



HISTORY OF SIND DURING PRE-MUGHAL PERIOD

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
IN
HISTORY

BY
ARSHAD ISLAM

Under the supervision of
Dr. MUHAMMAD ZAKI

**CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)**

1990

A B S T R A C T

Sind, 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 Sind 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 Sind.

Before the Arab conquest, Sind 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 Summahs. 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 Sind in pre-Mughal period. It has been divided in seven chapters (i) Sind under the Arabs (ii) Sind under the Ghaznavids (iii) Sind under the Delhi Sultanate (iv) Sind under the Sumirah (v) Sind under the Sammah (vi) Socio-cultural life of Sind (vii) Economic conditions of Sind.

The first chapter deals with the history of Sind 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 Sind. 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 Sind. 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 Sind, 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 Sindi 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. Sind 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 Sind'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.

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

C O N T E N T S

	<u>P a g e s</u>
P R E F A C E	..... 1 - 111
I N T R O D U C T I O N	..... 1 - 23
Chapter I : SIND UNDER THE ARABS	..... 24 - 64
Chapter II : SIND UNDER THE GHAZNAVIDS	..... 65 - 74
Chapter III : SIND UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE	..... 75 - 129
Chapter IV : SIND UNDER THE SUMIRAH	.....130 - 135
Chapter V : SIND UNDER THE SAMMAH	.....136 - 155
Chapter VI : SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF SIND	.....156 - 219
Chapter VII : ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF SIND	.....220 - 247
C O N C L U S I O N	.....248 - 251
A P P E N D I X	.....252
B I B L I O G R A P H Y	.....253 - 263
MAP OF SIND (8th Century) Facing page	..... 24
MAP OF SIND (1206-1520 A.D.) Facing page	..... 75

P R E F A C E

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 behaviours 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 Sind 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 Sind is beset with serious problem of the paucity of informations specially about the pre-Mughal period. The scanty information which is available about this period is

scattered in the literary books, memoirs of the travellers, geographical accounts and regional histories. The relevant information has been sifted 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 analysing 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 Sind under Ghaznavids. The third chapter traces the history of Sind under Delhi Sultanate. The fourth chapter is about the history of Sumirahs and their subsequent rule over Sind. The fifth chapter discusses the history of Sammahs of Sind 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 Sind 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 constant encouragement and inspiration that I received from him. My sincere thanks are also due to Professor Irfan Habib who has ungrudgingly helped me at various stages of the preparation of this thesis. To my supervisor Dr. Muhammad Zaki, I am particularly beholden without whose deep interest and encouragement this work could not have been completed. My sense of gratitude to him is beyond my expression. I am also grateful to Dr. I. A. Zilli and Mr. Jamal Muhammad Siddiqi for the help I received from them. I am indebted to Dr. Zafarul Islam for his unfailing help and support. I am grateful to my friends Mr. Zakir Husain and Mr. Maqsood Ahmad Khan for their help in the preparation of this thesis.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not thank the staff of the Research Library, Department of History and that of the Library of the Institute of Islamic Studies, A.M.U. Aligarh. The librarian and his colleagues provided me with every facility in pursuing my study. I am also grateful to Mr. Faiz Habib who had very diligently prepared the maps as well as Mr. Azmatullah Qureshi for carefully typing the thesis.

The affectionate encouragement of my father Janab Neyaz Ahmad has been a great asset to me. My respectful thanks to him. I painfully recall my mother who unfortunately is not living to bless me at this occasion.

Last but not the least, I am thankful to my wife who in her own way has greatly contributed to the completion of this thesis by making it possible for me to devote my attention to my studies.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The name of Sind 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 Sind 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.

Sind, 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 Mohenjodaro are treated as the twin capitals of what the world knows as Indus civilization, its cities have been the centres of cultures and religion since almost the dawn of the history in the region. Sindis had created an influential culture within the orbit of upper Sind region which

-
1. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, II, London 1912, See Under Sindhu, p.450.
 2. Ibadur Rahman Khan, 'Some Geographical Factors in the History of Sind', Muslim University Journal, 1936, p.101.

extended north east to Kashmir and South to Gujarat. They evolved a very highly developed urban system with a flourishing trade 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 travellers and geographers. The important cities of Sind 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.¹ Multan, the Bait-uz-Zahab² 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 in existence in Sind.³ In Multan there were a number of Hindu temples, including the most celebrated

-
1. T.Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travel in India, II, reprint Delhi 1961, p. 252.
 2. Abul Hasan Ahmad bin Yahya Balazuri, Futuh-ul-Suldan, ed. M.Rizwan, Cairo, 1932, p.427.
 3. T.Watters, II, p.252.

Surya temple.¹ 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.² Sind 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 Sind 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 harbours that existed in the Arab world, they were in search of new ports to extend their influences to other regions. For this purpose, Sind appeared to be very useful to them. Most probably, this factor had prompted the Arabs to venture for the conquest of Sind 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 Sind

1. T.Watters, II, p. 254.

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

it is very difficult to fix the exact limits of Sind 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 Sind. But the Greek accounts show that during Alexander's expedition Sind was divided into several independent states.¹ 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' (Sind), West of the Indus including Cutch and Multan to the east as a part of a separate kingdom.²

In the period of Chach (652-691 A.D.), the boundaries of Sind 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."³

At the time of the Arab conquest of Sind, Makran and the most of the Western Hills had already come under the orbit of

-
1. Alexander Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 286-87, 296-97, 349, 352.
 2. T. Watters, II, pp. 252-54.
 3. Ali bin Hamid Kufi, Chach-Namah ed. N.A. Baloch, Islamabad, 1983, p.10, Trans. Mirza Kalich Beg, Reprint, Delhi, 1979, p. 11.

the Arab rule. Later, the Arab writers calling it as-Sind used it in a much wider sense. They included Multan in as-Sind and meant from as-Sind the whole of the lower Indus Valley from Multan down to the sea, including nearly the whole of modern Baluchistan.¹ Balazuri (9th cent.) describes al-Kiknan (modern Qalat in Baluchistan) as a part of Sind.² However, the Arab travellers and geographers mentioned the kingdom of Mansurah (i.e. Sind) as extending upto Alor in the north, while Turan and Budha were on its West, and in the east the boundaries extended upto the river Shakira (Sind sagar) and Fahmal.³ According to Istakhri (10th Cent. A.D.) and Ibn Hauqal (10th cent. 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 Sind.⁴ Another geographical account Hudud-al-Alam (compiled 982 A.D.) defines the boundaries of Sind 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

-
1. Istakhari, al-Masalik-wal-Mamalik, ed. M.Jabir Husaini, U.A.E. 1961, p.102.
 2. Balazuri, p.421.
 3. Masudi, Muruj-al-Zahab-wa Maadin al-Jawahir, I, ed. De Courteille, Paris 1859, p.378.; Istakhri, Kitab-Suwar al-Aqalim, ed. M.De Goeje, E.J.Brill 1967, p.170.
 4. Istakhri, p.102; Ibn Hauqal, Kitab-al-Masalik-wal Mamalik, ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1873, p.226; see for details, M.Zaki, The Arab Accounts of India, Delhi 1981, p.66.

desert extended upto the territories of Khurasan.¹

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

After the disintegration of the Tughluq empire, Sind became independent under the Local dynasty of Sammah . During the last half of 15th century A.D. the territories of Sind towards catch, at one time remained upto Sind Sagar, while the areas of Morji, Keri, Sathalpur, Wagnikot (Wanga) and Morowah were under the dominion of Gujarat.² It shows that during the Sammah hegemony the western boundary of Sind extended from the territories of Makran³ upto the desert of Sibi, though the region of Sibi was not actually under Sind.⁴ The eastern frontier appeared to have settled down from the regions of Bhakkar and the borders of Jaisalmer to Umerkot and Wange, while

-
1. Anonymous, Hudud-al-Alam, Eng. Trans. V.Minorsky, London, 1937, p.122.
 2. 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.
 3. Makran was not a part of Sind, Yusuf Mirak, Mazhar-i-Shahjehani, ed. S.Husamuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1962, p.28.
 4. 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 Nisyani, Tarikh-i-Tahiri, Ms. Or. 1685, fol. 9.

Nagarparkar and Suleman Nagar (Cutch) were outside the Jurisdiction of Sind.¹

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

Within its present boundaries, as a province of Pakistan Sind 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.² In the term of popular geography Sind has been divided into three climatic regions: Siro (Upper Sind) Vichola (middle Sind) and Iar (Lower Sind).³ Physically, Sind 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 Sind from Baluchistan. The hills attain heights between 4000 and 5000 feet, but some peaks rise to nearly 7000 feet.⁴ Apparently barren but it affords grazing to large herds of cattle.

-
1. Masumi, p. 208.
 2. Ishrat Husain, "The Economy of Modern Sind", in H.Khuro (ed.) Sind Through the Centuries, Karachi, 1981, pp.205,209.
 3. M.R.Haig, Indus Delta Country, London,1887, p.1.
 4. M.U.J., p.103; Kute-ji-Qabar in Larkana district is 6878 feet.

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 Sind, Kohistan may not amount to more than two thousands 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.¹

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.²

(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.³ The area also comprises

-
1. H.T.Lambrick, Sind, A General Introduction, Hyderabad Sind, 1975, p.48.
 2. O.H.K.Spate and A.T.A. Learmonth, India and Pakistan, Britain, 1967, p.507.
 3. Spate, p.507. Nara is an old bed of the Indus converted into a canal since 1857. (M.U.J. pp. 110-12).

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.¹ 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.²

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.³

(b) Thar:- The eastern portion of the province is occupied by the desert or the desert of Rajputana, covering

1. M.U.J., p.107.

2. Lamabrick, p.23.

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

large portions of Sukkur, Nawabshah, Khairpur and Thar Parkar districts. On the introduction of canal irrigation, the western segments of this area have been transformed into fertile territory.¹ The desert is full of sand duens and being wind blown. 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 duens which may rise to about 150 feet.²

CLIMATE:

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

The region was more fertile and received greater rainfall during the ancient times.³ 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 Sind is Indus. It enters Sind at 28°26' North and 69°47' East near Kashmore. It flows with a depth of 4 to 6 at low water at Daryashah. The Indus runs 580 miles within Sind and then it falls into Arabian Sea. Its

1. M.U.J., p.106.

2. Lambrick, pp. 11-12.

3. John Marshal, Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, Delhi 1973, pp. 1-2.

average width is 480 to 1600 yards during the winter season. Its depth varies from 4 to 24 feet.¹ The only other Perennial stream is river Hab, which sets the Sind 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.² The lake provides much fishing in summer.³

HISTORY OF SIND IN THE EARLY PERIOD:

The history of Sind is generally traced back to the Indus civilizations which had flowered approximately two thousands years before the Aryans who settled on the Indus between 1000 B.C. and 500 B.C.⁴ During the ancient period for long stretches of time Sind experienced foreign domination. In 516 B.C. the region of Sind was annexed to the Persian empire by Darius Hystaspes (522-486 B.C.).⁵ It was the twentieth

-
1. M.U.J., pp. 107-10.
 2. H.G.Raverty, 'The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries', in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, L.XI Part I, 1892 pp. 310-13.
 3. Spate, p. 507.
 4. A.L.Basham, The Wonder that was India, London, 1982, p.31.
 5. A.K.Majumdar, Concise History of Ancient India, I, Delhi, 1977, p. 129.

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.¹ The Achaemenian ruled it for about two centuries till 326 B.C.

Alexander crossed Indus in February 326 B.C. and appointed Peithon, son of Agenor, the governor of the region.² 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 Sind 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.³ The province of Sind was again occupied by the Sakas or Scythians (130-48 B.C.). They ruled the northern part of the sub-continent⁴ 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

-
1. Cambridge History of India, ed. E.J.Rapson I, Cambridge, 1922, p.307; See also Rawlinson, p.54.
 2. H.G.Rawlinson, India, London, 1965, p.61; See also R.C. Majumdar, The Classical Account of India, Calcutta, 1960, p.76.
 3. G.N.Banerjee, Hellenism in Ancient India, London, 1919, p.15.
 4. Rawlinson, p.92; See also A.K.Majumdar, p.182.

strengthened the Buddhist tradition in Sind.¹ 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 Sind. This period saw the beginning of the resurgence of the Brahminism.²

However, the region of Sind became independent once again at the close of fifth century A.D. under the Rai dynasty. Raja Diwaij 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.³ 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.⁴ History reveals that five rulers of the Rai dynasty ruled this vast region. They were, Rai Diwaij, Rai Sahiras I, Rai Sahsi I, Rai Sahiras II, Rai Sahsi II, each

1. Rawlinson, pp.93,95; See also A.K.Majumdar, pp.188-89.

2. Rawlinson, p.111.

3. Chach-Namah, p.10.

4. Ibid., p. 11.

being the son of his predecessor. According to Chach-Namah, Rai Sahiras I was assassinated in an encounter with the Persian king of Nimruz at Kirman and was succeeded by his son, Rai Sahsi I. After his death his son Rai Sahiras II and Rai Sahsi II ruled the region successively.

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.¹

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 realised 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.

1. Chach-Namah, p.20.

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 Sind 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.). Sind remained under the rule of Muhammad bin Qasim as a province of Umayyad Caliphate¹. 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 Sind also became weak and they could not rule over this province effectively.² 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

1. Chach - Namah, pp. 185-86.

2. Balazuri, p.431.

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 Samah¹ and the second under the rule of Habbari dynasty. Banu Samah continued to rule over Multan till the Ismaili overthrew them in 969-70 A.D. and established their rule.² Multan came under the occupation of Mahmud of Ghaznin in 1010 A.D.³ But even afterward it practically remained under the rule of the Ismailis and their rule was finally overthwon by Shahabuddin Ghori in 1175 A.D.⁴ Afterwards Sind 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 Sind 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 Sind. In

-
1. Istakhri, pp. 103-4.
 2. Shams-al-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad Bashri al-Maqadasi, Ahsan-al-Taqasim fi-Marifat al-Aqalim, ed. M.J.De Goeje, E.J.Brill, 1906, p.481.
 3. Mahmud al-Gardizi, Zainul Akhbar, ed. M.Nazim, Berlin, 1928, p.65.
 4. Minhaj-us-Siraj, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, ed. Abdul Hai Habibi, Kabul, 1342 S.H. p.396.

1333-34 A.D., the Sammah Jams of Lower Sind and Cutch established another independent ruling dynasty at Thatta.¹ 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 Taimur invaded and captured Sind in 1398 A.D.² and granted it to Khizir Khan, who recognised the sovereignty of Taimur and his successor, Shah Rukh.³

Sind 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.⁴ The government of Shaikh Yusuf was overthrown by the chief of the Baluch tribe Langah, called Rai Sahra, and after capturing

1. Masumi, pp. 48,60.

2. Sharfuddin Yazdi, Zafar-Namah II, ed. M.Ilahdad, Calcutta 1888, p.14.

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

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

power, he assumed the title of Mahmud Shah in 1437 A.D.¹ This region was finally brought by Shah Husain Arghun under his rule in 1527 A.D.²

SOME IMPORTANT SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF
SIND

The history of Sind 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 Sind was compiled during this period. Chach-Namah, the famous history of Sind, deals with very early period and it mainly gives account of the conquest of Sind 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, (Tajul-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 Sind. 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;

1. Ferishta, II, p.325.

2. Masumi, p.159.

Tarikh-i-Mazhar-i-Shahjahani of Yusuf Mirak etc.) also give information about the pre-Mughal history of Sind 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 travellers 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 Sind.

- i. Akhbar us-Sind 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, Sind and other regions, their culture and the social life of the region.
- ii. Fufuh ul-Buldan of Ahmad bin Daud Balazuri compiled in 869 A.D. It deals with the history of Sind from the second Caliph upto the Abbasid Caliph Mutasim Billah (833-842 A.D.). It has a detailed chapter on the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim. The information given by Balazuri about Sind 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 Sind of the Umayyad as well as the Abbasid period. It also gives records about the cities of Sind.

- 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 Sind, export, import and mainly about the agricultural products.
- v. Kitabul Masalik wal Mamalik of Ibn Khurdazbih (d.911 A.D.) is a book of geography. It provides significant information about Sind 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 rajahs of India and the political and social condition of the period, alongwith the habits and customs of the people.
- vii. Ajaib-ul-Hind of Buzurg 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 Sind. Apart from providing material about political and social aspects of Sind'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 Sind specially its geography. In this work he gives a map of Sind and also mentions the names of the cities of Sind and defines its distances from one place to another.
- x. Muruj-uz-Zahab-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 Sind, Gujarat and Chimure. The book deals with the history of the rajas of the region and that of Muslim rulers of Sind. It contains detailed description of their genealogy , military power and also the local traits.
- xi. Ahsan-ut-Tagasim 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 Sind. The book is a mine of informations

about the products of Sind and its trade, industries, coins, currency, custom duties, revenue and weights and measures. It also provides details of the total revenue of Sind.

- xii. Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq il Afaq of Al-Idirisi (1100-1165 A.D.). It contains useful information about the geography of Sind. 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 Minhaj 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 Qubacha in Sind. It deals with the history of Sind from the Rai dynasty till the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim. It is first regional book about the Arab conquest of the region. Generally the informations 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. Tagwim 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 Sind and some important trade routes.

- xv. Rehla of Ibn Batuta (d. 1377 A.D.). He came to Sind 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 Sind.

CHAPTER I

SIND UNDER THE ARABS

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND AND THEIR RULE:

The penetration of the Arabs in the region and their attacks on the sea coast towns of Sind began as early as in 636 A.D.¹ in the time of Caliph '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, Ḥakam 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, Rāsāl, the Sindi commander crossed the river with his forces and attacked the Muslim camp. As a result of a furious battle, Rāsāl 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 Sind any further and one of the commanders, Ḥakam, was directed to stay on

1. This naval expedition was taken by 'Uṣmān b. Abi 'Ās, the Governor of Bahrain, who appointed Muḡhirah as commander and despatched him from Bahrain to Debal. But Balāzuri (pp. 420-21) says that Muḡhira was victorious at Debal and that he was alive after the Debal expedition. According to Chāch-Namah Muḡhira was killed in an encounter at Debal (p.52).

the other side of the river and not to cross it into Sind.¹
 This side was under the control of Chach, the Brahman ruler
 of Sind.² This happened during the very last days of Caliph
 'Umar and when he died, Caliph 'Uṣmān considered the possibi-
 lities 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 'Uṣmān finally decided to
 take action against the Sindian ruler and despatched '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.³

In the year 658-59 A.D. Caliph 'Alī 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.⁴

-
1. Abu Jafar Muḥammad ibn Jarir at-Ṭabari, Tārīkh al-Rusul wal Mulk, V, ed. M.J.De Goeje; E.J. Brill, 1964, pp.2707-2709
 2. Chach-Namah, p.34.
 3. Ṭabari I, pp.2829-31. According to Chach-Namah (p.54) and Balāzuri (p.421) the Caliph 'Uṣmān ordered 'Abdullah b. 'Amir, the commander in-chief, to despatch Ḥukaim b. Jabalah to Sind but after receiving latter's report Caliph directed 'Abdullah not to send any force against Sind. But this statement is not correct as the detailed report of Ṭabari would indicate. Actually it was Caliph 'Umar who, had consistently forbidden any military action to be taken against Sind.
 4. Chach-Namah, pp. 54-55. Balāzuri, (p.421) says that Caliph Ali had appointed Ḥaris b. Murrahal-~~Abidi~~ on the Indian front.

