

A History of Sindh

Suhail Zaheer Lari



Reproduced by

Sani H. Panhwar

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*Dedicated to my father
Justice Zahirul Hasnain Lari
and to my mother
Begum Qabila Khatun*

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Preface

My interest in the history of Sindh dates back to the late 1970s when my wife Yasmeen Lari began documenting old buildings and towns of Sindh and I photographed them. It required some knowledge of the history of Sindh to prepare an inventory of the thousands of photographs that I took. I found that though there are a number of books on the history of Sindh, there is no one complete volume on the subject. This volume is an attempt to fill this gap. It may also contribute to a more intelligent and meaningful discussion of the present situation in Sindh.

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Suhail Zaheer Lari

13 November 1993

Introduction

Before the Arab conquest of Sindh, the traditional history, the *itihasa*, began with the mythical King Manu, the Aryan man, who survived the great flood that destroyed all life on earth and became the progenitor of a new race. The *Puranas* tell us that the god Vishnu, who is the preserver of life on earth, forewarned King Manu of this flood and directed him to gather together his family, the seven sages, the essence and seeds of all living creatures, and build a boat for them. When the floods came, Vishnu took the form of a horned fish and the serpent god appeared as a rope. Vishnu tied the boat to his horn with the rope and towed it to the safety of the highest mountain peak. The boat and its passengers remained there till the floods receded. The descendants of the eldest of the nine sons of Manu established the solar and lunar royal dynasties that ruled Aryavarta – the land of the Aryans between Delhi and Patna, the capital of the Indian province of Bihar. These royal cousins fought a great war, the *Mahabharata*, on the field of Kurukshetra, north of Delhi in 3102 BC, which marks the beginning of Kali Yuga, the Hindu Age of Misfortune. The story of this war is told in the longest single poem in the world, called *Mahabharata*, that was composed between 400 BC and AD 400.

According to the *Mahabharata*, Jayadratha, the Prince of Sindh, fought in the great war side by side with the Aryan aristocracy that considered the Indus valley to be the land of the impure, the *melechchas*. Jayadratha explains in the *Mahabharata* that he belonged by birth to the seventeen high clans and was married to the only daughter of the blind Prince Dhritarashtra, the father of one hundred sons called the Kauravas, of Hastanapur (Meerut). The attempt by the Kauravas to expel their cousins, the five brothers called the Pandavas, from Indraprastha (Delhi), resulted in the great war. Jayadratha abducted Draupadi, the Panchala princess and common wife of the brothers Pandavas, from their forest home when her husbands were out hunting. The Pandavas hearing the cries of Draupadi, pursued Jayadratha, defeated his army, recovered their wife and captured Jayadratha, but spared his life. Jayadratha remained unrepentant and led a large army from Sindh in support of his brothers-in-law in the great war against the Pandavas. During the war, Jayadratha killed Abhimanyu, the young son of the Pandava brother Arjuna from his personal wife Subhadra, in an 'unfair fight' (*Mahabharata*, Drona Parva, Chapter III, verse 6). When Arjuna returned to his camp that night and heard the news of the death of his son, he vowed to kill Jayadratha before the sun set on the new day. Jayadratha was terrified and wanted to run away but was comforted by the Kauravas who hid him in the rear of their army. But Arjuna found and killed Jayadratha with the help of his brother-in-law, the god Krishna, who threw a veil over the sun to fill the Kauravas into the belief that with the setting of the sun, the danger of Arjuna fulfilling his vow of killing Jayadratha, had passed.

The Muslims rejected this version of ancient Hindu history as mythology, because they believed in the story of the great flood described in the Holy Quran:

*Because of their sins
They were drowned
(In the flood),
And were made to enter
The Fire (of Punishment):
And they found-
In lieu of God-
None to help them.*

*And Noah said:
my Lord! Leave not
Of the unbelievers,
A single one on earth!*

*'For, if Thou dost leave
(Any of) them, they will
But mislead Thy devotees,
And they will breed none
But wicked ungrateful ones.
(71.25-27)
(Ali, 1934, 1617)*

*So We inspired him
(With this message): 'Construct
The Ark within Our sight
And under Our guidance: then
When comes Our command,
And the fountains of the earth
Gush forth, take thou on board
Pairs of every species, male
And female, and thy family-
Except those of them
Against whom the Word
Has already gone forth:
And address Me not
In favour of the wrong-doers;
For they shall be drowned
(in the Flood).'*
(23.27)
(Ali, 1934, 879)

The Muslims, like the Jews and Christians before them, believed that the Prophet Noah (Null) and his family were the only survivors of the great flood that God sent to destroy the world, and that the people of South Asia are descendants of Ham, the youngest of the three surviving sons of the Prophet Noah. The first two sons of Ham were Hind and Sindh. The Muslims when they came to India also rejected the Hindu view that the world had been in existence for four million years. Instead, they asserted that it came into existence with Adam seven thousand years ago (Farishta, 1623; 60).

These views of history were challenged in the eighteenth century by Western scholars of Sanskrit. Governor-General Warren Hastings (1774-85) who knew Persian, Urdu and Bengali, encouraged Sir William Jones, a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, to study Sanskrit and establish the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 'for inquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature, of Asia'. Sir William Jones was familiar with all the major European and Asian languages including Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. His study of Sanskrit led him to conclude that Sanskrit was related to the European languages. After this important breakthrough, it was not long before Western scholars were able to suggest, on the basis of evidence provided by philology and archaeology, that Sanskrit and the European languages had their origin in the language of a people who spoke Indo-European languages and lived in the great Eurasian steppeland and migrated to Iran, India and Europe c. 1500 BC.

In 1901, the traditional view of history was further challenged when the viceroy Lord Curzon ordered that the Archaeological Survey of India be reorganized and expanded, and a young archaeologist, John Marshall, was appointed Director-General. The systematic excavations under the direction of Marshall in the 1920s, at Harappa in Punjab and Mohenjodaro in Sindh, revealed the existence of a pre-Aryan civilization dating back to c. 3000 BC. Recent excavations by a French team at Mehrgarh in Balochistan has extended the history of neolithic settlements to c. 8000 BC.

The people of Sindh noticed the mounds of the past settlements around them, but had no real knowledge of the pre-Muslim people or their culture till the archaeologists did their pioneering work of excavation. This was because the people of the Aryan civilization who replaced the people of the Indus civilization, were not literate. This has left many gaps in the history of Sindh as our knowledge of Sindh is dependent on what others have written in their language during their period of contact with this region. Although Makli is the largest necropolis in the world and has some of the most beautiful calligraphy in stone and on tiles spanning over three centuries, it contains no inscription in the Sindhi language. The languages used for writing in Sindh were Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian, because Sindh was dominated at various times by people who spoke these languages or had adopted them as the language of the state.

Whereas the Brahmi script is believed to have been introduced in South Asia around the eighth century BC through maritime trading contacts with middle eastern seafarers, the Kharoshti script is believed to have developed in the area which is now Pakistan, in around the fifth century BC, under the Persians who used the Aramaic script as the official language of their empire. However, neither of the two scripts were found adequate for writing Sanskrit till a new script called Devanagari (Script of the City of Gods), was perfected during the Gupta period around the fourth century AD. Devanagari became the exclusive script for writing Sanskrit and all previous scripts were forgotten, and with it the history of previous periods was also lost till modern times. Thus, when the Asoka rock and pillar inscriptions were discovered, no Indian scholar was found capable of reading it. Therefore, James Prinsep, the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, undertook the task of deciphering it.

Western, and later Western trained scholars and archaeologists, built up a knowledge of pre-Muslim history from old inscriptions in forgotten languages. They also collected in institutions, like the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the writings of people who had visited or ruled over Sindh, and translated them into English. This was necessary as the oral traditions and living history had been lost with earlier families, clans and dynasties who had repeatedly been replaced in Sindh by new peoples.

Harappan Civilization

The Harappan civilization (as this newly discovered civilization is called by archaeologists, because it was first discovered at Harappa in Punjab) roughly covered the area of Pakistan and extended in the south and east to the Gujarat, Rajasthan and Haryana provinces of India and in the west to Afghanistan. So far archaeologists have located over one thousand Harappan sites extending over one million sq. km. This renders the Harappan civilization more extensive than any other known civilization of the Bronze Age.

Another name given to the Harappan civilization is the Indus Valley civilization. But out of over 1,000 sites that have been discovered so far, very few are located in close vicinity of the Indus river system. It may be that a number of them lie buried under the silt deposited by annual inundations. According to the German expert Michael Jansen, however, the most probable reason is to be found in the nature of the Indus river which exhibits extreme annual fluctuation (the volume of water in the Indus in summer can be sixteen times greater than in winter). This lack of a constant water table did not favor systematic irrigation and cultivation. Further, the course of the Indus was more erratic than the courses of the world's other major rivers. It spanned approximately 150 km which transformed the lower part into an immense swamp during the rainy seasons, till the British undertook their great drainage and irrigation schemes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and tamed the Indus river system.

The areas suitable for irrigation, cultivation and settlement of farming communities were the smaller river systems. Therefore the settlements of the Harappan civilization were located away from the Indus river system. They were towards Balochistan on the west, and India in the east, till the Harappan people made the revolutionary decision in c. 2500 BC to build Harappa and Moenjodaro according to a preconceived plan, as central urban places, to exploit the river Indus for communication and trade. Administratively, this linked the settlements of the Harappan civilization on either side of the Indus through a network of water transport which was the most feasible means of transport in an area that turned into an inland sea during rains and floods. It also allowed the Harappan civilization to expand along the sea coast towards the Persian Gulf on one side, and the Deccan on the other.

While most cities in history have tended to evolve from small agricultural settlements, this was not the case with Moenjodaro which was neither founded by, nor intended for farmers. The ground-plans of the houses were not designed to meet the requirements of a farm community, nor was the city planned for accessing wheeled traffic. The citadel

area in Moenjodaro was constructed on a gigantic seven metre high man-made mud-brick platform measuring 400x200 metres. Using this platform as a foundation, further platforms were built on top in order to elevate structures of special significance such as the Great Bath. The highest raised buildings stood about twenty metres above the surrounding plains. While there are many examples in history of artificially raising a particular structure to emphasize its importance, like the ziggurats in Mesopotamia, the raising of a whole sector of a city covering more than 80,000 square metres is unique to the Harappan culture during its mature phase.

The main element of Harappan architecture is the burnt brick which was used in the foundations of buildings as a substitute for stone. It was also used in the construction of water-related structures such as wells, bathing facilities and drains. The cylindrical brick-lined wells were probably invented at the time of the construction of Moenjodaro because they have not been found in either early or pre-Harappan settlements. Jansen estimates that there were 700 wells within the city of Moenjodaro and that it had a sophisticated drainage system which has not been rivalled till modern times.

The most remarkable feature of Moenjodaro is the absence of a wide range of industries of importance to the life of its inhabitants. German and Italian studies have shown that the crafts that were practiced in Moenjodaro related to luxury goods and administrative implements. This makes us conclude that Moenjodaro controlled a system of external settlements engaged in the production of primary commodities with which they kept Moenjodaro in constant supply. There was a desperate need for Moenjodaro to trade as it had few natural resources apart from clay and water. This led to the emergence of Harappan settlements along the Balochistan coast in the west and the Indian coast in the south.

It was earlier thought that Harappa and Moenjodaro were built as twin capitals of the Harappan empire, but recently two other sites as important as these two have been discovered at Kalibangan and Lothal in India. Further, the majority of the known sites of the Harappan civilization have been found to the east of the Indus along the Indo-Pakistan border which has led archaeologists to speculate that the administrative core of the civilization was somewhere in the Bahawalpur desert, and that the Harappan civilization came to an end due to the drying up of the Saraswati river which once ran along the Indo-Pakistan border.

However, the earlier theory was that the thirty-eight skeletons recovered from different parts of Moenjodaro tell a pathetic story of sudden and violent death which shows that the city was abandoned suddenly leaving no one to take care of the injured and dead. And that the skeletons provide evidence that five out of six types of people who now inhabit the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent were already present in Moenjodaro; namely, the Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid, Mediterranean and Western Brachycephalous. This is also supported by the evidence of sculpture found at these

sites. The famous dancing girl' has the physical features of the Proto-Australoid people, whereas the Priest King has the physical features of the Mediterranean people.

The Harappans were a literate people. About 3,500 specimen of the script of the Harappan people have been found inscribed on seals, amulets and other objects, but the inscriptions are very short comprising on an average of no more than five signs. Therefore the language of the Harappan people has remained unread and there does not appear to be any possibility of deciphering it unless further excavations unearth longer inscriptions, or a bilingual text is discovered like the Rosetta stone in Egypt. Till then we have only the evidence of archaeology which tells us that Harappan cities were abandoned in c. 1500 BC.

The Pre-Muslim Period

We have become-so used to a settled life that we do not realize that man has spent most of his time on earth as a migrant, driven by nature and by fellow men. A study of deoxyribonucleic acid (or DNA, the genetic blueprint of people) has shown that all people alive today are descended from a woman who lived in Africa 140,000 years ago. Her descendants started migrating north out of Africa 75,000 years ago and spread all over the world. The Ice Age that depleted the oceans provided man the opportunity to reach the far continents of Australia and the Americas by land. His early life as a hunter kept man on the move, in daily search of food, with no permanent home. As a pastoral nomad of the Eurasian steppes, he spent his life on horseback, following his sheep and cattle from one grazing ground to the next. Tribes or groups of tribes of these nomads had been infiltrating into Sindh with their women and children, flocks and herds, destroying and displacing everything before them. The history of Sindh, as revealed by the new western sciences of archaeology, philology and numismatics, is one of invasion, occupation and populating of Sindh by people originating from outside Sindh and the destruction and displacement of earlier civilizations and peoples.

Whereas the Himalayas formed an effective barrier against large-scale migration from the north, the mountain ranges ended to the north of Kandahar in southern Afghanistan, allowing large-scale migration through Sistan and Khurasan into the Indus Valley. It placed Sindh on the most convenient route of mass infiltration into South Asia.

The first great wave of nomads to overrun Sindh were the Aryans in c. 1500 BC, They introduced iron, and used camels and horses for transport. Their use of horse drawn war chariots made them a superior military force allowing them to move quickly to subdue all of present day Pakistan. The Indus script as well as the manufacture and use of seals and female figurines disappeared. The rigid system of weights and measures introduced by the Harappans did not remain in use. The uniformity of the Harappan period was replaced with distinct regional development. Pottery and metal artefacts began to reflect close ties with people living in Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia.

Sindh was also repeatedly occupied by the empire-builders from the north and west who wanted to gain access to trade routes that linked the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, as well as by those who were running away from the persecution of empire-builders and looking for a place of refuge. The first such people to enter Sindh were the Medes (Mada, Mahat), an Indo-European people who had settled in Medea,

south-west of the as Sea in c. 1000 BC. They were the first of the peoples subject to Assyrian imperialism, who had succeeded in securing their independence by defeating the Assyrians and destroying their capital Nineveh in 612 BC. The Medes had established an empire that in the seventh-sixth century BC included modern Iran and extended up to the Indus river in the east and modern Turkey and Syria in the west. The Medes were defeated and their capital Ecbatana (Hamadan in modern Iran) was captured in 550 BC by Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty of Pars (Greek Persis and modern Fars). The inscription on the tomb of the Achaemenian King, Darius I declares, 'I am Darius, the Great King, King of Kings (*Shahan Shah*), King of land peopled by all races, for long king of this great earth, the son of Vishtasp (Hystaspes), the Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent' The inscription also declares Hindu to be a satrapy (province) of the Achaemenian empire. The Persians replaced the letter 'S' of the Sanskrit word 'Sindhu' for river with 'H' and the Greeks with 'I'; therefore, Sindhu became Hindu to the Persians and India to the Europeans.

The ancient Greek historian Strabo considered the river Indus to be the boundary of India proper and Arrian stated that the river Indus established the eastern boundary of both the Assyrian and Median empires. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, in 519 BC, Darius I, who was the discoverer of the greater part of Asia, 'Wishing to know where the Indus (which is the only river save one that produces crocodiles) emptied itself into the sea,...sent a number of men, on whose truthfulness he could rely, and among them Scylax of Caryanda, 'to organize a fleet on the Kabul river and sail down the river Indus. The fleet arrived at the Sindh coast thirteen months later and took another seventeen months to reach Egypt. After this voyage was completed, Darius annexed Sindh '...and made use of [the] sea in those parts' (Herodotus, Book IV; Chapter 44).

The Achaemenian used Aramaic as the official script all over their empire. This gave birth to the oldest known Pakistani script, which the Persians referred to as Khar-Washti, i.e., sound of the lips of the donkey or simply Kharoshti, i.e., noise.

The Macedonian King, Alexander the Great, defeated the last Achaemenian King of Kings, Darius III, at the battle of Gaugamela on 1 October, 331 BC, and marched with his army through the provinces of the Persian empire to ensure their submission, and annexed them to his empire. Alexander partially repeated the feat of Scylax by sailing from the Jhelum in October 326 BC for the river Indus with an armada of about 2000 boats. 'Alexander fancied at this time that he had discovered the source of the Nile, his reasons being that he had, on a previous occasion, seen crocodiles in the Indus, and in no other river except the Nile, and had also observed a kind of bean like the Egyptian bean growing on the bank of Acesines, which, he was told, flowed into the Indus. His notion was that the Nile (under the name of Indus) rose somewhere in that part of India and then flowed through a vast desert tract, where it lost its original name and received

that of Nile from the Ethiopians and Egyptians at the point where it began to flow through inhabited country again, ultimately debouching into the Mediterranean.' (Arrian. Book Six; 301).

Sindh at that time was divided into several nation states. Even before Alexander had reached Sindh, Sambus of Sindimana (probably Sehwan) had sent envoys to seek the support of Alexander against Musicanus who ruled over northern Sindh, Alexander's invasion of Sindh by land and river was conducted with such speed that Musicanus had no option but to submit to Alexander who visited his capital, probably Alor, and ordered it to be fortified and garrisoned to provide a control centre for the region (Arrian, Book Six; 15.7). On learning that Musicanus had been received with favor and confirmed in his principedom by Alexander, Sambus fled and his capital Sehwan surrendered to Alexander. Believing resistance in Sindh to have come to an end, Alexander detached a large column of his veterans under the command of Craterus and a substantial number of other troops, and the entire elephant corps, and sent them directly west over the Mulla pass to Persia. The people of Sindh who had earlier submitted without resistance, found in this an opportunity to overthrow the Greek yoke. Alexander acted swiftly and mercilessly; the towns that rebelled were razed to the ground and 80,000 inhabitants were massacred. His general, Peitho, captured Musicanus and crucified him and his advisers in his capital, as an example to others.

The terror of this action was such that when Alexander reached the city of Patala at the head of the Indus delta in the middle of July 325 BC, he found that it had been abandoned *en masse* by its people and its ruler. Alexander built docks, fortified the harbor at Patala, explored both the principal arms of the Indus and entered the ocean to offer sacrifice to the sea gods. Alexander came to the conclusion that his fleet should leave by the eastern branch which entered a large saline lake before flowing into the ocean. However, as soon as Alexander had left with his land force, the Patalenes returned and attacked the fortifications built by the Greeks. Admiral Nearchus, therefore, decided to take the fleet through the shorter western route in early October 325 BC, instead of getting embroiled in a land war which could delay his departure and disrupt the planned meetings with Alexander along the coast. Despite the hurry, the planned meeting could not take place, and Alexander's army, like that of the Assyrian Queen Semiramis before him, suffered greatly from thirst and hunger along the coast of Balochistan. The remains of Alexander's army arrived in Karmania in February 324 BC. Alexander died the following year in June 323 BC at Babylon near modern Baghdad.

Alexander had handed over the territories that he conquered in Punjab to Porus, and appointed Peitho, son of Agenor, governor over all the land south from the function of the Indus and Acesines (Chenab) to the sea and the whole coastal region of India. When Peitho was appointed governor of Gandhara in 321 BC, Pores extended his rule over Sindh down to the sea.

Kautiliya Chanakya, the author of *Arthshastra*, the famous book on statecraft, and minister of Chandragupta, Maurya—had Porus murdered. Chandragupta, whose capital was at Patliputra (Patna), extended his kingdom to include all the territories governed by Porus. Seleucus Nikator, the successor of Alexander in the east, formally ceded the territory up to Kabul including Sindh to Chandragupta in 303 BC. Chandragupta's grandson, the great Maurya King, Anoka, converted Sindh to Buddhism. The Maurya empire ended when Sunga, the commander-in-chief of the Mauryan army, killed the last Malayan king and usurped the throne in c. 185 BC.

Demetrius, the Greek (Indian Yavana or Vona) King of Bactria (Balkh in northern Afghanistan), who could claim to be the heir of both Seleucus and Maurya through marriage, re-established Greek rule in Sindh in c. 175 BC. His son, Agathocles, extended his empire to Kashmir in the north, Jamuna in the east and Gujarat in the south. Thus the second Greek invasion passed beyond the bounds of Alexander's Indian realm in two directions beyond the river Beas eastwards, and beyond the Indus delta southwards. The Greek language introduced by Alexander continued to be used as the language of state from Egypt to Pakistan. Agathocles was succeeded in 160 BC by his son-in-law, Menander (Milinda), the famous philosopher king of the Pali work *Milindapanha* (Question of Milinda). The Pali work describes him, 'As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome, the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. As in wisdom, so in strength of body, swiftness and valour there was none to equal Milinda in India.' Menander appointed his son, Appollodotus, governor of Papkala (Sindh).

Meanwhile, events were taking place in distant China that were to affect the course of world history for a long time to come. In 221 BC, the Chinese Emperor, Shi Huang Ti, pushed the frontier of the Chinese empire further to the north and re-built the famous Great Wall of China that 'deprived the nomad tribes of their best pasturage (Eberhard, 1964; 67). The tribes to the north of China therefore had to fight for scarce resources and a great union of the tribes came into existence in the realm of the Hsiung-nu (Huns) that defeated the federation of tribes called the Yueh-chi. The confederation of the Yueh-chi tribes escaped west and occupied the area around the Aral Sea in modern Kazakhstan, which was at that time inhabited by the Scythian (Sanskrit Saka, Iranian Sakai) tribes. The Scythians in turn fled south into Iran, defeating and killing the Parthian (Pahlava) king, Parthian power was revived by Mithradates (Meherdad) II the Great (124-88 BC), who defeated the Scythians and pushed them out of Sakasthana (Sistan) in eastern Iran. The Scythians poured into the adjoining territories of Balochistan and Sindh through the Bolan and Mulla passes. Three Bactrian princes, the sons of Appollodotus, died attempting to stop them in Balochistan. Later the Scythians also defeated and killed the Bactrian king, Strato II, extending their empire to Punjab in the north, and Kutch and Kathiawar in the south, Sindh under the Scythians was called Indo-Scythia by the Greek geographers, and Indians called it Sakadvip—the island country of the Sakas. The

Scythians, like the Bactrians before them, used both the Greek and the Kharoshti scripts on their coins.

An alliance of Yueh-chi tribes that had pushed the Scythians out of Central Asia, overran the Bactrians in the north and occupied Kabul and Kashmir. Kadphises II of the Yueh-chi, conquered Punjab and Sindh. Their third king, the famous Kanishka, established the great Kushan empire in c. AD 120 that comprised Central Asia, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Punjab and Sindh, with its capital at Purushapura (Peshawar). During the later Kushan period both the Kharoshti and the Brahmi scripts were used on coins found in Sindh. The coins also suggest that before coming under the sway of the Kushans, the Scythians had accepted the suzerainty of the Parthian king, Gondophares. The Parthians (Pahlava) have given us the word Pahlavan (mighty warrior, now wrestler).

Aradshir I (Artaxerzes), descendant of Sasan and lord of a small state in Pars, defeated and slew the last Parthian king Artabanus V in c. AD 224, and founded the Sassanian empire. He brought Balochistan and Makran on the border of Sindh, and Oman and Bahrain in Arabia, under his control. He also established eighteen new trading posts on both the Arab and Persian sides of the Persian Gulf to control the trade in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. He made Persia the dominant trading power in the Indian Ocean. His son Shahpur I took up the title of *Shahan Shah Eran Ud Areran* (King of Kings of Iran and non-Iran) and Shahpur II extended the empire to include Sindh.

The legendary Sassanian King Bahram V, Bahram Gur (AD 423 -438), is believed to have married an Indian princess and received the port of Debal in Sindh as her dowry. According to another version, he was presented with the provinces of Sindh and Makran by Indian kings for his exploits in defending them against an invasion by the White Huns (Hunas) (Sykes, 1930; 434). He severely punished the Medes and Jats of Sindh who disturbed shipping in the Indian Ocean and transported a large number of Jats with their buffaloes from Sindh. He settled them in the marshes of southern Iraq and introduced twelve thousand gypsies from Sindh into Persia to provide music and dancing for his people.

The White Huns who had pushed the Yueh-chi towards the west were, in turn, pushed westward by the Tou-kiue or Turks. The Hunas occupied Afghanistan in c. AD 465. They defeated and killed the Sassanian King, Feruz I, in AD 484, blinded and deposed his brother, Balash, and exacted tribute from the Persians. They swarmed across the north-western passes into Punjab and Sindh, followed by Gujara (Gujar), Juan-Juan (Janjua) and other associated tribes. As they suffered defeat in Central Asia at the hands of an alliance formed by the Persian King of Kings Khusrau I Noshirvan Adil and Khaqan of the Turks in AD 554, their numbers entering South Asia multiplied.

'The invasions of the Hunas [White Huns] destroyed or dispersed the older martial tribes of Rajasthan and their places were taken by newcomers' (Basham, 1985; 67). 'The upper ranks of invading hordes of Hunas, Gujjaras, Maitrakas and the rest became Rajput clans, while the lower developed into Hindu castes of less honorable social status, such as Gujars, Ahirs, Jats and others' (Smith, 1961;.191). The Brahmans found it to their advantage, and beneficial to Hinduism, to coin the new term 'Rajputs' 'sons of Kings', for them, and through this device absorbed them into the caste system as representing the ancient Kshatriyas. These Rajput clans that were not known of in earlier times, became prominent by the ninth and tenth centuries with ancient genealogies provided to them by the Brahmans. This was the stratagem by which South Asia was won over by the Brahmans to Hinduism.

The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang (Hieun Tsang) who visited Sindh in *c.* AD 641 found Hinduism and Buddhism confronting each other in South Asia. He stated that Sindh was ruled by a Sudra, term that implied low caste but was also used to denote an impure foreigner. This was confirmed by later historians who described the ruler of Sindh to be a Rajput related to the Kings of Kabul, Punjab, Gujarat, Kanauj and Rajasthan, all of whom had by then been classified as Rajput. It is therefore not surprising that the Rao dynasty came into power in Sindh in *c.* AD 489 at about the same time as the Hunas were entering into India.

The Rao dynasty comprised five kings, Rao Diwaji, Rao Seharas, Rao Sahsi, Rao Seharas II, Rao Sahsi II, who ruled over Sindh from *c.* AD 489 to 652. Their capital was at Alor (near Rohri) and their kingdom extended to Multan in the north and Makran in the west. The Persians invaded the Rao kingdom in *C.* AD 626, but although Rao Seharas was killed fighting them, the Persians did not pursue their advantage. They turned back because they had come under attack in the west by Emperor Heraclius of Byzantium who expelled them from Egypt and invaded Iraq. Rao Seharas was followed by his son Sahsi II.

The Brahman Chach who had made an attempt to usurp the throne of his brother-in-law, the King of Kashmir, had been defeated (Mankad, JSMS 1944; 6). He escaped and took employment with Rao Sahsi II. When Sahsi II died in *c.* AD 652, Chach married the widowed Queen Suhandi, massacred the royal family, seized the throne and proclaimed himself king. This was not an isolated incident. Having converted the invaders to Hinduism, the next step was to take back the reins of government from them. Muslim historians describe a similar incident in which the Brahman minister, Kallar, imprisoned his king and established the Hindu Shahiya at Kabul. Echoes of this are found in Sanskrit sources. According to them, the Jats (Scythians) and Medes were the two main tribes of Sindh who lived on the bank of the river and fought with each other all the time as they had done in Medea till they realized the advantage of living in peace. They sent their chiefs to the Emperor Duryodhana of Hastanapur (Meerut) to beg him to appoint a king over them whose authority would be acceptable to both the

tribes. The Emperor appointed his sister, Duhsala, to rule over the Jats and Medes. Duhsala went and took charge of the country and cities of Sindh and found that there were no Brahman or wise men in the country. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother seeking assistance. He collected 30,000 Brahmans from all over Hindustan, and sent them, with all their goods and dependents, to settle in Sindh.

When Chach died in AD 671, his brother Chandar ascended the throne at Alor and ruled for seven years. He was succeeded in AD 679 by the sons of Chach. One of them named Dahir, ruled at Alor while the other brother, Dahirsiya, established himself at Brahmanabad. When Dahirsiya died, Dahir occupied Brahmanabad.

The Early Muslims

The Arabs had lost lucrative maritime trade routes between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea before the advent of Islam. The bitter rivalry between Byzantium and Persia, led them to challenge each other directly in the markets of India and Sri Lanka, and to exclude the Arabs and Indians from the trade.

Ethiopia occupied Yemen in AD 525 at the mouth of the Red Sea on the instigation of Byzantium, to gain direct access through the Indian Ocean to the Asian markets. The Persians who had blocked the Persian Gulf and barred all others from trading by setting up trading posts on the Arabian and Makran coasts, overran Egypt and Syria in AD 616, Byzantine regained Egypt in AD 626, and dealt a crushing blow to the Persians at Nineveh in AD 627. The long struggle between the Byzantine Emperor (Caesar) Heraclius (AD 610-642) and the Persian Emperor (*Shahan Shah*) Khusrau Parvez (AD 590-628) weakened both empires and led to their overthrow by the Arabs. The Persians were routed at Qadisjyya in AD 636 and the Byzantium said farewell to Egypt in AD 642.

This made the Arabs the sole power linking the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Their interest now was to convert the Indian Ocean into an Arab Mediterranean, and dominate maritime commerce between Europe and South Asia. Although resisted by the Indian seafarers, especially the Medes of Sindh—who were backed by the merchants of Debal—the conquest of Sindh was essential for the Arabs if they were to control the sea ports and maritime trade routes of Asia.

The first attempt by the Arabs, like the Europeans a thousand years later, was to use their fleet to establish their writ in the Indian Ocean. In AH 15/AD 636, during the caliphate of Omar I (AD 634-644), naval expeditions were mounted by the Arabs from Oman to Tana near modern Bombay, and from Bahrain to Broach in Gujarat, and Debal in Sindh. The Caliph Omar I was not satisfied with the result and forbade further naval expeditions. In AH 23/AD 644, towards the end of the caliphate of Omar I, a land expedition was sent from Kirman in Persia to probe into the border areas of Hind. This expedition returned with booty which included one captured elephant. When Osman succeeded Omar I as the Caliph (AD 644-656), he ordered his governor in Iraq to reconnoiter Sindh. The Governor deputed al-Hakim bin Jabal al-Abwi to captain a naval expedition to explore Sindh and Makran. On his return al-Hakim was personally questioned by the Caliph. Al-Hakim informed the Caliph that on the route to Sindh, Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold: if few troops are sent there

they will be slain, if many, they will starve' (Al-Baladhury, Book II, Part IX). His report dissuaded the Caliph from sending further expeditions into Sindh.

The Arabs were a tribal people and prone to deep seated tribal rivalries. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who belonged to the tribe of Banu Hashmi, the political and military leadership of Mecca, according to tribal tradition, rested with Abu Sufyan who represented the Banu Umayya. After the acceptance of Islam by Abu Sufyan and the surrender of Mecca to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the traditional tribal arrangements became subservient to the new Islamic order. After the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) died on 8 June 632, his successor was his elder father-in-law, the first Caliph Abu Bakr, who on his death was succeeded by Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) younger father-in-law, the second Caliph Omar I. Both the first and second Caliphs belonged to the smaller tribes of Mecca. After Caliph Omar was killed by a prisoner of war, he was succeeded by Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) elder son-in-law, the third Caliph Osman who belonged to the Banu Umayya. Caliph Osman after his murder was succeeded by Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) cousin and younger son-in-law the fourth Caliph Ali, who belonged to the Banu Hashim. The failure of the fourth Caliph Ali to punish the murderers of his predecessor ran counter to the most deeply held belief in tribal honor which required every member of the tribe and its allies to avenge a murder. The demand of retaliation (*Qisas*) granted by the Quran and the old rivalry between the Banu Umayya and the Banu Hashim, led to the division of the caliphate between the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) brother-in-law, Caliph Mu'awiya who was an Umayyad and son-in-law Caliph Ali who belonged to the Banu Hashim.

In AH 39/AD 659, al-Harith al-Abdi received permission from the Caliph Ali (AD 656-661), to raid Makran. He got plenty of plunder, made many captives and distributed one thousand slaves in one day. However, in a subsequent raid in AD 662, he and his men were waylaid and killed at Qiqan on the frontier of Sindh and Khurasan and only a few escaped to tell the story.

The Kharijites, an early sect of Islam, who fervently believed in equality of man and abhorred the dynastic politics of Banu Hashim and Umayya, planned to kill both Caliph Ali and Caliph Mu'awiya on the same day at Kufa and Damascus. Caliph Mu'awiya recovered, but the wounds inflicted on Caliph Ali proved fatal. Caliph Ali was succeeded by, his elder son imam al-Hasan who entered into a pact with Mu'awiya, whereby he gave up the caliphate in fulfillment of a saying of the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH), 'This son of mine is a Sayyid, and he will unite two branches of the Muslims'. In celebration of the meritorious deed of reconciling the opposing parties, the year is known as 'Am al-Jamala, the year of community (Jafri, 1979, 156). Imam al-Hasan died nine years later at Medina in AH 49/AD 669.

Caliph Mu'awiya (AD 661-680) appointed Abd Allah ibn Sawar al-Abdi to explore the frontier of Hind. He raided Qiqan and brought back horses and presented them to the

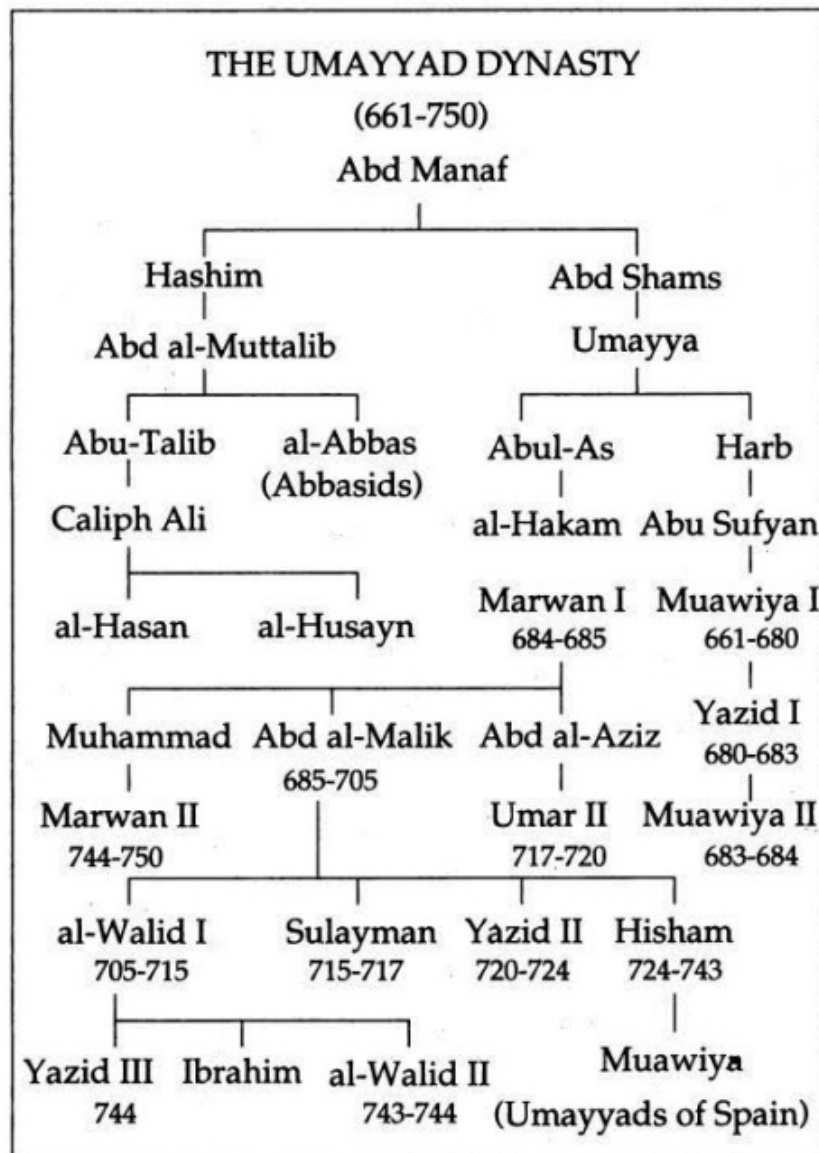
Caliph. His next raid was a disaster as he and his men were annihilated. Al-Sinan al-Hadhli, who was appointed in his place, conquered Makran and made it his headquarters for raids and collection of booty and slaves.

After Caliph Mu'awiya died in AH 60/AD 680, Caliph Ali's younger son Imam al-Husain received letters inviting him to come to Kufa and take over as the caliph. His little group of dependents and followers were stopped at Karbala in Iraq and he and all other male members of the group save one were killed on 10 October 680. The tragedy so shocked people in Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) hometown that they expelled Umayyad officers from Medina and chose Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr, a cousin of Imam al-Husain and grandson of the first caliph, as the new caliph. After Yazid's death, his son Mu'awiya II, took over as the Umayyad caliph but finding no solution to the civil war, resigned three months later and refused to nominate anyone from his family to the caliphate. Therefore the caliphate passed to Marwan (AD 684-685) who belonged to another branch of the Umayyad clan. He was followed by his son Abd al-Malik (AD 685-705) as caliph. The caliphate of Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr ended when Caliph Abd al-Malik sent a Syrian army under al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf. Al-Hajjaj laid siege to Mecca, bombarded the holy Ka'aba with catapults, disregarding its ancient sanctity, stormed the city and killed ibn al-Zubayr in fighting around Ka'aba in October 692. The caliphate was once again united under Umayyads

Caliph Abd al-Malik next sent al-Hajjaj as governor to Iraq. After brutally suppressing the Kharijite rebellion in Iraq and Iran, al-Hajjaj attempted to occupy all the provinces of the Persian empire.

