.

Multan till the Ismaili overthrew them in 969-70 A.D., and established their rule⁴⁹. Multan came under the occupation of Mahmud of Ghaznin in 1010 A.D.⁵⁰ But even afterward it practically remained under the rule of the Ismailia and their rule was finally overthrown by Shahabuddin Ghorī in 1175 A.D.⁵¹ Afterwards Sindh became a part of Delhi Sultanate and the governors used to be appointed here by the Delhi Sultans. The Mongols repeatedly made the region of Sindh their target but they could not achieve any considerable success there. Moreover, this region had also provided shelter to a number of rebellious governors during the sultanate period.

However, during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq Sammah again tried to establish their independent rule in Sindh. In 1333-34 A.D., the Sammah Jams of Lower Sindh and Cutch established another independent ruling dynasty at Thatta.⁵² Muhammad Tughluq tried to bring it under his direct control, but could not succeed. Firoz Shah captured Thatta and took Jam Juna and Jam Banbinah as captives to Delhi. They ruled the region independently as a vassal of Firoz Shah. After the death of Firoz Shah it broke away and again slipped into the hands of local rulers *i.e.* Sammah Jams.

Amir Tamur invaded and captured Sindh in 1398 A.D.,⁵³ and granted it to Khizir Khan, who recognized the sovereignty of Timur and his successor, Shah Rukh.⁵⁴

Sindh was still under the rule of Jam dynasty when again it was invaded and conquered in 1520 A.D., by a foreign invader, Shah Beg Arghun. However, the region of Multan was ruled by the Saiyids and it was again ruled by a pious man Shaikh Yusuf, a great grandson of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani.⁵⁵ The government of Shaikh Yusuf was overthrown by the chief of the Baluch tribe Langah, called Rai Sabra, and after capturing power, he assumed the title of Mahmud Shah in 1437 A.D.⁵⁶ This region was finally brought by Shah Husain Arghun under his rule in 1527 A.D.⁵⁷

SOME IMPORTANT SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF SINDH

The history of Sindh in Pre-Mughal times has great importance from political and cultural point of view, but very few contemporary sources are available. No separate work on Sindh was compiled during this period. *Chach-Namah*, the famous history of

⁴⁹ Shams-al-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad Bashri al-Magadasi, *Ahsan-al-Tagasim fi-Marifat al-Agalim*, ed. M.J.De Goeje, E. J. Brill, 1906, p. 481.

⁵⁰ Mahmud al-Gardizi, *Zainul Akhbar* ed. M. Nazim, Berlin, 1928, p.65.

⁵¹ Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, ed. Abdul Hai Habibi, Kabul, 1342 S.M. p.396.

⁵² Masumi, pp., 48,60.

⁵³ Sharfuddin Yazdi, 1886, p.14. *Zafar-Namah* II, ed. M. Ilandad, Calcutta

⁵⁴ Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, ed. M.Hidayat Husain, Calcutta, 1931, p.183.

⁵⁵ Muhammad Qasim, Hindu Shah Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1884, II, p.325.

⁵⁶ Ferishta, II, p. 325.

⁵⁷ Masumi, p. 159.

Sindh, deals with very early period and it mainly gives account of the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad Qasim and the establishment of Arab rule in that region. As matter of fact, the tradition of compiling regional history developed in the Mughal period. The well-known Persian sources of the Sultanate period, (*Taiul-Ma'asir* of Hasan Nizami; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-us-Siraj; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zaiduddin Barani and Shams Siraj Afif, *Insha-i-Mahru* of Ainul Mulk Mahru and *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya Sirhindi etc.) do not provide sufficient materials for the history of Sindh. Certain works of the Mughal period (*Tarikh-i-Masumi* of Mir Masum; *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* of Mir Tahir, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, of Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* of Abul Qasim Ferishta; *Akbar-Namah* of Abul Fazl; *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* of Abdul Baqi Nihawandi; *Tarikh-i-Mazhar-i-Shahiahani* of Yusuf Mirak etc.,) also give information about the pre-Mughal history of Sindh but they are short of being considered sufficient and much useful for the study of this period. Therefore, our main sources for the present study have been the works of Arab historians and travelers who showed keen interest in the history of this region and gave detailed account of different aspect of its history. Here, an attempt is made to briefly evaluate some of these important sources and to highlight their importance for the history of Sindh.

- i. *Akhbar us-Sindh Wal Hind* of Sulaiman Tajir (Circa 851 A.D.) deals with the political, social, economic and religious life of India. It gives the history of the rajas of India, Sindh and other regions, their culture and the social life of the region.
- ii. *Futuh ul-Buldan* of Ahmad bin Daud Balazuri compiled in 869 A.D. It deals with the history of Sindh from the second Caliph up to the Abbasid Caliph Mutasim Billah (833-842 A.D.). It has a detailed chapter on the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad bin Qasim. The information given by Balazuri about Sindh is very valuable.
- iii. *Tarikh-i-Yaqubi* of Ahmad bin Yaqub bin Jafar Yaqubi (d. 900 A.D.). It is an universal history. It deals with the history of the conquest of India and gives ample information about the governors of Sindh of the Umayyad as well as the Abbasid period. It also gives records about the cities of Sindh.
- iv. *Kitabul-Buldan* of Ibn al-Faqih (c. 903 A.D.). It contains the geographical account of different countries. It also sheds light on the socio-economic life of Sindh, export, import and mainly about the agricultural products.
- v. *Kitabul Maltalik wal Mamalik* of Ibn Khurdazbih (d.911 A.D.) is a book of geography. It provides significant information about Sindh specially its economic conditions including the agricultural products and sources of revenue.

vi. *Silsilat-ul-Tawarikh* of Abu Zaid Hasan Sirafi. It is a travel diary. It deals with the history of China and India, specially about the rajas of India and the political and social condition of the period, along with the habits and customs of the people.

vii. *Ajaib-ul-Hind* of Bozurg bin Shahriyar (10th Century A.D.). Being a captain of ship, the author had personal experiences about the coastal cities of India which he gives in his work. It forms an important source on socio-political, religious and economic life of the province.

viii. *al-Masalik-wal-Mamalik* of Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al Farisi Istakhri (10th century A.D.). It is a book of geography. The author had travelled widely in a number of countries. He visited India in 951 A.D., and prepared a map of Sindh. Apart from providing material about political and social aspects of Sindh's history, it also contains useful information about agricultural and other products of the region.

ix. *Kitab Surat al-Arz* of Ibn Hauqal (10th century A.D.) is also an useful source for the history of Sindh specially its geography. In this work he gives a map of Sindh and also mentions the names of the cities of Sindh and defines its distances from one place to another.

x. *Muraj-uz-Zuhab-wa Maadin al-Jawahir* of Abul Hasan Ali bin al Husain al-Masudi (d. 956 A.D.). In this book the author records his personal observations and experiences after travelling in Sindh, Gujarat and Chimure. The book deals with the history of the *rajas* of the region and that of Muslim rulers of Sindh. It contains detailed description of their genealogy , military power and also the local traits.

xi. *Ahsan-ul-Taqasim fi Marifat il Aqalim* of Bashri al-Maqadasi (d. 1000 A.D.). He travelled widely including India. He describes in his book the history and culture of the people of Sindh. The book is a mine of information about the products of Sindh and its trade, industries, coins, currency, custom duties, revenue and weights and measures. It also provides details of the total revenue of Sindh.

xii. *Nuzhat al-Mushtaa fi Ikhtiraa it Afaq* of Al-Idirisi (1100-1165 A.D.). It contains useful information about the geography of Sindh. It sheds light on the people and the cities, its gardens, products and irrigation system.

xiii. *Chach-Namah*: It was originally an Arabic work known as *Minhai al-Masalik* written by the Qazi Ismail of Alor. It was translated into Persian by Ali bin Hamid Kufi in 1216 A.D., in the court of Nasiruddin Oubacha in Sindh. It deals

with the history of Sindh from the Rai dynasty till the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad bin Qasim. It is first regional book about the Arab conquest of the region. Generally the information were collected from the narrator Abul Hasan Al Madaini. However the book is very useful and informative except the chapter on the arrest and dismissal of Muhammad bin Qasim. The romance of Muhammad bin Qasim with the two daughters of raja Dahir as recorded by the author is totally baseless. The author does not maintain the sequence of the events carefully.

xiv. *Taqwim ul-Buldan* of Abul Fida (1273-1331 A.D.). It is a descriptive geography and deals with geography of the important places of India. It also sheds light on the import of goods from Basra to Sindh and some important trade routes.

xv. *Rehla* of Ibn Batuta (d. 1377 A.D.). He came to Sindh in 1333 A.D., and records an eye witness account of the important historical events of the region. He also mentions about the ports, custom duties and the distances of different cities. He also sheds light on the educational institutions and some important Qazi families. Ibn Batuta gives information about the customs, traits, habits of the Ismailis and the Sumirah and Sammah of Sindh.

CHAPTER I

SINDH UNDER THE ARABS

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SINDH AND THEIR RULES

The penetration of the Arabs in the region and their attacks on the sea coast towns of Sindh began as early as in 636 A.D.,⁵⁸ in the time of Calipha Umar, but its systematic conquest took place in 712 A.D., when it was incorporated in the Muslim empire during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph, al-Walid (705-715 A.D.). In 644-45 A.D., during the caliphate of Umar the Muslim commander of Makran, Hakam b. Amar al-Saghlibi, had initiated action against the Sassanid forces in Makran. He attacked and pursued them up to the river (al-Nahr) but did not cross it over and stopped on the other side. While the Muslim army was encamping there, Risal, the Sindhi commander crossed the river with his forces and attacked the Muslim camp. As a result of a furious battle, Risal was finally defeated by the Muslims and the Muslim army again advanced up to the River and established itself there. A detailed report was sent to the Caliph about these developments through Suhr al-Abidi. In the light of this report the Caliph decided not to pursue the expedition against Sindh any further and one of the commanders, Hakam, was directed to stay on the other side of the river and not to cross it into Sindh.⁵⁹ This side was under the control of Chach, the Brahman ruler of Sindh.⁶⁰ This happened during the very last days of Caliph Umar and when he died, Caliph Usman considered the possibilities of sending an expedition against Chach to punish him for his role in the battle of Nahr. It was, however, in the year 649-50 A.D., that the Caliph Usman finally decided to take action against the Sindhian ruler and dispatched Abdullah bin Ma'mar Tamimi who defeated and destroyed forces of Chach on Makran side of the River and advanced up to the River again.⁶¹

⁵⁸ This naval expedition was taken by Usman b. Abi 'As, the Governor of Bahrain, who appointed Mughirah as commander and dispatched him from Bahrain to Debal. But Balazuri (pp. 420-21) says that Mughirah was victorious at Debal and that he was alive after the Debal expedition. According to *Chach-Namah* Mughira was killed in an encounter at Debal (P. 52).

⁵⁹ Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Jarir at-Tabari, *Tarikh al-Rusul wal Muluk*, v, ed. M.J. De Goeje; E. J. Brill, 1964, Pp. 2707-2709

⁶⁰ *Chach-Namah*, p. 34.

⁶¹ Tabari I, pp. 2829-31. According to *Chach-Namah* (p. 54) and Balazuri (p. 421) the Caliph Usman ordered Abdullah the commander-in-chief, to dispatch Hukim b. Jabalah to Sindh but after receiving latter's report Caliph directed Abdullah not to send any force against Sindh. But this statement is not correct as the detailed report of Tabari would indicate. Actually it was Caliph Umar who, had consistently forbidden any military action to be taken against Sindh.

In the year 658-59 A.D. Caliph Ali appointed Saghar b. Zuar on the Indian frontier and he achieved memorable victories during the period of four years of his stay there and reached as far as Kiknan in Baluchistan.⁶²

In the year 664 A.D., Caliph Muawiyah appointed Abdullah b. Sawwar as Governor and Commander of the region. Abdullah captured Kiknan and sent to the Caliph horses of Kiknan which were known for their excellent breed.⁶³ According to Balazuri Abdullah returned to Damascus after the initial victory perhaps for reporting about the situation personally to the Caliph. He then went back to the front in Qaigan where he was killed by the Turks.⁶⁴ After assassination of Abdullah, Caliph Muawiyah appointed Sanan b. Salmah at Makran. After two year he was transferred from Makran. Rashid b. Amr, was appointed in his place. While on his way to Sistan, he was ambushed by rebels and fell in the battle that ensued. The region was once more conferred on Sanan.

According to *Chach-Namah* Ilafi had killed Said b. Aslam Kalabi, the Governor of Makran sometime before 704 A.D., Hajjij b. Yusuf appointed Mujjah as the new Governor of Makran. The Ilafis fled before Mujjah's arrival, and on being pursued they joined Dahar, son of Chach, the ruler of Sindh. Mujjah died soon after.⁶⁵

In the year 705 A.D., Muhammad b. Harun was appointed as the new Governor of Makran and he remained there for five years. During this period he subjugated the whole of Makran, its coastal belt and the hinter-land and brought it under his effective control.⁶⁶

Around this a very important development took place which was destined to alter the course of history of the region. The Raja of Sarandip had dispatched a number of Muslim orphans and widows living in his territory to Hajjaj along with gifts. His purpose in doing so was to establish cordial relations with Hajjaj.⁶⁷

As these vessels reached near the coast of Debal some of them were attacked by pirates and looted and the inmates were taken prisoner. These included Muslim orphans and widows. Hajjaj sent an ambassador to the Raja of Sindh demanding compensation for

⁶² *Chach-Namah*, pp. 54-55, Balazuri,(P. 421) says that Caliph Ali had appointed Hiris b. Murrahal-Abidi on the Indian front.

⁶³ *Chach-Namah*, p.56 Balazuri records that Abdullah b. Sawwar was appointed by Abdullah b.Amir, the Viceroy of Iraq. Though it further records that according to some he was appointed by Muawiyah himself. See Balazuri, p. 421.

⁶⁴ *Chach-Namah*, p. 57. Balazuri, p .421. Yaqut after repeating this statement of Balizuri, quotes Khalifa b. Khayat as saying that it was in 667 A.D. that Abdullah attacked Qaigan (Kiknan) where Turks had gathered in considerable strength and Abdullah and most of his army perished in the battle. Yequat, Hamavi, *Mujaam-al-Buldan*, IV ed. Dar Sadar, Bairut,1957, p. 423.

⁶⁵ *Chach-Namah*, p. 62, Balazuri, p. 423.

⁶⁶ *Chach-Namah*, p. 64, Balazuri, p. 423.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64, *Ibid.*, pp. 423-24.

the outrage and the punishment of the offenders. The Raja replied, that he had no control over these pirates. Hajjaj secured Permission of Caliph Walid for the conquest of Sindh. Hajjaj dispatched Ubaidullah and Budail to Debal and instructed the Governor of Makran, Harun to march with a force of three thousands to assist Budail. Ubaidullah reached Debal with the army. Jaisiyah, son of Dahar, came out and offered battle, Budail was killed in this encounter. Hearing this news, Hajjaj wanted to send another commander to Sindh. Amir bin Abdullah offered his services for Sindh but Hajjaj selected Muhammad bin Qasim for this important assignment. Then Hajjaj directed Khuraim b. Amr to reach the coastline near Debal with a fleet of boats. Khuraim reached near Debal on Friday 19 October 711 A.D.⁶⁸ It was 710 A.D., that Muhammad bin Qasim had marched from Shiraz to Debal in between the way he halted at Makran. He arrived in the vicinity of Debal, while the boats arrived there on Friday 19 October, 711 A.D. Meanwhile, Muhammad Harun died at the town of Armabel.⁶⁹

As Muhammad b. Qasim encamped in the vicinity of Debal, he ordered his men to dig a ditch and build bases for the catapults (*manjaniq*). The battle which ensued continued for seven days. Meanwhile, a Brahman came out of the fort and informed Muhammad b. Qasim about the magic flag of the temple. Muhammad bin Qasim ordered his *manjaniq* master to aim at flag and it was knocked down in three shots. After the fall of the flag, the Arab forces captured the fort.⁷⁰ After securing Debal, the army marched towards Nirun (Hyderabad). The citizens of Nirun had earlier agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Arabs. Muhammad bin Qasim ordered his forces not to molest them. The Buddhist Governor of Nirun was received with great honor when he came to the Arab general and undertook to guide him to Sehwan.⁷¹ The inhabitants of Sehwan were mostly traders and agriculturists. Muhammad bin Qasim assured the people that those who submitted to him would lose nothing but his hand would fall heavily on those who will resist.⁷² The privileges of the Buddhist and Brahman priests were preserved; the common people were left free to worship as they pleased, provided they were willing to pay to the Arabs the same taxes they had previously paid to Raja Daher. Bajhra, son of Chander, the Governor of Siwistan, was determined to defend his city, but the Buddhists refused to help him. They sent a message, that "you are secure, while we are open to the invasion of the enemy. We know the Arabs, who are faithful and keep their promises and we are going to make terms with him." Seeing this Bajhra fled after a week, and took refuge with Kaka, son of Kotal, the Samni Chief of Buddhipa. Consequently the Arabs entered Siwsitan unopposed. Muhammad bin Qasim appropriated all the silver jewels and cash, but he did not take anything from

⁶⁸ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 71, 74.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73; Balazuri, p. 424.

⁷⁰ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 78-79.

⁷¹ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 86-88; Barbzuri, p.424; Yaqubi *Tarikh-i-Yaqubi*, III ed. M. T H. Houtsman, E. J. Brill, 1883, p.327.

⁷² *Chach-Namah*, pp. 88-89; See also Muhammad Habib, '*The Arab Conquest of Sindh, Islamic Culture*', III 1929, pp. 89-90.

Buddhists, who had made term with him. The Government of the city was placed under the charge of civil officers, and Muhammad bin Qasim started for Sisam, after leaving a garrison in the fort.⁷³ All the Chiefs and headmen of the surrounding places were now willing to submit to Muhammad bin Qasim, most probably because they were enemies of Dahar who had put some of their people to death. As a result they revolted against him and sent word to Muhammad bin Qasim, agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand *dirhams* weight of silver. Abdul Malik b. Qais was deputed in the territory to clear the region of all resistance.⁷⁴

Raja Dahar had been passing his days in ease and comfort at Rawar. He might have deluded himself with the thought that the invaders would perhaps retire after capturing Debal and one or two other towns. On returning from Siwistan to Nirun, Muhammad b. Qasim received order from Hajjaj to cross Indus and put an end to the power of Raja Dahar who had flatly refused the proposal to embrace Islam and pay tribute. Meanwhile the chieftain of Bet region and other dignitaries' came and offered allegiance to the Arabs. Muhammad bin Qasim appointed there his officials and he himself marched towards Rawar on the bank of Indus. Moka bin Baisaya the claimant to the chieftainship of Bet resisted, while the Arab forces were crossing the river Indus. The Arabs captured Moka and brought him before Muhammad bin Qasim, who therefore, conferred the chieftainship of Bet on Baisayah's younger son Mokah,⁷⁵ who had become his ally against Dahar. Dahar in his own term, appointed his son Jaisiyah to control the strategic fort of Bet with the instruction not to trust the old chief Baisayah. Later Rasal seems to have been appointed and hence he came out of Rawar, as the chief of Bet.⁷⁶ At last Dahar decided to give battle. Muhammad bin Qasim had marched to Bet from the Indus and after depositing his heavy baggage there, moved towards Rawar and encamped at Jewar.⁷⁷ The Arabs cut the supplies of Raja Dahar both from Alor and Multan.

The daily skirmishes took place on both sides. Finally on 20 June, 712 A.D., a fierce battle was fought and Raja Dahar fell in the battle.⁷⁸

Jaisiya, son of Dahar, succeeded in taking away his defeated forces to the fort of Rawar and was joined there by many others. He wanted to come out and die fighting like his father, but Sisaker, the minister of Raja Dahar, and Muhammad Ilafi induced him to fly to Brahmanabad. But Bai, the widow and sister of Dahar, refused to accompany him and took the command of the army numbering about 15,000 strong. When the city was about to fall under the Arab pressure, she collected her women in a house and set it on

⁷³ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 89-91.

⁷⁴ *Chach-Namah*, p. 92.

⁷⁵ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 99-100

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-118.

⁷⁷ A village between Bet and the fort of Rawar.

⁷⁸ Balazuri, pp. 425-26; *Chach-Namah*, pp. 137-38.

fire. Six thousand fighting men were captured in the fort and put to death. The head of Dahar was sent to Hajjaj along with the spoils.⁷⁹

The Arabs then moved towards Brahmanabad but their advance was delayed by the forts of Bahrur and Dhalia, which lay on the route and could only be reduced after protected siege. Jaisiya, decided to remain outside Brahmanabad, which he had placed under the charge of 16 selected officers, four for each gate. Everyday a skirmish took place, but the garrison consisting of 40,000 soldiers defended their city with courage while Jaisiya kept harassing the besiegers by cutting off their supply line. The siege dragged for six months. Muhammad b. Qasim asked Moka for help.⁸⁰ The peace loving inhabitants of Brahmanabad sent a message to Muhammad bin Qasim seeking his protection and they came out from the gate. The Muslims entered the town. Protection was given to all except for the fighting people.⁸¹ The fall of Brahmanabad placed the whole of southern Sindh in the hands of Arab forces. Hajjaj directed Mohammad bin Qasim to march on Alor and Multan so that he may subdue the country of Hind to the boundary of China. All the tribes and towns on his line of march offered their submission and he halted at various stages to organize the government of the country. At Manhal in the vicinity of Swandi, it happened so that all the merchants and Chiefs were Samanis, while the agriculturists were jats. Muhammad bin Qasim fixed an annual revenue and appointed a man from each tribe as the head of the tribe. The artisans and merchants were not heavily taxed.⁸² Those who embraced Islam were required to pay only a tenth part of their produce from the land; but those who followed their own faith had to pay the usual sum from their income in accordance with the established custom of the country. At Sihta the Chiefs and peasants appeared before him. He granted them protection, fixed the taxes they were to pay, took hostages from their chief and asked them to guide his army to Alor.⁸³

Alor, the biggest city of Sindh, had been left by Dahar under the charge of his son, Gopi, who believed that his father was still alive and he had gone to bring an army from Hindustan. Muhammad bin Qasim asked Ladi⁸⁴ to inform them of the truth. She rode up to the fortifications on the black camel of the late Rai, and after uncovering her face, told them about Dahar's defeat and death. But the besieged cursed her and accused her of having joined the chandalas and cow eaters. However, the inhabitants of the fort began to waver and decided to submit. Gopi fled away on discovering that he had lost all support. The citizens opened the gates on the usual terms - death for soldiers who

⁷⁹ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 140. 147-48.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-153.

⁸¹ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 155-157. It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but according to others sixteen thousand were killed and the rest were pardoned.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66. On Thursday 13 Muharram 94 A.H / 9 Oct. 712 A.D. they came in the vicinity of Swandi. The merchants and artisans were not heavily taxed because these were the agriculturist people.

⁸³ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 166-68; *Ibn Kurdazbih, Kitab-ul-Masalik wal-Mamalik*, ed. De Gorge, E. J. Brill, 1967, p. 54.

⁸⁴ A widow of Rai Dahar, she had been captured at Brahmanabad along with two daughters of Dahar by another wife. *Chach-Namah* p.169.

refused to submit, protection for the civil population and the maintenance of the old taxes and non-interference in religious matters and places of worship.⁸⁵

Muhammad bin Qasim placed Alor in the charge of a Governor and a Qazi⁸⁶ and then advanced to Batiya, a fort to which Kaksa⁸⁷ son of Chander had fled after the battle of Rawar. Muhammad bin Qasim appointed Kaksa as his counselor with the office of the *vizarat*. He proceeded to conquer the fort still held by the princes of Dahar's family. The advance guard of the invading army, led by him defeated the garrison of Askalanda and pressed the siege so vigorously that the Chiefs fled to Sikka, while all others including the artisans and merchants sued for peace.⁸⁸

The old fort of Sikka stood opposite to Multan. It was held by Bajra, who fiercely defended it for seventeen days, during which the besiegers suffered heavy losses and were forced to withdraw to Multan which was commanded by Gursiyah son of Chander. Muhammad bin Qasim demolished the fort of Sikka and then crossed the Ravi. The siege of Multan dragged for two months but neither side gained a decisive victory. At last a Multani, showed the invaders a spot where the wall could be mined. After two or three days the wall was broken. Six thousand warriors were put to death.⁸⁹ Muhammad bin Qasim sent a fifth part of the spoils to the Caliph, and the remainder was distributed among the troops as usual. Besides, an old treasure trove hidden by ancient kings was discovered. Two hundred and thirty *mans* of gold were obtained from it as well as forty jars filled with gold dust.⁹⁰

On the day this fabulous treasure was discovered, Muhammad bin Qasim received a letter from Hajjaj demanding a sum of 1,20,000 *dirhams* or its equivalent in kind should be sent to the caliph's court at Damascus as 60,000 *dirhams* were spent on the preparations of this expedition and Hajjaj had undertaken to remit double of the amount after the accomplishment of the expedition. He was further directed to build mosques and get the *khutba* in the name of the Caliph to be read and coins struck.⁹¹

Muhammad bin Qasim laid the foundation of a big Mosque and arranged for the repairs of the rampart of the fort. Subsequently, he appointed Daud b. Nasr b. Walid

⁸⁵ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 169-72 (viz Nao-Bahar in the capital city of Alor, a Brahmin temple.)

⁸⁶ Rawaha b. Asad was appointed as Governor and Musa b. Yaqub was made the Qazi of the place.

⁸⁷ The fort Batiya was situated on the southern bank of the river Beas. *Chach-Namah*, p. 180. He was from Alor and a learned men of Sindh. Muhammad bin Qasim invested him with the title of Mubarak Mushir.

⁸⁸ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 180-81. The fort of Sikka was situated on the southern bank of the Ravi.

⁸⁹ Their relatives and dependants were taken as slaves, but protection was given to the merchants, artisans and agriculturists. *Chach-Namah*, p. 182.

⁹⁰ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 182-184. The total weight of these jars was thirteen thousand two hundred *monds* weight of gold. This is the only instance in which Muhammad bin Qasim found his way to one of those accumulated hoards of gold and precious stones. See also Balazuri, p. 427; Ibn Asir, *Al Kamil fil-Tarikh*, IV, Dar Sader (ed.) Bairut, 1965, p 539.

⁹¹ *Chach-Namah*, p. 184.

Ummani as Governor of Multan, while Akrama b. Raihan Shami was made in charge of the civil administration. A strong contingent consisting of 50,000 horsemen was posted in the fort to defend the newly conquered territory. Muhammad bin Qasim sent the treasure to Debal, to be dispatched to Hajjaj and he himself marched as far as the boundary of Kashmir where Rai Chach had planted the poplar trees to demarcate the boundary of his territories. But he decided not to advance any further in that direction and turned eastwards, and sent a message through Abu Hakim Shaibani accompanied by ten thousand horsemen to Rai Harchand Sen of Qannauj inviting him to embrace Islam and submission. Rai Harchand rejected the proposal. Muhammad bin Qasim consulted his officers. They advised him to declare war on the Rai. He had already started his preparations for the proposed campaign⁹² but the news of sudden death of Hajjaj halted him in his tracks.⁹³

After 9 months on 23 February 715 A.D., the Caliph, Walid b. Abdul Malik, also died and his brother, Sulaiman b. Abdul Malik succeeded him. Relations between Hajjaj and Sulaiman had been far from cordial and Muhammad bin Qasim was aware of it.⁹⁴ For some time Walid had toyed with the idea of putting aside Sulaiman's claim to succession and appoint his son instead and Hajjaj had supported him in this endeavor. This proposal failed to come off and Sulaiman continued to nurse a deep sense of injury, and bitterness against Hajjaj and all those who were close to Hajjaj were bound to face his wrath.

It was in these circumstances that the new Caliph ordered the dismissal and arrest of Muhammad bin Qasim.⁹⁵ According to these orders, he was arrested and sent to the court. Sulaiman ordered him to be imprisoned and, after some time, he died in prison.⁹⁶

Soon after Muhammad bin Qasim's removal from the scene, there was a revival of Hindu power in Sindh. Dahar's son Jaisiyah re-conquered Brahmanabad. According to Mir M'asum, two years after the death of Muhammad bin Qasim, the people of Hind rebelled against the Arabs, and only the country from Depalpur to the Salt Sea remained under the dominion of the Caliph.⁹⁷ Yazid bin Abu Kabsha, the new Governor of Sindh, did not live long to be able to do anything in this regard.⁹⁸ Then Habib b. Muhallab was appointed as the Governor of Sindh in 716 A.D. It was during his tenure of governorship that Dahar's son Jaisiyah revolted and occupied Brahmanabad. Others followed the suit and one after the other most of the conquered

⁹² Balazuri, p. 427, Ibn Asir, IV, p. 539, *Chach-Namah*, pp. 186-87.

⁹³ Balazuri, p. 427, Ibn Asir, IV, p. 588.

⁹⁴ Tabari, II, p. 1275.

⁹⁵ It is reported that the Caliph's order of his dismissal was received by Muhammad bin Qasim in Udhampur. *Chach-Namah* is the only source for this information; no other work has mentioned where the order was served on Muhammad bin Qasim or where he was arrested and taken prisoner. *Chach-Namah*, p. 188.

⁹⁶ Balazuri, p. 428, Ibn Asir IV, p. 588.

⁹⁷ Masumi, p. 31.

⁹⁸ Balazuri, p. 429. He is said to have been in office only for eighteen days.

areas were recaptured by the former rulers. The situation seems to have been very critical indeed. The next Caliph Umar bin Abdul Aziz tried to solve this perennial problem by encouraging these chiefs who were reasserting themselves, to embrace Islam and continue to occupy their territories. Jaisiyah responded to the call and embraced Islam and continued to rule his territories. This arrangement, however, did not last for long and after some time he rebelled again. The next Caliph, Hisham (723-74 A.D.) sent Junaid b. Abdur Rehmin to deal with the situation. He not only defeated Jaisiyah⁹⁹ but also conquered the neighboring territories. After consolidating himself there he sent expedition against Ujjain, Malwa and Barwars. During these raids Junaid conquered Bailman and Jurz. These raids are further confirmed by an inscription of the period of Pulkesan (738-739 A.D.). The stone carrying the inscription was laid only 12 years after these raids.¹⁰⁰ Junaid was, however, replaced by Tamim b. Zaid.¹⁰¹ In 723 A.D., Khalid b. Abdullah, governor of Iraq, recommended to the Caliph two names to be considered to head the administration of Sindh. Accordingly, Hakim b. Awana Kalabi was appointed as governor and Umar b. Muhammad b. Qasim was made his deputy. They proved their administrative competency in Sindh and consolidated the Umayyad power in this region. Most of the Arab possessions had by then fallen into the hands of the hostile local rulers. The scattered Arab army was in a pitiable condition. It was during this situation that the new governor built a stronghold, which was named as Mahfuza and put all the scattered army in it. Later on, he built another fortified town and named it al-Mansura, which was destined to serve as the Arab capital in Sindh for many years to come. The success of Hakam was, however, short lived; he was killed in 739 A.D. In the same year Umar bin Muhammad was appointed as the Governor of Sindh by Caliph Hisham. During this period a new dimension was added to the already confused Scenario of Sindh; some powerful Arab leaders like Marwih bin Yazid bin Muhallab had succeeded in establishing their hold in some parts of Sindh and had become strong enough to challenge the central authority. At this particular point of time, the above mentioned leaders was up in arms and posed a serious threat to the new governor. However he proved equal to the gravity of the situation and was able to consolidate his position and crush the rebellion.¹⁰² With the death of Caliph Hisham in 743 A.D., the Umayyad Caliphate was thrown into complete confusion and none of the incumbents who followed possessed the capability to cope with the enormous problems and grave challenges faced by the Caliphate. Mutual jealousies of the tribes, dissensions among the ruling elite and emergence of fissiparous tendencies in the different parts of the caliphate had combined to create a situation which was difficult to control. And the Abbasids who have been discreetly and secretly organizing their propaganda for

⁹⁹ Balazuri, p. 429, Jaisiya was killed by Junaid.

¹⁰⁰ Prachin Itihas, Gujarati Astrakot See for details: Abu Zafar Nadavi, Tarikh-i-Sindh. Darul Mulannifin Azamgarh, (reprint) 1970, p.132.

¹⁰¹ The condition of the Arabs during this period was pathetic, they ruled only the right bank of the Indus. Muslims withdrew from al-Hind. Tamim himself fled from Sindh to Iraq and died in the way at Maul-Jawamis. Balizuri, p.429.

¹⁰² Yaqubi, II, PP. 389-90.

several decades now, were ready to take full advantage of the situation. The last Umayyad Caliphs who came in quick succession to each other neither have the inclination nor the capacity to control the affairs of Sindh which were getting out of hand. The last Umayyad governor of Sindh was Yazid bin Arar could not contain the rebellious Arab leader, Mansur b. Jamhaur Kalabi, who had crossed into Sindh. Later on the governor was defeated and put alive in the wall in 746 A.D. This marked the end of the Umayyad rule in Sindh. After four years the Umayyad caliphate itself was to crumble before the increasing pressure of the Abbasids.¹⁰³

In 750 A.D., the Umayyad caliphate was replaced by the Abbasids with Abul Abbas al-Saffah as the first caliph of the line. The new Caliph directed Abu Muslim Khurasani the governor of Khurasan, to adopt necessary measures to Meet the situation in Sindh. Abu Muslim sent Mughallals Abdi Sijistani with a huge army to control Sindh. At that time the administrator of Debal, Manzoor, the brother of Mansoor, was ruling over Sindh as an independent ruler. After an encounter, Manzoor was killed. Hearing this Mansoor came out from Mansura and succeeded in arresting and killing Mughallas. These developments clearly showed that the situation in Sindh was quite out of control and required immediate steps to restore normalcy there Musa bin Kab, the new governor of the province was sent to Sindh to establish central authority there. Mansoor, who had established himself as an independent ruler was not ready to give in easily. A fierce battle was fought and Mansoor was defeated. Finding his position untenable in Sindh he fled towards Indian deserts, where he was killed in 759 A.D., by men sent by Musa in his pursuit.¹⁰⁴ Musa continued to administer the region till 758 A.D. In 758 A.D., he left Sindh and later on died in 759 A.D. Before leaving Sindh he had appointed his son, Aniya, as incharge of the province. During the life of Musa, Aniya continued to rule the province on behalf of the Caliph but after his death he rose in rebellion. Caliph Abu Jafar Mansur (754-775 A.D.) appointed Umar b. Haf's, as the new governor of Sindh.¹⁰⁵ In this encounter with Aniya was captured and sent to Bagdad but he managed to escape from midway though eventually he was killed.¹⁰⁶ It was during this time that the Shias started to come and settle in Sindh and began their propaganda against the Abbasids.¹⁰⁷

The next governor was Hisham b. Umar Saghlibi who was appointed sometime in 768 A.D. In the meanwhile the situation in the region had continued to drift and deteriorate turning it into a hot bed of all kinds of adventurers from the main lands of the Abbasid caliphate. This kind of situation seems to have specially attracted the Yamanis and Hijizis who found it difficult to pursue their rebellious activities in their own respective regions because of the strict control of the Abbasids there. It would seem that during

¹⁰³ Yaqubi, II, p. 407.

¹⁰⁴ Yaqubi, II, p. 429.

¹⁰⁵ Balazuri, p. 431.

¹⁰⁶ Yaqubi, II, p. 448.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Asir, VI. p. 12.

this period the Indian part of the Caliphate had become an open arena for the tribal conflicts. The influx of this kind of people with such propensities had created an extremely chaotic situation in the region and it was not easy for hapless governors to control the situation. The situation in Multan seems to have particularly taken a bad turn and got out of control. Taking advantage of the situation, some Arab adventurist succeeded in establishing an independent Arab emirate there.¹⁰⁸

But this independent emirate was not destined to last for long. Hisham, the new governor of Sindh was a capable and energetic person. In a hotly contested battle, he defeated the ruler of Multan and brought back Multan under the dominion of the Caliph 771 A.D.¹⁰⁹ He consolidated his control over the territories of Sindh and Multan and gave peace to this region long torn by strife. The Caliph was so much impressed by his ability both as a general and administrator that he placed the region of Kirman under his control.¹¹⁰ In 772 A.D., he left for Baghdad and was succeeded by Mabad bin Khalil.¹¹¹

The situation in Sindh was fairly stable and under control when caliph Abu Jafar Mansur, the real founder of the Abbasid Caliphate died in 774 A.D., and was succeeded by his son al-Mandi. Al-Mandi was a mild ruler and after the strict-rule of Mansur for about a quarter of a century, the state control seems to have been somewhat relaxed. Malcontent elements in Sindh seem to have taken advantage of the changed situation and once more unrest began to raise its head in the region. The new governor sent by al-Mahdi was Ruh bin Hatim in 776 A.D. During his tenure Jats rose in rebellion. This rebellion was crushed but it disturbed the peaceful atmosphere in the region.¹¹² On a closer scrutiny of the situation prevailing in Sindh during the period 777-780 A.D., it will be discerned that unrest was seething in the region and the general condition was far from peaceful. This is apparent from rapid transfers of the governors towards the end of Mahdi's reign. Lais bin Turaif who was sent there as governor in 780 A.D., succeeded for the time being in controlling the situation but his request to Mahdi in 782 A.D., for strong reinforcements would suggest that the situation in Sindh was not fully in control.¹¹³ Between Mahdi's death in 785 A.D., and Harun's accession in 786 A.D., Musa Hadi was a weak ruler and his reign was also very brief. During this period, he seems to have been so much pre-occupied with his plans to eliminate Harun from the

¹⁰⁸ Yaqubi, II, p. 99; Maqadasi, p. 485. Later on the areas of Sindh and Multan came to be divided into three independent kingdoms. The southernmost was an independent Arab state with Mansura as its capital, while the Central territories with Alor as its Capital were entrusted to Hindu rulers. In the north was the Arab state of Multan. Both the Arab emirates were independent of each other in their internal affairs, but had declared their allegiance to the Abbasid Caliphate, until the time they were occupied by the Ismailia.

¹⁰⁹ Balizuri, p. 431, Ibn Asir, V, p. 596.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Asir, VI, p. 12.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹² His transfer was not an act of punishment but his brother was the governor of Africa. After his death the Caliph transferred him there. Ibn Asir, VI, pp. 42, 48, 55, 114.

¹¹³ Ibn Asir, VI, p. 83.

line of succession, that he could not devote his attention to any other problem. The situation in far flung regions like Sindh was bound to deteriorate.