In the year 664 A.D. Caliph Mu'āwiyah appointed 'Abdullah b. Sawwār 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. According to Balāzuri '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 Qaiqān where he was killed by the Turks. After assassination of 'Abdullah, Caliph Mu'āwiyah appointed Sanan b. Salmah at Makran. After two year he was transfered 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 Sa'id b. Aslam Kalabi, the Governor of Makran sometime before 704 A.D. Hajjāj 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 Sind. Mujjah died soon after.

-
1. Chach-Namah, p.56 Balāzuri records that 'Abdullah b. Sawwār was appointed by 'Abdullah b. 'Amir, the Viceroy of Iraq. Though it further records that according to some he was appointed by Mu'āwiyah himself. See Balāzuri, pl 421.
 2. Chach-Namah, p.57. Balāzuri, p.421. Yaqūt after repeating this statement of Balāzuri, quotes Khalifa b. Khayāt as saying that it was in 667 A.D. that 'Abdullah attacked Qaiqan (Kiknan) where Turks had gathered in considerable strength and 'Abdullah and most of his army perished in the battle. Yaqūt, Hamawi, Mujam-al-Buldan, IV ed Dar Sadar, Bairut, 1957, p.423.
 3. Chach-Namah, p.62, Balāzuri, p. 423.

In the year 705 A.D. Muḥammad b. Hārūn 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-land¹ and brought it under his effective control.

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 despatched a number of Muslim orphans and widows living in his territory to Ḥajjāj along with gifts. His purpose in doing so was to establish cordial relations with Hajjaj.²

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. Ḥajjāj sent an ambassador to the Raja of Sind demanding compensation for the outrage and the punishment of the offenders. The Raja replied, that he had no control over these pirates. Ḥajjāj secured permission of Caliph Walid for the conquest of Sind. Ḥajjāj despatched 'Ubaidullah and Budail to Debal and instructed the Governor of Makran, Harun to march with a force of three thousandsto assist Budail. 'Ubaidullah reached Debal with the army. Jaisiyah, son of

1. Chach-Namah, p. 64, Balazuri, p. 423.

2. Ibid., p. 64, Ibid., pp. 423-24.

Dahar, came out and offered battle, Budail was killed in this encounter. Hearing this news, Hajjaj wanted to send another commander to Sind. 'Amir bin 'Abdullah offered his services for Sind but Hajjāj selected Muḥammad bin Qāsim for this important assignment. Then Hajjāj directed Khuraim b. Amir to reach the coastline near Debal with a fleet of boats. Khuraim reached near Debal on Friday 19 October 711 A.D. It was 710 A.D. that Muḥammad bin Qāsim had marched from Shirāz 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, Muḥammad Hārūn died at the town of Armabel.²

As Muḥammad b. Qāsim 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 Muḥammad b. Qāsim about the magic flag of the temple. Muḥammad bin Qāsim ordered his manjaniq master to aim at flag and it was knocked down in three shots. After the fall of the flag,³ the Arab forces captured the fort. After securing Debal, the army marched towards Nirun (Hyderabad).

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 71, 74.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73; Balāzuri, p. 424.

3. Chach-Namah, pp. 78-79.

The citizens of Nirun had earlier agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Arabs. Muḥammad bin Qāsim ordered his forces not to molest them. The Buddhist Governor of Nirun was received with great honour when he came to the Arab general and undertook to guide him to Sehwan. The inhabitants of Sehwan were mostly traders and agriculturists. Muḥammad bin Qāsim assured the people that those who submitted to him would loose nothing but his hand would fall heavily on those who will resist. 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 Dahar. 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 Buddhiga. Consequently the Arabs entered Siwsitan unopposed. Muḥammad bin Qāsim appropriated all the silver jewels and cash, but he did not take anything from Buddhists, who had

-
1. Chach-Namah, pp. 86-88; Balāzuri, p.424; Yāqūbi, Tarikh-i-Yaqubi, III ed.M.TH.Houtsman, E.J.Brill, 1883, p.327.
 2. Chach-Namah, pp. 88-89; See also Muhammad Habib, 'The Arab Conquest of Sind, Islamic Culture, III 1929, pp. 89-90.

made term with him. The Government of the city was placed under the charge of civil officers, and Muḥammad bin Qāsim¹ started for Sisam, after leaving a garrison in the fort. All the Chiefs and headmen of the surrounding places were now willing to submit to Muḥammad bin Qāsim, 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 Muḥammad bin Qāsim, 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.²

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, Muḥammad b. Qāsim received order from Hajjāj 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 dignatories came and offered allegiance to the Arabs. Muḥammad bin Qāsim appointed there his officials and he himself marched towards Rawar on the bank of Indus. Moka bin

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 89-91.

2. Chach-Namah, p. 92.

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 Muḥammad bin Qāsim, who, therefore, conferred the chieftainship of Bet on Baisayah's younger son Moka¹, 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 Rāsāl seems to have been appointed and hence he came out of Rawar, as the chief of Bet.² At last Dahar decided to give battle. Muḥammad bin Qāsim had marched to Bet from the Indus and after depositing his heavy baggage there, moved towards Rawar and encamped at Jewar.³ 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.⁴

Jaisiya, son of Dahar, succeeded in taking away his defeated forces to the fort of Rawar and was joined there by

-
1. Chach-Namah, pp. 99-100
 2. Ibid., pp. 110-118.
 3. A village between Bet and the fort of Rawar.
 4. Balāzuri, pp. 425-26; Chach-Namah, pp. 137-38.

many others. He wanted to come out and die fighting like his father, but Sisaker, the minister of Raja Dahar, and Muḥammad 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 fire. Six thousand fighting men were captured in the fort and put to death. The head of Dahar was sent to Ḥajjāj along with the spoils.¹

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 ~~protracted~~ 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 harrasing the besiegers by cutting off their supply line. The siege dragged for six months. Muḥammad b. Qāsīm asked Moka for help.² The peace loving inhabitants of Brahmanabad sent a message to Muḥammad bin Qāsīm seeking his protection and they came out from the gate. The Muslims entered the town. Protection was given to

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 140, 147-48.

2. Ibid., pp. 149-153.

1

all except for the fighting people. The fall of Brahmanabad placed the whole of southern Sind 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 organise 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.² Those who embraced Islam were required to pay only a tenth part of their produce 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 hostages³ from their chief and asked them to guide his army to Alor.

-
1. 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.
 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66. On Thursday 13 Muharram 94 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.
 3. Chach-Namah, pp. 166-68; Ibn Kurdazbih, Kitab-ul-Masalik wal-Mamalik, ed. De Gorge, E.J. Brill, 1967, p.54.

Alor, the biggest city of Sind, 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. Muḥammad bin Qāsim asked Ladi¹ 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 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.²

Muḥammad bin Qāsim placed Alor in the charge of a Governor and a qāzī³ and then advanced to Batiya, a fort to which Kaksa son of Chander had fled after the battle of Rawar.⁴

-
1. A widow of Rai Dahar, she had been captured at Brahmanabad along with two daughters of Dahar by another wife. Chach-Namah p.169.
 2. Chach-Namah, pp.169-72 (viz Nao-Bahar in the capital city of Alor, and a Brahmin temple.)
 3. Rawāḥa b. Asad was appointed as Governor and Musa b. Yaḳūb was made the Qāzī of the place.
 4. The fort Batiya was situated on the southern bank of the river Beas. Chach-Namah, p. 180. He was from Alor and a learned man of Sind. Muḥammad bin Qāsim invested him with the title of Mubārak Mushir.

Muhammad bin Qāsim appointed Kaksā as his counsellor with the office of the vizārat. He proceeded to conquer the fort still held by the princes of Dahār'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 ¹ others including the artisans and merchants sued for peace.

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 Qāsim 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 ² thousand warriors were put to death. Muhammad bin Qāsim 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.

-
1. Chach-Namah, pp. 180-81. The fort of Sikka was situated on the southern bank of the Ravi.
 2. Their relatives and dependants were taken as slaves, but protection was given to the merchants, artisans and agriculturists. Chach-Namah, p. 182.

Two hundred and thirty mans of gold were obtained¹ from it as well as forty jars filled with gold dust.

On the day this fabulous treasure was discovered, Muḥammad bin Qāsim received a letter from Hajjāj 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 Hajjāj had undertaken to remit double of the amount after the accomplishment of the expedition. He was further directed to build mosques and get the khutba² in the name of the Caliph to be read and coins struck.

Muḥammad bin Qāsim laid the foundation of a big mosque and arranged for the repairs of the rampart of the fort. Subsequently, he appointed Daud b. Naṣr b. Walid Ummani as Governor of Multan, while Akrama b. Raiḥān Shāmi was made incharge of the civil administration. A strong contingent consisting of 50,000 horsemen was posted in the fort to defend the newly conquered territory. Muḥammad bin Qāsim sent the treasure to Debal, to be despatched to Hajjāj and he himself

-
1. Chach-Namah, pp. 182-184. The total weight of these jars was thirteen thousand two hundredmonds weight of gold. This is the only instance in which Muḥammad 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, 1955, p. 539.
 2. Chach-Namah, p. 184.

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 campaign¹ but the news of sudden death of Hajjaj halted him in his tracks.² 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.³ 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 endeavour. This proposal failed to come off and Sulaiman continued to nurse a deep sence of injury and bitterness against Hajjaj and all those who were close to Hajjaj were bound to face his wrath.

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

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

3. Tabari, II, p. 1275.

It was in these circumstances that the new Caliph ordered the dismissal and arrest of Muhammad bin Qasim.¹ 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.²

Soon after Muhammad bin Qasim's removal from the scene, there was a revival of Hindu power in Sind. Dahar's son Jaisiyah reconquered 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.³ Yazid bin Abu Kabsha, the new Governor of Sind, did not live long to be able to do anything in this regard.⁴ Then Habib b. Muhallab was appointed as the Governor of Sind 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 areas were recaptured by the former rulers. The situation seems to have

-
1. 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.
 2. Balazuri, p. 428, Ibn Asir IV, p. 588.
 3. Masumi, p. 31.
 4. Balazuri, p. 429. He is said to have been in office only for eighteen days.

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 Raḥmān to deal with the situation. He not only defeated Jaisiyah¹ but also conquered the neighbouring 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.² Junaid was, however, replaced by Tamim b. Zaid.³ In 723 A.D. Khalid b. Abdullah, governor of Iraq, recommended to the Caliph two names to be considered to head the administration of Sind. Accordingly, Hakim b. Awana

-
1. Balāzuri, p.429. Jaisiya was killed by Junaid.
 2. Prachin Itihas, Gujarati Astrakot See for details: Abu Zafar Nadavi, Tarikh-i-Sind. Darul Muṣannifin Azamgarh, (reprint)1970, p.132.
 3. 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 Sind to Iraq and died in the way at Maul-Jawamis. Balāzuri, p.429.

Kalabi was appointed as governor and 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim was made his deputy. They proved their administrative competency in Sind 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-Mansūra, which was destined to serve as the Arab capital in Sind for many years to come. The success of Ḥakam was, however, short lived; he was killed in 739 A.D. In the same year 'Umar bin Muḥammad was appointed as the Governor of Sind by Caliph Hisham. During this period a new dimension was added to the already confused Scenario of Sind; some powerful Arab leaders like Marwān bin Yazid bin Muḥallab had succeeded in establishing their hold in some parts of Sind and had become strong enough to challenge the central authority. At this particular point of time, the above mentioned leaders were 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. With the death of Caliph Hisham in 743 A.D. the Umayyad Caliphate was thrown into complete confusion and

1. Yaqūbi, II, pp. 389-90.

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, descensions 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 ~~secretely~~ organising their propaganda for 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 Sind which were getting out of hand. The last Umayyad governor of Sind was Yazid bin Arar could not contain the rebellious Arab leader, Mansur b. Jamhaur Kalabi, who had crossed into Sind. 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 Sind. After four years the Umayyad caliphate itself was to crumble before the increasing pressure of the Abbasids.

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 Sind. Abu Muslim sent Mughallab Abdi Sijistani

1. Yaqubi, II, p.407.

with a huge army to control Sind. At that time the administrator of Debal, Manzoor, the brother of Mansoor, was ruling over Sind as an independent ruler. After an encounter, Manzoor was killed. Hearing this Mansoor came out from Manṣūra and succeeded in arresting and killing Muḡhallas. These developments clearly showed that the situation in Sind was quite out of control and required immediate steps to restore normalcy there. Musā bin Kab, the new governor of the province was sent to Sind 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 Sind he fled towards Indian deserts, where he was killed in 759 A.D. by men sent by Musa in his pursuit.¹ Musa continued to administer the region till 758 A.D. In 758 A.D. he left Sind and later on died in 759 A.D. Before leaving Sind 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 Jāfar Manṣūr (754-775 A.D.) appointed Umar b. Haf's, as the new governor of Sind.² In this encounter with Aniya was captured and sent to Baghḍad but he managed to escape from midway though

1. Yāqūbi, II, p.429.

2. Balāzuri, p. 431.

eventually he was ¹ killed. It was during this time that the Shias started to come and settle in Sind and began their ² propaganda against the 'Abbasids.

The next governor was Hisham b. 'Umar Saḡhlibi 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 leed 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 Hijāzis 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 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 hopeless 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 adventures ³ succeeded in establishing an independent Arab emirate there.

1. Yaqubi, II, p.448.

2. Ibn Asir, V, p. 595.

3. Yaqūbi, II, p.99; Maqadasi, p.485. Later on the areas of Sind and Multan came to be divided into three independent kingdoms. The southern most was an independent Arab state

Contd.....

But this independent emirate was not destined to last for long. Hisham, the new governor of Sind 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.¹ He consolidated his control over the territories of Sind 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.² In 772 A.D. he left for Baghdad and was succeeded by Mabad bin Khalil.³

The situation in Sind was fairly stable and under control when caliph Abu Jāfar Mansūr, the real founder of the Abbasid Caliphate, died in 774 A.D. and was succeeded by his son al-Mahdi. Al-Mahdi was a mild ruler and after the strict-rule of Mansūr for about a quarter of a century, the state control

(Continued from the previous page)

with Mansūra 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 Ismailis.

1. Balāzuri, p.431, Ibn Asir, V, p. 596.
2. Ibn Asir, VI, p.12.
3. Ibid., p. 13.

seems to have been somewhat relaxed. Malcontent elements in Sind 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 Ruḥ bin Ḥātim in 776 A.D. During his tenure Jats rose in rebellion. This rebellion was crushed but it disturbed the peaceful atmosphere in the region. On a closer scrutiny of the situation prevailing in Sind 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. Laṣṣ 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 Sind was not fully in control. Between Mahdi's death in 785 A.D. and Ḥarun'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 Ḥarun from the line of succession, that he could not devote his attention to any other problem. The situation in far flung regions like Sind was bound to deteriorate.

-
1. 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.
 2. Ibn Asir, VI, p.83.

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 Sind 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. Hārūn seems to have decided to bring the situation in Sind under full control. For this purpose he sent governor after governor but they failed to bring Sind back to an even keel. The situation continued to be tricky till Daud bin Yazid bin ¹ Ḥatim Muhallabi took over the governorship of the region. 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 Sind. 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-Māmun established Baitul Hikmat, a number of Sindhis were employed there. During the last illness of Harun, among

1. Ibn Asir, VI, p.184.

others, a Sindhi Vaidya Manka was sent to Baghdad.¹ 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, Sind continued to enjoy a measure of peace and stability. Daud Muhallabi continued to head the administration of Sind 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 Sind by his son, Bashar,² who seems to have followed his father's footsteps and managed the region. But the long hold of the family over the affairs of Sind appears to have misguided him and created false hopes of independent control of Sind. 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

1. Ibn Abi Usaiba, Uyūn al-Amba fi Tabagāt al-Atibba, ed. A. Mukhler, Cairo, 1882, p.33.

2. Ibn Asir, p. 362.

graciously, freed him and his family members and invested him¹ with royal gifts and favours.

New governor was Musa bin Yahya Barmaki. This would suggest the importance Mamun attached to Sind as a province of his vast Caliphate. Musa bin 'Imrān 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 Kharāj increased and he was able to spare his energies to tackle some of the neighbouring powers which had been causing problems for the government of Sind. One of such rulers was captured and killed.² During this time the Kharaj touched the figure of ten lac dirhams.³ At the time of Mamun's death in 834 A.D. Musa was still ruling Sind 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 Sind 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

-
1. Ibn Asir, VI, pp. 409, 420.
 2. His name was probably Bala Chander who was a non-Muslim ruler in the environs of Sind. Balāzuri, p. 431.
 3. Ibn Khurdāzbih, p.57.

foundation of a military headquarter as a permanent abode of the army and named the new city al-Baiza.¹ 'Imrān 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 symbol² of the Jat tribe. This custom was initiated by Chach.

'Imrān 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 Sind. These Arab tribes were fighting with each other. In his encounter with the fighting Arab tribes 'Imran, the Governor of Sind, was assassinated by the Nazaris. The leader of the Nazaris was 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz³ Ḥabbari, the founder of the Ḥabbari dynasty of Sind. Anbah bin Ishaq was appointed as the new governor. During the same⁴ period Caliph Mustasim Billah also died.

-
1. According to Balāzuri (p.432) the city was still surviving in 893AD and its principal inhabitants were Muslims.
 2. Balāzuri, p. 432.
 3. Balāzuri, p. 432.
 4. Balāzuri, describes it in the period of Mutāsīm but, Yaqubi records it in the period of Al-Wāsiq. Most probably these developments took place during the last days of Mutāsīm and the early days of Al-Wāsiq.

The new Caliph Al-Wāsiq Billaḥ confirmed Anbah in his post. Anbah was a good administrator and succeeded in improving law and orders position in province. 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.

In 846 A.D. Caliph al-Wasiq Billaḥ died. His successor Mutawakkil had his own ideas about the administration and made wholesale changes in order of the governors and high officials. Sind did not remain unaffected. Anbah was dismissed and Harun bin Abu Khālīd was appointed in his place.

Harun reached Sind in 850 A.D. He exerted himself to control the situation in Sind 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 Sind be assigned to him. As the situation in Sind 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

1. Yāqūbi, II, p.585.

2. Balazuri, p. 437.

political and intellectual activities. According to Ibn Khaladun this family was always employed in the government both by the Umayyads and Abbasids. 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 Sind during the governorship of Hakam b. 'Awwana in 738 A.D. A grandson of this Manzar was Umar b. Abdul Aziz Habbari, who managed to establish his independent rule over Sind in 854 A.D. He, however, continued to recognise the Abbasid Caliphs and recited Khutba in their name.

During this period the province of Sind was regarded as a dependency of the Abbaside Caliphate. In 870 A.D. Caliph Mutamad appointed Yaqub b. Laif Saffari, as viceroy of Sijistan, Kirman, Turkistan and also Sind. In 874 A.D. Caliph Mutamad assigned the territories of the eastern provinces of his dominions to his brother Muaffiq. The province of Sind was also placed under his jurisdiction. This would clearly suggest that though Sind had become independent for all

-
1. Ibn Khaladun, Tarikh Ibn Khaladun, II, Egypt, 1284 A.H.p.327.
 2. Yaqubi, II, p.389.
 3. 'Umar son of 'Abdul 'Aziz son of Manzar son of Zubair son of 'Abdur Rahman son of Habbar son of Aswad.
 4. Ibn Khaladun, III, p. 328.
 5. Ibid., III, p. 326.

practical purpose, Umar continued to recognise 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.¹ Buzurg b. Shahariyar has cited an interesting piece of information about Abdullah's relation with the neighbouring Hindu King. On Raja's request, 'Abdullah sent an Arab poet to teach Quran in his court in Sindi language. He is reported to have translated a 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.² 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.³

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 896.⁴ If this

1. Balazuri, pp. 444-5.

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

3. Ibn Asir, VII, p.455.

4. Ibid., VII, p.484.

information is true, then it suggests very complex relationship¹ between the independent Ḥabbāri state and the Abbasid Caliphate. 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 ḤAbdullah ruled. Maṣūdi mentions in the account of 915 A.D. that Mansura was ruled by Abul Manẓar ḤUmar bin ḤAbdullah who is reported to have two sons, Muḥammad and ḤAli.² It is not possible to determine the date of the commencement of his reign. Apparently his father ḤAbdullah is ḤAbdullah bin ḤUmar bin ḤAbdul ḤAziz, the previous ruler. About Mansura of this period Maṣūdi 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 horsemen and eighty elephants. These elephants were used not only in the war but also for carrying loads and to draw charriots.³ No information is available about the life and rule of his sons,

-
1. Qāzi Rashid, Kitab-uz-Zakhāir wa Tuḥaf, ed. M. Hamidullah Kuwait, 1959, p.37; See for details, Qāzi Athar Mubārakpuri, Hindustan Me Arbon-ke-Hukūmaten, Delhi, 1967, pp. 93-94.
 2. Maṣūdi, I, pp. 377-78.
 3. Maṣūdi, I, pp. 379-80.