He sent his army on the traditional routes to India through western mountain passes. In AH 74 / AD 693, the first Arab expedition was allowed to enter the mountain valleys, where it was encircled and cut off. It was allowed to return only after Abd Allah, the commander of the Arab army gave a written promise to the Turkish Shahiya King Ratbil not to invade his kingdom again. In AH 78/AD 697, al-Hajjaj sent another expedition under 'Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Bakra who was once also allowed to advance and then his lines of communication and retreat were blocked. This time the Arab commander was made to buy his way out by paying seven hundred thousand dirhams to the Turkish Shahiya King Ratbir. In AH 80/AD 699, al-Hajjaj who had, according to Tabari, declared that he would like to kill 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-'Ash'ath, sent him against Ratbil who once again retreated. Ibn al 'Ash'ath who was aware of al-Hajjaj's antipathy towards him, advanced very cautiously and occupied the area vacated by Ratbil. He then stopped and wrote to al-Hajjaj that he should be allowed to consolidate his gains, fortify his lines of communication and halt further advance till his troops had familiarized itself with the area. Al-Hajjaj, who was looking for quick revenge for the humiliation that the Arab army had suffered twice at the hands of the unbelievers, threatened to punish the army and its commander. Ibn al-'Ash'ath reacted by entering into an agreement with Ratbil. The army supported its commander who turned back,

invaded Iraq, defeated al-Hajjaj and captured Basra. Al-Hajjaj won back what he had lost, after reinforcements from Syria sent by the Caliph, arrived. Ibn al-'Ash'ath took refuge with Ratbil who welcomed him, However, after al-Hajjaj offered to pay ten hundred thousand (ten lakh) dirhams and sign a truce for ten years, Ratbil agreed to surrender Ibn al-'Ash'ath and his family members. The head of Ibn al-'Ash'ath was sent by al-Hajjaj to the Caliph. The Arabs were unable to dislodge the Turkish and Hindu Shahiya dynasties of Afghanistan. They kept the traditional land routes into the Indus valley through mountain passes blocked for the next three hundred and forty years.



Having been foiled by the Turkish Shahiya in his attempts to reach the mountain passes that have historically acted as a gateway to Hind and Sindh, al-Hajjaj conceived of an

invasion across the inhospitable southern coastal route into Sindh, that had in the past only been used by legendary conquerors like Alexander, Cyrus and Semiramis for returning home, and had never before been used by any power for the invasion of Sindh. The Arabs, like the Europeans after them, were also a naval power and wanted to dominate maritime trade in the Indian Ocean. The opportunity came when the king of Sri Lanka sent, as a present, orphan Muslim girls who had been born in his country of Arab traders. The ship with the girls was captured by the Medes of Debal. Al-Hajjaj wrote to Dahir, asking him to recover the girls. Dahir replied that he had no control over the pirates. Al-Hajjaj sent a contingent under Ubayd Allah al-Sulami to Debal to punish the pirates and recover the girls but Ubayd Allah was defeated and killed. The next expedition under Budayl al-Bajali sent by al-Hajjaj met the same fate.

The repeated reversals in Afghanistan and Sindh were a great blow to the Muslim prestige and persuaded Caliph al-Walid I (AD 705-715) to declare 'holy war against Sindh and Hind'. Al-Hajjaj appointed the son of a cousin, the seventeen year old Muhammad bin Qasim who was governor of Fars and had at a very young age made a name for himself by brutally suppressing a Kurd rebellion and expelling the rebels from Fars. Muhammad bin Qasim started from Shiraz in 710 with six thousand Syrian cavalry and a large number of Iraqis including their *mawalis*. He was joined on the Indian border by six thousand fully armed camel riders with a baggage train of 3,000 Bactrian camels. Muhammad bin Qasim stayed at Makran for a month. On his way to Debal he captured the towns of Panjgur and Armabil.

The Muslim army laid siege to Debal in 711. Six siege machines, including the enormous stone throwing catapult called *al-Urus* (The Bride) arrived by sea in time to be used with deadly effect. It knocked down the red flag which fluttered on top of the temple of Shiva. This demoralized the superstitious population and the fort was stormed and taken. Al-Hajjaj's order to Muhammad bin Qasim was to give no quarter to the people of Debal. The laughter continued for three days, and the temple was destroyed. Muhammad bin Qasim also laid the foundation of the first mosque in the sub-continent and settled four thousand Muslims at Debal as the first Arab colonists of Sindh. The message to Sindh was that the Muslims had come to stay and would treat harshly all those who resisted them.

The Buddhist priests of Nerun (Hyderabad) arrived to negotiate surrender while the governor of Siwistan (Sehwan) fled and its Buddhist population welcomed Muhammad bin Qasim. Not only Buddhist but virtually every class of subjects of the King of Sindh, living on the right bank deserted their king. Muhammad bin Qasim waited for two months on the western bank for an opportunity to cross the river, but the enemy was vigilant. Muhammad bin Qasim finally crossed the Indus with the help of a local prince of the delta named Moka Vassayo, whom he persuaded to desert Dahir by promising a reward of one hundred thousand dirhams. Dahir who was staying at Rawar was taken by surprise but rushed to intercept the Muslim army. Muslim archers aimed naphtha fire

on his elephant which threw itself into the river—with its royal rider—to cool itself. Dahir was fished out of the water and killed by an Arab soldier. The head of the king of Sindh and of other chiefs who fell with him in the battle, were severed and sent to Iraq. One of his queens defended the Rawar fort in an attempt to delay the Arab army and allow Crown Prince Jaisiya (Jaysina, Jay Singh) to escape and organize a resistance, before killing herself by committing *suttee* on the ritual fire along with her female attendants.

Jaisiya fortified the capital, Brahmanabad, which defied the Arab army for six months before it was taken. Its men folk were put to the sword and women and children enslaved. Muhammad bin Qasim then marched on to al-Rur (near Rohri) which defied him for several months but capitulated after he agreed to spare the lives of its inhabitants. It was a departure from the orthodox practice that Hindus not being *Ahle Kitab* (the people of the book) were either to accept Islam or to be put to the sword. Muhammad bin Qasim then advanced to Alsaka (Askalanda, Uch) and after having captured it, crossed the Chenab, went on to besiege Multan and forced it to surrender after a long siege, by cutting off its water supply. Men who were capable of bearing arms were massacred, women and children were enslaved, and an enormous amount of gold was captured from Multan. Al-Hajjaj was able to report to the Caliph that the invasion of Sindh had been an unqualified financial success. 'We have appeased our anger, and avenged our injuries, and we have gained sixty millions of dirhams, as well as the head of Dahir'.

Al-Hajjaj died in Iraq in AH 95/AD 714, followed by Caliph al-Walid I who died six months later in AH 96/AD 715. The new Caliph Sulayman (AD 715-717) appointed Salih as the new collector of tributes. He sent al-Saksaki who had worked under him, as governor to Sindh, with instructions to arrest Muhammad bin Qasim and send him back to Iraq in chains. The conqueror of Sindh was thrown in a dungeon at Wasit and tortured to death on the orders of Saleh. In prison Muhammad bin Qasim composed the following couplet:

*If I am imprisoned in Wasit, if I am chained and helpless, so what
I am the one who had brought down youthful riders and killed haughty warriors*

The conqueror of Sindh was not the only Arab general to meet an ignoble end. Action was also taken against many others including Musa ibn Nusayr, the conqueror of Africa and Spain, and Qutayba ibn Muslim, the conqueror of Central Asia. It was a familiar ritual in the Muslim world. Each new administration by every means available to it, extracted whatever political and financial advantage it could from the members of the previous administration.

Caliph Abd al-Malik and Caliph al-Walid I, decreed that registers of administration all over the conquered territory be kept in Arabic and official correspondence conducted in

that language. To keep their posts, the functionaries all over the Muslim world had to learn the Arabic language. It led to the extinction of the written languages of the conquered territories and emergence of an Arabic literature which was largely the work of conquered people. The Persian language emerged in verse form three hundred years later in a modified Arabic script with the emergence of the Saffarid dynasty of Persian origin in eastern Iran in the latter part of the tenth century.

Sindh became a province of the Arab empire, ruled by governor appointed by the caliphs, and was colonized by a number of Arab tribes and their *mawalis* who often fought with each other and with the governors sent by the caliphs.

Despite the conquests of Muhammad bin Qasim and repeated attempts by various Arab governors, the hold of the Arabs east of the river Indus remained 'tenuous. After the removal of Muhammad bin Qasim, the princes of Sindh who had escaped into the desert to the east returned and occupied the east bank of Sindh. Jaisiya, the son of Dahir, also came back and occupied Brahmanabad.

Caliph Omar II (AD 717-720) wrote to the princes of Sindh and invited them to accept Islam which would secure their properties and grant them the same rights as enjoyed by other Muslims. Jaisiya and others who had heard of his piety, trusted him and became Muslims. However when Junaid al-Marri was appointed governor of Sindh during the caliphate of Caliph Hisham (AD 724-743), he ignored the promise made to the princes of Sindh, and crossed the Indus into their territory to conduct raids on the east bank. Jaisiya defied him but was killed fighting in a naval battle. His brother Sasa, son of Dahir, who attempted to proceed to Iraq to complain to the Caliph, was lured into a meeting through false promises and killed. Junaid made raids deep into Indian territory and collected huge amounts of booty and slaves. He was appointed governor of Khurasan AH 111 / AD 729 and Tamim was posted to Sindh in his place. Tamim was not able to control Sindh and all the gains made by Junaid were lost.

An experienced senior officer, Governor Hakim al-Kalbi was sent to retrieve the situation. He built a new city c. AD 730 on the eastern bank of the river, called it Mahfuzah, and attempted to implement a forward military policy which would bring the whole of the eastern bank under control. However, he was killed fighting the infidels. After his death, there was a tussle between two of his deputies to succeed as governor of Sindh. Caliph Hisham decided in favor of Amr, son of Muhammad bin Qasim the conqueror of Sindh. Amr was beset by dissensions within the Arabs settled in Sindh and by attacks from Hindus. Forced to abandon the forward policy, he built another city on the western banks of the river Indus and called it Mansurah. Here he was besieged by a Hindu Raja. He asked for reinforcements from the governor of Khurasan. The Hindu Raja left on hearing of the army of Khurasan but Amr pursued him and destroyed his army and then turned his forces on the Arab rebellion. He attacked and killed Marwan ibn Yazid and dispersed his followers.

Ali, son of Imam al-Husain, then aged 23, was the only one of the sons of al-Husain who was not killed at Karbala because he did not take part in the fighting due to illness. He devoted himself to incessant prayers at Medina, which brought him the title of Zayn al-Abidin (Ornament of the Worshippers). He avoided political involvement, and refrained from showing any hostility to the Umayyads who also tried to maintain good relations with him (Jafri, 1979; 238). His son Imam al-Baqir maintained this policy but this was not accepted by other members of the house of the Prophet (PBUH). Zayd, the second son of Imam Zayn al-'Abidin from a slave-woman from Sindh, proclaimed that if an Imam wanted to be recognized he should claim his rights, sword in hand, establish good and prohibit evil by force, if necessary. He acted on his belief and was killed leading a revolt against the Umayyads in AH 122/AD 740.

At this time, a number of internal forces began to work against the Umayyads. It is sufficient to say here that the successful challenge came from the family of the Prophet's (PBUH) uncle al-Abbas. It was natural for an Arab to accept al-Abbas as heir to the Prophet (PBUH) because the eldest male of the tribe was considered by them to be the main recipient of the inheritance in preference to the female. Further, the claim of the family of al-Abbas received support from the family of the third and youngest brother of Imam al-Hasan and Imam al-Husain named Muhammad, a son of Caliph Ali from 'a blackish slave girl from Sindh' (Ibn Saad, Book V, 105). He was known as Ibn Hanafiyya to distinguish him from another son of Caliph Ali by that name. The Imamate of Muhammad, son of Caliph Ali, and after his death that of Abu Hashim, son of Muhammad, was recognized by Shiites in preference to those members of the family of Caliph Ali who had taken to political inactivity and prayers. As Abu Hashim had no son, he made Muhammad of the family of al-Abbas his nominee to the Imamate and gave him letters addressed to Shiite circles in Khurasan. This Muhammad who was a great grandson of al-Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet (PBUH), conceived of a secret plan for seizure of power from the Umayyads, which upon his death in 743, was put into operation by his son Ibrahim. It received active support in the Persian province of Khurasan where Abu Muslim, a Muslim of Persian origin, unfurled the black banner of the Abbasids in June 747 and occupied the provincial capital Merv. After the Yemenites in the Umayyad army defected, Abu Muslim entered Iraq and occupied Kufa in August 749. As Ibrahim had been captured in 748 and had died in captivity, his brother Abu'l-Abbas al-Saffah received the oath of allegiance as caliph in the mosque of Kufa on 28 November 749.

In January 750, the last Umayyad Caliph of Damascus, Marwan II, was defeated at Mosul and fled to Egypt where he was killed in August 750.

The Abbasids

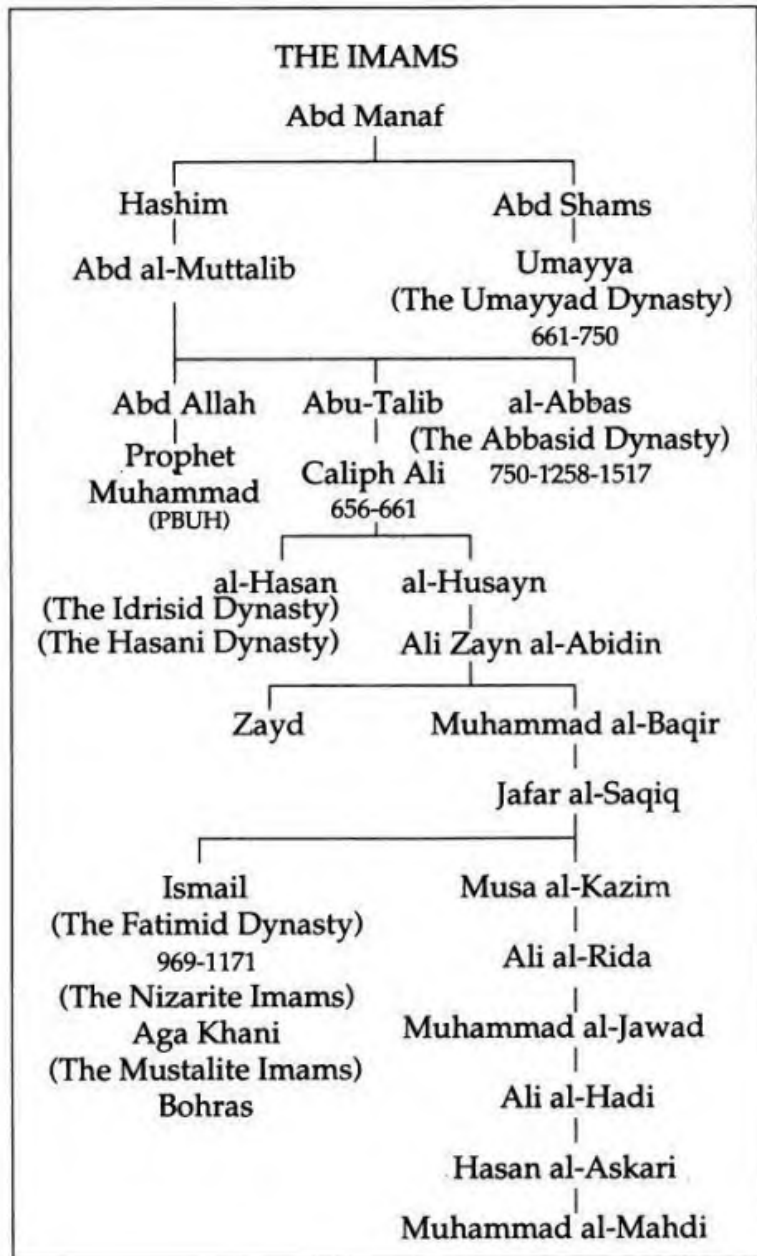
After the Abbasid caliphate was established in AH 132/AD 749, dissensions arose among the Arab tribes settled in Sindh and Balochistan, along the traditional Arab tribal division that has been variously described as Northern and Southern, Adnani and Qahtani, Qusay and Kalbi, Hijazi and Yemeni, Its roots lay in Arab history; in the belief that Yemen was the home of the true Arabs, and resentment against the ascendancy of Meccan merchant middle men in the name of Islam.

When Abu Muslim sent Muflis al-Abdi as governor of Sindh on behalf of the Abbasid caliph, he was defied by Mansur al-Kalbi who defeated and killed him and dispersed his troops. Musa Tamimi was sent by the Abbasids with a large contingent of Arab tribes to curb the rebellion. He defeated al-Kalbi who tied into the desert and died there of thirst. Musa Tamirni was followed by his son Ainia as governor of Sindh. Another member of the Tamim tribe, Mubid, was governor of Sindh during the caliphate of al-Mansur. During the rule of Ainia in Sindh, tribal dissension which had been curbed by his father, flared up again, therefore the caliph al-Mansur (AD 754-775) sent Amr ibn Hafs to Sindh. Ainia resisted but was defeated. He fled, but was caught by Qahtani Arabs who beheaded him and sent his head to the Caliph.

One of the recurring features of the Muslim world was the search for al-Mahdi the rightly guided one, who according to a widely held Muslim belief, will rule before the end of the world, and fill the world with justice. The Abbasids had exploited this yearning and had succeeded in capturing the caliphate and had shown the way to others. According to a Hadith, the Prophet (PBUH) was believed to have said that a man from his family would come, 'one whose name will be the same as mine, and the name of his father will be that of my father. He will fill the earth with equity and justice, just as it is now filled with tyranny and oppression'. A great grandson of the Prophet's (PBUH) grandson Imam al-Hasan appeared to fulfill this prophecy. His name, like that of the Prophet (PBUH), was Muhammad, son of Abd Allah, and he was known for his piety as al-Nafs al-Zakiya, 'the Pure Soul'. In AH 144/AD 761, Banu Hashim secretly swore allegiance to him but this came to the notice of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Mansur, who ordered the arrest of al-Nafs al-Zakiya. When he could not be found, orders were issued to arrest his family members. Al-Nafs al-Zakiya dispersed his family to all corners of the Muslim world, and himself chose to fight and die in Medina in AH 145/AD 762. One of his sons, Abd Allah, escaped to Sindh. The Abbasid governor, Amr ibn Hafs, gave him sanctuary and later sent him to a Hindu Raja who took him under his protection. When officers of the Caliph questioned Amr ibn Hafs, a devoted servant

of Amr ibn Hafs took the blame for harboring Abd Allah, and was beheaded, and Amr ibn Hafs was transferred to Africa for his negligence.

Hisham ibn Amr al-Taghlibi was sent to Sindh with instructions to, find the hiding place of Abd Allah and punish those who had given him refuge. One day Hishami's brother had a chance meeting with Abd Allah who was out hunting. Abd Allah was killed in the encounter and his head was sent to Baghdad. It is believed that he is the same as Abd Allah Shah Ghazi, whose tomb is on the hill overlooking the sea at Clifton in Karachi, which is a popular place of prayer and worship.



Hisham reduced Multan and sent expeditions all over Sindh and Balochistan to punish the intransigent Arab tribes. A naval expedition was also undertaken against Sindh in the caliphate of al-Mandi (AD 775-785) in AH 169/AD 785. It ended in disaster as on its return it was hit by a typhoon which destroyed most of the ships and many lives were lost.

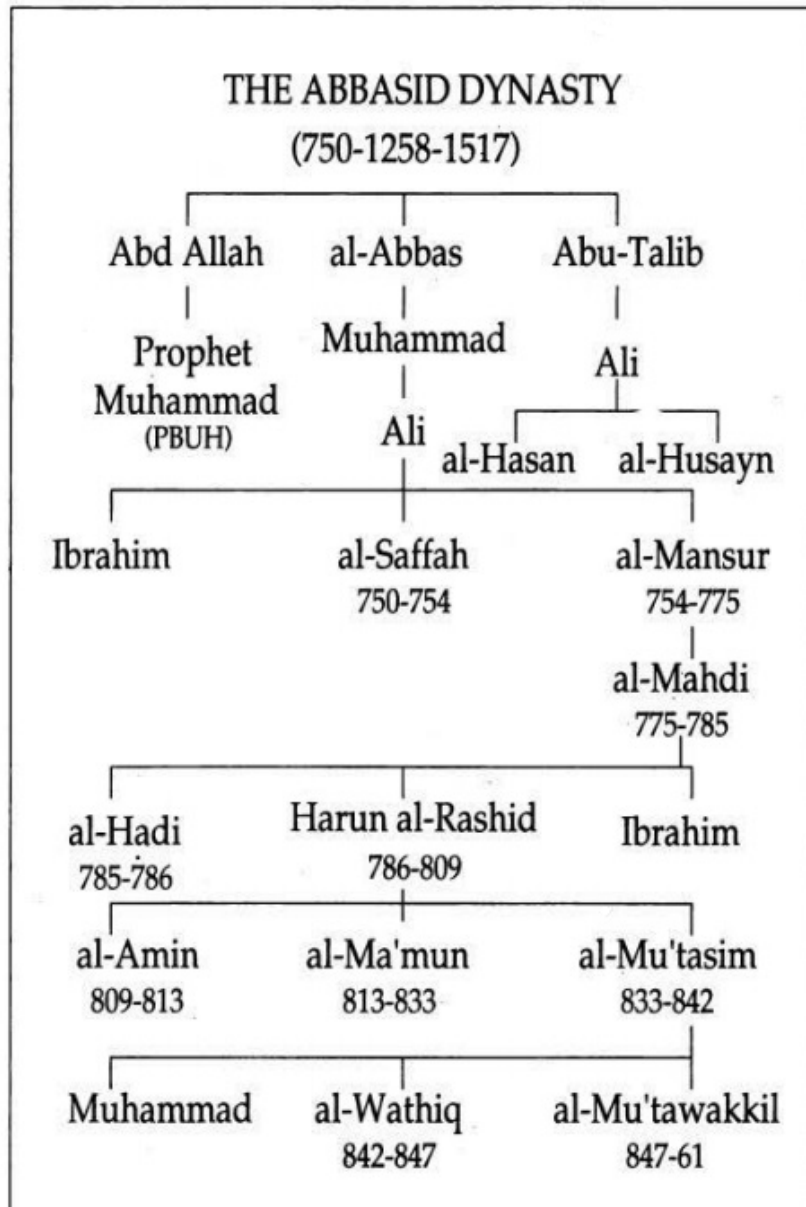
In AH 176/AD 792, during the reign of Caliph Harun al-Rashid (AD 786-809), the conflict between Hijazi and Yemeni tribes took a violent form in the old Umayyad capital of Damascus, and blood flowed in its street for two years. Similar conflicts between Hijazi and Yemeni tribes took place in Sindh,, and could not be controlled by governors sent by Caliph Harun al-Rashid, till Daud ibn Yazid ibn Hatim was appointed governor in AH 184/AD 800. He deputed his brother Mu hairs to take charge of Mansurah, but the Hijazis did not allow him to enter the city till he promised not to take any action against them. Having taken control of the city, however, Mughaira began to persecute them. Therefore, they rose against him and expelled him from the city. Daud came to the aid of his brother and killed a large number of Hijazis and freed most of the urban centres of Sindh from their control.

The last two important Abbasid governors of Sindh were from the Baramaki family, who had amassed great wealth and power under the first five Abbasid caliphs, till they fell foul of Harun al-Rashid. He ordered the death of his favorite Jafar Baramaki and the arrest of brothers Yahya and Fazal Baramaki in AH 17 AD 802. Musa, son of Yahya Baramaki, pacified Sindh and invaded Gujarat and Kutch. When he died in AH 221 /AD 836, the Caliph al-Mutasim, confirmed his son Imran in the government of Sindh. Imran Baramaki reduced Multan, attacked Qandabil, slew its ruler, Muhammad, and transferred its inhabitants to Khuzdar.

Imran Baramaki, like his predecessors and in line with Abbasid policy, dealt harshly with the Hijazis whose leader, Urnar al-Habbari, caught him unawares and killed him in AD 854. The Baramaki family came from Balkh where their ancestors had held the office of *paramaka*, i.e., superior in the Buddhist temple Naubehar, i.e., *nava vihara* – the new temple. 'Induced probably by family traditions, they sent scholars to India, there to study medicine and pharmacology. Besides, they engaged Hindu scholars to come to Baghdad, made them chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology, and other subjects ... Soon afterwards, when Sindh was no longer politically dependent upon Baghdad, all this intercourse ceased entirely ... There is no more mention of presence of Hindu scholars at Baghdad nor of translations of the Sanskrit ... nothing has reached our time save a number of titles of books, many of them in such a corrupt foam as to baffle all attempts at decipherment,' (Sachau, 1962; xiii).

It is claimed that the earliest extant Sindhi verse was written in praise of and presented to either, Fazal or Yahya Baramaki:

Arah barah kankarah *Kara kare mundarah*
or
Arah asra kakra *Ki kara mundarah*



However, no one has so far been able to decipher any of the words of the above two verses as that of any of the known dialects of Sindh. Further, the, same verses have been

quoted as an example of verses in an African language recited by Hazrat Bilal in praise of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Similarly it has been claimed that the first translation of the Quran was done in Sindhi language during the reign of Banu Habbar in Sindh. The claim has been based on a remark by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar in *Ajaib al-Hind* that the Prince of Ra had asked the ruler of Mansurah in AH 270/ AD 883 'to send someone to instruct him in Islamic subjects; and a pious and learned man went and started translating the Quran, beginning with Sura Yasin. We do not know, however, whether the language of this king was a forerunner of modern Sindhi or any other western Indian idiom.' (Schimmel, 1986; 54).

Alberuni wrote in AD 1030, that three alphabets were in use in Sindh. First was *Ardhanagari* or half *nagara*, second was *Malwari* which was used in Southern Sindh towards the sea coast, the third was *Saindhava* which was used in *Bahmanwa* or al-Mansurah (Sachau, 1962; 232). But not a single line of Sindhi in these scripts is available'. (Ajwani, 1984; 17).

After the death of the Caliph al-Wathiq, in AD 847, his brother Jafar was chosen by a group of military officers, and installed as Caliph al-Mutawakkil (AD 847-61). He confirmed the defacto position of Umar al-Habbari as governor of Sindh. When al-Mutawakkil was murdered in AD 861, Umar succeeded in making the governorship hereditary in his family. This was the period of *mutaghalliba* – that is, the governorship in Sindh of those who were not appointed by the caliph, but had seized power. Sindh and Balochistan were now parceled out among the local leaders. The two main ones were the hereditary dynasties of Multan and Martsurah – both of which boasted Qurayshite descent. Upper Sindh was ruled by Banu Asad from Multan while Lower Sindh was ruled by Banu Habbar from Mansurah.

Similar developments were taking place in the adjacent territories of Iran and southern Afghanistan. In AD 820, Tahir, a Persian general of al-Mamun, was sent as governor of Khurasan. When he died in AD 822, he was succeeded by his son, Talha, who was succeeded by his brother Abel Allah, and then other members of his family till AD 873 when they were expelled by Yaqub ibn-Layth known as as-Saffar or coppersmith. Yaqub founded his dynasty by organizing a group of locals and taking over Sistan in AD 867 and declaring his independence from the governor appointed by the caliph. In AD 876, Yaqub marched on Baghdad but was intercepted and defeated twelve miles from Baghdad. He died in AD 879 and his brother, Amr, was acknowledged by the caliph as governor of Sistan. In AD 900, Amr was defeated and captured by the Samanid prince Ismail ibn-Ahmad.

As a distant and inaccessible frontier province of the Arab Empire, Sindh acted as a refuge and home to the dissident, the persecuted, and the minority sects of Islam. The

Ismaili followers of Hamdan Qarmat who are known as Qaramita (also Carmathians) established a republic in eastern Arabia with its centre at Bahrain in AD 894. From Bahrain their missionaries carried Ismaili propaganda into Sindh. They invaded Mecca in AH 319/AD 931, slaughtered the pilgrims and carried away the sacred Black Stone from the holy Kaaba (Ibn Khaldun, Vol IV, 960). After their defeat, they moved into Sindh, followed by Ismailis who had conquered Egypt in AD 969 and were known as the Fatimid. Both the Qaramitas and Fatimids, believed that the line of Imams from the house of the Prophet (PBUH) ended with Ismail, hence they are also known as Ismaili. The Ismaili missionaries had complete sway over Sindh by the end of the tenth century because the local Arab tribes who had rebelled against the governors appointed by the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad, considered it prudent to forge links with the rival Fatimid caliph of Egypt. Further, the capture of Egypt and Syria in AD 969 by the Fatimids, had led to a shift of Indian trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. As a vital communication link in Indian trade, lower Sindh was bound to come under Ismaili influence.

Sindh, being the land of infidels, was a continuous source of male and female slaves who were sold in the markets of Iraq. The forced removal of enslaved captives started in the caliphate of Ali in the year AH 38-99/AD 658 and continued throughout the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates spanning over 200 years.

During the 'Abbasid caliphate the military basis of the caliphate completely changed. Instead of a militia of Arab warriors who were by now riddled with factionalism, the caliphs came to depend wholly upon slave troops. Caliph al-Mutasim transferred the seat of government from Baghdad to Samarra in AD 836 and appointed Turkish slaves as his personal guards. Turkish slave troops were prized above all other races for their bravery, hardihood and skill with horses. The slave trade on the northern border of the caliphate was so lucrative that when the Abbasid Caliph, al-Mutadid, appointed the Samanid prince, Ismail, to take charge of Khurasan, Turkistan, Transoxiana, Sindh, Hind and Jurgan in AD 900 (Sykes, 1930; 21), Ismail chose Bukhara as his capital and built a prosperous Samanid state from the trade of the Turk slaves, the demand for whom was insatiable in the Muslim world. However, Ismail could take no steps to establish his rule in the provinces of the old Persian empires in Sindh and Hind because of the presence of the stubborn Hindu Shahiya dynasties of Afghanistan who kept the forces of Islam at bay in the Hindu Kush mountains.

Not only caliphs, but provincial governors and military commanders liked to equip themselves with Turkish cavalry. They were considered to be more reliable in performing such tasks as extracting taxes from the subject population with whom they had no ties, and who being mostly peasants, were unable to meet their speed and skill with bow and arrow as mounted warriors. This led to the gradual infiltration from within and the transformation of Turkish slaves into an elite class of military leaders, revenue collectors and governors in the Muslim world. In AD 977, Turkish troops

deposed their commander and chose Sabuktigin as their *amir* in Ghazna (modern Ghazni) in the heart of the Afghan highland. Amir Sabuktigin achieved what Muslim armies had failed to in the last three hundred years. He forced the Hindu Shahiya to retreat from the Hindu Kush mountains into India. In the West, his brilliant son Mahmud extended his rule over Khurasan by attacking and expelling the Ismailis who escaped into Sindh and southern Punjab. The Fatimid Caliph, al-Aziz (975-96), sent Julam ibn Shayban with a military escort to secure a place for them. This he did by capturing Multan in AH 372/AD 983 and making a joint front against Mahmud with Hindu Shahiya who had, like his own followers, suffered at the hand of Mahmud, and had taken refuge in Punjab. The Ismaili kingdom of Multan extended from Upper Indus valley to Al-Rur in Sindh. After Julam died in 986, his successors continued his policy of supporting the Hindu Shahiya against Mahmud and espoused Ismailism.

Sultan Mahmud who succeeded his father Sabuktigin in AH 387/AD 988, had already earned the gratitude of the orthodox Muslims and the title of Yamin al-Daula (the right hand of the caliphate) from the Abbasid caliph by waging a pious war against the Ismailis in Khurasan and the Hindus in Afghanistan. He now pursued the same policy in the area which is now Pakistan and India. The holy war combined with the huge amounts of booty that it yielded catapulted the kingdom established by a Turkish slave into one of the most spectacular dynasties in Muslim history. Each winter, Mahmud led his army into what is now Pakistan and India, swollen by the *ghazis* and volunteers who flocked from all parts of the Islamic world in search of Hindu temples to plunder and infidels to enslave. Abu al-Raihan Muhammad ibn Ahmad Alberuni who came to India with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna in c. 1017, to investigate Hindu science, wrote in his book on India, 'Yamin al-Daula Mahmud marched into India during a period of thirty years and more. God be merciful to both father and son! Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed their wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Banaras, and other places, And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources.' (Sachau, 1962; 26).

The Sumras

The Sumras claim descent from the Arabs of Samarra who arrived in Sindh with the members of the Tamim tribe who served as Abbasid governors in Sindh and had been sent to Sindh with a number of other tribes to curb the opposition to Abbasid rule among the Arab tribes settled in Sindh and Balochistan. The opposition was contained but could not be eliminated and ultimately led to a number of Arab tribes and native chiefs seizing power in different parts of Sindh in the latter half of the ninth century and setting up independent kingdoms of their own. The Sumras also got possession of parts of Sindh on the left bank from which they expelled the Sammas who took refuge in Kutch. The first ruler of the Sumra tribe is believed to be Khafif I, who took over Mansurah after the last ruler of Banu Habbar died in c. AD 1010.

Mahmud, Sultan of Ghazna from AD 988 to 1030, invaded Multan in the winter of AD 1005, but went back after exacting tribute when he heard of a Turkish advance towards his northern border. Sultan Mahmud returned in AD 1010. He captured the Ismaili ruler of Multan, Abul Fatah Da'ud, but released him after he agreed to observe the orthodox creed. Sultan Mahmud again invaded Multan in AH 402/AD 1011, when he was informed that its ruler Da'ud had not given up Ismailism. When the Fatimid caliph in Cairo, al-Hakim, sent a diplomatic mission to Sultan Mahmud in AH 403/AD 1012 to negotiate the release of Da'ud, Sultan Mahmud had the envoy executed for being the representative of the false caliph. Despite repeated punishment meted out to Ismailis, Sultan Mahmud was not able to root out Ismailism which dispersed and found sanctuary in Mansurah. Sultan Mahmud invaded Mansurah on his way back from the plunder of Somnath in AH 416/AD 1025. There are those who say that Mansurah was not sacked by Sultan Mahmud but was destroyed by an earthquake. Whatever may have been the case, Mansurah, the Arab capital of Sindh for three hundred years, was not heard of again till it was excavated in the twentieth century.

The next winter, Sultan Mahmud equipped a flotilla and came down the river Indus to destroy the Ismaili trade and dismantle Jat settlements along the river. Sultan Mahmud came with 1400 specially built boats which had steel spears and knives attached on the front and sides and was equipped with flame throwing gear. He destroyed the Ismaili navy which consisted of over 4000 ordinary boats commonly used for transport and trade. The Surma chief Khafif I, was drowned. Those who escaped to the shore were hunted and killed by Sultan's 'cavalry'. When Sultan Mahmud died in AH 420/AD 1030 Farrukhi wrote in an elegy,

*Alas and slack, the Karamation (Ismailis) can now rejoice
They will be secure against death by stoning on the gallows*

Along with Sultan of Ghazna came a number of Sufis to spread the message of Islam. 'The first outstanding Sufi to settle in India was Shaykh Safi al-Din, Shaykh Abu Ishaq Kaziruni's nephew, who died in AD 1035, He made Uch his centre of activity, and his main concern was to undermine Ismaili influence in the region. Later the Kaziruni Sufis became the patron saints of mariners and travelers on the sea routes between the Persian Gulf, India and China. (Oddie, 1991; 28)

Once again the main urban centers of Sindh were administered by officers whose headquarters were outside Sindh and who were there to protect international trading routes and exact tribute from the chiefs of Sindh. The natives of Sindh found safety in becoming river-folk and boatmen or desert dwellers and camel drivers and produced the earliest extant oral literature in Sindhi which has been sometime described as desert melodies. Some of the songs depict the story of a Hindu hero, Oderolal. The oppressed Hindu prayed to god Varuna, the Hindu god of ocean and river, to come to their help. The god Varuna took the human form of Amarlal (Immortal Hero) or Oderolal (Exalted Hero) and was born in AD 1007 at Nasarpur in the house of Ratan Rao Lohano and his devoted wife, Devaki. Oderolal demanded the end of forced conversion of Hindus. He fought the Muslim conquerors and performed many deeds of valour with his horse and sword, The worship of Oderolal, the warrior-saint, has given a host of hymns and songs ending in the chant *Jhule Lal Jhule Lal*, which has become the clarion call of Sindhi Hindus in India. Oderolal performed many miracles including getting into the Indus at Nasarpur and emerging out of it at Sukkur, the reverse of which was performed by Muslim hero Darya Pir (River Saint) Khawaja Khizr who entered the river at Sukkur and emerged at Nasarpur. The story of Oderolal ended when one day in line with historical reality he and his horse disappeared into the river Indus.

The Sumras assembled at Thari in the Matli Taluka in c. AD 1026, away from the main urban centres, and elected Sumar as their leader. Druse literature mentions Shaykh ibn Sumar Raj Bal, an Ismaili, as the ruler of Multan in AD 1032. This may refer to the elder son or crown Prince (Raj Bal) of Sumar. Bhungar I, son of Kumar, took over when Sumar died in c. AD 1055 Bhungar I, died in c. AD 1068 and was succeeded by Duda I. His Sister, Tari ran the government from c. AD 1092. She handed over the government to her brother, Sanghar, in c. AD 1098 who was succeeded in c. AD 1106 by his brother-in-law, Khafif II. Khafif II died in c. AD 1141 and was succeeded by 'Umar I. After the death of iUmar I in c. AD 1180, Duda II, ruled up to c. AD 1194 when he died and was succeeded by Bhungar II.

Meanwhile, the Ghaznavid dynasty (AH 351 / AD 962 - AH 582/AD 1186) lost out to Ala al-Din, the Tadjik Amir of Ghur, who earned the title of *jahansuz*, the 'burner of the world', for plundering and burning down the capital Ghazna in AD 1151. His nephew,

Sultan Muhammad Shahab al-Din Ghuri who had no less a zealous view of Ismailism, reduced Upper Sindh in AH 571 / AD 1175, delivered Multan from the hand of Ismailis, attacked Debal in the south in AH 575/AD 1179 and captured the area along the coast of Sindh and Makran to end the Ismaili monopoly of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean. Despite repeated defeats on the political front, the Ismaili faith survived in Sindh because of their *dais* (missionaries) who were accredited agents of the Imam, authorized to teach and accept oaths of allegiance from converts, They conveyed their message in symbols which would be acceptable to both Muslims and non-Muslims and composed *ginans* (religious verses) to enable their followers to memorize them. The earliest *ginans* were composed by Pir Satguru Nur (Pir Nur al-Din) who died in AD 1079 in a mixture of Hindi, Marathi and Gujrati. 'Perhaps that was the form of Sindhi spoken in Sindh at that time.' (Allana, 1978; 14). Another famous Ismaili saint poet was Pir Shams Sabzwari who died in AD 1276. His verses are full of Seraiki words and phrases. The reputation of his great-great grandson Fir Sadr al-Din who died in AD 1409 exceeded them both as preacher and writer of *ginans*. They are written in the Khojki script and are considered the oldest extant documents of Sindhi religious literature (Schimmel, 1986; 55).