Harun was a very capable and energetic ruler. His reign is acclaimed as the glorious period of the Abbasid Caliphate because of the general peace and prosperity prevailing throughout the length and breadth of the empire. The worsening condition of Sindh and the growing conflict among the Hajazis and Yamanis could not have possibly escaped his attention. It would have also not remained hidden for his discerning eyes that taking advantage of this strife among the Arab tribes the malcontents among the local population were resorting to rebellion whenever an opportunity arose. Harun seems to have decided to bring the situation in Sindh under full control. For this purpose he sent governor after governor but they failed to bring Sindh back to an even keel. The situation continued to be tricky till Daud bin Yazid bin Hatim Muhallabi took over the governorship of the region.¹¹⁴ He dealt with the recalcitrant elements with a very heavy hand and was able to crush their resistance. Many of them were killed in the grim struggle that ensued between him and the rebels. Many more were exiled and expelled from Sindh. In this way he was able to establish peace in the region. The fact that he left behind a number of buildings is a testimony that he had succeeded in reasserting the Abbasid authority. When al-Mamun established Baitul Hikmat, a number of Sindhis were employed there. During the last illness of Harun, among others, a Sindhi *Vaidya*, Menka was sent to Baghdad.¹¹⁵ It is a token of extraordinary administrative capability and Ocumen of Daud that even after the death of Harun in 809 A.D., when the Abbasid Caliphate had plunged into a devastating civil war between al-Amin and al-Mamun, Sindh continued to enjoy a measure of peace and stability. Daud Muhallabi continued to head the administration of Sindh till 820 A.D. This would suggest that he enjoyed the confidence of Mamun who had assumed the Caliphate after the deposition and killing of al-Amin in 814 A.D.

In 820 A.D., Daud died. He was succeeded as the Governor of Sindh, by his son, Bashar,¹¹⁶ who seems to have followed his father's footsteps and managed the region. But the long hold of the family over the affairs of Sindh appears to have misguided him and created false hopes of independent control of Sindh. In 828 A.D., he revolted against the control of Abbasid government. However, he seems to have grossly miscalculated and highly overestimated his own capability as he found himself, to his utter dismay, in a hopeless position against the forces sent under the leadership of Ghassan to quell the rebellion. He was defeated and arrested along with his entire family and sent to Baghdad. Mamun however, treated him graciously, freed him and his family members and invested him with royal gifts and favors.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Ibn Asir, VI, p. 184.

¹¹⁵ Ibn Abi Usaiba, *Uvun al-Amba fi Tobaqatil Atibba*, ed. A. Mukhler, Cairo, 1882, p. 33.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Asir, p. 362.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Asir, VI, pp. 409, 420.

New governor was Musa bin Yahya Barmaki. This would suggest the importance Mamun attached to Sindh as a province of his vast Caliphate. Musa bin Imran was a scion of the great family of *Vazirs* and administrators, the Barmakis. He administered the province well and consolidated his control so well that the *Kharaj* increased and he was able to spare his energies to tackle some of the neighboring powers which had been causing problems for the government of Sindh. One of such rulers was captured and killed.¹¹⁸ During this time the *Kharaj* touched the figure of ten lac *dirhams*.¹¹⁹ At the time of Mamun's death in 834 A.D., Musa was still ruling Sindh but he was not destined to last long. He also died in 835 A.D.

The new Caliph, Mutasim Billah, confirmed the post of governorship to the son of Musa Barmaki. In the same period the western region of Sindh was disturbed by the Jats. Kikan was the centre of these recalcitrant Jats. Imran son of Musa, the new governor, captured the region and laid foundation of a military headquarter as a permanent abode of the army and named the new city al-Baiza.¹²⁰ Imran collected the Jats and revived the old custom which stipulated that the Jats were the lowest people of the society and it was their duty to collect the firewood for the kitchen of the nobles. Further, they used to be accompanied by a dog when they should go out of the house. This was the tribal symbol of the Jat tribe. This custom was initiated by Chach.¹²¹

Imran made preparations for crushing the revolt of Meds and Jats and for the purpose he took help of other Jat tribes. He, however, could not succeed due to the mutiny of the local Arab tribes of Sindh. These Arab tribes were fighting with each other. In his encounter with the fighting Arab tribes Imran, the Governor of Sindh, was assassinated by the Nazaris. The leader of the Nazaris was Umar b. Abdul Aziz Habbari, the founder of the Habbari dynasty of Sindh.¹²² Anbah bin Ishaq was appointed as the new governor. During the same period Caliph Mustasim Billah also died.¹²³

The new Caliph Al-Wasiq Billah confirmed Anbah in his post. Anbah was a good administrator and succeeded in improving law and order's position in province.¹²⁴ He reconstructed the ruined Buddhist temple of Debal and converted it into the central jail. In 848 A.D., he also repaired the rampart of Debal and its inhabitant places.¹²⁵

In 846 A.D., Caliph al-Wasiq Billah died. His successor Mutawakkil had his own ideas about the administration and made wholesale changes in order of the governors and

¹¹⁸ His name was probably Bala Chander who was a non-Muslim ruler in the environs of Sindh. Balazuri, p. 431.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Khurdazbih, p. 57.

¹²⁰ According to Balazuri (p. 432) the city was still surviving in 893 A.D., and its principal inhabitants were Muslims.

¹²¹ Balazuri, p. 432.

¹²² Balazuri, p. 432.

¹²³ Balazuri describes it in the period of Mustasim but, Yaqubi records it in the period of Al-Wasiq. Most probably these developments took place during the last days of Mustasim and the early days of Al-Wasiq.

¹²⁴ Yaqubi, II, p. 585.

¹²⁵ Balazuri, p. 437.

high officials. Sindh did not remain unaffected. Anbah was dismissed and Harun bin Abu Khalid was appointed in his place.

Harun reached Sindh in 850 A.D. He exerted himself to control the situation in Sindh and check the activities of the Hijazis but they were so powerful that they killed the governor in 855 A.D. The leader of the Hijazis was Umar Habbari. He sent a petition to the Caliph requesting him that the province of Sindh be assigned to him. As the situation in Sindh was quite out of hand by this time the Caliph wanted to make as good of a very bad situation as possible and acceded to his request.

HABBARI DYNASTY:

The Habbari family was one of the most important Arab tribes who have left their mark on history in the field of political and intellectual activities. According to Ibn Khaladun this family was always employed in the government both by the Umayyads and Abbasids.¹²⁶ This family is said to be an off-shoot of the celebrated Arab tribe of Quraish. One of the members of the family, Manzar B. Zubair, migrated to Sindh during the governorship of Hakam b. Awwana in 738 A.D.¹²⁷ A grandson of this Manzar was Umar b. Abdul Aziz Habbari,¹²⁸ who managed to establish his independent rule over Sindh in 854 A.D. He, however, continued to recognize the Abbasid Caliphs and recited *Khutba* in their name.

During this period the province of Sindh was regarded as a dependency of the Abbaside Caliphate. In 870 A.D., Caliph Muhamad appointed Yaqub b. Laith Saffari, as viceroy of Sijistan, Kirman, Turkistan and also Sindh.¹²⁹ In 874 A.D., Caliph Mutamad assigned the territories of the eastern provinces of his dominions to his brother Muaffiq. The province of Sindh was also placed under his jurisdiction.¹³⁰ This would clearly suggest that though Sindh had become independent for all practical purpose, Umar continued to recognize the suzerainty of the Abbasids. Umar died in 884 A.D. Unfortunately, sources do not provide much information about his life and career.

Umar was succeeded by his son, Abdullah Habbari. Except for few incidental information in the source much is not known about him. During his tenure a serious revolt took place in which capital Mansura was lost to him. But he soon recovered it.¹³¹ Buzurg b. Shahariyar has cited an interesting piece of information about Abdullah's relation with the neighboring Hindu King. On Raja's request, Abdullah sent an Arab poet to teach Quran in his court in Sindhi language. He is reported to have translated a

¹²⁶ Ibn Khaldun, *Tarikh Ibn Khaldun*, II, Egypt, 1284 A.H. p. 327.

¹²⁷ Yaqubi, II, p. 389.

¹²⁸ Umar son of Abdul Aziz son of Manzar son of Zubair son of Abdur Rahman son of Habbar son of Aswad.

¹²⁹ Ibn Khaldun, III, p. 328.

¹³⁰ Ibid., III, p. 326.

¹³¹ Balazuri, pp. 444-5.

portion of the Quran in Sindhi language which is counted among the earliest translations of the Quran. The poet returned from the Raja's court in 857 A.D., and informed Abdullah that the Raja had accepted Islam and become a true Muslim.¹³² During the reign of Abdullah a serious earthquake struck the region in 894 A.D. Its severity may be gauged from the fact that about one lac and fifty thousand people perished in its wake.¹³³

Ibn Asir also informs us about the appointment of Muhammad bin Abi Shawarib as *Qazi* of Mansura. It is reported that he was sent from Baghdad in 896.¹³⁴ If this information is true, then it suggests very complex relationship between the independent Habbari state and the Abbasid Caliphate.¹³⁵ It is, however, not possible to venture any conclusion on the basis of this solitary evidence. The matter needs further investigation.

It is not known how long Abdullah ruled. Masudi mentions in the account of 915 A.D., that Mansura was ruled by Abul Manzar Umar bin Abdullah who is reported to have two sons, Muhammad and Ali.¹³⁶ It is not possible to determine the date of the commencement of his reign. Apparently his father Abdullah is Abdullah bin Umar bin Abdul Aziz, the previous ruler. About Mansura of this period Masudi has to say this "*The territories of Mansura were big one with fertile land. It had 3 lac villages. The main inhabitants of this region were Meds. They were fighting with the ruler.*"

He further informs us that the army of the ruler consisted of forty thousand soldiers and five thousand horse-men and eighty elephants. These elephants were used not only in the war but also for carrying loads and to draw chariots.¹³⁷ No information is available about the life and rule of his sons, Muhammad and Ali. Maqdasi has also words of praise for the Habbari rulers.¹³⁸

Yaqut compiled his book *Muima-ul-Buldan* in 987 A.D. In this book he writes that the ruler of Mansura and Multan at that time was Yahya b. Muhammad and the *Khutba* was read in the name of Umayyid (*sic*) Caliph.¹³⁹ Most probably this Yahya b. Muhammad was the son of Muhammad b. Umar son of Abdullah b. Abdul Aziz Habbari. From the foundation of this dynasty *i.e.* 862 A.D., to its downfall in 1026 A.D., at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazna two hundred years had elapsed. During this long period many rulers of the family must have ruled over Sindh. But unfortunately only this much

¹³² Buzur b. Shahariyar, *'Ajaib-ul-Hind*, E. J. Brill, 1883-1886, p. 3.

¹³³ Ibn Asir, VII, p.465.

¹³⁴ Ibid., VII, p. 484.

¹³⁵ Qazi Rashid, *Kitab-uz-Zakhstr wa Tuhaf*, ed. M. Hamidullah Kuwait, 1959, p. 37; See for details, Qazi Athar Mubirakpuri, *Hindustan Me Arbon-ke-Hukamoten*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 93-94.

¹³⁶ Masudi, I, pp. 377-78.

¹³⁷ Masudi, I, pp. 379-80.

¹³⁸ Maqdasi, pp. 480, 85.

¹³⁹ In this period Umayyids, were replaced by Abbasides, Yaqut, V, p. 419.

information is available which leaves big lacuna, in our knowledge about the history of the region during this period.

THE BANU SAMMAH - RULERS OF MULTAN:

The family of Same: b. Luwayy, was an important Arab tribe, which had carved out a niche for itself in the history of the region and specially Multan.¹⁴⁰ This family is reported to have belonged to Ouresh. One of the scions of this family, Samah b. Luwayy, migrated from Mecca and settled in Amman where he succeeded in establishing his control over the political as well as administrative apparatus of the region. In the same period several revolts were launched by Kharijites, Shias, and Ismailis against the Abbasid Caliphate.¹⁴¹ Amman had turned into a hot-bed of such activities and the Abbasid forces were unable to curb these elements. The Abbasid Caliph Mutazid (892-899 A.D.) therefore decided to appoint Muhammad b. Qasim Simi to suppress the subversive elements. The new governor set about the task with determination and tactfulness. He defeated and expelled the Kharijites from the region, and entire Amman was restored to the Abbasid allegiance again.¹⁴²

During the same period Muhammad¹⁴³ b. Qasim established his rule in Multan. Ibn Rustah records that Multan was under the rule of the scions of Samah b. Luwayy. Although he does not mention any other details, including the name of the founder of the dynasty.¹⁴⁴ It can safely be said that Muhammad bin Qasim Sami established his rule some time by the end of 892 or the beginning of 893 A.D.

Masudi visited Multan after twenty three years of Ibn Rustah. He records the name of the ruler of the place as Abul Lahab Munabbah b. Asad Qureshi. This statement reveals that within a short span of time at least three rulers of the dynasty had already ruled the region. After about forty years of Masudi's visit, Istakhri came to Multan. He found the Kingdom very prosperous. He records that the Arab rulers of Multan had adopted the ideal culture of the Sindhi rulers, especially their dresses and ornaments. They wore earrings and allowed their hairs long. They had built a residence outside the city, it was their residence as well as the military camp. The rulers visited the city riding on elephants on every Friday to offer congregation prayer in the Jama Mosque.¹⁴⁵ The above evidence reveals the process of the assimilation of the Arab rulers in the local Sindhi culture. If investigated further, fascinating details may come to light.

¹⁴⁰ Musab b. Zubairi, *Kitab Nasab al-Quresh*, I, ed. E. Levi Proveno Cairo, 1953, p. 13; Abu Jafar Muhammad bin Habib Baghdadi, *Kitab-al-Mukhabbar*, Hyderabad 1361 A.H. p. 168.

¹⁴¹ Amir Ibn Makula Kitab al-Akmal, Hyderabad 1382 A.H., I PP. 39, 57 (II), P. 88.

¹⁴² See for detail Ibn Khaldun, IV, p. 93.

¹⁴³ Muhammad bin Qasim b. Munabbah, b. Rabi b. Hatim b. Jassas b. Amr b. Baqqalb. Ajzah b. Sama b. Asad b. Mujzam b. Auf b. Bakr b. Amr. b. Auf b. Ibad b. Unwayy b. Haris b. Sama b. Luwayy. Ibn Makula, I, p. 120; See also, Musab b. Zubairi, II, p. 440.

¹⁴⁴ Ibn Rustah, *Alaiq al-Nafisa*, ed. E. J. Brill, 1891, pp. 13-36.

¹⁴⁵ Istakhari, p. 104; See also Ygqut, V, p. 227.

According to these authorities, Multan was well populated and the inhabitants led a happy and prosperous life. The majority of the Multanis were traders and businessmen, and the administration was generally in the hands of the Arabs. Multan was an important commercial centre where trade was brisk, commodities were cheap, people were happy, hospitable, honest and well-behaved. The main source of income was the trade and offerings of different kinds of the sun-temple. The temple had a considerably big organization, administered with the help of a band of caretakers.¹⁴⁶ Multan was known as *Bait-uz-Zahab* or House of Gold. The vast territory of the region with its capital consisted of more than one lac twenty thousand villages, besides bigger towns, like Barar, Durwin, Barid including Qannauj, and formed the biggest of the Arab state in the region.¹⁴⁷ Its boundaries reached in the south to the kingdom of Mansura and in the west to the Makran and compare that it was equal to the Mansura.¹⁴⁸ While the Istakhri says that it was half as large as Mansura and the provisions were cheaper there than the capital of the Habbiris¹⁴⁹. The buildings were as beautiful as those at Siraf. They were built in teak wood and had several stories.¹⁵⁰ According to Istakhri, the market complex of Multan was very spacious and crowdie. In the centre there was a big temple, which was covered by the arcades of shapes dealing in artifacts made of ivory and bronze.¹⁵¹ The Jami mosque was situated in the neighborhood of the temple.¹⁵² The hundred years rule of the Banu Munabbah, brought not only material prosperity but also political and social stability. The Semi rulers extended their territory by reducing Qanuuaj which was a centre of religious piety.¹⁵³ The impact of Arab culture on local people was so deep that, for example the Hindu and Buddhists spoke Arabic along with their mother tongue. The Arab rulers also adopted many local traits. They did not only speak the local languages, but also adopted local dresses and other aspects of the social life.¹⁵⁴

Evidently the rulers of Multan were Sunnis. They practiced and established religious law according to the Quran and Sunnah. They paid their allegiance to the Abbasids as is evident from the inclusion of the names of the Abbasid Caliphs in Friday and *Ids Khutbas*.

¹⁴⁶ Abul Fida, *Taqwim-al-Buldin*, ed. D. E. Slane, Paris 1840, P. 350.

¹⁴⁷ Masudi, I, pp. 375-76.

¹⁴⁸ Magadasi, p.478.

¹⁴⁹ Istakhri, P. 103.

¹⁵⁰ Magadasi, pp. 480-81.

¹⁵¹ Istakhri. p. 103.

¹⁵² Yaqut, V, pp. 227, 419.

¹⁵³ Saiyid Suleiman Nadavi, "Muslim Colonies in India Before the Muslim Conquest." *Islamic Culture* XVII, 1934, p.613; See also *Islamic Culture*, 1935, p. 438.

¹⁵⁴ Istakhri, p. 103.

KHARIJITES SETTLEMENT IN MULTAN

The stability of the Abbasid Caliphate was seriously undermined by the activities of the Kharijites and Ismailis. These unhealthy activities were - one of the main causes of the decline of their political power though in theory it continued to exist for many more years. The far off centers of the Caliphate were most affected by these developments. Sindh and Multan could also not remain unaffected. A large number of Kharijites had settled there and had, gradually, acquired influence and clout in the local politics. The rise of these elements in Sindh and Multan was connected to the early days of the Abbasid caliphate. Ibn Khaldun records that Abdur Rehman Alavi, a descendent of Umar b. Abi Talib, revolted in 824 A.D., against Caliph Mamun in Yaman. The Caliph deputed his slave, Dinar, to suppress the revolt. Abdur Rahman surrendered and submitted to the Caliph.¹⁵⁵ But, this was only a part of temporary, strategy. He secretly started his mission and selected some far off places for his *dawat* (mission). Later on, his successors moved to Sindh, Mansura and Multan, to propagate his *dawat*. Within a short span of time, they became an influential section of the society and purchased big landed property. During the time of Maiadi's visit of Multan in 916 A.D., the Alavis were leading a prosperous life. They exercised much influence on both social on religious matters of the region.¹⁵⁶

Ibn Khaldun provides an interesting account of the arrival in Multan of an Alavi, Abu Abdullah Jafar b. Muhammad who arrived here along with his family and a large number of his supporters with full pomp and show. On this occasion, the local Alavis gathered round them and brought them to the city in a big procession. The markets and streets were decorated with flowers. He gradually entrenched himself in the power structure of the region and the people gave him the title of Malik. Secretly, he continued his missionary work among the local people. This piece of evidence provides us with an inkling in the methods adopted by these people and the way they wormed themselves in the confidence of the local people. They learnt their language and tried to convert them to their own faith. All the said, they were extremely careful about their clannish superiority; they never entered into matrimonial relations with the local people. The leader of this *dawat* in Sindh ultimately became a religio-political personage of Sindh.¹⁵⁷

Another energetic *da'i* (propagator) al-Hashim was sent to Sindh by Abul Qasim Hasan b. Farah b. Haushab from Yemen sometime in 883 A.D.¹⁵⁸ It is reported that Abu

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Khaldun, IV, pp. 10; Masudi, I, p. 168.

¹⁵⁶ Masudi, I, p. 168.

¹⁵⁷ Ibn Khaldun, IV, p. 10.

¹⁵⁸ The details of this mission have been recorded by N'uman b. Muhammad (d. 974 A.D.) the chief Qazi of the Fatimid Caliph, Al-Muizz (952-976 A.D.) who recorded that the Ismaili *dawa* in Sindh was very successful in his days. See for detail, Abbas H. Hamadani, *The Beginning of the Ismaili daawa in Northern India*, Cairo, 1956, S. M.

Abdullah started the Ismaili movement in Yamen and created a nucleus there in 881 A.D. After two years of propagation, he dispatched his *dais* to Bahrain and Sindh etc. These *dais* were instrumental in spreading this *dawat* and ultimately over-throwing the Sunni rule of Banu Munabbah.

Banu Sammah rulers were quite capable of suppressing these elements but they did not do anything to check this rapid erosion of their political base. They not only tolerated the activities of the Ismailis but virtually allowed them to do as they pleased in the territory. Even though it was a fact that these Ismailis were their old and professed enemies, who had always tried to belittle and discredit them and seriously harm the cause of Islam and Islamic dominance. This attitude defies comprehension and no reasonable explanation seems possible. Apparently, this can be termed only as death wish on their part.

ISMAILI RULE IN SINDH

As a result of assiduous and diligent propaganda spread over a long period of time, the Ismaili *dawat* made deep inroads in Multan region and ultimately succeeded in capturing the political power in Multan. Their missionary zeal, systematic and methodical style of their work and the inexplicable tolerance of Banu Munabbah for their anti-state activities were mainly responsible for bringing about this situation.¹⁵⁹ When Muqadasi visited Multan in 985 A.D., it was under the rule of a Ismaili *dai* and most of the subjects were Shias. They recited the *Khutbah* in the name of Fatimid Caliph of Egypt.¹⁶⁰ It is to be noted that Ibn Ilaugal was the last Arab traveler who mentions the rule of Banu Manabbah in Multan in 968 A.D., after which Muqadasi gives details of the Ismaili rule in 985 A.D., It would suggest that sometime during the span of seventeen years, i.e. between 968 and 985 A.D., the Ismailis had replaced Banu Samah. However, in the absence of evidence no firm date of the establishment of the Ismaili state in Multan can be fixed. This Arab traveler also recorded that the Multanis were using the formula "*hayy ala Khair-il-amal*" in the *azan* and the *Khutbah* was read in the name of Caliph al-Muizz (952-975 A.D.).¹⁶¹

Information provided by Muqadesi is further confirmed by the anonymous author of Hilda-al-Alam (compiled in 982 A.D.)¹⁶²

Stern, *Ismaili Propaganda and Fatimid Rules in Sindh*, Islamic Culture, 1949, pp. 298-307; R. Levy, *The Account of the Ismaili Doctrines in the Jami al-Tawarikh of Rashid-al Din Fadlallah*. Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, pt. III, 1930; Saiyid Sulaiman Nadavi, *Arab 'O' Hind ke Taluqat*, Allahabad, 1930, p. 315.

¹⁵⁹ Muqadasi, p. 481.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 481.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 481.

¹⁶² Hudud-al-Alam, p. 89.

Ismaili sources confirmed that the religio-political affairs of Multan, were dominated by the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. The Ismailis had succeeded in establishing their influence not only on the local people but also succeeded in converting one of the local princes to their faith.¹⁶³ Multan was named as *dar-al-Hijra*¹⁶⁴ and the practice of the new faith was initiated there. An interesting aspect of the Ismaili doctrine, as practiced in Multan was that the local people converted to the Ismaili faith were allowed to retain and practice many of the rites of their old religions. This was probably done with a view to attract more people to their fold. Some of these activities were not approved by the Fatimid Caliph Mazzuddin who appointed a new *dai* for Multan. But before he could take over the old *dai* died. The name of the new *dai* was Jalam b. Shaiban.¹⁶⁵

The new *dai* was charged with the responsibility of reforming the religious abuses of his predecessor. Detailed description of his rule is available in the *Uyun-al-Akhbar* and *Kitab-al-Musayarat*, in which some letters exchanged between Jalam-b. Shaiban and Caliph al-Muizz have been reproduced. These letters reveal that the new *dai* has firmly established his control over the affairs of Multan. He used to seek guidance from the caliph on every important matter of the province. The Caliph was satisfied with the performance of Jalam. The *dai* did not only eliminate the bad influence of the former *dai*, but also consolidated the Fatimid power in Sindh. The province of Sindh became a regular part of the Fatimid Caliphate.¹⁶⁶

Jalam b. Shaiban destroyed the famous idol of Multan for which he had previously asked the Imam's permission.¹⁶⁷ He constructed a mosque on the site and is said to have closed the earlier mosque built by Muhammad bin Qasim.¹⁶⁸ No further details of the rule of Jalam b. Shaiban are available from the contemporary or latter sources. It is recorded by the contemporary historians of Sultan Mahmud that the Ismaili rule in Multan was brought to an end by Sulan Mahmud. In 1006 A.D., the Sultan captured the Ismaili ruler whose name was Abul Fath Daud b. Nasr. In 1010 A.D., Sultan Mahmud occupied Multan and thus brought to an end to Ismaili rule in the region.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶³ Numah b. Muhammad, *Kitab al-Majalis wal-Musayyat* (1315 A.D.) The relevant passage's of the original text have been published by S. M. Stern, *Islamic Culture*, 1934, pp. 304-307; and also see Idris, *Uyun al-Akhbar* (1290 A.D.).

¹⁶⁴ S. M. Stern, pp. 290-307.

¹⁶⁵ *Uyun al-Akhbar*, IV, p. 219.

¹⁶⁶ Maqadasi, p. 485.

¹⁶⁷ *Uyun-al-Akhbar*, quoted by S. M. Stern, *Islamic Culture*, p. 301.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Beruni, *Kitab-ul-Hind*, I, ed. E. C. Sachau, reprint Delhi, 1964, p. 116; See also *Uyun al-Akhbar*, VI, p. 222, S. M. Stern, p. 302; see Al-Beruni who records, when the Karmathians occupied Multan Jalam b. Shaiban, the usurper broke the idol. Al-Beruni, I, p. 116.

¹⁶⁹ Gardizi, p. 67, Ibn Asir, IX, p. 186; see also Abu Nasr Muhammad Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, 1300 A.H., p. 212.

Chapter II

SINDH UNDER THE GHAZNAVIDS

In the beginning of the 10th century A.D., a new political power emerged on the north-western borders of the region of Sindh. Subuktigin (977-997 A.D.) who had occupied the throne of Ghaznin was pressing hard the Hindu Shahiya Kingdom under Jaipal (962-1002 A.D.) whose domain apparently extended up to Multan.¹⁷⁰ In the face of relentless pressure from across the border, Jaipal was unable to keep his territories together. To ease the direct pressure on himself, he appointed Shaikh Hamid Lodi to look after Multan and Lamghan.¹⁷¹

Opinions differ regarding the origin of Shaikh Hamid Lodi. According to *Farishta* he was an Afghan chieftain and belonged to the Lodi family. But some modern historians,¹⁷² assert that the word Lodhi or Lodi is a corruption of Luvi, the Arab ruling tribe of Multan, who were still ruling there when Sultan Muhmud marched against it. It may, however, be pointed out that the ruler of Multan at the time of Mahmud's invasion had evidently no connection with the Arab Samab b. Luwayy.

Saiyid Sulaiman Nadavi suggests that Shaikh Hamid might have been a member of the Ismailis sect, or perhaps his ancestors had developed matrimonial relations with the local Afghans. But the Lodis do not seem to have ever appended 'Shaikh' to their names. He concludes that Shaikh Hamid had no connection with the Afghans and was most probably descendant of Jalam bin Shaiban.¹⁷³

This discussion has further been pursued by Abdul Hai Habibi, who claims that the family belonged to Lodi Afghans and that they were Sunnis. According to Habibi, some later authorities¹⁷⁴ confirmed that Shaikh Hamid was a Lodi Afghan. Habibi also claims that the earlier rulers were Ismailis. The claim is based on Muhammad Hotak's book *Patta Khazana*, this is an anthology of the biographies of Pashto poets wherein the author says: Kamran Khan b. Saddo Khan, wrote a book in 1628 A.D., at Safar and named it *Kalid-i-Kamrani*. The author records that Shaikh Razi Lodi was the nephew of

¹⁷⁰ Abul Fazl Baihqi, *Tarikh-i Baihiai*, I, ed. Said Nafeesi, Tehran, 1352, S.H. p. 436.

¹⁷¹ Abul Qasim Hindu Shah, *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, Newal Kishore, 1874, p. 18.

¹⁷² Raverty, p. 325, fn. 316, M. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Mahmud of Ghazna*, Delhi, 1971, p. 96; *Islamic Culture* 1934, p. 661; S. M. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, I, Bombay, 1939, p. 141.

¹⁷³ *Islamic Culture*, 1934, pp. 616-17.

¹⁷⁴ Hayat Khan, *Hayat-i-Afghani*, Lahore, 1867; Sher Muhammad Khan *Khurshid-i-Jahan*, Lahore, 1894; Kamran Khan, *Kalid-i-Kamrani*, Ali Muhammad Khan Saddozai, *Tazkirat-al-Muluk*; Sultan Muhammad Qandhari, *Tarikh-i Sultani*, Muhammad Hotak, *Patta Khazana*, as quoted Ahmad Nabi, *Multan, History and Architecture*, Islamabad, 1983, pp. 43-44.

Shaikh Hamid Lodi. When the later became the ruler of Multan, he sent his nephew towards 'Pashtun Khwah' to preach Islam among the people. In consequent of his missionary activities a number of people were converted to Islam. Shaikh Hamid's son Nasr was converted to Ismaili faith under the influence of local *d'ais*. Shaikh Razi Lodi was concerned about the religious belief of his cousin and sent him a versified message to which Nasr replied, refuting the charge and asserted that he was still a staunch Sunni Muslim and that it was only a propaganda raised against him by the Ghaznavid Sultans.¹⁷⁵ On the basis of this poem it can be said that the political conflict between the Lodis and the Ghaznavids had begun well before the military expeditions by Subuktigin, who planned to extend his territories further east. As the armed conflict could not produce any result and the result of the battle remained undecided they concluded a mutual agreement. The agreement remained in free till the death of Subuktigin.¹⁷⁶

SULTAN MAHMUD'S INVASION OF MULTAN:

At the time of Mahmud's accession in 998 A.D., the ruler of Multan was Abul Path Daud b. Nasr.¹⁷⁷ Cordial relations which existed between them could not remain for long. Sultan Mahmud marched against Bhatiya,¹⁷⁸ a stronghold in the neighborhood of Multan which was ruled by a local Rajput chieftain. Seeing the victory of Mahmud over Raja Biji Rai, Abul Fath was alarmed and he decided to check the way of Mahmud's victorious army on their return to Ghaznin.¹⁷⁹ This was a sudden attack and the Sultan's army was not ready for it, and suffered considerable loss. He then decided to meet the enemy in the battle field in the next year.

In the month of March 1006 A.D., Sultan Mahmud marched from Ghaznin to Multan.¹⁸⁰ Sultan Mahmud wanted to catch Abul Fath unaware, so it was not safe to cross the Indus in Sindh. Mahmud then decided to cross it near Peshawar and asked Anandpal to let him cross through his territory but he refused to oblige the Sultan. Sultan then attacked on Anandpal and defeated him, Raja fled away towards Kashmir. Mahmud then penetrated the territory of Abul Fath. Hearing this Abul Fath collected his treasury

¹⁷⁵ See for details, Abdul Hai Habibi, 'Multan Ka Lodi Shahi Khandan', Urdu. *Oriental College Magazine*, May 1948, pp. 45-Feb. 1949, p.65, May 1949, p 3; The Pashto poems are also translated into Urdu by Habibi.

¹⁷⁶ *Ferishta*, I, p. 24, Jaipal appointed Shaikh Hamid as a ruler of Multan to check the activities of Subuktigin. Shaikh Hamid established cordial relations with Subuktigin and he, confirmed the territory of Multan to Shaikh after the victory over Jaipal.

¹⁷⁷ *Utbi*, p. 138, *Ferishta*, I, p.24.

¹⁷⁸ For identification of this place, see Muhammad Nazim, pp. 197-203.

¹⁷⁹ Ibn Asir IX, PP. 184-85; *Utbi*, p. 211, *Ferishta* I, p.25. Prof. Habib says "He (Abul Fath) made an ineffectual attempt to come to Biji Rai's assistance, Muhammad Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Reprint, Delhi, 1967, p.2 5; M. Nazim, (p. 110) says; The sufferings of the soldiers were augmented by the attitude of the ruler of Multan who most probably resented the Sultan's passage through his territories.

¹⁸⁰ *Utbi* P. 211; See also Ibn Asir IX, p. 186.

and fled to Sarandip,¹⁸¹ leaving the fort at the command of a garrison with instructions to fight to the last. Abul Fath's men shut themselves in the fort. After a stay of seven days, the fort was carried by assault. The inhabitants of Multan craved for protection and offered a ransom of 20,000 gold *dirhams*.¹⁸² Mahmud accepted the offer and spared the inhabitants except the Ismailis, who were put to death thousand in number.¹⁸³ It is stated that Sultan himself put so many Ismailis to sword that the hand of the Sultan was stuck to the hilt of his sword on account of congealed blood. It was to be washed in hot water before it could be treated.¹⁸⁴ The Jama Mosque of the Ismailis was also raised to ground.¹⁸⁵

Meanwhile, Sultan Mahmud had to turn for attention to Afghanistan because of the Ilak Khans incursion. Before leaving he entrusted the administration of the government of Multan to Sukhpal alais Nawasa Shah, who was a grandson of Jaipal and was, most probably, among the hostages left by Jaipal with Subuktigin in 986-7 A.D. He had embraced Islam during his stay at Mahmud's court, and exercised much influence there.¹⁸⁶ When Mahmud was busy in the struggle with Ilak Khan, Sukhpal apostated and raised the standard of revolt in the winter of 1007 A.D. It was a calculated move as Mahmud was busy in suppressing Ilak Khan and the winter season had its own problems. It was not expected that in such a situation the Sultan would be able to come to Multan. He was, however, grossly mistaken because Sultan Mahmud immediately rushed to Multan and reached there in the month of January 1008 A.D.¹⁸⁷ Sukhpal resisted the Sultan as best as he could but he was defeated and fled from the battle field. He took refuge with his cousin, Anandpal,¹⁸⁸ but was soon captured and brought before the Sultan who exacted a sum of 40,000 *dirhams* from him and placed him in confinement.¹⁸⁹

After the departure of Mahmud, the situation became favorable to Abul Fath Daud who managed to come back and occupy some portions of Multan. Mahmud again marched to Multan in the beginning of October 1010 A.D., and completed the

¹⁸¹ Many hypothesis have been offered for the identification of this place. Raverty thinks that the place may stand for Kachh Bhuj (Raverty p. 325, fn. 316), while Nazim, locates it as an island in the Indus, p. 97; Hodivala suggests "Debal Sindh", Hodivala, p. 141

¹⁸² Utbi, (p.212) gives 25,000,000, while Gardezi1 (p.68) gives 20,000, Ibn Asir (IX, p. 186) and Ferishta follow him.

¹⁸³ Utbi, p.212. It is stated that Sultan Mahmud put so many Ismailis into the Sword.

¹⁸⁴ Al-Beruni, I, p. 117. The reason for the extreme action taken by Mahmud against the Ismailis has been discussed by modern historians like, Nazim, Habib, Haig, Bosworth and others. They agree that the action was political rather than religious. Mahmud wanted to please the Abbasid Caliph for obvious reasons and, therefore, had decided to annihilate the Ismailis where he could lay his hand on them. C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids - Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (994-1040), Edinburgh, 1963, p. 52.

¹⁸⁵ Utbi, p.223, Hamdullah Mustawfi, a *Tarikh-i-Guzidah* Ed. E.G.Browne Leyden, 1913, p. 396.

¹⁸⁶ Gardezi, p. 69, Ferishta I, p.26, Nazim, p.98.

¹⁸⁷ Utbi, p.223, Gardezi, p.69.

¹⁸⁸ Gardezi,(p.69) says that Sukhpal fled to the hill of 'Kashnur', which is probably a mistake of the copyist for 'Khewara' the name by which the salt range is commonly known.

¹⁸⁹ Gardezi, p.88, Ferishta, I, p. 26.

subjugation of the province. He captured the fort and started general massacre of Ismailis and plunder of the city. As a result, the city was deserted and the population fled to the neighboring regions. Abul Fath was captured and taken to Ghaznin. He was imprisoned in the fort of Ghurak where he died.¹⁹⁰

The Jats had harassed the army of Sultan Mahmud while he was on his way back to Ghaznin from Somnath. He set out for Multan to punish these Jats¹⁹¹ in March 1027 A.D. He decided to give them a lesson on the river and ordered the construction of 1400 boats. Each boat carried the sufficient load for the war provision. This flotilla was launched on the Indus river.¹⁹²

The Jats also had also made great preparations for the war. As a part of their strategy they had sent their families to a distant island in the river. It is said that they arranged 4,000 boats equipped with the arms. The Sultan blocked the river course with his fleets and cavalry and elephant, guarded the banks of the river. After a fierce battle, the Jats were defeated.¹⁹³ In this way another centre of resistance for the Ghaznavid power in the region was wiped out and the road was open for the consolidation of their authority in Sindh.

THE LATER GHAZNAVIDS:

After the death of the Sultan Mahmud his successors could not prove themselves equal to the task of keeping together the vast empire bequeathed by him. They failed to control the far flung Indian provinces effectively. Multan and Sindh had their own peculiar problems. In the year 1033 A.D., Sultan Masud appointed Nahir, a Hindu military commander, to suppress his rebellious treasurer, Ahmad Niyal Tigin, who happened to be in Sindh at that time. After an encounter Ahmad fled towards Mansura and was drowned in the river Indus. Nahir cut the head of the rebellious noble and sent it to the court of Ghaznin.¹⁹⁴ In December 1039 A.D., Sultan Masud appointed his son Majdud to administer Multan with a force of 2,000 men.¹⁹⁵ In early 1040 A.D., when Sultan Masud started his march towards Lahore and reached Marghala, he was made captive in the Giri fort and later on was killed there.¹⁹⁶ During these chaotic conditions Ismailis got another opportunity to re-establish themselves at Multan. The grandson of Abul Fath, named Abdullah, who was then a prisoner at Ghaznin managed to escape

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 70, Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabagat-i-Akbari*, I, Calcutta 1927, p.10; Ghurak is situated about fifty miles north west of Qandhar.

¹⁹¹ Al-Beruni, II, p.104, The Jats were the worshippers of Linga.

¹⁹² Gardezi, p.88; Baihigi, I, pp.275-76.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 89. Farrukhi, Diwan-i-Farrukhi, I.O.MS.1841, f.36 a has a passing reference to this expedition. See also M.N azim, p. 122.

¹⁹⁴ Baihigi, I, p.302.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., I, p.284. The author records Muhammad, but as corrected by Nafisi it should be read Majdud.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 285; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, pp.26-27.

and took upon himself to organize the Ismailis.¹⁹⁷ Maudud then sent Faqih Saliti to oust them. After capturing the fort, Muhammad Kailmi was appointed the new Governor of Multan.¹⁹⁸ During the reign of Bahram Shah, Muhammad Bahlim revolted. Muhammad Bahlim was appointed by Arslan Shah earlier to the governorship of Indian provinces. In the month of September 1128 A.D., Bahram Shah marched towards Multan. Muhammad Bahlim fled to Multan and was later killed in an encounter.¹⁹⁹

Gradually the Ghaznavid power declined and disintegrated. The region of Multan has been the main centre of the Ismailis whose influence could not be routed out completely from there and pockets of their influence still existed there even after the prolonged and systematic military operation relentlessly carried on by the Ghaznavids. This process was to be completed by the Ghorids. Sultan Muizzuddin Muhammad bin Sam started his raids on Multan and finally routed the Ismailis in 1175 A.D.²⁰⁰ After these operations, he appointed 'Ali Karmakh' Governor of Multan and Sindh and himself returned to Ghaznin.²⁰¹ The governor ruled these regions until 1186 A.D. After the defeat and overthrow of the last Ghaznavid Sultan Khusrau Malik, he was transferred to Lahore²⁰² and Multan was placed under the charge of Amir Dad Hasan. He ruled for about twenty years and was assassinated and replaced by Aibak Bak sometime after 1204 A.D. Aibak Bak was one of the most trusted servants of Muhammad b. Sam. It is related that when in 1204 A.D., Muhammad b. Sam was defeated in a battle with Qara Khitai Turks at Andkhud, Aibak Bak fled to Multan and after killing treacherously Amir Dad Hasan proclaimed himself Governor of Multan.²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ Abu Zafar Nadavi, pp. 285-86.