Muhammad and 'Ali. Maqdasi has also words of praise for the
¹
 Habbari rulers.

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
²
 in the name of Ummayyid (sic) Caliph. 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 Sind. But unfortunately only this much 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 Sammah b. Luwayy, was an important Arab tribe, which had carved out a niche for itself in the history
³
 of the region and specially Multan. This family is reported to have belonged to Quresh. One of the scions of this family,

-
1. Maqadasi, pp. 480, 85.
 2. In this period Umayyids, were replaced by Abbasides, Yaqut, V, p. 419,
 3. Musab b. Zubairi, Kitab Nasab al-Quresh, I, ed. E. Levi Provenç Cairo, 1953, p.13; Abu Jafar Muhammad bin Habib Baghdadi, Kitab-al-Mukhabbar, Hyderabad 1361 A.H. p.168.

Samah b. Luwayy, migrated from Mecca and settled in 'Ammān 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 ¹ Khārijites, Shias, and Ismailis against the Abbasid Caliphate. 'Ammān 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 Muḥammad b. Qāsim Sāmi 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 'Ammān was restored to the Abbasid ² allegiance again.

During the same period Muḥammad ³ b. Qāsim established his rule in Multān. 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 ⁴ founder of the dynasty. It can safely be said that Muḥammad bin Qasim Sami established his rule some time by the end of 892 or the beginning of 893 A.D.

-
1. Amir Ibn Makula Kitab al-Akmal, Hyderabad 1382 A.H., I pp. 39,57 (II), p.88.
 2. See for detail Ibn Khaldun, IV, p.93.
 3. Muḥammad bin Qāsim b. Munabbah, b. Rabi b. Ḥatim 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. Ḥaris b. Sama b. Luwayy. Ibn Makula, I, p.120; See also, Musab b. Zubairi, II, p.440.
 4. Ibn Rustah, Alaiq al-Nafisa, ed. E.J.Brill, 1891, pp.135-36.

Masūdi 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 Masūdi'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 Sindi rulers, especially their dresses and ornaments. They wore ear-rings 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. The above evidence reveals the process of the assimilation of the Arab rulers in the local Sindi culture. If investigated further, fascinating details may come to light.

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

1. Istakhari, p.104; See also Yāqūt, V, p.227.

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.¹ 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,² and formed the biggest of the Arab state in the region. 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.³ While the Istakhri says that it was half as large as Mansura and the provisions were cheaper there than the capital of the Ḥabbāris.⁴ The buildings were as beautiful as those at Siraf.⁵ They were built in teak wood and had several stories. According to Istakhri, the market complex of Multan was very spacious and crowded. In the centre there was a big temple, which was covered by the arcades of shapes dealing in artifacts made of ivory and bronze.⁶ The Jami mosque was situated in the neighbourhood of the temple.⁷ The hundred years rule of the Banu Munabbah, brought

-
1. Abul Fida, Taqwim-al-Buldān, ed. D.E.Slane, Paris, 1840, p. 350.
 2. Masūdi, I, pp. 375-76.
 3. Maqadasi, p. 478.
 4. Istakhri, p. 103.
 5. Maqadasi, pp. 480-81.
 6. Istakhri, p. 103.
 7. Yāqūt, V, pp. 227, 419.

not only material prosperity but also political and social stability. The Sami rulers extended their territory by reducing Qannauj which was also a centre of religious piety. The impact of the 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.

Evidently the rulers of Multan were Sunnis. They practiced and established religious law according to the Qurān 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.

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 many more years. The far off centres of the Caliphate were most affected by these developments. Sind and Multan could also not remain unaffected. A

-
1. Saiyid Sulaiman Nadavi, "Muslim Colonies in India Before the Muslim Conquest." Islamic Culture XVII, 1934, p.613; See also Islamic Culture, 1935, p.438.
 2. Istakhri, p. 103.

large number of Kharijites had settled there and had, gradually, acquired influence and clout in the local politics. The rise of these elements in Sind and Multan was connected to the early days of the Abbasid caliphate. Ibn Khaldun records that Abdur Rahman 'Alavi, a descendent of 'Umar-b.Abi Tālib, revolted in 824 A.D. against Caliph Mamun in Yaman. The Caliph deputed his slave, Dinar, to suppress the revolt. Abdur Rahmān surrendered and submitted to the Caliph. 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 Sind, Mansura and Multan, to propagat¹e 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 Masūdi'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.²

Ibn Khaldun provides an interesting account of the arrival in Multan of an 'Alavi, Abu 'Abdullah Jāfar b. Muḥammad who arrived here along with his family and a large number of his supporters with full pomp and show. On this occasion, the

1. Ibn Khaldun, IV, pp. 10; Masūdi, I, p.168.

2. Masūdi, I, p.168.

local 'Alavis gathered around 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 Sind ultimately became a religio-political personage of Sind.¹

Another energetic da'i (propagator) al-Hashim was sent to Sind by Abul Qasim Hasan b. Farah b. Haushab from Yamen some time in 883 A.D.² It is reported that Abu 'Abdullah

1. Ibn Khaldun, IV, p. 10.

2. 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 Sind 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. Stern, 'Ismaili Propaganda and Fatimid Rules in Sind', 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 Ta'alluqat, Allahabad, 1930, p. 315.

started the Ismaili movement in Yamen and created a nucleus there in 881 A.D. After two years of propagation, he despatched his dāis to Bahrain and Sind etc. These dāis were instrumental in spreading this dāwat and ultimately overthrowing the sunni rule of Banu Munabbah.

Banu Sammah rulers were quite capable of suppressing these elements but they did not do any thing 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 SIND

As a result of assiduous and diligent propaganda spread over a long period of time, the Ismaili dāwat 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. When Muqadasi visited Multan in 985 A.D. it was under the rule of a Ismaili dāi and most of the subjects were Shias. They recited the Khutbah in the name of Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. It is to be noted that Ibn Haugal was the last Arab traveller 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 traveller also recorded that the Multanis were using the formula "hayy ala Khair-il-'amal" in the azān and the Khutbah was read in the name of Caliph al-Muizz (952-975 A.D.).

Information provided by Muqadasi is further confirmed by the anonymous author of Hudūd-al-'Ālam (compiled in 982 A.D.).

Ismaili sources confirmed that the religio-political affairs of Multan, were dominated by the Fatimid Caliph of

-
1. Muqadasi, p. 481.
 2. Ibid., p. 481.
 3. Ibid., p. 481.
 4. Hudud-al-'Ālam, p. 89.

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.¹ Multan was named as dar-al-Hijra 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 Mu'izzuddin who appointed a new dā'i for Multan. But before he could take over the old dā'i died.³ The name of the new dā'i was Jālam b. Shaiban.

The new dā'i was charged with the responsibility of reforming the religious abuses of his predecessor. Detailed description of his rule is available in the 'Uyūn-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 dā'i has firmly

-
1. Numan b. Muhammad, Kitab al-Majalis wal-Musayrat (1315 A.D.) The relevant passages of the original text have been published by S.M.Stern, Islamic Culture, 1934, pp.304-307; and also see Idris, Uyūn al-Akhbar (1290 A.D.).
 2. S.M.Stern, pp. 290-307.
 3. 'Uyūn al-Akhbar, IV, p.219.

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 Jālam. The dāi¹ did not only eliminate the bad influence of the former dāi, but also consolidated the Fatimid power in Sind. The province of Sind became a regular part of the Fatimid Caliphate.¹

Jālam b. Shaiban destroyed the famous idol of Multan² for which he had previously asked the Imām's permission. He constructed a mosque on the site and is said to have closed³ the earlier mosque built by Muhammad bin Qasim. No further details of the rule of Jālam b. Shaiban are available from the contemporary or latter sources. It is recorded by the contemporary historians of Sulṭān Maḥmūd that the 'Ismaili rule in Multan was brought to an end by Sulṭān Maḥmūd. In 1006 A.D. the Sulṭān captured the 'Ismaili ruler whose name was Abul Faṭḥ Daud b. Naṣr. In 1010 A.D. Sultan Mahmud occupied Multan and⁴ thus brought to an end to Ismaili rule in the region.

-
1. Maqadasi, p. 485.
 2. 'Uyun-al-Akhbar, quoted by S.M. Stern Islamic Culture, p.301.
 3. 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.
 4. Gardizi, p.67, Ibn Asir, IX, p.186; see also Abu Naṣr Muhammad Utbi, Tarikh-i-Yamini, 1300 A.H., p.212.

Chapter II

SIND 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 Sind. 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 apparently¹ extended upto Multan. 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 appointed² Shaikh Hamid Lodi to look after Multan and Lamghan.

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,³ 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 Mahmud 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 Saman b. Luwayy.

-
1. Abul Fazl Baihqi, Tarikh-i Baihqi, I, ed. Said Nafeesi, Tehran, 1352, S.H. p.436.
 2. Abul Qasim Hindu Shah, Tarikh-i Ferishta, Newal Kishore, 1874, p.18.
 3. 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.

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 Jalam¹ bin Shaiban.

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 later² authorities 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 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

-
1. Islamic Culture, 1934, pp. 616-17.
 2. 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.

converted to Islam. Shaikh Hamid's son Nasr was converted to Ismaili faith under the influence of local dāīs. 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.¹ 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 force till the death of Subuktigin.²

SULTAN MAHMUD'S INVASION OF MULTAN:

At the time of Mahmud's accession in 998 A.D., the ruler of Multan was Abul Fath Daud b. Nasr.³ Cordial relations which existed between them could not remain for long. Sultan

-
1. 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, p3; The Pashto poems are also translated into Urdu by Habibi.
 2. 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.
 3. Utbi, p.138, Ferishta, I, p.24.

1

Mahmud marched against Bhatiya, a stronghold in the neighbourhood 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. 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.

3

In the month of March 1006 A.D. Sultan Mahmud marched from Ghaznin to Multan. Sultan Mahmud wanted to catch Abul Fath unaware, so it was not safe to cross the Indus in Sind. 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

-
1. For identification of this place, see Muhammad Nazim, pp.197-203.
 2. 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.25; 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.
 3. 'Utbi, p.211; See also Ibn Asir IX, p.186.

1

treasury and fled to Sarandip, 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 20000 gold dirhams.² Mahmud accepted the offer and spared the inhabitants except the Ismailis, who were put to death thousand³ in number. 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.⁴ The Jama Mosque of the Ismailis was also raised to ground.⁵

-
1. 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 Sind", Hodivala, p.141.
 2. 'Utbi, (p.212) gives 25,000,000, while Gardezi, (p.68) gives 20,000, Ibn Asir (IX, p.186) and Ferishta follow him.
 3. 'Utbi, p.212. It is stated that Sultan Mahmud put so many Ismailis into the Sword.
 4. 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.
 5. 'Utbi, p.223, Hamdullah Mustawfi, Tarikh-i-Guzidah Ed. E.G. Browne Leyden, 1913, p. 396.

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. 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. Sukhpal resisted the Sultan as best as he could but he was defeated and fled from the battlefield. He took refuge with his cousin, Anandpal, but was soon captured and brought before the Sultan who exacted a sum of 40,000 dirhams from him and placed him in confinement.

After the departure of Mahmud, the situation became favourable to Abul Fath Daud who managed to come back and

-
1. Gardezi, p.69, Ferishta I, p.26, Nazim, p.98.
 2. 'Utbi, p.223, Gardezi, p.69.
 3. 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.
 4. Gardezi, p.88, Ferishta, I, p.26.

occupy some portions of Multan. Mahmud again marched to Multan in the beginning of October 1010 A.D. and completed the 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 neighbouring regions. Abul Fath was captured and taken to Ghaznin. He was imprisoned in the fort of Ghurak where he¹ died.

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 Jats² 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 the³ Indus river.

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 4000 boats equipped with the arms. The Sultan blocked the

-
1. Ibid., p.70, Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabaqat-i-Akbari, I, Calcutta 1927, p.10; Ghurak is situated about fifty miles north west of Qandhar.
 2. Al-Beruni, II, p.104, The Jats were the worshippers of Linga.
 3. Gardezi, p.88; Baihigi, I, pp.275-76.

river course with his fleets and cavalry and elephant, guarded the banks of the river. After a fierce battle, the Jats were defeated. 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 Sind.

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 Sind 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 Sind 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. In December 1039 A.D. Sultan Masud appointed his son Majdud to administer Multan with a force of 2000 men. 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. During these chaotic

-
1. Ibid., p.89. Farrukhi, Diwan-i-Farrukhi, I.O.MS.1841, f.36a has a passing reference to this expedition. See also M.Nazim, p. 122.
 2. Baihiqi, I, p.302.
 3. Ibid., I, p.284. The author records Muhammad, but as corrected by Nafisi it should be read Majdud.
 4. Ibid., p. 285; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, pp.26-27.

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 escape¹ and took upon himself to organise the Ismailis. Maudud then sent Faqih Saliti to oust them. After capturing the fort,² Muhammad Kailmi was appointed the new Governor of Multan. 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 Bahlim³ fled to Multan and was later killed in an encounter.

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

-
1. Abu Zafar Nadavi, pp. 285-86.
 2. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir Mubarak Shah, Adab-al-Harb-wa-sh-Shujaat ed. Ahmad Suhail Khwansari, Tehran 1346 S.H., pp.253-54.
 3. Minhaj, I, pp. 241-42.

in 1175 A.D. After these operations, he appointed 'Ali Karmakh' Governor of Multan and Sind and himself returned to Ghaznin.² 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 Lahore,³ 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 some time 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.⁴

1. Minhaj, I, p.396.

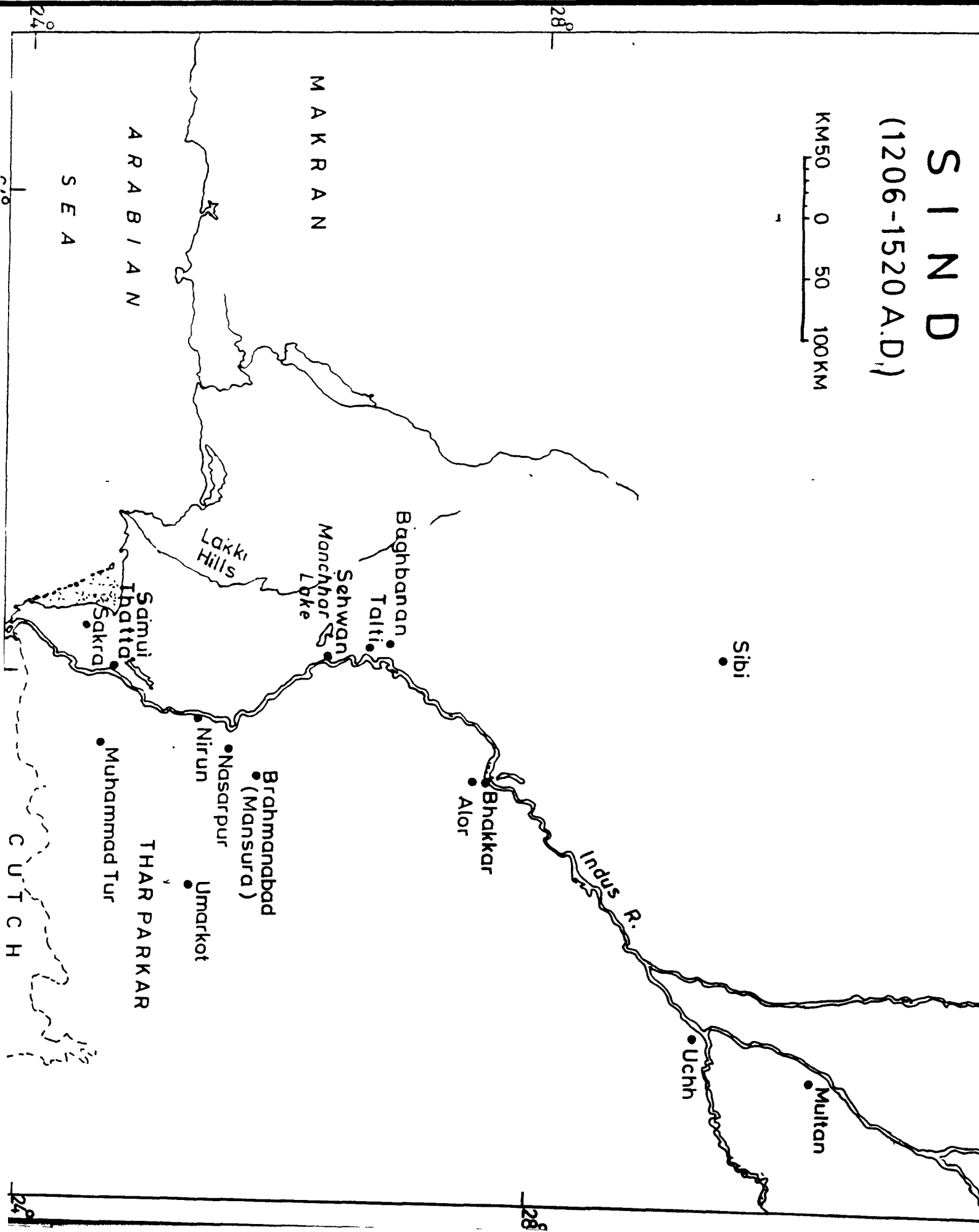
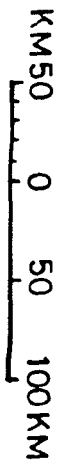
2. Ibid., p. 298.

3. Ibid., p.244; Sirhindi, pp. 6-7.

4. 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-Siyar, 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, 235b; also Ferishta, I, p.59.

SIND

(1206-1520 A.D.)



CHAPTER III

SIND UNDER THE DELHI SULTANATE

Sultan Muizuddin Muhammad b. Sam was assassinated at the hands of Khokhers of Punjab in 1206 A.D. On his death Uchh and Multan were retained by Nasiruddin Qubacha the then governor of the region. He gradually became an independent ruler of the territories of Sind 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 favourite 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 Qutubuddin Aibak and had a son from her, named Shaikh Alauddin Bahram Shah.

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 Samarqand. The region of Uchh was assigned to Qubacha.

-
1. Minhaj, I, p.403.
 2. Ibid., p. 419.
 3. Minhaj Siraj, Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri, Eng. tr. . H.G.Raverty, I, (Reprint), Delhi 1970, p.532; Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubarakshah, p.25; Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi, Delhi 1972, pp.83,101, 143.