Sultan Muhammad Shahab al-Din of Ghur was assassinated by an Ismaili *fidai* (devotee) at Damik in Jhelum district on 3rd Shaban AH 602/AD 1206. Nasir al-Din Qabacha, the Ghurid Governor of Sindh, accepted the suzerainty of his father-in-law, Qutub al-Din Aibak, the slave Sultan of Delhi. Qabacha became the independent ruler of Sindh when Qutub al-Din Aibak died in AD 1210, and issued his own coins. It was during this period that the earliest extant history of Sindh, known as *Chachnama*, was translated into Persian from Arabic by Ali al-Kufi in Bhakkar, for presentation to a minister of Qabacha.

After his defeat by the great Mongol conqueror, Chingiz (Genghis) Khan at the famous battle of Indus, Jalal al-Din Mengobirdi, the heir to the throne of Khawarizm Shah, who had humbled the Ghurids, came to Sindh in AH 618/AD 1221, to claim the Ghurid conquest. Jalal al-Din attacked and occupied Debal. The Sumra chief Chanesar escaped in a boat. Jalal al-Din, one of the most heroic figures of Muslim history, left Sindh in AH 621 /AD 1224, but the Mongols repeatedly attacked Sindh for the next one hundred years. The Delhi Sultanate posted governors and sent troops to check the Mongol invaders. This turned Upper Sindh into a battleground for the defence of South Asia against the Mongols.

This to the credit of the Sultans of Delhi that they kept India safe from the Mongol invasions that had engulfed the rest of the Muslim world. They turned India into a refuge and safe haven for Muslims from all over the Muslim world. Immigrants were welcomed and rewarded and along with their Children they formed a privileged class that received important appointments. The famous North African traveler, Ibn Battuta who came to Sindh in AD 1333 wrote that the Sultan was so generous with rewards,

gifts and appointments to foreigners that merchants of Sindh had turned it into a profitable business by lending money, servants, horses and carriages to travelers entering the Sultanate, and by serving them every way that they could (Battuta, 1355; 483).

After Jalal al-Din left, Qabacha once again occupied Upper and Central Sindh in AH 623/AD 1226, Ghazna fell to the Mongols and its governor, Malik Khalj, fled to Sindh and occupied Sehwan. Qabacha attacked and expelled Khalj who took refuge with Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish in Delhi.

Iltutmish, Sultan of Delhi from AD 1211 to 1236, invaded Sindh in AH 625/AD 1228, defeated Qabacha, the ruler of Sindh, and occupied his capital, Uch, Qabacha took refuge in Bhakkar which was besieged by Nizam al-Mulk Junaydi, the minister of Iltutmish. Qabacha attempted to escape from Bhakkar fort but was drowned in the river Indus. Iltutmish sent Junaydi to subdue lower Sindh. The Sumra chief Chanesar submitted to Junaydi and went to Delhi to personally pay his respects to the Sultan.

When the course of the river Indus changed westward, the Sumras shifted their capital in c. AH 639/AD 1241 from Thari to Muhammad Tur in Taluka Bathoro on the Gunghro branch of the river Indus. The capital was named after the Sumra chief of that name who ruled from c. AD 1242 to 1254. In AH 643/AD 1245, a Mongol army under Manguta invaded Upper Sindh but left, on hearing of the approach of Sultan Ala al-Din Masud of Delhi. The Sultan appointed Malik Jalal al-Din the new governor of Sindh place of Malik Saif al-Din Hasan, who had left for lower Sindh on hearing of the approach of the Mongols. In AH 651/AD 1253, the new Sultan of Delhi, Nasir al-Din Mahmud, appointed Kishlu Khan the governor of Sindh.

Muhammad Tur was succeeded by Gunero II (c. AD 1254-1258), followed by Duda III (c. AD 1258-1273) and Tai (c. AD 1273-1283). Sultan Balban of Delhi appointed his son and heir Sultan Muhammad governor of Multan and Sindh in AH 668/AD 1269 to check the Mongol menace. The native chiefs were not able to defend themselves against the Mongols. They simply retreated into the desert seeking temporary refuge, till the Mongols withdrew, after ravaging their crops and plundering their towns and villages. Prince Muhammad routed the Mongols but was ambushed and killed and the famous poet Amir Khusrau who was accompanying him was taken prisoner by the Mongols.

This was the period when Sufi saints belonging to Sultarvitardiyya order mounted a successful challenge to the Ismaili missionaries in Sindh. The Suharwardiyya order was founded at Baghdad by Shaykh Najib al-Din Abd al-Qadir Suharwardy who died in AD 1169. It was developed by his nephew, Shahab al-Din Suharwardy who died in AD 1234. Shaykh al-Islam Baha al-Din Zakariyya of Multan (c. AD 1170-1267) went for pilgrimage to Mecca. On his way back he visited Baghdad and became the disciple of Shahab al-Din Suharwardy. On his return he established a Suharwardiyya centre in

Multan. The Uch branch of the Suharwardiyya order was founded by Sayyid Jalal al-Din Surkh Bukhari. His grandsons, Sayyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht and Sayyid Jalal al-Din, were very zealous in converting Ismailis and Hindus to the true path. In fact Sayyid Sadr al-Din was known as Raju Qattal because he was not averse to using the sword to convert the unbelievers. Another famous saint of Sindh was Sayyid Osman known as Lal Shahbaz Qalandar who was an immigrant from Marand in Azerbaijan. He died in AH 673/AD 1274 and was buried at Sehwan. He is believed by Hindus to be the reincarnation of Raja Bhartari, the brother of Raja Vikramaditya who worshipped the Hindu god Siva where the shrine of Lal Shabaz is in Sehwan. Another famous saint of Suharwardiyya order in Sindh was Pir Patho, who was equally revered by the Hindus as Raja Gopi Chand. He died c. AD 1300, and was buried on a hill 14 miles south of Thatta.

During the reign of Chanesar II (C. AD 1283-1300), Ala al-Din 1014, Sultan of Delhi from AD 1296 to 1316, sent his army into Sindh AH 697/AD 1297 to evict the Mongols who had occupied Sehwan. The Delhi Army also invaded lower Sindh and Kutch and adjudicated between two warring factions of the Sumras. This gave birth to the ballads or folk lyrics of Dodo Chanesar, which if genuine contain the 'oldest extant verses in Sindhi language' (Ajwani, 1984; 25).

The river Indus once again changed its course in c. AD 1317-1320 which forced the Sumras to shift their capital from Muhammad Tur to Samui. Debal was deserted and a new port Lahri Builder was established on the LKlri branch of the river Indus.

Bhungar III (c. AD 1300-1315) was succeeded by his son Khafif III. After the death of Khafif III in c. AD 1332, his brother Duda IV became the ruler. He was followed by Umer II and Bhungar IV in quick succession. The last Sumra ruler was Hamir who was overthrown by the Sammas in AFL 752 /AD 1352.

Historians do not agree regarding the names or the period of Sumra rule over Sindh. The names of Sumra chiefs are variously listed as:

ELLIOT	MASUM	OTHERS
		Khafif I
Sumra	Sumra	Soomar
Bhungar	Bhungar	Bhoongar 1
Duda I	Duda	Dodo I
Tari	Tani	Zainab/Tari
Sanghar	Sanghar	Sanghar
Hafif I	Hamun	Khafif II
Umar	Pitthu	Umar I
Duda II	Khaira	Dodo II
Pahtu	Arnil	Bhoongar II
Genhra I		Chanesar I
Muhammad Tur		Gunero I
Genhra II		Muhammad Tur
Duda III		Gunero II
Tai		Dodo III
Chanesar		Tai
Bhungar II		Chanter II
Hafif II		Bhoongar III
Duda IV		Khafif III
Umar Surma		Dodo IV
Bhungar III		Umar II
Hamir		Bhoongar IV
		Hamir

The Origin of the Sammas

The Sammas were once, the owners of the land throughout Sindh, and formed the majority of the population of Sindh (Qani, 1767; 100). When the Sumras came to power in Sindh, they oppressed and ill-treated the Sammas who left Sindh and took refuge in Kutch. The ruler of Kutch treated them kindly and at their request gave them land for cultivation, but the Sammas tricked their benefactors, seized their castle, and became masters of Kutch. (Beg, 1902; 39). Their descendants are still settled in Kutch and Kathiawar, and are known as the Jareja or Twin Brothers of the Sammas, The Jams of Kutch and the Nawana, gars belong to this tribe. The main body of the Sammas grew strong enough in Kutch to make a come-back in Sindh.

Many theories have been put forward regarding the origin of the Sammas. They are believed to have derived their name from, and are considered descendants of, Sam (Shem), the eldest of the three surviving sons of the Prophet Nuh (Noah). According to others, the Sammas are descendants of Sam, the son of Umar, son of Hashim, son of Abu Lahab, an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Yet others believe that Sam was the son of Umar, son of Akrama, son of Abu Jahal, another uncle of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). And, according to yet others, Sam was the son of Akrama, son of Asam, another son of Abu Jahl, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The famous fourteenth-century North African traveler, Ibn Battuta, who did not distinguish between the Sumras and Sammas, wrote that their ancestors came with the army of Muhammad bin Qasim. Due to this some people have suggested that the name 'Samma' is a corruption of the word 'Shami' (Syrian). Since as rulers, they used the title of Jam, the Sammas are also considered by some to be the descendants of Jamshid, the legendary King Jam (the termination - shid was frequently dropped) of Persia who could in his wine cup—the magical *Jam*—see events happening in the remote corners of his kingdom and is credited with the building of Persepolis—known as *Takht-i-Jamshid* or The Throne of Jamshid.

Those who search for the roots of the people of Sindh in Indian soil consider the Sammas to be Rajputs of the Yadava stock. Others consider the Sammas to be descendants of Krishna, the Hindu God who was born in Mathura in India, and was called Shyam by his *gopis*, in their songs because of his handsome dark complexion.

Like almost everyone else who now inhabits the land of Sindh, the Sammas also do not claim to be its original inhabitants. This is possible because as we all know there have been many mass migrations and movement of races and tribes in history. There have also been mass exterminations of entire peoples. The exodus of man from his place of

origin goes on even today. Homo Sapiens (the Latin term for wise humans), the modern humans of the anthropologists and therefore our ancestors, did not begin their life in Sindh. The evidence unearthed so far suggests that the Homo Sapiens as well as our more ancient ancestors, the Homo Erectus of the scientists, lived in Africa which makes us all immigrants in Sindh.

It is believed by some that the Sammas lived on the lower banks of the river Indus in 325 BC, when Alexander the Great came to Sindh. Sambus, mentioned by the historians of Alexander the Great, is believed to be a Samma. His capital Sindhimana is thought to be the present Sehwan.

The Sammas were next mentioned in *Chachnama* which recorded the conquest of Sindh by the Muslim army from Iraq, led by the young Muhammad bin Qasim in AH 94/ AD 712. The Sammas received the Muslim army by ringing bells, beating drums and dancing. When Muhammad bin Qasim asked, 'What noise is this?' he was told that it was customary for the Samma's to rejoice and welcome a new king with frolic and merriment (*Chachnama*, 1216; 312). Muhammad bin Qasim ordered them to continue with their show of happiness, and Hazam ibn ai-Amr, whom Muhammad bin Qasim had appointed governor over them, gave them twenty gold dinars. (Beg, 1900; 175).

Jam Unar, the founder of the Samma dynasty in Lar (Lowey Sindh), is first mentioned by Ibn Battuta, the famous traveler from North Africa. He wrote that Malik Rattan, a Hindu who excelled in mathematics. and the art of calligraphy, gained the favor of the learned Sultan of Delhi who cherished men of accomplishment. The Sultan bestowed on him the charge of Sehwan and the title of Raja-i-Sindh. Jam Unar and Amir Qaiser Rumi found subservience to an upstart academic irksome. The antagonism between them persists to this day. Unar plotted with Rumi to capture Sehwan from the representative of the Sultan of Delhi. They invited Rattan out of the citadel and successfully engineered an incident to kill him in the camp. They then returned to the fort, took possession of the imperial treasury, and declared Unar ruler with the title of Malik Firuz in AH 734/ AD 1333. When the news of the rebellion reached Multan, its governor Sartez Imad al-Mulk, collected his army and navy and advanced on Sehwan. Unar, hearing of the movement of the Imperial Army, promptly deserted Rumi and escaped to the safety of the desert country – much like his ancient predecessor Sambus sixteen centuries earlier.

The Imperial Army crushed the rebellion after a siege of forty days and inflicted heavy punishment on the rebels. When Ibn Battuta arrived in Sehwan it was already dark, and he went to sleep on the roof of the *madrassah* where he was staying. The next morning he found the bodies of the rebels hanging along the city walls. This upset him so much that he moved from there and took up residence elsewhere in the city (Ibn Battuta, 1355; 487 to 488).

Thatta, the capital of the Sammas, first figured in history when Taghi, a Turkish slave who had risen to an important position in the service of the Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlaq, rebelled against his master. He took shelter at Thatta with the Sumras in AH 750/AD 1350. Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlaq, the greatest and one of the most learned kings of Delhi, arrived in Sindh in 1351 in pursuit of the rebel Taghi. The Sultan fell ill on 10 Muharram after breaking the *Ashura* fast with the famous Palla fish of Sindh. These are, according to local legend, found in abundance from January to April when they are on their way upstream to pay homage to the Darya Pir (Water Saint) Khwaja Khizr.

The learned Sultan composed verses while he lay dying in his boat on the Indus at Sonda, about twenty-eight miles along the river from Thatta (Barani, 1358; 742) and twenty-two miles by road, on the 21 Muharram, 752/20 March 1351. (Sirhindi, 1433; 203). The last couplet of the last poem that he composed was:

*I commanded all the pleasures that I wished
In the end I am bent like the new moon
(Farishta, 1611; 452).*

Firuz Tughlaq, the late Sultan's cousin (the son of his father's younger brother) was persuaded after three days of intense negotiations, to take over the leadership of the demoralized Imperial Arm on 24 Muharram, 752/23 March 1351, Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq immediately organized attacks on the Sumras and Mughals who had taken advantage of the confusion, and had raided the Imperial Camp and stolen its cattle and baggage (Afif, 1398; 45). The body of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq was taken to Sehwan and buried to the west of the tomb of the saint Lal Shahbaz Qalandar. Coins were struck and distributed on the way to Sehwan, and a *khutba* in the name of the Sultan Firuz Shah was read at the mosque at Sehwan. Governors were appointed for the various parts of Sindh, except Lar, which was in the hands of the Sumras. Having arranged his affairs in Sindh, Firuz Shah cautiously marched toward Delhi with the Imperial Army. He visited the tombs of saints, and called on religious figures and learned men on the way in an attempt to secure the support of powerful religious groups, and to consolidate his position as the new Sultan, before arriving five months later in Delhi where the old *wazir* had put up a minor son of the late Sultan on the throne. The strategy was a complete success. The capital, Delhi, surrendered to the combined might of the Imperial Army and the religious lobby. This shows how little the politics of the region have changed in six hundred years, as even now the combined power of the army and religion are used with effect and can upset the most well laid plans.

The Sindh Department of Auqaf bulldozed the tomb of the great Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlaq in AD 1967 to beautify the shrine of the greatest saint of Sindh, Pir Usman Shah. An immigrant from far away Marand in Azerbaijan, the saint is known as Lal Shahbaz, the Red King-Falcon—one who flies in the highest spiritual firmament.

The inscriptions that were on the tomb of Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlaq, comprising nine lines of verse in Persian on two separate stones, have been preserved. The inscription on the first stone read:

*The World is a man-killer. It has no loyalty to life or living.
Nothing but malice and oppression flows from its unheeding nature.*

*The fate of Muhammad Shah is before us
What a glorious monarch this treacherous world has taken from us*

*He who now lies buried under the dust was a great Emperor
He had many a ruling monarch in his service*

You have been a hundred times witness to the glories of his court

*Can you now imagine him here beneath the earth
Man enough to possess the world, man enough to bestow the world*

He was full of striving and giving, valour and magnanimity

*It was Saturday night, twenty and one day of Muharram
In the year seven hundred, fifty and two, that he left us*

The inscriptions on the second stone read:

*In the reign of Firuz Shah, Lord of our realm
God may protect his throne*

*A dome was raised on the grave of that old defender of faith
Compared to it the revolving sky is a plain carpet in the eternal circle*

*In the year seven hundred fifty and four of the Hijra
The architect Sarmast, the servant of Sultan, be worthy of his favor*

The inscriptions clearly state that the great Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlaq was buried there and two years later a tomb was erected over his grave by the architect Sarmast.

Jam Uttar, the Samma leader, taking advantage of the estranged relations between the Sumras and the Sultanate of Delhi, defeated the last Sumra ruler Hamir, son of Dodo, and established Samma rule in Lar (Lower Sindh) in AH 752/AD 1351.

Malik Firuz Jam Unar was succeeded by his son Sadr al-Din Jam Bambhina II, who ruled from AH 753/AD 1352 to AH 768/AD 1367. He tried to establish good relations

with Delhi but the Imperial Governors at Multan and Gujarat preferred the devil they knew; they supported the Sumras and repeatedly complained to Delhi about the Samma rulers of Thatta. The Governor of Multan, Ain al-Mulk Mahru, complained in a letter that the Jams of Sindh had become insubordinate on learning of the rumor that Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq had died during his AD 1359 expedition to Luckhnotti in Bengal. They raided Dar al-Islam, the territory under the Sultan of Delhi, incited the Mughal marauders to kill and rob the people living under the protection of the Sultan, and took over the land allotted to the officials of the Sultan in Sehwan. Another letter by the Governor of Multan to the Jam of Thatta also contained the taunt that 'The Hindu Rajas after sending their daughters to the Royal Harem never rebelled, but Sindhis being treacherous like Raja Dahir's daughters were capable of it' (Panhwar,, 1983; 318).

Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq marched on Thatta in October, 767 AH / AD 1365, but found that his army was without sufficient provisions to sustain a long campaign. A disease that spread in the Imperial Camp destroyed three-fourths of the horses and cattle of the Imperial Army. The flotilla of boats organized by the Imperial Navy was captured by the experienced sailors of Lar, which further affected the morale and maneuverability of the Imperial Army. The large Bengali contingent of the Imperial Army under the command of Zafar Khan, defeated the Samma Army in a fierce skirmish, but Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq who was known for his caution, decided to retire to Gujarat for reinforcements. The Imperial Army that had already been beset by famine, pestilence and floods in Sindh, met a more deadly enemy in the desert, that is the lack of drinking water. This led to –what is described in a Ph.d thesis –as the first recorded sentence of Urdu prose:

By the grace of Pir Patha, one died and the other fled (Shahida, 1980, 81)

So strong was the belief of the people of Thatta in Pir Patha, and so convinced were they of the power of the miracle which had frustrated the invasion of Thatta by two mighty emperors of Delhi, that when Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq launched his second invasion of Thatta in October 1367 A.D, the Sammas were totally unprepared. When the Sultan and his huge army emerged from the desert, a logistic achievement in itself, and arrived on the left bank of the Indus, the surprise was complete. The Sultan had chosen the route and timing of the attack well. The people of Sindh had not yet harvested the crops that were standing in the fields. The Sultan immediately organized raids to capture the grain, destroy the forage, and thus deny it to the army and the people of Thatta who had taken refuge behind the river and were busy fortifying the embankments. The economic war was a disaster for the Sammas as grain became scarce and famine conditions began to prevail in Thatta in the same way as they had prevailed in the camp of the Sultan the year before. No other tactics could have been as effective against Thatta since it was protected on all sides by the waters of the Indus. A contemporary poet has described Thatta's position in the following verse:

*Thatta is an island, full of caves
On its one side is a river (Darya) and on the other five waters (Indus)*

Firuz Shah had taken the lesson of the previous year to heart, and, was so well provisioned for a long siege that he could boast to his nobles, 'Where can this handful of Thattians fly to My army shall remain here, and we will build a large city (Afif, 1398; 168)

The famine sapped the determination of the people of Thatta. Boat-loads of people looking for food abandoned Thatta and began arriving at the Imperial Camp city, where the Sultan had ordered the camp bazaar to sell grain at a subsidized price to all who came. In desperation, the Jams of Thatta sent messengers to their revered saint Makhdum Jalal al-Din Jahaniyan Jahangasht of Uch to intercede on their behalf with Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Makhdum Jahaniyan was over sixty years old but the inveterate traveler that he was, having already travelled all over the Middle East, immediately undertook the journey to Thatta. When the Makhdum arrived at the Sultan's camp, the Imperial Army came out to pay its respects and to receive his blessings. The Sultan also came out to welcome the saint and brought him into the Imperial Camp with a great show of pomp and honor (Afif, 1398; 172).

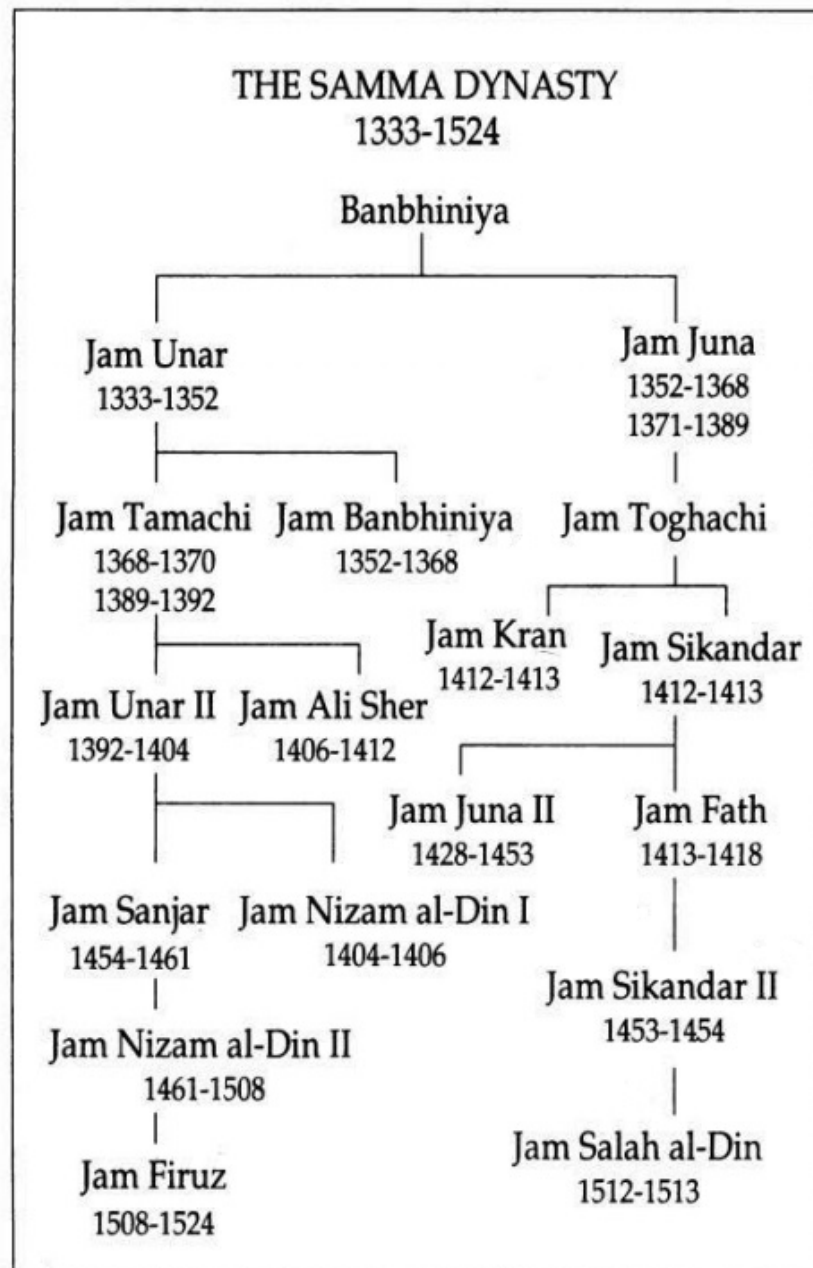
While the tripartite negotiations between the representatives of the Sammas and the Sultan were being held under the auspices of the saint, and messengers were going to and from between the citadel of Thatta and the Imperial Camp, the miracle that was expected from the saint took place. Makhdum Jahaniyan declared before the Imperial Army that he had been praying daily for its victory but that there was a pious woman in Thatta whose prayers had prevented its conquest. However, since she had now been dead for three days, the submission of Thatta was imminent. An agreement was reached and Jam Bambhina arrived at the Imperial Camp to make his submission but the Sultan had decided to go hunting. Jam Bambhina followed him to the hunting ground where he presented himself with his turban in front of his throat and a sword hanging from his neck, like a repentant criminal. Humbly approaching the Sultan, he kissed the stirrup and begged his forgiveness.

Jam Bambhina was followed by his uncle Jam Juna who, after casting himself at the feet of the Sultan, expressed his submission in a Persian verse of his own composition:

You are the King who forgives and bestows; I am the repentant Slave.
(Afif, 1398; 175)

Both Jam Juna and Bambhina received presents from the Sultan in the form of horses and embroidered robe's, and their attendants received presents suited to their respective stations. However, in effect they were now the prisoners of the Sultan because the two chiefs were not permitted to leave the Imperial Camp and were told to

send for their wives and families and accompany the Sultan to Delhi, The son of Jam him, and Jam Tamachi, the brother of Jam Bambhina, were allowed to remain to manage affairs in Thatta and raise funds to pay a large sum in cash and an annual tribute, as tokens of the allegiance of the Sammas to the Sultan of Delhi.



Jam Tamachi ruled Thatta until AH 772/AD 1370, when Ala al-Din Jam. Juna was sent from Delhi with the saint Makhdum Jahaniyan, to replace Jam Tamachi who had

become insubordinate. The political and religious complex was again successful in pacifying Sindh as it had often done before and has since. Jam Tamachi accompanied Makhdum Jahaniyan and his family to exile in Delhi in AH 772/AD 1372.

Ala al-Din Jam juna ruled from AH 772/AD 1371 to AH 790/AD 1388-9. He established his capital at Samui, at the northern end of Makii in AH 775/AD 1373-4. This is sometimes confused with the founding of Thatta but is incorrect because Thatta is older and was already a well-known town in the thirteenth century when Amir Khusrau composed his now oft-quoted verse:

*A cypress like you is not in Lich nor in Thatta,
A rose like your pretty face is certainly not existent*

The rule of Ala al-Din Jam Julia is confirmed by a Persian inscription inside a mausoleum two miles from the village of Gujjo in Mirpur Sakro Tatuka, about ten miles west of Thatta. The inscription states that the lofty dome over the mausoleum of the saint Shaykh Haji Abu Turab was built by the effort of Musa, son of Subhan, in the month of Safar in the year AH 782/AD 1380 by the order of an Ala al-Din, during the reign of the victorious Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq (Shafi, 1950; 14).

The Children of Unar

The few periods of freedom from foreign rule that Sindh has enjoyed in its recorded history, occurred during times when there was no effective government in the north. This was such a time. Shaykh al-Islam, Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahan Gasht Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari of Uch died in AH 785/AD 1383-4. And, Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq died on 18 Ramzan, 790/23 October, 1388. These two deaths freed Sindh from the religious and political forces that had bound it to Delhi, Bambhina, Tamachi and his son Salah al-Din, were released from *Qayed-e-Hind*, and were allowed to return to Thatta by the new Sultan Ghayas al-Din Tughlaq. Shaykh Hammad Jamali, an immigrant related on his mother's side to the saints of Lich, emerged as a powerful independent religious figure at Makli with a large following in Lar (Lower Sindh). He challenged the spiritual authority of Multan and Uch, which was anyhow in decline without the powerful political and financial support of Delhi.

Sarang Khan, the Governor of Dipalpur rebelled and captured Multan in AH 798 and then attacked Delhi itself. Pir Muhammad, a grandson of Amir Timur laid siege to Uch and then to Multan in AH 800. He was followed by the great Amir Timur who ordered a general massacre in Multan. In such circumstances, those who could, left even these hallowed abodes of the saints. Sayyid Burhan al-Din, the grandson of the highly revered Makhdum Jahaniya Jahan Gasht, left with his mother Hajira for Gujarat. There he established himself as Sayyid Qutub Alam, the pole star of the universe, and established a fresh centre of religious leadership which repeatedly attempted to play a part in the affairs of Sindh. This changed the focus of Sindh from north to south.

Ala al-Din Jam Tuna died in AH 791 /AD 1389. Bambhina had died on his way to Thatta from Delhi. Jam Tamachi took over the government at Thatta for the second time and reigned from AH 791 /AD 1389 to AH 795/AD 1392.

Jam Tamachi is a romantic figure in the history and literature of Sindh. He is a folk hero whose exploits are sung by village bards. The great poet-saint of Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif, has rendered the story of Tamachi's love for a simple fisher- woman of Keenjhar Lake named Gandri (belonging to dirt), whom he made his Queen and named Nuri (Light), in a long poem in Sur Karnod:

*Credit of raising a fisher-maid
Belongs to Tamachi,
He took her in his carriage, and a human-being he
Made cut of her, ... in Keen jhur. See!*

All say this is true
(Kazi,1965; 115)

Shah Abdul Latif has immortalized Nuri as the model of *nafs mutma'inna*, the soul at peace in Sufi parlance, who won the heart of God by perfect obedience:

The fisher-maid had in her neither conceit nor ego
With downcast eyes she entrapped the king
This was all her art

Another moving story that has received wide currency in the history and literature of Sindh is the relationship between Jam Tamachi and Shaykh Hammad Jamali, and the miracle of the release of the former from captivity in Delhi through the intercession of the latter.

The story as it is told, is that Jam Juna had secretly arranged to send Jam Tamachi and Jam Salah father and son, as captives to Delhi. After the deportation of Jam Tamachi, the desperate Queen Mother visited the Khangah of Shaykh Hammad Jamali every morning, and swept the floor. One day the Shaykh noticed her and asked her about her family. The Queen Mother began to cry and related the story of the captivity and exile of her son, Jam Tamachi, and grandson Jam Salah al-Din, and pleaded with the Shaykh for their release. The Shaykh was so moved by her heart rending entreaties that verses started to flow from him regarding the exiles coming home in freedom and wresting back their patrimony from the usurper. That night an old man, resembling the Shaykh, appeared before Jam Tamachi and his son in their prison cell hundreds of miles away in Delhi, and removed their shackles. He took them out of prison and provided them with horses as swift as angels, so that the guards could not catch them, The guards, by another miracle of the Shaykh, were made to lose their way and were forced to abandon the chase. Jam Tamachi and his son arrived tired and hungry at a place called Khabir in Sindh where they met an old shepherd. They asked the old man for a lamb from his herd so that they could satisfy their hunger. The shepherd, who was in fact a holy man named Makhdum Nuh Khabirai, asked them in the name of Jam Tamachi to desist from taking his lambs. Jam Tamachi was surprised to hear his name. He said to the old shepherd that the ruler of the country was Jam Juna, and asked him why he took the name of jam Tamachi who was hundreds of miles away in exile in Delhi. Makhdum Nuh Khabirai told him that for the last three days divine voices had whispered the name of Jam Tarnachi to him. Jam Tamachi as amazed at the miracle as it was exactly three days since he had been freed from the prison in Delhi. The tomb of Makhdum Nuh Khabirai is located three miles north of Khabir near Sahata village, about twenty-five miles north of Hyderabad.

Meanwhile, Jam Juna who had heard the verses that Shaykli Hammad Jamali had recited in answer to the pleas of the mother of Jam Tamachi, called on the Shaykh to

request him not to interfere in the affairs of the state. The Shaykh was displeased and in a voice full of awesome divinity told Jam Jima that the Almighty had made him the shepherd of that land and that he would carry out the Divine will.

When Jam Tarnachi reached the other side of the river he sent his son to pay his respects and receive guidance from the Shaykh. Shaykh Hammad Jamali gave the Prince a piece of cloth and asked him to unfurl it as his flag and march boldly forward under it. As soon as the Prince did that, it is believed that an army of angels assembled under the flag. When Jam Juna heard of this miracle, he chose not to face Divine wrath in battle and quietly made his exit, leaving the country and its wealth to Jam Tamachi.

To show his gratitude, Jam Tarnachi presented a large purse to Shaykh Hammad Jamali. The Shaykh spurned the money but asked Jam Tamachi to build a mosque on Makli Hill. The mosque still exists in a ruined state, to the east of the Khanqah of the Shaykh. It waits for a son of Sindh to finance its renovation. The tomb of Shaykh Hammad Jamali is in the courtyard of the mosque. The tomb of Jam Tamachi and his legendary queen Nuri is next to the courtyard of the mosque, and north of the tomb of Jam Nizam al-Din (Qani, 1767 AD; 163).

Another story of this legendary era is that of a holy man who stopped at the Jama Mosque on his way to pilgrimage in Mecca. He was so impressed by the surroundings of the Jama Mosque that he spontaneously cried out "*Hadha Makka Li*" (This is Mecca for me) and kept on repeating it in a state of ecstasy? Thereupon Shaykh Hammad Jamali named the Jama Mosque the Makli Mosque, and the whole mountain ridge has since then become known as Makli.

The credit for establishing Makli as a holy place for worship and burial goes to Shaykh Hammad Jamali and his royal devotees, Jam Tamachi and his son Jam Salah al-Din. They provided it with spiritual and architectural magnificence not known to any other place in Sindh. Today, by all accounts, it is probably the largest necropolis in the world. Mir Ali Sher Qani wrote in the *Maklinama* in AH 1174 / AD 1760 that Makli has so many tombs of saints that it is not possible to count them. Later in AH 1181/AD 1767 he reproduced in the *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, the local tradition, that Makli is the burial ground of one hundred and twenty five thousand (*sawa lakh*) saints. Seventy years later, R. H. Kennedy, a traveler from Great Britain, who visited Makli in 1838, described it as a vast cemetery of six square raffles containing not less than one million tombs. One of the secrets of the survival of Makli is that many of its graves and tombs were built of large stone blocks. Therefore, while much larger graveyards have vanished under the action of natural elements like wind and water, and due to human greed that has led people to dig for hidden treasure under every grave, the stone structures at Makli have held their own. Even where they collapsed, their stone parts were left undisturbed and were reconstructed later by the order of the British Government which did a tremendous job of restoring these monuments. This was not the case however with bricks and tiles that

could easily be carted away and reused by individuals to build and decorate their houses. They were thus pilfered from even the holiest of monuments. This is a problem that still persists, and now with the invention of more efficient means of transportation, even the carved stone elements are not safe. Greed continues to play its part and some years ago treasure hunters dug up the floor of a stone monument at Makli because they had been told by their *Pir* in a dream that a large treasure was to be found buried under it. Makli has been ravaged, but the stone elements of many of its tombs are still extant, and if there is a will and given resources, it can still be restored to its former glory. The Department of Archaeology with its meager resources, is only able to look after some of the main monuments but is unable to maintain the whole area. This neglect has turned Makli into a large expanse of parched, barren land with decaying monuments. In the past—upto the Mughal had period—it was a vast park comprising innumerable wells, lakes, shrubs, flowers, trees and greenery of every kind, where the people of Thatta regularly came with their families for picnics in the beautiful gardens that surrounded the splendid monuments.

Before the victory of the alliance between Shaykh Hammad Jamali, the immigrant saint, poet and scholar, and Jan Tamachi, the legendary native ruler, the people of Thatta used to bury their dead in the cemetery of Pir Patho who belonged to the Sufi *Silsila* of Pirs of Multan and Uch which acted as the main power brokers of the Sultans of Delhi in Sindh. The emergence of Makli as the main graveyard of Thatta and a revered place of worship, heralded the change in the power structure in Sindh. Thatta was now independent of influences from the north and was firmly established as the capital of Lar, and gradually of the whole of Sindh.

Rukun al-Din Shah Jam Tamachi, son of Jam Unar I, and Salah al-Din Shah Jam Unar II, son of Tamachi, were the first really independent Samma rulers of Thatta. They ruled without fear of interference from Delhi because of the decline of Tughlaq power after the death of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq in AH 790 /AD 1388 and the destruction of the Delhi Sultanate by Amir Timur in AH 801 /AD 1398. It was more than a century later that the descendants of Amir Timur returned to India to claim the territory that he had conquered and establish the great Indian Mughal Empire at Delhi which was to again threaten the independence of Sindh.

Salah al-Din Shah Jam Unar II, son of Tamachi ruled from AH 795/AD 1392 to AH 807/AD 1404-5. Jam Nizam al-Din I or the elder, the son of Jam Unar II, ruled from AH 807/AD 1404-5 to AH 809/AD 1406-7. He was a kind hearted man who released the grandsons of Jam Juna I, against the advice of his ministers, and allowed them to return to their estates. His ungrateful uncles who had not forgotten the humiliation that their branch of family had suffered from jam Tamachi and his son Jam Unar II, conspired to capture him and entered the city in full force in the night. Jam Nizam al-Din I received information of their intention and escaped in the dead of night with a handful of his people and members of his family towards Kutch. When the uncles came to know about

his escape, they gave pursuit. This was a mistake, because the nobles who did not approve of the descendant of Jam Juna I, brought out Jam Ali Sher, a son of Jam Tamachi, who was leading a life of obscurity in the city, and placed him on the throne. Jam Nizam al-Din I died in flight, which confirmed the position of Jam Ali Sher as the legitimate ruler of Sindh.

Jam Ali Sher ruled from AH 809/AD 1407 to AH 815/AD 1412-3. The descendants of Jam Juna I, who had tried to capture power from Jam Nizam al-Din I, continued to seek an opportunity to overthrow him. When they learned that the easy going jam Ali Sher was in the habit of cruising on the river in the light of the full moon, they found in it the opportunity they were looking for. They concealed themselves in the nearby forest on a Friday night, on the 13th of the lunar month. When Jam Ali Sher was returning home after the moonlight cruise, they attacked and killed him, and then rushed into the town with drawn swords dripping with blood, and installed Jam Karan son of Togachi, son of Jam Juna I, as the new ruler.

The Children of Juna

After killing Jam Ali Sher of the house of Tamachi in AH 815/AD 1412-3, Jam Karan, son of Togachi, son of Juna I, did not occupy the throne for long. He was killed the next evening by the nobles who were invited by him to dinner because they thought that the invitation to the banquet was merely a ruse to capture and kill them for foiling his earlier attempts to capture power.

According to an inscription found at Bahawalpur, Jam Sikandar Shah I, another son of Togachi, also ruled in AH 815/AD 1412-3, after the murder of his brother, Jam Karan. Jam Fatah Khan, son of Sadr al-Din Jam Sikandar Shah I, who did not have the same odium of conspiracy and murder attached to him as his father and uncles, was more successful in occupying the throne. He ruled from AH 816/ AD 1412-3 to AH 831 /AD 1428. Three days before his death, Jam Fatah Khan called his younger brother, Tughlaq, to his deathbed and placed the crown on his head.