¹⁹⁸ Fakhr-i-Mudabbir Mubarak Shah, *Adab-al-Rarb-wa-sh-Shu'iaat* ed. Ahmad Suhail Khwansari, Tehran 1346 8.H., pp.253-54.

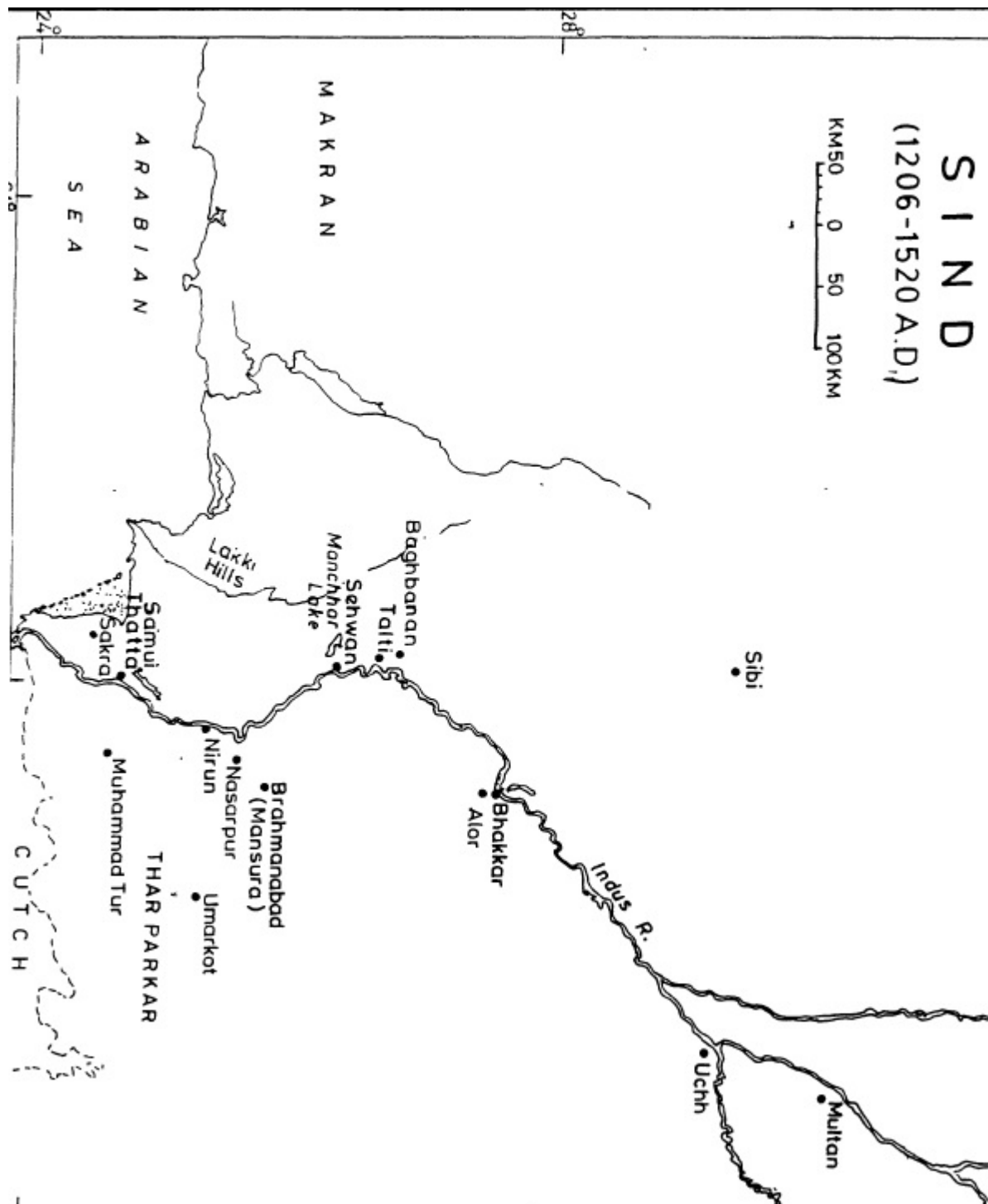
¹⁹⁹ Minhaj, I, pp. 241-42.

²⁰⁰ Minhaj, I, p.396.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.244; Sirhindi, pp. 6-7.

²⁰³ For a detailed account of this encounter, see also Minhaj, I PP. 402-403. Alauddin Ata Malik Juwayni, *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, II, (ed.) Muhammad Qazwini, London 1916, p.54; Khwand Mir, *Habib-us-Sivar*, II, (ed.) Dabir Saqi, Tehran 1353 S.H. p. 606; Hasan Nizami, *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, Microfilm (Ms. Turkey) No. 126 Department of History, A.M.U.Aligarh. ff.234a, 235a; also Ferishta, I, p.59.



CHAPTER III

SINDH UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE

Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad b. Sam was assassinated at the hands of Khokhers of Punjab in 1206 A.D.²⁰⁴ On his death Uchh and Multan were retained by Nasiruddin Bubacha the then governor of the region. He gradually became an independent ruler of the territories of Sindh until he was dislodged from that position by Iltutmish.

Nasiruddin Qubacha (1206-1228 A.D.) was one of the Turkish slaves of Sultan Muizuddin Ghori. Much is not known about his early career except that he was one of the favorite and trusted slave of Sultan Muizuddin and he was endowed with great intelligence, sagacity, efficiency, skill, foresight and experience. He had served the Sultan with distinction in various capacities, and ultimately became an influential figure in the court. He was married to the elder daughter of Qutub-uddin Aibak and had a son from her, named Shaikh Alauddin Bahram Shah.²⁰⁵

Previously, region of Multan and Uchh was held by Malik Nasiruddin Aitum, who was killed in 1203-4 A.D., in the battle at Andkhud between Sultan Muizuddin and Sultan Usman, the ruler of Samarkand.²⁰⁶ The region of Uchh was assigned to Qubacha. After the death of the Sultan he continued to enjoy the confidence of Qutbuddin. After the latter's death in 1210 A.D., Qubacha set out to Uchh and captured Multan, Siwistan and Debal as far as the coast of Arabian sea and occupied all the cities and forts of Sindh.²⁰⁷ He brought the whole region under his effective control as far as Tabarhinda, Kuhram and Saraswati. The ruler of Ghaznin, Tajuddin Yelduz, wanted to capture some portions of Qubacha's territory, but he failed to do so. However, Qubacha brought Lahore several times but he could not keep it under his control as Yelduz's *vazir* Khwaja Muidul-Mulk Sanjari, succeeded in dislodging him from there in 1215 A.D., and finally he was forced to live within the territory of Sindh.²⁰⁸

During the Mongol raids a large number of Muslim scholars who had fled from the Muslim countries took shelter in Sindh. Multan at the time was a great centre of Islamic learning and culture and a number of distinguished and eminent *ulama* and scholars had made it their permanent abode. It served as the gateway of India at that time, During this period Qubacha became the independent ruler of Sindh until the accession

²⁰⁴ Minhaj, I, p.403.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

²⁰⁶ Minhaj Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nisiri*, Eng.tr. H.G.Raverty, (Reprint) Delhi 1970, p.532, *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mublrakshah*, P.25) Muhammad Aziz Ahmed, *Political History and Institution of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*, Delhi 1972, pp.83,101, 143.

²⁰⁷ Minhaj, I, p.419, See also *Tajul Ma'asir*, fols.263a,264b.

²⁰⁸ *Tajul-Ma'isir*, fol.272a,Minhaj, I, p.419.

of Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi. At the same time he was facing the Mongol onslaught who had penetrated deep into his territory in pursuit of Jalaluddin Minkobarni, Sultan Jalaluddin of Khawarizm had crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Debal and Makran in 1221 A.D. After capturing the Nandanah²⁰⁹ fort in 1224 A.D., the forces of Turty Nuin the Mongol prince, besieged the strong fort of Multan for forty days.²¹⁰ During this siege Qubacha approached and sought the assistance of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria, Qutbuddin. Bakhtiyar Kaki and Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabraizi who visited Multan at the same time. Shaikh Qutbuddin handed over an arrow to Qubacha to throw it at the enemy. The Mongols withdrew the next morning.²¹¹ The Mongols found the hot climate of the region and retreated to Ghaznin.²¹² Qubacha sustained heavy losses, but faced the situation with courage and boldness. He helped the people generously to repair their losses and minimize their miseries. Minkobarni had planned to invade Qubacha's territories and sent an army towards Uchh in the darkness of night. Qubacha's army could not withstand the sudden attack and fled to Multan. Minkobarni demanded a huge sum as tribute and price for the return of the soldiers. Qubacha accepted the demand and the invader agreed to spare Qubacha's territories. After a while passing through Multan he asked Qubacha to pay *nal-baha* (Shoe-money). Qubacha refused to oblige and came out to face him. After some minor skirmishes, Minkobarni attacked Uchh and set it on fire.²¹³

In the beginning of 1226 A.D., Malik of Ghor made a common cause with Qubacha against the Mongols. In the same year an army of the Khalji tribe attacked Mansura and Siwistan under the leadership of Mili Khan. Qubacha set out from Uchh and met the Khalji forces. After defeating Khalji Malik he returned to his territory.²¹⁴

Accession of Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi had created many problems for Qubacha. Relation between the two rulers had never been cordial inspite of the fact that both were related to each other as the son-in-laws of Qutbuddin Aibak. But as kingship knows no kinship, Iltutmish had a desire to extend his authority up to the frontier provinces of Sindh. According to Minhaj Iltutmish always regarded Qubacha his rival and was seeking an opportunity to dislodge him from Sindh. Keeping this aim in view, Iltutmish secured his position at Delhi and consolidated his power over the neighboring regions while unlucky Qubacha struggled hard to save his territories from Mongol onslaught. Iltutmish planned to take full advantage of the difficulties of Qubacha and

²⁰⁹ Nandana is a place of antiquarian interest located in Pindadan Khan Tehsil of Jhelum District, 14 miles west of Chujha Saidan Shah in the outer Salt Range. There is a ruined fortification of an ancient fort. A graveyard is also located in a corner of the fort.

²¹⁰ Raverty, (p.530) gives forty two days.

²¹¹ Mir Khurd, Sivar-ul-Auliva, Delhi, 1885, p. 50.

²¹² Alauddin Ata Malik Juwayni, *Tarikh-i-Jahin Gusha*, I, (ed.) Muhammad Qazwini, London, 1912, p.1 12.

²¹³ Minhaj, I, p. 420, Juwayni, II, p. 147.

²¹⁴ Minhaj, I, p. 420.

annexed Lahore in 1217 A.D., Qubacha was in no position to resist the advance of Iltutmish who inflicted a crushing defeat on him in the battle that followed.²¹⁵

In 1228 A.D., Iltutmish decided to take the final step against Qubacha and ousted him from Multan and Uchh. Qubacha also made preparations for the showdown and stationed his forces before the gateway of the town Amrut along with his fleet of boats. Iltutmish sent his vanguard towards Uchh under his *vazir* Nizamul Mulk Khwaja Muhammad Junaidi and Tajuddin Sanjar-i-Kazlak Khan. He also instructed Malik Nasiruddin Aitum, then Governor of Lahore, to proceed towards Multan. Iltutmish himself set out by way of Tabarhind towards Uchh. The imperial army decided to attack the fort of Uchh on 19 February 1228. Nizamul Mulk was directed to capture the fortress of Bhakkar where Qubacha was then encamping. After a siege of three months Iltutmish finally captured the fort of Bhakkar on Saturday, 5th May, 1228 A.D.²¹⁶

On hearing the fall of Uchh, Qubacha sent his son, Alauddin Muhammad Bahrain Shah to Iltutmish for negotiation. The Sultan received him with courtesy but he was restrained to leave Bhakkar while the hostilities continued. This greatly alarmed Qubacha and in desperation he wanted to escape. He instructed his *vazir* Ainul Mulk to follow him with treasures. However, while crossing the Indus his boat sank in the river and Qubacha was drowned on 30 May 1228 A.D.²¹⁷

This brought to an end the twenty two years rule of Nasiruddin Qubacha and with him ended the independent role of Multan on the political map of the region. During his rule Multan and Uchh had become great centers of political, socio-cultural and literary activities and His court had become a popular rendezvous of deposed rulers, eminent scholars, distinguished poets and renowned *ulama* who had gathered there from far off regions like Khurasan, Ghaur and Ghaznin.²¹⁸ In this connection the names of Muhammad Aufo, Shamsuddin Muhammad al-Katib Balkhi, Fazili Multani, Ziauddin Sijai are worth mentioning. Shamsuddin was a renowned calligraphist of his time whom Aufo compares with Ibn al Bawwab and Ibn Muglah. In 1226 A.D., eminent historian Minhaj-us-Siraj came to the court of Qubacha. The Sultan received him with honor and appointed him as the principal of the Madarasa-e-Firozia at Uchh, and the *Qazi* of his son's army.²¹⁹

While Sultan Nasiruddin Qubacha was a patron of scholars his prime minister Ainul Mulk Husain Ashari was also a patron of art and literature and his court was famous for men of learning. Sadiduddin Aufo came at the court of Qubacha in 1220 A.D., and

²¹⁵ Minhaj, I, p. 445.

²¹⁶ Minhaj, I, p. 447.

²¹⁷ Minhaj, I, p. 447.

²¹⁸ Minhaj, I, p. 419; Sadiduddin Muhammad Aufo, *Jawameal-Hikayat wa Lawame al-Riwayat* (ed. E.G. Biowne and Muhammad Qazwini), idem *Lubab-al-Albab*, London, 1916, p. 551.

²¹⁹ Minhaj, I, pp. 420, 446.

was appointed as the royal *Imam* and *Waiz* (preacher). After some time, he was promoted to the rank of Chief Qazi. He translated into Persian the famous Arabic text of *al-Farai bad al-Shiddat* of Qazi Abul Hasan b. Ali Muhammad b. Daud (d. 994 A.D.) and dedicated it to Qubacha.

Another book written by the same author under the patronage of Ainul Hulk Husain al-Ashari is *Lubib-al-Albab* which is generally held to be the earliest known anthology of the biographies of Persian poets.²²⁰ He was asked to compile another book named *Jawame al-Hikavat wa-Lawame al-Riwayat* by Sultan Nasiruddin Qubacha. But, it was completed after the author had joined the court of Iltutmish. Similarly, the important Arab history of Sindh commonly known as *Chach-Namah* was translated into Persian by Ali b. Hamid b. Abi Bakr al-Kufi in 1216 A.D., during the reign of Qubacha. The book was dedicated to Ainul Mulk Husain al-Ashari.²²¹

It is evident from the sources that Qubacha took keen interest in literary and academic activities. It was in pursuance of their policy that Minhaj was appointed as the principal of Madarsa-e-Firozia at Uchh. He had established another college and sera at Multan for Maulana Qutbuddin Kashini, one of the most eminent scholar of Islam during that period.²²² As a result of this personal interest and the patronage extended to the scholars and the literati that a very favorable climate was created for the development of religious and literary sciences in the region and a very significant contribution was made in various branches of learning.

MULTAN AND UCHH : AS PROVINCE OF THE DELHI SULTANATE:

After the fall of Qubacha, the province of Sindh was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate and brought under its direct control. Its administrative divisions were Multan and Uchh. The fact that the region was constantly exposed to the Mongol onslaught and had to bear its brunt had imparted a kind of prominence in the contemporary politics. As it happened to be the frontier province of India, the Sultans always paid special attention towards its administration and only trusted and capable men were appointed as its governors. Because of the crucial importance of the region, the governors used to wield enormous influence at Delhi. After its annexation to the Delhi Sultanate during Iltutmish's reign Izzuddin Kabir Khan Ayaz was appointed as the governor of the province along with its dependencies.²²³ After some time he was transferred to Lahore, and Multan was assigned to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qaraqash Khan Aitekin.²²⁴ The region

²²⁰ E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, Cambridge, 1951, p. 477. The book was edited first by Browne and Qazwini and was published from London in two volumes. It was re-edited by Professor Saeed Nafisi and published from Tehran in 1335 E.H.

²²¹ *Chach-Namah*, p.8.

²²² Minhaj, I, p.420, Ferishta, II, p. 400.

²²³ Minhaj, I, pp. 455-56, II, p.5.

²²⁴ He was another senior slave of Iltutmish. He belonged to Qara Khata-i-Turks and in the beginning of his career was the cup bearer of the Sultan. He served the Sultan in various capacities including the governorship of

of Uchh was entrusted to Tajuddin Sanjar Kazlak Khan. He was a Turkish slave purchased at Baren by Iltutmish during the reign of Qutbuddin- Aibak. He served as *Chirshniar* and *Amir-i-Akhur* of the Sultan and later on, he was appointed governor of Uchh. The new governor died in 1231 A.D.²²⁵ The region was then assigned to Malik Saifuddin Aibak. Minhaj calls him Aibak-i-Uchh. He was also a trusted Turkish slave of the Sultan and prior to this appointment, had held the fief of Narnul, Baran, and Sunam.²²⁶

Iltutmish died on 29 April 1236 and his eldest surviving son, Ruknuddin Firoz Shah, ascended the throne of Delhi.²²⁷ He was an incompetent Sultan. This led to a widespread rebellion in his dominions, specially the governors of far off provinces repudiated their loyalty. A confederacy was formed among the Malik Izzudin Khan Ayaz, Governor of Multan , Malik Saifuddin Kuchi, Governor of Hansi, and Malik Alaaddin, Governor of Lahore, The confederacy refused to accept the supremacy of the new Sultan and declared independence. Sultan Ruknuddin set out with a huge army to suppress the revolt. In this chaotic situation Sultan Razia, daughter of Iltutmish, conspired against Sultan Ruknuddin and assassinated him on 29 November 1236 A.D.²²⁸ The situation provided another opportunity for Kabir Khan Ayaz to rise against Razia. The revolt was suppressed and an accord was reached among Sultan Razia and the governors. Accordingly, Malik Izzuddin was transferred to Lahore and Multan was assigned to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qaraqash. But the assignment did not satisfy the ambitious governor who again revolted On 16th March 1240 A.D., but later on surrendered on the condition that Multan would also be given in his control.²²⁹ Throughout her reign Malik Hindu Khan Mihtar-i-Mubarak held the office of the treasurer and the territory and fortress of Uchh were in his charge.²³⁰

Taking advantage of this situation Malik Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh, who had come from Bunyan invaded the fort of Uchh after raising much dust in that part of the country. Malik Saifuddin Aibak came out of the fort and faced the enemy with a powerful army. Qarlugh's forces were routed and Saifuddin Aibak emerged victorious. But he was not destined to live long after this. Shortly afterward, he fell from his horse and died.²³¹

important provinces. Like Kabir Khan Ayaz, he also became an influential courtier. He was killed in a revolt in 1246 A.D. Minhaj II, pp.19-20.

²²⁵ Minhaj, II, pp. 3-5.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 449; Iltimi, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, ed. A.S. Usha, Madras,1948, pp. 129-30.

²²⁸ Minhaj, I,p. 457; and Sirhindi, (p. 24) records the same date; Nizamuddin Ahmad (I,p. 66) gives 1237 which is incorrect.

²²⁹ Minhaj, I, 460, Nizamuddin Ahmad I, 67, Ferishta, I, p. 68.

²³⁰ Minhaj, II, p. 19.

²³¹ Minh-aj, II, pp.8-9. The date of the encounter and the death of the governor has not been recorded: by contemporary or near contemporary historians. It may be presumed that the incident occurred. in 1236 A.D., after the death of Iltutmish.

The short but eventful period of Sultan Razia came to an end when she was deposed and assassinated in 1240 A.D. With a preplanned conspiracy, her brother Muizzuddin Bahram Shah ascended the throne of Delhi. Turkish Malikis took advantage of this changeover and hatched a conspiracy against him. They came to Delhi and captured the Sultan. The Sultan was assassinated on 9th May 1242 A.D.²³² They elevated Alauddin Masud on 10th May 1242 A.D., who too reigned for a short period. This puppet Sultan was also a weak ruler. He acted meekly upon the advice of the nobles.

During this period the relations between the centre and the frontier provinces of north western borders were put to severe strain. The region was constantly threatened by the Mongols who came in wave after wave and posed a serious challenge to the security and prosperity of the region. Those at the centre neither had the will nor the ability to extend any kind of help to these beleaguered frontiers. During this Hasan Qarlugh²³³ appeared before the gates of Multan. Kabir Khan Ayaz, the then Governor of Multan, inflicted a crushing defeat on him. But soon after he had to face again another Mongol invasion. In a decisive battle he defeated them as well.²³⁴ These successes must have generated enormous confidence in the mind of the governor about his own capabilities.

The deteriorating political as well as administrative situation at Delhi emboldened the ambitious governor. He declared himself independent and soon after occupied the neighboring territories including the fort of Uchh.²³⁵ According to Minhaj, Khan-i-Azam Malik Kabir Khan Ayaz²³⁶ was a Rumi Turk and a slave of Malik Nasiruddin Husain whom he had served as *Amir Shikar*. After the assassination of his master he migrated towards Hindustan and was purchased by Iltutmish. The territory of Multan was assigned to him and he was given the title of Kabir Khan-i-Minkobarni.²³⁷ He was also called Ayaz-i-Hazar Mardah. After his death in 1241 A.D., his son, Tajuddin Abu Bakr Ayaz, succeeded him to rule Multan and Uchh. Abu Bakr was a young man of good nature imbibed with gentle habits and courage. He followed the policy of his late father and extended his territories and soon occupied a large area of Sindh. Abu Bakr's reign was very short, he died in young age in 1245 A.D., During the short and independent rule of Kabir Khan Ayaz and Tajuddin Abu Bakr Ayaz, Sindh court was full of literary personalities such as Amid Loiki and Qasim Daud Khatib. From 1241 A.D., to 1243

²³² Minhaj, I, pp. 465-68.

²³³ Hasan Qarlugh had earlier approached the Sultan of Delhi for refuge and had sent his eldest sons Malik Nasiruddin Muhammad, to the Delhi court. Razia assigned him a fief of Baran, but he did not like it. He left to join his father. (Minhaj, II, p. 162). As later events show, Saifuddin probably retired to Banian which is situated in the hill tracts of the Sindh Sagar Doab, west of the Salt Range. (Revery I, p.623 fn).

²³⁴ Minhaj, II, p.6.

²³⁵ Ibid., II, pp. 5-6.

²³⁶ Ibid., II, p.6.

²³⁷ Minhaj, II, p. 6; Raverty, however, reads Mangirni and also gives other variations of the term which is of Turkish origin (Cf. Raverty, p. 725 fn.7).

A.D., Amid was attached to Tajuddin Abu Bakr at Uchh.²³⁸ After the death of Tajuddin, the poet attached to the court of Alauddin Masud Sultan of Delhi. Qasim Daud Khatib translated the Arabic text of *Awarif-ul-Maarif* into Persian on the advice of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani. This is the earliest known Persian translation of *Awarif-ul-Maarif* and was dedicated to Tajuddin Abu Bakr Ayaz.²³⁹ During his reign the Qarlughs once again tried in vain to occupy Multan and Uchh. After his death Uchh and Multan once again reverted to Delhi and were assigned to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qaragash Khan-i-Aetkin.

In November 1245 A.D., Manguta, the Mongol leader, arrived with his army before the gates of Uchh and sacked the city. Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah marched rapidly from Delhi, and was joined by Malik Balban-i-Kishlu from Nagore. However, to direct encounter took place; as the Sultan reached the river Beas the Mongol raised the siege of Uchh and returned towards Khurasan.²⁴⁰ Malik Saifuddin Hasan had already retired towards southern Sindh after leaving the fortress of Multan.²⁴¹ In the same period, Sultan appointed Malik Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan to look after the Multan affairs.²⁴²

The Turkish Amirs and Maliks dethroned and imprisoned the ruling monarch on 10th June 1246 A.D., and elevated Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah on the same day as the new Sultan of Delhi.²⁴³ Soon after his accession, Mongols again invaded the territory of Multan under their experienced leader Sali Nuin. Hearing about this, the Sultan, accompanied by Ulugh Khan, marched with a huge army towards the bank of the Indus and reached there in December 1246 A.D. The Mongols had already left the scene after extorting large sums of money from the people and capturing many prisoners. They had besieged the fort for fourteen days.²⁴⁴ This created an acute scarcity of the food provisions in the fort. The governor of the region requested Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya to approach the Mongols for rapprochement. The Shaikh negotiated with the Mongols through Malik Shamsuddin Kurat. The Shaikh offered 100,000 *dinars* to the invaders and persuaded them to raise the siege.²⁴⁵

In 1247 A.D., Malik Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan requested the Sultan to bestow upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multan as well. The Sultan accepted his request on the condition that the governor would relinquish the charge of Siwalik and Nagaur.

²³⁸ Minhaj, II, pp. 6-7.

²³⁹ Fazullah Amid Loiki, *Diwan-i-Amid* ed. Nazir Ahmad, Lahore 1985, pp. 259-69, See also Nazir Ahmad, The Earliest Persian translation of the Awarif ul-Maarif, *Indo-Iranica*, 1972, PP. 26-29.

²⁴⁰ Minhaj, I, pp.471, 484, II, p.37; See also Amid, pp. 102-9.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, p.170.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, II, P.37.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 471.

²⁴⁴ Minhaj, I, pp. 479, 494.

²⁴⁵ Sayf bin Yaqub Harawi, *Tarikh Nama-i-Harat*, ed, M. Zubayr, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 157-58. The author calls the governor Jankar Khan which seems to be the copyist's mistake as no other contemporary or near-contemporary source records this name and the other confusion is of *dirhams* (Minhaj) and *dinars*.

Kishlu Khan occupied Uchh and Multan but did not surrender Nagaur. The Sultan accompanied with Ulugh Khan proceeded towards Nagaur to punish the defaulting governor. After much negotiation, however, Kishlu Khan submitted to the Sultan and agreed to make over Nagaur and proceed towards Uchh.²⁴⁶

Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh again invaded the region of Multan in 1249 A.D., and invested the fort. Kishlu Khan rushed from Uchh with a band of his fifty choicest horsemen. During this encounter which ensued Hasan Qarlugh was slain and Kishlu Khan entered the fort. The Qarlugh kept the death of their leader secret and continued fighting under the command of Hasan's son, Malik Nasiruddin Muhammad, and fought so vigorously that Kishlu Khan had to patch up peace with the invaders. The Qarlughs compelled Kishlu Khan to surrender Multan. Qarlughs then occupied the fort of Multan.

The Qarlughs too were not to retain the possession of the Multan fort for long. After some time the governor of Taberhinda, Malik Nulrat-al-Din Sher Khan Sungar, attacked Multan and occupied the fort. He appointed Ikhtiyaruddin Kurez²⁴⁷ as his deputy and himself returned to his territory. He ruled Multan for a long time and was successful in thwarting the Mongol incursions. According to Minhaj he sent in 1250 A.D., a contingent of Mongol prisoners to Delhi whom he had captured during one of the encounters.²⁴⁸

These developments again encouraged Kishlu Khan to try his luck to capture the fort of Multan. On Saturday 4 June 1250 A.D., he set out from Uchh. While he was on his way, Sher Khan intercepted and captured Kishlu Khan. However, Kishlu Khan purchased his safety by surrendering the fort of Uchh to Sher Khan and himself retired towards the capital on 10 July 1251 A.D.²⁴⁹

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud assigned the territory of Badaun to Kishlu Khan and himself proceeded towards Uchh and Multan on 26 December 1252 A.D. The Sultan wanted to punish disloyal Sher Khan who was the governor of Multan and Punjab from 1249 A.D. On 3 November 1253 A.D., Sultan proceeded to Multan. While the royal forces remained on the Beas, Sher Khan decided not to fight and fled from Sindh to Turkistan to Mongu Qaan. On 16th February 1254 A.D., the territories of Uchh and Multan were wrested out of the hands of Sher Khan's dependents and placed under the charge of Arsalan Khan Sanjar-i-Chasht.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ Minhaj, I, p. 484, II, p.37.

²⁴⁷ This name has been written variously, Minhaj reads Karbas (I, p.484) & Raverty records other variations.

²⁴⁸ Minhaj, II, p.37.

²⁴⁹ Minhaj, II, pp. 37-38.

²⁵⁰ Minhaj, I, 484,87, II, pp. 38,44; Nazimuddin Ahmad, I, p.7 5.

After sometime Kishlu Khan was again appointed as the governor of his former provinces of Uchh and Multan.²⁵¹ After the departure of Sultan, Kishlu Khan repudiated his allegiance to Delhi and transferred his loyalty to the Mongols and even received a Mongol agent. Kishlu Khan also presented the whole of Sindh to the Mongols. The ungrateful and rebellious governor made it very difficult for Delhi to occupy Sindh again.²⁵²

Kishlu Khan accompanied with Qutlugh Khan marched towards Delhi in 1257 A.D. However, they could not succeed in their design. Kishlu Khan then returned to Uchh.²⁵³ Shortly afterwards, he paid a visit to Hulaku in Iraq to invite him to India. Towards the end of 1257 A.D., a Mongol army under Sali Nuin appeared in Sindh. The disgruntled governor entered into a pact with Mongols and joined their camp.²⁵⁴ This development made the situation very grave and required immediate and effective steps to check to invaders. The Sultan left Delhi on 13 January 1258 A.D., and summoned several Amirs and Maliks to join the expedition. The governors of Awadh and Lakhanuti delayed their departure to join the royal camp. However, the Sultan postponed his expedition until 10 January 1259 A.D., Kishlu Khan is said to have ruled the region till 1260 A.D.²⁵⁵

Isami records an expedition against Kishlu Khan led by Balban in 1258 A.D. On the arrival of Delhi forces, Kishlu Khan left his son, Muhammad, in Multan and himself marched towards Punjab which was under his control. Balban captured the fort of Multan and Muhammad fled to his father. Seeing this Kishlu Khan left Punjab and marched to Buniyan from there he tried to recapture Multan with Mongol assistance.²⁵⁶ The diplomacy of Balban succeeded in mutual non-aggression pact with Halaku and the recovery of Sindh was result of cordial relation rather than military action. In pursuance of the new arrangement Mongol emissaries arrived at Delhi in 1260 A.D., and were received with great honor.²⁵⁷

After the death of Kishlu Khan the affairs of the region were thrown into confusion. The seat of Multan seems to have remained vacant for a long time as fresh appointment is recorded until the death of Sultan Mahmud on 18 February 1266 A.D. Subsequent events show the name of Sher Khan as the governor of northern regions but we do not know the date of his appointment and other relevant details.

²⁵¹ Minhaj, II, p. 38.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, I, p. 487; II, p. 38.

²⁵³ Minhaj, I, pp. 491-93, II, pp. 39,73.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 494.

²⁵⁵ Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, ed. by Maulvi ikhmad 'Ali, Calcutta, 1868, p.93.

²⁵⁶ Isami, pp. 141,147,150. See A. B. M. Habibullah *The Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India*, Lahore 1945, pp. 135-36.

²⁵⁷ Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, pp. 242, 258.

PRINCE MUHAMMAD, AS GOVERNOR OF MULTAN

After the death of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud, Ghiyasuddin Balban ascended the throne of Delhi on 20 February 1266 A.D.²⁵⁸ He was an experienced administrator. He introduced several reforms in the administration of Delhi Sultanate. He adopted more vigorous policy to deal with the ever-growing menace of Mongol inroads. The territories of Uchh and Multan were always source of much trouble because of the disloyalty of the governors and the continuous attacks of the Mongols. After a thorough re-evaluation of the past events and a pragmatic appraisal of the various geo-political factors involved in the situation obtaining there, Balban came to the conclusion that the only solution of the perennial problem of Sindh was to entrust its administration to a person who enjoyed his full confidence and whose loyalty could never be doubted. The new incumbent should also be a man of exceptional ability. The only man who fitted the bill was his own son, Prince Muhammad. He, therefore, decided to assign him the territories of Multan, Lahore and entire areas of Sindh.²⁵⁹ Ziauddin Barani does not record the actual date of the appointment of the Prince but as it happened just after the death of Sher Khan, who was a distinguished Khan and a great barrier to the Mongols and who was poisoned by his own cousin, Balban, sometime in 1269 A.D.,²⁶⁰ it may be assumed that the appointment was made in the same or next year.

The career of the Prince Muhammad is recorded by the contemporary as well as later historians. Barani writes that the prince was gentle, courageous, able and learned, adorned with good qualities, and patron of letters.²⁶¹ The galaxy of liberators and poets attached to the court of the Prince included such distinguished persons as Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. The Prince is also said to have invited Shaikh Sadi to his court at Multan but the poet could not oblige him due to his old age. But it is said that Sham Sadi sent a copy of *Gulistan* to him in his own handwriting.

The Prince was sent to Multan with all preparations of war along with a body of experienced advisors. The Prince himself used to visit Delhi every year to seek advice of his father.²⁶² This constant preparedness and caution was necessary as the situation at the frontiers was very serious. The Mongols had made a practice to invade the frontier towns at least once a year to extricate men and money. The havoc wrought by the Mongols was enormous and Balban had to pull every muscle of his resources to

²⁵⁸ Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan Calcutta, 1862, p.66; Sirhindi, P. 40.

²⁵⁹ Barani, p.50.

²⁶⁰ Barani, (p.65) records the episode of poisoning Sher Khan by Balban. It was later repeated with variations by other historians like Sirhindi, Nizamuddin Ahmed, Badaoni, etc. The assertion has been challenged by Raverty (II p. 794 fn.) on chronological and historical grounds.

²⁶¹ Barani, p.66.

²⁶² Barani, p. 69.

effectively check the ever-growing Mongol menace. As a part of the preparations all, the forts in the frontier regions, damaged in earlier raids, were repaired.

Soon after in 1279 A.D., the Mongol troops crossed the river Beas and Balban dispatched prince Muhammad from Multan, Bughra Khan from Samanah and Malik Mubarak from Delhi. The combined forces marched to Beas hunted out the Mongols and obtained several victories over them.²⁶³ Sometimes in 1283 A.D., the Prince proceeded to Delhi to see his father. This proved to be the last visit to the court. Showing extraordinary favor towards his son, Balban appointed him his heir-apparent.²⁶⁴ Next year the Mongols again came before the gates of Multan with a force of twenty thousand under the command of Tamer, a Mongol noble of Herat, Qandhar, Balkh, Bamiyan *etc.*²⁶⁵ Prince Muhammad came out with a huge army to face the invader. Both forces halted on the either banks of the river which was situated at Sarir garden.²⁶⁶ A fierce battle took place. The encounter resulted in the defeat of Tamer, but the Prince was killed along with a small contingent of 500 men while offering his *Juma'* prayer by a Mongol officer who had been laying an ambush near the battle field.²⁶⁷ The tragic death occurred on Friday 9th March 1285 A.D.²⁶⁸ The Mongols captured a large number of prisoners including two court poets, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. After the tragic death of his son and the heir apparent. Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban appointed his youthful grandson Kai Khusrau to replace his father and sent him to Multan with a large army to check the Mongol inroad.²⁶⁹ He ordered that the dead Prince should henceforth be known as Khan-i-Shahid. However, Balban could not bear the sad demise of his son and fell ill. He died in 1287 A.D., after nominating Kai Khusrau as his heir.²⁷⁰ Court conspiracies led by Fakhruddin Kotwal did not allow Balban's nomination to materialize. The Prince returned to Multan and Kaiqubad, son of Bughra Khan was enthroned with the title of Sultan Muizzuddin.²⁷¹

²⁶³ Barani, p. 81.

²⁶⁴ Barani, p. 70.

²⁶⁵ Ferishta, I, p. 82.

²⁶⁶ Nizamuddin, named this place "Mandl Kilapi", This and other place cannot be identified now. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 98.

²⁶⁷ Badaoni, I, pp. 133-34.

²⁶⁸ Barani pp. 109-10. He is however, vague and careless in recording the correct date and gives 1285 A.D. While Mir Hasan the poet and courtier of the martyr Prince and an eye witness of the encounter, records the exact date *i.e.* Friday Zil Hijja 683/9 March 1285 A.D. The poet who became a prisoner of war along with Amir Khusrau, furnishes a detailed account of the tragedy in the shape of a *marsiya*, This elegy has been copied by later historians including Nizamuddin Ahmad (I, p. 98) who gives the same date. Badaoni (I, p. 13) only gives the month and year. It is rather surprising that Barani does not utilize vital information contained in the *marsiya*.

²⁶⁹ Barani, p. 110.

²⁷⁰ Badaoni, I, p.156; Sirhindi, p.52; Ferishta, I, p.83, gives 1286 which is incorrect.

²⁷¹ Barani, p. 129, See Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, p. 282 fn.4.

PRINCE KAI KHUSRAU AS GOVERNOR OF MULTAN.

Prince Kai Khusrau as governor of Multan was successful in guarding the frontiers against Mongols. After the death of Balban, he faced difficulties with the centre. In the court of Delhi Malik Nizamuddin hatched a plot against him. Kai Khusrau was called to Delhi and was murdered along with his companions, on his way in the district of Rohtak.²⁷²

Encouraged by the murder of Kai Khusrau, the Mongols who were waiting for an opportunity to invade the territories of Multan and Lahore. There was no advance guard at Multan to check the Mongols. Malik Bekar was dispatched by the Sultan at the head of thirty thousand troops to check the Mongols, He routed the Mongols on the Ravi and took a great number of them as prisoners. He is even said to have pushed the Mongols as far as the Salt Range.²⁷³ The Sultan who wanted to get rid of Nizamuddin, decided to remove him from the court and transferred him to Multan. But he did not proceed to his assignment and was killed later on.²⁷⁴ The days of the last Ilbari Sultan were also numbered. He was attacked by paralysis on account of excessive use of wine and debentury. The ailing Sultan appointed Malik Husain, an uncle of Jalaluddin Khalji, to govern Multan.²⁷⁵ The Sultan was done to death in 1290 A.D., and with his assassination ended the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi which ruled the major parts of Hindustan for more than eighty years.²⁷⁶

THE KHALJI RULE:

Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji ascended the throne of Delhi at Kilugarhi on 13 June 1290 A.D.²⁷⁷ He appointed his son Arkali Khan as the governor of Multan, Uchh, Sunam and Dipalpur. Arkali Khan had already shown his resourcefulness and capability by his achievement in suppressing the revolt of Malik Chhajju.²⁷⁸

In 1291 A.D., the Mongols once again appeared at the frontiers with a force of 15,000 under the command of Abdullah, a grandson of Halaku Khan, and encamped at Sunam, a place located close to Multan.²⁷⁹ Jalaluddin Khalji marched out of the capital to meet the enemy. After some skirmishes the Mongols agreed to withdraw without

²⁷² Barani, p.133; Nizamuddin Ahmad I, p. 105; Isami, pp. 196-98, Ferishta, I, p.84.