After the death of the Sultan he continued to enjoy the confidence of Qutbuddin Aibak. After the later'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 Sind¹. 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 Sind.²

During the Mongol raids a large number of Muslim scholars who had fled from the Muslim countries took shelter in Sind. 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 Sind until the accession of Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi. At the same time he was facing the Mongol onslaught who had penetrated deep into his territory

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

2. Tajul-Ma'āsir, fol.272a, Minhaj, I, p.419.

in purusit of Jalaluddin Minkobarni. Sultan Jalaluddin of Khawarizm had crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Debal and Makran in 1221 A.D. After capturing the Nandanah¹ fort in 1224 A.D., the forces of Turty Nuin the Mongol prince, beseiged the strong fort of Multan for forty days. During this seige Qubacha² approached and sought the assistance of Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariā, 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. The Mongols found the hot climate of the region and retreated to Ghaznīn.³ Qubācha sustained heavy losses, but faced the situation with courage and boldness. He helped the people generously to repair their losses and minimize their miseries.⁴ 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.⁵

-
1. 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.
 2. Raverty, (p.536) gives forty two days.
 3. Mir Khurd, Siyar-ul-Auliya, Delhi, 1885, p.50.
 4. 'Alāuddin 'Ata Malik Juwayni, Tarikh-i-Jahān Gusha, I, (ed.) Muhammad Qazwini, London, 1912, p.112.
 5. Minhaj, I, p.420.



Minkobarni demanded a huge sum as tribute and price for the return of the soldiers. Qubācha accepted the demand and the invader agreed to spare Qubācha's territories. After a while passing through Multan he asked Qubācha to pay nal-baha (Shoe-money), Qubācha refused to oblige and came out to face him. After some minor skirmishes, Minkobarni attacked Uchh and set it on fire.¹

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 Māli Khan. Qubācha set out from Uchh and met the Khalji forces. After defeating Khalji Malik he returned to his territory.²

Accession of Iltutmish to the throne of Delhi had created many problems for Qubācha. 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 Sind. According to Minhāj Iltutmish always regarded Qubācha his rival and was seeking an opportunity to dislodge him from Sind. Keeping this aim in view, Iltutmish secured his position at Delhi and consolidated

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

2. Minhaj, I, p.420.

his power over the neighbouring regions while unlucky Qubācha struggled hard to save his territories from Mongol onslaught. Iltutmish planned to take full advantage of the difficulties of Qubācha and annexed Lahore in 1217 A.D. Qubācha was in no position to resist the advance of Iltutmish who inflicted a crushing¹ defeat on him in the battle that followed.

In 1228 A.D. Iltutmish decided to take the final step against Qubacha and ousted him from Multan and Uchh. Qubācha 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 Taj-uddin Sanjar-i-Kazlak Khān. 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 seige of three months Iltutmish finally captured the fort of Bhakkar on Saturday, 5th² May, 1228 A.D.

On hearing the fall of Uchh, Qubacha sent his son, 'Alāuddin Muhammad Bahram Shah to Iltutmish for negotiation. The Sultan

1. Minjaj, I, p.445.

2. Minhaj, I, p.447.

received him with courtesy but he was restrained to leave Bhakkar while the hostilities continued. This greatly alarmed Qubācha 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 Qubācha was drowned¹ on 30 May 1228 A.D.

This brought to an end the twenty two years rule of Nasiruddin Qubācha 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 centres 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 Khurāsān, Ghaur and Ghaznin.² In this connection the names of Muhammad 'Aufi, Shamsuddin Muhammad al-Katib Balkhi, Fazili Multani, Ziauddin Sijzi are worth mentioning. Shamsuddin was a renowned calligraphist of his time whom 'Aufi compares with Ibn al-Bawwab and Ibn Muqlah. In 1226 A.D. eminent historian Minhāj-us-Sirāj came to the court of Qubācha. The Sultan received him with honour and appointed him as the principal of³ the Madārasa_e Firozia at Uchh, and the Qazi of his son's army.

1. Minhāj, I, p. 447.

2. Minhāj, I, p.419; Sadiduddin Muhammad Aufi, Jawameal-Hikāyat wa Lawāme al-Riwāyat (ed. E.G.Browne and Muhammad Qazwini), idem Lubab-al-Albab, London, 1916, p. 551.

3. Minhāj, I, pp. 420, 446.

While Sultan Nasiruddin Qubācha 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 'Aufi came at the court of Qubācha in 1220 A.D. and was appointed as the royal Imām and Wāiz (preacher). After some time, he was promoted to the rank of Chief Qazi. He translated into Persian the famous Arabic text of al-Faraj bad al-Shiddat of Qazi Abul Hasan b. Ali Muhammad b. Daud (d. 994 A.D.) and dedicated it to Qubācha.

Another book written by the same author under the patronage of 'Ainul Mulk Husain al-Ashari is Lubāb-al-Albāb which is generally held to be the earliest known anthology of the biographies of Persian poets.¹ He was asked to compile another book named Jawame al-Hikayat 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 Sind 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.²

-
1. E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, II, Cambridge, 1951, p.477. The book was edited first by Brown and Qazwini and was published from London in two volumes. It was re-edited by Professor Saeed Nafisi and published from Tehran in 1335 S.H.
 2. Chach-Namah, p.8.

It is evident from the sources that Qubācha took keen interest in literary and academic activities. It was in pursuance of their policy that Minhāj was appointed as the principal of Madarsa-e-Firozia at Uchh. He had established another college and serāi at Multan for Maulana Qutbuddin Kāshāni, one of the most eminent scholar of Islam during that period. As a result of this personal interest and the patronage extended to the scholars and the literati that a very favourable 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 Sind 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

1. Minhāj, I, p.420, Ferishta, II, p.400.

during Iltutmish's reign Izzuddin Kabir Khan Ayaz was appointed¹ as the governor of the province alongwith its dependencies. After some time he was transferred to Lahore, and Multan was² assigned to Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qaraqash Khan Aitekin. The region 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 Chāshniqir and Amir-i-Akhur of the Sultan and later on, he was appointed governor of Uchh.³ The new governor died in 1231 A.D. 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,⁴ and Sunam.

Iltutmish died on 29 April 1236 and his eldest surviving⁵ son, Ruknuddin Firoz Shah, ascended the throne of Delhi. He was an incompetent Sultan. This led to a wide-spread rebellion in his dominions, specially the governors of far off provinces

-
1. Minhaj, I, pp.455-56, II, p.5.
 2. 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 important provinces. Like Kabir Khan Ayāz, he also became an influential courtier. He was killed in a revolt in 1246 A.D., Minhaj II, pp.19-20.
 3. Minhaj, II, pp. 3-5.
 4. Ibid., p. 8.
 5. Ibid., I, p.449; Isāmi, Futuh-us-Salātin, ed. A.S.Usha, Madras, 1948, pp. 129-30.

repudiated their loyalty. A confederacy was formed among the - Malik Izzudin Khan Ayaz, Governor of Multan, Malik Saifuddin Kuchi, Governor of Hansi, and Malik Alauddin, 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.¹ 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.² 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.³

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

-
1. Minhaj, I, p.457; and Sirhindi, (p.24) records the same date; Nizamuddin Ahmad (I, p.66) gives 1237 which is incorrect.
 2. Minhaj, I, 460, Nizamuddin Ahmad I, 67, Ferishta, I, p.68.
 3. Minhaj, II, p.19.

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. ¹ Shortly afterward, he fell from his horse and died.

The short but eventful period of Sultān Razia came to an end when she was disposed and assassinated in 1240 A.D. With a preplanned conspiracy, her brother Muizzuddin Bahram Shah ascended the throne of Delhi. Turkish Maliks 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. ² They elevated 'Alāuddin Masūd 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

-
1. Minhāj, 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.
 2. Minhāj, I, pp. 465-68.

neither had the will nor the ability to extend any kind of help¹ to these beleaguered frontiers. During this Hasan Qarlugh appeared before the gates of Multan. Kabir Khān Ayaz, the then Governor of Multan, inflicted a crushing defeat on him. But soon after he had to face again another Mongol invasion.² In a decisive battle he defeated them as well. 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 neighbouring territories including the fort of Uchh.³ According to Minhāj, Khān-i-Azam Malik Kabir Khān Ayāz⁴ was a Rumi Turk and a slave of Malik Naṣiruddin Husain whom he had served as Amir Shikār. After the assassination of his master he migrated

-
1. Hasan Qarlugh had earlier approached the Sultan of Delhi for refuge and had sent his eldest sons Malik Naṣiruddin Muḥammad, 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 Sind Sagar Doab, west of the Salt Range. (Reverty I, p.623 fn).
 2. Minhāj, II, p.6.
 3. Ibid., II, pp. 5-6.
 4. Ibid., II, p.6.

towards Hindustan and was purchased by Iltutmish. The territory of Multan was assigned to him and he was given the title of Kabir ¹Khān-i-Minkobarni. He was also called Ayāz-i-Hazār 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 imbued with gentle habits and courage. He followed the policy of his late father and extended his territories and soon occupied a large area of Sind. 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 Ayāz and Tajuddin Abu Bakr Ayaz, Sind court was full of literary personalities such as 'Amid Loiki and Qāsim Daud Khatib. From 1241 A.D. to 1243 A.D. 'Amid was attached to Tajuddin Abu Bakr at Uchh. After the death of Tajuddin, the poet attached to the court of Alauddin Masud Sultān of Delhi. Qasim Dāud Khatib translated the Arabic text of 'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif' into Persian on the advice of Shaikh Baha-uddin Zakariya Multāni. This is the earliest known Persian translation of 'Awārif-ul-Ma'ārif' and was dedicated to Tajuddin Abu ³Bakr Ayaz. During his reign the Qarlughs once again tried in

-
1. Minhāj, 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).
 2. Minhāj, II, pp. 6-7.
 3. Fazlullah 'Amid Loiki, Diwān-i-'Amid, ed. Nazir Ahmad, Lahore 1985, pp. 259-69, See also Nazir Ahmad, 'The Earliest Persian translation of the Awarif ul-Ma'arif', Indo-Iranica, 1972, pp. 26-29.

vain to occupy Multan and Uchh. After his death Uchh and Multan once again reverted to Delhi and were assigned to Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn Qaraqash Khān-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 'Alāuddīn Masūd Shāh marched rapidly from Delhi, and was joined by Malik Balban-i-Kishlu from Nagore. However, no direct encounter took place, as the Sultan reached the river Beas the¹ Mongol raised the siege of Uchh and returned towards Khurāsan. Malik Saifuddin Ḥasan had already retired towards southern Sind² after leaving the fortress of Multan. In the same period, Sultan appointed Malik 'Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khan to look after the³ Multan affairs.

The Turkish Amirs and Maliks dethroned and imprisoned the ruling monarch on 10th June 1246 A.D. and elevated Nasiruddin⁴ Maḥmūd Shāh on the same day as the new Sultan of Delhi. Soon after his accession, Mongols again invaded the territory of Multan under their experienced leader Sali Nuin. Hearing about this, the Sultān, accompanied by Ulugh Khan, marched with a huge

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

2. Ibid., II, p.170.

3. Ibid., II, p.37.

4. Ibid., I, p. 471.

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. This created an acute scarcity of the food provisions in the fort. The governor of the region requested Shaikh Bahāuddin 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.

In 1247 A.D. Malik 'Izzuddin Balban Kishlu Khān 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. Kishlu Khān occupied Uchh and Multan but did not surrender Nagaur. The Sultan accompanied with Ulugh Khān 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.

1. Minhāj, I, pp. 479, 494.

2. Sayf bin Yaqub Harawi, Tarikh Nama-i-Harat, ed. M. Zubayr, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 157-58. The author calls the governor Jankar Khān 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 (Yaqub).

3. Minhāj, I, p. 484, II, p.37.

Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh again invaded the region of Multan in 1249 A.D. and invested the fort. Kishlu Khān rushed from Uchh with a band of his fifty choicest horsemen. During this encounter which ensued Hasan Qarlugh was slain and Kishlu Khān 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 Khān had to patch up peace with the invaders. The Qarlughs compelled Kishlu Khān 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 Taberhind, Malik Nuṣrat-al-Din Sher Khān Sungar, attacked Multan and occupied the fort. He appointed Ikhtiyāruddin Kurez¹ 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 Minhāj he sent in 1250 A.D. a contingent of Mongol prisoners to Delhi whom he had captured during one of the encounters.²

These developments again encouraged Kishlu Khān to try his luck to capture the fort of Multan. On Saturday 4 June 1250AD

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

2. Minhāj, II, p.37.

he set out from Uchh. While he was on his way, Sher Khan intercepted and captured Kishlu Khān. However, Kishlu Khān purchased his safety by surrendering the fort of Uchh to Sher Khān and himself retired towards the capital on 10 July 1251 A.D.¹

Sultan Naṣiruddin Mahmūd assigned the territory of Badaun to Kishlu Khān and himself proceeded towards Uchh and Multan on 26 December 1252 A.D. The Sultan wanted to punish disloyal Sher Khān 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 Sind 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 Khān's dependents and placed under the charge of Arsalan Khān Sanjar-i-Chasht.²

After sometime Kishlu Khān was again appointed as the governor of his former provinces of Uchh and Multan.³ After the departure of Sultan, Kishlu Khān repudiated his allegiance to Delhi and transferred his loyalty to the Mongols and even received a Mongol agent. Kishlu Khān also presented the whole of Sind to the Mongols. The ungrateful and rebellious governor made it very difficult for Delhi to occupy Sind again.⁴

1. Minhāj, II, pp. 37-38,

2. Minhāj, I, 484, 87, II, pp. 38, 44; Nizāmuddin Ahmad, I, p. 75.

3. Minhāj, II, p. 38.

4. Ibid., I, p. 487; II, p. 38.

Kishlu Khān accompanied with Outlugh Khān marched towards Delhi in 1257 A.D. However, they could not succeed in their design. Kishlu Khān then returned to Uchh.¹ Shortly afterwards, he paid a visit to Hulaku in 'Irāq to invite him to India. Towards the end of 1257 A.D. a Mongol army under Sali Nuin appeared in Sind. The disgruntled governor entered into a pact with Mongols and joined their camp.² 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 Khān is said to have ruled the region till 1260 A.D.³

'Isāmi records an expedition against Kishlu Khān led by Balban in 1258 A.D. On the arrival of Delhi forces, Kishlu Khān left his son Muḥammad in Multan and himself marched towards Punjab which was under his control. Balban captured the fort of Multan and Muḥammad fled to his father. Seeing this Kishlu Khān left Punjab and marched to Buniyan from there he tried to recapture Multān with Mongol assistance.⁴ The diplomacy of Balban

1. Minhāj, I, pp. 491-93, II, pp. 39,73.

2. Ibid., I, 494.

3. 'Abdul Qadir Badaoni, Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, ed. by Maulvi Ahmad 'Ali, Calcutta, 1868, p.93.

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

succeeded in mutual non-aggression pact with Halaku and the recovery of Sind 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 ¹ great honour.

After the death of Kishlu Khān 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 Sultān Mahmūd on 18 February 1266 A.D. Subsequent events show the name of Sher Khān as the governor of northern regions but we do not know the date of his appointment and other relevant details.

PRINCE MUHAMMAD, AS GOVERNOR OF MULTAN

After the death of Sultan Nāsiruddin Maḥmūd, Ghiyasuddin ² Balban ascended the throne of Delhi on 20 February 1266 A.D. 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

1. Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, pp. 242, 258.

2. Ziauddin Barani, Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan Calcutta, 1862, p.66; Sirhindi, p. 40.

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 Sind 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 assign¹ him the territories of Multan, Lahore and entire areas of Sind. 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,² sometime in 1269 A.D., 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, adorned³ with good qualities and patron of letters. The galaxy of literators and poets attached to the court of the Prince included such

1. Barani, p.50.

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

3. Barani, p.66.

distinguished persons as Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. The Prince is also said to have invited Shaikh Sādi to his court at Multan but the poet could not oblige him due to his old age. But it is said that Shaikh Sadi sent a copy of Gulistān 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.¹ 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 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 despatched 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.² Sometimes in 1283 A.D., the Prince proceeded to Delhi to see his father. This proved

1. Barani, p. 69.

2. Barani, p. 81.

to be the last visit to the court. Showing extra-ordinary ¹ favour towards his son, Balban appointed him his heir-apparent. 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. ² 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. ³ 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 Juma⁶ prayer by a Mongol officer who had been laying an ambush near the battle field. ⁴ The tragic death occurred on Friday 9th ⁵ March 1285 A.D. The Mongols captured a large number of prisoners including two court poets, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan. After

1. Barani, p.70.

2. Ferishta, I, p.82.

3. Nizamuddin, named this place "Mandi Kilapi". This and other places can not be identified now. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.98.

4. Badaoni, I, pp. 133-34.

5. 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 alongwith 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.

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.¹ 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.² 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.³

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,⁴ on his way in the district of Rohtak.

1. Barani, p.110.

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

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

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

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 despatched 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. 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. 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. 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.

-
1. Amir Khusrau, Qiran-al-Sadain, (ed.) Ismail Merathi Aligarh, 1918, pp. 49-50, 62.
 2. Barani, p.170.
 3. Badaoni, I, p.159.
 4. Barani, P.173. The Turkish rule in fact came to an end with the fall of the Tughluq dynasty.

THE KHALJI RULE:

Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji ascended the throne of Delhi at ¹ Kilugarhi on 13 June 1290 A.D. 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 ² his achievement in suppressing the revolt of Malik Chhajju.

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 ³ close to Multan. Jalaluddin Khalji marched out of the capital to meet the enemy. After some skirmishes the Mongols agreed to withdraw without 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 4000 Mongol immigrants, the place was named as

-
1. 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.
 2. Barani, 184, Masumi, p.42.
 3. A town then located on Ravi between Multan and Dipalpur. Most of the historians including Barani, Isami, & Haji Dabir named it 'Baram', Badaoni (I, p.172) calls it Sunam. See also History of the Khaljis, p.30.

1

Mongolpura. Similarly, a great number of them were settled at Uchh and the place was named as Uchh Mughala.²

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.³ 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 Qadar 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 followers 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

1. Barani, pp. 218-19.

2. Badaoni, I, 173, 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.

3. 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.

supporters and left for Multan secretly. Alauddin entered the capital on 20 October 1296 A.D.¹

Soon after his accession, Alauddin despatched 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.² 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 alongwith Ahmad Chap were brought to Delhi and imprisoned in the house of Nusrat Khan.³ Multan was

-
1. 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.
 2. Masumi, p.43.
 3. Barani, (p.249) is not clear on the point, Ferishta, I,102, Badaoni, I,183, History of the Khaljis, pp. 65-66.

given in the charge of Zafar Khan while Uchh, Bhakkar, Siwistan¹ and Thatta were assigned to Nusrat Khan.

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 invasion² was led by Saldi who occupied the fort of Siwistan. Zafar Khan was sent to flush out the Mongols. The valiant general gave them a crushing defeat. It was for the first time that the Mongols were confronted with such an ignominious defeat. Zafar 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 upto 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 this³ encounter.

-
1. Barani, pp. 248-49, Ferishta, p.102.
 2. Masumi (pp.43-44) records that Nusrat Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sind after the defeat of Arkali Khan, marched against the Mongols and defeated them.
 3. The first invasion of Mongols during the reign of Alauddin was in Rabi-ul-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.

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,¹ and the region 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 Multan² and Dipalpur³ 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 iqta 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.⁴ When Ghazi Malik was going to over-

-
1. Barani, pp. 260-61.
 2. 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.
 3. 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.
 4. 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 Khusrau (Tughluq-Namah, p.63) also attests the existence of the Jama Mosque.

throw 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.¹

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. Outbuddin Mubarak Khalji was assassinated on Wednesday 9th July 1320 A.D. at the hands of his slave, Khusrau Khan, whom Amir Khusrau calls Hasan Khusrau in Tughluq-Namah.² 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 Sind, Amir Haushung, governor of Jalour, Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, minister and the governor of Ujjan and Dharwar.³

-
1. The Tughluq-Namah, p.63; Sirhindi, p.89; Badaoni, I, p.222; Isami, (p.366) 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 mention the name of Mughlati and other details connected with him. See also Nizamuddin (I, p.188) who repeats the story.
 2. Tughluq-Namah, p.19. Barani's account is vague about the murder of Outbuddin Mubarak Khalji.
 3. Ibid., p. 57.