An interesting figure of his reign was Shaykh Isa Langoti who had migrated to Sindh from Burhanpur in Central India, in response to a divine direction that the Qutub or the Pole Star of his age, would be born in Thatta, Shaykh Isa Langoti was required to be present in Thatta at the time of the birth and be his first disciple. It is therefore said that baby Murad did not open his eyes after his birth till Shaykh Isa Langoti was ushered in to his presence. Thus the Shaykh, as decreed, became the first person to be seen by Pir Murad when he opened his eyes after his birth. His mission having been fulfilled, Shaykh Isa Langoti breathed his last three days after the birth of Pir Murad in AH 831 /AD 1428.

Jam Tughlaq Jung II, son of Sadr al-Din Jam Sikandar Shah I, ruled from AH 831/AD 1428 to AH 857/AD 1453. He tried to stop the Baloch incursion and occupation of the fertile land of Sindh. He suppressed the Baloch rebellion around Bhakkar, punished the ringleaders, and appointed his brothers as Governors of Sehwan and Bhakkar to secure the northern frontiers of his kingdom. He built a strong fort at Tughlaqabad at the southern end of the Makli hills which is known as Kala or Kalan Kot. He sent his daughters, Bibi Murki and Bibi Mughli, to Gujarat in AH 846/AD 1442. Bibi Murki was to be presented to Sultan Muhammad Shah, the ruler of Gujarat, but the ambassadors found that Bibi Mughli was better looking than her sister. They therefore presented Bibi Mughli to the Sultan, and married Bibi Murki to Shah Alam, son of Qutub-i-Alam, the spiritual guide of the rulers of Gujarat. The purpose of Jam Tughlaq was to forge an alliance with the royal family of Gujarat to protect his south eastern border against the

infidel -Jareja Sammas of Kutch who had given refuge to the rival family of Jam Nizam al-Din I. Also, he wished to re-establish ties with the great grandson of Makhdum Jahanian who had such a close association with his ancestor, the Jam tuna I.

Bibi Mughli, who was married to Sultan Muhammad Shah, the ruler of ajar t, gave birth to Fatah Khan in AH 849 / AD 1445-6. When Sultan Muhammad Shah died, Bibi Mughli moved into the house of Shah Adam, the husband of her sister Bibi Murki, to protect her young son from being assassinated in the struggle for succession. When Bibi Murki died in about AH 858/ AD 11450, her husband, Shah Alam, married his sister-in-law, Bibi Mughli, who was living in his house under his protection. He helped her son, Fatah Khan, to regain the throne of his father when he was only fourteen years old. The young king grew to become the greatest Sultan of Gujarat. Known in history as the famous warrior king Sultan Mahmud Beghara, he ruled in Gujarat from AD 1459 to 1511. It is said about him that after his elder brother was killed by poison, Sultan Mahmud Beghara protected himself from a -similar fate by gradually absorbing so much poison into his system that he became immune to it. He impregnated himself with so much poison that a fly settling on his body would die instantly. It is to him that Samuel Butler refers to in the *Hudibras* which was published in England in 1664:

*The prince of Camby's daily food
Is asp and basil & and toad.
(CHI, 1987; 315)*

It is said that he was known as Beghara because he conquered the two Hindu strongholds, or the garbs, of Girnar and Champaner (CHI, 1987; 316). Another explanation is that he was called *Be ghar* because it means a man without a home. Beghara never lived in one place for any length of time, but was always on the move. He therefore established not one but three capitals—the first Ahmadabad, the second Champaner that he called Mahmudabad, and the third Junagadh that he called Mustafabad. But when the Mughal Emperor Jahangir visited the tomb of Sultan Mahmud Beghara in the twelfth year of his reign, he was told that Beghara, in the language of the people of Gujarat, signifies a turned up moustache, and as Sultan Mahmud had a large upturned moustache that never bent downwards, he was called Beghara (Jahangir, 1627; 429).

The carefully laid out plans of Jam Tughlaq worked for a quarter of a century. In his last days, there was a rebellion by his brothers in the north, unrest in Kutch, and an attempt by the son of his predecessor, Jam Fatah, to claim the throne in which the contestant was backed by a large number of the nobles. Jam Tughlaq had to flee to Gujarat for help but Gujarat was then beset with problems of succession of its own. Jam Fatah died in Gujrat, a disappointed man. In accordance with his wishes, he was buried in a tomb that he had built near Ahmadabad in Gujarat, which was-also the resting place of his daughter, Bibi Murki, and her son Shah Shaikhan.

Jam Sikandar Shah II, son of Jam Fatah Khan, occupied the throne in AH 857/AD 1453. He marched out to suppress the rebellion of his uncles who had declared their independence in Sehwan and Bhakkar. Before he could suppress the rebellion, however, he had to rush back to the capital where another relative had proclaimed himself King in his absence and had assumed the title of Jam Mubarak. Jam Mubarak was dethroned and driven out of the city by the nobles before Jam Sikandar could reach the capital. This incident, however, made Jam Sikandar wary of leaving the capital and he died a year later in AH 858/AD 1454, without leaving a successor. The descendant of Jam Julia still live in Sindh and are known as Junejo (of juna).

Peace and Stability

After the Jam Juna branch of the family had captured the throne from the descendants of Jam Unar, by driving away Jam Nizam al-Din I and killing Jam Ali Sher, the members of the Unar branch found safety in living outside Sindh. Jam Sanjar, a young son of Sultan Salah al-Din Shah, lived among the Jarejas of Kutch along with his family after his brother, the King Jam Nizam al-Din I, had died there. While the descendants of Jam Juna occupied the throne, he grew up and bided his time among the Jareja who were Hindus. This association explains his alias, Raydhan or Rai Dino. The lack of suitable claimants to the throne from the Jam Juna line, after the death of young Jam Sikandar Shah, without any heir, provided him with the opportunity. His sudden dash to the capital with his band of tough rustic followers, and his claim of being without any political ambition allowed him peaceful entry into the capital.

He won the hearts of the people by proclaiming that he had 'not come for the throne, but to help his fellow citizens in the protection of their persons and property; that he did not consider himself worthy of a high and responsible post, and that he was ready to pay homage to anyone who would be chosen by them to be their ruler' (Beg, 1902; 48). His constant disclaimer and protestations of lack of interest in political power except as a means to serve the people, coupled with a demonstration of the might and devotion of his band of hardy rustic followers, was as sure a formula for obtaining political power then as it is now. His peaceful capture of power was considered to be a miracle and is explained in a story: Jam Sanjar was devoted to a Holy Man who also was fond of him. One day he requested the Holy Man to grant him the throne of his ancestors, even though it be for only eight days. The Holy Man granted him more than he had 'wished for. He told him that he would be king for not merely eight days, but for eight years. True to the word of the Holy Man, Sultan Sadr al-Din Shah Jam Sanjar (alias Jam Raina or Jam Rayadhan) son of Sultan Salah al-Din Shah Jam (Unar II) ruled from AH 858/ AD 1454 to AH 866/AD 1461. Jam Sanjar abdicated in favor of his son, Sultan Nizam al-Din II, in fulfillment of the prophecy of the Holy Man after a rule of eight years. He then went to live in Gujarat where his daughter was married to Sultan-Muzaffer II. Some historians consider Jam Raina and Jam Sanjar to be two persons. Many stories are prevalent about both of them, but it is agreed that during this period Samma rule was firmly established in Sindli and the country was governed wisely.

Sultan Nizam al-Din Shah son of Sultan Sadr al-Din Shah Jam Sanjar, known as Jam Nindo, ruled from AH 866/AD 1461 to AH 914/AD 1508. His reign was not only the longest lasting—spanning about half a century—but is considered to be the most glorious in the history of Sindh. He was a wise and just ruler under whom *madrasahs*

and mosques flourished, and people enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity. It is said that he visited his stables regularly and used to talk to his horses and say, 'O lucky ones, I do not wish to ride you out to a war. Muslims are ruling on all our four borders. May God never give us any cause other than in accordance with the religious law, to go out to fight or for others to march on us, lest the innocent blood of Muslims, be shed, and, I am ashamed in the august presence of God' (Masum, 1592, 103)

Jam Nizam al-Din was fond of literary pursuits and often spent his time in his library. As an example of his accomplishments as a poet and devotee of religion, the following Persian verses of Jam Nizam al-Din are quoted:

*O you who are called the Order of Religion (Nizam-i-Din)
Are you proud that you are called thus?
If you were to commit an error in enforcing religion
There is no doubt that you will be called an accursed infidel*

Jam Nizam al-Din took steps soon after the accession—to stop the persistent inroads into Sindh of Baloch tribes who were, as usual, marauding in northern Sindh and displacing the Sindhi peasants from their prime land. Jam Nizam al-Din stayed for over a year in Bhakkar, and took punitive action against the Baloch tribes. He strengthened the defences of the fort of Bhakkar, filled it with provisions, and left his slave, Dilshad, in charge of the fort to guard his northern borders. He tried gifts and diplomacy to mend his relationship with the Langah of Multan who had given shelter to the Samnia nobles who had been expelled by Jam Nizam al-Din from Sindh.

Sultan Mahmud Beghara of Gujarat, who modelled himself on Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna as the destroyer of infidels and idolaters, invaded Kutch in AD 1472. His ostensible purpose was to convert its population to the true faith. Jam Nizam al-Din did not take any chances. He sent his daughter with presents to Sultan Mahmud Beghara, as a token of his gratitude to the Sultan for subduing the rebels on his eastern border. The Sultan gave the Samma Princess to Qaisar Khan, a refugee noble in his court.

Jam Nizam al-Din had to also face a new orthodoxy within his realm from a growing number of scholars and religious leaders who were taking refuge in Sindh from the political and religious upheavals that were taking place in the west. We have already seen how Pir Murad, the 'pole star' of the age, was born in Thatta to a refugee Sayyid from Shiraz who had married into the powerful Abbasi Qazi family of Thatta. After the age of forty, Pir Murad is believed to have developed such an overpowering presence that he was compelled to wear a veil over his face—for any person who chanced to see his countenance left his family and became a devotee of the saint. This and other powers, made Pir Murad a great proselytizer. He converted over twelve thousand persons to Islam who also swore allegiance to him. Naturally Jam Nizam al-Din had to use extreme tact in dealing with him. When Lakhi Mal, the Hindu minister complained

against Pir Murad for converting a Hindu temple into a mosque, Jam Nizam al-Din could do no more than send Jam Marak, a son of his brother, and his son-in-law, to entreat with the *Pir*. However, when the Prince entered the presence of Shah Murad, a divine aura engulfed him. Jam Marak kissed his hand and became a disciple. Pir Murad gave him the title of 'Alba' and allowed him to stay with him. Then Jam Nizam al-Din sent Shaykh Nathar to the *Pir*, and again the same thing happened. Next, Jam Nizam al-Din made a third attempt and sent Shaykh Naila who also swore allegiance to Pir Murad and became his follower. Finally, Jam Nizam al-Din realized his mistake, apologized, and called on Pir Murad to seek his blessings.

The white dome of Safa Mosque that was converted from a temple to a mosque still stands on Makli hill as a monument to the religious power that Pir Murad exercised during the reign of Jam Nizam al-Din. The growing power of Pir Murad, of the family of new immigrants in Sindh, was contested by the descendants of the old immigrant saints of Multan. It is believed that they sent him a cup of milk filled to the brim, that neither spilled nor went sour, but retained its freshness in spite of a 867 mile hot and dusty journey from Multan to Thatta, which in those days lasted many weeks. The cup of milk conveyed the message to Pir Murad that the saints of Multan had showered their blessings over Sindh, and that there was no room for another saint. Pir Murad took a rose and dropped it into the cup and sent it back to Multan. The cup again made the 867 mile journey and arrived in Multan without the rose fading or the cup spilling a drop of milk, thus conveying the message that there was always a place for a rose to spread its fragrance.

Shaykh Sadr al-Din, the son and heir of saint Bahawal Haq of Multan, arrived in Thatta to personally confront Pir Murad. Pir Murad and Shaykh Sadr al-Din went together to the mosque for the Friday prayer. On the way they saw a dead cat lying on the road. Shaykh Sadr al-Din restored it to life by saying, 'Kum b'izni 'llh' (Arise in the name of God.) Pir Murad paid no attention to his feat. When they arrived at the mosque, they found that there was no Imam to lead the prayers. Pir Murad sent his servant into the street and asked him to summon the first person he met to lead the prayer. 'This, curious to say was an old Brahmin, a veteran idolater, who, however, no sooner had he heard the words than he hurried into the Pies presence, tore off his priestly thread, prayed and preached in the most eloquent Arabic, explained the words "Bismillah" in fourteen different ways to the intense delight of the congregation, and in time became a most luminous Moslem. Pir Murad turned round to Shaykh Sadr al-Din and said, "it is better to restore one dead heart to eternal life than to give life to a thousand dead bodies," Shaykh Sadr al-Din had the candour to own that he had met with a better man than himself and returned to Multan.' (Burton, 1851; 24)

Pir Murad Sayyid Muhammad Husain died in AH 893/ AD 1488. He was buried in a simple grave in Makli, that is to this day, visited by thousands of devotees. The Shirazi Sayyids were not the only immigrants who made their presence felt during the reign of

Jam Nizam al-Din. Two Sayyid brothers, Yaqub and (shag, came from Mashad and settled in Samui, north of Thatta, in AH 901 /AD 1495. There were two other Sayyid brothers called Ahmad and Muhammad, who arrived from Shiraz in AH 910/AD 1504 and settled in Mughalwara in Thatta, Jam Nizam al-Din also asked a number of scholars to come and settle in Thatta.

The famous Salryid Muhammad of Jaunpur in India came to Thatta in AH 901/AD 1495 on his way to Mecca. He came back in AD 1504 proclaiming himself to be the *Mahdi* (Messiah). Jam Nizam al-Din expelled him from Sindh and Haider of Sann (an ancestor of the politician G. M. Syed), on instruction from Makhdum Bilawal, tried to drown Sayyid Muhammad and his followers by making holes in the boat in which they were crossing the river. But before this most famous religious figure of his age, known by his followers as Miran Mandi, left Sindh he made many important converts including the famous general Mubarak Khan and poet-scholar Qazi Qazin who wrote his experience of meeting him in the earliest extant Sindhi verses:

*Pie dervish came and woke me from forgetful slumber
Then I got up and took the path of my beloved*

Sultan Husain Mirza Baygara, Timurid ruler of Khurasan, appointed Zun Nun Beg Arghun as the Governor of Qandahar in AH 884/AD 1479. Shah Shuja Beg son of Zun Nun Beg Arghun, captured Siwi/Sibi from Bahadur Khan who held it for Jam Nizam al-Din. In AH 895 /AD 1490, Jam Nizam al-Din sent a large force under the command of his adopted son Darya Khan an, who defeated the Arghuns and killed their teenage commander, Muhammad Beg, the younger son of Zun Nun Beg, in a battle at Jalwakhir near Bibi Mani in the Bolan pass. (Haig, 1894, 83). This victory made Darya Khan, the *Dulla* (hero) of Sindh, whose deeds of valour are sung all over Sindh to this day.

There is an interesting story of how Darya Khan Dulla came to the attention of Jam Nizam al-Din. It is said that on an occasion when Jam Nizam al-Din went out to hunt with his minister, Diwan Lakhdar (Lakhsir, Lakhimal), the latter had with him a young slave named Qabula to whom was entrusted the care of drinking water. Jam Nizam al-Din, became thirsty during the chase, and called for water. The minister ordered the boy Qabula to fill a cup for the king. The lad, young in years but old in wisdom, filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass. The king put down the cup and asked him what the grass was doing in his drinking water. The young slave replied: 'I saw that your majesty was very thirsty, and I feared that you may drink too large a quantity too quickly and suffer from it; I therefore put these small blades of grass in the water, so that you may drink in moderation.' Jam Nizam al-Din was pleased with his answer and immediately bought him from Diwan Lakhdar, gave him the name 'Darya Khan', and made him his personal attendant. His affection for the youth increased day by day, and finding him possessed of sufficient abilities to administer the affairs of the kingdom, he soon conferred upon him the title of Mubarak Khan and employed him in

all difficult matters. In time Jam Nizam al-Din began to love him better than his children and relatives (Tahir, 1621, 55) and adopted him as his son.

In AH 911 / AD 1505, another orthodox ruler of Gujarat, Mahmud bin Muzaffar Shah, captured Nagar Parkar from the Sodha Rajputs, and built a mosque at Bodesar.

Jam Nizam al-Din died in AH 914/AD 1508. On his deathbed he entrusted to Darya Khan the care of his kingdom, of his treasures, his family, and his son Jam Firuz (Tahir, 1621; 56).

The Last Samma

Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fatah Firuz Shah II, son of Jam Nizam al-Din, ruled from AH 914/AD 1508 to AH 931/AD 1524-5. He left the conduct of the government in the hands of Mubarak (Darya) Khan. This annoyed the Samma princes and nobles who had already suffered greatly from their diminished power and privileges during the long reign of Jam Nizam al-Din who had distrusted them and had run the government with the help of his slaves and adopted sons. Jam Nizam al-Din's distrust of his relatives and Samma nobles had driven many of them out of Sindh, including two of his brothers who had taken refuge in Gujarat.

The Samma princes and *khaskhelis* (royal guards) conspired against Mubarak Khan, and encouraged Jam Firuz to become independent of him. Mubarak Khan found it prudent to retire to his *jagir* in Gahan near Sehwan. There he spent his time among the learned men who had settled there to escape the religious militancy which was sweeping Iran and Khurasan. One of the most famous was Makhdum Abd al-Aziz Ubhri, who had arrived from Herat with his famous sons, Maulana Asir al-Din Ubhri and Maulana Muhammad, and had settled at Gahan in the *jagir* of Mubarak Khan.

Jam Salah al-Din, a son of a brother of Jam Nizam al-Din, and the grandson of Jam Sanjar Raydhan, who was living as an exile in the court of Gujarat, heard with satisfaction the news of the departure of Mubarak Khan from Thatta. He received messages of support and an invitation to come and take over the government of Thatta from Jam Firuz. Jam Salah al-Din used the occasion of the celebration of accession of Sultan Muzaffar to the throne of Gujarat in AH 917/AD 1511-2, to present his cousin Bibi Rani, daughter of another brother of Jam Nizam al-Din, to the new Sultan. He also briefed him regarding the situation in Thatta and showed him the letters of support that he had received from Thatta. Jam Salah al-Din raised an army with the help of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat and Rao Khengar of Kutch, and with forced marches, suddenly appeared before Thatta in AH 918/AD 1512.

Jam Firuz was kept ignorant, and thus unprepared, by his nobles who had conspired with Jam Salah al-Din. They now advised him to flee. This facilitated Jam Salah al-Din's entry into Thatta without encountering resistance. During his flight Jam Firuz was captured for ransom by his *khaskhelis*, an old custom, that has received new impetus in recent times in Sindh. He was bailed out for a huge sum by his mother, Queen Madina Machhani, who persuaded him to go to Gahan to seek help from Mubarak Khan. Mubarak Khan reluctantly agreed and collected troops from Sehwan and Bhakkar. These

comprised a number of men from the outlying Baloch tribes and a contingent of Mughals led by Mehter Sambal, a favorite slave and general of Shah Shuja Beg. A minister of Jam Salah al-Din, by the name of Haji, came out to oppose Mubarak Khan. But the false news of a defeat, and a bogus letter sent by Mubarak Khan purporting to have been sent by the Haji – advising Jam Salah al-Din to immediately leave the city of Thatta and flee to Chach Khan/Badin – won the day for Jam Firuz. He was reinstated in Thatta on 1d-al-Fitr, of 1 Shawwal 918/12 October 1512. Jam Saiah al-Din returned to Gujarat after a reign of eight months in Thatta.

Jam Firuz was pleased with the support that he had received from the Mughals in regaining his throne. He settled them in Thatta in quarters known as 'Mughalwara'. Jam Firuz could not, however, trust the Samma nobility who had already shown themselves to be in favor of Jam Salah al Din. He did not possess the personal authority of Jam Nizam al-Din to create a band of loyal *khaskhelis* around him. They had shown that they could turn against him in his hour of need. Therefore, the presence of a band of hardy Mughals appeared to be the best guarantee against the Samma nobility from further conspiring against him and keeping Jam Salah al-Din away from making further advances on Thatta. The Mughals also acted as a check against Mubarak Khan acquiring too much power in the government of Thatta. It was during this period of fraternization with the Mughals that Badi al-Zaman Mirza, the brother-in-law of Shah Shuja Beg, and the last Timurid King of Kurasan, who had managed to escape from the invasion of Shayibani Khan, came to Sindh in AH 918/AD 1512-3. He stayed as the guest of Jam Firuz in Thatta. He left after a year to take refuge with Shah Ismail Safawi of Persia who settled him in Tabriz where he was captured by the Ottoman Turks and taken to Istanbul.

The next threat to Jam Firuz came from Shah Shuja Beg, the brother-in-law of Badi al-Zaman it a, and ruler of Qandahar. He invaded Chandauka (fifty miles north-west of Larkana), Gahan (forty-eight mites north-west of Sehwan) and Baghbanan (twenty-seven miles north-west of Sehwan) that were in the *jagir* of the famous Mubarak Khan in Zul Qada 924/November 1518. Two years later, Shah Shuja Beg took the direct Lakhi route and advanced rapidly, keeping the river Indus to his left, through the narrow Lakhi pass, and arrived outside Thatta without encountering any opposition. The Samma army was defeated and their hero Mubarak Khan died fighting on 11 Muharram 927/21 December 1520. The year of the conquest of Thatta by Shah Shuja Beg is obtained from the chronograrn, *Kharabi-e-Sindh* (Ruin of Sindh) (Qani, 1767; 174-5).

Jam Firuz, who had fled to Pir Ar, on the other side of the river, surrendered. He presented himself to Shah Shuja Beg, with a sword hanging from his neck to express his complete submission (Jamal, 1654; 310). Shah Shuja Beg handed back Thatta and the country up to the Lakhi Hills to Jam Firuz and occupied the rest of Sindh.

The rapid march and victory at Thatta had left some of the chiefs of Sindh and their forces intact at Talti, where they had gathered to oppose the new conqueror of Sindh, Mahmud Khan and Matin/Motan Khan, the two sons of Mubarak Khan, and Jam Sarang and Rinmal Sodha were ready to submit, but Makhdum Bilawal persuaded them to resist the Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg quietly collected a fleet of boats during the night and crossed the river with his army. A large number of Sodhas—including a brother of the Sodha chief—were killed in action.

Makhdum Bilawal was treated harshly and was made to pay a heavy fine (Masum, 1592; 160). Mirza Kalich Beg uses the name Bilal and writes that Makhdum Bilal was ill-treated by the Mughals after Shah Beg's victory in Sindh, and was compelled to give taxes. (Beg, 1902; 66), Makhdum Bilawal was a religious scholar and a grandson of Makhdum Idris, a brother of Jam Nizam al-Din and had a reputation for piety. Sayyid Haider of Sann was a disciple of Makhdum Bilawal since the age of twelve. Qazi Dinah Sewhani acquired knowledge of the *hadith* and its interpretation from him. Makhdum Bilawal was also a poet. One of his Persian quatrains reads as follows:

*Surrender yourself to God
Lose your will into His
Self-assertion is blasphemy
Shun the self and merge into Him*

The popular belief in Sindh is that Makhdum Bilawal was ordered to be crushed alive in an oil expeller after the battle of Talti for opposing the conquest of Sindh by the Arghuns. This legend, however, does not receive confirmation from any of the known historians of Sindh. According to them, Makhdum Bilawal died in AH 929/AD 1522, which was two years after the battle of Talti and the conquest of Sindh by the Arghuns. The popular belief is that the Mazar of Makhdum Bilawal is at Baghban, about five miles north west of Dadu, whereas historians believe that he was buried north of the hermitage of Shaykh Hammad Jamali under a stone pavilion at Makli. This has fallen down but the stones are still there and his tomb, like other stone monuments of the Samma period can be put back into its original shape. Those who do not agree, say that Makhdum Bilawal is often referred to and confused with Makhdum Bilal or Bilali Makhdum who also belonged to Talti, and who had died in AH 929.

Almost a decade had elapsed since Jam Salah had last attempted to displace Jani Firuz. Since then the situation had entirely changed in Sindh. Jam Firuz was now king only in name at Thatta, while central and northern Sindh was under the direct rule of the Arghuns who were busy displacing the old nobility. A stream of refugees were leaving Sindh and arriving in Kutch and Gujarat seeking the leadership of Jam Salah al-Din. Jam Salah al-Din collected ten thousand horsemen from among the Jarejas, the Sodhas, the Sammas and the Khengars and surprised the government at Thatta in AH 927/November 1521, Jam Firuz once again fled to Sehwan to seek the help of the

Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg sent his son Shah Hasan with a cavalry of a thousand horses to the aid of Jam Firuz. Jam Sarang and Rinmal Sodha who had escaped after their defeat at the battle of Talti in March, had joined Jam Salah al-Din and had pursued Jam Firuz to Sehwan. When they heard that Shah Hasan was on the move, they retreated and once again established a defensive position near Talti on the other side of the river Indus, where they dug trenches and waited for the Arghun army. Shah Hasan, like his father before, did not waste any time in confronting them, and proceeded straight to Thatta, Jam Salah al-Din was unnerved by the rapid movement of the Arghun cavalry. He abandoned Thatta and retreated to Jun. Shah Hasan followed him. The advance guard of the Arghun army led by Mirza Isa Turkhan, Sultan Quli Beg and Mir Alaika, encountered the advance guard of the army of Jam Salah al-Din commanded by his son Fatah Haibet Khan, who was the son-in-law of the King of Gujarat, and immediately went into action. Shah Hasan Arghun who was closely following his advance guard, attacked Fatah Khan from the rear. The Samma advance guard was surrounded and massacred. Fatah Khan was among the dead. When Jam Salah al-Din heard the news of the death of his son and heir, he fell upon the Arghun army in a fit of rage and desperation and in turn was killed fighting. Jam Firuz was once again installed by Shuja Beg at Thatta.

After Shuja Beg died on 22 Shaban 930/26 June 1524, his son Shah Hasan decided to get rid of Jam Firuz. Mannek Wazir and Shaykh Ibrahim, the son-in-law of Jam Firuz, commissioned all available boats and organized a fleet to prevent the Arghuns from crossing the river. The Samma fleet was no match for the experienced Arghuns and was attacked and drowned along with their leaders. Jam Firuz once again abandoned Thatta in Shawwal AH 930/September 1524 and left for Kutch. He collected an army of the Samma tribes near Chach Khan (Badin). Shah Hasan arrived with his troops at Khari Khabarlo in Tando Bhago where the Sammas and Arghuns met for a final trial of strength. The army of Jam Firuz followed their tribal custom; they dismounted, left their horses, tied their turbans around their waists and to each other and resolved to fight to the death. There was a great slaughter in which 20,000 men are believed to have been killed. Jam Firuz fled the battlefield, to fulfill the curse contained in the *Mamui* riddles against the descendants of Jam Tamachi:

*At Karo Kabaro, a battle shall rage for six watches (18 hours).
The Mirmichi shall be beaten. Sindh shall enjoy peace.*
(Haig, 1894; 89)

The tradition is that Makhdum Baha al-Din, the great saint from Multan, had come to Thatta. His followers did not want him to leave and thus deprive them of the blessings that his presence bestowed on them. They planned to murder him thus keeping him with them. Shaykh Jia, a disciple of the saint, discovered the plot and slept in the place of the saint in the bed at night, and was martyred. A part of his body was cooked by them to be eaten so that part of his flesh and blood may become part of their flesh and

blood, but before the food was served they repented, secured the lid of the cooking pot and threw it in the river Indus. Seven *Mohannas* (fishermen) found the pot and not being aware of its contents or the nature of the meat in the pot, ate from it. They were at once transformed into saints with the ability to see what was hidden from ordinary mortals, They informed Jam Tamachi that the head of a huge snake was buried under Thatta with its tail under Delhi, and as long as it was in that position Thatta would remain independent. Jam Tamachi, desirous of retaining the independence of Sindh, asked them to secure the head of the serpent by thrusting a spike into the ground. But the people of Thatta were skeptical. They derided the prince and his holy advisers and insisted upon drawing out the spike, to confirm the story by seeing for themselves that the blood, if any, of the serpent was on the spike. In an evil hour Jam Tamachi consented, and heedless of the warnings of holy men directed the iron spike to be pulled up. Seeing the point of the spike dripping with gore, all were struck with horror and confounded into belief; their apprehension did not diminish when the holy men informed them that the snake had moved, and that Sindh had forever lost the spell that protected her. Jam Tamachi, in wrath, ordered the decapitation of the holy men. Then, to his dismay, each headless trunk arose, uttered a prophecy, and began walking away. The headless trunk of the holy men did not cease to journey till they arrived at Amri where they fell to the ground, deprived of life and motion, and were buried in sepulchres at Makan Amri. They are variously known as *Samoi*, *Mamoi*, or the *Haft-tan*. (Burton, 1851; 87).

Jam Firuz, like his cousin Jam Salah al-Din before him, took refuge in Gujarat and presented his daughter in marriage to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat. His stay there was not peaceful for before long Gujarat was invaded by Emperor Humayun in AH 942/AD 1535-6, who had been enraged by a taunting letter sent to him by Sultan Bahadur, and was determined to teach him a lesson. Jam Firuz was captured by the Mughal forces and killed during a night attack by the Kolis and Gawars in the Imperial Camp at Campy. Thus the story of the last of the line of Samma rulers of Sindh ended away from home, under the pincer movement of the two groups of leaders from Central Asia who believed, that as descendants of the two mighty conquerors, Chingiz Khan and Amir Timur, they were entitled to claim the earth.

The Arghuns

The emergence of the Uzbek and Safavi powers in Central Asia and Iran led to the liquidation of the empire of Amir Timur held by his various descendants. Those of the princes of the house of Timur and their dependents and nobles who escaped liquidation were driven eastward. These princes, even when destitute, did not give up the idea that as the descendants of the great Amir Timur they had the right to rule over the areas conquered by him. They were always ready to claim—by whatever stratagem possible—the throne however small or insignificant, of whatever place they went to, or which allowed them an opening. They were always hoping—on the basis of the example Amir Timur had provided to them—to use any foothold that they may get as a base for future conquest and aggrandizement. They were helped in this belief by people who accepted their claim to rule the world. Whenever people felt unhappy with their rulers, they tended to look for and invited some descendant of Amir Timur to rescue them and occupy the throne. So great was the respect that people entertained for the blood of the great conqueror, that anyone who could boast of it in his veins, found adherents who enabled him either to obtain a throne or an honorable grave (Malcolm, 1815; 488). Thus every ruler or ambitious leader who was trying to carve a place for himself in Asia had to contend with the Timur factor.

Whereas the Safavi answer to this was the establishment of a militant Shiite state in Iran committed to eliminate every other sect, the Uzbeks in Central Asia, under the leadership of Shaybani Khan, adopted the policy of physically eliminating every prince and taking into their harem every princess of the House of Timur they could capture, whatever her age or marital status, to legitimize their conquest.

Zun Nun Beg was a descendant of Arghun Khan, the great great grandson of Chingiz Khan and the Il-khan or the Lord of Persia from AD 1284 to 1291 under Kublai Khan, the ruler of China and Khan of all Mongols. Zun Nun Beg served Babur's grandfather, Abu Said, till his defeat by the Chief of White Sheep and his death in AH 873/AD 1469. Thereafter, Zun Nun Beg sought employment at Herat with Sultan Husain Mirza Bamara, an illustrious descendant of Amir Timur and the ruler of Khurasan, who appointed Zun Nun Beg Arghun governor Ghur and Zamindawar in AH 884/AD 1479. Later Zun Nun Beg received the additional charge of Kandahar and Farah. Zun Nun Beg foresaw the gathering storm in the west and added to his possessions Shal Quetta and Mastung in Balochistan as a possible refuge for his family and followers. Four years later he sent his son Shah Shuja Beg to occupy the land beyond the Bolan Pass. Shah Shuja Beg captured Siwi/Sibi from Bahadur Khan who held it for Jam Nizam al-Din,

and left it in the charge of his younger brother Sultan Muhammad Beg who, being young and impetuous, led raiding parties into Sindh.

In AH 895/AD 1490, Jam Nizam al-Din sent a large force under the command of his adopted son, Darya Khan. He defeated the Arghuns and killed their teenage commander, Sultan Muhammad Beg, in a battle at Jalwagir in the Bolan pass near Bibi Nani. (Flaig, 1894; 83). Developments at home did not allow Shah Shuja Beg to respond to his brother's death but were to color his relations with Sindh in the future.

Muhammad Shaybani Khan Uzbek, was a descendant of Uzbek Khan, the son of Jochi, the eldest son of Chingiz Khan. His family had lived and multiplied around the Ural Mountains, and had now come to lay their claim to rule the world as they considered it to be prior to the claims made by the descendants of Amir Timur. After liquidating, one by one, the rule of all the numerous Timurid princes and claimants of the throne in Central Asia, Shaybani Khan attacked Khurasan in Muharram 913/May-June 1507 to end the last remaining established Timurid kingdom that had fallen in disarray after the death of Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara, the poet calligraphist king of Khurasan and patron of Jami and Behzad. Zun Nun Beg, the governor of Kandahar, was now the chief adviser and Prime Minister of his son-in-law Bali al-Zaman Mirza, one of the sons and successor of Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara. Zin Nun Beg refused to submit to Shaybani Khan. Emperor Babur described his last stand against overwhelming numbers of the enemy, despite repeated offers of clemency from Uzbeks, the result of his foolish belief in the prediction of *shaikhs* and *mullahs* of Herat, who had told him that the Spheres are holding commerce with us; you are to be styled Hizabru'l-lah (Lion of God); you will overcome the Uzbek.' Shah Shuja Beg, the elder son of Zun Nun Beg, who was in charge of Kandahar submitted to the conqueror who confirmed him in place of his father as the Governor of Kandahar.

The future Emperor of India, Babur, who was descended from the great conqueror Amir Timur from his father, and from the 'scourge of the world' Chingiz Khan through his mother, carved an independent kingdom for himself at Kabul in AH 910/AD 1504. Babur had been pushed out of his ancestral kingdom by Shaybani Khan, therefore he had a score to settle. He marched on Kandahar, defeated Shah Shula Beg and his brother, Muhammad Muqim and handed Kandahar over to his brother, Nasir Mirza. Shah Shuja Beg retired to Shal/Quetta and Mashing in AH 914 and proposed attacking Sindh. Muhammad Muqim, the other son of Zun Nun Beg, who had fled to his estate in Zamindawer/Shahr Kohna, went to Shaybani Khan to plead the case of his brother. Shaybani Khan had detained Babur's sister at the time of the surrender of Samarkand and kept her in his *harem*. Determined as he was to destroy all the Timurid princes, he immediately laid siege to Kandahar. Nasir Mirza surrendered Kandahar to Shaybani Khan who restored it to the Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg once again shelved his plan to conquer Sindh and went back to Kandahar where he ordered that coins be struck and the *khutba* be read in the name of Shaybani Khan.

Shaybani Khan Uzbek made the mistake of underrating the growing power of Shah Ismail who had established the Safavi dynasty in AD 1501. The ideological commitment of the Safavids was to defend Meshed where their revered eighth shi'ite Imam, Ali al-Rida, son of Musa Kazim was buried by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mamun next to his father, the legendary Caliph Harun al-Rashid of Arabian Night's fame. When Shah Ismail warned him that interference in Khurasan would not be tolerated, Shaybani Khan mocked Shah Ismail by sending him a begging bowl and a beggar's stick with the advice to take up the profession of his ancestors. Shah Ismail's answer was to send him a spindle and reel, signifying that words were the weapons of women and promptly advanced into Khurasan before the confident Shaybani Khan could mobilize his forces, and surprised the Uzbek contingent led by Shaybani Khan near Merv on 30 Shaban 916/2 December 1510.

Shah Ismail was not satisfied with the defeat and death of Shaybani Khan, the self proclaimed heir and descendant of the great conqueror, Chingiz Khan. He ordered the body of Shaybani Khan to be dismembered and sent the limbs to different parts of his empire for public display. The skin of the head of Shaybani was stuffed with hay and sent as a warning to the Ottoman Sultan, another power, emerging as the defender of the orthodox Sunni faith. The skull of Shaybani Khan was set in gold, and made into a drinking cup for use at official entertainments. Shah Shuja Beg went to Herat to make his submission to Shah Ismail as he had done before to Shaybani than but the Safavids who were ideologically motivated, were not easily pleased. After an initial show of welcome, Shah Ismail threw all rules of hospitality and diplomatic niceties to the wind and ordered the arrest of the unsuspecting Shah Shuja Beg, Shah Ismail Safavi left for Iraq, leaving Shah Shuja Beg to rot in prison. However, Shah Shuja Beg escaped owing to the courage and devotion of a handful of his men, especially his slave Mehter Sambal who managed to induce the guards to eat sweets that were mixed with intoxicants.

Fortune further favored Shah Shuja Beg when Shah Ismail became absorbed in a bitter struggle with the Ottomans in the west. The Ottoman Sultan Salim I, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Safavid army at Chaldiran in AH 920 / AD 1514. Shah Ismail was wounded, fell from his horse and was nearly captured. The Battle of Chaldiran destroyed Shah Ismail's faith in his invincibility. He is believed to have never again smiled. Meanwhile, Shah Shuja Bog's other tormentor, Babur had once again been busy fighting the Uzbeks for the control of the land of his ancestors in Central Asia and was making a last unsuccessful attempt to regain Samarkand with the help of the Safavids.

Babur recognized the strength of the feeling that his alliance with Shah Ismail had evoked among Uzbeks. They were now motivated to fight the Shia heretics and their allies. He accepted as final the defeat of his forces and that of his ally the Safavid general, Najam Sani at the battle of Ghazhdewan by the Uzbeks in AH 918/AD 1512.

Babur shot an arrow into the Uzbek camp on the eve of the battle that carried the following couplet:

*I made the Shah's star (Najm) the road-staff for the Uzbeks
If I had sinned before, I have now cleared the road.*

Babur decided to quit the stage of Central Asia and returned to Kabul in AH 920/AD 1514. He marched against Kandahar in AH 923/AD 1517 but severe illness, conciliatory gestures and presents from Shah Shuja Beg as well as persuasion by the Persians holding Herat, made him turn back.