²⁷³ Amir Khusrau, *Qiran-al-Sadain*, (ed.) Ismail Merathi Aligarh, 1918, pp. 49-50, 62.

²⁷⁴ Barani, p.170.

²⁷⁵ Badani, I, p.159.

²⁷⁶ Barani, P.173. The Turkish rule in fact came to an end with the fall of the Tughluq dynasty.

²⁷⁷ See for details Amir Khusrau, Miftah-ul-Futuh, ed. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh 1954, pp.6-7; various dates recorded by different historians, see K.S. Lal, History of the Khaljis Delhi, 1980, P. 15, fn.1.

²⁷⁸ Barani, 184, Masumi, p.42.

²⁷⁹ A town then located on Ravi between Multan and Dipalpur. Most of the historians including Barani, Isami, & Haji Dabir named it 'Baran', Radaoni (I, p.172) calls it Sunam. See also History of the Khaljis, p.30.

fighting. The sultan established cordial relations with Abdullah whom he called his son. The sultan married one of his daughters to the Mongol Chief. After the settlement of 4,000 Mongol immigrants, the place was named as Mongolpura.²⁸⁰ Similarly, a great number of them were settled at Uchh and the place was named as Uchh Mughala.²⁸¹

Arkali Khan proved an asset to his father's administration. He served as governor of Lahore, Uchh and Multan. He also acted as regent at Delhi while his father was away on his military campaigns in the South. After the sudden death of his elder brother, he also became the heir-apparent. However, after Jalaluddin's assassination on 20 July 1296, Alauddin proclaimed himself as the Sultan of Delhi.²⁸² Arkali Khan did not move from Multan to avenge the murder of his father and claim the throne of Delhi. His mother, therefore, proclaimed her youngest son Hadar Khan as the Sultan of Delhi who assumed the title of Sultan Ruknuddin Ibrahim, and she began, to rule as the regent of her son. The arrangement did not last long as most of her follower deserted her to join Alauddin. Alauddin marched towards capital. Ruknuddin then tried to check Alauddin's advance, but could not succeed. At last he took his mother and a small band of his supporters and left for Multan secretly. Alauddin entered the capital on 20 October 1296 A.D.²⁸³

Soon after his accession, Alauddin dispatched his trusted generals, Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan with forty thousand forces to invade Multan in November 1296 A.D., Arkali Khan had made preparation to meet the invaders. However his men deserted him and joined the enemy.²⁸⁴ At last Arkali Khan implored Shaikh Rukn-i-Alam to intercede on his behalf. The Shaikh arranged a truce between them. Arkali Khan and other princes were driven to Delhi. Nusrat Khan brought instruction from Alauddin and took the charge of the prisoners at Aboher. Arkali Khan, Ruknuddin Ibrahim, Alghu and Ahmad Chap were blinded. Their women were arrested and slaves and properties were confiscated at the instruction of the Sultan. Jalaluddin's sons were imprisoned at Hansi, and the sons of Arkali Khan were assassinated. Malika-i-Jahan, and other ladies of the *harem* along with Ahmad Chap were brought to Delhi and imprisoned in the house of Nusrat Khan.²⁸⁵ Multan was given in the charge of Zafar Khan while Uchh, Bhakkar, Siwistan and Thatta were assigned to Nusrat Khan.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁰ Barani, pp. 218-19.

²⁸¹ Badaoni, I, 1, p. 73, 'A comparatively insignificant part of the modern town of Uchh, it is a small village now, having a total population of about 1500 souls. The ruined tombs and mosques and some low and high mounds in the vicinity reveals the antiquity of the place.

²⁸² Barani (p. 220) records the details of the circumstances which led to this treacherous and cold blooded murder. Khusrau, Sirhindi, Nizamuddin, Badaoni and Ferishta merely copy Barani's account, but gives minor details as well. For a detailed study of the subject see, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 55-56.

²⁸³ Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-al-Futuh*, ed. Wahid Mirza, Calcutta. 1953, pp. 11-12, Eng.Trans. M. Habib, Madras, 1931, p.7, See also, *History of the Khaljis*, p. 61.

²⁸⁴ Masumi, p.43.

²⁸⁵ Barani, (p.249) is not clear on the point, Ferishta, 1,102, Badaoni, 1,183, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 65-66.

²⁸⁶ Barani, pp. 248-49, Ferishta, P.102.

Between 1297 and 1299 A.D., two successive invasions of Mongol were made, first under Kadar and the second under Dava and Saldi. These were easily repulsed. The Siwistan invasion was led by Saldi who occupied the fort of Siwistan. Zafar Khan²⁸⁷ was sent to flush out the Mongols. The valiant general them a crushing defeat. It was for the first time that Mongols were confronted with such an ingenious defeat. Khan returned to Delhi along with a large number of prisoners of both sexes including their leader Saldi and Dava. Zafar Khan's victory excited people's admiration. The impact of his popularity was such that the Sultan became suspicious and transferred him to Lakhnauti. Meanwhile, Mongols again appeared before the gates of Siwistan with a force of twenty tumas (200,000 horse) and marched up to Kili near Delhi. While the Mongol forces were marching towards Delhi, the royal forces were only hovering round the flanks of the invaders. Zafar Khan was killed in this encounter.²⁸⁸

Sultan Alauddin wanted to strengthen his territories and for this purpose he appointed new governors in the provinces. Tajul Mulk Kafuri was appointed to the governorship of Multan and Siwistan,²⁸⁹ and the reign of Dipalpur and Lahore was assigned to Ghazi Malik Tughluq. It was some time in 1304 A.D., that the Mongols once again ravaged Multan. This time the Sultan assigned Multan²⁹⁰ and Dipalpur²⁹¹ to Ghazi Malik with the instructions to deal firmly with the Mongols. Ghazi Malik proved himself equal to the occasion and routed them with terrible slaughter. It happened during the last days of Alauddin. The 1211 of Uchh was assigned to Bahram Aiba entitled Khishlu Khan, an influential amir of Khalji court who later on became a trusted friend of Ghazi Malik. According to Ghazi Malik himself, he fought twenty nine battles against the Tatars and defeated them and was given the title of Malik al-Ghazi.²⁹² When Ghazi Malik was going to overthrow Khusrau Khan, the usurper of Khalji power, he invited Mughlati the governor of Multan for help. Mughlati refused the invitation. Ghazi Malik then wrote a letter to the officers of Multan who then overthrew the governor and killed him under the leadership of Bahram Siraj, a religious luminary of Multan.²⁹³

²⁸⁷ Masumi (pp.43-44) records that Nusrat Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sindh after the defeat of Arkali Khan, marched against the Mongols and defeated them.

²⁸⁸ The first invasion of Mongols during the reign of Alauddin was in Rabi-u2-Akhir 697/February 1298 A.D., vide Khazain-al-Futuh, p.34, Eng.' tr. p.23; See for detailed description see, *History of the Khaljis*, pp. 132-139.

²⁸⁹ Barani, pp. 260-61.

²⁹⁰ Barani, pp. 323-24. Ibn Batuta, Ibn Batuta, *Rehla*, Bairut, 1964, p.436, Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, ed. Vilayat Husain, Calcutta, 1891, p.36.

²⁹¹ Amir Khusrau *Tughluq-Namah*, ed. S.Hashmi Faridabadi, Aurangabad 1933, p.63. It, however, appears that after some time the *iqta* was transferred to Mughlati, as the latter events would show.

²⁹² Ibn Batuta (p.436) records that Malik Tughluq fixed an inscription on the Jama Mosque built by him at Multan. No trace of this mosque or the inscription is available now. However, the mosque was seen by Ibn Batuta. He also gives the text of inscription. According to him it reads "I have encountered the Tatar on seventy nine occasions, and defeated them, hence I am called Malik al-Ghazi." Amir Khasrau (*Tuohluq-Namah*,p.63) also attests the existence of the Jama Mosque.

²⁹³ *The Tughluq-Namah*, P.63; Sirhindi, p.89; Badaoni, I,p.222; Isami,(p.366r however calls Aiba Governor of Multan and Uchh, who unhesitatingly joined the forces of Ghazi Malik on his call against Khusrau Khan. He does not

THE TUGHLUQ RULE:

The rise of the Tughluqs to power can be traced back from the rise and fall of Nasiruddin Khusrau's rule in the history of the Delhi Sultanate. Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji was assassinated on Wednesday 9th July 1320 A.D.,²⁹⁴ at the hands of his slave, Khusrau Khan, whom Amir Khusrau calls Hasan Khusrau in *Tuahluo-Namati*. Hearing the news of the murder of the last Khalji Sultan and his innocent brothers. Ghazi Malik invited several Khalji amirs to join him to crush the usurper. These Amirs were Mughlati governor of Multan, Bahram Aiba, governor of Uchh, Muhammad Shah Lur governor of Sindh, Amir Haushungo governor of Jalour, Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, minister and the governor of Ujjan and Dharwar.²⁹⁵

After inviting these Amirs Ghazi Malik started towards Delhi while his son, Malik Fakhruddin Juna, had already escaped earlier from Delhi. The combined forces of Malik Ghazi accompanied with the two Khalcher chiefs Gulchandar and Sahaj Rai reached and encamped at Indarpath near Delhi.²⁹⁶ The battle took place on Friday and on Saturday 6 September 1320 A.D., Malik Ghazi ascended the throne of Delhi assuming the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.²⁹⁷

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq appointed Kishlu Khan as the governor of Multan and Uchh. During those days the region of lower Sindh was only nominally under Delhi Sultanate. Taking advantage of the trouble, at the centre its chief, Amar, had captured Thatta and become independent.²⁹⁸

According to Isami during this time Mongols had crossed the Indus under the leadership of Sher Mughal. The Central government sent an army under the command of Malik Shadi, the *Naib vazir* and other officers. The Mongols were defeated.

After the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq his son, Muhammad Tughluq, ascended the throne of Delhi in 1325 A.D. The administration of north west frontier provinces remained under the control of the same officers. But certain developments taking place during that time put the relations between the centre and the region under severe strain. The governor of Multan and Uchh, Kishlu Khan, had incurred Sultan's

mention the name of Mughlati and other details connected with him. See also Nizamuddin (I, p.188) who repeats the story.

²⁹⁴ *Tughluq-Namah*, p.19, Barani's account is vague about the murder of Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, P. 57.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128, Isami, pp. 375, 379,381.

²⁹⁷ *Tughliq-Namah*, pp. 143-44.

²⁹⁸ Masumi, pp. 46, 60.

displeasure for having buried the corpses of Bahauddin Gurshap and Ghiyasuddin Bahadur which, while being paraded through the empire, had reached his territories. The Sultan ordered Aiba to attend the court to explain his position, but he refused and revolted.²⁹⁹

The date of the Multan rebellion has not been recorded by any contemporary or near contemporary historian, but the circumstantial evidence shows that it must have happened in 1327-28 A.D. When the Sultan ordered for the second time migration of people from Delhi to Daultabad. Accordingly the rebellion broke out immediately after the Sultan had moved to south.³⁰⁰

On hearing about the outbreak, the Sultan -rushed to the north to suppress the revolt. A new army was raised and the Sultan marched towards Multan. After a fierce battle Kishlu Khan was killed and his army was routed completely. For punishing the inhabitants of Multan, the Sultan marched towards the city. A large number of the people were slain. Shaikh Ruknuddin, requested the Sultan and came out bare headed from the "Amkhas" gate and stood there until the Sultan acceded to the request of the Shaikh to pardon the innocent people of Multan. The Sultan also ordered to hang the head of Kishlu Khan over the gate where he stayed during his visit to Multan. In 1333 A.D., when Ibn Batuta came to Multan he also saw the head which was hanging on the gate.³⁰¹ Qiwan-al-Mulk Maqbul was appointed as the new governor of Multan and Uchh. Originally, a Hindu of Telingana and called Karen, he was in the service of the Rai of Telingana but had later embraced Islam and joined the service of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq who named him Maqbul. He was an expert in arithmetic and an intelligent administrator. He ruled the territory for about fourteen years, when in 1341 A.D., he was replaced and succeeded by Fakhruddin Bahzad.³⁰² He was also transferred and replaced with Imadul Mulk Sartej, a senior courtier and had served earlier as the (Arzal Mamalik) commander-in-chief of the imperial army.³⁰³

The region of Siwistan was ruled by Ratan, a Hindu. He was killed by lunar and Qaisar-i-Rumi. They captured the government treasury of about twelve lakhs. Wunar who became Malik Firoz mustered a large army to face the situation but he did not consider it safe and fled away. The army then raised Qaisar-i-Rumi as its leader. The governor of Multan Imadul Mulk Sartej, watched these developments and crushed the rebellion.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ Ibn Batuta(pp. 482-3) and Badaoni, (p. 126) say that Kishlu Khan's revolt was a reaction against the misbehavior of Sultan's emissary Ali Khati Khan who had come to Multan to take the family of Kishlu Khan to Daultabad. During this altercation, Ali Khati ordered Luti, son in law of Khaslu Khan to be beheaded. He also rebuked the governor thinking that the governor was delaying the departure to Daultabad intentionally. After that Kashlu Khan refused to obey the Sultan's order and revolted. See Sirhindi, p. 100; Isami, p.420.

³⁰⁰ Barani, p. 479; Isami, pp.421-22, Sirhindi, p.160.

³⁰¹ Ibn Batuta, p.483, Isami, p. 443.

³⁰² Ferishta, I, p.136.

³⁰³ Sirhindi, pp.101, 106-7, Ibn Batuta, pp. 374-75.

³⁰⁴ Ibn Batuta, pp. 398-99.

Sultan Muhammad spent last days in chasing the rebel slave, Taghi, at Gujarat. He fled from there and took shelter in Sindh with the help of the Jam of Thatta. The Sultan led an expedition against the Jam of Thatta. But the Sultan died on the way of the bank of the river Indus on 20 March 1351 A.D.³⁰⁵

After the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq, his cousin Firoz Shah Tughluq ascended the throne on 25 August 1351 A.D. The governor of Multan Sartej was replaced and the charge was given to Ain-ul-Mulk Maitani.³⁰⁶ However, no specific date of his appointment and stay has been mentioned by any contemporary or later historian. But the *manshur*³⁰⁷ which was issued by the Sultan is preserved in the *Insha-i-Mahru*.

Ain-ul-Mulk was an experienced administrator and he was able to give a new direction to the administration of the province which resulted in bringing peace and tranquility to the region.

The region had suffered for long by the inroads of the Mongols. The reforms which were introduced by Ain-ul-Mulk can easily be seen in his collection of letters.³⁰⁸ No other assignment had been recorded in the history after the Multan's assignment.³⁰⁹

In 1358 A.D., Firoz Tughluq appointed another experienced general, Tatar Khan, to the post of *Shiqdar* of the vast areas of the Sultanate extending from Ghaznin to Uchh and Multan.³¹⁰ Tatar Khan continued to rule the vast region for a long period extending over 18 years. The Mongols once more started creating difficulties on the frontier and it was felt at the court that some energetic governor was required to meet the situation. With this view Sultan Firoz Shah appointed Malik al-Sharq Mardan Daulat Nasir-ul-Mulk as the governor of the region.³¹¹ Sirhindi and other later historians record that at least three generations of Mardan Daulat were associated with Multan which would suggest their extraordinary success in the region. After his death his son and grandson were appointed successively to administer these frontier territories. Initially he has proved his mettle against Haji Ilyas of Bengal. Impressed by his performance in Bengal, the Sultan gave him the title of Mardan Daulat and appointed him as the governor of Multan.³¹²

³⁰⁵ Masumi, p.48.

³⁰⁶ Afif, pp. 408-415.

³⁰⁷ Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, *Insha-i-Mahru*, ed. S.A. Rashid, Lahore, 1965, p.8.

³⁰⁸ Mahru, p. 88.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³¹⁰ Sirhindi, p.127; Badaoni, I,p.246; Nizamuddin Ahmad,I,p.231.

³¹¹ His real name was Khwaja Ziauddin. He was a grandson of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari Harawi. Ziauddin Came to Hindustan in 1353 A.D., and joined the services of Sultan Firoz.

³¹² Sirhindi, p.133, Badaoni, I,p.251.

The rebellious activities of Jam Alauddin Juna, who ruled over the small region of lower Sindh,³¹³ reached such an extent that Sultan Firoz Shah felt it necessary to personally lead an expedition against him. It was a prestigious war for Firoz Shah because Muhammad Tughluq died at the bank of Indus before conquering Thatta. In this expedition Firoz Shah has to undergo much hardship due to famine and other natural calamities. After two and half year of continuous fighting Firoz Shah captured Thatta and took Jam as captive to Delhi.³¹⁴

Ain-ul-Mulk bitterly complained the behavior of Banbinah who had repeatedly tried to induce the Mongols to invade the country. Mahru also reports that Jam was not so bad, but he was incapable of controlling his nephew and the men around him.

Sultan Firoz Shah died on 20 September 1388 A.D.³¹⁵ This led a political gap and chaos which resulted in a civil war between the contenders for the throne. The claimants of the throne wanted to gain the support of provincial governors for their own cause. Muhammad Shah seems to have succeeded in securing the support of Malik-us-Sharq Nasirul Mulk, the governor of Multan as we find his fighting on his side in 1389.³¹⁶ As a reward Muhammad Shah invested him with the title of Khizr Khan for his services.³¹⁷

In 1395 A.D., a conflict arose between Khizr Khan governor of Multan and Sarang Khan the governor of Dipalpur. In this encounter Khizr Khan lost the battle and fled to Mewat.³¹⁸ Sarang Khan occupied the forts of Multan and Uchh. The territory of Uchh was assigned to Malik Ali to govern it on his behalf. Meanwhile, Sarang Khan marched towards Samana and defeated Ghalib Khan, the governor of the territory and occupied the fort. Hearing this, Muhammad Shah sent Tatar Khan to deal with Sarang Khan. In an encounter Sarang Khan was defeated on 8 October 1397 A.D., at Kotla and was driven back to Multan.³¹⁹

³¹³ Anonymous, *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, Bankipur, MS. No.VII 547, fol. 41b. He was the brother of the late Jam Umar and Sadruddin Banbinah son of Jam Unar.

³¹⁴ *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, fol. 45b., Afif, pp. 194-254. Sirhindi, p. 131.

³¹⁵ Sirhindi, p.140; Badaoni, I, p. 255.

³¹⁶ Sirhindi, pp. 146-47.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147; Badaoni, I, p. 259.

³¹⁸ The historians are not clear about the place of the refuge of Khizr Khan. While Sirhindi, Ferishta. Badaoni *etc.*, do not say anything about his where., abouts after his defeat, Yazdi (I,p.175) relates that Sarang Khan arrested him and put him into prison from where he managed to escape and fled towards Bayana. However the fact that Khizr Khan was appointed as the governor of Multan by Taimur, would go to indirectly suggest that perhaps he had sought shelter with Shams Khan Auhadi the ruler of Bayana (1397-1416 A.D.). Sirhindi, p. 162, Ferishta, 159; Nizamuddin Ahmed, I, p. 254.

³¹⁹ Sirhindi, p.157; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I,p.254; See also for detail K.S.Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Bombay,1963,p. 10-12.

TAIMUR'S INVASION:

After the death of Firoz Shah the centre has been progressively getting weak and the governors of the far off regions were asserting their independence. The political chaos and almost total breakdown of the state machinery was enough inducement for the strong Taimurid state across the border to resist the temptation of the conquest. Consequently Taimur resolved to conquer Hindustan. He assigned the task of invasion to his grandson, Pir Muhammad Jahangir, governor of the provinces of Kabul, Ghaznin, Qandhar and other adjacent territories, and encouraged him to capture the northern part of the country.³²⁰

Pir Muhammad crossed the Indus in December 1397 and besieged the fort of Uchh. For the assistance of Malik Ali, Sarang Khan sent re-enforcement under the command of Malik Tajuddin, but it was intercepted on its way by the invaders who then advanced towards Multan. Pir Muhammad asked Sarang Khan to submit and pay yearly tribute. But Sarang Khan rejected the proposal as he had a large army and numerous elephants at his command. Sarang Khan was also a valiant fighter and was well known for his gallantry and generosity. Pir Muhammad tightened the siege which lasted for six months. In this encounter, Taimur's son-in-law was killed.³²¹

Hearing the news, Taimur himself proceeded to help his grandson on 20 September 1398 A.D., Sarang Khan could not resist the fresh attack for long and had to surrender unconditionally, Taimur arrested Sarang Khan along with his near supporters and took them to Samarqand where they were put to death.³²²

Taimur's invasion created a great havoc in the northern frontiers of Hindustan. Return to Samarcand, Taimur appointed Khizr Khan as the governor of Uchh, Multan and Dipalpur in 1399 A.D.³²³ Unfortunately, no details are available about his administrative reforms to rehabilitate the people. It appears that much of his time was devoted in consolidating his own position in order to gain supremacy at Delhi. The region was neglected until the time Khizr Khan himself ascended the throne of Delhi as the first Saiyid ruler on Monday 4 June 1414 A.D.³²⁴

³²⁰ Yazdi II, pp. 14-15: See also K.S.Lal, pp. 12-13.

³²¹ Sirhindi, pp. 162-63.

³²² Yazdi II, pp. 174-76, Feridhta, I,p.1597 Sirhindi, pp.166-67.

³²³ Sirhindi, p. 183.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

THE SAIYID AND THE LODI RULE:

Khizr Khan who was appointed as the governor of Multan, Uchh and Dipalpur by Taimur, ascended the throne of Delhi as the first ruler of Saiyid dynasty on Monday 4 June 1414 A.D.³²⁵ He appointed Malik Abdur Rahim, an adopted son of Malik Sulaiman with the title of Ala-ul-Mulk in his own place to govern Multan. The Malik ruled the region for about ten years and died in 1423 A.D.,³²⁶ Sultan Mubarak Shah then assigned the governorship of Multan, Bhakkar, and Siwistan to Malik al-Sharq Mahmud Hasan. At that time Shaikh Ali; the Taimurid governor of Kabul was posing a serious threat to the region. On his arrival at Multan his first priority was to strengthen the defenses by repairing the old fort which was damaged during the siege of Pir Muhammad. He recruited a large army from the local population and reorganized the civil as well military affairs. The ambitious governor brought back peace and prosperity to the ravaged province. In 1427 A.D., he was replaced by Malik al-Sharq Rajab Nadirah and he was sent to the fief of Hisar Firozah. But the new governor died after two years, and Mahmud Hasan was sent back to Multan with the title of Imadul Mulk.³²⁷ Meanwhile one of the imperial slave, Faulad Turkbachcha revolted at Tabarhindah and invited Shaikh Ali, governor of Kabul, for help. In 1431 A.D., Shaikh Ali arrived on the scene and after receiving a large sum of money from Faulad and plundering the territories between Ravi and Chinab, appeared in the suburbs of Multan. The governor sent Malik Suleiman Shah Lodi to meet the invader but was defeated and killed.³²⁸

On 15 May 1431 A.D., Shaikh Ali again came to Khusraabad in the vicinity of Multan and attacked one of the gates of the city. Imadul Mulk repulsed the enemy and compelled him to retreat. On 6th and 8th June the invader again tried to occupy the fort but could not succeed. After some time he again tried to capture the fort but was compelled to retreat. In this encounter Imadul Mulk gave him a crushing defeat. Shaikh Ali fled from the battle field leaving his belongings. Two days later he, again attacked but was defeated and driven back finally.³²⁹

Meanwhile, the news of Shaikh Ali's attack at Multan reached Mubarak Shah. He sent a strong force under the command of his senior and experienced generals including Majlis-i-Ali-Khan-i-Azam Fath Khan, son of Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati, Majlis-i-Ali Zirak Khan, Malik Kalu Shahna-i-Pil, Khan-i-Azam Islam Khan, Malik Yusuf Sarwar al-Mulk. Khan-i-Azam Kemal Khan, and Rai Hinu Zulji Bhatti. The contingent reached Multan

³²⁵ Sirhindi, pp. 181-83.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 201.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 214.

³²⁸ For a detail account of the episode; see Sirhindi, pp.215-17. *Cambridge History of India*, III,ed. Richard Burn Cambridge, 1937, p. 215; R.C.Majumdar, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay, 1960, p. 129.

³²⁹ Sirhindi, pp. 218-20.

on 27 June 1431 and was stationed at Namazgah. While they were moving towards Kotla Alaul Mulk on 13 July 1431 A.D.,³³⁰ they gave a final battle to Shaikh Ali who immediately came with his full force. In this encounter the army of Shaikh Ali was completely routed and panic was created among the ranks of Shaikh Ali. They ran away leaving Shaikh Ali alone. The royalist chased him upto Jhelum where he succeeded in crossing the river along with his nephew, Amir Muzaffar. They reached the town of Seor.³³¹ Shaikh Ali returned to Kabul but left his nephew in the fort of Seor. The royalist chased the fugitive and besieged the fort. However, the siege was abandoned by the order of Sultan.³³²

Imadul Mulk then directed his attention towards the urgent need of revamping the civil administration as well as the rehabilitation of his subjects. But he could not complete his work as he was recalled and Khairuddin Khan was appointed in his place.³³³ The good work done by Imadul Mulk and his successful defence of the region against Shaikh Ali had made him very popular in the region and this perhaps aroused the suspicion of the Sultan.³³⁴

Shaikh Ali seems to have set his heart at capturing Multan but this desire could not materialise as long as Imadul Mulk was there. Hearing the news of his transfer from there Shaikh Ali again set out to capture the territories around Multan and regain his lost prestige. He captured Talumba and imprisoned its leading men and ransacked its environs. Sultan Mubarak proceeded to Samana and encamped there. Seeing this Shaikh Ali retired to Bartol.³³⁵ Again after one year Shaikh Ali appeared towards Tabarhinda but returned back to Seor because of Imadul Mulk's approach. On his way he plundered and sacked Sahiwal and Lahore.³³⁶ Mubarak Shah proceeded towards Dipalpur along with Imadul Mulk and Islam Khan Lodi to chase the invader who had already crossed the Chenab on his way to Kabul. This was the last invasion of Shaikh Ali as after it we do not hear about him again.

Mubarak Shah took keen interest in the administration of Multan.³³⁷ The region had been disturbed since May 1433 A.D. The Sultan, decided to pay a visit to the tombs of

³³⁰ Sirhindi, pp. 220-21.

³³¹ It is situated between the junction of the Jhelum and Chinab. It is also described by Hiuen Tsang to be 5,000 li in circuit. Nowadays it is revised and has turned in huge mound. The famous Raja Sor laid the foundation of the city. It is bounded on the east by Sutlej, on the west by Indus, on the north by the province of Taki and on the South by Multan. The antiquity of the place may be ascertained approximately by the coins which are found from its ruins.

³³² Sirhindi, pp. 221-22.

³³³ Sirhindi, p. 223.

³³⁴ Ibid., p. 223; Abdul Saqi Nahawandi, *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, I. ed. Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Calcutta 1924, p.422.

³³⁵ The name has been recorded by different historians differently. Nizamuddin calls it Balot (I,p.283) while Nahawandi has 'Marut' (I, p. 423) For identification and etymological problems, See Elliot III, p.74 fn.1 and Hodivala, 1,13. 409.

³³⁶ Sirhindi, p. 230.

³³⁷ Sirhindi, p. 231, Nizamuddin Ahmed. I, p. 286; Nahawandi, I, p. 425; Shaik Abdui Haq, however records that the Sultan appointed his brother, Khan-i-Khanan to control the administration of Multan.

the celebrated saints of Multan.³³⁸ The Sultan was assassinated on 30 May 1434 A.D., in the new city called Mubarakpur Kotla founded by him at the bank of Jamuna³³⁹ and his eventful career was closed. After the assassination of Mubarak Shah, his son Muhammad Shah ascended the throne at Delhi on the same day.³⁴⁰ Next year in the month of November the new Sultan Marched towards Multan and encamped at a place named Mubarakpur.³⁴¹ At the halting place, a number of signatories came to visit him including Imadul Mulk, Islam Khan, Muhammad Khan b. Nusrat Khan, Yusuf Khan Auhadi, Ahmad Khan grandson of Bahadur Khan Maio, Iqbal Khan, *amir* of Hisar Firoza, Amir Ali Gujarati *etc.* The Sultan treated them kindly and bestowed honors upon them according to their ranks.³⁴² He also went to pay homage to the saints at Multan and appointed Khan Khanan as governor of the province and himself returned to Delhi.³⁴³

In 1437 A.D., the city of Multan was disturbed by the Baluch tribe of Langhas.³⁴⁴ It took a serious turn. The Sultan could not send any force for the help of governor nor he could initiate any punitive action against the miscreants as he was busy in thwarting the attack of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. Meanwhile Bahlol Lodi who had gained immense power and prestige and had indeed attacked Delhi in 1443 A.D., but could not succeed.³⁴⁵

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SHAIKH YUSUF:

When the disturbances at Multan took a serious turn, the people of the province, having been fed-up with the uncertain situation of the centre, terminated their relations with the centre and elected Shaikh Yusuf, a great grandson of Shaikh Bahaddudin Zakariya Multani, to rule the province independently. The last years of Muhammad Shah's rule witnessed rapid decline of the Sultanate. He could not exert himself to take back this frontier region. The Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur had also penetrated the territories of the Sultanate and pressing him hard. The fact that most of the fief holders withheld their annual payment of the tributes further complicated the situation and made the task of the Sultan still more difficult. The authority of the Sultan did not extend even to the very neighborhood of the capital itself.³⁴⁶

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 231; Nahawandi, I, p. 430.

³³⁹ Sirhindi, p.231; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, P. 287. Nahawandi, I,p.426, Ferishta, I,p.169, The circumstances of the Sultan's assassination have been summed up and analysed in the *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 219-20; See also R.C. Majumdar's *Delhi Sultanate*. P. 133.

³⁴⁰ Sirhindi, p.234; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 280. Nahawandi, I, p. 426; Ferishta, I, p. 169.

³⁴¹ Sirhindi, p.243; *Ibid.*, I, p. 290; *Ibid.*,I,p.430 and Ferishta I, p.110 gives the month Rabi-ul-Awwal.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, P. 243; Sirhindi closes his account abruptly at this point.

³⁴³ Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 290, Nahawandi, I, p. 430.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p.291, Badaoni, I, p. 303.

³⁴⁵ Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 292.

³⁴⁶ Ferishta, II, p. 324; Nahawandi, I, p. 266.

The uncertain and chaotic situation of the Saiyid government was already heading towards total collapse. The dangerously drifting political condition of the region required a capable and energetic administrator to check this downhill trend, But the centre was not in a position to do anything and helplessly watched the worsening situation. Meanwhile Sultan Muhammad Shah breathed his last in 1445 A.D.³⁴⁷ He was succeeded by his son, Alauddin Alam Shah, the meek Sultan of the Saiyid dynasty. The new Sultan was perhaps the most unworthy ruler of his line. Finding himself unequal to the task he agreed to transfer the power to Bahlul Lodi on 30 April 1450 A.D.³⁴⁸ The far off regions of the Sultanate took the advantage of the prevailing chaotic political conditions at the centre asserted their independence. The people of Multan had been studying the situation and had come to the conclusion that in the situation they could not expect any help from any source least of all from the centre. They therefore decided to take the matters in their own hand. They elected one of their own citizens Shaikh Yusuf, a great grandson of Shaikh Bahaddin Zakaria Multani, as the ruler of Multan.³⁴⁹

Shaikh Yusuf managed the affairs of Multan and Uchh so efficiently that the province soon regained its prosperity and peace and was set on the road of progress once again. He proved himself to be a good administrator. However, his rule was destined to be short-lived as he fell a victim to a conspiracy hatched against him by a Baluch leader of Langah tribe, Rai Sahra or Sahira³⁵⁰ who treacherously expelled Shaikh Yusuf from Multan and occupied the fort.³⁵¹ The Shaikh then left for Delhi to seek help from Bahlul Lodi where he was received with honor and his son was married to a daughter of Bahlul.³⁵²

The province had been associated with Delhi Sultanate of more than three centuries, infact it served as a meeting point of east and west. The whole province of Sindh including Multan was a gateway of the eastern territories of India. Geographically, the region was important because almost all the foreign invaders and travelers wishing to proceed to the centre, either to disturb its peace or to get grace from the throne, passed through Multan.

³⁴⁷ Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 291.

³⁴⁸ Ferishta, I, p. 171; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, (p. 290) records 1343 A.D.

³⁴⁹ Ferishta, I, p.172.

³⁵⁰ He was the father-in-law of Shaikh Yusuf as one of his daughters was married to Shaikh. Sahra sometime came from Sivi to Multan to see his daughter. Shaikh did not allow him to live in the town of Multan, as a matter of safety but Sahra gradually wormed himself in the confidence of Shaikh Yusuf and got his men appointed in the service of Shaikh. One day Rai Sahra hatched a plot against the Shaikh and frigned that he was sick. About midnight he called his armed men and captured the fort. Shaikh fled away and sought shelter in the court of Delhi.

³⁵¹ Sirhindi, p. 123.

³⁵² Ferishta, II, p. 324.

LANGAHS RULE OF MULTAN:

The short rule of Shaikh Yusuf and the usurpation of power by Rai Sahra or Sahira has been recorded by Ferishta,³⁵³ Nizamuddin,³⁵⁴ Nahwandi,³⁵⁵ Masumi³⁵⁶ and Sujan Rai.³⁵⁷ However, Abul Haq omits the episode and says that, Budha Khan Sindhi, a leader of Baluch tribe of the Langhas, assembled his supporters at Uchh and marched upon Multan. He expelled Khan-Khana and captured the fort. In 1437 A.D., he declared himself independent and assuming the title of Mahmud Shah.³⁵⁸ He ruled successfully for well about sixteen years and died in 1460 A.D.³⁵⁹ Detail about his reign are not available but the achievements of his successor indicate that Mahmud Shah must have been successful in maintaining law and order which ensured peace and prosperity and provided a solid base for his successors.

After the death of Mahmud, his son Qutbuddin ascended the throne.³⁶⁰ He also ruled for sixteen years and died in 1469 A.D., and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sultan Husain, He was the ablest ruler of the line. He extended his kingdom up to Sorekot, Chiniot, Karor and the whole territory up to Dhankot.³⁶¹ He enhanced his prestige and power after annexing the neighboring territories in his dominion. The greedy eyes of the Sultan Bahlul were always on the prosperous province of Multan. Soon after his accession Bahlul marched towards Multan.³⁶² Meanwhile, his own territory was routed

³⁵³ Ferishta, II, p. 324.

³⁵⁴ Nizamuddin Ahrnad, I, p.791 (English translation).

³⁵⁵ Nahawandi, I, p. 268.

³⁵⁶ Masumi, p. 148.

³⁵⁷ Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Tawrikh*, ed. Delhi 1918, p. 292.

³⁵⁸ Abul Haq, *Akhbar-ul-Akhivar fi Asar al-Abrar*, p.183, The date of the foundation of this new of Multan does not, however, corroborate with events of the period. If we accept 1443 A.D. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1309 A.H. ruling dynasty subsequent as the date of Shaikh Yusuf's election, it would not be possible for him to take refuge at the court of Bahlul on his exile after two years i.e. 1445 A.D. As the date of coronation of Bahlul is 1450 A.D., at least six years later than the above date. Further, none of these historians mention the name of Budha Khan Sindhi who assumed the title of Mahmud Shah as the first ruler of the dynasty and ruled as long as 16 years. They started their narration with the rise of Rai Sahira who assumed the title of Qutbuddin, in fact the son and successor of Mahmud Shah. Under the conditions, the date will have to be pushed back further during the later days of the last Saiyid ruler Alauddin Alam Shah.

³⁵⁹ The historians are confused about the date, Abdul Hag records 1554 A.D. While Nurul Hag(f.263b) gives the date of his accession 1437 A.D., and records that he ruled; for 17 years. This makes the date of his accession 1454 A.D. But, if we take into account the two years of Shaikh Yusuf's reign who ascended the throne in 1443 A.D., the date would be 1460 AD. Shaikh Nurul Haq, *Zubdat at-Twarikh*, MS. - Punjab Public Library fol. 263b; as quoted by Ahmad Nabi, p. 79.

³⁶⁰ Ferishta (11,13.325) does not mention Mahmud Shah and begins his account with Qutbuddin.

³⁶¹ Modern Dinkot located in the District of Mianwali near Kalabagh.

³⁶² Ferishta, II, p. 326; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 326.

by Mahmud Sharqi.³⁶³ After about six years, he again proceeded to capture Multan but had hardly reached Lahore when again he had to rush back to Delhi due to Sharqi interference.³⁶⁴

Shaikh Yusuf, the former ruler of Multan, instigated Bahlul Lodi to send expedition against Husain Langah. He sent his son, Barbak Shah Tatar Khan and directed the governor of Punjab to join the expedition.³⁶⁵ Husain Langah was at that time busy in suppressing the revolt of his brother at Kot Karor. Tatar Khan arrived at the suburbs of Multan and took position at the north of the city. Meanwhile in the night Husain Langah entered the fort before the enemy could assault. Next morning Husain came out of his fort with a contingent of 12,000 and attacked the enemy. The invader fled from the battle field until they had reached at Chiniot where they killed the keeper of the fort and some of his men.³⁶⁶ This victory made Sultan Husain even more strong and after which Bahlul never dared to attack Multan.

Sultan Husain was a popular ruler among his subject. His neighbors also recognized him as strong ruler. In his reign a number of Baluches, living in Cutch, Makran and Baluchistan region flocked to his court. He assigned them *jaqirs* and stipends and they were allowed to reside in Sitpur and Dhankot.³⁶⁷

Bahlul Lodi died in 1488 A.D., and was succeeded by Sikandar Lodi. Husain Shah established cordial relations with Delhi and sent an ambassador to Delhi with condolence message and presents. They negotiated peace and treaty for mutual cooperation and respect for other's frontiers.³⁶⁸

The ambitious ruler also made friendly relations with Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat. They exchanged ambassadors. Ferishta recorded an interesting episode relating to these contacts. It is said that Husain Langah sent Qazi Muhammad to the court of Sultan Muzaffar with the instruction to study the imperial palaces of Gujarat, so that the ruler of Multan might built a palace of the same style. On return, the Qazi submitted the report that the entire revenue of the Multan would not suffice to meet the cost of even one palace. Sultan Husain was extremely disappointed by his vazir Imadul Mulk, consoled him "although the kingdoms of Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal and the Deccan could boast of their wealth, yet the land of Multan and Uchh excelled them for the presence of pious men and scholars like Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya and the Bukhari saints and outstanding scholars like Maulana Fathullah and his pupil Maulana Azizullah."³⁶⁹

³⁶³ Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 301; Khwaja Nimatullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani wa Makhzan-i-Afahani*, I, ed. S. M. Imamuddin, Dacca, 1960, p. 142.

³⁶⁴ For detailed account of these conflicts, see *Cambridge History*, III, p. 229 fn; *The Delhi Sultanate*, p. 140.

³⁶⁵ Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 307.

³⁶⁶ Ferishta, II, p. 326.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 326.

³⁶⁸ Ferishta, II, p. 327, Nahawandi, I, p. 272; Nizamuddin Ahmed III, p. 305.

³⁶⁹ Ferishta, II, p. 327.