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 Khokher chiefs Gulchandar and Sahaj Rai¹ reached and encamped at Indarpath near Delhi. 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 Sultan² Ghiyasuddin Tughluq.

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq appointed Kishlu Khan as the governor of Multan and Uchh. During those days the region of lower Sind was only nominally under Delhi Sultanate. Taking advantage of the trouble, at the centre its chief, Amar, had captured Thatta³ and become independent.

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.⁴

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

1. Ibid., p. 128, Isami, pp. 375, 379, 381.

2. Tughluq-Namah, pp. 143-44.

3. Masumi, pp. 46, 60.

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 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.¹

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.²

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

-
1. Ibn Batuta(pp. 482-3) and Badaoni, (p.126) say that Kishlu Khan's revolt was a reaction against the misbehaviour of Sultan's emissary Ali Khato Khati 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.
 2. Barani, p.479; Isami, pp.421-22, Sirhindi, p.160.

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.¹ Qiwam-al-Mulk Maqbul was appointed as the new governor of Multan and Uchh. Originally, a Hindu of Telingana and called Karan, 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 arithmetics 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.² He was also transferred and replaced with Imadul Mulk Sartez, a senior courtier and had served earlier as the (Arzal Mamalik) commander-in-chief of the imperial army.³

The region of Siwistan was ruled by Ratan, a Hindu. He was killed by Wunar and Qaisar-i-Rumi. They captured the government

1. Ibn Batuta, p.483, Isami, p. 443.

2. Ferishta, I, p.136.

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

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 Sarte¹z, watched these developments and crushed the rebellion.

Sultan Muhammad spent last days in chasing the rebel slave, Taghi, at Gujarat. He fled from there and took shelter in Sind 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 1351² A.D.

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 Sarte³z was replaced and the charge was given to Ain-ul-Mulk Multani. However, no specific date of his appointment and stay has been mentioned by any contemporary or later⁴ historian. But the manshur which was issued by the Sultan is preserved in the Insha-i-Mahru.

-
1. Ibn Batuta, pp. 398-99.
 2. Masumi, p.48.
 3. Afif, pp. 408-415.
 4. Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, Insha-i-Mahru, ed. S.A. Rashid, Lahore, 1965, p.8.

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. No other assignment had been recorded in the history after the Multan's assignment.

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. 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. Sirhindi and other later historians record that at least three generations

1. Mahru, p. 88.

2. Ibid., p. 9.

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

4. 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.

of Mardan Daulat were associated with Multan which would suggest their extra-ordinary 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 Mardan¹ Daulat and appointed him as the governor of Multan.

The rebellious activities of Jam Alauddin Juna, who ruled² over the small region of lower Sind, 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 claimities. After two and half year of continuous fighting Firoz Shah captured³ Thatta and took Jam as captive to Delhi.

Ain-ul-Mulk bitterly complained the behaviour 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

-
1. Sirhindi, p.133, Badaoni, I, p.251.
 2. 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.
 3. Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, fol.45b., Afif, pp.194-254. Sirhindi, p. 131.

was incapable of controlling his nephew and the men around him.

Sultan Firoz Shah died on 20 September 1388 A.D. This¹ 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, the² governor of Multan as we find his fighting on his side in 1389. As a reward, Muhammad Shah³ invested him with the title of Khizr Khan for his services.

In 1395 A.D. a conflict arose between Khizr Khan governor of Multan and Sarang Khan the governor of Dipalpur. In this⁴ encounter Khizr Khan lost the battle and fled to Mewat. Sarang Khan occupied the forts of Multan and Uchh. The territory of Uchh was assigned to Malik Ali to govern it on his behalf.

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

2. Sirhindi, pp. 146-47.

3. Ibid., p. 147; Badaoni, I, p.259.

4. 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 whereabouts 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 Ahmad, I, p.254.

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.

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, Ghazni, Qandhar and other adjacent territories, and encouraged him to capture the northern part of the country.

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

-
1. Sirhindi, p.157; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.254; See also for detail K.S.Lal, Twilight of the Sultanate, Bombay, 1963, pp. 10-12.
 2. Yazdi II, pp.14-15; See also K.S.Lal, pp. 12-13.

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.¹

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.²

Taimur's invasion created a great havoc in the northern frontiers of Hindustan. Return to Samarqand, Taimur appointed Khizr Khan as the governor of Uchh, Multan and Dipalpur in 1399 A.D.³ 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.⁴

1. Sirhindi, pp. 162-63.

2. Yazdi II, pp.174-76; Ferishta, I, p.159; Sirhindi, pp.166-67.

3. Sirhindi, p. 183.

4. 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 as¹ the first ruler of Saiyid dynasty on Monday 4 June 1414 A.D. 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 in² 1423 A.D. 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 defences 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 Multan³ with the title of Imadul Mulk. 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

1. Sirhindi, pp. 181-83.

2. Ibid., pp. 183, 201.

3. Ibid., pp. 206, 214.

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 Sulaiman Shah Lodi to meet the invader but was defeated¹ and killed.

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 latter² he, again attacked but was defeated and driven back finally.

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 Kamal Khan, and Rai Hinu

-
1. 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.
 2. Sirhindi, pp. 218-20.

Zulji Bhatti. The contingent reached Multan on 27 June 1431 and was stationed at Namazgah. While they were moving towards Kotla Alaul Mulk on 13 July 1431 A.D. they gave a final battle¹ 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.² They reached the town of Seor. Shaikh Ali returned to Kabul but left his nephew in the fort of Seor. The royalist chased the fugitive and besieged the fort.³ However, the siege was abandoned by the order of Sultan.

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

1. Sirhindi, pp. 220-21.

2. 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 Suttlej, 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.

3. Sirhindi, pp. 221-22.

his place.¹ 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.²

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.³ 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.⁴ Mubarak Shah proceeded towards Dipalpur alongwith Imadul Mulk and Islam Khan Lodi to chase the invader who had already crossed the Chenab on his way to Kabul. This

-
1. Sirhindi, p.223.
 2. Ibid., p.223; Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, I,ed. Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Calcutta 1924, p.422.
 3. 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 etemological problems, See Elliot III, p.74 fn.1 and Hodivala, I,p.409.
 4. Sirhindi, p. 230.

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. The region had been disturbed since May 1433 A.D. The Sultan, decided to pay a visit to the tombs of the celebrated saints of Multan. The Sultan was assassinated on 30 May 1434 A.D. in the new city called Mubarakpur Kotla founded by him at the bank of Jamuna 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. Next year in the month of November the new Sultan Marched towards Multan and encamped at a place named Mubarakpur. At the halting place, a number of dignatories 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

-
1. Sirhindi, p.231, Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.286; Nahawandi, I, p.425; Shaik Abdul Haq, however records that the Sultan appointed his brother, Khan-i-Khanan to control the administration of Multan.
 2. Ibid., p. 231; Nahawandi, I,p. 430.
 3. 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.
 4. Sirhindi, p.234; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.280. Nahawandi, I,p.426; Ferishta, I, p.169.
 5. Sirhindi, p.243; Ibid., I,p.290; Ibid.I,p.430 and Ferishta I,p.170 gives the month Rabi-ul-Awwal.

Hisar Firoza, Amir Ali Gujarati etc. The Sultan treated them¹ kindly and bestowed honours upon them according to their ranks. He also went to pay homage to the saints at Multan and appointed Khan Khanan as governor of the province and himself returned² to Delhi.

In 1437 A.D. the city of Multan was disturbed by the Baluch tribe of Langhas.³ 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 prestige⁴ and had indeed attacked Delhi in 1443 A.D. but could not succeed.

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 grand son of Shaikh Bahaddin Zakariya Multani, to rule the province independently.

-
1. Ibid., p. 243; Sirhindi closes his account abruptly at this point.
 2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.290, Nahawandi, I,p.430.
 3. Ibid., I, p.291, Badaoni, I, p.303.
 4. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p. 292.

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 neighbourhood¹ of the capital itself.

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 Shah² breathed his last in 1445 A.D. 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.³ The far off regions of the Sultanate took the advantage of the prevailing chaotic

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

2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.291.

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

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.¹

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 shortlived as he fell a victim to a conspiracy hatched against him by a Baluch leader of Langah tribe, Rai Sahra or Sahira² who treacherously expelled Shaikh Yusuf from Multan and occupied the fort.³ The Shaikh then left for Delhi to seek help from Bahlul Lodi where he was received with honour and his son⁴ was married to a daughter of Bahlul.

1. Ferishta, I, p.172.

2. He was the father-in-law of Shaikh Yusuf as one of his daughters was married to Shaikh. Sahra sometime came from Siwi 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 feigned 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.

3. Sirhindi, p.123.

4. Ferishta, II, p.324.

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 Sind including Multan was a gateway of the eastern territories of India. Geographically, the region was important because almost all the foreign invaders and travellers wishing to proceed to the centre, either to disturb its peace or to get grace from the throne, passed through Multan.

LANGHAS RULE OF MULTAN:

The short rule of Shaikh Yusuf and the usurpation of power by Rai Sahra or Sahira has been recorded by Ferishta, Nizamuddin, Nahwandi, Masumi and Sujan Rai. 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. He ruled successfully for

-
1. Ferishta, II, p.324.
 2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.791 (English tr.).
 3. Nahawandi, I, p.268.
 4. Masumi, p.148.
 5. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi 1918, p. 292.
 6. Abul Haq, Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar fi Asar al-Abrar, Delhi, 1309 A.H. p.183, The date of the foundation of this new ruling dynasty of Multan does not, however, corroborate with subsequent events of the period. If we accept 1443 A.D. as the date of

Contd.....

well about sixteen years and died in 1460 A.D. 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. 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 upto Sorekot, Chiniot, Karor and the whole territory upto Dhankot.

(Continued from the previous page)

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 Sindi 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.

1. The historians are confused about the date, Abdul Haq records 1554 A.D. While Nurul Haq (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.

2. Ferishta (II, p.325) does not mention Mahmud Shah and begins his account with Qutbuddin.
3. Modern Dinkot located in the District of Mianwali near Kalabagh.

He enhanced his prestige and power after annexing the neighbouring territories in his dominion. The greedy eyes of the Sultan Bahlul were always on the prosperous province of Multan. Soon¹ after his accession Bahlul marched towards Multan. Meanwhile, his own territory was routed by Mahmud Sharqi.² 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.³

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.⁴ 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

-
1. Ferishta, II, p.326; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.326.
 2. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.301; Khwaja Nimatullah, Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani wa Makhzan-i-Afqhani, I, ed. S.M. Imamuddin, Dacca, 1960, p.142.
 3. For detailed account of these conflicts, see Cambridge History, III, p.229 fn; The Delhi Sultanate, p.140.
 4. Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.307.

until they had reached at Chiniot where they killed the keeper¹ of the fort and some of his men. 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 neighbourers 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 jagirs and stipends and they were allowed to reside in Sitpur and Dhankot.²

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.³

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

1. Ferishta, II, p.326.

2. Ibid., II, p.326.

3. Ferishta, II, p.327, Nahawandi, I, p.272; Nizamuddin Ahmad III, p.305.

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 outstanding¹ scholars like Maulana Fathullah and his pupil Maulana Azizullah."

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

1. Ferishta, II, p.327.

1
on Saturday 13 October 1498 A.D.

127

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.²

Sikandar was delighted and received the envoy with rare favour, accepted Bayazid as de facto ruler of Sorkot and sent a robe of honour. He instructed the governor of Lahore, Daulat Khan, to help Bayazid at the time of trouble.³

-
1. 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.
 2. Ferishta, II, p.329; Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, (Blochman & Jarrat), Calcutta 1939, I, p.555.
 3. Ferishta, II, p.329; Nizamuddin Ahmad, II, p. 537.

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 recognised as the de Jure ruler of Sorkot and the river Ravi forming the boundary between them. 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. 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. The length of his rule was 27 years.

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.

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

2. See for details, Masumi, p.152.

3. Ibid., p. 154.

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

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.¹ 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 beseige the fort. The siege dragged for one year. At last Arghuns managed to enter the fort of Multan in January 1527² A.D. The unfortunate Husain langah and his minister both were arrested and put to death.³

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 Babur in 1527 A.D., who assigned it to Mirza Kamran.

-
1. 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.
 2. Masumi, p.159; Ferishta,(II, p.331)gives 1526 A.D. while Nizamuddin(III, p.543)gives 1526 A.D.
 3. Nizamuddin Ahmad, III, p.543; Nahawandi, I, p.283; Masumi, p. 159.

CHAPTER IV

SIND UNDER THE SUMIRAH

No connected and coherent account of the Sumirah rulers is available in the chronicles. The history of their rule in Sind 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 centuries¹ under their rule happen to be the most obscure period in the history of Sind. 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 Sind and had been converted to Islam sometimes after the conquest of Muhammad bin Qasim.² The

-
1. 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 Sind as the tributaries of other Muslim rulers. But according to the author of Beqlar-Namah they ruled over Sind for a period extending well over 500 years. Ain also seems to agree with the assessment of Beqlar-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 blatantly wrong; Abul Fazl, Ain-i Akbari I, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1882, p.167. see also, Idraki Beglari, Beqlar-Namah, ed. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad Sind, 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 Sind, 1971, p.67.
 2. Elphinstone, History of India, Allahabad, 1966, p.682; See also Elliot, History of India as told by its own historians I, Reprint, Allahabad (n.d.) p.480.

Chach-Namah, mentions that the Sammah came to pay homage to Muhammad Qasim but the name of Sumirah is not mentioned anywhere.¹

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 Sind 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.² According to him Sumirah were of Arab origin.

The same traveller further provides some information about the political condition of the Sumirah of Sind. 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 tribesmen. However, feeling unsafe Wunar 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.³

1. Chach-Namah, p.168.

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

3. Ibn Batuta, pp. 398-99.

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.¹

Saiyid Sulaiman Nadavi is also of the view that the sumirahs were of the Arab origin.² On the other hand, Abu Zafar Nadavi maintains that they were of the mixed breed i.e. Arab and Sindhi blood.³ He also sheds light on their Ismaili beliefs and customs.³ They ruled around the region from lower Sind 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.⁴

Information about the conditions of Mansura is not available in the chronicles. Some evidence is, however, available

-
1. Masumi, pp. 61-62.
 2. Sulaiman Nadavi p.363.
 3. Abu Zafar Nadavi, pp. 278-79.
 4. 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.

in some books of history about some towns which flourished under the Sumrirahs such as Debal and Demrilah. However, when Sultan Jalaluddin Khwarizm 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.¹

In 1228 the Governor of Sind (Wali i-Debal wa Sind) presented himself before Iltutmish at Delhi. There was the time when the entire country of Sind right up to Arabian sea was conquered by his vazir Nizamul Mulk Junaidi.² 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 neighbouring regions. He established his matrimonial relations with the local Zamindar Sad, and married his daughter. He got a son and named him Bhunghar. After the death of Sumirah, Bhunger succeeded him as the chief of his tribe.³

Bhunger was again succeeded by his son, Doda, who extended his control upto Nasrpur. After a long reign he died and left a minor son and a daughter Tari.

-
1. Juvaini, II, pp.146-48; See also Minhaj, I, p.447.
 2. Minhaj, I, p.447; Masumi, p.36; Ferishta, II, p.316.
 3. Masumi, pp. 60-61; Qani, III, p.68. Muhammad Yusuf Ataki, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, MS. No.VI, 476, Khuda Bakhsh Library Patna, fol.3.

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 neighbouring regions and conquered it near upto 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.¹

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.²

Khaira was succeeded by Armel. He was a cruel man and treated his subject with cruelty. Due to his misbehavior, Unar³, a Sammah 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 Sind passed away from Sumirah⁴ to Sammah in 1352 A.D.

1. Masumi, p.61; Qani, III, p.68.

2. Qani, III, p.68;

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

4. See Appendix.

According to Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, 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.¹

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.² It is probable 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.³

-
1. Qani, III, p. 82.
 2. Tahiri, fol. 38.
 3. Sulaiman Nadavi p.363.

CHAPTER V

SIND UNDER THE SUMMAH

One of the most significant events in the local history of Sind is the replacement of the Sumirah by the Summahs as the ruling dynasty of Sind. 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 'Alāuddin ¹ Khalji. The first ruler of the dynasty was the chief of the Summah who had wrested the power after defeating and killing Malik Ratan, the Muqti 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 Baṭūṭa also who visited the region in 1333 A.D. He says that the Summah was the leading tribe of Sind at that time and Amir Unar had his headquarters at Siwistan.²

-
1. Masūmi, 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 'Alāuddin Khalji and the return of his son to Sind 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.
 2. Ibn Baṭūṭa, pp. 398-99.

At the time of Muhammad Tughluq's death, Sumirahs of Thatta were still the ruling tribe. Barani¹ 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 letter² 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.

The Summah had emerged as a political force most probably during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq.³ On the basis of evidence contained in a later source the Summahs came to power after overthrowing Hamir Sumirah in 1351 A.D.⁴ How

1. Barani, pp. 523-24.

2. Mahru, Letter No.46, pp. 100-03.

3. Barani, pp. 524-25.

4. 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 .

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.¹ 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 neighbouring region of Brahmanabad and a stronghold of the Sammah tribe.² Amir Muhammad was a contemporary of the writer of the original Arabic Chach-Namah who quotes him as one of his informants.³ 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 Tārikh-i-Tāhiri the Sammah had originally lived in Sind. They had migrated to

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 167-68.

2. Chach-Namah, (pp. 166, 168) records that during the reign of Sahras son of Sahasi, the province of Sind 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).

3. Chach-Namah, p. 166.

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 discernable. About this time the Summahs 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.¹

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.² 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 Sind. Jam was the brother of Unar and Banbinah was the son of Unar.³ Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi calls him Ala'uddin Jam Juna and his nephew Sadruddin Banbinah bin Unar.⁴

1. Tahiri, fols. 33, 41-42.

2. Masūmi, pp. 61-62.

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

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

In the beginning of reign of Firoz Shah, 'Ain-ul-Mulk complained in a letter about the mischievous activities of Banbinah in Sind while Firoz Shah was away from Delhi on a campaign to Bengal.¹ 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-Kiram² 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 Sind 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 Sind, also lived in Siwistan. The region of Siwistan and its neighbouring territories, were conferred upon

1. Mahru, pp. 174, 186-87.

2. Masumi, p.62; Qani, III, p.100.

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 neighbouring regions. The remaining soldiers elected Qaisar-i-Rumi as their chief. ¹ 'Imadul-Mulk, the Governor of Sind 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 Jam² 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 Thatta. But the Sultan died on 21 March 1351 at the bank of Indus³ before he could accomplish his plan. Firoz Shah abandoned the campaign and returned to Delhi. The Sammah army caused much

1. Ibn Batuta, pp. 398-99

2. Barani, p. 601.

3. Ibid., p. 625.

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 the 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 government. 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

1. 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; Nizamuddin Ahmad, I, p.234; Sirhindi, p.131.

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 honour on the right of the throne close to the seat of Sadrus-Sudur-i-Jahan who was the minister of religious and Judicial affairs.¹

It appears that though Firoz Shah defeated Sammahs and annexed the region of the lower Sind 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 Sind. It was not long before that even this myth was broken and the Sindī 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 Bukhari² 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 Sind as a vessel of Firoz

1. 'Afif, pp. 254-281; Sirhindi, p. 131.