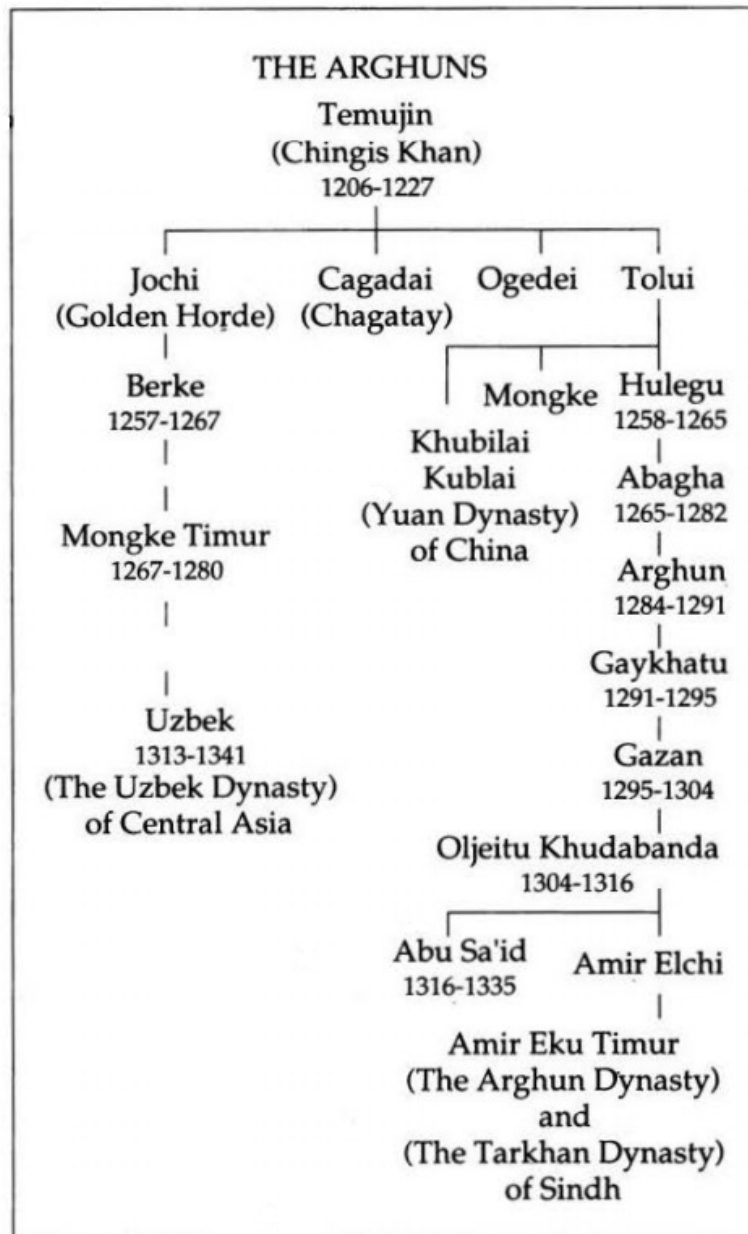
Shah Shuja Beg realized the danger of his position between Shah Ismail and Babur and the need to secure a place of refuge away from their area of interest. Sindh and Balochistan appeared to be the two logical choices because they were never on the priority list of the first league players. As a result both Balochistan and Sindh have often suffered from long periods of neglect from the great powers. This has left considerable blanks in their written history.

Shah Shuja Beg conferred with his nobles at Siwi/Sibi in AH 923/AD 1517, and explained to them that there were two circumstances that would impel Babur to conquer Kandahar. First, that Babur would not forget the insult that the house of Timor had suffered because Shah Shuja Begs younger brother, Muhammad Mucim, had taken Kabul, a royal seat of government held by the family of Amir Timur, and captured and taken a Timurid princess into his *harem*. Secondly, Babur had to make provision for a great number of princes related to the royal family and nobles of distinction who filled his court as refugees. Babur himself considered it to be an indispensable preliminary to a successful campaign in India that he should have Kandahar in his possession, so that he was not diverted or forced to abandon his campaign in India at a crucial stage because of the fear of attack on his base in Kabul.

Babur again besieged Kandahar in AH 924/AD 1518 but returned unsuccessful. It was at this time that Shah Hasan quarreled with his father, Shah Shuja Beg, and went over to Babur. It has been suggested that he did this to keep his father informed of Babur's movements. Babur himself observed that the visit of Shah Hasan was not from any affection entertained towards him, but so that he might learn the art of government and perfect himself in the ceremonies of the Court (Muhammad, 1654; 308) (Masum, 1001; 152). Whatever may have been the case, it was a convenient arrangement for both because it allowed each of them to make deep inroads into India and explore the areas of possible future interest.

Babur, keeping Shah Hasan with him as security to prevent a raid on his capital Kabul by the Arghuns from Kandahar, crossed the river Indus to reconnoiter and create a base in the Punjab for future operations into India. Babur writes that while he was busy

pacifying Bhera in Punjab he received a dutiful letter from the people of Khushab on 25 February 1519. He appointed Shah Hasan, son of Shah Shuja Beg, to visit Khushab on his behalf. (Babur, 1530; 383).



Similarly, Shah Shuja Beg, now assured that the presence of his son at the court of Babur would dissuade Timurids from making a hostile move toward Kandahar, raised a detachment of cavalry in Zul Q'ada 924/ November 1518, and swooped on Chandauka, Gahan and Baghbanan in the *jagirs* of the famous Mubarak Khan. Shah Shuja Beg collected an immense amount of booty. Babur writes that he was on a visit to the garden

at Qaratu on 28 Rabi al-Awwal 925/30 March 1519, with Shah Hasan, when he received the news from the emissaries of Shah Shuja Beg, who had come to brief Shah Hasan regarding his father's progress in Sindh (*Baburnama*, 1530; 395). Shah Hasan left Babur to join his father at Siwi/Sibi in AH 926/AD 1520.

There was no aggressive response from the Sammas to the invasion of the *jagirs* of their hero, the famous Mubarak Khan. They adopted a defensive posture and collected an army under Mahmud Khan and Matin Khan (the two sons of Mubarak Khan) near Talti on the left bank of the river Indus to the north of Sehwan. There they waited for Shah Shuja Beg to cross the river, while Mubarak Khan made arrangements to defend Thatta. (The Indus now flows to the east of Talti, and therefore Talti is now on the right bank of the Indus). Shah Shuja Beg was not to be deflected from his objective. Two years later he took the direct Lakhi route and advanced rapidly, keeping the river Indus to his left, through the narrow Lakhi pass, and reached Khanwah branch of river Indus six miles from Thatta. He crossed Khanwah at a point where it was shallow and reached Thatta without any opposition and surprised the Samma army drawn up outside the city wall under the command of Mubarak Khan. The Arghuns immediately went into action, defeated the Samma army, and killed Mubarak Khan on 11 Muharram 927/21 December 1520. Thus Shah Shula Beg avenged the death of his teenage brother, Sultan Muhammad, at the hands of Mubarak Khan at the battle of Jalwagir thirty-seven years ago. He allowed Thatta to be plundered, which according to historians presented the picture given in the Holy Quran:

She (Bilquis, the Queen of Sheba) said: 'Surely when kings enter a city they ruin it and despoil the honor of its nobility, So will they do (with us).'

(Masum, 1592 ; 156) (Jamal, 1654; 310)

At last, Qazi Qazin, a poet and scholar of Persian and Arabic, the Chief Judge in the Government of Jam Firuz, composed a letter and sent it to Shah Shuja Beg through Hafiz Muhammad Sharif, Shah Shuja Beg, himself an accomplished scholar, was so moved by the letter that he issued orders that no one should lay hands upon the goods and families of the citizens of Thatta (Jamal, 1654; 310). He took an arrow from his quiver, handed it to Qazi Qazin and told his men to accompany him and set free any prisoner that the Qazi points with it (Masum, 1592; 157).

When Shah Shuja Beg came to know that Jam Firuz had left his family behind in Thatta, he posted his men at the gates of the palace with the ostensible purpose of guarding the family of Jam Firuz. Jam Firuz, who had fled to Pir Ar, on the other side of the river, now had no alternative but to submit to Shah Shuja Beg. He presented himself on the banks of the river, with a sword hanging from his neck to express his complete submission (Jamal, 1654; 310). Shah Shuja Beg ordered 'Ala al-Din, the son of Mubarak Khan, to escort the family of Jam Firuz across the river and treated Jam Firuz with kindness. He allowed him the honor of kissing his hands, and in a symbolic assertion of

his new position, presented to Jam Firuz the robe of honor which Sultan Husain Mirza Baygara had bestowed on his late father, Zun Nun Beg, on his appointment as Governor of Kandahar (Masum, 1592; 158).

Shah Shuja Beg handed back Thatta and the country upto Lakhi Hills to Jam Firuz and occupied the rest of Sindh. Shah Shuja Beg appointed Sultan Mahmud Kokaltash who was fifteen years of age as administrator of Bhakkar and posted his senior nobles to Sehwan.

The rapid advance and victory at Thatta had left some of the chiefs of Sindh and their forces intact at Talti where they had gathered to oppose the new conqueror of Sindh. Shah Shuja Beg sent Qazi Qazin to talk to them and persuade them to surrender, while he himself proceeded to Shal to bring his family and dependents. On his return, Shah Shula Beg was told that Mahmud Khan and Matin / Motan Khan, the two sons of Mubarak Khan, and Jam Sarang and Rinmal Sodha were ready to submit but that Makhдум Bilawal had persuaded them to resist the Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg quietly collected boats during the night and crossed the river with his army. He surprised the advance guard of Samma resistance comprising Sodhas whom Shah Shuja Beg attacked and routed. Without giving them any opportunity to regroup, he stormed the gates and occupied Talti.

When Babur once again invaded Kandahar in AH 927/AD 1521, Shah Shuja Beg had already made himself secure in Sindh. He sent Shaikh Abu Said Purani with the offer to Babur to vacate and hand over Kandahar to him the following year. Babur accepted the offer and returned to Kabul. Shah Shuja Beg used the year to move his family and that of his dependents and followers to Quetta and Sibi and to consolidate his hold over Sindh.

When Jam Salah al-Din heard of the defeat and discomfiture of Jam Firuz by Shah Shuja Beg, he collected ten thousand horsemen from among the Jarejas, Sodhas, Sammas and Khengars and advanced on Thatta in AH 927/ November 1521. Jam Firuz again fled to Sehwan to seek help from the Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg, then in Shal busy supervising the shifting of his belongings and that of his followers from Kandahar, sent his son Shah Hasan with a thousand horses. Jam Sarang and Rinmal Sodha, who had escaped after their defeat at the battle of Talti in March, joined Jam Salah al-Din and pursued Jam Firuz to Schwan. When they heard that Shah Hasan was on the move, they once again took up defensive positions near Talti. Shah Hasan, like his father before him, avoided them and advanced directly on Thatta. Jam Salah al-Din was unnerved by the rapid movement of the Arghun Cavalry. He abandoned Thatta and retreated to Jun. Shah Hasan followed him and encountered the advance guard of the Samma army, commanded by Fatah Haibet Khan, the son of Jam Salah al-Din, and son-in-law of the King of Gujarat. The Arghuns surrounded and slew the Prince. When Jam Salah al-Din

heard of the death of his son, he fell upon the Arghun army in a fit of anger and desperation and died fighting.

Meanwhile Shah Shuja Beg arrived with the families and dependents of his soldiers whom he had evacuated from Kandahar and camped near Baghbanan in Rabi'-II, 928/March 1522. He treated very harshly the people of the Machi tribe who had for the second time sided with his opponents, and ordered the massacre of all who had taken up arms against him, and distributed their land, property, women and children among his followers.

Shah Shuja Beg arrived in Bhakkar in Jamadi-I, 928/ April, 1522 and inflicted severe punishments on the people of the Dhareja tribe for attacking Bhakkar in his absence and harassing his fifteen year old Governor and members of his family who had been forced to shut themselves in the citadel. Lali Maher and forty-seven Dhareja Chiefs were executed in one night and to create terror among the population, their bodies were thrown down from the tower of the fort that became known as *Khuni Burj*. He had the Bhakkar fort vacated, demolished the Samma and Baloch houses around it and rebuilt it as a stronghold for his people. Even the Sayyids who had founded Bhakkar and had been living in the fort since the early days of the Arab conquest of Sindh, and had helped the young commander Sultan Mahmud Kokaltash to defend the fort against the Baloch tribes, were made to vacate Bhakkar and settle across the river in Rohri. Shah Shuja Beg planned to turn Bhakkar into an impregnable island of refuge for his family and followers.

To curb the continuous incursion of the Baloch tribes into Sindh and to avenge the murder of the brother of his young Governor, Shah Beg sent parties of his soldiers to forty-two Baloch villages to stay with them in disguise, and to simultaneously attack and destroy entire Baloch villages at an appointed hour, which they did with great brutality as a deterrent punishment to the intransigent Baloch tribes.

Having secured the position of his family and that of his followers in Sindh, Shah Shuja Beg sent Mir Chayas al-Din to hand over the keys of Kandahar to Babur on 13 Shawwal 928/1 September 1522.

Shah Shuja Beg was not content with the conquest of Balochistan and Sindh. He told his nobles that the Timurids had no intention of leaving him in peace, that they would ultimately seize Sindh, either from him or his descendants. It was therefore necessary that he should seek out another asylum and place of refuge for their descendants in a more distant land (Jamal/Elliott, 1969; 312).

Shah Shuja Bag announced his intention to conquer Gujarat and wrote to Jam Firuz that 'when that country is subjugated, the possession of the country of Sindh will be left in your hands as before' but before he could implement his intentions his favorite note and

comrade-in-arms, Fazil Kokaltash died. This affected him so much that he fell ill and developed a presentiment of his own approaching end. Before he was fully recovered he heard news of the arrival of Babur in the vicinity of Bhera and Khushab with the intention of conquering India, This led him to again predict that Babur who had deprived him of Kandahar would eventually deprive him of Sindh (Masum, 1592; 173). The depression, that this reflection caused, made him ill again and he died an unhappy man at Agham / Aghamano, about 30 miles south east of Hyderabad, on 22 Shaban 930/26 June 1524. The chronogram of his death is *Be Shahr Shaban*.

In his autobiography, Babur praises the swordsmanship of Shah Shuja Beg and says that even as a child, he used to be fond of chopping away with his sword. Shah Shuja Beg was also a scholar who had spent his youth in Herat with the finest brains of his time, and had under their guidance written commentaries on the works of Arabic grammar, metaphysics and law. On his deathbed Shah Shuja Beg asked Hafiz Muhammad Sharif to recite *Sura Yasin* from the Holy Quran and each time the Hafiz recited the 22nd ayat he would ask him to repeat what he had recited;

*Why should I not worship Him who brought me into being,
To whom you will be brought back in the end?*

(36.22)

He made the Hafiz recite it three times, and after the third recitation he departed from this world. His body was temporarily buried at Bhakkar and three years later it was taken to Mecca where a tomb was built over his grave. (Jamal, 1654; 312).

Shah Hasan

Shah Shuja Beg was succeeded by his only surviving son, Shah Hasan, who formally ascended the throne after Ramazan on 1 Shawal 930/30 August 1524, on Eid day at Nasarpur. He directed that the *khutba* should be read in the name of Babur because as long as any descendant of the *Sahib-Qiran* Amir Timur survived that privilege could not be his (Masum, 1592; 194) (Jamal, 1654; 312). Shah Hasan gave up his father's protect of invading Gujarat in search of a secure base and a place of refuge far away from the claims of the descendants of Amir Timur. Instead, he accepted that claim and freely acknowledged the over lordship of Babur even before Babur had won the battle of Panipat and established himself on the throne of Delhi as the Emperor of India.

The news of the death of Shah Shuja Beg was received with joy by the Sammas. Jam Firuz ordered the drums to be beaten in Thatta. This was confirmed in a private audience with Shah Hasan by the envoys of Jam Firuz who had come to the coronation of Shah Hasan with presents from Jam Firuz. Shah Hasan was incensed by the duplicity of the man who had been saved by Arghun arms three times and was now master of Thatta through the generosity of his father. He decided to punish the Sammas and their King. Mannek Wazir, and Shaykh Ibrahim, the son-in-law of Jam Firuz, organized a fleet of boats to prevent the Arghuns from crossing the river. The Samma fleet was sunk and their leaders were killed by the Arghuns. Jam Firuz abandoned Thatta in Shawwal 930/ September 1524 for the last time.

Jam Firuz raised an army of Jareja and other tribes in Kutch and arrived in Chach Khan (Badin). Shah Hasan heard the news and went after Jam Firuz. The Sammas and Arghuns had a final trial of strength at Khari Khabarlo in Tando Bhago. The army of Jam Firuz followed the tribal custom. They dismounted from their horses, tied their turbans first around their waists and then to each other and resolved to fight to the death. Shah Hasan used his archers with devastating effect on the immobilized mass of the Saroma army and took advantage of his highly mobile and experienced cavalry to wheel around at will to open fronts on the flanks and the rear, to cause confusion in the Samma army whose tactics and fighting skill consisted in facing the enemy frontally and bravely maintaining their ranks in the face of attack. A great slaughter took place in which twenty thousand men were killed. Jam Firuz fled from the battlefield and out of the history of Sindh. After the battle of Khabarlo that was fought towards the end of AH 930/AD October 1524, Shah Hasan stayed at the fort of Tughlaqabad for six months and settled the affairs of Lar (Lower Sindh).

In an effort to strengthen his links with the court of Babur, Shah Hasan sent ambassadors to Babur requesting the hand of Gulberg Bega, the daughter of Babur's Khalifa, Nizam al-Din Ali Barlas. The lady was taken by her brother to Sindh and married to Shah Hasan. Shah Hasan in turn gave Naheed Begum, the daughter of his consort Mah Bega, from her marriage to Qasim Koka, in marriage to Mohib Ali Barlas, the elder son of Mir Khalif.

To further ingratiate himself with Babur, Shah Hasan attacked Multan with the ostensible purpose of securing Babur's southern flank. His real purpose was to subdue the Baloch tribes who habitually raided northern Sindh and had entrenched themselves in the fertile lands on the left bank of the Indus, and to break the hold of the Langahs, a Baloch tribe that had manoeuvred to become the overlords of Multan.

Shah Hasan marched out from Bhakkar in AH 931 / AD 1525 up the left bank causing the main body of the Baloch to flee to Uch, leaving a garrison to defend Sewrai and delay the Arghun advance. The advance column of Shah Hasan's army led by Sultan Mahmud (who had lost two of his brothers in action against the Baloch tribes) immediately attacked and put everyone to the sword. It took a week for his men to demolish the fort and raze it to the ground. At Mau, Sheikh Ruhullah, a venerable man of the area interceded on behalf of the chief of the Baloch tribe. Shah Hasan asked Sultan Mahmud to decide the fate of the Baloch chief who presented himself as a supplicant with a sword hanging from his neck and requested that his niece be accorded the honor of serving Sultan Mahmud. Sultan Mahmud granted his request and spared his life.

The Langahs and other Baloch tribesman who had time to re-group themselves, came out to face the Arghuns at Uch but were beaten back and the town was taken by assault. Once again the intercession of the religious figures saved many people who would have otherwise been put to the sword or taken as slaves. Sultan Mahmud Langah of Multan was alarmed at the fall of his second most important city. He raised a large army composed of Baloch, Jat, Rind, and others, but before he could give them orders to march, Sultan Mahmud Langah suddenly died, poisoned by his brother-in-law. His son, Sultan Husain Langah, who succeeded him, was a minor. The Langahs sent Makhdumzada Shaykh Bahawal-Din to negotiate with Shah Hasan. It was agreed that in future Gharawah would be the boundary between the two kingdoms. Shah Hasan returned and on his Way back ordered the fort of Uch to be rebuilt.

Shah Masan allowed himself to be persuaded by Langar Khan, a noble of Multan, to return at the end of AH 932 / AD 1526. Langah sent Shaykh Ismail Quraishi, another religious figure of Multan, to negotiate on their behalf. Shah Hasan, who had now resolved to capture Multan, presented the retainers of the Shaykh with a large sum of money and invited the Shaykh to visit his relatives in Thatta. He also bestowed on the Shaykh the revenues of a village near Thatta to meet his expenses. The siege of Multan

lasted for about a year and ended in AH 933/AD 1527 in the destruction of Langah and the army of Multan was either slaughtered or sold into slavery, The young Langah king and his sister were apportioned to Miskin, a Tarkhan noble. Shah Hasan left Khawaja Shams al-Din to extract whatever he could from Multan, and he returned to Bhakkar Langar Khan, the Multan noble, who had persuaded Shah Hasan to invade Multan, was so moved by the plight of the people of Multan at the hands of Khawaja Shams al-Din, that he rebelled and left to entreat with Babur to free Multan from Arghun oppression. Rather than come into conflict with Babur who was now master of India, Shah Hasan presented Multan to Babur after an occupation of fifteen months.

After subduing the tribes of northern Sindh, Shah Hasan decided to teach the tribes of Kutch, a lesson. They had repeatedly helped Jam Salah al-Din and Jam Firuz against the government of Thatta. They were known for the success of their guerilla tactics in desert terrain; therefore to lure them to battle, and keep them in the dark regarding his actual purpose and strength, he divided his army in four and sent a small contingent led by Sultan Mahmud as a bait. The enemy thinking that this constituted the total strength of the Arghun army readily engaged him but soon realized their mistake when they were attacked one by one by the other three groups of the Arghun Army lead by Farrukh Arghun, Isa Tarkhan and Shah Hasan. The army of Kutch was surrounded and annihilated. Khengar fled from the battlefield, sued for peace, and agreed to pay the annual tribute.

When Babur died in AH 937/AD 1530, Shah Hasan maintained the same relations with his son and successor, Humayun. Emperor Humayun who was annoyed by a taunting letter sent to him by Sultan Bahadur invaded Gujarat in AH 942/AD 1535-6, and directed Shah Hasan to attack Gujarat from the west. Shah Hasan who had his own score to settle with Sultan Bahadur because he had given refuge to Jam Firuz, complied. Jam Firuz was captured by the Mughal forces and killed during a night attack by the olis. and Gawars in the imperial camp at Camby.

However, when Emperor Humayun arrived in Sindh in Ramzan 947/January 1541, as a fugitive seeking support after his defeat by Sher Shah Surf, Shah Hasan's proclaimed loyalty to the House of Timur was sorely tested. He made Sultan Mahmud incharge of the island fortress of Bhakkar with strict instructions to shut its gate on the Emperor and defend it, but to allow the Emperor to encamp four miles away in the beautiful Chahar Bagh of Baberlu. He explained to his nobles that as long as the Emperor was allowed to live unmolested in beautiful surroundings he would not besiege the fort himself but leave it to his generals who would not be able to breach the fortifications of Bhakkar. After settling in the gardens of Baberlu, the Emperor issued orders to Sultan Mahmud to present himself and deliver the fort to his men. Sultan Mahmud replied that he was merely a servant of Shah Hasan and would await instructions from his master. Faced with this tactic the Emperor sent ambassadors to Shah Hasan. Pursuing his policy to gain maximum time, he treated the ambassadors with great respect but

kept them busy in Thatta for many months without any reply to their request that Shah Hasan should call on his Emperor to finalize plans for the re-conquest of India. The Emperor ordered his ambassadors back. They brought back the message from Shah Hasan that the Emperor should march his army to hash an as it had more resources than Bhakkar, rest his army there and prepare for an attack on Gujarat. This was an attempt to get the Emperor bogged down in the desert and salt marshes of eastern Sindh.

Meanwhile, Shah Hasan kept Bhakkar and Sehwan, the two strongholds of the country, well defended against the Emperor and ordered his men to lay waste the country on both sides of the river Indus from Uch to Sehwan. His troops thus drove the cattle away, removed or burnt crops, compelled the inhabitants to migrate, destroyed villages and seized all the boats and crafts on the river.

When Humayun arrived in Sindh he had an army of about two hundred thousand including retainers and dependents, that could have turned into a formidable force if attacked by Shah Hasan. By allowing them to stay in Sindh and exercising gentle pressure, Shah Hasan persuaded them to leave gradually. When the Emperor left his camp to visit his family members he found them averse to fighting. He first visited his cousin, Yadgar Nash Mirza at Darbella, from where he went to see his brother Hindal Mirza at Pat. Both had given up the idea of conquering India. Hindal Mina had decided to march on Kandahar, whereas the ambassadors of Shah Hasan had persuaded Yadgar Nasir Mirza to defect by promising the only child of Shah Hasan in marriage to Yadgar Nasir Mirza, and thus making him heir to the throne of Sindh.

The Emperor attempted to seize Sehwan but failed against the stout defence put up by Mir Alaika. He then turned to Rajputana but soon realized that the invitation from Maldeo, the Rana of Jodhpur was a snare to capture him and present him to Sher Shah Sari. He was able to retreat from there in time. After the Emperor left the boundaries of Sindh, Shah Hasan went back on his promises to ad gar Nasir Mirza who followed Hindal Mirza to Afghanistan.

Emperor Humayun, in the meanwhile, arrived in Umarkot where the Rana was antagonistic to Shah Hasan who had killed his brother. The Rana welcomed the Emperor and vacated the fort for his wife Hamida Banu, and it was here that she gave birth to Emperor Akbar on the night of Sunday, 5 Raiab 949/15 October 1542 in the fort of Umarkot. After sometime Humayun moved on to Jun with a view to attacking Gujarat with the help of the Hindu tribes. Unfortunately his Hindu allies also deserted him. Shah Hasan heard of the desertion and finally saw an opportunity of ridding India and his kingdom of the Emperor and the Timurid threat. Shah Hasan arrived with his army but Humayun ordered a deep trench to be dug round the garden where he was encamped and defended it with such vigor that success eluded Shah Hasan. After sometime an agreement was reached by which the Emperor agreed to quit Sindh and

Hind and Shah Hasan agreed to furnish the Emperor with money, grain and transport, and threw a bridge across the Ren at Runai over which the Emperor and his troops could pass on their way out of Sindh on 7 Rabi-us-Sani 950/10 July 1543. Humayun who described himself as 'a Wanderer in the Desert of Destitution' retaining his wit in adversity, composed the chronogram *Sirat-i-Mustaqim* (Straight and True Path) to date and described his expulsion from Sindh (Jamal, 1655; 319).

Humayun's visit was unwelcome to Shah Hasan for more than one reason. Apart from the political reasons and the threat of Humayun taking over the government of Sindh or inviting an attack on Sindh by Sher Shah due to his presence in Sindh, there were bitter domestic memories. Shah Hasan was now married to his first cousin, Mah Bega, the daughter of Muhammad Muqim. She had been captured by Babur from Kandahar. And in retaliation to Muhammad Muqim having captured and married her mother who was a cousin of Babur, he had married her to his foster-brother Asim Khan Koka. Mah Bega escaped from Kabul under the very nose of Babur in a daring escapade planned by Shah Shuja Beg, leaving behind her eighteen months old daughter, Naheed Bega, from Qasim Khan Koka. Qasim Khan Koka sacrificed his life to save Babur in the battle with Ubaid Allah than by calling out to Uzbek soldiers, am the king, why have you seized this servant of mine', whereupon the Uzbeks left Babur and turned on the loyal Qasim and killed him. The death of her first husband allowed Mah Bega to marry Shah Hasan, the future master of Sindh and Balochistan.

Another cause of friction was the former wife and mother-in-law of Shah Hasan. In AH 930/AD 1524, Shah Hasan had married Gulberg Bega, the daughter of Babur's Khalifa. She left him two years later and married Humayun. She and her mother Sultanam had come with Humayun to Sindh as members of his household. From Sindh, the mother and daughter went for Haj. Humayun, during the visit to the camp of his brother Hindal Mirza at Pat, saw and married Hamida Banu on Monday, Jamadi-ul Awwal, 948/September 1541.

Later, again at Pat, Humayun's brother Kamran Mirza was married in AH 953/AD 1546 to Mah Chuchak Bega, the daughter of Shah Hasan and Mah Bega. He stayed there for three months before returning to Afghanistan with a cavalry provided by his father-in-law. When Kamran Mirza again came to Sindh, he had been blinded on the orders of Humayun at the insistence of the amirs on 17 August 1553, and allowed to go to Mecca. Humayun who was then encamped on the banks of the Indus, paid a farewell visit to Kamran Mirza. As Humayun left, Kamran Mirza composed and recited the following verse:

*Whatever comes to my life from thee is cause for thanks,
Be it a shaft of cruelty or a dagger of tyranny.*

In Sindh, Shah Hasan provided Kamran Mirza a home at Shad Bella, a little island to the west of Bhakkar. After sometime Kamran Mitza resolved to go to Mecca but Shah Hasan refused permission to his daughter to accompany him. She slipped out all alone in a boat and was intercepted by the servants of Shah Hasan, but she refused to leave the boat. When Shah Hasan arrived and tried to persuade her to return she told him, 'When the Prince had sight, you gave my hand to him, and now, will not people say that the daughter of Shah Hasan has turned away from her husband because he is now blind?' Thereupon Shah Hasan relented and gave her permission to go to Mecca with her husband. Kamran Mirza performed the Haj three times and died at Arafat on 11 Zil Hijj 964/5 October 1557 (Fazl, 1902; 608). Mah Chuchak Bega followed him seven months later.

Towards the end of his life, Shah Masan was afflicted with palsy and had begun to conduct affairs of state through his trusted slaves. He entrusted the tax collection of Thatta to Arabi Gahi (native of Gahan), placed the administration in the hands of Ismail Baitara (probably a native of the lowly bhatiara class) and gave the charge of Tughlaciabad to his slaves, Shanba and Rafiq. This irked the Arghun and Tarkhan nobles who assembled on 1 Muharram 962/26 November 1553 at Thatta and selected Isa Tarkhan as their leader. They put Arabi Gahi, Shanba and Rafiq to death and took Mah Bega, the consort of Shah Hasan, prisoner. Shah Hasan who was unable to ride or move without help immediately sent messengers to Sultan Mahmud to arrest all the Arghuns and Tarkhans who were at Bhakkar and bring them with him, When Sultan Mahmud arrived with the prisoners and reinforcements on 22 Muharram 962/18 December 1554, Shah Hasan ordered the army to march on Thatta.

Sultan Mahmud entered into secret negotiations with Isa Tarkhan. He informed him of the state of health of Shah Hasan and asked him to await his death loyally saying that he would not revolt against Shah Hasan during his lifetime, therefore a hostile attitude would only lead to unnecessary loss of Muslim lives. Both swore on the Quran to divide the kingdom equally after the death of Shah Hasan. And as agreed, Shaykh Abd al-Wahab Purani and Mirza Qasim Beglar brought the apologies of Isa Tarkhan. Shah Hasan who was disturbed by the loss of old comrades on both sides accepted their apology and ordered the release of the Arghuns and Tarkhans who had been imprisoned under his orders. From the other side, Isa Tarkhan released and sent Mah Bega to the camp of Shah Hasan.

Shah Hassan commanded that Isa Tarkhan should present himself before him so that he could confer the governorship of Thatta upon him before returning to Bhakkar. This created a serious problem as Isa Tarkhan was prevented by his companions from going himself, instead, he was advised to send his eldest son Muhammad Baqi. Muhammad Baqi was not prepared to take the risk that even his father was not willing to take. Isa's second son, the brave Muhammad Saleh, offered to go in place of his father, Shah Hasan was pleased to receive Muhammad Saleh, and with due ceremony, appointed

him the Governor of Thatta and bestowed on him all the regalia of office including the kettledrums that Muhammad Saleh sounded as he marched back to Thatta to the great annoyance of his elder brother. This episode was the cause of a bitter feud among the children of Isa Tarkhan and ended in the violent death of all of them.

Shah Hasan died on Monday 12 Rabi al-Awwal 962/4 February 1555, aged sixty-six years, aboard his boat on the river Indus, close to the spot where he had forced Emperor Humayun to cross the river, six miles from Tando Muhammad Khan in Cuni Pargana, near the town called Roshnai (Haig, 1894; 95). It is interesting that at the time of the death of Shah Hasan, Humayun was on his way back to India to re-conquer his empire, which he did when he re-occupied Delhi and Agra in July 1555. This was an exact parallel to the scene when Shah Hasan's father Shah Shuja Beg lay dying in Sindh when Babur was on his way to create the first Timurid Empire in India. Neither, the father nor the son lived to face the Timurid might in India which was their greatest fear. Their fear became a reality during the reign of their successors, the Tarkhans.

Sultan Mahmud wanted to take the body of Shah Hasan for burial at Bhakkar but he acceded to the pleas of Mah Bega and allowed her to take it to Thatta. Here Shah Hasan was temporarily buried at the house of Mir Ahmad Wali on the bank of the river. Three months later Shah Hasan was laid to rest with great honor and ceremony in a tomb that was built on Makli hill. Two years later, his body was taken to Mecca by his wife Mah Bega and Sayyid Ali Shirazi and buried in a beautiful tomb in Mecca, next to his father Shah Shuja Beg. It must have been a satisfying visit for Mah Bega because she was again able to meet her daughter and son-in-law, the unfortunate Kamran Mirza.

Shah Hasan was fond of learning, and was himself a writer and a poet. He used to compose verses under the *nom de plume* of *Sipahi* (soldier) which was bestowed on him by Khawaja Kalan:

*That cypress like figure had passed by me ages ago
Her tall and straight figure is still before my eyes
I who have been victim of the sharp edge of the cruel pangs of her love
Have no wish to be re-born on the day of judgment
As King all our whims are catered to at our court
My life is now that of a supplicant for the favor of her love
Sipahi (Soldier) will kiss the foot of her dog
Rather than miss the opportunity of being near his beloved*

The Tarkhans

The Tarkhans, like the Arghuns, were descended from Arghun Khan, the great great grandson of Chingiz Khan and the it-Khan (Lord) of Persia from AD 1284 to 1291 under Kublai Khan, the ruler of China and Khan of all Mongols. Their family tree runs as follows:

Chingiz Khan - Tolui - Hulegu Abagha - Arghun - Gaykhatu - Gazan - Oljeitu Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda - Amir Elchi - Amir Eku Timur.

The Tarkhan rulers were descendants of the eldest son of Amir Eku Timur who received the title of Tarkhan from the great conqueror Amir Timur (Tamerlane) after Amir Eku Timur sacrificed his life for Amir Timur in the war against Tuktamish Khan.

The Arghuns and the Tarkhans were therefore cousins who maintained a close association as officers and nobles of Amir Timur and his descendants. When Zun Nun Beg, the father of the first Arghun ruler of Sindh, was appointed governor of Kandahar by the Timurid ruler of Khurasan, he gave the charge of Sakhar and Tulak in the neighboring area of Kandahar, to Abd al-Ali Tarkhan, the father of the first Tarkhan ruler of Sindh and the Timurid governor of Bukhara before it was overrun by Shaybani Khan. When Zun Nun Beg was killed defending the Timurid Empire of Khurasan against Shaybani Khan Uzbek, Abd a-ali Tarkhan stood by his side and was killed with his five sons. Mizza Isa Tarkhan, the youngest son and the future ruler of Sindh was too young to take part in the battle. He was brought up by Shah Shuja Beg, son of Zun Nun Beg, the founder of the Arghun dynasty in Sindh.

The only surviving child of Shah Hasan, the last Arghun ruler of Sindh was a daughter who had left for Arabia with her husband, the blind Timurid prince Kamran Mirza, to spend the last days of her life at Mecca. Therefore Sultan Mahmud, the governor of Bhakkar and Mirza Isa the leader of Tarkhans had decided to divide the Arghun realm among themselves on the death of Shah Hasan Arghun which occurred in AH 962/AD 1555, Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan was acknowledged as ruler of Thatta without any opposition and Bhakkar was secured for Sultan. Mahmud by his mother. Under the agreement between Sultan Mahmud and Isa Khan Tarkhan, Sehwan the third most important city in Sindh should have come under possession of Sultan Mahmud but the other Arghun nobles saw in the death of Shah Hasan Arghun an opportunity for themselves. They declared their independence and closed the gates of Sehwan to Sultan Mahmud who hurried back to Bhakkar to pacify northern Sindh.

Muhammad Saleh, the son and heir of Mirza Isa Tarkhan, saw in the retreat of Sultan Mahmud an opportunity for the Tarkhans to extend their rule. He quickly advanced against Sehwan and laid siege to the fort with such energy that it forced the leader of the Arghun rebellion to negotiate peace with the help of Mir Kalan, the great grandfather of Mir Masum, the author of A history of Sindh (*Tarikh-i-Masumi*), which allowed the rebels to leave for pilgrimage to Mecca. This success whetted the appetite of Muhammad Saleh who decided to extend the Tarkhan kingdom to cover all the possessions of Shah Hasan Arghun. Next year he marched against Bhakkar, the capital of Sultan Mahmud.

While the Tarkhan army was in the north, the Portuguese arrived at Thatta in Rabi-us-Sani, 963/February 1556, with seven hundred men on twenty-eight vessels with the ostensible purpose of helping the Tarkhans against Sultan Mahmud, but finding Thatta unprotected, they sacked the city, and filled it with fire and slaughter (Tahir/Elliott, 1965; 277). According to the Portuguese account of the period, the Portuguese killed over 8,000 inhabitants of Thatta and loaded their vessels with one of the richest booties that had been taken in Asia, without losing a single man of their own (Haig, 1894; 98). When Isa Tarkhan heard of the Portuguese attack on Thatta he lifted the siege of Bhakkar to rush back to Thatta. Sultan Mahmud pursued him with his army but an understanding was reached with the help of Mir Kalan allowing the army of Isa Tarkhan to leave for Thatta unmolested.

In AH 967/AD 1559, Muhammad Baqi, the elder son of Isa Tarkhan, rebelled against the dominance of his younger brother Muhammad Saleh. Muhammad Baqi was defeated and found refuge with the Sodhas of Kutch. After sometime Muhammad Baqi decided to try his luck in Delhi and on his way called on Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Bhakkar. Sultan Mahmud kept him at Bhakkar, fearing that if the Emperor at Delhi found an excuse to interfere in Sindh, it would mean an end to the independence of both the kingdoms of Sindh. He interceded on behalf of Muhammad Baqi with his father at Thatta, who sent the children of Muhammad Baqi to him with the request to Sultan Mahmud to keep Muhammad Baqi confined to Bhakkar.

In the year AH 970/AD 1562, Murid Baloch used the ruse of being a petitioner to gain access to Muhammad Saleh and stabbed him to death, thus ending the life of an ambitious adversary of Sultan Mahmud of Bhakkar and opening the way for the return of the elder brother Muhammad Baqi to Thatta.

Sultan Mahmud, the ruler of Bhakkar, sent Abd Allah Mufti and Mir Abd al-Hamid to condole the death of Muhammad Saleh, and request Isa Tarkhan to forgive Muhammad Baqi and recall him to Thatta. Isa Tarkhan accepted the offer and sent Shaykh Abd al-Wahab Purani and his nephew, Yar Muhammad, to thank Sultan Mahmud and bring back Muhammad Baqi who was sent by Isa Tarkhan to administer Siwistan.

Meanwhile, he kept his youngest son Jan Baba with him at Thatta to look after the affairs of state as his chosen successor. Isa Tarkhan died three years later in Thatta, as the acknowledged ruler of Thatta.

Isa Tarkhan wanted his younger son Jan Baba to succeed him but the famous Mah Bega kept the death of Isa Tarkhan in AH 973/AD 1564-5, a secret, till Muhammad Baqi arrived from Sehwan, and handed over the wealth and kingdom of Isa Tarkhan to him.