After a reign of thirty years, Husain Langah assigned the government to his elder son, Firoz Khan, and retired. The new Sultan was inexperienced and quarreled with the vazir's son, Bilal. The vazir's son was killed by a slave of young king. The Vazir poisoned Firoz Khan as a revenge. The old Sultan again came and took the charge of the office. He called Jam Bayzid from Shorkot for the help to get rid of the vazir. Jam came and arrested Imadul Mulk and put him into prison. Sultan Husain appointed Bayazid his new minister as well as the guardian of the minor, Mahmud, son of late Firoz, who then was declared the heir-apparent. After sometimes the old Sultan died on Saturday 13 October 1498 A.D.³⁷⁰

He was succeeded by his grandson, Mahmud. The Young Sultan soon fell into pleasure and strained his relation with his faithful *vazir*. Bayazid withheld his visits to the court and resided outside the city from where he continued to look after the state affairs. However, the disgusted *vazir* left for Shorkot. The Sultan then sent a force, to arrest the *vazir*. The brave *vazir* defeated the detachment and declared his loyalty to Sikandar Lodi. He sent an envoy to Delhi and informed the Sultan about the developments taking place in the region. He must have also impressed upon the Sultan the feasibility of conquering the region.³⁷¹

Sikandar was delighted and received the envoy with rare favor, accepted Bayazid as de facto ruler of Sorkot and sent a robe of honor. He instructed the governor of Lahore, Daulat Khan, to help Bayazid at the time of trouble.³⁷²

Mahmud marched with a huge force towards Sorkot to punish Bayazid and encamped at the banks of Ravi. However, Daulat Khan rushed to help Bayazid. No encounter took place and a truce was made that Bayazid was recognized as the *de Jure* ruler of Sorkot and the river Ravi forming the boundary between them.³⁷³ During Mahmud's reign the prestige and power of Langhas considerably diminished. Shah Husain Arghun the ruler of Thatta proceeded towards Uchh and then marched to Multan.³⁷⁴ Mahmud collected 80,000 men and faced the enemy in an open field. However, his *vazir* and son-in-law of Shaikh Shuja Bukhari poisoned the king.³⁷⁵ The length of his rule was 27 years.

³⁷⁰ There is a confusion about the date of his death and the length of his reign. Nizamuddin (III, p.435) gives two dates 1498 A.D., and 1502 A.D. However he confirms the earlier date in connection with the death of his successor Mahmud as 1524 A.D., after a reign of 27 years (Ibid., p.450); Nahawandi confirms these statements and says that he ruled for 30 or 34 years (I, pp. 275-281); while Nizamuddin makes it 35 or 36. Ferishta also gives two dates and makes the reign 32 or 34 years (II, p.328) Abdul Haq gives 30 years (p.123). It is supported by Nurul Haq as well (fol. 270) Abul Fazl (Ain I, p. 555) regards it 30 years of reign. It may perhaps be safe to take 1498 A.D., as the date of Husain's death and the length of his rule was 30 years.

³⁷¹ Ferishta, II, p. 329; Abul Fazl, (Blochman & Jarrat), Calcutta 1939, I, p. 555.

³⁷² Ferishta, II, p. 329; Nizamuddin Ahmed, II, p. 537.

³⁷³ Ferishta, II, p. 329; Nahawandi, I, p. 278.

³⁷⁴ See for details, Masumi, p. 152.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 154.

After the sudden death of Mahmud, his mother collected senior officers of the army to review the situation and discuss how to face the enemy. They raised the minor son of the late Sultan with the title of Sultan Husain II. However, the actual power was still in the hands of the *vazir*, the suspected murderer of Mahmud. They sent Shaikh Bahauddin to Shah Hasan for peace at the camp of Ghera river. It was decided that the river should be made the boundary between the territories of Langhas and Arghuns.³⁷⁶

Sultan Husain II proved to be the last ruler of the Langha dynasty. He was young and inexperienced and was unable to control his kingdom. His minister was also equally inexperienced and corrupt.³⁷⁷ The situation deteriorated to such an extent that the people of Multan wished a change of the ruler. In the closing month of 1526 A.D., Langar Khan approached the Arghun ruler to take over the territory. Arghuns were ready to attack and besiege the fort. The siege dragged for one year. At last Arghuns managed to enter the fort of Multan in January 1527 A.D.³⁷⁸ The unfortunate Husain Langah and his minister both were arrested and put to death.³⁷⁹

Thus came to one end, the rule of Langhahs, who ruled the province independently for 83 years with peace and prosperity. The new Arghun ruler, Sultan, Husain, handed over the region to Baburill in 1527 A.D., who assigned it to Hirza Kamran.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 154-55; Ferishta, I, p. 331, Nizamuddin Ahmad, III, p. 541; Nahawandi, I, pp. 280-81.

³⁷⁷ Masumi (p. 154) records that the *vazir* was guilty of some corruption for which Mahmud wanted to punish him and in order to escape, the *vazir* poisoned him.

³⁷⁸ Masumi, p. 159, Ferishta, (II, p.331) gives 1526 A.D., while Nizamuddin (III, p. 543) gives 1526 A.D.

³⁷⁹ Nizamuddin Ahmad, III, p. 543; Nahawandi, I, p. 283; Masumi, p. 159.

CHAPTER IV

SINDH UNDER THE SUMIRAH

No connected and coherent account of the Sumirah rulers is available in the chronicles. The history of their rule in Sindh can be reconstructed by piecing together the evidence scattered in different sources. It is all the more surprising as this dynasty ruled over the region for five long centuries. These five centuries³⁸⁰ under their rule happen to be the most obscure period in the history of Sindh. They have left no chronicles or monuments and the remains of any urban settlements have also not been traced so far. Even their ancestry is not certain. Elphinston with whom Elliot agrees, thinks that they were Rajputs of lower Sindh and had been converted to Islam sometimes after the conquest of Muhammad bin Qasim.³⁸¹ The *Chach-Namah*, mentions that the, Sammah came to pay homage to Muhammad Qasim but the name of Sumirah is not mentioned anywhere.³⁸²

Ibn Batuta while describing Janani, a large flourishing town on the bank of Indus, says that its inhabitants are called Sumirah. The people had been inhabiting, this region for long, their ancestors having established themselves there at the time of the conquest of Sindh by Muhammad bin Qasim. They had certain peculiar habits. For example they do not dine with any one, nor is any one allowed to look at them at the time of eating. They do not intermarry with other people.³⁸³ According to him Sumirah were of Arab origin.

The same traveler further provides some information about the political condition of the Sumirah of Sindh. In 1333 A.D., while he was travelling from Siwistan, Ratan, the Hindu governor of the place was assassinated by Wunar-i-Samri and Qaisar-i-Rumi. They seized all the government property and collected a large number of their

³⁸⁰ There seems to be a lot of controversy about the actual duration of their rule. Mir Masum describes their rule to have commenced in 1035 A.D., while *Tuhfatul Kiram* gives the date of their downfall as 1351 A.D. Thus the duration of their rule in the light of these statements comes roughly to 200 years. This reckoning, however, does not take into account the fact that the Sumirah had ruled over some parts of Sindh as the tributaries of other Muslim rulers. But according to the author of *Beglar-Namah* they ruled over Sindh for a period extending well over 500 years. Ain also seems to agree with the assessment of *Beglar-Namah* as it also gives the total period of their rule to be 500 year. The statement of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* that they ruled only for a period of 143 years is blattintly wrong; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* I, Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1882, p.167. see also, Idraki Beglari, *Beglar-Namah*, ed. N. A. Baloch, Hyderabad Sindh, 1980, p. 9; see also *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, fol. 20; see also, Mir Sher Ali Qani Thattawi, *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* III,ed. Saiyid Husamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad Sindh, 1971, p. 67.

³⁸¹ Elphinstone, *History of India*, Allahabad, 1966, p. 682; See also Elliot, *History of India as told by its own historia*, I, Reprint, Allahabad (n.d.) p. 480.

³⁸² *Chach-Namah*, p.168.

³⁸³ Ibn Batuta, pp. 396-97. Tahiri (fol.9) declares that most of them were Hindus without giving any detail.

tribesmen. However, feeling unsafe Minim fled from there. The army raised Qasar-i-Rumi as its leader but he could not make much headway. Imadul-Mulk, the Governor of Multan, crushed the rebels.³⁸⁴

Now it would seem that perhaps this Wunar-i-Samri is the same, Unar, the Sammah chief who was appointed the chief by the Sumirah nobles after killing the last Sumirah prince, Armel.³⁸⁵

Saiyid Sulaiman Nadavi is also of the view that the Sumirahs were of the Arab origin.³⁸⁶ On the other hand, Abu Zafar Nadavi maintains that they were of the mixed breed *i.e.* Arab and Sindhi blood. He also sheds light on their Ismaili beliefs and customs.³⁸⁷ They ruled around the region from lower Sindh to Alor and their dominion comprised almost the entire eastern delta of the Indus. Probably, it further extended towards Debal to Makran. Some portion of Cutch too was under their rule. It seems that they first established their rule at Mansura, which they occupied after the fall of Banu Habbar b. Aswad sometime after 985 A.D. Its chief was Khafif, whom Mahmud of Ghazna expelled from this town. The chief failed to defend his territories and fled to an island with his men. Mahmud captured the chief and most of his men were killed or fled to Uchh.³⁸⁸

Information about the conditions of Mansura is not available in the chronicles. Some evidence is, however, available in some books of history about some towns which flourished under the Sumirahs such as Debal and Demrilah. However, when Sultan Jalaluddin Khwariam Shah reached Debal, it was governed by Chanesar, another Sumirah prince. Sultan captured the town and built a mosque on the side of the temple.³⁸⁹

In 1228 the Governor of Sindh (Wali-i-Debal wa Sindh) presented himself before Iltutmish at Delhi. There was the time when the entire country of Sindh right up to Arabian sea was conquered by his *vazir* Nizamul Mulk Junaidi.³⁹⁰ Masumi holds that in 1053 A.D., during the reign of Sultan Abdur Rashid, son of Sultan Mahmud, a large number of Sumirah assembled in the vicinity of Tharri and elevated a man named Sumira or Sumir as their leader and proclaimed him to be an independent ruler. This new ruler was able to extend his authority to the neighboring regions. He established his matrimonial relations with the local *Zamindar* Sad, and married his daughter. He got

³⁸⁴ Ibn Batuta, pp. 398-99.

³⁸⁵ Masumi, pp. 61-62.

³⁸⁶ Suleiman Nadavi p. 363.

³⁸⁷ Abu Zafar Nadavi, pp. 278-79.

³⁸⁸ Ibn Asir, Vol.IX p. 186; Abdur Rahman Chishti, *Mirat-i-Masudi*, MS. No.32/129 Habibganj Collection, M. A. Library, A.M.U., Fol. 32.

³⁸⁹ Juvaini, II, pp.146-48; See also Minhaj, I, p. 447.

³⁹⁰ Minhaj, I, -p. 447, Masumi, p. 36; Ferishta, II, p. 316.

a son and named him Bhungar. After the death of Sumirah, Bhunger succeeded him as the chief of his tribe.³⁹¹

Bhungar was again succeeded by his son, Dada, who extended his control up to Nasrpur. After a long reign he died and left a minor son and a daughter Teri.

As the son was a minor, Tari took the reins of the government. After sometime she was replaced by Doda. The new ruler invaded the neighboring regions and conquered it near up to Hala Kandi. As he died issueless, his widow, Himu strengthened her position in the fort of Adak. Her brother controlled the regions of Muhammad Tur and Tharri.³⁹²

Doda was another, Sumirah chief, who was the ruler of Dahlah, marched towards Tharri killed its administrator and brought the territories under his control. Meanwhile, Dadu Phattu of Doda's family, mustered a large force and captured vast territories. After a quiet reign of some years, he died and was succeeded by a chief named Khaira.³⁹³

Khaira was succeeded by Armel. He was a cruel man and treated his subject with cruelty. Due to his misbehavior, Unar,³⁹⁴ a Summah revolted and killed him. The head of Armel was hung at the top of the gate of the fort and Unar was proclaimed as the new ruler. In this way the government of Sindh passed away from Sumirah³⁹⁵ to Sammah in 1352 A.D.

According to *Tohfath-ul-Karam*, Sumirah chiefs used to brand the common people including their own relations with a mark to show that they were all inferior to them. They themselves used to wear turbans, while others were permitted only to use a wrap of the web or half woven cloth instead, for the sake of distinction. They were like-wise required to cut the nails of their hands and feet from the root.³⁹⁶

According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* inspite of these abnormal practices the Sumirah society was not void of pious and learned men like Darwesh Daud, Miyan Hamul and Mir Ismail of Agham who maintained a college for the students of the Quran where free boarding and lodging was provided to the students.³⁹⁷ It is probable

³⁹¹ Masumi, pp. 60-61; Qani, III, p.68. Muhammad Yusuf Ataki, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, MS. No.V1,476, Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna, fo1. 3.

³⁹² Masumi, p. 61; Qani, III, p. 68.

³⁹³ Qani, III, p. 68.

³⁹⁴ Founder of the Umar Kot, was the last chief. It is situated in the district Thar Parker near Mirpur Khas.

³⁹⁵ See Appendix.

³⁹⁶ Qani, III, p. 82.

³⁹⁷ Tahiri, fol. 38.

that towards the end of their rule the Sumirah renounced their Ismaili doctrines and became Sunni under the influence of Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uchh.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ Sulaiman Nadavi p. 363.

CHAPTER V

SINDH UNDER THE SUMMAH

One of the most significant events in the local history of Sindh is the replacement of the Sumirah by the Summahs as the ruling dynasty of Sindh. The period of their respective governments has not been definitively fixed as to when the Summahs come to hold the provincial government. According to Masumi and others the beginnings of the Summah rule can be traced to the period immediately before Alauddin Khalji.³⁹⁹ The first ruler of the dynasty was the chief of the Summah who had wrested the power after defeating and killing Malik Ratan, the *Mugti* of Siwistan. Though his rule did not last for long and he ruled only for a period of three years and six months. However, he seems to have been able to lay the foundation of the dominance of the Summah tribe in the region. This is evident from the account of Ibn Batuta also who visited the region in 1333 A.D. He says that the Summah was the leading tribe of Sindh at that time and Amir Unar had his headquarters at Siwistan.⁴⁰⁰

At the time of Muhammad Tughluq's death, Sumirahs of Thatta were still the ruling tribe. Barani⁴⁰¹ also mentions the Jams of Thatta, which may be taken to suggest that about this time the Summah Jams were becoming an important factor in the politics of the region.

The best contemporary evidence for the decline of Sumirahs and the rise of Summahs is contained in a letter of Ain-ul-Mulk, Mahru, Governor of Multan, addressed to Malik-ush Sharq Iftikhar-ul Mulk, Governor of Gujarat. The letter⁴⁰² was written in the early years of Firoz Shah's reign. In this letter Mahru records that Hamir Doda Sumirah has polluted the region in collaboration with the rebellious activities of the other disloyal Summahs of Thatta, and Banbinah Unar has raised the standard of revolt. He also invited Mongols to invade the region. The rebellious activities of Banbinah were creating much turmoil in the region and the provincial governors of Multan and Gujarat were facing an uneasy situation.

³⁹⁹ Mjasumi, pp. 62-64; and Qani, III, pp. 100-1. These sources relate to a story about Jam Tamachi being carried to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Allauddin Khalji and the return of his son to Sindh during the same reign. The same story is repeated in the account of Firoz Shah's reign is nothing but an imaginary version of a similar event.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibn Batuta, pp. 398-99.

⁴⁰¹ Barani, pp. 523-24.

⁴⁰² Mahru, Letter No.46, pp. 100-03.

The Summah had emerged as a political force most probably during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq.⁴⁰³ On the basis of evidence contained in a later course the Sammahs came to power after overthrowing Hamir Sumirah in 1351 A.D.⁴⁰⁴ How and why Sammahs were able to defeat and disperse the Sumirahs is not easy to trace. According to *Chach-Namah* the Summahs welcomed Muhammad bin Qasim at Brahmanabad in 712 A.D., according to their tribal custom; while he was busy in settling its affairs.⁴⁰⁵ At that time Muhammad bin Qasim appointed, Kharaim b. Amar as the Amir of the Summah tribe. Approximately about a century and a quarter after this event we come across the name of another Summah Chief, Amir Muhammad, who was the ruler of Swandi Sammah, the neighboring region of Brahmanabad and a stronghold of the Sammah tribe.⁴⁰⁶ Amir Muhammad was a contemporary of the writer of the original Arabic *Chach-Namah* who quotes him as one of his informants.⁴⁰⁷ These are the only references which are available to us in the sources and these are not of much help to determine their origin, and habitat before coming to India and the period of their acceptance of Islam. The title of Jam would suggest that they had close links with the Jams of Cutch and Kathiawar. But according to *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* the Sammah had originally lived in Sindh. They had migrated to Cutch because of the oppressive attitude of the Sumirah towards them. Originally they were peasants engaged in agriculture and it would appear that they were peace-loving and law-abiding community. Sometime later they captured the fort and established their rule in Cutch. They succeeded in extending their authority along the sea coast. This happened to be in a period when the sign of decline of the Sumirah power became discernible. About this time the Summah were set to bring new territories under cultivation on the other side of the river. This provided them with an opportunity to entrench themselves in the region.⁴⁰⁸

Armel, last of the Sumirah rulers was cruel and oppressive. His oppression led some of the notables to hatch a conspiracy with Unar. As a result of this conspiracy Sumirah ruler was assassinated and Unar was elevated to throne in his place.⁴⁰⁹ The first Summah ruler about whom some details are available in the sources is Jam Unar b. Bahbinah. The Jam Juna and Banbinah were next joint rulers of lower Sindh. Jam was

⁴⁰³ Barani, pp. 524-25.

⁴⁰⁴ Qani, III, pp. 63, 100; Tahiri fol.37 gives the name of the last Sumirah ruler as Doda Sumarah and described him as an oppressive ruler .

⁴⁰⁵ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 167-68.

⁴⁰⁶ *Chach-Namah*, (pp. 166, 168) records that during the reign of Sahras son of Sahasi, the province of Sindh was divided into four administrative divisions i.e. Brahmanabad, Siwistan, Asklandah, and Multan. Brahmanabad had a town named Sammah which might have been a strong hold of the Sammahs (pp. 10, 28).

⁴⁰⁷ *Chach-Namah*, p. 166.

⁴⁰⁸ Tahiri, fols. 33, 41-42.

⁴⁰⁹ Masumi, pp. 61-62.

the brother of Unar and Banbinah was the son of Unar.⁴¹⁰ *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* calls him Alauddin Jam Juna and his nephew Sadruddin Banbinah bin Unar.⁴¹¹

In the beginning of reign of Firoz Shah, Ain-ul-Mulk complained in a letter about the mischievous activities of Banbinah in Sindh while Firoz Shah was away from Delhi on a campaign to Bengal.⁴¹² Firoz Shah's two campaigns of Bengal occurred in 1353-54 and 1359-61 A.D. Returning from Jajnagar campaign, Firoz Shah lost his way. Because of this Firoz Shah was away from the capital for quite a long time. This period was obviously more suitable for the rebellious activities on the part of the local chiefs. Assuming that Mahru's complaint is related to the second Lakhnauti expedition succession of Allauddin Jam Juna and Banbinah the joint government of Thatta may be placed sometime before 1350 A.D. *Tarikh-i-Masumi* and *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram*⁴¹³ both are unanimous that Unar, the first Summah ruler, ruled for a period of three and half years after which he was succeeded by Jam and Banbinah.

RELATION WITH THE DELHI SULTANATE:

During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Ibn Batuta visited Sindh in 1333 A.D. Describing the position of Unar Samri and Amir Qaisar-i-Rumi, he maintained that both were servants of the Sultan and commanded a contingent of 1800 soldiers. Ratan, the Hindu Governor of Sindh, also lived in Siwistan. The region of Siwistan and its neighboring territories, were conferred upon him as *iqta* Wunar Samri and Qaisar-i-Rumi felt very much uneasy under his governorship and hatched a plot against him. They killed him and looted the royal treasury which was worth 12 lac and appointed Wunar as their chief. He assumed the title of Malik Firoz and distributed the treasury among the soldiers. However, feeling unsafe Wunar fled from Siwistan towards the neighboring regions. The remaining soldiers elected Qaisar-i-Rumi as their chief.⁴¹⁴ Imadul-Mulk, the Governor of Sindh and Multan crushed the rebels.

It appears from Ibn Batuta's statements that the Sammah or at least a section of them had accepted the authority of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and remained loyal to him till 1333 A.D. However, it is not clear from his account that all of the Summahs had accepted the suzerainty of the Sultan. In any case it would seem that after 1333 A.D., the Summah withheld their allegiance to Delhi. The rebellious and independent Jam⁴¹⁵ of Thatta i.e. Sammah ruler had provided shelter to the rebel Taghi, a royal slave. This greatly annoyed the Sultan. The Sultan decided to crush the rebel along with the Jam of

⁴¹⁰ Afif, p. 199; *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, fol. 41b.

⁴¹¹ *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, fol. 41b , 42a; Mahru, p.232, Mahru also calls him Jam Juna.

⁴¹² Mahru, pp. 174, 186-87.

⁴¹³ Masumi, p. 62; Qani, III, p. 100.

⁴¹⁴ Ibn Batuta, pp. 398-99

⁴¹⁵ Barani, p. 601.

Thatta. But the Sultan died on 21 March 1351 at the bank of Indus⁴¹⁶ before he could accomplish his plan. Firoz Shah abandoned the campaign and returned to Delhi. The Sammah army caused much harassment to the Tughluq army for two or three days after the death of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq until Firoz Shah was selected as the new ruler and led army to safety. In 1360-61 A.D., Sultan Firoz Shah again proceeded towards Thatta. The ruler of Thatta at that time was Jam, offered stiff resistance to the imperial army. Firoz Shah had to return towards Gujarat. In 1362 A.D., Firoz Shah again marched from Gujarat to Thatta and encamped on the eastern bank of the Indus just opposite of the Thatta. The royal army seized all the crops of the Thatta. The scarcity of provisions in Thatta forced the Jam to approach Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari to intercede on his behalf with the Sultan. Firoz Shah acceded to the request. Jam and Banbinah were taken to Delhi along with their families, leaving behind the Jam's son Mani, and Banbinah's brother, Tamachi, to carry on the government⁴¹⁷. Four lac *tankas* were presented to the Sultan and it was undertaken to send a large sum of money amounting to several lacs every year to the court along with 50 horses and other valuable things.

Firoz Shah returned to Delhi along with Jam Juna and Banbinah. They were given in the charge of Saifuddin Khejiv. They were provided residence near Sara-i-Malika which appears to have been a very respectable locality in the city of Firozabad. The locality soon came to be called after them as Sara-i-Thatta. An annual stipend of two lacs of *tankas* was fixed for each of them. In the court they were provided seats of honor on the right of the throne close to the seat of Sadrus-Sudur-i-Jahan who was the minister of religious and Judicial affairs.⁴¹⁸

It appears that though Firoz Shah defeated Sammahs and annexed the region of the lower Sindh into his own territories, but its control did not go beyond a formal recognition of the suzerainty of the Delhi Sultan and payment of an annual tribute to him by Sammahs who in effect continued to rule Sindh. It was not long before that even this myth was broken and the Sindhi rulers overthrew their allegiance to Delhi. Jam Juna who was living at time at Delhi was sent back to Thatta to put down the rebellion of Tamachi and to send him to Delhi. Saiyid Jalaluddin Bukhari⁴¹⁹ was also sent to Thatta to bring Tamachi along with him to Delhi. Thus Banbinah and his brother Tamachi were brought to Delhi where they were made to live while Jam Juna and his son ruled Thatta. The only authentic information regarding the fact that Alauddin Jam Juna was still ruling in Sindh as a vessel of Firoz Shah in 1380 A.D., is available to us in the form of an inscription on a *Khanqah* built by him in the village of Gujju, ten miles

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 625.

⁴¹⁷ *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* (fol. 42b), says that the Jam sent his daughters to the royal *harem*. Also see Mahru (L.99, pp. 286-88), (Afif; pp. 200-205, 514-16; Ferishta, I, pp. 292-94; Nizamuadin Ahmad. I, p. 234; Sirhindi, p. 131.

⁴¹⁸ Afif, pp. 254-281; Sirhindi, p. 131,

⁴¹⁹ Afif, p. 254.

away from Thatta in the Mirpur Sakro Taluka. This *Khanclah* was built for Shaikh Haji Bu Turab and the inscription bears the date 3rd *Safar* 782 A.H./9th May 1380 A.D.⁴²⁰

Banbinah continued to stay at Delhi till the death of Firoz Shah. In 1388 A.D. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah II, sent Banbinah back to Sindh with royal favor. But he expired on his way to Thatta.⁴²¹ Most probably Jam Ariuddin Juna had died about that time and Banbinah was being sent to fill in the vacuum caused by his death on the political scene of Sindh.⁴²²

Towards the end of the rule of Tughluq dynasty the centre had become so weak that it was no longer in a position to assert its authority over the far flung provinces. As a result, many of the provincial governors revolted and declared their independence. The Jams of Thatta also took advantage of the situation and severing all relations with the centre, assumed full independence.

Due to the paucity of source materials it is not possible to provide a detailed picture of the social life under the Sammahs or give a coherent account of their administrative institutions. However, the very fact that they were able to rule Sindh and keep their grip on it for a little less than two centuries is in itself quite significant. Even Firoz Shah could not uproot them from Sindh. After Firoz Shah the central government gradually declined during the second half of the 14th century and it was no longer possible for it to maintain its control over the provinces.

In the following pages a brief description of the Summah rulers is being given for a clear understanding of the situation.

As has been already noted Jam Unar was the founder of the Summah dynasty. It was in 1351 A.D., that he acquired power and established himself as the ruler of Sindh. Within a short span of time, he consolidated his power in Thatta and invaded Sehwan. The Governor of Sehwan was Malik Ratan. After a furious battle, Ratan was defeated and killed. Malik Firoz and Ali Shah Turk who were in Bhakkar, marched on Sehwan and attacked the Jam. In this encounter Jam Unar was killed in the vicinity of Sahrapur. Malik Firoz invested Sher Ali with the government of Bahrampur and himself returned to Bhakkar.

In 1354 A.D., Jam Juna ascended the throne. Soon after his accession, he appointed his kinsmen to conquer the neighboring territories. Jam crossed the Indus river at Thatta and proceeded towards Bhakkar. After two or three encounters he was able to capture the region. The imperial forces took to flight towards Uchh. After that Jam Juna

⁴²⁰ See for details Muhammad Shafi, "*Sindh Ke Baz Katbe*" Oriental College Magazine, February 1935, pp. 140-41.

⁴²¹ Afif, p. 254.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, p. 254.

annexed Bhakkar into his own territory. Jam Juna expired after a successful reign of thirteen years.⁴²³

Jam Juna was succeeded by his nephew Jam Tamachi. But soon Firoz Shah's armies invaded Bhakkar. The Sammahs were defeated and Jam Tamachi with his whole family was taken prisoner and carried to Delhi where he had to live for many years in the locality of sarai-Thatta.⁴²⁴

In any case it was not long before Banbinah's brother Tamachi, who had been in Sindh to rule jointly with the Jam's son rebelled and repudiated allegiance to Delhi. Jam Juna who was still loyal to Delhi was now sent back to Thatta to put down the rebellion of Jam Tamachi and to send him to Delhi. However, Banbinah and his brother stayed at Delhi court, while Jam Juna, ruled in Thatta with the help of his son.⁴²⁵

Banbinah continued to stay at Delhi till after the death of Sultan Firoz Shah. In 1388, his successor sent Banbinah to Sindh to rule the territory. After a rule of eleven years he breathed his last. He was succeeded by his brother Jam Tamachi. He also ruled for thirteen years and peace seemed to prevail during the period.⁴²⁶

After the death of Jam Tamachi, his son Jam Salahuddin ascended the throne. He was an ambitious ruler. He crushed all the resistance in the region. The recalcitrant's fled to Cutch. They were pursued and finally uprooted and the region was annexed into his own territories. He ruled for eleven years and some months.⁴²⁷ He was succeeded by his son, Jam Nizamuddin.

After the death of his father, Jam Nizamuddin ascended the throne with the help of his father's nobles. He was a kindhearted ruler and his first act of kindness was the release of his uncles,⁴²⁸ Sikander, Karan, Bahauddin and Amar who had been confined on the advice of the ministers. He appointed every one of them to perform administrative duties in different regions of the state while he himself remained at the centre. But his ungrateful uncles plotted against him to capture him but the Jam was informed by his men and made good his escape to Gujarat.⁴²⁹

⁴²³ Masumi, (p.63), says that Sultant Alauddin sent his brother Ulugh Khan along with Malik Taj Kafuri and Tatar Khan for the conquest of Sindh.

⁴²⁴ Afif, p. 254, Masumi, p. 64.

⁴²⁵ Masumi, p. 64.

⁴²⁶ Masumi, p. 66.

⁴²⁷ The author of Hadaqut-ul-Auliva states that Jam Juna, Tamachi and his son Jam Salahuddin had been sent as prisoners to Delhi, but were set at liberty through the blessings of the living saint Shaikh Hammad Jamali, and that they occupied the throne of Sindh in succession. Saiyid Abdul Qadir, Hadaqut-ul-Auliva, ed. S. Hussamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad Sindh, 1967, pp. 56-7; Also see Masumi, p. 66.

⁴²⁸ Masumi (p. 66) says that they were his cousins but Qani, III (p.103) records that they were his uncles, which is correct.

⁴²⁹ Masumi, p. 67.

After his departure, the people summoned Ali Sher son of Jam Tamachi, who was living in obscurity and raised him to the throne. Meanwhile Jam Nizamuddin also died and his uncles too being disappointed in their design were forced to lead a miserable life.

Jam Ali Sher, son of Jam Tamachi was a brave and wise ruler. He consolidated his territory and crushed all the rebels. During his reign people led peaceful and comfortable life. Jam was very fond of the night walk specially in moon light. His brothers and nephews had plotted and conspired against him. The scheme that was worked out for this purpose was that they will hide in a nearby forest and wait in ambush for the Jam to come out for his usual walk in the moonlight. The plan was successfully carried out and they succeeded in killing the Jam in his boat on the bank of the river.⁴³⁰ But the people placed Karan on the vacant throne. The nobles of the state were not in favor of this bloody prince. Perceiving this Jam Karan determined to kill and capture other. He invited a large number of people to a feast but few of them were present and killed Jam Karan only after two or three day of his accession.⁴³¹

Jam Karan was succeeded by his nephew, Jam Path Khan. He was a good administrator and was favorably inclined towards his subjects. It was during this time that Pir Muhammad, grandson of Taimur, arrived at Multan and captured the town of Uchh.⁴³² He made a long stay at Multan, but during his stay he faced much trouble. Most of his horses died. Hearing this, Taimur, sent 30,000 horses from his own stables to provide a reinforcement to his grandson. Pir Muhammad was threatened by the local chiefs of Bihti. Pir Muhammad sent a message to Bhakkar calling upon the chief men of the town, to come and pay the homage to him.⁴³³ Instead of complying with this request the notables of the place fled towards Jaisalmer. Only one solitary person, Saiyid Abul Ghayas, went to visit Pir Muhammad. He interceded on behalf of the people. Mirza gave him a horse and some other presents and granted him the *pargana* of Alora as gift (*inam*). Pir Muhammad soon went to Delhi. The provinces of Multan and Sindh, therefore, continued to be ruled by the Langhas and the Sammahs as before. After 15 years of successful reign Jam Path Khan died.⁴³⁴

Three days before his death, Jam Fath Khan elevated his brother, Tughluq to the throne. He also proved to be a good administrator and was very fond of hunting. He made his brother the administrator of Sehwan and Bhakkar.

During his reign some Baluch tribes raised the standard of revolt in the outskirts of Bhakkar but Jam Tughluq reached at the spot and crushed the rebels. After that he

⁴³⁰ Masumi, pp. 67-68.

⁴³¹ Masumi, p. 68.

⁴³² Ibid., p. 69.

⁴³³ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., p. 70.

appointed an outpost in each *pargana* to prevent any future rebellion. He died after a reign of 28 years.⁴³⁵

Jam Tughluq was succeeded by his minor son, Jam Sikandar. Taking advantage of this unstable political situation, the Governors of Sehwan and Bhakkar started preparations to assert their own authority. Jam Sikandar was still in his way to meet this challenge when he learned at Nasarpur that a distinguished general had set himself on the throne of Thatta with the title of Jam Mubarak.⁴³⁶ Consequently he had to rush back. In the meanwhile people have successfully driven out Jam Mubarak and Jam Sikandar did not have to face any problem from his side. But he was not destined to enjoy this peace for long as he died only after a year and half.⁴³⁷

He was succeeded by Raidinah. Earlier in the reign of Jam Tughluq he had left Sindh due to some unspecified reason migrated to Cutch 1454 A.D. He was a kind man and his good behavior won for him considerable popularity in Cutch and he became a leader there. Hearing about the death of Jam Sikander, he came to Thatta and informed the notables that he had no desire for the throne but he had come with the sole intention to assist his countrymen. He also declared that he was ready to pay homage to anyone who would be elected a ruler. But as there was no better claimant to the throne, the people with one voice selected Raidinah to be the Jam of Sindh.

He proved to be a good administrator and succeeded in consolidating his territories from sea shore to the town of Kajrali and Kandali in the *pargana* of Mathelah.⁴³⁸ In the ninth year of his reign the greedy Sanjar, who was an attaché of the Jam poisoned him. He died 3 days after the poisoning.⁴³⁹

On his death, Sanjar became the Jam of Sindh. He is said to have been a very handsome person and on that account people had much affection for him. It is said that before his accession a *faqir* had blessed him that he would become the ruler of Thatta for 8 years. This *faqir* was a usual visitor of Jam Sanjar afterwards.

He ruled the country very wisely. Under his rule people of Sindh enjoyed much peace. He was very fond of learned and pious men. On account of this his *darbar* was full of these men. On every Friday he used to distribute charities and fixed the allowances for bereaved persons, He also increased the emoluments of the *Qazis* and other officers of the state. He issued a general order to increase the salaries of the government employees. He died in 1470 A.D., after a reign of 8 years.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁵ Masumi, p. 70.

⁴³⁶ He was the curtain-keeper of the late Jam Tughluq, (Masumi, p. 71).

⁴³⁷ Masumi, p. 71.

⁴³⁸ According to Qani, III (p. 104) it is Mathelah and Ubaarah.

⁴³⁹ Masumi, p. 72.

⁴⁴⁰ Masumi, pp. 72-73.

After the death of Jam Sanjar, Jam Nizamuddin alias Jam Wanda son of Babnah was selected by the notables pious men as well as the military commanders on 7 March 1491 A.D. He was very religious and had a refined taste of literature. Most of his time was spent in the libraries and mosques. After his accession he proceeded to Bhakkar and resided there for one year.⁴⁴¹ After consolidating his power, he left Bhakkar in the charge of his slave, Dilshad, and himself returned to his capital, Thatta. He had friendly relations with the ruler of Multan and often used to correspond with him and they also exchanged presents with each other. It was a habit with him to regularly visit stables and thump the heads of his horses. As all his neighboring states were Muslim States he did all that was in his power to avoid conflict with them as it would lead to the spilling of the Muslim blood.

In the last days of his reign, Shah Beg Arghum, the Mughal ruler of Qandhar, invaded Sindh. In this encounter the Mughal army was completely routed and Abu Muhammad Beg, the brother of Shah Beg was, killed. The Mughals fled to Qandhar and never invaded Sindh again during the reign of Jam Nanda.⁴⁴²

He was very fond of learned men and held them in high respect. The renowned scholar Jalaluddin Muhammad Shirazi came to Sindh from Shiraz during his reign and sent his two pupils, Mir Shamsuddin and Mir Malin to Thatta. The Jam sent back these pupils with necessary funds to bring him to Thatta. But he had died in the meanwhile and his pupils had to return to Thatta empty handed. They themselves, however, continued to live there with honor. After a very long spell of reign extending over 48 years and distinguished for its peace, prosperity and patronage of learning; Jam Nanda died in 1508 A.D.⁴⁴³

At the time of the death of Jam Nanda, Jam Firoz son of Jam Nizamuddin was still a minor and Darya Khan the adopted son of the late Jam, was appointed as his guardian. During this period, however, Salahuddin a grandson of late Jam Sanjar, who was also a claimant of the throne revolted against this selection. But he could not muster enough support and did not find himself in a position to dislodge the young Jam, he migrated to Gujarat and spent his days there with Sultan Muzaffar, who happened to be his son-in-law.⁴⁴⁴

Jam Firoz was young and preferred to spend his time in pleasure. All the state affairs were in the hands of Darya Khan. During these days Sammahs were considered to be the main source of all sorts of mischief. They however put all the blame for their unruly behavior on Darya Khan. Therefore Darya Khan left Thatta and took his residence in his

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁴² Masumi, p. 75.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., PP. 75-76.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

Jagir at Kahan. He invited Makhdum Abdul Aziz, Maulana Asiruddin Abbasi⁴⁴⁵ and his son Maulana Muhammad, the most learned men of the time. They had migrated from Herat in 1521 A.D., when Shah Ismail had expelled from there.⁴⁴⁶

As it appeared that the ways of Jam Firoz were now beyond reform the people of Thatta, invited Salahuddin from Gujarat to invade Thatta. This was nothing less than a God send opportunity for Salahuddin. Sultan Muzaffar provided him with a large army for the invasion of Thatta.⁴⁴⁷ He hurriedly reached Thatta and captured the household of Jam Firoz and would not release him until they arranged a large sum of money. Meanwhile, the well-wishers of Jam Firoz managed to take him out of the town by another way and his mother brought him to Darya Khan at Kahan. Jam Firoz repented for his misdeed and craved for his pardon. At this turn of the situation Darya Khan relented and set out to muster a large army. He could depend on the people of Bhakkar and Sehwan. The tribe of Baloch also came and joined the army of Jam Firoz and proceeded to face the enemy.⁴⁴⁸

Salahuddin's *vazir* Haji was commanding the army and they fought a fierce battle. Darya Khan was defeated and fled from the battlefield. Haji the *vazir* dispatched a letter to inform Salahuddin of his victory over Darya Khan. However, this letter fell into the hands of Darya Khan. He wrote another letter on behalf of Haji containing the news of the defeat of Salahuddin's army and informing that the enemy was strong and therefore he should leave Thatta with his family. On receipt of this letter Jam Salahuddin left Thatta and crossed the river on 2 August 1522 A.D. He was finally defeated. Soon afterwards Darya Khan brought Jam Firoz to Thatta at the time of *Id* celebration.⁴⁴⁹

Jam Firoz introduced a new element in the polity of Sindh. He appointed Kaibak Arghun with a large number of Mughals in his court. They were provided residence in a locality which came to be called Mughal Warah. The Mughals wanted to check the influence of Darya Khan by placing curbs on his visits to the court and wormed themselves in the confidence of the Jam. When they had consolidated their position at the court they invited Shah Beg Arghun to invade Sindh. Shah Beg conquered Sindh in 1522 A.D. This brought to an end the rule of the Sammah dynasty in Sindh.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁵ He was well-read in religious law and had written many books on history and other sciences. He had also written commentaries on many different books. He died at Kahan where he lies buried.