2. 'Afif, p. 254.

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 away from Thatta in the Mirpur Sakro Taluqa. This Khanqah was built for Shaikh Haji Bu Turab and the inscription¹ bears the date 3rd Safar 782 A.H./9th May 1380 A.D.

Banbinah continued to stay at Delhi till the death of Firoz Shah. In 1388 A.D. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah II, sent Banbinah back to Sind with royal favour. But he expired on his way to Thatta.² Most probably Jam 'Alāuddin Juna had died about that time and Banbinah was being sent to fill in the³ vacuum caused by his death on the political scene of Sind.

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

-
1. See for details Muhammad Shafi, "Sind Ke Baz Katbe" Oriental College Magazine, February 1935, pp.140-41.
 2. 'Afif, p.254.
 3. Ibid., p. 254.

the Sammahs or give a coherent account of their administrative institutions. However, the very fact that they were able to rule Sind 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 Sind. 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 Sind. 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 Bahrampur. 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 neighbouring 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 annexed Bhakkar into his own territory. Jam Juna expired after a successful reign¹ of thirteen years.

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-Thattha.²

In any case it was not long before Banbinah's brother Tamachi, who had been in Sind 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 Thattha to put down the rebellion of Jam Tamachi and to send him to Delhi. However, Banbinah and his brother stayed at Delhi court, while³ Jam Juna, ruled in Thattha with the help of his son.

Banbinah continued to stay at Delhi till after the death of Sultan Firoz Shah. In 1388, his successor sent Banbinah to

1. Masūmi, (p.63), says that Sultan 'Alāuddin sent his brother 'Ulugh Khan along with Malik Taj Kafuri and Tatar Khan for the conquest of Sind.

2. 'Afif , p. 254, Masūmi, p.64.

3. Masūmi, p.64.

Sind 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 prevail¹ during the period.

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 recalcitrants 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.² He was succeeded by his son, Jam Nizamuddin.

After the death of his father, Jam Nizāmuddin ascended the throne with the help of his father's nobles. He was a kind-hearted ruler and his first act of kindness was the release of his uncles,³ Sikander, Karan, Bahauddin and Amar who had been confined on the advise of the ministers. He appointed every one of them to perform administrative duties in different

1. Masūmi, p.66.

2. The author of Hadīqat-ul 'Auliya 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 Sind in succession. Saiyid Abdul Qadir Hadīqat-ul Auliya, ed. S.Hussamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad Sind, 1967, pp.56-7 ; Also see Masūmi, p.66.

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

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 escape¹ to Gujarat.

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. But the people placed Karan on the vacant throne. The nobles of the state were not in favour of this bloody prince. Perceiving this Jam Karan determined to kill and capture other. He invited a

1. Masumi, p. 67.

2. Masumi, pp. 67-68.

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 his¹ accession.

Jam Karan was succeeded by his nephew, Jam Fath Khan. He was a good administrator and was favourably inclined towards his subjects. It was during this time that Pir Muhammad, grandson of Taimur, arrived at Multan and captured the town of Uchh. 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 come³ and pay the homage to him. Instead of complying with this request the notables of the place fled towards Jaisalmer. Only one solitary person, Salyid 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 Sind, therefore, continued to be ruled by the Langhas and the Sammahs as before. After 15 years of successful reign Jam Fath Khan died.⁴

1. Masūmi, p. 68.

2. Ibid., p. 69.

3. Ibid., p. 69.

4. Ibid., p. 70.

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

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 Naserpur that a distinguished general had set himself on the throne of Thatta with the title of Jam Mubarak. 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.

He was succeeded by Raidinah. Earlier in the reign of Jam Tughluq he had left Sind due to some unspecified reason

-
1. Māsūmi, p. 70.
 2. He was the curtain-keeper of the late Jam Tughluq. (Māsūmi, p.71).
 3. Masumi, p.71.

migrated to Cutch 1454 A.D. He was a kind man and his good behaviour 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 any one 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 Sind.

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 Mathelah¹. In the ninth year of his reign the greedy Sanjar, who was an attache of² the Jam poisoned him. He died 3 days after the poisoning.

On his death, Sanjar became the Jam of Sind. 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 Sind enjoyed much peace. He was very fond of learned

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

2. Masūmi, p.72.

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 ¹ 8 years.

After the death of Jam Sanjar, Jam Nizamuddin alias Jam Nanda son of Babnah was selected by the notables piousmen 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 ² one year. 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 neighbouring 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 Sind. In this encounter the

1. Masūmi, pp. 72-73.

2. Ibid., p. 74.

Mughal army was completely routed and Abu Muhammad Beg, the brother of Shah Beg was killed. The Mughals fled to Qandhar and never invaded Sind again during the reign of Jam Nanda.¹

He was very fond of learned men and held them in high respect. The renowned scholar Jalaluddin Muhammad Shirazi came to Sind from Shiraz during his reign and sent his two pupils, Mir Shamsuddin and Mir Muin 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 honour. After a very long spell of reign extending over 48 years and distinguished for its peace, prosperity and patronage of learning;² Jam Nanda died in 1508 A.D.

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.³

1. Māsūmi, p. 75.

2. Ibid., pp. 75-76.

3. Ibid., p. 76.

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 behaviour on Darya Khan. Therefore Darya Khan left Thatta and took his residence in his Jagir at Kahan. He invited Makh¹dum 'Abdul 'Aziz, Maulana 'Asiruddin 'Abbasi and his son Maulana Mu²hammad, the most learned men of the time. They had migrated from Herat in 1521 A.D. when Shah Ismail had expelled from there.

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.³ He hurriedly reached Thatta and captured the household of Jam Firoz and would not release him until they arranged a large some 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

-
1. 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.
 2. Masūmi, p. 76.
 3. Abdullah Muhammad bin Umar al-Makki, Zafar -ul-Walīh bi Muzaffar Wa'alih, I, ed. Denison Ross Liden, 1926, p.137, Bibi Rani one of the Sammāh Princes was married to Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat in 1518 A.D.

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.¹

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.²

Jam Firoz introduced a new element in the polity of Sind. 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 Sind. Shah Beg conquered Sind in 1522 A.D.³ This brought to an end the rule of the Sammah dynasty in Sind.

-
1. Masumi, p.77; Idriki Beg, pp.8-9; See, Zafar-ul-Walih, I, p.137.
 2. Masumi, p. 78; See Idriki Beg, pp. 10-12; Zafar-ul-Walih, I, p.138.
 3. Ibid., p. 79; 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 SIND

It is an established fact that before the advent of Muslim rule in Sind, 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 Sind where the attitude of the rulers was hostile to such settlements as is evident from the Chach-Namah.¹ That is why no evidence of the settlement of the Muslim population or Arab traders in Sind 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.² Hence there was not much incentive for the Arabs to penetrate the land of Sind 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 Sind even before the Arab conquest.

The Arab conquest of Sind certainly opened the way for propagation and spread of Islam on a large scale in the region.³

1. Chach-Namah, p. 64.

2. Balazuri, p. 423, Chach-Namah, p.63.

3. 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 Sind for the translation of Quran in Sindi, language by a Muslim scholar in 883 A.D.

We are told by Chach-Namah that several chieftains and tribes accepted Islam on the invitation of Muhammad bin Qasim. The converts were mostly Buddhist or Bhuddhist 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.

The social structure of Sind 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, Sind 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 Sind, the Rajput tribes like Sumirah, the Sammah and the Samijah had settled in the fertile valleys of the Rann of Cutch and Thar Parker districts. The tribes in the plains were mostly agriculturist and the cattle breeders.

1. Chach-Namah, p.151.

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

The narrow fertile valley supplied the rich resources of sustenance for the whole region of Sind and Indus, which facilitated the troops movement, not only added to its fertility but also gave it economic and political importance. The Sind 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 Sindi 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 banias or foreigners came to Sind for commercial purposes only. The petty shop keepers were mostly banias 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 Sind.

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 labourers who worked for wages paid at harvest time)¹. 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 Kohistan, they were known as thanahas or ghedowns². 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 centred around the mosque, and the pucca and spacious houses of the Wandera (landlord). All these villages were generally protected by a wall of thorny bushes³.

The main components of the non-Muslim society in Sind were Meds, Nikamarh, Channah, Sammah, Sahta Macchi, Halier,

-
1. E.H.Aitken, The Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Vol.A, Karachi 1907, pp. 335-39.
 2. Yusuf Mirak, p.68.
 3. Ansar Zahid, History and Culture of Sind, Karachi, 1980, pp. 204-05.

Korija, 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 Sind.¹ It would appear from the evidence contained in the Futuh -ul-Buldan that Meds were those pirates who lived on the coast of Makran, Sind and Kathiawar.² The Meds were also known as Nakarmah.³

CHANNAH:

This tribe occupied an important place in the society of Sind. Both 'All 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 Sind to embrace Islam en masse.⁴ They also came to be known as Marzuq. 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 Marzuq⁵ i.e. the people who were fed.

-
1. Balazuri, p. 423. The chiefs of the Nikamrahs carried the title of Rana, Yusuf Mirak, p.35.
 2. Balazuri, p. 423.
 3. Chach-Namah, p. 64.
 4. Masumi, pp. 22-33.
 5. Masumi, p. 23. Balazuri, p.426.

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 Sind. 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.

SATAH:

They were a Rajput community settled in lower Sind, specially in the pargana of Darbala. In some historical records they have been mentioned as a remanant of Sahta sect of the Sammah tribe which has resisted conversion to the Muslim faith. But in the very beginning they had shifted their loyalty to the Arabs.

MACCHI, HALIER AND KORIJAH:

These were also among the old inhabitants of Sind. They also along with the aforesaid tribes accepted the supremacy of the Arabs at the time of the surrender of Brahmanabad to the Arab, though nothing is known about their ethnic background

-
1. Masumi, p.61.
 2. Chach-Namah, p.168.
 3. Abul Fazl, I, p.166.
 4. Sind Gazetteer, Vol. A, p.187.
 5. Masumi, p. 27.

The Macchis and Bawarij were basically fishermen and sailers.¹ 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, Sammah 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's² mother 'Madinah' most likely belonged to them. Probably for these reasons the Macchis tribe resisted the Arghuns and later supported the Langahs of Multan.³ The abode of these tribes was mostly on the banks of the rivers and lakes and their houses were called japars.⁴

BHATTIS:

They were Rajputs and many of them had become followers of Muhammad bin Qasim. They were settled there before the Muslim⁵ conquest. Mostly they resided in the Pargana of Darbela.⁶

JATS:

There is a difference of opinion among the historians about the origin of the Jats. The Jats have been attributed

-
1. Balazuri, p.426.
 2. Tahiri, fol. 47.
 3. Masumi, pp.120,144-5, 153; Yusuf Mirak, pp. 7,66.
 4. Ansar Zahid, pp. 24,242; Yusuf Mirak, pp. 69-70, 165.
 5. Chach-Namah, p. 177.
 6. Abul Fazl, I, p.166.

to both the Hemitic and Semitic origins and have been mentioned as collaterats of the Baluchies. Some modern scholars consider them to be of the Indo-Scythian stocket.

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. The Brahmin dynasty endeavoured to break their power by imposing upon them very stringent measures. The Arabs maintained the status quo in the Sindian society and continued the anti-Jat restrictions. 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

-
1. 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 Sind 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. Qani, III, pp.56-7.
 2. Elliot regarded them as Scythian to Parthian in origin. Elliot, I, pp.507-8; See also Sind Gazetteer, Vol.A, p.170.
 3. 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.
 4. Chach-Namah, pp. 33, 163-64.

humble position became synonymous with their racial nomenclature.¹ 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 Rajput tribes.² Although they were spread all over Sind yet they were mainly concentrated in central and southern regions, particularly in Cutch-Gandava, Central Sind, Kohistan, Makran and the delta.³ In the desert and hill areas the Jat⁴ remained confined to rearing of camels and agriculture.

SAMIJAH:

During the Sammah period, Samijahs were the largest of all the tribes that made up the Rajput hegemony. They were considered a powerful tribe under the Sammahs. It is said that they were divided into twelve sub-tribes.⁵ Some of these sub-tribes were again divided into further branches.

-
1. The word Jat means a camel breeder and a block-head in Sindi, Sind Gazetteer, Vol.A, p.173.
 2. Chach-Namah, pp. 98,117; Elliot, I, p.110.
 3. Tahiri, fol. 160.
 4. Yusuf Mirak, p.239.
 5. Masumi, p.321, Ibid., pp. 82-83. These were Bukiyah, Tibah, Junijah, Pariyah, Deb, Kibar, Utha, Lakiyar, Rajpal, Bihan, Migwanah and Unar.

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 ¹ kuroh.

BUDDHISTS:

At the time of the Arab conquest of Sind, a large number of the population consisted of Buddhists. Most of the governors of the forts and principal citizens were Samnis² i.e. Buddhists. The Buddhist governors and their co-religionist citizens owned only a nominal loyalty to Raja Dahar. The reason of their dislike for their ruler was the usurpation³ of the power from the Buddhist king by Rai Chach. Naturally, Rai Chach or his successors could not be popular with the large sections of the native people.

BRAHMINS:

The Brahmins living in Sind at the time of Arab invasion mostly belonged to Sarswat, Purkarna and Shirimali⁴ families. They were the religious leaders among the Hindus.

-
1. Yusuf Mirak, p. 85.
 2. Chach-Namah, pp. 31,81,86,91,109.
 3. Chach-Namah, p.18.
 4. The Saraswats served as spiritual guides. The purkarna were cooks or sweet-meat sellers while Shirimalies were medicants and worshippers of Shiva. Except for the Sraswats the Brahmins were Vegetarian. Sind Gazetteer, Vol.A, p.182.

They enjoyed a respectable position in the society and they were most privileged class among the Hindu populace. Moreover, 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.¹ 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 Sind would finally come under the Muslim rule. They, therefore, went over to the Arabs and joined their camp.² 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 Hsuen 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.³ The Chach-Namah contains clear references to

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 139, 158, 162, 176, 183.

2. Chach-Namah, p. 76.

3. T. Watters, I, p. 221.

the Buddhists and their temples in Sind. 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 Sind 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.¹

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.²

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 Hindu³ but the next ruler was

-
1. 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).
 2. Chach-Namah, pp. 87,89,98.
 3. Chach-Namah, p.12.

Chander, who was a Buddhist. He ruled for seven years.¹
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 Sind 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.² These prophecies seem to have been spread by the Buddhist teachers all around the Sind.³

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.⁴ Their places of worship were respected. Travellers and geographers speak about the existence of many temples in Sind which were fully protected.⁵

1. Chach-Namah, p.35.

2. Ibid., pp. 91,97,121.

3. Ibid., pp. 99, 105-06.

4. Ibid., pp. 158-59.

5. Balāzuri (p.429) records that the great temple of Debal still existed in the reign of Caliph Mutasim (833-842 AD); see also Maqadasi, p.480.

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.¹

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 recognised. The Hindus were given their due rights in the society and were employed specially in the revenue administration. Similarly, the earstwhile chiefs were treated with grace and magnanimity and left in possession of their holdings on payment of annual tribute.²

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 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 travellers and provide them food if they stayed for night.³

1. Masūdi, IV, p.96.

2. Chach-Namah, pp. 160-61.

3. Chach-Namah, pp. 33, 163-64.

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 Sind shows that they expected at least some improvement in their social position under the Arab¹ rule.

THE MUSLIM COMMUNITIES:

The Muslim population of Sind 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 Sind 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 Sind. 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 Sind 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

1. Chach-Namah, pp. 98, 166.

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. Sind has been an old favourite with these people. As a result a large number of them migrated to Sind and established their strongholds at Multan and Mansura.¹ Later on the Mongol eruption compelled a still larger number of Sadat families from Central Asia and Khurasan to turn to Sind. The sack of Baghdad at the hands of the Mongols in 1258 A.D. further led many Arab families to migrate to Sind 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 niche in the polity of Sind. Their lineage and learning commanded respect for them and they came to be held in high esteem by Hindus and Muslims alike.

Due to the tribal set up of Sind 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,

1. Masudi, I, p.378.

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 Rohri¹ in Bhakkar, Thatta and Siwistan.

It is said that the Arab tribe settled in Sind were divided into eighteen families or groups e.g. the Saqfi, the Tamin, the Mughirah, the Abbasi, the Siddiqi, the Faruqi, the Usmani, the Panwar, the Mangi, the Jabriyah, Banu Asad, Banu Utbah, Banu Hakam, the Bajar, the descendent of Jarimah Ansari,² and the Baluch. This traditional figure probably indicated the more prominent of the early Arab families who settled down in Sind. Some of them like the Abbasi qazis came along with invading armies.³ Some of them were descendants of governors and other officials who came to Sind later such as⁴ Banu Hakam, Tamim and Mughria.

-
1. Qani, III, pp. 53, 199, 213-14.
 2. 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.
 3. 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.
 4. Chach-Namah, pp. 52, 136,163.

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 Sind. 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 Sind from the middle of the fourteenth century and continued upto the middle of the next century. The turmoil 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 ¹ Daudis were first to reach Langah dominion in 1443 A.D. The Baluches were Sunni Muslims and they were quite orthodox in their beliefs. But they also venerated the twelve Imams of the Ithna Asharis,² which was probably due to Ismaili influence as the Ismailis were active in this region for a very long time. Mostly Baluches were nomades 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 Sind 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 centres 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

1. Ferishta, II, p.326.

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

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 progaganda 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 Sind 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 amirs, 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 Sind 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 Jalaluddin Bukhari.¹ 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 Sindi named Daud or Dadu as missionary to the Punjab but he failed to achieve anything and was expelled from Sind by the Sumirah ruler and was forced to take refuge in Kathiawar.² 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

1. Ferishta, II, p.416.

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

of learning and the patronage of the Abbasid caliphs, many learned Indian scholars 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.¹

The conquest of Sind 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) medicine and philosophy.² 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 Sind musicians on Arabs.³ 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

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

2. Ibn-al-Faqih, Kitab-ul-Buldan, ed. De Goeje, E.J.Brill, 1885, p.16.

3. Masūdi, I, p.166.

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 Indian¹ heritage.

With the rise of the Barmakis the cultural contact of Sind with the Arabs became more pronounced. A group of Sindi 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-sind Hind.² It was through this book that the great mathematical exploits of the Indians were introduced to the Arabs. Aryabhatya and Khandakhadyaka were also translated into Arabic about the same time.³ Similarly the Indian Ayurvedic physicians were invited to Baghdad for the translation of some Sanskrit books.⁴ 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

-
1. 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.
 2. Al-Biruni, I, pp.152-54, II, p.18; Qureshi, p.31, K.S.Lal, p.23.
 3. Abul Qasim Said Undulis, Tabaqat-ul-Umam, Urdu tr. Ahmad Mian Akhtar, Azamgarh, p.8.
 4. Al-Jahiz, Kitab-ul-Bayan, Cairo 1311-13 A.H., p.40.

1
Muslim world. It is also stated that during the prolonged
Sickness of Harun Rashid, a specialist physician was summoned
from Sind. 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
2
give natural shine to the hair.