Muhammad Baqi began his rule with a great show of tolerance that pacified the Arghun nobles who had not reconciled to Tarkhan rule. Having established himself firmly on the throne, he exhibited the cruel streak that had made his father wary of him. He ordered a general massacre and announced an amnesty to all who would kill the Arghuns. His brother Jan Baba and his son-in-law, Mirza Shadman Arghun, a cousin of the former Arghun ruler Shah Masan, rebelled. The Arghuns who were being hunted and dispossessed of their property on the orders of Muhammad Baqi joined them and together they attacked Muhammad Baqi. Muhammad Baqi escaped death in a night attack because his wife Raiha Bega, the daughter of Naheed Bega, sacrificed her life to save his by throwing herself on Muhammad Baqi and receiving the fatal dagger wound.

In AH 976/AD 1568-9, Muhammad Baqi sent his daughter, Sindhi Bega, to the Mughal Emperor Akbar, with Mah Bega, Naheed Bega and his brother-in-law, Yadgar Miskin. They were met on the way by Jan Baba who persuaded them to use the bridal gifts and presents to raise an army against Muhammad Baqi, but the rebels were defeated by the army of Muhammad Baqi. Mah Bega who had led the rebels sitting on an elephant was captured. Jan Baba and Yadgar Miskin fled to Kukralah but received no help from the Raja. Naheed Bega escaped to Bhakkar to seek help from Sultan Mahmud who advanced with his army on Thatta. Muhammad Baqi retreated to the island safety of Thatta and used his fleet to deny a crossing to the invaders. Two of his brothers-in-law, Faquir Muhammad Tarkhan and Sultan Muhammad Tarkhan were killed defending Thatta. Sultan Mahmud could not continue the siege as he had to rush back on hearing the news of an attack on Uch on his northern frontier.

The wife of Yadgar Miskin tried to bring about a reconciliation between her husband Yadgar Miskin and her brother Muhammad Baqi with the help of Sayyid Ali. Muhammad Baqi used the opportunity offered by the negotiations to rapture his brother Jan Baba and brother-in-law, Yadgar Miskin and ordered them to be put to death. When his sister, the wife of Yadgar Miskin protested, she was also put to death along with her minor children. Muhammad Baqi, however, had scruples about shedding the blood of his stepmother and wife of the last two rulers of Thatta, Mah Bega. He ordered her to be starved to death.

Muhammad Baqi sent his daughter Sindhi Bega to Akbar a second time with Shaykh Abd al-Ghafur, son of Shaykh Abd al-Wahab, and Mulla Tardi. Akbar ordered that the

daughter of *Khuny* (bloodthirsty) Baqi be returned to her father, an unheard of insult at a time when Muslim rulers kept countless numbers of women in their *harems*. Akbar had already accepted Bhakkari Begum, the daughter of Sultan Mahmud in his *harem*. According to *Ain-e-Akbari*, Emperor Akbar had more than five thousand women in his *harem*, and he had given to each a separate apartment (Fazl/Beveridge, 1921; 46).

The humiliation suffered by his daughter and the death of his favorite son Shah Rukh, the governor of Nasarpur, deeply affected Muhammad Bagi. He committed suicide by impaling himself on his sword in AH 993/AD 1585.

Jani and Ghazi Beg

Muhammad Baqi left two sons. The nobles favored the elder, Muhammad Paynda who was handicapped, to Muhammad Muzaffar whose mother was a Jareja Samma. Muhammad Muzaffar who was the governor of Badin, was the first to arrive at Thatta on hearing of the death of his father Baqi Tarkhan, but was kept waiting outside the city gates. Having failed to persuade the nobles to let him enter the city, he went back to his estate. The nobles welcomed Muhammad Paynda and his son, Muhammad Jani, when they arrived from Sehwan to claim the throne. Since Muhammad Paynda was disabled, his son Jani Beg took charge of the administration in the name of his father in AH 993/AD 1585. Jani Beg advanced with his army against his uncle, Muhammad Muzaffar, who fled to the safety of his mother's tribe in Kutch as his Tarkhan officers defected to Jani Beg. Emperor Jahangir mentions in his autobiography that when he visited Ahmadabad, Muzaffar, son of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan, came and paid homage. The Emperor wrote, 'As his family had the relations of service with our exalted dynasty from the times of Timur, I consider it right to patronize him. For the present I have given him 2,000 rupees for expenses, and a dress of honor. A suitable rank will be given to him, and perhaps he will show himself efficient as a soldier.'

Sultan Mahmud ruled over Upper Sindh from Bhakkar till his death on 8 Safar 982/30 May 1574. He had no son of his own. Therefore while he lay seriously ill he offered Bhakkar to the Mughal Emperor Akbar who had already accepted his daughter in his *harem*. The survival of Sultan Mahmud as ruler of Upper Sindh was a feat of personal courage, determination and diplomacy. He had used the geopolitical situation of his kingdom along the trade and communication route between the Persian and Indian empire to establish close relations with both the Shah of Iran and the Mughal Emperor of India.

After Akbar's younger brother Muhammad Hakim, the ruler of Kabul, died in AD 1585, the administration of Kabul became the direct responsibility of Akbar. He made plans to check the expansion of the Persian and Uzbek empires into Afghanistan and to re-establish his hold over Kandahar in southern Afghanistan, once a part of the kingdom of his father and grandfather. The fear of invasion from the west kept Akbar in Lahore for over a decade. Akbar, whose *Din-i-Ilahi* had annoyed the orthodox Muslims, found the area from the Khyber pass to the Indus river occupied by the fanatical Raushaniyya who encircled a Mughal army led by Akbar's favorite noble and wit, Birbal, in a mountain pass and killed him and a number of other officers personally known to Akbar. It did not help when Akbar appointed a Hindu Rajput, Man Singh, as his

governor in Kabul to humiliate the orthodox Afghans, Although Man Singh repeatedly inflicted defeat on the Raushaniyya he was not able to subdue them. The Raushaniyya who were the followers of an Indian Messiah (Mandi) called Pir Raushan (Enlightened Saint) by his followers, formed a confederacy of the Afridis, the Orakzais and the Yusufzais, and closed both the roads between Kabul and the Indus and besieged Peshawar. Akbar sent Zain Khan who with the help of Man Singh was able to lift the siege of Peshawar, but they kept the imperial troops in the field throughout AD 1587. After the death of Pir Raushan in AD 1582, his son Jalal continued the struggle till he was killed in AD 1600 near Ghazni. He was followed by his son Ahad who was finally defeated and killed in AD 1622.

In such a situation it was imperative for the Mughals to secure the route to Kandahar through Sindh that the death of Sultan Mahmud, and bestowal of his kingdom to Akbar, had opened to them. The Emperor considered it essential to pacify Sindh in order to secure the flanks of his troops advancing on Kandahar and to safeguard the supply and communication lines to their base.

In AH 994/AD 1586, Nawab Muhammad Sadiq Khan, the Mughal governor of Bhakkar advanced into the territory ruled by the Tarkhans and laid siege to Sehwan in a move to prod Jani Beg to appeal to the Emperor Akbar and come to a negotiated settlement with the Mughal empire. Jani Beg used his flotilla to help his besieged troops in Sehwan. He used the river to move to the rear of the Mughal army, and to harass and cut its lines of communication which forced the Nawab to lift the siege and return to Bhakkar.

The successful defiance of the Mughal governor of Bhakkar led the Emperor Akbar to bestow the revenue of Multan and Bhakkar on his chief noble, Abd al-Rahim Khan Khanan with orders to proceed on the conquest of Kandahar. When Khan Khanan arrived in northern Sindh with the imperial army, Shaykh Faizi composed the chronogram *Qasad-i-Thatta* (AH 999/AD 1590). Jani Beg was also not unaware of the real target of the Mughal army. He had created an army of local tribesmen to reinforce his land defenses and had invited European mercenaries to help him build a flotilla which could reach the rear of the Mughal army, and cut its supply lines. He skillfully defended his kingdom against the imperial army for two years. He lost his father, Muhammad Paynda who was the nominal ruler and his son Abu'l Fatah, in AH 1000/AD 1591 during the hostilities. As the protracted war of attrition tilted in favor of the invading army, backed by the immense resources of the Mughal empire, Jani Beg was forced to negotiate a peace that ended independent Tarkhan rule in Sindh.

Jani Beg met Khan Khanan on 1 November 1592, to surrender the charge of his realm to the Mughal general. Khan Khanan received local dignitaries, held feasts and convened literary gatherings at Thatta. Mulla Shikebi presented a poem to Khan Khanan in celebration of his victory. One of the couplets referred to the surrender of Muhammad Jani:

*The phoenix (Huma) that endlessly flew above in the sky
Has been captured and freed from servitude*

Khan Khanan was happy to receive the praise and rewarded the poet, Jani Beg also rewarded the poet saying that since he was a defeated king, he was in no position to prevent the poets from comparing him with animals, but could nevertheless express his gratitude at being compared with a fabulous bird that brings luck, and not another animal.

Khan Khanan visited Lahri Bunder with Jani Beg and paid a visit to an island, ostensibly to enjoy the sea but actually to convey to the Portuguese who had helped Jani Beg to defend Sindh that the Delhi empire now held sway over the whole of Sindh and its sea coast, Jani Beg accompanied by Khan Khanan paid his respects to Emperor Akbar at Lahore on 28 March 1593. The Emperor appreciated the historical significance of a meeting with a descendant of Eku Timur who had laid down his life for the founder of the Nelughal dynasty, the great Amir Timur, and had earned for his progeny the title of Tarkhan from him, along with the right to entry to the imperial court and unconditional pardon. Jani Beg was treated kindly by the Emperor who conferred on him the rank of three thousand and made him governor of the province of Multan, The Emperor appointed Rao Patar Das Khattari as *hakim* of Thatta. The Tarkhans were disappointed and used a novel means of protest. Ten thousand men, women and children belonging to and associated with the Tarkhan clan moved out of Thatta *en masse* on a flotilla of all available river craft and rowed upstream in the direction of sultan. They choked the river and brought all river trade and communication to a halt. Emperor Akbar was alarmed to hear the news and restored Thatta to Jani Beg who was appointed *hakim* of Thatta in AH 1003/AD 1594-5. However, the commercially lucrative port of Lahri Gunder was kept under direct Mughal rule and Bakhtiyar Beg Turkaman was made *hakim* of the strategically important city of Sehwan. As a further precaution the Emperor ordered Jani Beg to stay at the court and manage the affairs of Thatta through his agents. The Persian governor of Kandahar, the Safavid Prince Muzaffar Husain Mirza, surrendered Kandahar to the Mughals in AD 1595. And the death of the Uzbek chief Abd Allah in AD 1598 relieved Akbar of the fear of Uzbek invasion of the Mughal empire.

Emperor Akbar promoted Jani Beg to the rank of three thousand *zat* and *sawar* in AH 1004 /AD 1595-6 and to the rank of three thousand five hundred *zat* and *sawar* in AH 1005 / AD 1596-7. Jani Beg served the Emperor in the Deccan but the surrender of Thatta rankled within him. He annoyed the Emperor during the siege of Asirgarh when, instead of praising the Emperor on the capture of Asirgarh, he remarked that if he had a fort like Asirgarh he could have held on to it for a hundred years. Asirgarh fell after a siege of nine months on 17 January, Jani Beg died on 27 Rajah 1009/1 February 1601 at Burhanpur due to excessive drinking. The minister and chronicler of Emperor

Akbar, the famous Abu'l Fazl wrote, 'That pure thing (wine) stained the limpid waters of his life. That material of joy caused loss of life.

*Why do you take a thing by imbibing which
A reed shows like a cypress, a cypress like a reed?
If you are merciful, they say it is the wine and not he.
If you are violent, they say it is he and not the wine.'*
(Fazl/Beveridge, 1921; 1172)

After the death of Jani Beg, his 17 year old son Ghazi Beg took over the reins of government at Thatta. He immediately took steps to establish his rule in Thatta and made arrangements to re-order the administration. This led to rebellions from his nobles that were firmly suppressed. The governor of Nasarpur, Abu'l Qasim was captured and blinded. Isa Tarkhan II, who had designs of his own over Thatta escaped capture by taking refuge with the Samejhas.

Emperor Akbar sent Baba Talib Isfahani to Thatta with instructions to bring Ghazi Beg to the court but Baba was charmed by the young Ghazi Beg into staying with him. Once again Emperor Akbar began military preparations to bring Thatta back into the Mughal fold. He bestowed the province of Multan which included Bhakkar on Saeed Khan Chaghta and ordered him to bring Ghazi Beg to the imperial court. Saeed Khan arrived in Bhakkar in AH 1011/ AD 1601-2 and sent Mir Abu'l Qasim Namkin, the *hakim* of Bhakkar since AH 1002/AD 1593-4, with a rank of 500 *zat*, to persuade Ghazi Beg to come to the court. Ghazi Beg told Namkin to stay at Sehwan and advanced to meet him. From there they travelled together to call on Saeed Khan at Bhakkar. Ghazi Beg presented himself before Emperor Akbar at Agra on 6 October 1604. Akbar confirmed him as Governor of Thatta but ordered him to stay at the court. After Akbar died on 26 October 1605, Emperor Jahangir also refused to grant permission to Ghazi Beg to return to Thatta. The Emperor wrote, said that as my father had betrothed his sister to my son Khusrau, please God, when this alliance came into force, I would give him leave to return to Sindh.' (Jahangir, 1627; 20).

However, when the Persian Governor of Herat invaded Kandahar, Jahangir bestowed on Ghazi Beg the rank of 5,000 *zat* and *sawar*, and drums in AH 1014 /AD 1605-6, and appointed him the head of the imperial army that was deputed to relieve Kandahar. When the Persian monarch Shah Abbas heard that the Indian army was on its way to Kandahar, he relented and ordered the Persian army to fall back. He sent Husain Beg as his special emissary to the court of Jahangir to assure him that the Persian army in Khurasan had invaded Kandahar without his authority. Ghazi Beg occupied Kandahar on 10 February 1607 and as instructed relieved Shah Beg Khan and replaced him with Sardar Khan Pukhta Beg Kabuli with a rank of 3000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawar* as *hakim* of Kandahar.

Contrary to the expectations of those who had advised the Emperor that Ghazi Beg would not return, he returned to the Imperial court at Lahore on 2 December 1607. Emperor Jahangir was pleased, he wrote, 'On Thursday, the 10th of the month, a piece of the *Suba* of Multan was added to the *jagir* of Mirza Ghazi, though the whole of the province of Thatta had been given to him in *jagir*. He was also promoted to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawar*. The government of Kandahar and the protection of that region which is the frontier of Hindustan, were assigned to his excellent administration. Conferring on him a robe of honor and a jeweled sword I gave him his leave. In fine, Mirza Ghazi possessed perfection and he made also good verses. This is one of his couplets:

*If my weeping should cause her to smile, what wonder?
Though the cloud weep, the cheek of the rose-bush smiles.*
(Jahangir, 1627; 133)

By July 1607, Shah Abbas had succeeded in expelling the Ottomans from Persia in the west and was once again in a position to attend to his eastern border with the Mughal empire. Emperor Jahangir ordered Ghazi Beg to return to Kandahar on 14 Rajab 1017 Mil AD 1608. Ghazi Beg proceeded to Kandahar via Siwi and Ganjaba. He chastised the tribes on the way and appointed Lutf Allah Bhai Khan and Rao Manak to subdue the Afghan, Hazarah and Nigudari tribes around Kandahar. To secure the frontiers, Ghazi Beg entered into communication with Shah Abbas of Persia, Relations between the Shah and Ghazi Beg became so cordial that like Jahangir, Shah Abbas also addressed Ghazi Beg as his sort and repeatedly sent him gifts that were reciprocated by Ghazi Beg, who composed a poem in praise of the Shah which may have been the cause of his sudden death on 11 Safar 1021 AH / AD 1612 at Kandahar. It is believed by others that Ghazi Beg was poisoned by Lutf Allah Bhai Khan because his father Khusrau Churkas had been ordered by Ghazi Beg to be stripped of authority in Thatta and called to Kandahar. Although only a Mughal governor, Ghazi Beg lived and acted like an independent king, as if the Arghun and Tarkhan dream of a kingdom of their own from Kandahar to Sindh had been finally fulfilled. No king of Sindh had ever ruled over such a large area comprising as it did of Sindh, Balochistan, southern Punjab and southern Afghanistan.

The body of Ghazi Beg was brought to Thatta and buried next to his father Jani Beg. Both Jani and Ghazi Beg were well known poets. They wrote under the pen names of *Halimi* and *Waqari*, respectively. During his forced stay at Akbar's court, Jani Beg had come close to the great musician Mian Tansen. The *Ain-e-Akbari* describes Mian Tansen as a singer so extraordinary that the 'like of him has not been heard in India for the last thousand years'. Ghazi Beg followed his father's love for Mian Tansen and his music, and was himself an accomplished Tambora player. It is believed that anyone who sings *Mian ki Todi* composed by Mian Tansen at the tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg on Makli is bound to have his wishes fulfilled. Ghazi Beg composed a *Diwan* of five thousand verses, and his long poem *Saqi Nama*, containing eighty-three verses established him

overnight as an acknowledged Persian poet of his time. It is a great pity that such a gifted prince, commander, poet and musician, died so young at the age of twenty-nine (AH 992-1021).

Not only were some of the Arghun and Tarkhan rulers accomplished writers and poets but so also were a number of their nobles and military commanders. They translated and preserved Sindhi folklore and history through their works, otherwise yet another long period of Sindh would have remained hidden in obscurity. It was during the Arghun and Tarkhan period that work on the collection and preservation of the folk tales of Sindh was initiated. These were later rendered in the traditional *ragas* and *raginis* by Abdul Latif Bhitai, a member of an immigrant family, regarded as the Shah or Monarch of Sindhi literature. The historians, poets and philosophers of Sindh, were all descendants of invaders, or immigrants, ... and the time when Sindh was under the rule of the Arghuns and Tarkhans was the Elizabethan age of its literature' (Aitken, 1907: 482).

The Mughals

When Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, *hakim* of Thatta and Kandahar died on 11 Safar 1021 AH /AD 1612, Emperor Jahangir sent Muzaffer Khan Mir Abd al-Razzaq Mamuri, an Iranian, who was *bakshi* of the palace, to settle the country of Thatta until a governor was appointed. While Upper Sindh was made a part of the province of Multan the Emperor called Isa Tarkhan II, with the intention of making him *subedar* of Thatta, but was advised against it. The Emperor, however, discussed the situation in Thatta with Isa Tarkhan and was pleased to bestow on him the rank of 1000 *zat* and 500 *sawar* (Jahangir, 1627; 225).

Mirza Rustam Safavi, an Iranian, and a direct descendant of Shah Ismail Safavi, the King of Persia, and Persian governor in Zamindaar who had defected to the Mughals, and been assigned a *jagir* in Deccan, was promoted to the rank of 5000 *zat* and *sawar*, given two lacs for expenses and appointed *hakim* of Thatta (Jahangir, 1627; 262). His instructions were to provide relief to the people of the province against their Arghun overlords who should be left in no position to rebel. However, when the Arghuns complained, the Emperor recalled him and handed him over to Mini Aai Singh Dalan, a Rajput, to enquire into the facts, and if guilty, to punish him. Mirza Rustam Safavi was made ineligible for another appointment till he had redressed and satisfied the complainants. The restriction lasted for the next two years before Mirza Rustam Safavi received another appointment from the Emperor. Mirza was an excellent poet and wrote under the *nom de plume* of *Fidai*.

Taj Khan Tash Beg Qurchi, a *Turanian*, (Jahangir, 1627; 131) who was *hakim* of Bhakkar was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1023/ AD 1614-45 with the rank of 4000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar*. He had begun his career in the service of Mirza Hakim, brother of Emperor Akbar and ruler of Kabul. He sought employment with Emperor Akbar after the death of Mirza Hakim and received the title of Taj Khan. Taj Khan died at Thatta. After his death that year the appointment was given to his son Khan Arsalan Beg Uzbek who held charge of Sehwan with the rank of 3000 *zat* but did not take up the appointment. Therefore Muzaffer Khan Mir Abd al-Razzak Mamuri continued to look after affairs in Thatta.

Khan-i Dauran Shah Beg Khan Arghun, a *Turanian*, who was *subedar* of Kabul and Bangash, was reported to the Emperor Jahangir to have become old and weak, and unfit for active duty which required riding and active movement to keep the Afghans under control; therefore he was promoted to the rank of 6000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar*, and

appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1026/AD 1617 (Jahangir, 1627; 397). He had begun his career in the service of Mirza Hakim, brother of Emperor Akbar and ruler of Kabul. He sought employment with Emperor Akbar after the death of Mirza Hakim and joined the Mughal army that conquered Thatta. Later he was appointed governor of Kandahar by Emperor Akbar.

Muzaffer Khan Mir Abd al-Razzak Marnuri was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1027/AD 1617-18 with the rank of 2500 *zat* and 1000 *sawar*.

Khan-i Dauran Shah Beg Khan with the rank of 6000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar*, was again appointed the governor of Thatta in AH 1028/AD 1618-19 but he retired the same year due to old age.

Mustafa Khan Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari, an Indian Muslim, who was *Faujdar* of Bhakkar was promoted *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1029/AD 1619-20 with the rank of 2000 *zat* and 1500 *sawar* (Jahangir, 1627; 155). In AH 1031/AD 1621-2, he received the appointment as hakim of Thatta and received the title of Mustafa (Jahangir, 1627; 233).

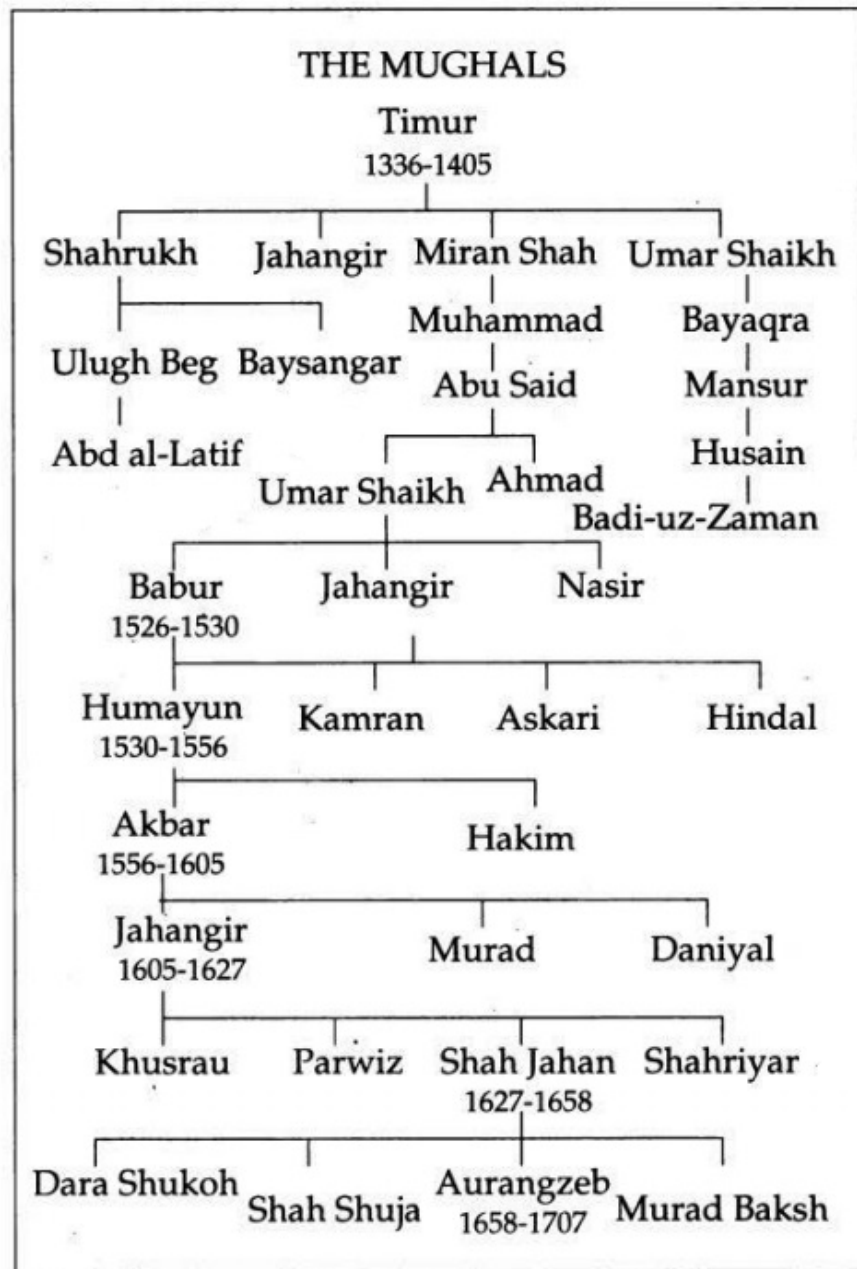
After Bukhari died in AH 1034/AD 1624, Prince Shahryar was appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 30000 *zat* and 8000 *sawar*. These were trying times for the Mughal Empire as Shah Abbas had finally taken Kandahar from the Mughals in AD 1622. When Prince Khurram (later Emperor Shahjahan) was asked to lead the army to recapture Kandahar, he rose in rebellion against his father, as he thought it was a plot by his stepmother, the Empress Nurjahan, to send him to the frontier and detach him from his base, to enable his step-brother, Prince Shahryar, to consolidate his hold over the Empire. Prince Khurram visited Thatta as a fugitive where he was welcomed by the populace but the *naib* of Prince Shahryar at Thatta, Nawab Sharif al-Mulk, attempted to resolve the struggle for succession by aiming his heavy guns on Shahjahan. At one point he had Shahjahan in his sight but his failure to aim correctly led him in anger to pluck out one of his own eyeballs which gave him the name of one eyed Sharif Khan.

In AH 1036/AD 1626-7, Emperor Jahangir appointed Abu Saeed, an Iranian, the nephew of Empress Nurjahan, as *subedar* of Thatta (Jahangir, 1627; 228).

After his accession to the throne, Shahjahan appointed Isa Tarkhan II, who had helped him during the succession struggle, as *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1037/AD 1627-8 with the rank of 4000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawar* but the Emperor was persuaded to replace him with Sher Khawaja Baqi Khan, an Iranian, as *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 4000 *zat* and 3500 *sawar* (Lahori, 1,181; 200). However, Sher Khawaja died on the way to Thatta.

After the death of Sher Khawaja, Mir Husain al-Din Anju, an Iranian, who had helped Shahjahan when as a young prince he had rebelled against his father, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 4000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar* and a cash gift of 50,000 and

the title of Murtaza Khan. Isa Tarkhan was posted as *faujdar* of Mathura (Lahori, I; 230). Murtaza Khan Anju died before he could settle in Thatta, in AE-I 1039/AD 1629-30.



Amir Khan Mir Abul Baqa, an Iranian, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1039 /AD 1629-30 with the rank of 2,500 *zat* and 1,500 *sawar*. He was the ablest of many sons of Qasim Khan Namkin, and was based in Bhakkar as the deputy *subedar* of Multan for Asaf Khan, the brother-in-law of the Emperor, since AH 1037/AD 1627-28. He had been deputed by Shahjahan on his succession to the throne to punish those who had mistreated him during his visit to Sindh. Amir Khan had received the title of Mir Khan from Emperor Jahanagir. Emperor Shahjahan added an *Alif* to his title and made him

Amir Khan. He was followed by a string of Mughal governors and administrators, most of whom are known only by their rank and the period during which they held office.

Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashqandi, Turanian, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1041 AD 1631-2 with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.

Khawas Khan Daulat Khan Mayi, an Indian Muslim of Bhatti tribe from Punjab, replaced Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashgandi, a *Turanian*, as *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1045/AD 1635-6 with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*. He received the title of Khawas Khan from Emperor Jahangir and that of Daulat Khan from Emperor Shahjahan.

He was replaced in AH 1050/A0 1640 by Khawaja Tamar Ghayrat Khan, a Turanian, as *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*. He received the title of Gkarat Khan from Shahjahan and was the author of lahangir Nona. He died the same year and is buried on Makli at Thatta.

Shad Khan, a Turanian, who was hakim of Bhakkar, was made *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1050/AD 1641 with the rank of 2000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.

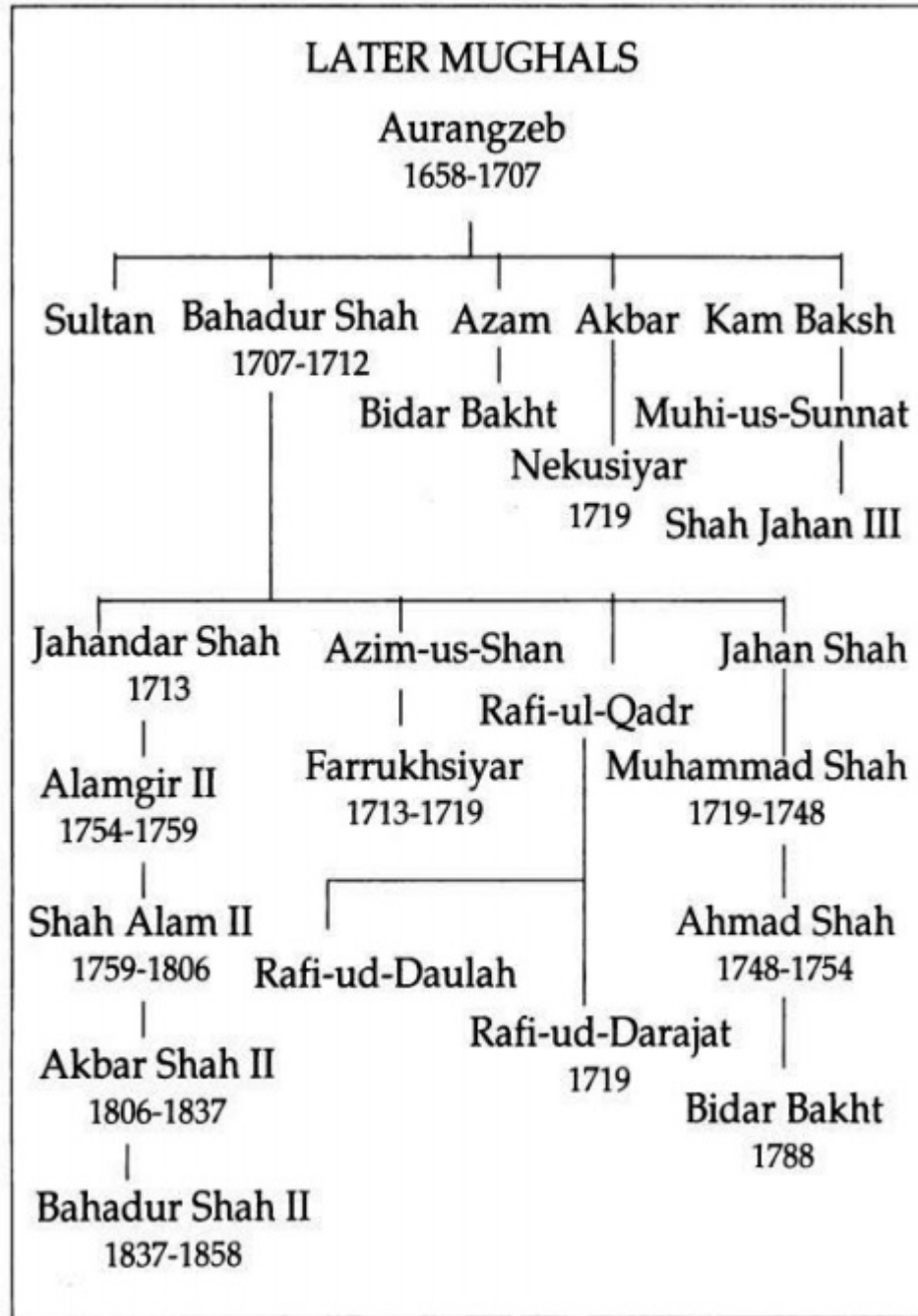
In AH 1052 AD 1642-3, Shad Khan was posted as *nazim* of Sistan and Amir Khali, son of Qasim Khan Namkin who was then *hakim* of Sistan, was again appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.

When Amir Khan died in AH 1057/AD 1647-8, Mughal Khan, an Iranian, who was *giledar* of Udgir, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.

The future emperor Aurangzeb became the *subedar* of Multan and Sindh in AH 1059 / AD 1649-50 with the rank of 15000 *zat* and 12000 *sawar* and Mughal Khan became his *naib* in Thatta in AH 1061 /AD 1630-1. Khuda Banda was appointed *bakshi* and *wagai nawis* of Thatta in AH 1062/AD 1651-2.

Sardar Khan Shahjahani, a Turanian, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 106 / AD 1653 but he died on the way to Thatta.

Zafar Khan Khawaja Ahsanullh, an Iranian, was appointed *nazim* of Thatta in AH 1063/AD 1652-3 with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2500 *sawar*. He was promoted to 3000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar* in AH 1065/AD 1654-3. He was an excellent poet and kept company with poets. He twice served in Kashmir and also retired there.



Prince Sipar Shukoh became *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1066/AD 1655-6 with the rank of 8000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar* and Muhammad Ali Khan became the *naib subedar* with the rank of 2000 *zat* and 1000 *sawar*.

When Muhammad Ali Khan died in AH 1067/AD 1656-7, Saiyid Ibrahim took over as *naib subedar* of Thatta and Mir Abd al-Hai replaced Mir Jalal as *diwan* of Thatta.

Shahjahan's illness in September 1657, started the struggle for succession between his four sons. The third son and future emperor Aurangzeb occupied Agra on 8 June 1658, and imprisoned his father, the Emperor, and crowned himself at Delhi on 21 July 1658. Crown prince Dara Shikoh was defeated and fled to Sindh but on his way to Iran he accepted the hospitality of Malik Jivan a Baloch Sardar, who seized him and delivered him to Qabad Khan Mir Akhur, a Turanian, who had been appointed by Emperor Aurangzeb, to follow Dara Shikoh and take over charge of Thatta.

Yadgar Beg Lashkar Khan known as Jan Nisar Khan, a *Turanian*, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2500 *sawar* in AH 1071/AD 1660.

Ghazanfar Khan was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1075 with the rank of 3000 *zat* and *sawar*. He died in Thatta in AH 1077/AD 1666.

Izzat Khan Sayyid Abd al-Razzak Gilani known as Izzat Pir who had been *faujdar* of Bhakkar, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1073 with the rank of 3500 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.

Abu Nusrat Khan, a poet and a maternal uncle of Emperor Aurangzeb, was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1080/AD 1669 to AH 1082/AD 1671.

Saadat Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1082/AD 1671 to AH 1084/AD 1673.

Sayyid Izzat Khan was *subedar* of Thatta a second time from AH 1084/AD 1673 to AH 1090/AD 1679.

Khana Zaad Khan, an excellent poet, was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1090/AD 1679 to AH 1095/AD 1683.

Sardar Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1095/AD 1683 to AH 1099/AD 1687.

Murid Khan, a convert, was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1099/AD 1687 to AH 1101/AD 1689. He repaired the Kalan Kot Fort and lived there with his Rajput soldiers who were not popular in Thatta.

Zabardast Khan arrived in AH 1101 AD 1689 but died in the same year.

Abu Nusrat Khan was *subedar* of Thatta a second time from AH 1101/AD 1689 to AH 1103/AD 1691.

Hifz Allah Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1103/AD 1691 to AH 1112/AD 1703. He was an excellent poet and the son of Saad Allah Khan, the famous minister of Shahjahan.

Saeed Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1113/AD 1701 to AH 1114/AD 1702

Mir Amin al-Din Khan Husayn, a writer and poet, was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1114/AD 1702 to AH 1115/AD 1703.

Yusuf Khan Tirmizi was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1115/AD 1703 to AH 1116/AD 1704.

Ahmad Yar Khan, a *Turanian subedar* of Thatta from AH 1116 /AD 1704 to-Ali 1119/AD 1707, was the last *subedar* of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Saeed Khan Bahadur known as Atr Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1119/AD 1707 to AH 1121/AD 1709.

Mahin Khan was *subedar* of Thatta in A 1121/AD 1709.

Shakir Khan was *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1123/AD 1711.

Mahin Khan was *subedar* of Thatta a second time in AH 1124/AD 1712.

Khawaja Muhammad Khalil Khan was *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1124/AD 1712.

Atr Khan, son of the former *subedar* Saeed Khan, was *subedur* of Thatta in AH 1125/AD 1713. He left the government in the hands of Yaq' ub Kashmiri which created great resentment.

Mir Muhammad Shafi, a descendant of Mir Muhammad Yusuf Rizvi Bhakkari, fought and killed Atr Khan. He was confirmed as governor with the title of Shujaat Khan. He was a brave and able administrator and a writer and poet.

He is known as Mir Lutf Ali Khan. He was *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1127/AD 1715.

Azam Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1128/AD 1716 to AH 1132/AD 1719.

Mahabat Khan, an excellent poet, was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1132/AD 1719 to AH 1135/AD-1-722.

Sultan Mahmud Khan son of Mahabat Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1135/AD 1722 to AH 1137 / AD 1724.

Saifullah Khan was *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1137/AD 1724. He made many improvements and brought many learned men to Thatta. He died in AH 1143/AD 1730 and was buried on Makli Hill, He was succeeded by his son Sadiq Ali Khan.

Dilerdil Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from AH 1143/AD 1730 to AH 1145/AD 1732.

The province of Thatta was granted to Amir Khan as a reward who gave it out on contract against guaranteed payment. First to take up the contract was Himmet Dilerdil Khan from AH 1145/AD 1732 to AH 1149/AD 1736. He was the son of former governor Dilerdil Khan. The second contractor was Sadiq Ali Khan from AH 1149/AD 1736 to AH 1150/AD 1737. He was the son of former *subedar* Saifullah Khan but he was unable to make any profit, therefore he in turn contracted it out to Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad son of Shaikh Aziz Allah, the agent of Khuda Yar Khan Khan Kalhora.

In all over sixty governors were appointed by the Mughals over Thatta. 'The period of direct Mughal rule over Sindh, was particularly conspicuous for the advancement of art and literature. Nawabs Amir Khan, Abu Nusrat Khan, Hifz Allah Khan, Amin al-Din Khan, Ahmad Yar Khan, Mahabat Khan, Sayf Allah Khan, Dilerdil Khan and Mir Lutf Ali Khan, who occupied the high rank of *subedars* at Thatta during Mughal rule, were great scholars of their time. They patronized contemporary Persian scholars of Sindh, and brought several esteemed scholars from outside' (Sadarangani, 1987; 18-19). Some of the major source books on the history of Sindh were compiled during this period.

Sayyid Nizam al-Din Muhammad Masum Nami, poet and calligraphist, an officer of Akbar's army which conquered Sindh, wrote *Tarikh-i-Sindh* (history of Sindh), AH 1009/AD 1600.

Idraki Beglar wrote *Chanesar Nama* in c. AH 1010 AD 1601.

Sayyid Tahir Muhammad Nasyani wrote *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (history of Thatta), in AH 1030/AD 1621.