⁴⁴⁶ Masumi, p. 76.

⁴⁴⁷ Abdullah Muhammad bin Umar al-Makki, *Zafar-ul-Walih bi Muzaffar Wa'ali*, I. ed. Denison Ross Liden, 1926, p. 137, Bibi Rani one of the Sammah Princes was married to Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat in 1518 A.D.

⁴⁴⁸ Masumi, p. 77; Idriki Beg, pp.8-9; See, *Zafar-ul-Walih*, I, p. 137.

⁴⁴⁹ Masumi, p. 78; See Idriki Beg, pp. 10-12: *Zafar-ul-Walih*, I, p. 138.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 792, Idriki Beg, p. 13. *Zafar-ul-Walih*, I, p. 138; mentions that the daughter of Jam Firoz was married to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat in 1528 A.D.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF SINDH

It is an established fact that before the advent of Muslim rule in Sindh, numerous Muslim communities were already living in South India where they led a prosperous and peaceful life under the protection of the local rulers. However the same was not true about the coast of Sindh where the attitude of the rulers was hostile to such settlements as is evident from the *Chach-Namah*.⁴⁵¹ That is why no evidence of the settlement of the Muslim population or Arab traders in Sindh before the Arab conquest is available, except for the rebellious Ilafis tribe who had joined the service of Raja Dahar sometime before 704 A.D.⁴⁵² Hence there was not much incentive for the Arabs to penetrate the land of Sindh for the purposes of trade. However, it is possible that the Arab traders and others who had been active in other parts of the sub-continent would have also come into contact with the populace of Sindh even before the Arab conquest.

The Arab conquest of Sindh certainly opened the way for propagation and spread of Islam on a large scale in the region.⁴⁵³ We are told by *Chach-Namah* that several chieftains and tribes accepted Islam on the invitation of Muhammad bin Qasim.⁴⁵⁴ The converts were mostly Buddhist or Buddhist converts to Hinduism. Some of them might have been motivated by material considerations but most of them must have changed their faith under the impact of the good and just treatment of the Arabs.⁴⁵⁵

The social structure of Sindh was basically a product of its geographical and climatic features. The society was organized on tribal basis and no major change seems to have taken place in post-conquest period. From geographical point of view, Sindh was divided into four distinct regions. The hilly terrain, the river valley, the desert and the delta. These natural divisions largely determined the socio-economic pattern of life. The scant resources of sustenance forced the people of the hills and the desert to adopt the traditional nomadic and tribal life. In the desert of Sindh, the Rajput tribes like Sumirah, the Sammah and the Samijah had settled in the fertile valleys of the Ranh of Cutch and

⁴⁵¹ *Chach-Namah*, p. 64.

⁴⁵² Balazuri, p. 423, *Chach-Namah*, p. 63.

⁴⁵³ Balazuri (p. 446) records the conversion of a Hindu raja of Asifan, somewhere in the area now included in Punjab, as a result of disappointment with Hindu belief and the persuasion of Muslim traders in his territory. Buzurg b. Shahriyar (p. 4) records about the request of another local raja of Sindh for the translation of Quran in Sindhi, language by a Muslim scholar in 883 A.D.

⁴⁵⁴ *Chach-Namah*, p. 151.

⁴⁵⁵ Balazuri, p. 429 mentions that the Ummayid Caliph Umar b. Abdul Aziz also invited the local raja along with their subjects to accept Islam. Jaisingh the son of late Raja Daher came forward and accepted Islam.

Thar Parker districts. The tribes in the plains were mostly agriculturist and the cattle breeders.

The narrow fertile valley supplied the rich resources of sustenance for the whole region of Sindh and Indus, which facilitated the troops movement, not only added to its fertility but also gave economic and political importance. The Sindh population consisted of both the Muslims and Hindus and they were considered the major sections of the society. A large number of Hindus were attracted to Islam and had become Muslim. The Arab tribes had also settled there and inter-married with the local tribes leading to substantial increase in the Muslim population in the region. However, the change of religion also followed the tribal pattern.

The tribal and feudal structure of the Sindhi society consisted of many different classes such as aristocrats local chiefs, petty officials, traders, shop keepers and artisans. The chiefs were the instruments of the local administrative machinery. The other groups of the society comprised of the commercial group like traders, shop keepers and artisans. They were mainly confined to the cities, although petty shop keepers and artisans were found in the villages also. The big trading houses generally belonged to Multani traders. Hindu *baniyas* or foreigners came to Sindh for commercial purposes only. The petty shop keepers were mostly *baniyas* who had some influence on the people as money lenders and to some extent controlled the economic activity at the local level. The artisans were economically too poor and weak to play any important role in the social, economic or political life of Sindh.

At the bottom of the social structure but numerically the largest class were the farmers, landless labourers and the herdsmen. Their position was no better than that of the artisans. It consisted of the land owning farmers, tenant-peasants and *haris* (landless laborers Who worked for wages paid at harvest time).⁴⁵⁶ These categories formed the bulk of peasant community. The people of the hill and desert were generally herdsmen or cattle breeders.

The villages were found of two categories, permanent and temporary. The permanent villages were located in the riverine area with settled farmers while the temporary villages existed in the hilly regions and the desert. On account of inclement climatic conditions its people were forced to migrate in search of food and fodder. In Kohisten, they were known as *thanahas* or *ghedowns*.⁴⁵⁷ They built their hutments and dwellings by using grass and the branches of the *tamarisk* trees. The settled villages, *i.e.* *landhis* and *ghuths* (*goths*) generally centered around the mosque, and the *pucca* and spacious houses of the *Wadera* (landlord). All these villages were generally protected by a wall of thorny bushes.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ E. H. Aitken, *The gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Vol. A, Karachi 1907, pp. 335-39.

⁴⁵⁷ Yusuf Mirak, p. 68.

⁴⁵⁸ Yusuf Mirak, p. 69.

The main components of the non-Muslim society in Sindh were Meds, Nikamarh, Channah, Sammah, Sahta Macchi, Helier, Koriya, Bhattis, Jats, Buddhist, Samijah and Brahmins. It will be useful to have brief description of these communities.

MEDS (NIKAMRAH):

These were the sea pirates who plundered the Arab ships and thereby paved the way for the Arab invasion of Sindh.⁴⁵⁹ It would appear from the evidence contained in the Futuh-ul-Buldan that Meds were those pirates who lived on the coast of Makran, Sindh and Kathiawar.⁴⁶⁰ The Meds were also known as Nakarmah.⁴⁶¹

CHANNAH:

This tribe occupied an important place in the society of Sindh. Both Ali Kufi and Masum Bhakkari have given some details about their position and role. Nothing is known about their ethnic origin. The Channahs of Sehwan were the first among the people of Sindh to embrace Islam en masse.⁴⁶² They also came to be known as Marzuq.⁴⁶³ It is said that when they waited on Muhammad bin Qasim, food was being served to him hence he then gave them the title of Marzuq⁴⁶⁴ i.e. the people who were fed.

SAMMAH:

According to Masumi these were a low cast people, but this does not seem to be true. In fact they were Rajput and formed an important land-owning class of Sindh.⁴⁶⁵ At the time of the Muslim conquest, they had settled at Sehwan, Sauri and Thatta. They were among the first people to owe allegiance to Muhammad bin Qasim and received him according to their tribal custom by dancing in a group.⁴⁶⁶

SAHTA:

They were a Rajput community settled in lower Sindh, specially in the *pargana* of Darbala.⁴⁶⁷ In some historical records they have been mentioned as a remnant of Sahta

⁴⁵⁹ Ansar Zahid, *History and Culture of Sind*, Karachi, 1980, pp. 204-05.

⁴⁶⁰ Balazuri, p. 423. The chiefs of the Nikamrahs carried the title of Rana, Yusuf Mirak, p. 35.

⁴⁶¹ Balazuri, P. 423.

⁴⁶² *Chach-Namah*, p. 64.

⁴⁶³ Masumi, pp. 22-33.

⁴⁶⁴ Masumi, p. 234 Balazuri, P. 426.

⁴⁶⁵ Masumi, p. 61.

⁴⁶⁶ *Chach-Namah*, p. 168.

⁴⁶⁷ Abul Fazl, I, p. 166.

sect of the Same: tribe which has resisted, conversion to the Muslim faith.⁴⁶⁸ But in the very beginning they had shifted their loyalty to the Arabs.

MACCHI. HALTER AND KORIJAH:

These were also among the old inhabitants of Sindh. They also along with the aforesaid tribes accepted the supremacy of the Arabs at the time of the surrender of Brahmanabad to the Arab,⁴⁶⁹ though nothing is known about their ethnic background. The Macchis and Bawarij were basically fishermen and sailors'.⁴⁷⁰ The Bawarij gradually faded into obscurity while the Macchis led a peaceful existence during the Arab rule, the sultanate of Delhi and the local dynasties. Subsequently, Samrnah Jams strengthened their position by matrimonial alliances with these tribes. Jam Tamachi is reported to have married a lady of the name Nuri belonging to such a tribe. Jam Firoz's mother 'Madinah' most likely belonged to them.⁴⁷¹ Probably for these reasons the Macchis tribe resisted the Arghuns and later supported the Langahs of Multan.⁴⁷² The abode of these tribes was mostly on the banks of the rivers and lakes and their houses were called *japars*.⁴⁷³

BHATTIS:

They were Rajputs and many of them had become followers of Muhammad bin Qasim. They were settled there before the Muslim conquest.⁴⁷⁴ Mostly they resided in the *Pargana* of Darbela.⁴⁷⁵

JATS:

There is a difference of opinion among the historians about the origin of the Jats. The Jets have been attributed to both the Hemetic end Semitic origins and have been mentioned as coilaterats of the Baluchies.⁴⁷⁶ Some modern scholars consider them to be of the Indo-Scythian stocket.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁶⁸ *Sindh Gazetteer*, Vol. A, p. 187.

⁴⁶⁹ Masumi, p. 27.

⁴⁷⁰ Balazuri, p. 426.

⁴⁷¹ Tahiri, fol. 47.

⁴⁷² Masumi, pp. 120,144-5, 153; Yusuf Mirak, pp. 7,66.

⁴⁷³ Ansar Zahid, pp. 24,242; Yusuf Mirak, pp. 69-70, 165.

⁴⁷⁴ *Chadh-Namah*, P. 177.

⁴⁷⁵ Abul Fazl, I, p. 166.

⁴⁷⁶ *Mujamal-ut-Tawarikh*, (Elliot I, p. 104). The Jats and the Meds were described as the descendants of Ham b. Noh. Mir Sher Ali described them as the descendants of Jalal b. Muhammad b. Harun, the governor of Makran in 712 A.D. But his contention is untenable for the Jats were already living in Sindh when the Arabs came. At the same time they are ethnically quite different from the Baluches who also were described as the descendant of Jalal. Oani, III, pp. 56-7.

⁴⁷⁷ Elliot regarded them as Scythian to Parthian in origin. Elliot, I, pp. 507-8; See also *Sindh Gazetteer*, Vol. A, p. 170.

The Jats had shifted their loyalty to the Arabs during the conflict of Muhammad bin Qasim with Raja Dahar. In pre-Muslim period the Jats together with the Meds and the Lohanas were noted for their predatory habits.⁴⁷⁸ The Brahmin dynasty endeavored to break their power by imposing upon them very stringent measures. The Arabs maintained the status quo in the Sindhian society and continued the anti-Jat restrictions.⁴⁷⁹ On account of the continuous persecution and suppression, the Jats, became backward and dull. The Baluches accepted Jat women in marriage but did not like to marry their daughters to the Jats. Gradually, their dullness and humble position became synonymous with their racial nomenclature.⁴⁸⁰ This process led to a sort of virtual disintegration of the Jats from the society. There is no evidence to suggest that they played an important and commendable role during the sultanate period in the local politics and power struggle.

Most probably they embraced Islam at about the same time as the Raj put tribes.⁴⁸¹ Although they were spread all over Sindh yet they were mainly concentrated in central and southern regions, particularly in Cutch-Gandava, Central Sindh, Kohistan, Makran and the delta.⁴⁸² In the desert and hill areas the Jat remained confined to rearing of camels and agriculture.⁴⁸³

SAMIJAH:

During the Sammth period, Samijahs were the largest of all the tribes that made up the Raj put hegemony. They were considered a powerful tribe under the Sammahs. It is said that they were divided into twelve sub-tribes.⁴⁸⁴ Some of these sub-tribes were again divided into further branches. Samijah settlements were spread over a large region particularly Bahakkar and Siwistan. The town of Siwistan was surrounded on all sides by Sumijah villages in a radius of eight to fourteen *kuroh*.⁴⁸⁵

BUDDHISTS:

At the time of the Arab conquest of Sindh, a large number of the population consisted of Buddhists. Most of the governors of the forts and principal citizens were Samnis *i.e.* Buddhists.⁴⁸⁶ The Buddhist governors and their co-religionist citizens owned only a

⁴⁷⁸ *Chach-Namah*, p. 33, See also Si-yu-ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, Eng. Tr. Samuel Beal, Reprint Delhi 1969, p. 272.

⁴⁷⁹ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 33, 163-64.

⁴⁸⁰ The word Jat means a camel breeder and a block-head in Sindhi, *Sindh Gazetteer*, Vol .A, p. 173,

⁴⁸¹ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 98,117; Elliot, I, p. 110.

⁴⁸² Tahiri, fol. 160.

⁴⁸³ Yutuf Mirak, p. 239.

⁴⁸⁴ Masumi, p.321, Ibid., pp. 82-83. These were Bukiyah, Tibah, Junijah, Pariyah, Deb, Kibar, Utha, Lakiyar, Rajpal, Bihan, Migwanah and Unar.

⁴⁸⁵ Yusuf Mirak, p. 85.

⁴⁸⁶ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 31,81,86,91,109.

nominal loyalty to Raja Dahar. The reason of their dislike for their ruler was the usurpation of the power from the Buddhist king by Rai Chach.⁴⁸⁷ Naturally, Rai Chach of his successors could not be popular with the large sections of the native people.

BRAHMINS:

The Brahmins living in Sindh at the time of Arab invasion mostly belonged to Sarswat, Purkarna and Shirimali families.⁴⁸⁸ They were the religious leaders among the Hindus. They enjoyed a respectable position in the society and they were most privileged class among the Hindu populace. More-over, religious obligations and many social rites could not be observed without their assistance. Thus they were at the helm of affairs in the Hindu society and occupied dominant position.

In the conflict of Muhammad bin Qasim with Raja Dahar, a considerable number of Brahmins had shifted their allegiance to the Arabs.⁴⁸⁹ The reason for doing so is said to have been the fact that most of them were astronomers, and as such they had come to know beforehand through calculations that the land of Sindh would finally come under the Muslim rule. They, therefore, went over to the Arabs and joined their camp.⁴⁹⁰ As regards the social relations between Brahmins and Buddhists, the two dominant sections of the society, we are informed by the sources that there was a deep rooted rivalry among them. When Hsueh Tsang visited this region in the middle of the seventh century, he still found Mahayana Buddhism the dominant religion in the western regions. He records the existence of the Shavite temples at the plains in the basin of the Indus and several valleys in the hills were populated by Buddhists.⁴⁹¹ The *Chach-Namah* contains clear references to the Buddhists and their temples in Sindh. Sometime the word Brahmin is used indiscriminately for any native priest, and it is only from the context that one can determine as to which of the terms is meant; Brahmin or Buddhist. Sometime the word Samni is used for the Buddhists. In brief, Buddhism was a strong and flourishing religion in many areas of Sindh at the time of Arab conquest. It would appear from the *Chach-Namah* that Buddhist chiefs were still there and they had accepted supremacy of the Hindu dynasty.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁷ *Chach-Namah*, P.18.

⁴⁸⁸ The Saraswats served as spiritual guides, The pukka area were cooks or sweet—meat sellers while Shirimalies were mendicants and worshippers of Shiva. Except for the Sarswats the Brahmins were Vegetarian. *Sindh Gazetteer*, Vol. A, p.182.

⁴⁸⁹ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 139,158,162,176,183.

⁴⁹⁰ *Chach-Namah*, p. 76.

⁴⁹¹ T. Watters, I. p. 221.

⁴⁹² *Chach-Namah*, pp. 25-26; the ruling dynasty was Hindu. Chach, the founder of the dynasty, was first employed as a high official claimed to know four Vedas well. *Chach-Namah* (p.12).

In the urban regions most of the ruling class and the army were Hindus while the artisans, merchants and many others were Buddhist. It is evident from the sources that the Buddhist were by no means ardent supporters of the ruling family.⁴⁹³

However it seems that Buddhism was passing through a crisis at this time and even some of its leader had apparently lost faith in the validity of their beliefs. Political power from Buddhism was already lost with the rise of Hindu rulers. Certainly, Chach was a staunch Hindu⁴⁹⁴ but the next ruler was Chander, who was a Buddhist. He ruled for seven years.⁴⁹⁵ But Hindu rule was restored after his death. In the light of the evidence at our disposal, it can be safely said that the Buddhists did not evince any feelings of hostility towards the Arab invaders which clearly indicated their frustration and dislike of Hindu rule. This seems to have provided them the opportunity for fabricating prophecies that Sindh was destined to be ruled by the Arabs. There are several references found in *Chach-Namah* that the ancient seers and the contemporary astrologers alike had prophesied the fall of the Hindu dynasty and the rise of the Arabs power.⁴⁹⁶ These prophecies seem to have been spread by the Buddhist teachers all around the Sindh.⁴⁹⁷

Under the Arab rule the Hindus were treated as *Zimmis* and were given all rights and privileges allowed to the *Zimmis* under the Islamic laws.⁴⁹⁸ Their places of worship were respected. Travelers and geographers speak about the existence of many temples in Sindh which were fully protected.⁴⁹⁹ The sun temple of Multan was a living example of the Arab tolerance which used to draw a large number of pilgrims from many parts of the country.⁵⁰⁰

The Hindu subjects were permitted to profess their religion, observe their rituals and rites and maintain their religious institutions without any hindrance from the state. The special status of the Brahmins in Hindu society was recognized. The Hindus were given their due rights to the society and were employed specially in the revenue administration. Similarly, the erstwhile chiefs were treated with grace and magnanimity and left in possession of their holdings on payment of annual tribute.⁵⁰¹

The Jats were the most oppressed class in the society. The Brahmin Chach put them into the lowest stratum of the society. They were forbidden to carry arms and wear silk

⁴⁹³ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 87,89,98.

⁴⁹⁴ *Chach-Namah*, p. 12.

⁴⁹⁵ *Chach-Namah*, p. 35.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 91,97,121.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 105-06.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

⁴⁹⁹ Balizuri (p. 429) records that the great temple of Debal still existed in the reign of Caliph Mutasim (833-842 AD); see also Maqadasia p.480.

⁵⁰⁰ Magadi, IV, p.9.

⁵⁰¹ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 160-61.

garments. They had to walk about bare headed and bare footed and had to take a dog with them whenever they ventured outside the house. They were also ordered to provide wood for the royal kitchen. They rode on horses without saddle and only their chiefs were allowed to use coarse clothes on the back of the horses. It was also their duty to guide the travelers and provide them food if they stayed for night.⁵⁰²

It is surprising to note that no major change seems to have occurred in their social status in the post-conquest period. However, the very fact that they helped the Arabs during the conquest of Sindh shows that they expected at least some improvement in their social position under the Arab rule.⁵⁰³

THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES:

The Muslim population of Sindh comprised of a number of the Arab as well as local Muslim tribes. Important racial groups with foreign background consisted mainly of the descendants of Arab families settled in Sindh *viz.* Sadat, Abbasids, Qazis, Quresh and Phawars (Phanwars) *etc.*

Sadat were those who traced their lineage to the Prophet (PBUH). They were one of the most venerated groups in Sindh. Though they were not generally involved in political activities. Yet they were invariably held in considerable respect mainly due to their venerable descent and pursuit of learning.

Migration of the Sadat into Sindh was spread over the whole span of the Muslim period. However, if a minute study of the process is carried out, it would appear that it had not been an even process and there were times when it was more pronounced. This was specially so during the periods of political upheavals in the different parts of the Muslim world. Under the Umayyads and Abbasids the Alavis were a constant source of trouble for the state. As a result the state also kept a close watch on them and when they found the pressure to be unbearable, they migrated to regions where they expected a less troubled life. Sindh has been an old favorite with these people. As a result a large number of them migrated to Sindh and established their strongholds at Multan and Mansura.⁵⁰⁴ Later on the Mongol eruption compelled a still larger number of Sadat families from Central Asia and Khurasan to turn to Sindh. The sack of Baghdad at the hands of the Mongols in 1258 A.D. further led many Arab families to migrate to Sindh which was a haven of peace at that time. As many of them belonged to good families with administrative experience they were easily absorbed in the government services and hence in a short span of time they succeeded in carrying out a special nitch in the polity of Sindh. Their lineage and learning commanded respect for them and they came to be held in high esteem by Hindus and Muslims alike.

⁵⁰² *Chach-Namah*, pp. 33, 163-64.

⁵⁰³ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 98, 166.

⁵⁰⁴ Masudi, I, p.378.

Due to the tribal set up of Sindh as also their inherent high social position, the Sadat remained intensely exclusive, whether they settled down in the cities or villages. They succeeded in maintaining their identity as an executive group. Their main groupings were Uchh Gilani, Uchh Bukhari, Ridwiyah, Shukr Allahi, Astrabadi, Kashani, Mazandrani alias Lodhi, Hasami, Husaini, Shirazi, Amir Khani *etc.* The Sadat Lak Alwi were most exclusive of them and did not marry outside their own families. Their settlements were mainly located in Rohri in Bhakkar, Thatta and Siwistan.⁵⁰⁵

It is said that the Arab tribe settled in Sindh were divided into eighteen families or groups *e.g.*, the Sagifi, the Tamin, the Mughirah, the Abbasi, the Siddiqi, the Paruqi, the Usmani, the Panhwar, the Mangi, the Jabriyah, Banu Asad, Banu Utbah, Banu Hakam, the Bajar, the descendent of Jarimah Ansari, and the Baluch.⁵⁰⁶ This traditional figure probably indicated the more prominent of the early Arab families who settled down in Sindh. Some of them like the Abbasi qazis came along with invading armies.⁵⁰⁷ Some of them were descendants of governors and other officials who came to Sindh later such as Banu Hakam, Tamim and Mughria.⁵⁰⁸

These qazi families were distinguished for their learning and culture. The Saqfi *qazis* of Bhakkar were the most prominent among them.

It is also noteworthy that during the Arab rule some of the Arab families like Habbari and Banu Sammah consolidated their hold on the local governing apparatus and gradually assumed the position of independent ruling families in the areas of their respective influence.

THE BALUCHES:

Baluches were believed to be an off shoot of the Rajputs. They constituted the other major ethnic group of Sindh. They were settled at the west bank of the Indus while the eastern bank was occupied by the Rajputs. These Rajput tribes also served to control the movement of the Baluches and kept them confined to particular region such as the foot hills of Siwistan.

It is difficult to determine the process of Baluch migration. It would appear from a close scrutiny of the sources that they started to migrate into Sindh from the middle of the fourteenth century and continued up to the middle of the next century. The turmoil

⁵⁰⁵ Qani, III, pp. 53, 199, 213-14.

⁵⁰⁶ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 132-33, 143, 166-67; Qani, III, pp.55-6. It is also said that the Baluches were the descendants of Muhammad bin Harun, the governor of Makran in 705 A.D.

⁵⁰⁷ Muhammad bin Qasim appointed Qazi Musa as the Qazi of Alor. Qazi Ismail, who gave the manuscript of *Chach-Namah* to Ali Kufi was a descendent of Qazi Musa, *Chach-Namah*, PP. 6,179-80.

⁵⁰⁸ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 52, 136,163.

following the disintegration of the Tughluq dynasty and Taimur's invasions seem to have compelled them to migrate to this region. But the political climate of the region was quite hostile to them and they found themselves forced to move further north-ward where they were welcomed by the Langhas of Multan. The Daudis were first to reach Langah dominion in 1443 A.D.⁵⁰⁹ The Baluches were Sunni Muslims and they were quite orthodox in their beliefs. But they also venerated the twelve *Imams* of the *Ithna Asharis*,⁵¹⁰ which was probably due to Ismaili influence as the Ismailis were active in this region for a very long time. Mostly Baluches were nomads and their way of life was tribal. Their main profession was cattle breeding and rearing of camels. Agriculture mostly was also not unknown among them but it was confined to small patches in the narrow hills and valleys.

Apart from above mentioned components of the Muslim society in Sindh quite a number of Ismailis were also settled there. These Ismailies belonged to an extreme Shia sect. Most of other Muslims who inhabited the region were Sunnis. These Sunnis constituted the majority of the Muslim population and the ruling families came from within their fold. But this situation was drastically altered when the Ismailis started moving to the region in large numbers and established their propaganda centers there. Gradually they succeeded in wresting the power from the Sunnis and established their own political authority. This, however, did not lead to the liquidation of the Sunni population from the areas of Ismaili domination. But there can be no doubt that the loss of the political authority badly affected their fortunes. This was further accentuated by the Ismaili propaganda which won many adherent even from among the Sunni population.

The establishment of the Ghaznavide rule in the Punjab affected the situation only marginally because its influence did not extend to the region of Sindh where the Ismailism had deeply entrenched itself by now. Ismaili missionaries were very quite active even after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate and it was not possible till very late to finally check their influence.

Obviously, such a change could not have come about in a day. The Ismailis had a tradition of working silently and secretly within masses. They worked among Sunnis and non-Muslims. It is likely that some of those who ultimately overthrew the rule of the Sunni emirs, must have been new converts from the non-Muslim population. The Ismailis had also succeeded in converting the Sumirah rulers to their own sect. The Ismaili Sumirahs were able to establish their rule over considerable areas of Sindh and maintained it for more than three centuries. Later on, however, the Sumirahs were converted to Sunni doctrines. According to the evidence contained in *Ferishta* the Sumirah governor of Uchh became a disciple of the famous Suharwardi saint Saiyid

⁵⁰⁹ *Ferishta*, II, p.326.

⁵¹⁰ Dames Bollads, *The Popular Poetry of the Baluches*, Glasgow, 1907, p. 141.

Jalaluddin Bukhari.⁵¹¹ The process of conversion of the Ismailis to the fold of Sunnism seems to have been quite wide spread and it appears to have caused much apprehension in the Ismaili headquarters. It is reported that with a view to check this trend the Ismaili Imam sent a Sindhi named Daud or Dadu as missionary to the Punjab but he failed to achieve anything and was expelled from Sindh by the Sumirah ruler and was forced to take refuge in Kathiawar.⁵¹² In any case, the process of the absorption of the Ismailis into orthodox Sunnism seems to have made considerable headway before the end of the Sumirah dominion.

IMPACT OF MUSLIM ON HINDU SOCIETY:

The peaceful co-existence of Hindus and Muslims was bound to lead to healthy interaction among the two communities. Islamic principles of equality, brotherhood and social justice were bound to have great impact on a society which was so badly affected by the consideration of caste. It would appear that these aspects of the Muslim society played a vital role in attracting many of the local people to the fold of Islam. Later on when Baghdad emerges as the premier centre of learning and the patronage of the Abbasid caliphs, many learned Indian Scholar found their way to that city and quite a number of them preferred to stay on there. Naturally in most of the cases their descendants were absorbed in that society and adopted its religion.⁵¹³

The conquest of Sindh also paved the way for cultural and scientific exchange between Muslims and Hindus. In this respect the most important contribution of India to the Arabs was the Indian numerals, which with superficial changes the Arabs passed on to the world. The other fields where the Arabs were highly indebted to the Indian scholars included astronomy (including astrology) medicine⁵¹⁴ and philosophy. Besides these scientific and literary borrowings, the Arabs exhibited much appreciation of their music, paintings and sculpture and evinced great interest in these things. It is possible to trace some influence of Sindh musicians on Arabs.⁵¹⁵ These influences were not very much pronounced during the Umayyad period. It grew and gained strength under the benign patronage of the Abbasids. It seems to have received further impetus during the period the Barmakis held sway at the Abbasid court. They were supposed to be converts from Buddhism and hence their cultural contacts with Hinduism were more intimate. In this situation it was only expected that the Barmakis would show greater interest in the Indian heritage.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹¹ Ferishta, II, p .416.

⁵¹² *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, IX, Part II (ed.) J.M. Campbell, Bombay 1899, p. 46.

⁵¹³ Ibn Abi Usaibiah, *Uyun ul-Ambah fi Tabaqat-i-Atibba*, II, Cairo, 1299 A.H. p. 34.

⁵¹⁴ Ibn-al-Faqih, *Kitab-ul-Buldan*, ed. De Goeje, R.J.Brill, 1885, p. 16.

⁵¹⁵ Masudi, I, p. 166.

⁵¹⁶ I. H.Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent*, Columbia, 1962, p. 30; See also K. S. Lal, *Early Muslims in India*, Delhi 1984, p. 23.

With the rise of the Barmakis the cultural contact of Sindh with the Arabs became more pronounced. A group of Sindhi scholars who visited Baghdad in 771 A.D., had taken several books with them, one of which was the famous *Siddhanta* which was translated into Arabic with the help of an Arab mathematician Ibrahim Fazari. The book has been very popular among the Arab astronomers as *As-Sindh Hind*.⁵¹⁷ It was through this book that the great mathematical exploits of the Indians were introduced to the Arabs. *Arvabhatya* and *Khandakhadva* were also translated into Arabic about the same time.⁵¹⁸ Similarly the Indian Ayurvedic physicians were invited to Baghdad for the translation of some Sanskrit books.⁵¹⁹ *Kalila wa Dimnah*, a book of fables illustrating ethical values had its origin in Indian sources and has been popular in many parts of the Muslim world.⁵²⁰ It is also stated that during the prolonged Sickness of Harun Rashid, a specialist physician was summoned from Sindh. Under his care the Caliph fully recovered from his ailments. The Ummayid Caliph Hisham b. Abdul Malik (724-43) used to apply the Indian hair-dye which was credited to give natural shine to the hair.⁵²¹

The Arabs living in Sindh could not have remained entirely unaffected by the local social conditions. It was only to be expected that they adopted some of the local habits and customs. Several Arab travelers provide interesting details about this phenomenon. According to them the Arab rulers of Sindh put on long robes, had earrings and kept long hair under the influence of local Hindu *rajas*. They used war elephants and also rode in chariots drawn by horses. They rode on elephant in procession to enter the city to offer Friday prayer in the Jami Mosque which was located in the main city. They also spoke local languages.⁵²² Masudi tells us that the Muslim chiefs used elephant in wars.⁵²³ Similarly under the impact of Arabs the local population which consisted mainly of Hindus and Buddhists, could speak Arabic and Persian along with their mother tongue. Another Arab traveler Maqadasi praises the people of Multan for their high standard and personal and commercial morality. He found them prosperous.⁵²⁴

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AND LEARNING

The foundation of Arab rule was followed by Muslim settlements and along with them came mosques and *madrasas*. To meet the religious and educational needs of the growing Muslim population a large number of Islamic institutions were established.

⁵¹⁷ Al-Biruni, I, pp.152-54, II, p. 181 Qureshi, p. 31, K. S. Lal, p. 23.

⁵¹⁸ Abul Qasim Said Undulis, *Tabaoat-ul-Umam*, Urdu tr. Ahmad Mian Akhtar, Azamgarh, p. 8.

⁵¹⁹ Al, Jahiz, *Kitab-ul-Bayan*, Cairo 1311-13 A.H., p. 40.

⁵²⁰ This book was translated from Arabic into Persian by Nasrullah b. Muhammad b. Abu Hamid Munshi. A later version is known as *Anwar-i-Suhaili*. The original is said to be the *Panchtantra*.

⁵²¹ Masudi, I, p. 166.

⁵²² Ibid., VIII, p. 127; See also *Al-Idrisi, Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaa Fi-ikhtiraaq al-Afaq*, ed. B. Maqbool Ahmad under the title, *India and the Neighbouring Territories*, Aligarh. 1954, pp. 44-5.

⁵²³ Ibid., I, p. 375, Istakhri, p. 103, Ibn Hauqel, *Kitab Surpt al-Arz*, II, ed. J. H. Kramers, E. J. Brill, 1939, p. 323.

⁵²⁴ Maqadasi, p. 480.

These institutions were maintained by the government and worked under the supervision of the *Ulama*. The sources contain ample information about these *madrasas* and educational institutions and it is possible to form a clear idea about the running of these institutions and the mode of their management. Besides these *madrasahs* the mosques also served as an important centre of Islamic learning. It was a practice with the Arabs that after conquering a region the first building erected by them used to be mosque. Other buildings and facilities came only afterwards.⁵²⁵

The Arabs introduced in Sindh the traditional Islamic system of education *i.e.* education through the medium of *maktabs* and *madrasas*. A net work of these institutions was established throughout Sindh both in urban as well as the rural areas. Traditionally these *madrasas* were either attached to the mosques, or the houses of the nobles and scholars. The *maktabs* provided primary education and the students were to go to the *madrasas* for higher education.

The Muslim rulers of Sindh took keen interest in the dissemination of learning and built a large number of *madrasas* in different cities for this purpose. In the city of Mansura, the famous *madrasa* of Qazi Abu Muhammad Mansuri⁵²⁶ was a centre of higher education and religious learning. Another important centre for the education of *hadis* was the city of Debal. In this city the *madrasa* of Imam Ali b. Musa Debili had earned much fame in the field of the education of *hadis* and attracted large number of students even few outside India.⁵²⁷ This testifies to the reputation it had earned through its excellent teaching of *hadis*. Besides these centres of excellence in higher education a large number of other not so famous *madrasas* also catered to the educational needs of the community. Besides these *madrasas* many leading *ulama* taught the students in various branches of specialised learning as Qazi Abu Muhammad Mansuri Muhaddis formed the nucleus of the centre of higher learning and they maintained a library also.⁵²⁸ It was almost a tradition with the rulers, nobles and the eminent scholars to maintain their own libraries. These libraries were accessible to the student who were free to avail themselves of this facility. These libraries served the requirements of present day public libraries.

The establishment of Delhi Sultanate seems to have provided great impetus to these institutions who under the benevolent patronage of the Sultan made great strides of development. A large number of eminent personalities were attached to the court of Nasiruddin Qubacha. These included Qutbuddin Kashani, Ali b. Hamid Kufi. Nuruddin Muhammad Aufi and Shaikh Mahmud Parma. Among these Ali b. Hamid Kufi, translated the famous Arabic book *Fathnamah-i- Sindh* or *Minhaj al-Masalik* into

⁵²⁵ Balazuri, PP. 427, 431.

⁵²⁶ Maqadasi, p. 481; See also Yaqut, II, p. 495.

⁵²⁷ Khatib Baghdadi, *Tarikh-i Baghdad*, Egypt, 1931, p. 333; See also Qazi Athar Mubarakpuri, p. 159.

⁵²⁸ Magadasi, p. 481.

Persian with the title of *Chach-Namah*. Aufo also compiled his book *Loubab al-Albab* during that period.

The same ruler appointed Qazi Minhaj Siraj Juzjani as principal of the famous Ferozia Madrasas at Uchh.⁵²⁹ Qubacha also established a *madrasa* at Multan and appointed Qazi Qutbuddin Kashani as its principal.⁵³⁰

Prince Muhammad, son of Sultan Balban and the governor of Multan was a patron of scholars. It is said that he had invited Shaikh Sadi to come to Multan. His court was famous for scholars, who included luminaries like Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan.⁵³¹ During the fourteenth century *madrasa* of Shaikh Shahbaz Qalander at Siwistan acquired much fame. Ibn Batuta had stayed in this *madrasa* during his visit of Siwistan and provides a good account about it.⁵³² The *madrasa* of Shaikh Hammad Jamali at Makli and the *madrasa* of Sultan Husain Langah at Multan were also very well-known for their education.⁵³³ Among the Sammah Jams, Sanjar and Nizamuddin of Sindh evinced much interest in the spread of education and learning. They established many *madrasas* and patronized the *ulama* who were attracted in large numbers to their courts. These scholars were provided with handsome stipends and emoluments.⁵³⁴

The *madrasa* of Darvesh Daud at Aghamkot was a very renowned seat of learning and it catered to the educational needs of more than 500 students of the Quran at one time and provided free lodging boarding and dress to all the pupils. These institutions received grants from the state in the form of revenue free lands for their maintenance and upkeep.⁵³⁵

Moreover, the *Khanqahs* of various sufi orders also proved instrumental in the dissemination of education and learning in the region. After the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate Suhrawardi *silsilah* was firmly entrenched in the region and played a very prominent role in the life of the region. Its Uchh and Siwistan branch specially served as centres of Islamic learning under the able guidance of Makhdum Jahanian.⁵³⁶ Some of the more eminent scholars of the period were Shaikh Jamaluddin, Qazi Abu Hanifa, Jamaluddin Khandanru and his talented son Raziuddin *Gani-i-Ilm*. Khandanru spent his life in teaching at the Khanqah Jamalia.

⁵²⁹ Minhaj, I. p. 420.

⁵³⁰ Ferishta, II, p. 408.

⁵³¹ Barani, p. 67.

⁵³² Ibn Batuta, p. 398.

⁵³³ Ferishta, II, p. 325.

⁵³⁴ Masumi, p. 75. Jam Nizamuddin invited Maulana Jalaluddin Muhammad Dauwami and his two pupils to his court at Thatta.

⁵³⁵ Tahiri, fol. 38.

⁵³⁶ *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 138.

It is very difficult to determine the area and scope of these *madrasas* and *maktabs*. The *maktabs* were basically meant to impart to the pupils the primary knowledge of the religion. *Madrasas* were the institutions meant for the higher studies catering to the needs of a few selected students for special fields of religious learning i.e. *qaza*, *ifta*, *fiqh*, *hadis* and so on. Such *madrasas* included in their curricula subjects of *Sarf*, *Nahw*, *Blaghat*, *Fiqh*, *Usul-i-Fiqh*, *Mantic*, *Kalam*, *Tasawwuf*, *Tafsir* and *Hadis*.⁵³⁷

THE ROLE OF THE ULAMAS

The *ulama* were a very important segment of the Muslim society in Sindh. Their role in the religious, social and intellectual life of the community here as elsewhere has been enormous. Besides guiding the people in religious matters and performing many social functions they educated the people in the *maktabs* and *madrasas* and compiled books to meet the religious and intellectual needs of the community. They were also an important instrument of missionary work and played a key role in the field of the propagation of the religion.

Moreover, it was from the ranks of the *ulama* that officials like *Qazis*⁵³⁸, *Muftis*, *Muhtasibs* etc., were recruited. The role of the *ulama*, therefore, was not confined to only religious and educational fields their contribution to the administration was also very significant and should not be overlooked.⁵³⁹

It may also be kept in mind that a considerable majority of the important *sufis* were recruited from the ranks of the *ulama*. The situation was not in any way different in Sindh. For an example we can take the family of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, the founder of Suhrawardi *silsilah* in India. The Shaikh belonged to the Habbari Asadi branch of the Quresh. After completing his *sufi* training under the supervision of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi he came to Sindh in compliance of the instructions of his mentor. After his arrival in Sindh, he took his first residence at Alor but later on shifted to Multan where he established his *Khanqah* and started guiding the people in the *sufi* discipline. His descendents and other prominent *sufis* of the *silsilah* such as Makhdum-i-Jahanian, Makhdum Ghaus, Makhdum Bilal etc., were not only *sufis* but also *ulama* of great reputation.