The Arabs living in Sind 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 travellers provide interesting
details about this phenomenon. According to them the Arab
rulers of Sind put on long robes, had ear-rings and kept long
hair under the influence of local Hindu rajās. They used war
elephants and also rode in charriots 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
3
main city. They also spoke local languages. Masudi tells
4
us that the Muslim chiefs used elephant in wars. Similarly
under the impact of Arabs the local population which consisted
mainly of Hindus and Buddhists, could speak Arabic and Persian

-
1. 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.
 2. Masudi, I, p.166.
 3. Ibid., VIII, p.127; See also Al-Idrisi, Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq Fi-ikhtirag al-Afaq, ed. S. Maqbool Ahmad under the title, India and the Neighbouring Territories, Aligarh. 1954, pp. 44-5.
 4. Ibid., I, p.375; Istakhri, p.103, Ibn Haqal, Kitab Surat al-Arz, II, ed. J.H.Kramers, E.J.Brill, 1939, p.323.

along with their mother tongue. Another Arab traveller Maqadasi praises the people of Multan for their high standard and personal and commercial morality. He found them prosperous.¹

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. 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.²

The Arabs introduced in Sind 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 Sind both in urban as well as the rural

1. Maqadasi, p.480.

2. Balazuri, pp. 427, 431.

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 Sind 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 Mansuri¹ 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 few² outside India. 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

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

2. Khatib Baghdadi, Tarikh-i Baghdad, Egypt, 1931, Vol. VIII, p. 333; See also Qazi Athar Mubarakpuri, p.159.

a library also. 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 Outbuddin Kashani, Ali b. Hamid Kufi. Nuruddin Muhammad Afi and Shaikh Mahmud Faruqi. Among these Ali b. Hamid Kufi, translated the famous Arabic book Fathnamah-i-Sind or Minhaj al-Masalik into Persian with the title of Chach-Namah. Afi also compiled his book Lubab al-Albab during that period.

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

Prince Muhammad, son of Sultan Balban and the governor of Multan was a patron of scholars. It is said that he had

-
1. Maqadasi, p. 481.
 2. Minhaj, I, p.420.
 3. Ferishta, II, p.408.

invited Shaikh Sadi to come to Multan. His court was famous for scholars, who included luminaries like Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan¹. During the fourteen 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. The madrasa of Shaikh Hammad Jamali at Makli and the madrasa of Sultan Husain Langah³ at Multan were also very well-known for their education. Among the Sammah Jams, Sanjar and Nizamuddin of Sind evinced much interest in the spread of education and learning. They established many madrasas and patronised the ulama who were attracted in large numbers to their courts. These scholars⁴ were provided with handsome stipends and emoluments.

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.⁵

Moreover, the khanqahs of various sufi orders also proved instrumental in the dissemination of education and

-
1. Barani, p. 67.
 2. Ibn Batuta, p. 398.
 3. Ferishta, II, p.325.
 4. Masumi, p.75. Jam Nizamuddin invited Maulana Jalaluddin Muhammad Dauwami and his two pupils to his court at Thatta.
 5. Tahiri, fol. 38.

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.¹ 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.

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, figh, hadis and so on. Such madrasas included in their curricula subjects of Sarf, Nahw, Blaghah, Figh,² Usul-i-Figh, Mantiq, Kalam, Tasawwuf, Tafsir and Hadis.

THE ROLE OF THE 'ULAMA:

The ulama were a very important segment of the Muslim society in Sind. Their role in the religious, social and

1. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p. 138.

2. Abul Hasnat Nadavi, Hindustan ki Qadim Islami Darsgahen, 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.

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, 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.

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 anyway different in Sind. 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.

-
1. Chach-Namah, p.179. Musa b. Yaqub Saqfi, 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.
 2. Qazi Abul 'Abbas Mansuri, wrote three books viz., Kitab-ul-Misbah, Kitab-ul-Hadis, Kitab-ul-Nair, Athar Mubarakpuri, op.cit., p. 158.

After completing his sufi training under the supervision of Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi he came to Sind in compliance of the instructions of his mentor. After his arrival in Sind, 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 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 endeavoured 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 inspite of the personal feelings of many of them, their contribution to this particular aspect has been enormous.)

An eminent Arab scholar had settled in Sind 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 Sindi. The amir sent the above-mentioned scholar who stayed at the court for three years and translated some portion of Quran in Sindi. Raja was much pleased and bestowed gifts to him and sent him back. This was the first translation of Quran¹ in Sindi language.

Qazi Abu Muhammad Daudi was an eminent scholar of his time. He was also the qazi of Mansura. He was a prolific² writer and composed several books on different subjects.

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 included³ Kitab-ul Misbah, Kitab-ul Hadi, Kitab-ul Nair.

-
1. 'Ajaib-ul-Hind, p.3.
 2. Maqasadi, p. 481.
 3. Ibn Nadim, Al-Fihrist, Egypt (N.D.) p. 134.

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.¹

CENTRES OF ISLAMIC LEARNING AND CULTURE:

The main centres of Islamic learning and culture in Sind were Debal, Mansura, Multan, Uchh and Thatta. These centres became the nucleus of the Islamic culture and learning and produced a large number of 'ulama, qazis, authors, theologians etc. These centres were not only famous in the sub-continent but throughout the Muslim world. As a result a large number of ulama were attracted to Sind who flocked from outside and took their abode in Sind. A brief description of some of the more important centres is being given below:²

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.² 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.³

-
1. Athar Mubarakpuri, op.cit., p. 161.
 2. Ibn Asir, VII, p. 465.
 3. Maqadasi, p. 479.

The Arabs developed this city as a great centre of Islamic learning and culture. The most eminent scholar of the place was Imām '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. Ahmad 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. Qasim¹ 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.² 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 Qāzi Abu Muhammad Daudi Mansuri, Qāzi Abul 'Abbās Mansuri and Qāzi Abu 'Abdullah Mansuri³ etc. Qāzi Abu Muhammad Daudi Mansuri was the Chief Justice and a writer of great merit. His books were generally on religious sciences.⁴ He also managed

1. Balāzuri, p.431.

2. Istakhri, p.103; See also Hamdullah Mustaufi Qazwini, Nuzhat-ul-Qulub, Bombay 1311 A.H., p.234.

3. Maqadasi, p.481.

4. Ibid., p.481.

a madrasa there.

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 'Aufi, Minhaj Siraj, Qutubuddin Kashani etc. were attached to his court. It was during this period the famous Suhrawardi Khanqah of Uchh was established. The Foundation of Firozia College was a mile stone 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 Sind, appears to have been established during the Sammah rule and it superseded Samui,

1

their former capital. 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 madrasas 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 Jalaluddin 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. ²

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.

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

1. Qani, III, p.63.

2. Masumi, p. 85.

different parts of India to visit the sacred Sun Temple. This Sun Temple was a favourite 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 Fatmid Caliph of Egypt. Hence after the rulers of Multan always used to send presents to the Fatmid Caliph.¹

Multan was the main centre of the Suhrawardi saints in Sind. The founder of the Suhrawardi Order in Hindustan was Shaikh Bahauddin 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 Sind 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

1. Maqadasi, p. 485.

descendant of Abu Bakr, the first pious caliph.¹ 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 Khanqah² at Baghdad. 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 Khwarizm Shah in 1218 A.D. He was sent again as ambassador to Alauddin Kaiqubad I, Seljuq ruler of Qonya (1229-36 A.D.).³ Caliph Al-Nasir built for him a Khanqah, associated a large establishment with it, which included a bath house and a garden for himself and his family.⁴ 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

-
1. Ibn Khallikan, Wafiyat-ul-A'ayan wa-Anbao-Abna-iz-Zaman, II Cairo, 1948, pp. 373-74.
 2. Ibid., II, p.374.
 3. J.Von Hammer Purgstall, Histoire del empire Othoman, I, tr. J.J.Hellert, Paris, 1835, p.141.
 4. Ibn Khallikan, III, pp. 119-20.

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 practising sufi. In his Bostan he refers¹ to Shaikh Shahaubuddin's piety and love for his fellowmen. His son, 'Imamuddin Muhammad succeeded him as the warden of Ribat² al-Mamuniyya in Baghdad.

Shaikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi appointed Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani (1182-1262 A.D.) as a Khalifa and sent him³ from Baghdad to Sind and Multan for the propagation of Islam. 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 Khangah soon became a centre of

-
1. Shaikh Sadi, Bostan, ed. K.H.Graf, Vienna, 1850, p.150.
 2. Abdur Razzaq b. Ahmad Ibn al-Fuwati, Al-Hawadith al-Jamia, ed. H.Jawad, Baghdad, 1932, p. 323.
 3. Ferishta, II, p.613; See also Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.44.

attraction not only for the people of the region but also as far-flung regions as Gujarat and Burhanpur. Their close association with the Sultāns 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 Yūsuf Qureshi as their ruler but this glory was short lived. Meanwhile they had developed matrimonial relations with Lodis and the Sultans of Gujarat. In this way they did not wield only spiritual influence over the people of the region but they also enjoyed considerable political cloud.

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 Qalendars and Jwaligs.

1. Ferishta, II, p.325.

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).

KHANGAH:

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya established his Khangah 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 Khangah¹ and he kept his wealth carefully.² He was completely independent in the financial matters and the internal discipline and organization of his Khangah. 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 crisis³ and scarcity. The Khangah was, no doubt, well-provided and well-managed. It was built on an extensive area and separate accommodation used to be provided for every one who visited the Khangah. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya entertained his guests lavishly and provided good food and even he himself was fond of good food.⁴ He did not maintain an open table and only those who were invited by him could take food with him.

-
1. Hammad Jamali, Siyar-ul-Arifin, Rizvi Press Delhi, 1311 A.H. p. 106.
 2. Ibid., p. 129.
 3. Amir Hasan 'Ala Sijzi, Fawaid-ul-Fuad, Nawal Kishore, 1894, p. 223.
 4. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, p.105; Siyar-ul-Arifin, p.137.

The Suhrawardi Khānqahs had regular Jāgirs so they had a large stock of cereals and they also had a lot of gold and silver coins. ¹ Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya did not allow the commoners to disturb him during odd hours ² and qalandars and ³ Jwaliqs were also not allowed to disturb him. He had fixed the time for his interview and no one could contact him at odd hours. Shaikh engaged good tutors and teachers for his sons and paid them lavish stipends. ⁴ 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 ⁵ one who knew the cure should not be afraid of the poison.

An important branch of Suhrawardi order was established at Uchh by Saiyid Jalal Bukhāri, the disciple and intimate friend of Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya. The Khānqāh of Uchh gained great importance under the able guidance of Makhdūm

-
1. Siyarul 'Ārifin, p.136.
 2. Ibid., p.5.
 3. Siyarul-Ārifin, p.120.
 4. Fawāid-ul-Fuād, p. 223.
 5. Siyar-ul-Ārifin, p.158.

Jahāniān. The Suhrawardis¹ were responsible for a number of conversions.

In Sind and Punjab the important Suhrawardi sufis were Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, Shaikh Sadruddin 'Arif, Shaikh Ruknuddin, Saiyid Jalal Surkh his sons Saiyid Jalaluddin Makhdūm Jahāniān, Shaikh Sadruddin and Raju Qattal etc. A large number of other Suhrawardis² lived in different parts of the country.

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

After the death of Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya, his son,³ Shaikh Sadruddin, succeeded him. Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya had⁴ seven sons, but Shaikh Sadruddin was designed to succeed in as his Khalifah. Out of the very large amount left by his father as patrimony, Shaikh Sadruddin's share was seven lac

1. Ferishta, II, p.325.
2. These were Shaikh Nuh Bhakkari, Shaikh Patha Debili (d. 1248 A.D.); Saiyid Muhammad Husain known as Pir Murād (1427-87 A.D.); Saiyid 'Alī Shirāzi (1392-1472 A.D.) etc.
3. Siyar-ul-'Arifin, pp. 124-40; Akhbar-ul-Akhbar, pp. 63-5 See also Saiyid Abdul Qadir, p.21.
4. The name of his sons were Shaikh Kamāluddin, Shaikh Sadruddin 'Arif, Shaikh Samiuddin Mahmud, Shaikh 'Alāuddin Yahya, Shaikh Mahbūb, Shaikh Burhan Ahmad and Shaikh Ziauddin Hamid; Ghausi Shattari, Gulzar-i-Abrar, I, MS, John Ryland, 185, fol. 31b; Barani (p.80) refers Shaikh Qudus one of his sons.

of tankas. But this entire amount was distributed in charity by the Shaikh. He was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Ruknuddin Abul Fath¹ (ob. 1334 A.D.) who rose to great eminence and enjoyed great influence over the people. He preached for about half a century in Sind. According to Barani, the entire population of Sind had faith in the Shaikh and even a large number of ulama² had joined his circle. The Shaikh used to visit Delhi quite regularly where he was held in great respect by the rulers. His relations with Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya⁴ were very cordial.

THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIETY:

Ever since the establishment of his Khangah⁵ in Multan during the reign of Qubacha, 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

-
1. Barani, pp. 347-48; Isami, p. 443; Gulzar-i-Abrar, III, fols. 31-32; Siyar-ul-Arifin, pp. 135-141. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, pp. 65-7.
 2. Barani, pp. 347-48.
 3. Akhbar-ul Akhyar, p. 65.
 4. Siyar-ul-Auliya, p. 146.
 5. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, pp. 119-20; Ferishta, II, p. 406.

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 spectre of Mongol onslaught, the Shaikh interceded on behalf of the people of Multan with Mongol leader through the good offices of Malik Shamsuddin and succeeded in persuading the Mongols to withdraw on payment of 10,000 ¹ dinars.

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-Jahaniyan is reported to have said

1. Tarikh-i-Nama-i-Harat, pp. 157-58.

about one of his journeys to the court that he had not come to seek any worldly favour 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.¹

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 favourable consideration.²

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 court to check the influence of the philosopher and according to the report succeeded in his mission.³

However, Saiyid Jalaluddin Makhdum-i-Jahanian always criticised the income of the rulers, their way of life and their bureaucracy. He delivered sermons and always made effort

-
1. Sayings of Saiyid Jalaluddin, Siraj-ul-Hidaya, ed. Qazi Sajjad Husain, New Delhi, 1983, p. 334.
 2. Siyar-ul-Auliya, pp. 148-49; Siyar-ul-Arifin, p. 142; Urdu tr. p. 203.
 3. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, pp. 50-51.

for the establishment of Shariat's rule. Due to Saiyid's influence Sultan Firoz Shah abolished most of the illegal and un-Islamic taxes.¹ Once the Saiyid told his disciples that whatever he had accepted from the Sultan was for the help of the people not for accumulation.² 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.³

SUHRAWARDIS AND THE STATE POLITICS

From the very inception of the silsilah, the Suhrawardis had maintained cordial relations with the state. Shaikh Najibuddin 'Abdul Qāhir, founder of the silsilah,⁴ had intimate relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad, and the Caliph is reported to have sought his help at the time of crisis such as the Khwarazm Shah's attack on Baghdad.⁵ 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

-
1. Siraj-ul-Hidaya, pp. 111-12.
 2. Ibid., p. 262.
 3. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p. 66.
 4. Ibn Aṣir, XI, p.28.
 5. Ibn Aṣir XI, p.152, Rauzat-us-Safa, IV, p.118.

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 Sindi 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.¹ Due to his deep respect towards the Suhrawardis, he sent his nephew, Saduddin to Qazi Hamid-² uddin to be initiated in the Suhrawardi discipline. These relations were further strengthened when Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya invited Iltutmish to invade Sind to dislodge the oppressive rule of Nasiruddin Qubacha. 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 Qazi was executed. Soon after Iltutmish marched towards Sind and annexed the province in ³ 1228 A.D.

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

2. Op.cit., p. 252.

3. Fawaid-ul-Fuad, pp. 119-20; See also Minhaj, I, pp. 142,442.

Shaikh Bahāuddin 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. 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. The successors of Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariya continued to exercise great influence in the region of Sind 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 Bahāuddin 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 Mubārak Khalji at a time when relations

1. Tarikh-Nama-i-Harāt, pp. 157-58.

2. Siyar-ul-'Arifin, p. 169.

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

-
1. Barani, p. 396.
 2. Siyar-ul-Auliya, p. 136.
 3. Siyar-ul-Arifin, pp. 141-2.

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 maintenance of the Khānqāh of the Shaikh¹. 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 redressal² of the grievances of the petitioners.

Another saint of the same order who rose to great eminence and made great contributions to the religious history of the region was Shaikh Jalāluddīn Bukhārī more commonly known as Makhdūm-i-Jahānian. He was held in high esteem by the Tughluqs. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq appointed him Shaikh-ul-Islam and assigned the Khānqāh of Siwistan along with one hundred villages for its maintenance³. The saint later on renounced all this and proceeded on pilgrimage. When he returned from Ḥajj, the ruling monarch was Firoz Shah⁴. He had cordial relations with the Sultan and he was a frequent visitor

1. Ibn Batūṭa, p. 483.

2. Siyar-ul-Auliya, pp.148-49; Siyarul-Ārifin, p.142.

3. Sirāj-ul-Hidāyah, pp.7-21. see Akḥbar-ul Akḥyar, p.138.

4. Ibid., p. 21.

1
 to the court. He was received with honour by the Sultan. During his visit to the capital, he stayed at the Kaushak in Firozabad or at the palace of Prince Fath 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.²

Makhdum Jahanian had great influence in the local politics of Sind. The Sammah Jams of Sind 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.³ Saiyid Jalal interceded in the matter and arranged an alliance between the Sammah and Sultan Firoz.⁴ 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 solícite his help

1. 'Afif, p. 514.

2. 'Afif, pp. 514-16; See also Siraj-ul-Hidayah, p. 360.

3. Mahru, pp. 186-88; See also Siraj-ul-Hidayah, p. 361.

4. 'Afif, p. 242.

even in such matters as the realisation of Kharaj from the region.¹

THE QADRI ORDER IN SIND:

As noticed earlier the chief sufi silsilah in Sind was Suhrawardi silsilah. It was well established and deeply enterenched in the society of Sind and weilded great influence over the people. The only other silsilah which had some influence and left its mark on the Sindi society in any appreciable form in the pre-Mughal period was the Qadiri silsilah. As is 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 Ahmad 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 Hammad (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 Sind the Qadiris had started their work as early as 12th century. The Qadiri silsilah was introduced in Sind through two brothers, Shaikh Ahmad and Shaikh Muhammad, the

1. Mahru, L.N.21, p.49.

disciples of Shaikh Abdul Qadir, who are reported to have come here with forty followers most probably during 12th or 13th century.¹ During the Ismaili Sumirah rule, Qadiris appear to have been active in Sind. The few Qadiri sufis were concentrated in the region of Thatta with a view to counter-act the Ismailis. However, besides a few pockets of influence, the Qadiris could not carve out any particular place for themselves in the society of Sind 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.),² another Qadiri sufi Shaikh Yusufuddin came to Sind in 1422 A.D. They were responsible for the conversion of a number of Lohanas³ to Islam.

However, with the arrival of Makhdum Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Halabi in 1482 A.D.⁴ 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.⁵ They had probably kept this fact in mind while

-
1. Qani, III, p. 251.
 2. Shaikh Muhammad Ikrām, Āb-i-Kausar, Karachi, 1952, pp. 290-92.
 3. Bombay Gazetteer, p. 93.
 4. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.203, Dara Shikoh, Safinat-ul-Auliya, Nawal Kishore, Kanpur, 1884, p.69; Qani, III, p.119; Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, Khazinat-ul-Asfiyah, Nawal Kishore, Kanpur, 1882, p.115.
 5. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, p.213.

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 Makhdūm and his son, Shaikh 'Abdur Qadir Sani¹, 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 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 silsilah still cherished the very intimate relationship that had existed between Shaikh Shahābuddin Suhrawardi and Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani. Makhdum Jahānian (d. 1283 A.D.) of Uchh felt pride in showing his association with the Qadiri silsilah.

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.

-
1. Safinat-ul-Auliya (p.69) records that he was responsible for large number of non-Muslim conversion to Islam.
 2. Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, pp. 137-39.
 3. It is said that Qutubuddin Langah married his daughter to Makhdum Ghaus. This alliance had greatly helped the Qadiris in their establishment. Similarly, Makhdum did not hesitate to accept Sikander Lodi as disciple. Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, I, pp. 115-17.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AND MONUMENTS:

The period of Muslim rule in Sind 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 Sind 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.¹ 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 olden² time by the chief of the city in this temple. 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.