Beglar Nama was compiled in c. AH 1030/AD 1621 by Amir Abul Qasim Beglari.

Yusuf Mirak wrote *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* in AH 1044/AD 1634.

Sayyid Jamal wrote *Tarkhan Nama* in AH 1065/AD 1655.

All the above works were in Persian which was the language of the court and literature. Like the rest of India, Urdu was also used for traditional poetic composition in Sindh. Sindhi was not used for writing. It was used by the country bards to sing folk tales and by religious leaders and sufi saints to instruct the uneducated.

Sayyid Abd al-Karim or Shah Karim of Bulri who lived during the Arghun and Mughal rule (AD 1536-1623) was a great great-grandfather of Shah Abdul Latif. He has been described as Chaucer or the Morning Star of Sindhi Literature, About a hundred of his

verses composed in the language of Lar or Lower Sindh and few of the verses of Qazi Qazin which Shah Karim used to recite were inscribed six years after his death by a devotee in a Persian book, and have come down to us.

Makhdum Abu'l-Hasan born in AD 1661 has been described as 'founder of Sindhi literature' because he was the first to write a book of Sindhi in rhymed prose in AH 1112/AD 1700, containing instructions about *Namaz* (prayers) and *Wazu* (ablutions).

Alexander Hamilton who visited Thatta in AD 1699, wrote, 'The News of a Victory that I had over three Sanganian Pirates at Sea, on my Voyage from Malabar to Lahribunder, had reached Thatta, before the second skirmish by Land, so that when I came to Thatta, we were received with Acclamations from the Populace, and the better Sort visited us with Presents of Sweet-meats and Fruits, ascribing the safe Arrival of the Caffila wholly to our Courage and Conduct ... Thatta is the Emporium of the Province, a very large and rich city ... and has a large Citadel on its West End, capable of lodging 5000 Men and Horses, and has barracks and Stables convenient for them, with a place built in it for the Nabob ... The Kings Gardens were in pretty good condition in Anna 1699 and were well stored with excellent Fruits and Flowers, particularly the most delicious Pomegranates that ever I tasted ... The Religion, by Law established, is Mahometan; but there are ten Gentows or Pagans for one Musulman. But the city of Thatta is famous for Learning in Theology, Philology and Politicks, and they have above four hundred Colleges for training up Youth in those Parts of Learning' (Hamilton, 1930; 78).

After the last Mughal Governor of Thatta handed over power in Ali 1150/AD 1737 to Dian Nur Muhammad Kalhora, Thatta lost its political ascendancy and Makli its architectural and spiritual hegemony in Sindh, as the Kalhoras who were themselves religious leaders, established a new spiritual and political capital at Khudabad.

Another British visitor, Alexander Burnes, who visited Thatta a hundred years later in the nineteenth century, wrote, 'It is celebrated in the history of the East. Its commercial prosperity passed away with the empire of Delhi, and its ruin has been completed since it fell under the iron despotism of the present rulers of Sinde. It does not contain a population of 15,000 souls; and of the houses scattered about its ruins, one half are destitute of inhabitants. It is said, that the dissensions between the last [Kalhoras] and present [Talpurs] dynasties, which led to Sinde being over-run by Afghans, terrified the merchants of the city, who fled at that time, and have no encouragement to return' (Burnes, 1835, 26).

The Kalhoras

The Kalhoras who were migrants from Kech Makran claimed descent from the Abbasid Caliphs. They were followers of Miran Mahdi Sayid Muhammad of Jaunpur, India, who had come to Sindh during the reign of Jam Nizam al-Din and had converted some of the most important personalities of Sindh of that time. The Kalhoras got themselves a martyr in c. AD 1600. Their leader Adam Shah paid a visit to Multan where he developed a large following which evoked jealousy. Some notables of the area filed complaints with the Mughal officials and had him arrested and later killed. His jailor who had become his devotee during his imprisonment, brought his body to Sukkur and buried it on the top of a hill on the road to Shikarpur. His family members and followers settled there. As their following expanded, they repeatedly came into conflict with their neighbors and often brought on themselves the wrath of Mughal officials. This continued until Mian Yar Muhammad won over the Mughal Prince Muiz al-Din, the grandson of Emperor Aurangzeb, and the future Emperor Jahandar Shah. He was made governor of Sibi and received the title of Khuda Yar Khan from the Mughal Emperor.

Mian Yar Muhammad died in Ali 1131 /AD 1718, and was buried in a mausoleum at Khudabiad. His son Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora, like his father, swore allegiance to the Mughal Emperor and received the title of Khudayar Khan and the charge of Sehwan and Bhakkar from the Mughal Emperor. Mian Nur Muhammad captured Shikarpur from Daudpotas and defeated the Brahuīs of Kalat who invaded Sindh in AD 1731. The Mughals handed the charge of Thatta to Mian Nur Muhammad in AD 1737 which made him the de facto ruler of all of Sindh.

The Safavid Power which was in decline since the death of Shah Abbas II (AD 1642-66) was brought to an end by the Ghalzay Afghans under Mir Vays who seized Kandahar in AD 1709. His son Mahmud entered Isfahan on 25 October 1722 and assumed the crown of Persia. Mahmud was overthrown by his cousin Ashraf who divided Persia between the Ghalzays and the Ottomans in October 1727. Nadir Khan of the Afsar tribe defeated Ashraf in 1729 and summoned Safavid Tahmasp II and placed him on the throne of Persia. Nadir Khan deposed Tahmasp II and crowned himself Shah on 8 March 1736.

Two years later in AD 1739, Nadir Shah, the last great Asian conqueror, invaded India and under the treaty of 26 May annexed all the territory west of the Indus and the now dried-up Hakra river. Sindh once again became part of the Persian empire after 1500

years and was cut off from the rest of India where the Mughal empire, though it ceased to be an effective power, continued to provide the legal framework for Indian politics till AD 1857. After the sack of Delhi and a retreat into the highlands of Afghanistan for the summer months, Nadir Shah descended on Sindh in the following winter. Mian Nur Muhammad fled to Umarkot. Nadir Shah pursued him and was at the gates of Umarkot early one morning before Mian Nur Muhammad could take off into the desert. Mian surrendered and presented himself before Nadir Shah with his hands tied as an offender. He saved himself by paying ten million rupees to Nadir Shah, who took with him two sons of Mian Nur Muhammad to Iran as security for good behavior by the Kalhoras. Nadir Shah conferred Shikarpur on his rivals, the Daudpotas, handed over Sibi to an Afghan chief and left the rest to Mian Nur Muhammad on whom he conferred the title of 'Shah Kuli Kttan'. Mian Nur Muhammad shifted his capital from Khudabad to Muhamadabad and attempted to recover his loss by levying tributes on the Hindu chiefs living to the south of his kingdom and attacking and enslaving them when they failed to meet his demands.

After Nadir Shah was assassinated in AD 1747, Ahmad Khan Abdali, who commanded the Afghan and Uzbek contingents of the Persian army, captured a convoy carrying part of the spoils of Delhi, including the famous Kohinoor diamond. This helped him to acquire the allegiance of the Afghan tribes who chose him as their king at Kandahar with the title of *Dur-i-Dauran*, 'the Pearl of the Age'. Thus it was that Afghanistan, for the first time, became a distinct political unit ruled by an independent native sovereign. Ahmad Shah Durrani (AD 1747-1772) conferred the title of 'Shahnawaz Khan' on Mian Nur Muhammad and demanded tribute from Sindh. In AH 1168/AD 1755 Ahmad Shah came to Sindh and occupied Muhamadabad, the capital of the Kalhoras. Mian Nur Muhammad once again fled to the desert country in the east and sent Diwan Gidumal to conciliate the King. Mian Nur Muhammad died near Jaisalmer.

During the Muslim period, there were not many opportunities of employment open to the Hindus. Therefore, they had taken to trading. Under the Mughals they had developed a flourishing trade between India, Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia. The direct trading route was from Peshawar to Kabul, and from there to Bukhara but the mountainous terrain often became impassable in winter. Therefore, most of them travelled by the southern route from Shikarpur in Sindh to Kandahar and Herat in Afghanistan on their way to Bukhara. Others took the sea route to Busher in Iran from Thatta. In the eighteenth century, one of the most populous and influential Hindu mercantile communities outside India was located in Kandahar in Afghanistan.

Due to the efforts of Diwan Gidumal, the Hindu financier, the Afghan King appointed Mian Muradyab Khan, the eldest son of Mian Nur Muhammad, as the new ruler and conferred the title of 'Nawab Sarbaland Khan' on him. The Afghan King took his brother Mian Atur Khan with him as security. Muradyab could not fulfill the financial demands of the Afghan King negotiated by Gidumal. He therefore decided to collect all

the treasure that he could lay his hands on and flee across the sea to Muscat. The Kalhora chiefs heard of his plans and arrested Muradyab and his favorites on the night of 13 Zil Hijj 1170/1757 and replaced him with his brother, Mian Ghulam Shah. The Afghan King did not look at these developments kindly and appointed another brother, Mian Atur Khan, who was at the Afghan court, as Amir of Sindh. When the chiefs came to know that their action had displeased the Afghan King they released Mian Muradyab Khan and withdrew support from Mian Ghulam Shah, who sought refuge in Udaipur and later went to Bahawalpur to await an opportunity to return. A few months later, Mian Ghulam Shah suddenly appeared in Sindh with a selected band of soldiers that he had gathered round him in exile and put to flight Mian Atur Khan and Mian Ahmadyar Khan, the son of Mian Muradyab Khan. An Afghan army arrived to help Mian Atur Khan regain Sindh but Mian Ghulam Shah was not to be cowed down. After a number of indecisive battles, the combatants agreed to divide Sindh in three. Mian Ghulam Shah accepted his share and left to take charge of his estate. However, Mian Atur Khan and Mian Ahmadyar Khan developed differences regarding the division and Mian Ghulam Shah found in this an opportunity to bring the whole country under his rule.

Mian Ghulam Shah was finally recognized and received the title of 'Shah Wardi Khan' from the Afghan King in AH 1175/AD 1762 in return for the promise of regular yearly tribute. This he met by conducting raids and plundering the infidels. In AH 1176 / AD 1762, Mian Ghulam Shah marched on Kutch, killed 6,000 Hindus, plundered the villages, town and ports and returned with an enormous amount of booty on 2nd of Rajab 1177 AH / AD 1763, In AH 1178 / AD 1765, Mian Ghulam Shah attacked Kutch once more and again came back a richer man. The presents that he sent from these two trips pleased the King who awarded him the fresh title of '*Samsamuddaolah*' (sword of the state). In AH 1181/AD 1767, the King asked Mian Ghulam Shah to pacify Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. In AH 1183 Aid 1769 the governors of Deras were made subordinate to Mian Ghulam Shah who was once again asked to pacify the Deras which had again rebelled.

However, Mian Ghulam Shah found it prudent to move further to the south and build a new capital in AH 1182 / AD 1769 at Nerunkot, which he named Hyderabad. He suddenly died in AH 1186 /AD 1772. It was generally believed that he died because he ordered a mud fort to be built on a hillock in Hyderabad which was sacred to Saint Makai and in the process razed a large number of tombs of the followers of the saint.

The Afghan King, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the founder of modern Afghanistan, died in AD 1772 leaving behind eight sons, of whom he had designated the second son, Timur Mirza as his successor. Before Timur Mirza arrived from Herat where he was governor, his elder brother Sulaiman Mirza was installed as king at Kandahar by the Durrani tribe. When Timur Mirza arrived at Kandahar, they switched sides and Sulaiman Mirza fled to India. Timur Mirza was crowned king as Timur Shah but having learnt of the

fickle behaviour of the Durrani tribes, he distrusted them and transferred the capital from Kandahar to Kabul.

Timur Shah bestowed the title of 'Khudayar Khan' on Sarfaraz Khan, the son and successor of Mian Ghulam Shah. The Kalhoras who had captured power and maintained it through their leadership of the Mandawiyya holy order, had been given a new dimension by Mian Ghulam Shah who had gained power and maintained it through his success in his military undertakings. The military instrument of the Kalhora kings, the Baloch Talpurs, therefore achieved a dominance over the state which began to irk other chiefs who felt threatened by the emergence of a Baloch army led by the Talpur chiefs. Sarfaraz Khan attempted to curb the Baloch influence by having his Talpur minister and head of the main fighting force, Mir Bahrain and his son Mir Sobdar, treacherously murdered in 1188/1774. This led to the overthrow and arrest of Sarfaraz Khan by the Baloch chiefs and the raising of his uncle, Mian Ghulam Nabi, to the throne. When Mir Bijar, the elder son of Mir Bahrain arrived from pilgrimage from Mecca, another struggle ensued which led to the killing of Ghulam Nabi on the battlefield and the murder of Sarfaraz Khan and three other Kalhora princes imprisoned in the Hyderabad fort in 1190/1776. After the victory, Mir Bijar invited Mian Abd al-Nabi, another uncle and the only surviving brother of Mian Ghulam Shah, to take over.

The infighting between the Kalhoras and Talpurs had depleted the revenues of Sindh to such an extent that Sindh was not able to meet the annual tribute fixed by the Afghan King. He was therefore incited to act on the grounds that the reins of government had come into the hands of a Talpur chief (Mir Bijar) who had become too powerful and headstrong to pay tribute to the Afghan government. The Afghan King, Timur Shah, sent Izzatyar Khan, a nephew of Mian Abd al-Nabi Khan, along with an Afghan army under Mahfuz Khan to Sindh. The Afghan army was defeated and Shikarpur was occupied by the Talpurs in AH 1196 / AD 1781. Now the Afghan King himself arrived in Sindh to avenge the defeat and restore the prestige of the Afghan crown. He received an unequivocal apology from Mir Bijar who presented himself before the King who confirmed Mian Abd al-Nabi as ruler of Sindh and asked him to be regular with the tribute. Soon after, Mir Bijar was killed by assassins who gained access to him by pretending to be envoys of the Raja of Jodhpur. That night Mian Abd al-Nabi fled from his palace and the Talpurs placed Sadiq Ali Fakir, an obscure member of the Kalhora clan, on the throne.

The defacto ruler of Sindh was now Mir Abd Allah Khan, son of the slain Talpur chief Mir Bijar. The Talpurs first met the Rajput supporters of Mian Abd al-Nabi on the eastern front and put them to flight, then turned round and met Mian Abd al-Nabi who had entered Sindh from the west with a Brahui army provided by the Khan of Kalat, on a payment of rupees three hundred thousand and transfer of the south western corner of Sindh (future Karachi) to Kalat. The Brahui army was defeated and their commander Zarak, the son-in-law of the Khan of Kalat, was killed. Mian Abd al-Nabi now applied

to his sovereign, the Afghan King, who directed Sardar Madad Khan who was in Bahawalpur with a large Afghan army collecting tribute for the Afghan King, to punish the Talpurs who had rebelled against the government of Sindh appointed by him. Sardar Madad Khan overran and ravaged the whole province and stayed for as long as he could rob Sindh and its people of their wealth, and then left leaving Mian Abd al-Nabi to face the Talpurs. The Talpurs who had avoided giving battle to the Afghans and had retreated to Umarkot and the desert beyond, came back. Mian Abd al-Nabi threw himself at their mercy. He sent a copy of the Holy Quran with the following words in his handwriting, hereby commit to writing and swear by the word of God that henceforth, I shall remain true to Mir and will not prove treacherous'. Mir Abd Allah Khan kissed the book and placed it on, his head and turned to Mir Fatah Ali and said, I may soon join my grandfather and father and uncle, I leave my children to your care'. With the Afghan threat looming large, the Talpurs felt that they had to place Mian Abd al-Nabi on the throne rather than incur the displeasure of their Afghan sovereign by assuming power themselves. The forebodings of Mir Abd Allah Khan, proved correct. Mian Abd al-Nabi visited the Talpur chiefs at their residence alone, unarmed and without guards and challenged Mir Abd Allah and Mir Fatah Khan to come to his court unarmed and without guards to show their confidence in him. The embarrassed Talpur chiefs complied and the unarmed Talpurs were promptly murdered. Once again a battle was fought between the Kalhoras and the Baloch which led to the rout of the Kalhoras. The Kalhora chief, Mian Abd al-Nabi, went to Kalat to seek help from the Khan of Kalat for the third time but was disappointed. Thereafter, Mian Abd al-Nabi went to the court of the Afghan King where he was followed by the ambassadors of the Talpur Mirs. The initial reaction of the Afghan King was to divide Sindh between the Kalhoras and the Talpurs and appoint a force under the command of Bostan Khan to arbitrate between the parties and enforce the decision but the ambassadors of the Mirs, with a larger purse and promise of more to come, were able to persuade the Afghan King to issue a *sanad* in their favor.

The anarchy and bloodshed of the Kalhora period 'saw a sudden change in the people's outlook on life, in their thought and literature. The stoical way in which the people bore the blows of cruel fate marked the emergence of Sufism, which thence forward influenced their literature and way of life' (Sadarangani, 1987, 83)

This was one reaction, the other was the emergence of the Naqshbandiyya order which had worked out a close integration between Sufism and theology and was against *Bi-shar* (irreligious) Sufism which had absorbed Hindu practices and mixed up music and dancing with orthodox ritual. This conflict led to the tragic death of Shah Inayat.

The ancestors of Shah Inayat had come from Baghdad and settled in Uch, He was born in 1065/1655 at Jhok in the Pargana Bathoro, east of Hyderabad. It was also called Miranpur after Miran Mandi Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur. Shah Inayat travelled around in, India in search of a spiritual guide. He found him in Deccan in Shah Abd al-

Malik Qadiri who died in Bijapur in 1111/1699. Al-Malik sent him to Shah Ghulam Muhammad in Delhi for further training, His teacher was so impressed by him that he followed him to Thatta and publicly prostrated before him. The orthodox theologians of Thatta took objection to the act and declared Shah Inayat and his friend, heretics. Shah Ghulam Muhammad returned to Delhi and Shah Inayat moved to Pia where he possessed land granted free of tax to his ancestors by the Mughal Emperor. He formed a self-supporting society of religious mendicants called *fakirs* based on social and economic equality in which every member contributed a portion of his income to the common pool. As the following of Shah Inayat grew, the religious leaders whose disciples left them to join Shah Inayat and the local *zamindars* who lost their tenants to him were perturbed. The Sayyids of Bulri and the *zamindars* of the Palijo and Jat tribes, attacked Jhok and killed a number of the followers of Shah Inayat in c. 1715. The Sufis of Jhok complained to the Emperor in Delhi who decided that the land of those who participated in the attack should be given as compensation to families of those who had been killed. Additional land brought new prosperity to the community of *fakirs* organized by Shah Inayat which became the envy of the people of Thatta. A propaganda war was launched against Shah Inayat. To gain sympathy of a wider all-India audience Ata Thattawi composed a poem in Urdu against Shah Inayat; Ata wrote,

Sindh will have no rest as long as the enemy sits in Jhok

Ata Thattawi called Shah Inayat *inadi*, the rebellious one, compared him with Shivaji, the Hindu Maratha leader and termed him a threat to the Mughal Empire. When Nawab Azam Khan, a Sayyid, took over as the new Mughal governor of Thatta in AH 1128/AD 1716, he was convinced that Shah Inayat was gathering troops to rebel against the Mughal empire. He was persuaded to call on the dervishes to pay tax to the Mughal empire. When they refused he called for troops to attack Jhok. The Kalhoras, who owed their rise to the Mandawiyya order were extremely intolerant of other sects or orders which posed even the least challenge to them. They arrived with a large force and besieged the town of Jhok which resisted them for two months. Shah Inayat was preparing to attack the invaders on 9 Safar 1130/1 January 1718 when the Kalhora chief sent Shahdad Khan Talpur with the Holy Quran to invite Shah Inayat for peace talks. However, when Shah Inayat called on the Kalhora chief, Man Yar Muhammad, for talks, he was arrested, brought to Thatta and presented to the Mughal governor. He was questioned and beheaded a few days later on 15 Saffar 1130/7 January 1718. During his trial Shah Inayat appeared to long for death and therefore is known as 'Hallaj of Sindh' and is venerated as *Sartaj-i-Sufyan* (Crowned head of Sufis). His last words to his executioner was in the following verse:

*You have saved me from the fetters of Being
May God grant you good recompense in both worlds!*
(Schimmel, 1986; 164)

The saint-poet of Sindh, Shah Abdul Latif was twenty-eight when Shah Inayat and his dervishes were killed. He wrote the following *ba'it* in Sur *Kadaro* which may refer to it:

*Under the shadows of clouds,
I saw the valiant warriors fight
Mounted on mares, and swords in their hands,
They despised the flight
And, longed to die in the sands*

Shah Abdul Latif never directly mentions the martyrdom of Shah Inayat for obvious reasons—his relatives, the Sayyids of Bulri, and his patrons, the Kalhoras, were directly responsible for the murder of Shah Inayat. Shah Abdul Latif was patronized by the Kalhora rulers. Mian Ghulam Shah, the most famous of the Kalhora rulers, was believed to have been born to Mian Nur Muhammad due to his blessings.

One reason for the immense popularity of Shah is his choice of folk tales and folk music of Sindh for his poetry—the foundations for which had been laid down during the Arghun and Tarkhan periods. He went round from place to place collecting them and wrote in a language that was a mixture of Punjabi, Baluchi, Saraiki, Kutchi, Lari, Tharaili, Brahui, Rajasthani and Hindavi, which befits a Sufi poet belonging to an immigrant family. Shah's desert melodies are a unique contribution to the vernacular literature of South Asia. They made him the representative of the folk culture of Sindh which was of interest to European visitors and the colonial masters who were looking for diversity to break the monopoly of the Persian Arabic culture that pervaded the Muslim world from Istanbul to Delhi. This was also of interest to the Hindus. It is therefore not surprising that till independence almost all the work on Shah was done by Europeans and Hindu scholars with the exception of Mirza Kalig Beg who belonged to an immigrant family and was employed by the British to create a Sindhi language in a new script which would be acceptable to the Persian-educated elite of Sindh. Their first task was to write down what was originally intended by Shah Abdul Latif to be recited and sung to a musical accompaniment. 'They were not written down as composed ... It is often difficult to say with any accuracy whether a doubtful passage is the work of Shah Abdul Latif or not—the poems as we know them today are not identical with the verses that came from the lips of Shah Abdul Latif himself as he recited them. They are instead the verses as subsequently written down by others, altered by them, and edited by them.' (Sorley, 1940, 224)

Shah Abdul Latif was born in AD 1689, in a Sayyid family. 'It was characteristic of much of the learning of those days that writers belonged largely to families that had immigrated into Sindhi (Sorley, 1940: 209). When the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb died in AD 1707, Shah Abdul Latif was eighteen, He was fifty when Nadir Shah invaded India and Sindh was ceded to Persia by the Mughal Emperor. Compared with his

predecessor Shah Inayat and Sachal Sarmast who was to follow him, Shah Abdul Latif was not at all a revolutionary.

The Naqshbandiyya order held sway in Sindh under the Kalhoras. Makhdum Muhammad Hashim who was born in 1693 went for pilgrimage in AH 1135/AD 1722. On his way back at the sea port of Surat, he met and became the disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Saeed Allah who belonged to the Naqshbandiyya order. Makhdum Muhammad Hashim was a very strict *Qadi* of Thatta who punished all deviation from orthodox Islam. He forced Hindus to give up the *dhoti* and wear Muslim dress in public. He wrote over 150 books in Arabic, Persian and Sindhi. His rhymed translation of 29th and 30th para of the Holy Quran is the earliest translation of the Holy Quran available in Sindhi. He is famous for *Tafsir Hashimi* which is a rhymed commentary in Sindhi on the last *juz* of Quran. He died on 12 February 1761.

Makhdum Abd al-Rahim Girhori, another Nagshbandiyya mystic wrote a commentary on a number of Suras in Sindhi verse. He was born in AD 1739 and killed in AH 1192 / AD 1778 when he set out with seventy-two companions to destroy the Shiva idol in Hathungo, District Khairpur. He broke the idol but lost his life.

Sindh produced a galaxy of poets and writers during the Kalhora and Mughal periods. The historian Mir Ali Sher, Qani (1728-1789) was a court poet of Mian Nur Muhammad and Mian Ghulam Shah. He was the author of a number of books of Persian prose and poetry.

The Kalhora ruler Sarfaraz Khan was an accomplished poet in Persian, Urdu and Sindhi.

The Talpurs

The infighting between the Kalhoras and the Talpurs, combined with attempts by the Afghan kings to extract as much money as possible from the contending parties, led to the end of the era of prosperity in Sindh. By 1783, the Talpurs belonging to the Marri tribe of Balochistan, emerged as winners. This was recognized by the Afghan King Timur Shah who issued a *sanad* in favor of Mir Fatah Ali Khan Talpur. However the Kalhoras were not inactive, they were able to persuade the Afghan King to send his generals Nurzai and Bostan Khan to reinstate Mian Abd al-Nabi. Mir Fatah Ali sent the families of the Baloch beyond the desert to the safety of Kutch and Jaisalmer, and faced the forces sent by the Afghan King and defeated them in AH 1202 / AD 1787. When Timur Shah heard the news, he immediately started with a large army for Sindh but went back on hearing of rebellion on his northern border.

After suppressing the rebellion in Balkh, Timur Shah sent an army under the Barakzai chief, Payndah Khan, to Sindh in AH 1205 / AD 1790. The Afghans went back after Mir Fatah Ali agreed to pay the tribute that the Kalhoras had paid to Ahmad Shah. Mir Fatah Ali applied to the Afghan King for the return of Karachi from the Khan of Kalat who had occupied it in lieu of payment promised by Abd al-Nabi Kalhora for providing a Brahui army to fight the Talpurs. The Afghan King directed the Khan of Kalat to return Karachi to the Talpurs which he did in AH 1207/AD 1792.

Timur Shah died in AD 1793, leaving twenty-three sons of whom the fifth Zaman Shah ascended the throne with the help of the Barakzai chief, Payndah Khan. The new king sent a fresh *sanad* to Mir Fatah Ali confirming the old one. Mir Fatah Ali divided Sindh into seven parts. He assigned Khairpur to his uncle Mir Sohrab, and Mirpur Khas to his cousin Mir Tharo. He kept the major part for himself and his younger brothers, Ghulam Ali, Karam Ali and Murad Ali, who jointly ruled from Hyderabad.

Mir Fatah Ali died in AH 1216/AD 1801 and was buried at Khudabad. On his death bed Mir Fatah Ali appointed his brother, Mir Ghulam Ali as his successor.

The Barakzai chief Payndah Khan was executed in 1799, by Zaman Shah. The sons of the Barakzai chief, who were twenty-one in number, fled to Khurasan and persuaded his brother Mahmud Mirza to revolt and depose King Zaman Shah. Mahmud Shah occupied the Afghan throne in 1800. He was in turn deposed by another brother, Shuja Mirza in AH 1218/AD 1803. Shah Shuja invaded Sindh the same year. The people of Sindh were so frightened that most of them deserted their towns and villages and fled to the sandy desert of Thar (Baig. 1902; 209). Mir Ghulam Ali marched to Larkana and

sent his envoys who offered to pay one million rupees immediately and a tribute of five hundred thousand rupees every year to the king. The offer was accepted, and the Afghan King marched back to Kabul.

The Khan of Kalat, Nasir Khan died and was succeeded by his nephew Mahmud Khan. Mir Ghulam Ali sent envoys to condole the death of the Khan and to draw up an agreement with the new Khan to remain at peace and to respect each other's boundaries. Mir Ghulam Ali also married the sister of the Khan. He invited forty thousand guests at Bhagnari to celebrate the event. Mir Ghulam Ali sent his army into Bahawalpur to protect the Sayyids of Uch who had sought his help against the Daudpotas. The chief of the Daudpotas, Muhammad Sadiq than, sued for peace, which was granted, but was made to cede the district of Sabzalgarh. Mir Ghulam Ali died in AH 1227/ AD 1811 of wounds inflicted by a deer that he had shot on a hunt.

Mir Ghulam Ali was succeeded by Mir Karam Ali whose reign was one of peace. He had no children of his own, therefore, he deputed his ambassador to acquire handsome Georgian boys sold in the bazars of Isfahan, the capital of Iran. One of the Georgian boys, called Sydney, was the father of the famous Sinai writer, Mirza Kalich Beg.

Meanwhile, an European power had emerged as the imperial power in India. Europe slaughtered most of its livestock each winter as the barren fields could not feed them. They required spices from Asia to preserve their stock of meat over the long winter months. After the Ottomans captured the traditional sea and land routes. Europe began to look for new routes. The first European to find the Indian sea-route was the Portuguese Vasco da Gama. He reached Calicut in India in 1498. The first English ship arrived on the Indian coast with Hawkins in 1608. Two British ships defeated a fleet of four Portuguese galleons in an encounter off the west coast of India in 1612. They were recognized as better protectors of pilgrim boats to Mecca, and were accorded trading rights by the Mughal Emperor. After the defeat of the French and capture of Pondicherry in 1761, the British enjoyed unquestioned supremacy at sea. Till the eighteenth century the military advantage of the Europeans lay in their control of the seas, due to their superior deep-water and ocean going vessels. Therefore, as long as the Mughal empire was intact, the Europeans had no chance on land.

There was no market in Asia for woollen cloth which was Britain's main export. Therefore the British had to buy spices with silver and gold. India was never a treasure trove for Britain with galleons bringing home gold, as they did from South America to Spain. There was a continuous net drain of silver and gold bullion from Britain to India till the British discovered a more profitable avenue in country trade or carrying. The British made big money from trading with China where they sold Indian opium for tea for sale in Britain. They did not have to enslave peasants to expand production of opium. They willingly responded to price incentives. It was produced in Mughal India

as a state monopoly. By the nineteenth century the Company's revenues from opium was second only to land revenue.

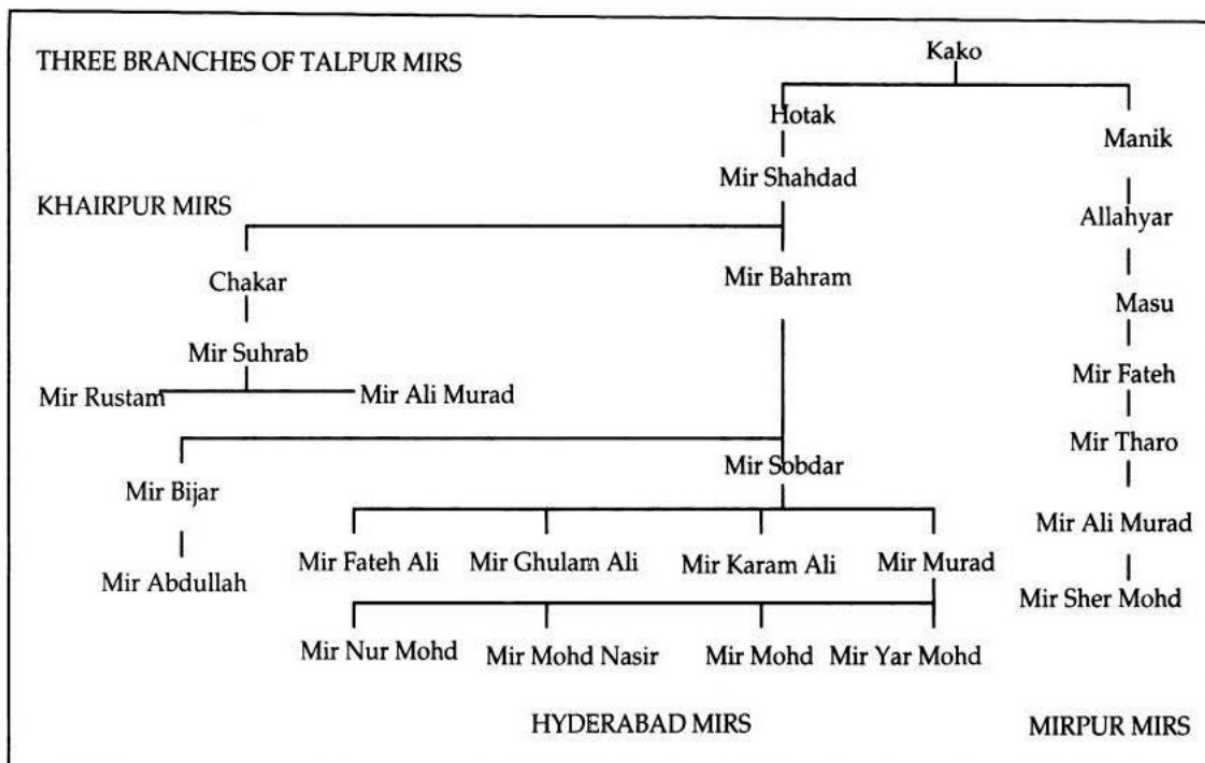
In 1739, the Persians sacked Delhi. The Afghans occupied Punjab and captured Delhi in 1757. The Marathas occupied Lahore in 1758. The Afghans reoccupied it in 1759. On 13 January 1761, the Afghans destroyed the greatest army that the Marhattas could muster at Panipat. The Mughal empire was in no position to defend itself. In 1764, the British won the battle of Baksar and received from the Mughal Emperor the grant of *diwani* (power of collecting revenue and administering civil justice) for Bengal and Bihar. Diwani offered a solution to the continuing problem of drain of precious metals to India. This placed at the command of the British East India Company a source for financing the purchase of commodities destined for the European market.

At first what had mattered most to Britain was trade. Now it was the muscle that India provided. The British troops that marched against other Indian and Asian states were now largely Indians. The British were obsessed with the fear of an attack on India through Iran or Afghanistan by the French, and later by the Russians. Accordingly, they sent envoys to Iran, Afghanistan, Sindh and Punjab to counter the threat. They entered into a treaty on 1 March 1809 with the Shah of Iran, who promised not to allow any European force to pass through Iran towards India. The British also signed a treaty with Sindh whereby the Talpurs agreed not to allow the French 'tribe' to establish itself in Sindh. In 1814, the British concluded another treaty with Persia whereby the Shah promised to attack the Afghans if they invaded India. This was done to counter the repeated request by the Indian Muslims to the Afghans to invade India and help them to get rid of the British and the Sikhs. Shah Abd al-Aziz, son of the famous Shah Waliullah, and head of the *Madrassa-i-Rahimiya* in Delhi had declared that India was no longer *Dar al-Islam* (land of peace) but *Dar al-Harb* (land of war). This was a call to the Muslims all over the world to help the Indian Muslims to get rid of non-Muslim powers occupying India.

Meanwhile, having been denied the opportunity of expansion to the east across the Sutlej by the British, Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Lahore, secured Attock by defeating the Afghans in 1813, captured Multan in 1818, took Kashmir in 1819 and Peshawar in 1823. He then moved southwards and invaded Dera Ghazi Khan and demanded a tribute of Rs. 1.2 million from the Talpurs. The Talpurs appealed to the British as the Afghans were in no position to intervene. After Shah Shuja was deposed a second time in 1809, the Durrani claimants to the throne had become puppets in the hands of the Barakzai brothers, and anarchy prevailed over most of Afghanistan.

In 1824, the Talpurs used the illness of Murad Ali to request the Governor of Bombay to send an English doctor. Dr James Burnes arrived and cured Murad Ali. Mir Karam Ali entered into a treaty with the British. The treaty allowed the British to survey the river Indus and enter Sindh through Kutch without paying any tax or toll. In 1831, Alexander

Burnes, younger brother of Dr James Burnes, journeyed up the river Indus to Lahore to present to Ranjit Singh, the Sikh King of Lahore, a gift of English cart horses and to survey the river Indus. 'Alas', remarked a Sindhi Sayyid, 'Sindh has now gone since the English have seen the river'.



In AH 1242/AD 1826, Mir Sobdar, son of late Mir Fatah Ali, rebelled against his uncles, along with his chief adviser Hosh Muhammad Habshi. Mir Murad Ali opened the state purse to those who would defect. Mir Sobdar's army dwindled from 8,000 to 1,200 men in one day, and the revolt ended.

Meanwhile Sayyid Ahmad, a nineteen year old officer in the army of the Nawab of Lucknow, had arrived in Delhi from Rai Bareilli in 1806. He enrolled as a student of Shah Abd al-Aziz. Having completed his studies, he joined the army of the Nawab of Tonic but when the Tonk state lost its independence to the British, Sayyid Ahmad left and went for pilgrimage to Mecca. He returned with plans to fulfill the dream of Shah Abd al-Aziz with the help of Sayyid Ismail and Abd al-Hye, the nephew and son-in-law of Shah Abd al-Aziz.

Sayyid Abmad and Sayyid Ismail arrived in Sindh in AH 1242/AD 1826 with their Indian Muslim *Mujahidin* volunteers to fight the Sikhs. The *Mujahidin* were not allowed to enter the fortified towns of Sindh and word was spread that they were British agents, to create a feeling of hostility against them among the ordinary folk. Pir Sibghat Allah

Vilayati who had met Sayyid Ahmad at Mecca and had sworn allegiance to him, was with the Talpur Mirs at Hyderabad. Through his intercession Sayyid Ahmad was allowed to enter Hyderabad with a few of his companions, and to say Friday prayers with the Mirs. The Talpurs allowed the *Mujahidin* to pass through their territory into Baluchistan on their way to Afghanistan to persuade the Afghans to fight the Sikhs. On the way, the *Mujahidin* were welcomed by Pir Sibghat Allah Shah, son of Pir Muhammad Rashid, at Kingri. He promised them volunteers to fight the Sikhs but the differences between the thirteen Rashdi brothers, did not allow his volunteers to join the *Mujahidin*. The volunteers sided with Pir Sibghat Allah Shah who named them Hurs after the famous Hur who had sided with Imam al-Husain at Karbala and had been killed defending him.

The *Mujahidin* began their infiltration of the Sikh state in November 1826, from Afghanistan and occupied Peshawar in 1830. Sayyid Ahmad and Sayyid Ismail were killed fighting the Sikhs at Balakot on 6 May 1831. After their death, the struggle was continued by fresh volunteers from India and their Pathan supporters. The *Mujahidin* forces were finally destroyed by the British military campaign in 1863.

Mir Karam Ali died in AH 1244/AD 1828. He was the first Talpur to be buried in Hyderabad. Mir Murad Ali, the last of the four brothers, took the place of his brother but died three years later in AH 1249/AD 1833. After his death, the territories over which he had ruled was jointly ruled by a second group of four rulers who jointly ruled from Hyderabad. They consisted of Mir Nur Muhammad and Mir Muhammad Nasir, sons of Mir Murad Ali, Mir Muhammad, son of Mir Ghulam Ali, and Mir Sobdar, son of Mir Fatah Ali. However the eldest, Mir Nur Muhammad was considered as chief of them all. Similarly, the territory of the Khairpur Talpurs was jointly ruled by two sons, Rustam and Ali Murad and three nephews, Muhammad Hasan, Muhammad and Nasir, sons of Mir Sohrab. And the territory of the Mirpur Talpurs was divided among the three sons of Mir Ali Murad, namely Sher Muhammad, Shah Muhammad and Khan Muhammad, who jointly ruled in Mirpur.