This, however, does not mean that there was no difference among the *ulama* and the *sufis* and they enjoyed complete uniformity of views regarding different problems. Far from it, in fact *ulama* and the *sufis* represented two different trends of the Islamic

⁵³⁷ Abul Hasnat Nadavi, *Hindustan ki Qadim Islami Darsaahen*, Azamgarh 1936, p.93. The syllabus of the Arabic teaching was divided into five successive periods. The first period was from 13th to 15th century A.D.,

⁵³⁸ *Chach-Namah*, p. 179. Musa b. Yaqub Sacifi, was qazi of Alor His descendent Qazi Ismail b. Ali b. Muhammad had the original Arabic *Chach-Namah* which was translated into Persian by Ali Kufi.

⁵³⁹ Qazi Abul Abbas Mansuri, wrote three books viz., *Kitab-u -Misbah*, *Kitab-ul-Hadis*, *Kitab-ul-Nair*, Athar Mubarakpuri, op.cit., p. 158.

thought and those *ulama* who embraced sufi discipline were bound to develop attitudes quite different to the *ulama*. There have existed very sharp differences among these two very important segments of the Muslim society from the very beginning and the attempts to bridge them have been only partially successful. For example the *sufis* have generally endeavored to build bridges between Islam and local faiths which has led to the absorption of many ideas and practices of other religions. The intensity of this process of give and take has differed from *silsilah* to *silsilah* but in some degree it has been there in every *silsilah*. The *ulama* looked askance at this process and considered it detrimental to the purity of Islam. As such they considered it their duty to resist this process and protect the Muslim society from the ideological inroads of other religions and philosophies. They visualized themselves as custodians of the purity of religion and there can be no doubt that in spite of the personal feelings of many of them, their contribution to this particular aspect has been enormous.

An eminent Arab scholar had settled in Sindh for some time in the reign of Abdullah b. Umar Habbari. In 883 A.D., the Hindu Raja Mahruq b. Raiq desired from the *amir* to send someone to his court who could translate the Holy Quran in Sindhi. The *amir* sent the above-mentioned scholar who stayed at the court for three years and translated some portion of Quran in Sindhi. Raja was much pleased and bestowed gifts to him and sent him back. This was the first translation of Quran in Sindhi language.⁵⁴⁰

Qazi Abu Muhammad Daudi was an eminent scholar of his time. He was also the *qazi* of Mansura. He was a prolific writer and composed several books on different subjects.⁵⁴¹

Qazi Abul Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad Mansuri was *qazi* and *imam* of Mansura, He belonged to Daudi sect, and wrote several books about the Daudi sect. Among his books are included *Kitab-ul Misbah*, *Kitab-ul-Hadi*, *Kitab-ul Nair*.⁵⁴²

Abu Muhammad Abdullah b. Jafar Mansuri was *qari* and a renowned reciter of Quran had a good knowledge of *hadis*. Ali b. Ahmad b. Muhammad Debili was famous in the field of jurisprudence. He wrote a book on Islamic jurisprudence with the name of *Adab-ul Qaza*.⁵⁴³

CENTRES OF ISLAMIC LEARNING AND CULTURES

The main centers of Islamic learning and culture in Sindh were Debal, Mansura, Multan, Uchh and Thatta. These centers became the nucleus of the Islamic culture and learning and produced a large number of *ulama*, *qazis*, authors, theologians etc. These

⁵⁴⁰ *Ajaib-ul-Hind*, p. 3.

⁵⁴¹ Masasadi, p. 481.

⁵⁴² Ibn Nadim *Al-Fihrist*, Egypt (4.D.) p. 134.

⁵⁴³ Masasadi, p. 371.

centers were not only famous in the sub-continent but throughout the Muslim world. As a result a large number of *ulama* were attracted to Sindh who flocked from outside and took their abode in Sindh. A brief description of some of the more important centers is being given below:⁵⁴⁴

DEBAL:

It was a coastal city with a large population. In 893 A.D., the region was affected by a disastrous earthquake which took a great toll of life.⁵⁴⁵ The Arabs had re-established the city and developed the region again. According to Maqadasi the city of Debal was surrounded by one hundred villages.⁵⁴⁶

The Arabs developed this city as a great centre of Islamic learning and culture. The most eminent scholar of the place was Imam Ali b. Musa Debili, who used to teach *hadis* to the students in his *madrasa*. Most of his students were foreigners. Another important scholar was Ali b. Ahmed b. Muhammad Debili. A number of the *ulama* of Debal even went to Central Asia where they settled down. They were famous in their respective fields of learning.

MANSURA:

It was founded by Umar b. Muhammad b. Qasim⁵⁴⁷ an island of Indus. The Arabs made it the seat of their government and studded it with beautiful mosques and other buildings along with the gardens of lemon, dates and mango trees.⁵⁴⁸ It was fully fortified and had four gates, stables for horses and elephants. The city was surrounded by three lac villages.

Soon after its foundation it became a centre of Islamic learning, some of the most eminent scholars residing in this city included Qazi Abu Muhammad Daudi Mansuri, Qazi Abul Abbas Mansuri and Qazi Abu Abdullah Mansuri *etc.*⁵⁴⁹ Qazi Abu Muhammad Daudi Mansuri was the Chief Justice and a writer of great merit. His books were generally on religious sciences.⁵⁵⁰ He also managed a *madrasa* there.

⁵⁴⁴ Athar Mubarakpuri, op.cit.. P. 161.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibn Asir, VII, p. 465.

⁵⁴⁶ Maqadasi, p. 479.

⁵⁴⁷ Balazuri, p. 431.

⁵⁴⁸ Istakhri, p. 103; See also Hamdullah Mustaufi Qazwani, *Nuzhat-ul-Qulub*, Bombay 1311 A. H., p. 234.

⁵⁴⁹ Maqadasi, p. 481.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

UCHH:

It was an ancient town situated on the south bank of Sutlej river. At one time it had been the capital of Nasiruddin Qubacha. Both the Sultan and his *vazir*, Ainul Mulk, were patrons of scholars. A number of religious luminaries, *ulema*, artists and literati flocked from Central Asia and other parts of the Muslim world. Eminent scholars like Muhammad Aufo, Minhaj Siraj, Qutubuddin Kashani *etc.*, were attached to his court. It was during this period the famous Suhrawardi I of Uchh was established. The Foundation of Firozia College was a milestone in the field of the dissemination of education in the region and it, may be counted among the great contribution of Sultan Nasiruddin Qubacha whose interest in literature may be gauged from the fact that the Persian translation of *Chach-Namah* and *Lubab-ul-Albab*, were done at his court.

This ancient city was divided into several quarters, where the followers of various saints lived. Among these Uchh Gilani, Uchh Bukhari and Uchh Mughla were more famous. Its mausoleums and mosques were specially renowned for the beauty of their architecture.

THATTA:

Thatta, the capital of Lower Sindh, appears to have been established during the Sammrnah rule and it superseded Samui, their former capital.⁵⁵¹ The city was situated on the north of the river Indus. It was close to the Makli hills. It was a famous seat of learning specially for theology, philosophy and politics. Its importance as a seat of learning may be estimated from the fact that it had 400 *madradas* within its walls.

The Sammah patronage of learning and knowledge reached its highest water mark in the reign of Jam Nizamuddin who not only encouraged local scholars but invited eminent scholars from outside the country. One such scholar was Maulana Jalal-uddin Dawwani who was invited from Shiraz to come and settled down at Thatta. In response to this invitation the Maulana sent two of his pupils, Mir Shamsuddin and Mir Muin to Thatta.⁵⁵²

During the reign of Jam Nizamuddin Nanda, Thatta reached its pinnacle of glory. A large number of mosques and other buildings were founded. The famous grave-yard of Makli still exists and offers a mute testimony to the glory of the reign.

⁵⁵¹ Qani, III, p. 63.

⁵⁵² Masumi, p. 85.

MULTAN:

It was Mulasthan of the Hindus and the *Bait-ul-Zahab* of the Arabs standing at the bank of the Ravi. It was a famous place of pilgrimage for the Hindus who used to flock here from different parts of India to visit the sacred Sun Temple. This Sun Temple was a favorite and important place of religious rendezvous for the Hindus where they came in large numbers for pilgrimage. It was a centre of Hindu culture. During the Arab rule, Multan was ruled by Banu Sammah. Later on the Ismailis got an upper hand here and they got the *Khutba* to be recited in the name of the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. Hence after the rulers of Multan always used to send presents to the Fatimid Caliph.⁵⁵³

Multan was the main centre of the Suhrawardi saints in Sindh. The founder of the Suhrawardi Order in Hindustan was Shaikh Sahauddin Zakariya Multani. He was succeeded by his son and grandson, Shaikh Sadruddin Arif and Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani. His *Khanqah* and the mausoleum were famous for their architectural beauty.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM

SUHRAWARDI ORDER: ORIGIN:

Sufism has been a part of Muslim culture and religious life. Like other parts of the Muslim world the people of Sindh had been familiar with various mystics orders but the most popular and influential was Suhrawardi Order. The real founder of the *silsilah* Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi (1145-1234 A.D.) belonged to a mystic family. He was a descendant of Abu Bakr, the first pious caliph.⁵⁵⁴ This *silsilah* may be regarded to have been initiated by Ziauddin Abu Najib Suhrawardi (1097-1168 A.D.) the uncle of Shaikh Shahabuddin. Shaikh Shahabuddin received his early education under the care of his uncle in his *Khanqah* at Baghdad.⁵⁵⁵ He was also associated with the famous sufi master Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani (d. 1164 A.D.) for the spiritual training.

Shaikh Shahabuddin succeeded his uncle and his *khalifah* and took his seat in the *Khanqah* at Baghdad where his uncle had instructed the disciples. Within a short time the Shaikh became very popular among the masses and also attracted the attention of the Caliphs. Caliph al-Nasir held him in great respect and sent him as ambassador to Sultan Muhammad Khwariam Shah in 1218 A.D. He was sent again as ambassador to Alauddin Kaiqubad I, Seljuq ruler of Qonya (1229-36 A.D.).⁵⁵⁶ Caliph Al-Nasir built for

⁵⁵³ Maqadasi, p. 485.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibn Khallikan, *Wafiyat-ul-A'avan wa-Anbao-Abna-iz-Zaman*, II Cairo, 1948, pp. 373-74.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p.374.

⁵⁵⁶ J. Von Hammer, Purgstall, *Histoire del empire Othoman*, I, tr. J. J. Hellert, Paris, 1835, p. 141.

him a *Khanqah*, associated a large establishment with it, which included a bath house and a garden for himself and his family.⁵⁵⁷ He was an acknowledged jurist of his time and his fatwa was much sought after. But his most well-known work which has earned for him a very high niche in the sufi literature is his book *Awarif-al-Ma'arif* which enjoys great reputation in the *sufi* circles. He was a great teaching Shaikh, whose influence, not only through his pupils, but through his work, has extended to almost all part of the Muslim world.

The main followers of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi were Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani, Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagori, Shaikh Najibuddin Buzghush, Shaikh Zaharuddin Mahmud, and Shaikh Muhammad Yamini. Similarly Shaikh Sadi Shirazi (1208-92 A.D.), who come under his influence when he was in Baghdad, was not a practicing *sufi*. In his *Bostan* he refers to Shaikh Shahaubuddin's piety and love for his fellowmen.⁵⁵⁸ His son, Imamuddin Muhammad succeeded him as the warden of Ribat al-Mamuniyya in Baghdad.⁵⁵⁹

Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi appointed Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani (1182-1262 A.D.), as a Khalifa and sent him from Baghdad to Sindh and Multan for the propagation of Islam.⁵⁶⁰ For long these regions have been hot beds of Ismaili propaganda and many of their beliefs had permeated the society and the need was pressing to reform that society Shaikh Bahauddin came and settled at Multan and his *Khanqah* soon became a centre of attraction not only for the people of the region but also as far-flung regions as Gujarat and Burhanpur. Their close association with the Sultans of Delhi and their active participation in the propagation of the religion contributed much in destroying the Ismailis influence in the region. The powerful tribes of the Sumirah, the Sammah and the Langahas came under their influence and thereby not only these tribes were weaned from the Ismailis but the society of the region at large was affected by this development.

Their political influence gained a new dimension when after the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate, the people of Multan invited Shaikh Yosuf Qureshi as their ruler but this glory was short lived. Meanwhile they had developed matrimonial relations with Lodis and the Sultans of Gujarat.⁵⁶¹ In this way they did not yield only spiritual influence over the people of the region but they also enjoyed considerable political cloud.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibn Khallikan, III, pp. 119-20.

⁵⁵⁸ Shaikh Sadi, *Bostan*, ed. K. H. Graf, Vienna, 1850, p. 150.

⁵⁵⁹ Abdur Razzaq b. Ahmad Ibn al-Fuwati, *Al-Hawadith al-Jamia*, ed. H. Jawad, Baghdad, 1932, p. 323.

⁵⁶⁰ Ferishta, II, p. 613; See also *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 44.

⁵⁶¹ Ferishta, II, p. 325.

THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE SUHRAWARDIS IN INDIA MAY BE MENTIONED AS

1. Passing normal social life and helping people in different ways.
2. Main emphasis on obligatory prayers and avoiding regular fast and similar act.
3. Keeping away himself from *Qalandars* and *Jwaligs*.
4. Reform of political life through association with political authorities.
5. Prohibiting of bowing before Shaikh or any saint.
6. Observance of Shariat's rules and non-indulgence in mystic song (*sama*).

KHANQAH:

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya established his *Khanqah* at Multan which became a centre of attraction in a very short time. The Suhrawardis mixed freely with the rulers and accepted state services and took part in the administrative works. Enormous *futuh* flowed to his *Khanqah*⁵⁶² and he kept his wealth carefully.⁵⁶³ He was completely independent in the financial matters and the internal discipline and organization of his *Khanqah*. An idea of the immense material resources at his disposal may be had from the fact that even the Governor of Multan had to borrow grain from him in the periods of crisis and scarcity.⁵⁶⁴ The *Khanqah* was no doubt, well-provided and well-managed. It was built on an extensive area and separate accommodation used to be provided for everyone who visited the *Khanqah*. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya entertained his guests lavishly and provided good food and even he himself was fond of good food.⁵⁶⁵ He did not maintain an open table and only those who were invited by him could take food with him.

The Suhrawardi *Khanqahs* had regular *Jagirs* so they had a large stock of cereals and they also had a lot of gold and silver coins.⁵⁶⁶ Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya did not allow the commoners to disturb him during odd hours⁵⁶⁷ and *Qalandars* and *Jwaliqs* were also not allowed to disturb him.⁵⁶⁸ He had fixed the time for his interview and no one

⁵⁶² Hammad Jamali, *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, Rizvi Press Delhi, 1311 A.H. p. 106.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, P. 129.

⁵⁶⁴ Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi, *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, Newel Kishore, 1894, p. 223.

⁵⁶⁵ *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, p.105: *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 137.

⁵⁶⁶ *Siyarul Arifin*, p. 136.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, P. 5.

⁵⁶⁸ *Siyarul Arifin*, p. 120.

could contact him at odd hours. Shaikh engaged good tutors and teachers for his sons and paid them lavish stipends.⁵⁶⁹ The people acknowledged his piety, devotion and spiritual greatness among his contemporaries. But for some of his contemporaries like Shaikh Hamiduddin Suali it always remained an enigma which they failed to unravel. To such people Shaikh's answer used to be that it was not so much the wealth as its improper use that was harmful to the spiritual progress. He maintained that one who knew the cure should not be afraid of the poison.⁵⁷⁰

An important branch of Suhrawardi order was established at Uchh by Saiyid Jalal Bukhari, the disciple and intimate friend of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya. The *Khanqah* of Uchh gained great importance under the able guidance of Makhdum Jahanian. The Suhrawardis were responsible for a number of conversions.⁵⁷¹

In Sindh and Punjab the important Suhrawardi *sufis* were Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Shaikh Sadrudin Arif, Shaikh Rukduddin, Saiyid Jalal Surkh his sons Saiyid Jalaluddin Makhdum Jahanian, Shaikh Sadrudin and Raju Qattal *etc.* A large number of other Suhrawardis lived in different parts of the country.⁵⁷²

SHAIKH SADRUDDIN (d. 1285 A.D.):

After the death of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, his son, Shaikh Sadrudin, succeeded him.⁵⁷³ Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya had seven sons,⁵⁷⁴ but Shaikh Sadrudin was designed to succeed in as his *Khalifah*. Out of the very large amount left by his father as patrimony, Shaikh Sadrudin's share was seven lac of *tankas*. But this entire amount was distributed in charity by the Shaikh. He was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Ruknuddin Abul Fath⁵⁷⁵ (ob. 1334 A.D.) who rose to great eminence and enjoyed great influence over the people. He preached for about half a century in Sindh. According to Barani, the entire population of Sindh had faith in the Shaikh and even a large number of *ulama* had joined his circle.⁵⁷⁶ The Shaikh used to visit Delhi quite regularly where he was held in great respect by the rulers.⁵⁷⁷ His relations with Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya were very cordial.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁶⁹ *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*, P. 223.

⁵⁷⁰ *Siyarul Arifin*, p. 158.

⁵⁷¹ *Ferishta*, II, p. 325.

⁵⁷² These were Shaikh Nuh Bhakkari, Shaikh Patha Debili (d. 1248 A.D.); Saiyid Muhammad Husain known as Pir Murad (1427-87 A.D.); Saiyid Ali Shirazi (1392-1472 A.D.) *etc.*

⁵⁷³ *Siyarul Arifin*, pp. 124-40; *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, pp. 63-5. See also Saiyid Abdul Qadir, p. 21.

⁵⁷⁴ The name of his sons were Shailsh Kamaluddin, Shaikh Sadrudin Arif, Shaikh Samiuddin Mahmud, Shaikh Aliuddin Yahya, Shaikh Mahbub, Shaikh Burhan Ahmad and Shaikh Ziauddin Hamid; Ghausi Shattari, *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, I, MS, John Ryland, 185, fol. 31b; Barani (p. 80) refers Shaikh Quddus one of his sons.

⁵⁷⁵ Barani, pp. 347-48; Isami, p. 443; *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, III, fols. 31-32; *Siyarul-Arifin*, pp. 135-141. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, pp. 65-7.

⁵⁷⁶ Barani, pp. 347-48.

⁵⁷⁷ *Akhbar-ul Akhyar*, p. 65.

⁵⁷⁸ *Siyarul-Auliya*, p. 146.

THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIETY:

Ever since the establishment of his *Khanqah* in Multan during the reign of Qubacha,⁵⁷⁹ Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya and his successors were keenly interested in the affairs of welfare and well-being of the people. Their concern for the local population was exhibited more than once. They used their enormous prestige and influence with the Sultans of Delhi and other people in the interest of the people of Multan. As he felt that Qubacha's rule was oppressive, he invited Iltutmish in 1246 A.D., to come over and conquer Multan and save the people from his oppression. Similarly, when Multan was besieged by the Mongol leader, Sali Nuin, and the city was facing the spectra of Mongol onslaught, the Shaikh interceded on behalf of the people of Multan with Mongol leader through the good office of Malik Shamsuddin and succeeded in persuading the Mongols to withdraw on payment of 10,000 *dinars*.⁵⁸⁰

As has been noticed earlier, the Suhrawardi master used to visit the royal court at Delhi quite regularly. The occasions provided a much awaited opportunity to the people who sought the good offices of the Shaikh to get their grievances redressed. This opportunity was availed not only by the people of Multan but also the residents of Delhi. The Sultans took personal interest in the redressal of the grievances who approached them through the Suhrawardi masters. It is said that people of Delhi used to stand in the way and wait for the palanquin of the Shaikh on his way to the court and used to throw in their applications in the palanquin, confident that those would be surely looked into. It is said that there used to be so many applications that the palanquin got filled. Once Shaikh Jalaluddin Makhdum-i-Jahanian is reported to have said about one of his journeys to the court that he had not come to seek any worldly favor from the Sultan. The fact was that one of his teacher had died and left behind seven unmarried daughters. Only reason for his coming to the court was to seek Sultan's help for their marriage.⁵⁸¹

Similarly it is reported about Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani that wherever he left Multan for Delhi, needy persons gathered round him and filled his *dola* with petitions to be handed over to the Sultan with his recommendation for their favorable consideration.⁵⁸²

The Suhrawardis established personal relationship with the rulers so that they could influence them for good. Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi once came to know that a philosopher had gone to the Khalifa who was much impressed by his discourses which seemed to the Shaikh to be against the religious beliefs. The Shaikh at one left for the

⁵⁷⁹ *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*, pp. 119-20; Ferishta, II, p. 406.

⁵⁸⁰ *Tarikh-i-Nama-i-Hayat*. pp. 157-58.

⁵⁸¹ Sayings of Saiyid Jalaluddin, *Sirai-ul-Hidaya*, ed. Qazi Sajjad Husain, New Delhi, 1983, p. 334.

⁵⁸² *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 148-49; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 142: Urdu tr. p. 203.

court to check the influence of the philosopher and according to the report succeeded in his mission.⁵⁸³

However, Saiyid Jalaluddin Makhdum-i-Jahanian always criticized the income of the rulers, their way of life and their bureaucracy. He delivered sermons and always made effort for the establishment of Shariat's rule. Due to Saiyid's influence Sultan Firoz Shah abolished most of the illegal and un-Islamic taxes.⁵⁸⁴ Once the Saiyid told his disciples that whatever he had accepted from the Sultan was for the help of the people not for accumulation.⁵⁸⁵ In this connection Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani used to say that three things are necessary for a saint to satisfy the needy, money, learning and spiritual ability.⁵⁸⁶

SUHRAWARDIS AND THE STATE POLITICS

From the very inception of the *silsilah*, the Suhrawardis had maintained cordial relations with the state. Shaikh Najibuddin Abdul Qahir, founder of the *silsilah*, had intimate relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad,⁵⁸⁷ and the Caliph is reported to have sought his help at the time of crisis such as the Khwarazm Shah's attack on Baghdad.⁵⁸⁸ At several occasions, he was sent by the caliph as an emissary to other rulers. This tradition of close association with the state was continued by the Indian Suhrawardis. The Indian Muslim rulers also held them in great respect. These twin factors enabled the Suhrawardis to play a very prominent role not only in the religious and cultural life of the people but also in the political developments taking place in the region and thought their impact on the Sindhi society was enormous. Iltutmish had great respect for the Suhrawardis. After ascending the throne of Delhi, he appointed some of the Suhrawardis to high posts such as Saiyid Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznavi as the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Delhi and Maulana Majduddin to the post of *Sadr-i-Wilayat*.⁵⁸⁹ Due to his deep respect towards the Suhrawardis, he sent his nephew, Saduddin to Qazi Hamiduddin to be initiated in the Suhrawardi discipline.⁵⁹⁰ These relations were further strengthened when Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya invited Iltutmish to invade Sindh to dislodge the oppressive rule of Nasiruddin Oubacha. In a joint move with Qazi Sharfuddin of Multan, the Shaikh wrote to Iltutmish to come and conquer the region. The letter was intercepted by Qubacha who summoned both the Qazi and the Shaikh to his court and enquired about the letter. After a brief enquiry Shaikh was allowed to return, but the

⁵⁸³ *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*. pp. 50-51.

⁵⁸⁴ *Siral-ul-Hidaya*, pp. 111-12.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁵⁸⁶ *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 66.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibn Asir, XI, p. 28.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibn Asir XI, p. 152, *Rauzat-us-Safa*, IV, p. 118.

⁵⁸⁹ *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*. pp. 20,49, also see, K. A. Nizami, *The Religion and Politics in India*, Delhi, 1953, p. 253.

⁵⁹⁰ *Op.cit.*, P. 252.

Qazi was executed. Soon after Iltutmish marched towards Sindh and annexed the province in 1228 A.D.⁵⁹¹

Shaikh Bahiuddin Zakariya was held in great respect in the region and wielded enormous influence. His help and intercession was sought both by the local officials and people at the time of crisis. For example, on the occasion of Mongol invasion of the region, he interceded with the Mongols on behalf of the population of Multan and persuaded them to withdraw by offering money to them.⁵⁹² In this way he was able to save the population of Multan from the Mongol holocaust. At another occasion when there was extreme scarcity of food grains, he placed his vast granaries on the disposal of the governor. Iltutmish who seems to have been familiar with the Suhrawardis from his boyhood days in Baghdad held him in very high esteem and appointed him *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. The post continued to be held by the members of his family till the days of the Arghuns.⁵⁹³ The successors of Shaikh Bahiuddin Zakariya continued to exercise great influence in the region of Sindh and played an important role in the religious, social and cultural life of the people inhabiting that part of the country.

Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani, the grandson of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, had great influence in the region as well as among the rulers of Delhi. The Shaikh used to frequently visit the court of Delhi. He paid one such visit during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin Mubarak Khalji at a time when relations between the Sultan and Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya were badly estranged. The Sultan was seeking to check the influence of the Shaikh and he probably wanted to use Shaikh's visit to his advantage and set him as a counterpoise. Minor differences of emphasis that exist between the *silsilah* had perhaps led the Sultan to behave that he would be able to use Shaikh Ruknuddin as a tool against Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. But he was grievously mistaken and the Shaikh would not allow himself to be used against Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Unmindful of Sultan's reactions, he paid a visit to the *Jama'at Khana* of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya.

Enormous influence that Shaikh Ruknuddin commanded over the people and more particularly the people inhabiting the region around Multan proved extremely helpful for Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq during Kishlu Khan's revolt. In this grim struggle, the Shaikh openly sided with the Sultan so much so that his brother, Imaduddin was killed in the battle fighting on the side of the Sultan. Support and help of the Shaikh greatly enhanced Sultan's position against the rebels. The Sultan ultimately won the battle, He was extremely furious with the inhabitants of Multan and was determined to mete out exemplary punishment to them but he ultimately agreed to forgive them on the request of the Shaikh. At this occasion one hundred villages were assigned for the

⁵⁹¹ *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*, pp. 119-20; See also Minhaj, I, pp. 142, 442.

⁵⁹² *Tarikh-Nama-i-Harat*, pp. 157-58.

⁵⁹³ *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 169.

maintenance of the *Khanqah* of the Shaikh.⁵⁹⁴ Prestige and influence of the Suharwardi *silsilah* reached its highest watermark during the days of the Shaikh. The rulers held him in such high esteem that whenever he used to go to the court people used to stand on both sides of the road and put in their petitions in his *dola* so much so that it got filled. The Shaikh used to take all these petitions to the court and got suitable orders issued for the redressal of the grievances of the petitioners.⁵⁹⁵

Another saint of the same order who rose to great eminence and made great contributions to the religious history of the region was Shaikh Jalaluddin Bukhari more commonly known as Makhdum-i-Jahinian. He was held in high esteem by the Tughluqs. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq appointed him *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and assigned the *Khanqah* of Siwistan along with one hundred villages for its maintenance.⁵⁹⁶ The saint later on renounced all this and proceeded on pilgrimage. When he returned from Hajj, the ruling monarch was Firoz Shah.⁵⁹⁷ He had cordial relations with the Sultan and he was a frequent visitor to the court.⁵⁹⁸ He was received with honor by the Sultan. During his visit to the capital, he stayed at the *Kaushak* in Firozabad or at the palace of Prince Path Khan as a state guest. Firoz Shah used to visit the residence of the Saiyid every second or third day. A crowd of the needy people used to gather around him in order to secure his recommendation to the Sultan. The petitions were presented to the Sultan when he came to pay his respects to the Saiyid. In 1385 A.D., when the Saiyid visited Delhi, the Sultan paid much respect and went out several miles to receive him.⁵⁹⁹

Makhdum Jahanian had great influence in the local politics of Sindh. The Sammah Jams of Sindh had created a serious problem for the local governors as well as the Sultans of Delhi. The disloyal Jam invited Mongol to invade the region.⁶⁰⁰ Saiyid Jalal interceded in the matter and arranged an alliance between the Sammah and Sultan Firoz.⁶⁰¹ It was a measure of Makhdum Jahanian's influence in the region that many of the imperial nobles as well as governors of the region sought his help at the time of crisis. Ain-ul-Mulk, Governor of Multan, had to write to him to solicit his help even in such matters as the realization of Kharaj from the region.⁶⁰²

THE QADRI ORDER IN SINDH:

As noticed earlier the chief *sufi silsilah* in Sindh was Suhrawardi *silsilah*. It was well established and deeply entrenched in the society of Sindh and wielded great influence

⁵⁹⁴ Ibn Batuta, p. 483.

⁵⁹⁵ *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 148-49, *Sivarul-Arifin*, p. 142.

⁵⁹⁶ *Siraj-ul-Hidayah*, pp. 7-21, see *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 138.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁹⁸ Afif, p. 514.

⁵⁹⁹ Afif, pp. 514-16: See also *Sirai-ul-Hidayah*, p. 360.

⁶⁰⁰ Mahru, pp. 186-88; See also *Sirai-ul-Hidavah*, P. 361.

⁶⁰¹ Afif, p. 242.

⁶⁰² Mahru, L.N.21, p. 49.

over the people. The only other *silsilah* which had some influence and left its mark on the Sindh society in any appreciable form in the pre-Mughal period was the Qadiri *silsilah*. As well-known the founder of the order Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani. He was born in 1077 A.D., in Gilan. This region was dominated by the Hambalites. He came to Baghdad in 1095 A.D., and after initial training of Hambalism was admitted to the famous Madrasa Nizamiya for higher study where Ahmed Ghazzali had succeeded his brother, Abu Hamid Ghazzali under whose influence he was attracted to *sufism*. He received *Khirqah* from Abu Said Ali al-Mukharrimi. Later on, he joined the *madrasa* of Abul Khair Haumad (d. 1131 A.D.). He spent twenty five years in search of knowledge wandering in the desert of Iraq. In 1127 A.D., when he was over fifty, he came to prominence and gained much popularity in Baghdad.

In Sindh the Qadiris had started their work as early as 12th century. The Qadiri *silsilah* was introduced in Sindh through two brothers, Shaikh Ahmed and Shaikh Muhammad, the disciples of Shaitp Abdul Qadir, who are reported to have come here with forty followers most probably during 12th or 13th century.⁶⁰³ During the Ismaili Sumirah rule, Qadiris appear to have been active in Sindh. The few Qadiri *sufis* were concentrated in the region of Thatta with a view to counteract the Ismailis. However besides a few pockets of influence, the Qadiris could not carve out any particular place for themselves in the society of Sindh like the Suharwardis.

The activities of the Qadiri *silsilah* record more momentum during 15th century. One of the eminent Qadiri *sufis* of the period was Saiyid Muhammad (d. 1416 A.D.)⁶⁰⁴ another Qadiri *sufi* Shaikh Yusufuddin came to Sindh in 1422 A.D. They were responsible for the conversion of a number of Lohanas to Islam.⁶⁰⁵

However, with the arrival of Makhdam Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Halabi in 1482 A.D.,⁶⁰⁶ the Qadiris seemed to have organised their activities in a systematic manner and in a big way. He concentrated at Uchh and made it his centre for propagation. The region of Uchh was a centre of Ismaili Pir Sadruddin and his son.⁶⁰⁷ They had probably kept this fact in mind while choosing Uchh as the centre of their activities. It would seem that they wanted to work for the reform of the Ismailis and bringing them back to the mainstream orthodoxy. The piety of Makhdam and his son, Shaikh Abdur Qadir Sani⁶⁰⁸ compelled the Ismailis either to conform to the Shariat or to retreat into the desert. As a result, gradual migration started, the Ismaili missionaries shifted from

⁶⁰³ Qani, III, p. 251.

⁶⁰⁴ Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Ab-i-Kausar*, Karachi, 1952, Pp. 290-92.

⁶⁰⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 93.

⁶⁰⁶ *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 203, Dara Shikoh, *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, Newel Kishore, Kanpur, 1884, p. 69; Qani, III. p. 119; Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, *Khazinat-ul-Asfiyah*, Nawal Kishore, Kanpur, 1882, p.1 15.

⁶⁰⁷ *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p.213.

⁶⁰⁸ *Safinat-ul-Auliya* (p. 69) records that he was responsible for large number of non-Muslim conversion to Islam.

Uchh towards Badin and Gujarat. These Qadiri saints have fully succeeded in their objectives.

The relations between Suhrawardis and the Qadiris were very cordial as both *silsilahs* still cherished the very intimate relationship that had existed between Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi and Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani. Makhdum Jahinian (d. 1283 A.D.) of Uchh felt pride in showing his association with the Qadiri *silsilah*.⁶⁰⁹

In the region of Multan the political conflict between the Langahs and the Suhrawardis threatened to check the *sufi* activities. But the presence of Qadiris who were not unaligned with any particular group ensured the work to continue. The Qadiris not only continued the missionary work on their own but also secured the help and patronage of the rulers of Multan and Delhi.⁶¹⁰

THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AND MONUMENTS:

The period of Muslim rule in Sindh is well known for the development of Architecture. The buildings of different nature were constructed in this period. They comprised of religious as well as secular buildings. The impact of Central Asian as well as local architectural features are found in the buildings of Sindh constructed during the pre-Mughal period.

The region of Multan possess numerous grand edifices of Hindus and Muslims. During the early period it was regarded as the most important centre of Shivite worship in northern India. One of the important buildings of the pre-Muslim period was Sun Temple to which the people flocked from all corners of the region. The Sun Temple was famous for its fabulous wealth. Arabs mentioned it as *Bait-al-Zahab*.⁶¹¹ The Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang provides a detailed account of the temple. *Chach-Namah* also furnishes additional information about the Sun Temple. It reveals that the hoards was buried in olden time by the chief of the city in this temple.⁶¹² The temple was situated on the eastern side of the city in a reservoir of 100 yard square. The temple was constructed on a base of 50 square yards.

The temple was situated in the most populous part of the city. The idol was placed in the middle of the building. Besides the Sun Temple, Multan contained several other Hindu temples. Among these was the temple of Prahladpuri the name from Prahlad.

⁶⁰⁹ *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, pp. 137-39.

⁶¹⁰ It is said that Qutubuddin Langah married his daughter to Makhdum Ghaus. This alliance had greatly helped the Qadiris in their establishment. Similarly, Malihdum did not hesitate to accept Sikander Lodi as disciple. *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, I, pp. 115-17.

⁶¹¹ Balazuri, p. 422.

⁶¹² *Chach-Namah*, p. 119.

Of the religious buildings of the period, the most important were mosques. The first mosque of Multan was built by Muhammad bin Qasim. It served as the chief congregational place for long time until the region was captured by the Ismailis. The new Ismaili ruler closed down the old mosque and a new one was erected. None of these two earliest mosques exist now to provide idea of its architectural style.

However, under the Suhrawardi influence much attention was not paid for the construction of mosques in Sindh, except in Uchh and Thatta which were situated close to the mausoleum of Makhdum Jahanian and the Jama Mosque of Makli at Thatta.

The region of Sindh developed as an important centre of cultural and religious activity during the rule of Sammahs. It is natural that they must have built several mosques in the region. But none of these buildings survived. According to the contemporary sources Banu Sammah lived in a cantonment called Jandrur outside the Main city. The Sammah Amir came out to perform their Juma prayers in the Jama Mosque located in the city. It was a religious duty of the ruling monarch or the elites to construct and maintain mosques and *madrasas* as we have seen in many cases. For instance Muhammad Ghauri created a *waqf* for the maintenance of the Jama Mosque at Multan. The income of two villages was reserved for the salary of the staff and for the purchase of sundries.⁶¹³ Another *waqf* was reported during the days of Prince Muhammad who also built an *Idgah* at Multan. The income of a village was reserved as *waqf* for its maintenance. This *waqf* continued till the rule of Muhammad Tughluq.⁶¹⁴ Similarly Muhammad Tughluq built a mosque at Multan which does not exist now.⁶¹⁵

THE TOMB:

During the 13th and 14th centuries, a new style of architecture developed for the memorials of the Muslims in and around Multan Uchh and Thatta. The style started with the tomb of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya and culminated in the mausoleum of Shaikh Ruknuddin, which has been admired as one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honor of the dead.⁶¹⁶

The mausoleums of Bahauddin Zakariya and Rukn-i-Alam are the models for the future architecture. The popularity of the style had not lost its charm even when the more refined Mughal style was introduced. It is not clear that how many such structures were erected in this style as many of them, must have destroyed with passage of time. However, dozens of them are still standing in the region of Sindh to establish the popularity of the region. Among these, some important specimens are the tomb of

⁶¹³ Mahru, P. 37.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, P. 37.

⁶¹⁵ Ibn Batuta, p. 436.

⁶¹⁶ John Marshal, *Cambridge History of India*, III, Cambridge 1928, p. 599.

Shams Sabzwari at Multan (1330 AD) tomb of Bahaul-Hilm at Uchh (1370 A.D.), tomb of Bibi Jawindi at Uchh (1494 A.D.).

The style of these monuments shows a mixture of local and foreign traditions from the different cultural centers of Central Asia. The Ghaznavids who established a powerful religio-political centers at places like, Uchh, Multan, Dipalpur, Pakpatan and Lahore, with the powerful influence of the saints of the Suhrawardi order. However, Turkish military power had played a very significant role in the early part of 13th century. It had a great effect on the socio-cultural and political life of the people.

The experience of travelling had new ideas of the cultural contact blooming in the art of the building. Shaikh Bahauddin had personal experience of seeing the monuments at various Islamic centers. He must have seen the mausoleum of the Samni rulers at Bukhara and while he was planning his own mausoleum at Multan, he most probably have referred to it to his architects. A detailed study of its main features is, however, necessary to specify its importance.

The characteristic features of the buildings of this period are naturally: (i) Three story with circumambulation gallery stop the first storey. (ii) sloping wall often supported with corner-turrets. (iii) A high and pronounced drum surmounted by a grand hemispherical dome, which is crowned with an elaborate finial; (iv) naked brick surface, both from exterior as well as interior, which is embellished with faience or faience-mosaic, and (v) wood courses or wood framing used within the brick core for the purpose of resilience. The tombs of Bahauddin Zakariya, Shams Sabzwari and many others are built on square plan, the style adopted not only for the sake of its simplicity, but also in central Asian style. The unique architecture of the octagonal plan was adopted for the first time in this region is in the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam. However, a large number of mausoleums were erected on the same style. The tomb of Bahaul-Hilm at Uchh provides a clear proof of the popularity of the style.

The foundation of the square or octagonal buildings have been erected with slope and supported with corner-turrets for strength as well as grandeur. The ancient towns of Central Asia were fortified with the mud or mud brick. During 13th and 14th centuries burnt bricks were used mainly in the structure of the mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar at Merv, the mausoleum of the Samanis at Bukhara, the mausoleum of Arsalan Jazib at Sangbast and many others. In Sindh, mausoleum were constructed mainly on the pattern of these Central Asian structures.