1. Balazuri, p. 422.

2. Chach-Namah, p.119.

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.

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 Sind, 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 Sind 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.¹ 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.² This waqf continued till the rule of Muhammad Tughluq. Similarly Muhammad Tughluq³ built a mosque at Multan which does not exist now.

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 honour of the dead.⁴

The mausoleums of Bahauddin Zakariya and Rukn-i-Alam are the models for the future architecture. The popularity

-
1. Mahru, p. 37.
 2. Ibid., p. 37.
 3. Ibn Batuta, p. 436.
 4. John Marshal, Cambridge History of India, III, Cambridge 1928, p. 599.

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 Sind to establish the popularity of the region. Among these, some important specimens are the tomb of Shams Sabzawāri 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 centres of Central Asia. The Ghaznavids who established a powerful religio-political centres at places like, Uchh, Multan, Dipalpur, Pakpattan 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 centres. 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-'Ālam. However, a large number of mausoleums were erected on the same style. The tomb of Bahauddin 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 Sind, 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-squinches were placed to provide the round base of the drum. The corner squinches 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 colour 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-Ālam is unique in its decorative panels and friezes of cut or moulded, plain as well as glazed bricks. The use of glazed brick-lays to create a design is found in the tomb of Rukn-i-Ālam. The painted square or rectangular tiles having geometric, floral or epigraphical motifs are the most popular. The colours are mainly turquoise blue, cobalt blue, copper white and light green, amber, yellow and chocolate brown.

The glazed tiles are floral or geometric, Quranic as well as non-Quranic inscriptions ~~etched~~ in Kufic, Naskh and Nastaliq, on cut or moulded bricks also form a major portion of the ensemble. The tomb of Rukn-i-Ālam 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 architecture 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.¹ 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.

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 Khangahs of the leading sufis of the time. The secular buildings of Thatta and Uchh have now disappeared.

1. Istakhri, p. 103.

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 Sind shows that Multan has contributed in the development of the art of building.

According to Percy Brown, in Sind, 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 Nizamuddin¹ (1461-1508) in Thatta.

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

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF SIND

The economic conditions of the region are basically determined by geo-physical factors of the province. The physical divisions of Sind provided the base for the varying structures of economic activity of the region. The four natural divisions of Sind 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 upto the Manchhar lake were very fertile. These fertile regions produced two crops a year. Similarly, the area of Siwistan was also very fertile.¹

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

1. Yusuf Mirak, pp. 63-80.

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 woollen 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.¹

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 alongwith 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 labourers. Arrival of such a large number of people alongwith 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

1. Lambrick, p.8; Sind Gazetteer, Vol.A, pp. 191-97.

rainfall was scanty. The region was filled with small shrub and grass which sustained a huge number of horses, camels, sheep and goats.¹ 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 Sind plains provided good opportunities for livelihood of these tribes specially when they moved with their cattles 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 used² to bring with them about 45,000 heads of cattle. 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 produce³ of the hills. In times of scarcity the valley could give them succour by absorbing their surplus cattle.

AGRARIAN ECONOMY:

IRRIGATION:

The economic scene of Sind was dominated either by agriculture or cattle raising but these were not exclusive with

-
1. Yusuf Mirak, p.88.
 2. Ibid., pp. 88-89.
 3. Ibid., pp. 111, 239.

any particular region. The agriculturists maintained considerable number of livestock while the cattle breeders of the desert and the Kohistan also resorted to forming 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 barani¹ (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.²

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 Sind. 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 and the maintenance of public canals was the responsibility of the local people and landholders.³ In Thatta region, Darya Khan built a canal known as Khanwah.⁴ The lower surface of the lands allowed the water to flow from the canals or a distributory. It was

1. Yusuf Mirak, pp. 203-06.

2. Ibid., p. 207.

3. Mahru, pp. 204-5.

4. Masumi, p.113; Tahiri, fol. 48.

called noki (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.¹ 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 practised 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 grown² 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.³ This was further developed during the Sultanate period.

1. Idrisi, p.44, S.P. Chablani, The Economic Conditions in Sind, Calcutta, 1951, p.26.

2. Yusūf Mirak, pp. 205; see also Chabalnai, p. 26.

3. Balāzuri, p. 431.

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 travellers visiting the region during that time the main crops of Sind were rice, wheat, indigo, sugarcane etc.¹

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 muredi (perennial). But the production of the cotton in the adjoining regions was not enough to meet the demands of the local 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.²

1. Ibn Faqih, p.16.

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

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 Mansura¹ was known for apple, grapes, walnut, mango, lemon and dates. Multan and Qannauj were famous for its gardens. The main fruits were dates, bananas and coconut. The Arab travellers also record that these cities were surrounded by gardens.² Abundance of the gardens had made the climate healthy. Firoz Shah is known to have taken keen interest in the development of³ horticulture in Sind and laid several gardens in the region. The Sammah rulers of Sind 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 camels⁴ were used on the water wheels of these gardens. Due to these all round interest in the development of the region, it came to be known for the excellent quality of its fruits, specially⁵ melons, water melons, apples, grapes and guava etc.

-
1. Istakhri, 103, Hauqal, p.320, Idrisi, p.30.
 2. Maqadasi, p.480; See also Idrisi, pp. 29-30.
 3. 'Afif, p.295.
 4. Masumi, p. 110.
 5. Hauqal, p. 324.

CATTLE BREEDING:

In Sind 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.¹ 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-Fālij." 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.² Apart from the camel breeding, Arabs also took deep interest in horse-breeding. Banu Muhallab exported the buffaloes from Sind to Basra. After the death of Yazid b. 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 Sind, which led many Jats to migrate to Basra and then to Syria. They took their buffaloes with them and introduced these beasts in Syria.³ However, the Arabs also liked to have some of the Sindi birds like Peacock,⁴ hen, parrot⁵ etc. as pets.

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

2. Istakhri, p.105, Zakariya Qazwini, Asarul-Bilad wa Akhbarul Ibad, Beirut, 1960, p.127; See also Hauqal, II, p.323; See also Idrisi, p.46.

3. Masudi, Kitab-al Tanbih wal Ishraf, VIII E.J.Brill 1967, p.355.

4. Masudi, II, p.338.

5. Ibn Faqih, p.16.

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 Sind. According to Ibn Hauqal, chief diet of the Jats of Mansura living the bank of the river was fish and aquatic birds.¹ 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.² 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 Sind and in the hills of Siwistan.

1. Hauqal, II, p.328; See also Istakhri, p.107.

2. Abul Fazl, I, p.165.

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 Sind 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 Sind 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 Sind became a part of the Islamic Commonwealth.¹ Keen interest exhibited by 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 Sind and its tradition goes as back as to the pre-historic times.² Various cities and towns of the valley were known for this industry like Nasrpur and Thatta. These were big centres

1. Abu Zafar Nadavi, p. 368.

2. Haqqal, II, p. 325.

with a considerable population of weavers. For example Siwistan had 1,000 families of weavers while Thatta had 2000 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.¹ 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.² 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 Sind. 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.³ Its manufacturing process was similar to that

-
1. W. Foster, The English Factories in India, V, Oxford 1911 (1634-36), p. 129.
 2. Sind Gazetteer; Vol. A, p.179.
 3. Yusuf Mirak, pp. 172, 212.

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 Sind many people in Sind 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 jars for containing liquids and butter oil.¹ The leather shields from Sind were famous for their superior craftsmanship. Leather bags of large size were manufactured in Sind which were used for the storage of costus (Medicine).² Shoes were also exported.³

SWORDS:

The sword of Bhelman in Sind 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.⁴

BOAT AND SHIP-BUILDING:

The boats were the main source of transport in Sind. Since the transport charges were cheap, therefore the bulk of

1. Maqadasi, p.481.

2. Ājaib-ul-Hind, pp. 103-104.

3. Hudūd-ul-Ālam, p.65.

4. Hauqal, II, p.328.

goods were transported by boats.¹ 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 Sind and transported their goods with the help of the boats.² Arabs took keen interest in the development of this industry.³

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 Sind became backyard of the vast Muslim empire. Both the nature and volume of the trade was favourably 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

1. Ibn Batūṭa, p.401.

2. Chach-Namah, pp. 84-85, 115,151.

3. Balāzuri, p. 429.

important place on the trade map of the world during those days. When Islam came and Arabs spread over many countries and established their commonwealth their trade interests also increased and similarly increased the 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 Muslims 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.¹ Sultan Balban reconstructed many frontier forts to check the Mongol attacks

1. Barani, I, pp. 63-65.

and suppress the recalcitrant elements such as the Khokhars of the Jud hills.¹

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.² The Muqaddams and Khots were charged with the responsibility to guard the highways and protect the merchants.³ 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.⁴

During the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq special measures were taken to provide better facilities of trade and security of routes. Ibn Batūṭa had reported the exceptional treatment of travellers 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.⁵ The travellers were also provided with the food. Walis, Muqtis and other officers were instructed to behave properly with the

1. Barani, I, pp. 59,61.

2. Ibid., p. 340.

3. Ibid., p. 324.

4. Khazāin-ul-Futūh, p.18; Eng. tr. p.11.

5. Ibn Batūṭa, p. 402.

1
 merchants. At the distance of four manzils inns were construc-
 2
 ted. Mir Masum records an anecdote of fourteen century that
 a caravan of Gujarat was plundered while passing through the
 territory of Sind. After seven years of the incident, Jam
 Khairuddin, the then ruler of Sind, came to know of it. He
 ordered the recovery of the articles and other provisions to
 the successors of the ill-fated caravan and ordered to execute
 3
 the culprits. 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 treat-
 ment, generated much goodwill in this class for the Sultan so
 much so that they at times even volunteered crucial information
 4
 to the Sultan as happened at the time of Mongol attacks.

INTERNAL TRADE:

The main centres of the internal trade were, of course,
 the towns where goods were brought from various places specially the
 5
 neighbouring areas. Debal was a populous town but the immediate regio

-
1. Mahru, L.N. 120, pp. 212-2.
 2. Shahabuddin al-Umari, Masalik al-Absar-fi-Mamalik-ul-Amsar,
 ed. Ahmad Zeki Pasha, Cairo, 1924, p.58.
 3. Masumi, p.65.
 4. Barani, p.89.
 5. Haugal, II, p.324; Istakhri, p.107; See also Idrisi, p.28.

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 harbour 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,¹ Mansura² and Alor were also important centres 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.³ 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 carvans. For example, Tarikh-i-Guzidah has recorded instances of carvans going from Ghaznin to India being plundered by the Baluch robbers. It has also described the destruction of these robbers by Mahmud of Ghaznin.⁴ While Idrisi records the punishment meted out to the theives by the rulers of India and China.⁵

After the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate, the Sultans took special care to guard the highways, paths, roads

1. Ibid., p.226; Maqadasi, p.480.

2. Maqadasi, p.477.

3. Ibn Khurdazbih, p.56.

4. Tarikh-i-Guzidah, pp. 399-400.

5. Idrisi, p.20.

and bridges. The Sultans instructed their governors to construct inns and encourage the traders. This impression is supported by the evidence contained in Tārikh Fakhruddin Mubārak Shāh¹. During the reign of Sultan Qutub-uddin Aibak, the high-ways were safe from the dangers of the robbers and thieves.² Sultan Iltutmish and his descendants also provided the same protection to the traders.³ Shahnas and Gumāshtas were appointed to look after the routes, so that the merchants could move freely to different places.⁴ All these measures were bound to give boost to the internal trade.

EXTERNAL TRADE ROUTES:

The region of Sind 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. Balāzuri describes the route of Sind followed by Muḥammad bin Qasim from Shiraz via Makran to Qannazbaore Armail, Qandabil and Debal.⁵ According to Ibn Khurdazbih the Jews and Russians came to Sind with the

-
1. Tarikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubārak Shāh, p.17.
 2. Taj-ul-Maāsir, fol. 265a.
 3. Ibid., fols. 274b, 322b.
 4. Ziauddin Barani, Fatawa-i-Jahandari, MS. I.O.No.1149, fols 65-66.
 5. Balāzuri, p.424.

caravans via Iran and Kirman. This evidence strengthens the impression that caravans were constantly coming from China, Russia, Europe and other places of Africa.¹

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.²

Sind was connected mainly from Qays island, Hurmuz, Tiz and the onward to Debal, Mansurah and other parts of Sind.³ Ibn Faqih mentions the route of Sind from Faras to Siraf and then to Sind.⁴ Idrisi reports that the ships came from Umman and the vessels of China and India came to Debal.⁵ 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

1. Ibn Khurdazbih, pp. 153-55.

2. Abu Zaid, Silsilat-ut-Tawarikh, ed. Reinaud, Paris, 1845, p.90.

3. Ibn Khurdazbih, p.61.

4. Ibn Faqih, p. 9.

5. Idrisi, pp. 28-29.

Indian Ocean as far as the mouth of Tigris and the Southern parts of the Red Sea and the coast of Cylon.¹ 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 quantities. When attacked by the pirates they threw Greek fire and melted charcoal on the attackers to ward them off.²

In order to protect the sailors some lighting arrangements were also made. According to Masūdi, 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.³ Similarly, Idrisi records the 'pile work' on which there were cabins occupied by coast guards.⁴

-
1. See for details Ibn Khurdazbih, p.60; Istakhri, pp. 30,140-41, Masūdi, I, pp. 240-41; III, pp. 36-37; Maqadasi, p.12; Balāzuri, p.435; Al-Beruni, p.102 and Ibn Baṭūṭa, p.608.
 2. 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.
 3. Masūdi, I, p.240.
 4. Idrisi, p.21.

EXPORT AND IMPORT:

From this account it is clear that various parts of Sind 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 Sind 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 meagre 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, slaves, arms, and weapons, silk, dry fruits, clothes and gold etc. Sugar was imported from Makran and dates from Basrah. These various items were in much demand not only Sind but other parts of the country as well.

-
1. Barani, p.53; Ibn Batuta, p.396.
 2. Minhaj, pp. 416,440, II, p.48.
 3. Ibn Batuta, pp. 391,410.
 4. Minhaj, II, p.184.
 5. Idrisi, p.19, Ibn Batuta, p.404.
 6. Rashiduddin Fazlullah, Makatib-i-Rashidi, ed. M.Shafi Lahore 1945, p.190, L.No.34; Masalik ul-Absar, p.52.
 7. Masalik-ul-Absar, p.180; Nuzhat-ul-Oulub, p.230.
 8. Istakhri, p.107; Hauqal, p.325; See also Idrisi, p.40.
 9. Abul Fida, p.349.

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 civet-¹ cat were exported from Sind. He further reports that the region of Sind was rich in fauna and flora and it may be expected that some of these were exported to other countries. According to Masudi hair-dye was exported to the Arabian world which² was used to give a natural shine to the hair. Some other items of export included rhinoceros, peacock, parrot, poultry and³ various perfumes and herbs. Shoes and⁴ ivory were produced in Khambayat and exported from Mansura.

CUSTOM DUTY:

No direct information is available about the custom duty on the imported and exported goods in the period under discussion. Maqadasi 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,

-
1. Ibn Faqih, pp. 11,16.
 2. Masudi, II, p.203.
 3. Yaqubi, p.16.
 4. Maqadasi, p.481.

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 Sindi 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.¹

According to Ibn Baṭūṭa the custom duty in Sind 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 Zakāt and the non-Muslims to that of Ushūr.²

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION:

Different means were used for the transportation of goods from one place to the other. The province of Sind 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

1. Maqadasi, pp. 485-86.

2. Ibn Baṭūṭa, p. 403.

to sea coast or the harbour 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.¹ Ibn Baṭūṭa also informs us about the use of ox and ass for the transportation of goods.² The cart was also used for this purpose mainly by the Multanis for bringing wood.³ Buzurg b. Shahriyar reported in his book 'Ajāib-ul-Hind about the use of boat for carrying goods from Hind to Sind.⁴ Boats were used for the transportation of the armies and the provisions of war as well.⁵

However, camels were one of the most important means of transportation. During the war time camels were used for the supply of water.⁶ Other beasts of the burden were used ~~for carrying~~ grain, salt, misri, sugar and other provisions from one place to the other.⁷

-
1. 'Ajāib-ul-Hind, p.103. Buzurg b. Shahriyar records that the traders also boarded the bag.
 2. Ibn Baṭūṭa, p. 527.
 3. Māhru, L.30, p.72.
 4. 'Ajāib-ul-Hind, p. 104.
 5. Barani, p.523; Afif, pp. 199, 231, 234.
 6. Miftahul Futuh, p.26; 'Isāmi, p.147.
 7. 'Afif, p. 376.

MAIN CENTRES OF TRADE:

The main centres of trade and commerce in Sind 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 centres 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 Sind. It was a big market of various kinds of goods and flourished due to its roaring trade.¹ The next in importance as a centre of trade was Mansura having a flourishing trade with a crowded market full of cheap goods.² 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 diety. The Sun temple was situated at the centre of the market place and enormous of offerings were made to it.³ The large market had separate places for different commodities and merchandise. The bazars of

1. Haugal, p.324, Istakhri, p. 107.

2. Idrisi, pp. 30-31.

3. Idrisi, p.44, see also Hudud-al-'Alam, p.89; Al-Beruni, I, p.116; Barani (p.348) records that the Khanqah of Rukn-1-'Alam was equally established and people used to visit from long distance.

ivory and copper goods were full of customers and the prices of these commodities were low.¹ Trade was in a flourishing condition and fairly lucrative.²

During the sultanate period, Multan maintained its position as a premier centre of trade and commerce specially in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughluq.³ 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 Qāzi Hamiduddin was a trader as well as the chief Qāzi, appointed by 'Alāuddīn Khalji.⁴ Barani called him Multani Bachcha.⁵ However, it would appear from the account of Barani that most of the Multanis were Hindus who were engaged in the practice of usury.⁶

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.⁷ The price of wheat was 8 kizi (Multani measurement of weight) for one to four dirham.⁸ From these samples

-
1. Maqadasi, p.481.
 2. Hauqal, II, p.325.
 3. Māhru, p.39.
 4. Barani, pp. 298,353; Hamid Qalandar, Khair-ul-Majalis ed. K.A.Nizami, Aligarh (n.d.) p.241.
 5. Barani, pp. 298, 353.
 6. Ibid., pp. 120, 164.
 7. Maqadasi, pp. 480-81.
 8. Ibid., pp. 47, 482.

some idea can be had about the prices in Pre-Sultanate period.

During the Sultanate period the prices in Sind 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.¹ 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,² the price of Jawari fell to the level of 8 jital, 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.³ In another letter Mahru reports that the wages of the artisans in Multan and Uchh had increased $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 15 times more than the rates of the tailors and weavers

1. Mahru, p.48.

2. Mahru, p. 74.

3. Mahru, p.48; Khairul Majalis, p.240.

during the reign of 'Alauddin Khalji.

CURRENCY:

Due to trade relations with the outside world different kinds of currencies were in circulation in Sind which were used only as the medium of exchange. Tatariya dirham was used during the Arab rule. This tatariya dirham of the ruler of Samantra had become the standard currency in a number of countries. The tatariya was equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ 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. During the Arab rule the coins were issued locally. During the Sultanate period silver tankas and the jital came into use in Sind as also the other parts of the sub-continent. Dinar was the golden coin and it was equal to three dinar of India.

-
1. '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.
 2. Istakhri, p.103.
 3. Haugal, II, p.321.
 4. Mahru, p.48.
 5. Sulaiman Tajir, Silsilat-ut-Tawarikh, Paris, 1811, pp. 146-47.