The mausoleums were crowned with grand hemispherical dome which were placed on high drums. A series of corner-squins were placed to provide the round base of the drum. The corner squins were converted into eight, sixteen and even thirty two sides. It seems to be the influence of Central Asian tradition. The original form of the squinch is found in the tomb of Shahid Shahid at Multan. It was again placed into the

mausoleum of Rukn-i-Alam where it has been converted into sixteen sides through the use of squinches. The corner squinches are fixed on wooden beams placed diagonally within the core of masonry. The ends of these wooden beams are carved in bell-shaped pendants. It is decorated with contrast color in the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam.

The outstanding character of the Multan architecture is the use of faience and faience-mosaics. The tomb of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya is decorated with faiences. The glazed tiles which are fixed on the eastern gateway is a fine specimen of monumental epigraphy. Its style denoted the Seljuq and Ilkhanid brick buildings. The mausoleum of Rukn-i-Alam is unique in its decorative panels and friezes of cut or molded, plain as well as glazed bricks. The use of glazed brick-lays to creates design is found in the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam. The painted square or rectangular tiles having geomatric, floral or epigraphical motifs are the most popular. The colours are mainly turqrise blue, cobalt blue, coppey white and light green, amber, yellow and chocolate brown.

The glazed tiles are floral or geometric, Quranic as well as non-Quranic inscriptions couched in Kufic, *Naskh* and *Nastaliq*, on cut or moulded bricks also form a major portion of the ensemble. The tomb of Rukn-i-Alam has a number of Quranic *Sura* and the ninety nine attributes of the Prophet are executed in *Naskh*. The glazed tiles with inscriptions are found at the Sawi mosque both in *Nastaliq* as well as in *Naskh*. This established tradition has been followed during the later period as well.

The another important feature of the Multan style of achitecture is the use of wood. The tomb of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya has wooden beams in its structure. The mausoleum of Rukh-i-Alam also have a wooden frame for the whole structure in which brick core has been inserted. The wood screens, doors and Mehrabi frame are classical examples of art of wood carving for which Multan is famous.

TOWN PLANNING AND ITS SECULAR BUILDINGS;

The cities of Multan, Uchh and Thatta possess now few important secular buildings, though its rulers must have erected several palaces for their personal as well as official use. According to the need of the time the secular buildings changed its shape during the course of alteration and addition. It has been reported that the Sun Temple of Multan had several buildings like, hospital, charity houses *etc.* Besides the complex, it had several residential quarters for the servants and caretakers. The temple itself was located in the heart of the city. According to the Arab geographers, the city of Multan had flourished and populous market where separate quarters were reserved for the trade transaction of different kinds of commodities and professions.⁶¹⁷ The city had two parts: The cantonments where the Arab ruler and army staff lived, while the other part of the city was for the civilians. The main city had a mud brick fortification.

⁶¹⁷ Istakhri, p. 103.

Likewise Multan, the city of Uchh and Thatta had also served as capitals of Nasiruddin Qubacha and the Sammah Jams of Thatta as well. It had several secular buildings, *madarsas* as well as the *Khanqahs* of the leading *sufis* of the time. The secular buildings of Thatta and Uchh have now disappeared. Nor do we find traces of the buildings which were once *Khanqahs*, *Sarais* and *Madrasas*.

Madrasa of Multan is extinct now. The Suhrawardi *Khanqah* at Multan was built by Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya around his residence. The Palace of Prince Muhammad contained fabulous buildings. No architectural details could be given as nothing exists now. The brief analysis of the buildings of Sindh shows that Multan has contributed in the development of the art of building.

According to Percy Brown, in Sindh, which was a brick building country, attempt has been made to introduce stone masonry, containing much ornamental carving of Gujarat style. This is evident in the tomb of the Sammah ruler Nizamuddin (1461-1508) in Thatta.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁸ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), Bombay 1981, p. 116.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF SINDH

The economic conditions of the region are basically determined by geo-physical factors of the province. The physical divisions of Sindh provided the base for the varying structures of economic activity of the region. The four natural divisions of Sindh are the fertile river valley, the eastern desert, the western Kohistan and the delta.

The most important region from the physical point of view is the fertile river valley. As the climate of the Kohistan and delta region is very inclement during the hot season, the people of the region are forced to lead a nomadic life in search of their livelihood. They flocked to the regions of Thatta and Lahri Bander.

The fertile valley consisted of different sections. The regions of Bhakkar and the *doab* between the Western Nara and the Indus up to the Manchhar lake were very fertile. These fertile regions produced two crops a year. Similarly, the area of Siwistan was also very fertile.⁶¹⁹

The river banks were the most fertile and densely populated regions of Sindh. Most of the towns and the cities of Sindh were situated along the banks of the river or were within its easy reach. These regions were the nucleus of the economic life of Sindh from agricultural point of view.

The desert region, however, was arid and inhospitable during most of the year. But a little rain in this area used to turn it into a vast bed of green vegetation. Though the life of this kind of vegetation was not very long still its value for the desert people was enormous. This seasonal vegetation was the main support of their cattle and livestock. As can be expected, the inhabitants of the region were nomads, goatherds and herdsmen mainly dealing in milk, cheese, ghee, hides and skin. Their other occupations were tanning and woolen textiles. The life in these regions used to be very hard. They lived in huts which were built in the shape, of beehives and these were easily dismantled and rebuilt entailing no cost.⁶²⁰

The desert people, of course, had to turn to the cities for securing their supplies. Cattle wealth, however, was the mainstay of the nomadic economy. During the times of famine and draught they moved to the valley along with the vast hoards of their cattle and flooded the market. This sent down the prices of the commodities in which they dealt. Their arrival also made available a surplus of unskilled laborers. Arrival of such a

⁶¹⁹ Yusuf Mirak, pp. 63-50.

⁶²⁰ Lambrick, p.8; *Sindh Gazetteer*, Vol. A pp. 191-97.

large number of people along with their cattle and households used to disrupt the normal life of the valley and put an extra burden on its resources.

The conditions of the Kohistan people were also quite similar to that of the of the desert people. Here also the rainfall was scanty. The region was filled with small shrub and grass which sustained a huge number of horses, camels, sheep and goats.⁶²¹ The banks of the hill streams were cultivated if the rain fell on time. A majority of the inhabitants were nomads and lived in temporary residences called *thanahas* or *ghedans*. In the southern region, the people reared sheep, goats and cattle and in Cutch they bred camels.

The Sindh plains provided good opportunities for livelihood of these tribes specially when they moved with their cattle's and belonging to the higher grounds near the hills at the time of floods. The enormous wealth in livestock possessed by them can be gauged from the fact that at such time they used to bring with them about 45,000 heads of cattle.⁶²² However, these tribes depended upon the valley for their supplies and provisions, which they procured on barter basis in exchange of the produce of the hills. They flocked to Siwistan in caravans consisting of four to five thousand Camels carrying produce of the hills.⁶²³ In times of scarcity the valley could give them succor by absorbing their surplus cattle.

AGRARIAN ECONOMY: IRRIGATION:

The economic scene of Sindh was dominated either by agriculture or cattle raising but these were not exclusive with any particular region. The agriculturists maintained considerable number of livestock while the cattle breeders of the desert and the Kohistan also resorted to farming though on a much smaller scale to support themselves. The 300 miles of the Indus course through the province was the main source of irrigation in the region. Besides this, the region had different types of irrigated land like *rizani* (flooded by river), the *Kajah* (flooded by rain water coming down the hills) and the *barani*⁶²⁴ (irrigated by rain). The system of storing water for the purpose was not unknown. One such dam was *nala Sawah* in Siwistan which was built in the reign of Jam Nanda.⁶²⁵

Canals were another important means of irrigations in the region. Due to the raised bed of the river, it was easier to dig canals. Canal irrigation was quite popular in Sindh. During Firoz Shah's reign a number of smaller canals in Multan are said to have been dug by the local population. Ainul Mulk asserts in one of his letters that the excavation

⁶²¹ Yusuf Mirak, p. 88.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 239.

⁶²⁴ Yusuf Mirak, pp. 203-06.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

and the maintenance of public canals was the responsibility of the local people and landholders.⁶²⁶ In Thatta region, Darya Khan built a canal known as Khanwah.⁶²⁷ The lower surface of the lands allowed the water to flow from the canals, or a distributory. It was called *moki* (flow) irrigation and when the water was drawn with the help of wheels, it was known as *Charkhi* (lift) irrigation. Two types of wheel irrigation were familiar in the region. The larger one driven by camels were called *nor* (Arabic *naura* water-mill) and the lower one driven by bullocks was known *hurlo*.⁶²⁸ The *nor* mode of irrigation was found to be more efficient and mostly it was adopted by the people. Better irrigation facilities led to comparative prosperity and better economic conditions. In other regions where river water was not available for irrigation purposes, the well irrigation was used but it was not possible in arid regions where water level used to be very low. It was practiced on a limited scale in the areas where the water level was not very deep.

The nature of crops sown in particular regions mainly depended on the kind of irrigation facilities available in that region. In flow irrigated region paddy crops were possible. The dry crops like millet, shorgum, cotton, sugarcane *etc.*, could be grown⁶²⁹ in the lift irrigated areas. In fact, the Arabs were the first to develop an irrigation system in the region and dug some canals for the purpose.⁶³⁰ This was further developed during the Sultanate period.

CROPS:

Due to shortfall of rain the region depended upon the limited irrigation facilities which could be developed there. Generally two crops were grown in a year *i.e.* *kharif* and *rabi*. According to the Arab travelers visiting the region during that time the main crops of Sindh were rice, wheat, indigo, sugarcane *etc.*⁶³¹

The *kharif* crop was sown after the first floods (May-July). It included rice, sugarcane, rape seed; indigo, ginger, cotton and a number of vegetables while the *rabi*, crop was grown in October-November and produced wheat, barley gram, mustard, millet, pulses, opium, tobacco *etc.*

Cotton was a dry crop and grew in areas where lift irrigation was practiced. Cotton clothes produced in the city of Thatta were in great demand. Two varieties of cotton were used in the region *i.e.* *nairi* (annual) and *muradi* (perennial). But the production of the cotton in the adjoining regions was not enough to meet the demands of the local

⁶²⁶ Mahru, pp. 204-5.

⁶²⁷ Masumi, p. 113; Tahiri, fol. 48.

⁶²⁸ Idrisi, p.44, S.P. Chablan, *The Economic Condition in Sindh*, Calcutta, 1951, p. 26.

⁶²⁹ Yusa Mirak, pp. 205; see also Chabalan, p. 26.

⁶³⁰ Balazuri, p. 431.

⁶³¹ Ibn Faqih, p. 16.

industry. Mir Masum records that the cotton plants grown in the region of Zaminkur and Chahtar were so tall that people had to climb them for plucking cotton. While the cotton trees were full of small snakes one to two span (*balisht*) in length. They had to be shaken off before it was plucked.⁶³²

HORTICULTURE:

In some of the regions the land was quite fertile and the climate suited the raising of gardens and orchards and people took to the horticulture in a big way. Different regions were known for various kind of fruits. The region of Mansura was known for apple, grapes, walnut, mango, lemon and dates.⁶³³ Multan and Qannauj were famous for its gardens. The main fruits were dates, bananas and coconut. The Arab travelers also record that these cities were surrounded by gardens. Abundance of the gardens had made the climate healthy.⁶³⁴ Firoz Shah is known to have taken keen interest in the development of horticulture in Sindh and laid several gardens in the region.⁶³⁵ The Sammah rulers of Sindh further developed this tradition and one of their *parganas* bore the name Baghbanan on account of large number of its gardens. It is said that nearly one thousand camels were used on the water wheels of these gardens.⁶³⁶ Due to these all round interest in the development of the region, it came to be known for the excellent quality of its fruits, specially melons, water melons, apples, grapes and guava etc.⁶³⁷

CATTLE BREEDING:

In Sindh cattle breeding was the most important profession, particularly in Kohistan and desert regions as also in the fertile plains. Different regions produced various categories of livestock. The Kohistan region generally provided large number of goats, sheep and camels.⁶³⁸

The desert was famous for its camels the region of Al-Nudah was known for its special type of camels which had two humps and was called "*Jamal-al-Falij*." This type of camel was considered as very costly and specially used by the rulers, princes and the nobles. This variety was exported specially for breeding purposes to Khurasan and Iran.⁶³⁹ Apart from the camel breeding, Arabs also took deep interest in horse-breeding. Banu Muhallab exported the buffaloes from Sindh to Basra. After the death of Yazid b.

⁶³² Masumi, p. 128; Yusuf Mirak, pp. 414-15.

⁶³³ Istakhri, 103, Haugl, p. 320, Idrisi, p.30.

⁶³⁴ Maqadasi, p. 480; See also Idrisi, pp. 29-30.

⁶³⁵ Afif, p. 295.

⁶³⁶ Masumi, p. 110.

⁶³⁷ Hauqal, p. 324.

⁶³⁸ Masumi, p. 129, Yusuf Mirak, pp. 5-6.

⁶³⁹ Istakhri, p.1 05, Zakariya Qazwini, *Asarul-Bilad wa Akhbarul Ibad*, Beirut,1960, p. 127; See also Hauqal, II p. 323; See also Idrisi, p. 46.

Muhallab these buffaloes were shifted to the territory of Syria by the order of the Caliph Yazid b. Abdul Malik. According to Masudi, once there was a serious famine in Sindh, which led many Jats to migrate to Basra and then to Syria. They took their buffaloes with them and introduced these beasts in Syria.⁶⁴⁰ However, the Arabs also liked to have some of the Sindhi birds like Peacock,⁶⁴¹ hen, parrot⁶⁴² etc. as pets.

FISHING:

The fact that fish-sign are found on the Indus seals may be taken to indicate that fishing has been one of the oldest professions of the people of Sindh. According to Ibn Hauqal, chief diet of the Jats of Mansura living the bank of the river was fish and aquatic birds.⁶⁴³ The region was full of lakes and there existed ideal conditions for fishing. Fish like Pallau (*Palla*) and crap were known for their delicacy as also for their huge size as it weighed as much as 20 lbs. The people living on the coast took in a big way to fishing and carried this business on quite a large scale.⁶⁴⁴ As the large quantities of the fish taken out of the rivers and lakes could not be immediately consumed, some of these were dried and smoked to be used later on. Fish oil was also extracted and it was mainly used in insulating the boats against water.

For some important tribes fishing was the main profession. Most prominent among these tribes were the Mahigirs, the Mallahs and the Machhi. They were mostly settled on the banks of the rivers, lakes and sea shore. However, these tribes had been found at the time of the Arab conquest and were confined to the north of Sindh and in the hills of Siwistan.

INDUSTRIES:

Besides agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing people of the province were engaged in Several other professions such as handicrafts, textiles, leather work and wood work etc.

The handicrafts have been popular in Sindh from earliest times and its remains have been found in the Indus Valley Culture. There is also evidence to show that woolen and cotton textiles were very common among the people of Sindh much before the arrival of Arabs. These industries which were carried on a limited scale for the local consumption received a great impetus because of the possibility of large export of finished goods when Sindh became a part of the Islamic Commonwealth.⁶⁴⁵ Keen interest exhibited by

⁶⁴⁰ Masudi, *Kitab-al Tanbih wal Ishraf*, VIII R.J. Brill 1967, p. 355.

⁶⁴¹ Masudi, II, p. 438.

⁶⁴² Ibn Faqih, p. 16.

⁶⁴³ Hauqal, II, p. 328: See also Istakhri, p. 107.

⁶⁴⁴ Abul Fazl, I, p. 165.

⁶⁴⁵ Abu Zafar Nadavi, p. 368.

the Delhi Sultans in the local handicrafts further extended its base. Under the benign rule of the local dynasties, the traditional industries of the region received much patronage and encouragement.

TEXTILES:

The textile was one of the most established industries of Sindh and its tradition goes as back as to the pre-historic times.⁶⁴⁶ Various cities and towns of the valley were known for this industry like Nasrpur and Thatta, These were big centers with a considerable population of weavers. For example Siwistan had 1,000 families of weavers while Thatta had 2,000 looms.

It was an established tradition that the yarn was produced by women folk. Spinning was a common practice of the village women and occupied an important place in their daily life. According to English factory report the merchants used to collect the yarn bolls from the houses and paid the price according to their weights.⁶⁴⁷ This may well have been the situation even earlier.

DYEING

A flourishing industry of textiles ensured a flourishing trade. Quite large number of the local people were engaged in this profession but the members of the Sumirah tribe were mainly involved in it.⁶⁴⁸ Indigo produced at Siwistan was used by the dyers of Thatta.

The main agent of dyeing was indigo. So it was considered one of the most important cash crops of Sindh. Besides sugarcane and some other items of agricultural produce it was exported to different countries. The local dyers also used a considerable quality of the locally produced indigo in the textile industry and hence they were the major consumers of this commodity.⁶⁴⁹ Its manufacturing process was similar to that of the Bayana indigo but following the Gujarat practice they made cakes with the help of sand.

LEATHER PRODUCTS:

As has been already noticed that due to the peculiar climatic conditions of Sindh many people in Sindh specially those living in the desert and Kohistan regions used to tend large number of animals and hence skins and hides were available in abundance. It was used for different purposes such as the use of hides for making *dabhas*, big globe like

⁶⁴⁶ Hauqal, II, p., 325.

⁶⁴⁷ W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, V, Oxford 1911 (1634-36), P. 129.

⁶⁴⁸ *Sindh Gazetteer*; Vol. A. p. 179.

⁶⁴⁹ Yusuf Mirak, pp. 172, 212.

jars for containing liquids and butter oil.⁶⁵⁰ The leather shields from Sindh were famous for their superior craftsmanship. Leather bags of large size were manufactured in Sindh which were used for the storage of costus (Medicine).⁶⁵¹ Shoes were also exported.⁶⁵²

SWORDS:

The sword of Bhelman in Sindh was famous for its sharpness and special quality. A large number of the swords were exported to the Arab countries and the Arabs called it Belmaniah.⁶⁵³

BOAT AND SHIP-BUILDING:

The boats were the main source of transport in Sindh. Since the transport charges were cheap, therefore the bulk of goods were transported by boats.⁶⁵⁴ An idea of the cheapness of the transport charges may be had from the fact that transport charges from Thatta to Multan was only one rupee per maund. Tall and heavy logs were also transported by the river. Mostly goods were exported from the port of Debal by ship to the foreign countries. The Arabs came to Sindh and transported their goods with the help of the boats.⁶⁵⁵ Arabs took keen interest in the development of this industry.⁶⁵⁶

TRADE AND COMMERCE:

Trade relations between Arabia and India date back to the pre-Islamic period. But this trade was mainly confined to the coastal cities of India such as Kathiawar, Malabar, Gujarat, Madras and Bengal and it did not extend much beyond the cities. After the Arab conquest of the region, however, the situation underwent enormous change as Sindh became backyard of the vast Muslim empire. Both the nature and volume of the trade was favorably affected and trade relations with outside world became much more intimate and firmly established.

STATE PATRONAGE OF THE TRADE

Even before the rise of Islam, the Arabs carried extensive trade with different parts of the world and occupied a very important place on the trade map of the world during those days. When Islam came and Arabs spread over many countries and established their commonwealths their trade interests also increased and similarly increased the

⁶⁵⁰ Maqadasi, p. 481.

⁶⁵¹ *Ajaib-ul-Hind*, pp. 103-104.

⁶⁵² *Hudud-ul-Islam*, p. 65.

⁶⁵³ Hauqal, II, p. 328.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibn Batuta, p. 401.

⁶⁵⁵ *Chach-Namah*, pp. 84-85, 115, 151.

⁶⁵⁶ Balizuri, p. 429.

possibilities for further extension. The fact that Islam looked upon trade as a very good means of livelihood became greatly instrumental in promoting interest in trade and commerce among the Muslim and they took to it in a very big way. As the trade not only ensured uninterrupted supply of essential commodities but also brought prosperity, the Muslim states have always encouraged trade and commerce and protected the interests of the traders. This went a long way in promoting the trade among the Muslims. However, for the Pre-Sultanate period much information is not available on the subject. But with the establishment of the sultanate more information is available.

The Sultans of Delhi took keen interest in the trade and commerce and made every effort to ensure the interests of the traders and extend facilities to them to carry on their profession smoothly. For this purpose they constructed inns, sunk wells and built bridges. Sultan Balban paid much attention to the safety of the roads. He crushed robbers like Meos who used to plunder the caravans of the traders.⁶⁵⁷ Sultan Balban reconstructed many frontier forts to check the Mongol attacks and suppress the recalcitrant elements such as the Khokhars of the Jud hills.⁶⁵⁸

Sultan Alauddin took keen interest in the promotion of trade and the safety of merchants and the traders. His harsh treatment of the robbers is well-known so much so that they undertook to protect the routes.⁶⁵⁹ The *Muqaddams* and *Khots* were charged with the responsibility to guard the highways and protect the merchants.⁶⁶⁰ As a result of these measures, the entire region was cleared of the robbers and according to Amir Khusrau the entire region from the banks to the sea shore of the sea was totally cleaned.⁶⁶¹

During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq special measures were taken to provide better facilities of trade and security of routes. Ibn Bqutha had reported the exceptional treatment of travelers in the hospice at Bhakkar which was constructed by Bahram Aiba, governor of the province. The highways were marked by *minaretes* spaced at set distances.⁶⁶² The travelers were also provided with the food. *Walis*, *Mugtis* and other officers were instructed to behave properly with the merchants.⁶⁶³ At the distance of four *manzils* inns were constructed.⁶⁶⁴ Mir Masum records an anecdote of fourteenth century that a caravan of Gujarat was plundered while passing through the territory of Sindh. After seven years of the incident, Jam Khairuddin, the then ruler of Sindh, came to know of it. He ordered the recovery of the articles and other provisions

⁶⁵⁷ Barani, I, pp. 63-65.

⁶⁵⁸ Barani, I, pp. 59,61.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, P. 340.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

⁶⁶¹ *Khazin-ul-Futuh*, p. 18; Eng. tr. p. 11.

⁶⁶² Ibn Batuta, P. 402.

⁶⁶³ Mahru, L.N. 120, pp. 212-2.

⁶⁶⁴ Shahabuddin al-Umari, *Masalik al-Absar-fi-Mamalik-ul-Amsar*, ed. Ahmed Zeki Pasha, Cairo, 1924, p. 58.

to the successors of the ill-fated caravan and ordered to execute the culprits.⁶⁶⁵ This clearly shows that the traders were accorded much respect and they were able to lead a peaceful life. They were found all over the country and carried their business fearlessly. They were no longer exploited by the ruling class and no excess was reported against them. This decent treatment, generated much goodwill in this class for the Sultan so much so that they at times even volunteered crucial information to the Sultan as happened at the time of Mongol attacks.⁶⁶⁶

INTERNAL TRADE:

The main centers of the internal trade were, of course, the towns where goods were brought from various places specially the neighboring areas. Debal⁶⁶⁷ was a populous town but the immediate region around it, was not fertile but it was a centre of trade and commerce and this ensured its prosperity and well-being. As it was a harbor of some significance it was possible for the people to have access to the foreign goods as well as the various commodities produced in the region. Besides Debal, Multan,⁶⁶⁸ Mansura⁶⁶⁹ and Alor were also important centers of trade in the region. Ibn Khurdazbih has described a road which ran from Makran to Mansura and which was inhabited by the Jats. These Jats were responsible for the security of the roads and the protection of the traders.⁶⁷⁰ Even then the roads were not always as secure and safe as one could desire and some of the unruly tribes living in the region infested the roads and looted the caravans. For example, *Tarikh-i-Guzidah* has recorded instances of caravans going from Ghaznin to India being plundered by the Baluch robbers. It has also described the destruction of these robbers by Mahmud of Ghaznin.⁶⁷¹ While Idrisi records the punishment meted out to the thieves by the rulers of India and China.⁶⁷²

After the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate, the Sultans took special care to guard the highways, paths, roads and bridges. The Sultans instructed their governors to construct inns and encourage the traders. This impression is supported by the evidence contained in *Tarikh Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*.⁶⁷³ During the reign of Sultan Qutubuddin Aibak, the highways were safe from the dangers of the robbers and thieves.⁶⁷⁴ Sultan Iltutmish and his descendants also provided the same protection to the traders.⁶⁷⁵ *Shahnas* and *Gumashtas* were appointed to look after the routes, so that the merchants could move

⁶⁶⁵ Masumi, p.65.

⁶⁶⁶ Barani, p.89.

⁶⁶⁷ Hauqal, II, p. 324; Istakhri, p. 107; See also Idrisi, p. 28.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 226; Maqadasi, p. 480.

⁶⁶⁹ Maqadasi, p. 477.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibn Khurdazbih, p. 56.

⁶⁷¹ *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, pp. 390-400.

⁶⁷² Idrisi, p. 20.

⁶⁷³ *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah*, p. 17.

⁶⁷⁴ *Taj-ul-Maasir*, fol. 265a.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fols. 274b, 322b.

freely to different places.⁶⁷⁶ All these measures were bound to give boost to the internal trade.

EXTERNAL TRADE ROUTES:

The region of Sindh was connected with the foreign countries not only by the marine routes but also by the land routes. During the early Muslim rule the region had a regular connection with the rest of the Islamic world. Balazuri describes the route of Sindh followed by Muhammad bin Qasim from Shiraz *via* Makran to Qannazbaore Armail, Qandabil and Debal.⁶⁷⁷ According to Ibn Khurdazbih the Jews and Russians came to Sindh with the caravans *via* Iran and Kirman. This evidence strengthens the impression that caravans were constantly coming from China, Russia, Europe and other places of Africa.⁶⁷⁸

But the region was connected with the West mainly by two important sea routes *i.e.* the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The sailors preferred the Persian Gulf route over the Red Sea route because the Red Sea route was very dangerous and it was not possible to navigate it during the night due to its sharp edges, rocks, thick fogs and violent gales of wind. Due to these difficulties the Persian Gulf route was considered more suitable and so it was preferred.⁶⁷⁹

Sindh was connected mainly from Qays island, Hurmuz, Tiz and the onward to Debal, Mansurah and other parts of Sindh.⁶⁸⁰ Ibn Faqih mentions the route of Sindh from Faras to Siraf and then to Sindh.⁶⁸¹ Idrisi reports that the ships came from Umman and the vessels of China and India came to Debal.⁶⁸² However, for long time the ships were not safe due to the nefarious activities of the Meds who were engaged in piracy from Debal down to the Somnath. The area of their piracy was from the Indian Ocean as far as the mouth of Tigris and the Southern parts of the Red Sea and the coast of Cylon.⁶⁸³ The merchant ships were forced to maintain the marine trained soldiers in sufficient numbers to meet out any contingency that may arise so much so that sometimes these soldiers numbered as many as five hundred. Besides, soldiers they also kept other necessary arrangement for their defence. For example they kept charcoal in substantial

⁶⁷⁶ Ziauddin Barani, *Fatawa-i-jahandari*, MS. I.O. No. 1149, fols 65-66.

⁶⁷⁷ Balazuri, p. 424.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibn Khurdazbih, pp. 153-55.

⁶⁷⁹ Abu Zaid, *Silsilat-ut-Tawarikh*, ed. Reinaud, Paris, 1845, p. 90.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibn Khurdazbih, p. 61.

⁶⁸¹ Ibn Faqih, p. 9.

⁶⁸² Idrisi, pp. 28-29.

⁶⁸³ See for details Ibn Khurdazbih, p. 60; Istakhari, pp. 30, 140-41, Masudi, I, pp. 240-41; III, pp. 36-37; Maqadasi, p. 12; Balazuri, p. 435; Al-Beruni, p.102 and Ibn Batuta, p. 608.

quantities. When attacked by the pirates they threw Greek fire and melted Charcoal on the attackers to ward them off.⁶⁸⁴

In order to protect the sailors some lighting arrangements were also made. According to Masudi, a mark of wood was erected in the middle of the water. During the night fire was lighted upon these wood marks to serve as signals to the sailors in the Persian Gulf.⁶⁸⁵ Similarly, Idrisi records the 'pile work' on which there were cabins occupied by coast guards.⁶⁸⁶

EXPORT AND IMPORT:

From this account it is clear that various parts of Sindh were well connected with the outer world by the natural water ways as well as the overland routes, ensuring a quicker and cheaper transport and thereby attracting trade from far-off places. The economy of Sindh basically self-sufficient and thus required very little imports. The commodities required for the daily life were easily available and cheap. However, in the light of very meager and scanty information available in sources, a brief description is attempted here.

During the Arab and the Sultanate periods the main items of import from outside world were horses,⁶⁸⁷ slaves,⁶⁸⁸ arms, and weapons,⁶⁸⁹ silk,⁶⁹⁰ dry fruits,⁶⁹¹ clothes⁶⁹² and gold⁶⁹³ etc. Sugar was imported from Makran⁶⁹⁴ and dates from Basrah.⁶⁹⁵ These various items were in much demand not only Sindh but other parts of the country as well.

However, the region exported several commodities to different countries. Most of the goods were exported from the port of Debal. These included not only the produce of the regions but also those of other parts of the country which were brought there in large quantities for onward shipment. Sugar candy was one of the major item of export. Ibn Faqih records that costus, campher, water, indigo, bamboos and civetcat were exported from Sindh.⁶⁹⁶ He further reports that the region of Sindh was rich in fauna and flora and it may be expected that some of these were exported to other countries. According

⁶⁸⁴ Yaqut, III, p. 38. In Qais Island, the ruler maintained an army for the protection and safety of the ships. The soldiers were always watching the ships and were well trained in the marine fighting with the swords.

⁶⁸⁵ Masudi, I, p. 240.

⁶⁸⁶ Idrisi, p. 21.

⁶⁸⁷ Barani, p. 53; Ibn Batuta, p. 396.

⁶⁸⁸ Minhaj, pp. 416, 440, II, p. 48.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibn Batuta, pp. 391, 410.

⁶⁹⁰ Minhaj, II, p. 184.

⁶⁹¹ Idrisi, p. 19; Ibn Batuta, p. 404.

⁶⁹² Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Makatib-i-Rashidi*, ed. M. Shafi Lahore 1945, p. 190, L.No. 34; *Masalik ul-Absar*, p. 52.

⁶⁹³ *Masalik-ul-Absar*, p. 180; *Nuzhat-ul-Oulub*, p. 230.

⁶⁹⁴ Istakhri, p. 107; Hauqal, p. 325; See also Idrisi, p. 40.

⁶⁹⁵ Abul Fida, p. 349.

⁶⁹⁶ Ibn Faqih, pp. 11, 16.

to Masudi hair-dye was exported to the Arabian world which was used to give a natural shine to the hair.⁶⁹⁷ Some other items of export included rhinoceros, peacock, parrot, poultry and various perfumes and herbs.⁶⁹⁸ Shoes and ivory were produced in Khambayat and exported from Mansura.⁶⁹⁹

CUSTOM DUTY:

No direct information is available about the custom duty on the imported and exported goods in the period under discussion. Magadasi provides very scanty information about the custom duty. The custom duty was fixed on either import or export amounted to only six *dirhams* for a camel load. However, the custom on flour was twelve *dirhams* for single camel load. If the flour was imported from India, the custom duty was increased from 12 to 20 *dirhams*. Moreover, the custom duty was levied on the Sindhi goods only on the assessment of the custom officer. On the fine leather the merchants paid one *dirham* as a custom duty. One can spend one hundred fifty *dirhams* excluding the transport charges of the goods for Multan. The total amount collected in one year as custom duty was ten thousand *dirhams*.⁷⁰⁰

According to Ibn Batuta the custom duty in Sindh was seven silver tankas for each horse. The custom duty on import was one fourth of the total value of the commodity before Muhammad Tughluq but during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq this tax was abolished and it was decreed that the Muslim merchants be made subject to the payment of *Zakat* and the non-Muslims to that of *Ushur*.⁷⁰¹

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION:

Different means were used for the transportation of goods from one place to the other. The province of Sindh was placed in a unique position as regards the transportation because it had the facility of transporting the goods both over land and by river routes. The manufactured goods were first transported to sea coast or the harbor through camels, oxen, asses and horses. For some items there was an interesting method of transportation by sea. For example costus was put in a leather bag and put into the water and through the help of waves it reached its destination.⁷⁰² Ibn Batuta also informs us about the use of ox and ass for the transportation of goods.⁷⁰³ The cart was also used for this purpose mainly by the Multanis for bringing wood.⁷⁰⁴ Buzurg b. Shahriyar reported in his book *Ajaib-ul-Hind* about the use of boat for carrying goods

⁶⁹⁷ Masudi, II, p. 203.

⁶⁹⁸ Yaqubi, p. 16.

⁶⁹⁹ Magadasi, p. 481.

⁷⁰⁰ Magadasi, pp. 485-86.

⁷⁰¹ Ibn Batuta, p. 403.

⁷⁰² *Ajaib-ul-Hind*, p. 103. Buzurg b. Shahriyar records that the traders also boarded the bag.

⁷⁰³ Ibn Batuta, p. 527.

⁷⁰⁴ Mahru, L. 30, p. 72.

from Hind to Sindh.⁷⁰⁵ Boats were used for the transportation of the armies and the provisions of war as well.⁷⁰⁶

However, camels were one of the most important means of transportation. During the war time camels were used for the supply of water.⁷⁰⁷ Other beasts of the burden were used for carrying to grain, salt, *misri*, sugar and other provisions from one place to the other.⁷⁰⁸

MAIN CENTRES OF TRADE:

The main centers of trade and commerce in Sindh during the pre-Mughal period were Multan, Thatta, Mansurah, Debal, Alor and Uchh. It may however be kept in mind that the fortunes of these towns fluctuated due to various factors such as the continuous Mongol raids, the shifting course of the river and the decline of particular rulers. During the Arab rule Debal, Multan, Alor and Mansura were the main centers of trade and commerce. These towns were connected with the outside world by the sea as well as the land routes. The town of Debal was one of the most important port of Sindh. It wail a big market of various kinds of goods and flourished due to its roaring trade.⁷⁰⁹ The next in importance as a centre of trade was Mansura having a flourishing trade with a crowded market full of cheap goods.⁷¹⁰ The city of Multan was a famous centre of trade and commerce and it was also an important place of pilgrimage for the Hindus who came from different parts of the country to offer abundant riches as offerings to the deity. The Sun temple was situated at the centre of the market place and enormous of offerings were made to it.⁷¹¹ The large market had separate places for different commodities and merchandise. The *bazars* of ivory and copper goods were full of customers and the prices of these commodities were low.⁷¹² Trade was in a flourishing condition and fairly lucrative.⁷¹³

During the sultanate period, Multan maintained its position as a premier centre of trade and commerce specially in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughluq.⁷¹⁴ The large inland trade was run by Multani traders community of merchants. They were generally Hindus but Muslims were also found undertaking this profession. A great merchant *Qazi*

⁷⁰⁵ *Ajaib-ul-Hind*, p. 104.

⁷⁰⁶ Barani, p. 523; Afif, pp. 199, 231, 234.

⁷⁰⁷ *Miftahul Futuh*, p. 26; Isami, p. 147.

⁷⁰⁸ Afif, p. 376.

⁷⁰⁹ Hauqal p.324, Istakhri, p.107.

⁷¹⁰ Idrisi, pp. 30-31.

⁷¹¹ Idrisi, p. 44, see also *Hudud-al-Alam*, P. 89; Al-Beruni, I, p. 116; Barani (p. 348) records that the Khanqah of Rukn-i-Alam was equally established and people used to visit from long distance.

⁷¹² Maqadasi, p. 481.

⁷¹³ Hauqal, II, p. 325.

⁷¹⁴ Mahru, p. 39.

Hamiduddin was a trader as well as the chief *Qazi*, appointed by Aladdin Khalji.⁷¹⁵ Barani called him Multani Bachcha.⁷¹⁶ However, it would appear from the account of Barani that most of the Multanis were Hindus who were engaged in the practice of usury.⁷¹⁷

PRICES AND WAGES:

During the Arab rule the prices seem to have been quite low so much so that three *maunds* of bread and the same amount of sugar were available just for one *dirham* in the market of Multan and Mansura.⁷¹⁸ The price of wheat was 8 *kizi* (Multani measurement of weight) for one to four *dirham*.⁷¹⁹ From these samples some idea can be had about the prices in Pre-Sultanate period.

During the Sultanate period the prices in Sindh were recorded by Ainul-Mulk in his various letters. The information contained in these letters would suggest that the prices of different commodities were quite low during the reign of Alauddin Khalji in Multan and Uchh.⁷²⁰ According to the same source in the earlier part of Sultan Firoz Shah's reign, the price of Jawari was 80 *jital* per maund during the scarcity season in Multan. But after that as the scarcity disappeared, the price of Jawari fell to the level of 8 *jital*,⁷²¹ per *maund* a price still higher than that of wheat at Delhi during Alauddin Khalji's reign.

Ainul Mulk further records that in the reign of Alauddin Khalji the wage of an artisan was 2 or 3 *jital* a day, a weaver wove a sheet for a *jital* in a day. The stitching charges of a tailor were 4 *jital* for stitching a robe. But it would appear from the information contained in the *Khairul Majalis* that it varied from 4 to 6 *jitals*.⁷²² In another letter Mahru reports that the wages of the artisans in Multan and Uchh had increased 7½ and 15 times more than the rates of the tailors and weavers during the reign of Alauddin Khalji.⁷²³

CURRENCY

Due to trade relations with the outside world different kinds of currencies were in circulation in Sindh which were used only as the medium of exchange. *Tataria dirham*

⁷¹⁵ Barani, pp. 298,353; Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis* ed. K. A. Nizami, Aligarh (n.d.) p. 241.

⁷¹⁶ Barani, pp. 298, 353.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 164.

⁷¹⁸ Maqadasi, pp. 480-81.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 482.

⁷²⁰ Mahru, p. 48.

⁷²¹ Mahru, p. 74.

⁷²² Mahru, p. 48; *Khairul Majalis*, p. 240.

⁷²³ Ainul Mulk records now the weavers charged 30 *jitals* for weaving a sheet in comparison with 2 *jitals* under Alauddin Khalji and the tailors also charged 30 *jitals* for stitching a robe whereas they collected 4 *jitals* under Sultan Alauddin.

was used during the Arab rule. This *Tataria dirham* of the ruler of Samantra had become the standard currency in a number of countries. The *Tataria* was equal to 2/3 and 1/8 of Iraqi *dirham*. The Ghandhari *dirham* was equal to the five Iraqi *dirham*.

The Ismailis struck another coin known as Qahiriya. It was equal to five Iraqi *dirhams*.⁷²⁴ During the Arab rule the coins were issued locally.⁷²⁵ During the Sultanate period silver *tankas* and the *jital* came into use in Sindh as also the other parts of the sub-continent.⁷²⁶ *Dinar* was the golden coin and it was equal to three *dinar* of India.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁴ Istakhri, p. 103.

⁷²⁵ Hauqal, II, p. 321.

⁷²⁶ Mahru, p. 48.

⁷²⁷ Sulaiman Tajir, *Silsilat-ut-Tawarikh*, Paris, 1811, pp. 146-47.