On hearing of the death of Mir Murad Ali in 1833, Shah Shuja, the deposed Afghan King occupied Shikarpur. The Talpurs organized an army of 18,000 and attacked the Afghan army which consisted of a few thousand men but were repulsed and fled. The Talpurs now sent Agha Ismail Shah to negotiate with Shah Shuja who agreed to leave on payment of 1.2 million rupees. The money was immediately provided and Shah Shuja went back to Ludhiana in Indian Punjab.

In AH 1252/AD 1836, the British decided to install Shah Shuja on the Afghan throne. The reason for this action can be best understood in terms of the arguments presented by the British Prime Minister Palmerston who said that if Russia could alarm the British in India by moves in Persia, why should not the British in India alarm the Russians by moves in Afghanistan? Afghanistan and Sindh had become part of the global strategy

pursued by the imperial powers. The British who were now masters of all the land east of the Indus river system, like the Mughal Emperor Akbar before them, considered Afghanistan as the first line of defence of their empire in India and wanted the rulers of Sindh to support their enterprise in Afghanistan.

Colonel Pottinger of Kutch was deputed to go to Sindh to request the Talpurs to help the British armies in their passage through Sindh. Whereas the ruler of Bahawalpur and the Khairpur Talpurs cooperated and allowed the Bengal army to enter Sindh through Bahawalpur on its way to Quetta and Kandahar, Colonel Pottinger was pelted with stones in the streets of Hyderabad. A large quantity of provisions for the British army that had been collected by the Hindu traders was plundered. When the British ship *Wellesley* approached Karachi in February 1839, the Talpur gunners posted at Manora fired their guns. The British ship promptly fired back and leveled the sea face of the fort to the ground and occupied Karachi. The Talpurs who were under threat from both Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja, signed a treaty whereby they agreed to pay an indemnity of 2.3 million and an annual tribute of five hundred thousand. They accepted the British occupation of Karachi and appointment of a Resident at Hyderabad. They also agreed to provide transport to the British army at a reasonable price and maintain the purity of their rupee. 'The assistance which the Mirs secretly withheld was cordially supplied by Hindus who had no cause to love them (Aitkin, 1907; 124).

The British Indian army that invaded Afghanistan consisted of 9,500 men of the Bengal army which took the land route through Bahawalpur and Sindh, and 5,600 men of the Bombay army which arrived in Sindh by sea. Afghanistan was conquered and Shah Shuja entered Kandahar on 25 April 1839 and Kabul on 7 August 1839. While columns of the Bengal army stayed on to mop up the Afghan resistance, the Bombay army returned the way it had come. On their way back they took punitive action against the Nawab of Kalat who had failed to accept the British terms. Mihrab Khan, the Nawab of Kalat, was killed in action on 13 November 1839, and was replaced with Shah Nawaz. The towns of Shall, Mastung and Kachchi were taken from Kalat and handed over to the Afghans. In Sindh the possession of cities on the northern route to Afghanistan, like Shikarpur and Bhakkar, and the southern port city of Karachi were retained and pressure was mounted on the Talpurs to accept the British suzerainty. The Talpurs had survived so long because the British had hoped to install a friendly government in Afghanistan. After Shah Shuja was assassinated in Kabul in April 1842, the British were under no obligation to accept the Afghan claim over Sindh founded on an agreement imposed by the Persian conqueror Nadir Shah on the Mughal King Muhammad Shah. The British, as agents of the Mughal Emperor in Delhi, were in a position to make their own claim over the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

Mir Nur Muhammad died in AH 1255 / AD 1840, and was buried next to his father. In 1842 Sir Charles Napier was posted as the British Resident in Sindh. He, like the Mughal general, Khan Khanan before him, was an outright imperialist. He believed, as

Khan Khanan did in 1590, that the situation on the western border of the Indian empire required that Sindh must be brought under the imperial rule. Despite opposition from those in the company service who thought that Sindh would be a financial burden, a new treaty was submitted to the Talpurs that required that (1) the coins of Sindh should bear the name of the King of England, (2) The Talpurs should cede Karachi, Shikarpur, Sabzalkot and Umarkot to the British, (3) 100 yards of land on either side of the Indus should be given to the British government.

Ali Murad of the Khairpur Mirs who had fought against his eldest brother Rustam Khan and nephew Nasir Khan, defeated them and forced them to cede villages which they had taken over from him during his minority. Rustam Khan sought the help of the Hyderabad Talpurs who sent envoys to Napier saying that they were willing to accept the treaty provided the British helped Rustam Khan to get back his rightful share from Ali Murad. Napier sent Outram to Hyderabad to persuade the Mirs. Outram met the Talpurs on 7 Muharram. The Mirs promised to sign the treaty after 10 Muharram. Instead, they attacked the British camp and Residency on 14 Muharram. The British moved to the two steamers lying along the bank and took off to Sehwan to meet Napier who was camped there. The Baloch plundered the place left by the British and set it on fire. Next morning the two Mirs with over 22,000 men moved to Miani. Napier who had 2,800 men and twelve pieces of artillery marched out at 4 a.m. on Friday 17 February 1843, to confront the Talpurs who had taken position on the dry bed of the river Phulaili near Miani, about nine miles from Hyderabad. 5,000 men of the Talpur army and 256 men and officers of the British force were killed in the battle. Defeated, the Mirs took refuge in the Hyderabad fort, and the British occupied the camps left by the Talpurs. The following day the Mirs surrendered to Napier.

Mir Sher Muhammad Khan, the Lion of Mirpur, who had not been able to reach in time to take part in the battle of Miani, arrived with his army of 20,000 along with stragglers of the battle of Miani. He sent an envoy to Napier with an offer to let him leave the country with his life. Napier's response to the offer was to immediately march out and defeat him on 24 March 1843 at Dabbo (Do-aba) six miles from Hyderabad. His African slave soldier Hosho Shidi raised the cry 'We will die but will not give up Sindh' and died fighting. The British occupied Mirpur on 27 March and Umarkot on 4 April 1843. Mir Sher Muhammad fled and took refuge with Shersingh, the Sikh ruler. He returned later to surrender. He was pensioned and awarded KCSI by the British. Napier described the encounter with the Talpurs as an example of superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword, shield and matchlock. Other accounts refer to the battle as the 'dispersion of what was little better than a vast mob'. The Baloch viewed it as an unfair fight. They said, 'These rascals do not give us time even to steam ourselves with Hookah'.

According to Alexander Baillie, the Talpur armies were composed of the Baloch and the Pathans, and a few Sindhis who took part in the campaign, fought for the British in the newly created Scinde Irregular Horse. (Baillie, 1890; 10)

The occupation of Sindh by the Persians and Afghans reinforced interest in Persian in the ruling classes during the Kalhora and Talpur periods, who were in any case not themselves Sindhi speaking. The Persian poetic form Ghazal which was introduced during the Kalhora period, got further encouragement during the days of Talpurs who prided themselves in their knowledge of Persian and a number of them wrote poetry in Persian.

Abd al-Wahab, known as Sachal (truth) Sarmast (intoxicated) was born in the village of Darazan in Khairpur State in 1739 and died in 1829. He was only thirteen when Shah Abdul Latif died but Shah is believed to have met him and said that 'Here is the one to take the lid off the cauldron I have set to boil'. Sachal wrote poetry in Persian, Urdu and Siraiki spoken by the Talpurs. While Shah Abdul Latif had meticulously observed Islamic rituals to set an example of good conduct to others, Sachal eschewed all formal religion. Sachal was a rebel. Sachal wrote:

*If I recite the kalma I turn a heretic
I shall not get entrapped in this maze
I shall not step into Prophet's track
For unless I discard the Prophet
I may not enter the presence*

At another place he wrote:

*Religions have confused the people
So called pious, pundits and Ais
Have perplexed the poor,
Some men offer their prayers,
And others go to Mandirs
But alas! None has bothered,
To behold the Eternal Love.*

Sachal's Kafis have an ecstatic fervor which have not been excelled. Another important poet of this period is Sami who is believed to have lived for 107 years from 1743 to 1850 or, according to others, 120 years from 1730 to 1850 through the Kalhora and Talpur to the British period. Chainrai Bachumal (or Murlidhar) Dattaramani, known as Sami, belonged to Shikarpur. As a cloth-merchant he travelled between Shikarpur and Amritsar. His earlier *slokas* were composed at Shikarpur and the latter ones at Amritsar. His language is entirely that of Shikarpur and Upper Sindh.

British India

The conqueror of Sindh, Sir Charles Napier, was appointed Civil and Military Governor of Sindh. He made Hyderabad his headquarters but later moved to Karachi where he built a bungalow that was reconstructed and replaced in 1939-41 with the present building of the Governor House. The British imperial motive in conquering Sindh was summarized by Napier, when he wrote in his diary, 'We have no right to seize Sindh yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, humane, and useful piece of rascality it will be.' Hence the story that Napier dispatched the result of the battle of Miani in a single word, *Peccavi* (I have sinned).

During the Muslim period the landlord did not own land. He was a tax farmer on behalf of the Emperor, who could confiscate the wealth of his nobles during their lifetime and received it on their death as a matter of right. The Emperor could reassign the land to whomever he pleased and whenever it pleased him. Consequently the landlords failed to develop into a class with vested interest in the land. The British believed this to be the reason for the native landlord's lack of concern for finding ways of increasing the productivity of the land. They wanted to create a class loyal to them in the image of British landlords, who would have a stake in the land and, who would protect their interest on the western border of their empire which was threatened by invasion from the Russian empire.

On 20 May 1843, Napier issued the proclamation, 'In God's name, you Baloch Sardars are required to present yourselves before the Governor, and make your *salams* to him, and your *jagirs* and other property will be confirmed to you by the British Government, and no diminution will take place in your rank, etc'. Every *jagirdar*, numbering nearly 2,000, making his *salam* was given a *salam sanad* or *salam parwana* signed by Napier and bearing his seal, saying that the *jagirdar* making his submission was to receive back the entire fair held by him in undisputed possession on 17 February 1843, the date of the battle of Miani. The ex-rulers were also granted cash pensions. They were in return required to help in the collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order. The invitation to *salam* proclaimed, 'Let every chief wear his sword and shield as a mark of his readiness to serve the Queen. No *jagirdar* is to be absent from this great meeting, or he will lose his *jagir*'. Because of the strategic importance of Sindh and total lack of roads and other infrastructure, the British required the active assistance of the local Sindhi elite, the tribal *sardars*, *jagirdars*, *wadera* and *pirs* to control and maintain law and order in the countryside.

Napier did not care that agricultural land during the Muslim period was *iqta* land and that he was giving it away as personal property to a class of people who had never owned it and had no interest in cultivating or improving it. This nurtured a class of parasites who did not use agricultural surplus productively, and had no interest in technological and marketing problems that had absorbed their British counterparts. According to a report prepared by Sir E James for the British government, by 1896 more than 42 percent of arable land was owned or held in beneficiary possession under mortgage by Hindu money lenders who were rack-renters and had no interest in cultivating or improving it. Land was of interest to these two classes for the power that it gave them over the life and produce of the actual tillers who were Muslims. They kept the tillers bound to the land as serfs in a state of abject poverty, illiteracy and subservience.

Flow successful this measure was in pacifying Sindh can be gauged by the fact that while the whole of northern India erupted in 1857 against the British rule in what is described as the first war of independence, Sindh remained loyal. The only persons to rebel in Sindh were the few Hindustani sepoys of the British army who were caught with the help of the natives and blown from the guns at the place at which the Empress Market in Karachi is now situated.

Before the British, the canals were old natural branches of the river that were kept open by annual clearance of silt which collected at their mouths during inundation and depended on the behavior of the river for the supply of water. During the early British period those who wanted to rely on inundation canals had their way but later those who argued that the long term solution of Sindh's irrigation problem was perennial water, were able to convince the government to undertake the construction of one of the largest dams in the world at Sukkur, despite opposition by the landlords of Sindh. There was complete revolution in irrigation in Sindh with the completion of the Lloyd's (Sukkur) Barrage and canal system in 1932. Settlement of land irrigated by the Barrage meant that the cultivated area doubled in Sindh by 1944-5. The Sindhi landlord who had opposed the construction of the barrage, kept his *hari* bound to his land. The government imported military pensioners and agriculturists from Punjab and tribesmen from Balochistan and Rajasthan to cultivate the land and to recover their huge investment in the Barrage at the earliest. This was managed by the representatives of the people of Sindh who sat in the Bombay, and later, in the Sindh Assembly and constituted the government of Sindh. In 1851, Frere found in all Sindh 'not a mile of bridged or metalled road, not a masonry bridge of any kind, in fact, not five miles of any cleared road ... Roads in truth are not a Sindhi institution. The sandy plain lies before the camel, to go wither he listeth.' All traffic stopped in the rainy season because of the lack of bridges. So roads meant bridges. Soon Major Jacob was making bridges at the rate of 15.5 per annum and a railway line from Karachi to Kotri was opened on 13 May 1861.

The British officers issued orders in Urdu but the records were maintained in Persian which had replaced Arabic as the official language of Sindh under the Sammas. When the father of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the first Prime Minister of Sindh and also the first native governor of Sindh, came from Kashmir and settled in Sindh, he practiced law in Urdu. In 1852, the Court of Directors of the British East India Company decided in favor of a script for the Sindhi language based on the Arabic alphabet and sanctioned an annual outlay of Rs. 10,000. The Commissioner of Sindh, Frere, was directed to constitute a committee to devise a script that could allow the Sindhi language to be used as a medium of communication and instruction at the lower level. The committee under Deputy Commissioner, Barrow Ellis, finalized two scripts for the Sindhi language. One was the improved *Khudadadi* script espoused by Stacks that met Hindu susceptibilities and the other was the modified Naskh script that was championed by Burton and catered to the sentiments of the Muslims and the Persian-educated Hindus. *Khudadadi*, despite efforts from its powerful lobby for its introduction into the educational system never gained acceptability. Thus it was that the Sindhi language made the transformation from an oral to a written language in the *Naskh* script. However, this required a great effort, fully backed by the British government, to overcome the prejudice against educational institutions set up by the British and to break the monopoly of the *madrasah*, the traditional educational institution that taught Persian and Arabic. Although Sindhi was the language of common life it was not considered a fit vehicle for learning or polite correspondence, Sindhi was used by the Ulema and Sufi to promote their message among the illiterate masses. This they did through poetic or rhymed compositions which could be memorized and recited or sung to the accompaniment of music. Sometimes these compositions were jotted down by the educated in scripts known to them, but the Arabic script commonly used by them was incapable of rendering a number of Sindhi sounds, therefore Sindhi could not become a written language. The Ulema who associated the Arabic script with the holy Quran were averse to making any changes in it or giving up Arabic and Persian for Sindhi. Therefore the *mullah* schools, as the *madrasahs* were called by the British, were offered grants in 1886 provided they taught Sindhi as a compulsory subject. When this did not work, all *mullah* schools were taken over by the government in 1914. At the same time repeated attempts were made to improve the script including one by John Jacob in 1888. The final shape to the Sindhi script was given by a committee in 1915 of which Mirza Kalish Beg was the most active member.

The British government also had to encourage and support the translation of books into Sindhi. In December 1854, Ellis was able to report that ten books on arithmetics, history, geography and some other subjects were ready (Aitken, 1907; 474). Sindhi prose grew in the British era. It first developed, in translations and school texts, after the present (Arabic-Sindhi) script was evolved in 1852 ... The spade work for Sindhi prose was undoubtedly the achievement of some devoted Europeans who compiled Dictionaries and Grammars' (Ajwani, 1984; 169). 'The expenses for the printing and publication of Shah-jo-Risalo were borne by the Government of India and the same is the case with the

first two grammars of Sindhi language which were prepared by European writers' (Pathan, 1978; 443). Among the natives, the *Aftab-i-Adab* or the 'Sun of Sindhi literature', as he is called, was Mirza Kalich Beg, the son of an immigrant who wrote, translated and compiled 350 works in Sindhi, mostly translations or adaptations from English, Persian and Urdu. Recently a granddaughter of Beg told the author that although she did not have an iota of Sindhi blood in her, yet her love for Sindh and her contribution to its culture was second to none, as is clear from her life and her recently published book on Sindhi embroidery. 'It is a matter of common observation that settlers in a country, often after a comparative brief residence, outdo those native to the soil in patriotism' (Browne, 1929; 346).

The British conquest of Sindh and its use as a base for operations in the game that was being played by the great powers in Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia led to the creation of a new class of Hindu merchants in Sindh who amassed great wealth by serving the British Army. 'Karachi, Thatta, Sukkur and Shikarpur became fountains at which British money flowed like water and the thirsty crowded from all sides and drank wealth. There had never been such times in Sindh' (Aitken, 1907; 124). The British decision to develop Karachi as an alternate port to Calcutta and link it by railway to the Punjab and the Afghan border led to further development and attracted a number of other people to Sindh like the Parsis, Jews, Christians, and members of the minority sects of Islam like the Bohras and Ismailis. In this century, the development of barrage land for agriculture and the needs of the two great world wars during which Karachi became the base of operations for British and American troops, led to an influx of people into Sindh from adjoining provinces. When America entered the World War, Karachi became practically an American base. The large influx of Hindus from Rajasthan, Kutch and Gujarat, led a Parsi scholar to comment that 'the proportion of Hindus and Muslims has changed and there is now a Hindu majority, instead of a Muslim one, in Karachi. Similarly, the proportion of Muslims to the total population in Sindh had also declined, whereas that of Hindus has increased. It is quite likely that in future years Sindh like Karachi, may turn into a Hindu-majority province at this rate' (Pithawalla, 1946; 61).

The threat was perceived as serious enough by the Muslims of Sindh to demand that they be part of an independent Muslim state. As Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Thirty-first Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Karachi on December 24-26, 1943, G M Sayed (Sayid Ghulam Murtaza Shah) declared in his address of welcome in Urdu, 'I welcome you all to the land of Sindhu. By Sindhu I mean that part of the Asian continent which is situated on the borders of the river Indus and its tributaries ... included Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Balochistan and the present province of Sindh ... the new proposed name, Pakistan, connotes the same old Sindhu land ... Many a race have intermixed here. Traces of Dravidian, Aryan, Semitic and Mongol traits can be easily seen at a glance ... The fertility of this soil has often tempted virile races to come down to this land of

Sindh...In this way, new blood has ever been pouring into its veins ... History bears witness that in the past you have sent such gentlemen as Sayed Barelvi and Ismail Shaheed ... If people from Gujarat and Bombay could go to the Frontier to establish Hindu dominance there, could we, too, not repose some hope in you friends? ... you Muslims of India can help us a lot. The inhabitants of this land mostly belong to the agricultural profession, and are very backward in trade and industry. Your money and experience can remove this drawback. We are prepared to afford every facility for this with a way to making your way easier.'

Despite the rhetoric, an undercurrent of dissent surfaced in the meeting. Zahirul Hasnain Lari protested against the induction of feudals and *pirs* in the Muslim League and tabled a resolution for free education, stabilization of rent, control of money lending, industrialization, abolition of feudalism and preparation of a five year plan for improving the lot of the urban and rural poor in the Muslim majority provinces.

Quaid-i-Azam was opposed to the resolution but was not able to persuade Zahirul Hasnain Lari to withdraw it, he therefore did the next best thing, he supported the resolution and took on himself the responsibility of appointing the members of the planning committee. Quaid-i-Azam did not want to be deflected from his chosen path which was to win votes for the Muslim League and strengthen his negotiating position with the Congress and the British (Talbot, 1988; 49). In the 1937 elections the feudal and tribal leaders and *pirs* had captured most of the Muslim seats in the Sindh Assembly and the Muslim League had failed to get anyone to contest on its ticket. Quaid-i-Azam therefore felt that he had to rely on the traditional influence of the landlords and *pirs* to win the election for Pakistan in Sindh. In fact even the *mirs* and *pirs* had by then realized that the British were leaving and the Muslim League was going to achieve Pakistan. Everyone was now flocking to the Muslim League banner and outdoing each other in their show of support for it, therefore even a few non-feudals standing on the Muslim League ticket got elected. Sir Abdoola Haroon, a Kutchi Memon, Gujarati-speaking sugar merchant whose wealthy family had migrated to Karachi from Poona, despite all the wealth that he had accumulated as Sugar King and from his sugar industry in Bihar, suffered a defeat in the 1937 election at the hands of the Baloch tribal leader, Khan Bahadur Gabol. But by 1946 the idea of Pakistan had taken such a hold over the population that Sir Abdoola Haroon's young son, Mahmoucl Haroon defeated Khan Bahadur Gabol in the election for the Sindh Legislative Assembly, and his elder son Yusuf Haroon defeated PirAli Muhammad Rashdi in the election for the Indian Legislative Assembly. How soon after partition Sindh turned back to the earlier pattern is clear from the fact that despite all the money and support from the business class and the government, the Haroons were never again able to win a direct election. All subsequent elections in this constituency, which was nursed by three generations of Haroons, were won by candidates enjoying the support of the Baloch.

After Napier retired in October 1847, Sindh was made part of the Bombay province, run by a Commissioner in Sindh, appointed by the Governor of Bombay. This led, in the twentieth century, to the demand for separation of Sindh from Bombay. This demand was first formally made in 1913 from the Congress platform by the Sindhi Hindus who had become commercially important enough to want to be free of the domination of the Bombay Hindus. Shaikh Abdul Majid, a Hindu convert to Islam, attended the annual sessions of the All India Congress, the All India Muslim League and the All India Khilafat Conference in 1925 to introduce resolutions for the separation of Sindh. Both the All India Muslim League Council and the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League passed resolutions in favor of separation. The 42nd session of the Indian National Congress held in 1927, declared that 'any province which demands ... reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly. This Congress is further of the opinion that a beginning be made by constituting Sindh into a separate province.' Once it was accepted as an all India issue it also gained support among the Sindhi Muslims. What brought it home to them was the communal riots of 1927 that broke out in Larkana in the home town of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khan Khuhro who played a key role in highlighting the Hindu oppression of the Muslims of Sindh. This convinced the Muslims of the need for separation from Bombay and the creation of a Muslim majority province of Sindh which is considered as the forerunner of the demand for Pakistan. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro took it up as a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, but was opposed, by Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto who was a minister in the Bombay government. As the chairman of the committee appointed to look into it, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto held that from the financial as well as the administrative viewpoint the separation proposal was impractical (Jones, 1977).

Shaikh Abdul Majid held the Sindh Azad Conference in August 1932 and organized the Sindh independence day on 16 September 1932 throughout the province. Shaikh Abdul Majid founded the Sindh Azad Party in September 1935. When Mazhar Alavi, a UP barrister, migrated to Sindh to organize the Muslim League and called a meeting in 1935, Shaikh Abdul Majid attended to plead for the Sindh Azad League. He also approached the President of the All India Muslim League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who wrote back that unless the word 'Azad' was dropped from the name of Sindh Azad League, he could not allow its affiliation with the All India Muslim League.

Sindh was separated from Bombay and given provincial status with a governor as its head on 1 April 1936. The first election for the sixty member Sindh Legislative Assembly was held on 31 January 1937, to elect thirty-three Muslim, eighteen General (Hindu), two European, two Commerce, two Landlords, one Labour, one Muslim woman and one General (Hindu) woman, members.

When Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Sindh in an effort to persuade Sindhi Muslim politicians to contest elections On the Muslim League ticket, none of them were even willing to allow their name to be included in the list of hosts to a party that was

arranged to welcome Muhammad Ali Jinnah as they thought that it would annoy the Hindus (Jones, 1977). Jinnah's efforts to bring together Muslim politicians of Sindh on the Muslim League platform did not succeed. The politicians of Sindh refused to join or contest in elections on the Muslim League ticket as they did not want to jeopardize their chances of forming the future government in Sindh with the support of the Hindu members of the Assembly. Sir Abdoola Haroon and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto joined hands to form the Sindh United Party which was described by Shaikh Abdul Majid as 'a frantic effort on the part of some well-known Muslim reactionaries to secure their own position in the future government'. In reply Sir Abdoola Haroon attacked Shaikh Abdul Majid for taking shelter with Jinnah's Muslim League because he had failed to get a good response in Sindh and said that any 'attempt to set up a communal party in the future Assembly to follow the All India Muslim League line would prove disastrous for Sindh.' Shaikh Abdul Majid vowed to contest the election against both Sir Abdoola Haroon and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and defeat them. Although both the top leaders of Sindh United Party, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto (President) and Sir Abdoola Haroon (Vice-President) lost the election, the Sindh United Party emerged as the largest party in the Assembly with eighteen seats. The Sindh Muslim Jamaat which was founded by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, won four seats. The Sindh Azad League of Shaikh Abdul Majid won only three seats in the Assembly.

After the elections, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah created the Sindh Democratic Party in the Sindh Legislative Assembly with the support of thirty-six members. As the leader of the largest party in the Assembly, he formed a three-man cabinet on 22 March 1937, consisting of himself, Mukhi Gobindram who had the support of members of the Hindu Mahasabha and Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur who was backed by the Mir-Baloch block. The first session of the first Legislative Assembly of the new province of Sindh was held on Tuesday, 27 April 1937, 'at 11 a.m. His Excellency the Governor Lancelot Graham appointed Dewan Bahadur Hiranand Khensing the Chairman of the Sindh Legislative Assembly until the office of the Speaker was filled. After the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King Emperor of India George VI, the members of the Assembly took up the task of electing a Speaker. This was held the next day on 28 April 1937. There were three candidates, Pir Illahi Bakhsh whose name was proposed by G M Sayed, Bhojsing Gurdinomal proposed by Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani and Shaikh Abdul Majid proposed by Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Shah. Pir Illahi Bakhsh withdrew in favour of Shaikh Abdul Majid. Bhojsing Gurdinomal polled forty votes against the eighteen received by Shaikh Abdul Majid, to become the first Speaker of the Sindh Legislative Assembly. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar ruefully remarked, 'Shame to the traitors who have cheated the community, the Mussulmans, in order to satisfy their stomachs,' The tension between the Muslims and Hindus had increased since the elections. Murders had occurred in Mirpur, Thul, Khanpur and Jagan. Tragic happenings took place in small villages. Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah told the Assembly, 'Even now, as it is, I receive everyday a bundle of

telegrams complaining that the minorities are in danger. Shoals of telegrams are being received by me every day, Sir, that there is no safety for the minorities.'

When Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas resigned from the cabinet on 18 October 1937 because of the collapse of his cotton business, the Prime Minister replaced him with Dr Hemandas Rupchand Wadhwani who did not have the same influence among Hindu members of the Assembly. When the Speaker Bhojsing Gurdinomal died in February 1938, Sayed Miran Muhammad Shah, a Muslim and the joint secretary of the Sindh Democratic Party, was elected Speaker with thirty-seven votes against fifteen votes polled by Hassaram Parmnani. This led to further loss of support for the Prime Minister among the Hindu members. Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Soomro and G M Sayed joined with Hindu members to bring down the government of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah by rejecting, by one vote, the demand for a grant of Rs 16,14,000 under General Administration on 18 March 1938, twenty-two votes were received for the Ayes and twenty-three for the Noes. Allah Bakhsh Soomro who was the leader of the Sindh United Party in the Assembly, formed the new cabinet on 23 March 1938, with Nichaldas Chatumal Vazirani and Pir Illahi Bakhsh as ministers. In a speech in the Sindh Legislative Assembly on 30 March 1938, Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, called G M Sayed a traitor and accused Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Soomro of surrendering himself and his friends to the mercy of twenty-two Hindu members and forming the Ministry with 'the twenty-two props who are absolutely anti-Mussalman and want to crush and keep Mussalmans suppressed. Not only that, but they want to wipe out our existence.'

Shaikh Abdul Magid, Muhammad Hashim Gazdar and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro called a public meeting at Karachi on 28 March 1938, to rouse the Muslim opinion against the pro-Congress ministry of Allah Bakhsh Soomro. A conference of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League was held on 7-9 October 1938 which was presided over by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and attended by the Muslim Prime Ministers of Punjab and Bengal. The Conference passed a resolution which condemned the Congress for 'deliberately establishing purely Hindu rule in certain provinces by forming ministries either with Muslim ministers or with Muslim ministers having no following among Muslim members, in direct and flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Instrument of Instructions'. The Resolution also condemned attempts by the Congress 'to make Hindi with Devnagri script as the lingua franca of India' and 'to close Urdu schools wherever possible and discourage the teaching of Urdu language, and thus ultimately wipe it off.' The Resolution demanded, 'And whereas, the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation, inspired by common aspirations and common ideals, being impossible of realization on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community, and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and outlook of life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts...

'This Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interest of an unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self determination of the two nations known Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to the All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be the suitable constitution for India, which will secure honorable and legitimate status due to them, and this Conference, therefore recommends to All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.'

During and after the Sindh Provincial Muslim League Conference, Muhammad Ali Jinnah along with Muslim Prime Ministers of Punjab and Bengal met Muslim members of the Sindh Assembly and persuaded them to form the Muslim League Party in the Sindh Assembly. Allah Bakhsh Soornro, Pir Mahi Bakhsh, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur, G M Sayed and Shaikh Abdul Maid, signed an agreement whereby they agreed to hold a meeting on 12 October 1938 to form the Muslim League Assembly Party. In the meeting, Allah Bakhsh Soomro refused to join the party when he failed to get the assurance that he would be elected leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party and continue as Prime Minister of Sindh. Ultimately twenty-seven Muslim members of the Sindh Assembly agreed to form the Muslim League Assembly Party and elected Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as leader and Mir Banded Ali Khan Talpur as deputy leader. The Sindh Provincial Muslim League was organized with Sir Abdoola Haroon as President, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and G M Sayed as Vice Presidents, Shaikh Abdul Majid as General Secretary and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi and Ghulam Nabi Pathan as Joint Secretaries. Sir Abdoola Haroon and Shaikh Abdul Majid were nominated members of the Working Committee of All-India Muslim League by Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

When the Muslim League tried to dislodge Prime Minister Soomro, he offered ministries to Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur, the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, who joined him with their supporters. The strength of the Muslim League was thus reduced from twenty-seven to seven members in the Sindh Assembly. G M Sayed who was to a large extent responsible for the overthrow of the previous Ministry and for the coming into existence of the present one, moved the motion of no-confidence on 10 January 1939. He told the Assembly on 12 January 1939. 'I have got blind faith in change. I do not care for the result ... I have never thought about the future; I will never think about it ... I say that I do not care for the making or breaking of Ministries. I do not mind breaking Ministries after every month if it is for the betterment of this country.' Khan Bahadur A K Gabol remarked, 'Our Sindhi friends go on changing, like the river Indus. You will never find the river Indus sticking to one course. Every day it will change from one course to another. Now, we are all drinking that Indus water and so we must also change.' The no-confidence motion was defeated as it received only seven votes in favor, as against the thirty-two for the Noes.

The next thrust of the Muslim League against the Soomro ministry was through the Manzilgah issue. The Muslims of Sukkur claimed that Manzilgah was a mosque built by Mir Masum, a historian of Sindh and an officer of the Mughal Imperial Army that conquered Sindh, and demanded that it should be restored to them. The Hindus who were in majority in Sukkur, objected to this. The Muslims of Sukkur asked the Muslim League to support their claim. Sir Abdoola Haroon, the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, visited Sukkur and promised the support of the Muslim League at a public meeting at Sukkur on 19 May 1939. The Restoration Committee of the Muslim League met on 22-23 July 1939 under the chairmanship of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro in the absence of Sir Abdoola Haroon and decided to observe 18 August 1939 as Manzilgah day. Meetings and demonstrations were held all over Sindh. Tension between the Muslims and the Hindus mounted as the son of the Muslim Pir of Bharchundi was assaulted by Hindus in Sukkur and a Hindu holy man, Bhagat Kanwar Ram, was allegedly killed by followers of the Pir. Abdoola Haroon was ordered out of Sukkur and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was placed under house arrest. G M Sayed took over as leader of the agitation. Muslims began *satyagraha* from 1 October 1939 and over a thousand Muslim volunteers were arrested. Prime Minister Soomro tried to defuse the situation by releasing those who had been arrested but the leaders of the agitation demanded a government announcement of immediate restoration of Manzilgah as a mosque and began to picket ministers' houses at Karachi. The Government promulgated an ordinance on 14 October 1939, giving power to the authorities to arrest without warrant. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and other leaders of the restoration committee were once again arrested on 19 November 1939 and police used tear gas to vacate Manzilgah and occupied it. The Muslims then announced *jihad*. Riots raged all over Sukkur district and city. According to an official count 14 Muslims were killed and 12 injured, while 158 Hindus were killed and 69 were injured. According to other sources riots were not limited to Sukkur and over 2,000 Hindus were butchered and many thousands were injured and their property looted and burnt.

In September 1939, the Second World War began and the Congress ministries resigned as a protest against the Viceroy's decision to commit India to the war without consulting the Congress. The Muslim League celebrated the day of deliverance from Congress all over India, on 22 December 1939. This further weakened the position of Prime Minister Soomro. Seth Daulatram Mohandas tabled a motion of no-confidence. The result of the division taken on 26 February 1940, was 29 votes each for the Ayes and Noes. The Speaker cast his vote against the motion and declared that the motion was lost but Prime Minister Soomro nevertheless submitted his resignation. Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur was asked to form the cabinet on 18 March 1940, as he was considered acceptable to both the communities. He offered ministries to three Muslim Leaguers, namely, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, G M Bayed and Shaikh Abdul Majid on the condition that they would sever association with the Muslim League. They agreed although it was tantamount to dissolution of the Muslim League Assembly Party, and

to demonstrate their commitment to the new scheme of things, the Muslim League ministers agreed to introduce the Joint Electorate Bill in contravention of the most deeply held tenet of the Muslim League that separate electorate was the first step toward recognition of Muslims as a separate nation. And, contrary to their earlier agitation for immediate restoration of Manzilgah to Muslims as a mosque, the ministers now agreed to appoint a committee to determine if Manzilgah was a mosque.

Notice of a motion of no-confidence in Prime Minister Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur was served by Pir Illahi Bakhsh on 3 March 1941. Two other motions of no-confidence, one against Prime Minister and the other against his minister Muhammad Ayub Khuhro were tabled by Abdus Sattar Pirzada on the same day. The Speaker fixed the date of hearing of the first motion on the 7 March 1941. The motion was, however, not taken up that day because Allah Bakhsh Soomro informed the House that His Excellency the Governor had asked him to form a new cabinet, and had sworn him in, as Prime Minister.

G M Sayed did not take kindly to the end of his tenure as minister. In a hard hitting speech in the Assembly on 30 June 1941, he directly attacked the Hindus, and said, 'During the four years that Sindh Assembly has been in existence, they have been creating quarrels in the camp of the Mussalman members, and have thrown obstacles and impediments in the way of legislation in regard to the amelioration of masses.

'During the last 40 years the Hindu has snatched away 40 percent of land from the Mussalman and this, taken together with the enormous interest and interest over interest that the bank charges, has reduced his life to a condition of utter helplessness. He earns not for himself but for the *bania*. Due to the control that he wields over commerce, a *bania* has been able to exploit for his personal gain all the wealth which in equity and justice ought to be the possession of the poor villager. As a consequence of all this, the Mussalman has remained hopelessly poor. Due to his undisputed control over services, the *bania* has been able to collect an enormous sum of money through bribes and such other means, which he spends and displays by way of erecting bungalows and palaces and purchasing gorgeous and extravagantly decorated dresses. On the other hand the poor agriculturist who toils day and night has neither a decent home to live in nor a decent cloth to cover himself, much less sufficient food to eat.

Accordingly, what other weapon is there in his hands, with the help of which this poor and miserable creature should defend himself. Hate is one such weapon. Why should you fight shy of this weapon? In that lies the mystery wherewith the oppressed take revenge on the oppressor ... It is well within the rights of oppressed men to at least detest the oppressor if he is not able to do anything else to him ... Now, since this particular principle is operating all the world over, it would be simply be unnatural to safeguard particularly the barrio of Sindh from the hatred of Sindh Muslims who have been put under cruelty and oppression for so many years. It is only this instinct of hate

that will make the poor Muslim peasants unite and thus enable them to protect themselves against any such high-handedness. It should therefore, be remembered, when I said, that the words "Hindu-Muslim unity" are mischievous, I said that with full knowledge of all their associations and implications which I have been laboring so far to place before this Honorable House.

'I have also said that the words "Hindu-Muslim unity" are dangerous. As a proof of the truth of my contention, I will refer to the political history of our Province during the last four years and show how all such efforts to bring about Hindu Muslim unity have proved futile. The underlying reasons for the failure of such efforts is to be traced to the fact that both these nations are made of different material, which apart from being in no way secular, are quite opposite and sharply in contrast to each other. Between these two nations are the political, cultural, economical and social barriers so much so that if one can be characterized as North pole the other will be as dramatically opposite to it as the South pole. It is therefore impossible to unite such antagonizing and mutually repellent materials. Any effort in that direction will result in a most artificial and temporary arrangement which instead of doing any good will really do lot of harm.

'...According to historic traditions the heroes of one nation are the enemies of other and the success of one is the defeat of the other. The language of the Hindu is influenced by Sanskrit whereas the language of the Mussalman is very much influenced by Arabic. In short, we are separate in everything. Our food, our matrimonial ethics, our dress, etc., are entirely separate.

'...Four years continuously, as is evident from the policy of the Congress and non-Congress Hindus, they have continuously and successfully persisted in trying to bring in this ministry and break that one, break this again and bring that in once more and so on. They have continuously created internal quarrels in the camp of Muslim members and have thus tried their best to put impediments in the way of legislation that was intended to render some benefit to poor Mussalmans.'

Allah Bakhsh Soomro was dismissed on 10 October 1942, for showing disloyalty to the British Raj by supporting the Congress call and renouncing his British titles of KB and OBE. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro who had been acting as the President of Muslim League since the death of Sir Abdoola Haroon on 27 April 1942, failed to win sufficient support to form the government. He invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to join the Muslim League and form the government on 16 October 1942, and himself took over as Revenue Minister.

G M Sayed tabled what is known as the Pakistan Resolution in the Sindh Legislative Assembly. Introducing the Resolution, he said, 'what is known as India is and was never one geographical unit ... To start with, calling India a country is a misnomer. England apart, Europe could be called a country from that point of view with much

more justification ... India in fact is not a country at all but in every sense as good a continent as Europe, Africa or North or South America.' Shaikh Abdul Majid explained, 'G M Sayed's resolution is similar to the proposal of Sir Stafford Cripps.' Muhammad Usman Soomro said, 'That independence does not mean that our Sindh province should be combined with Baluchistan, Punjab or Pakistan or with other provinces.' The Resolution was carried on 3 March 1943, with twenty-four votes in favor and three votes against. The text of the Resolution was, 'This House recommends to Government to convey to His Majesty's Government, through His Excellency the Viceroy, the sentiments and wishes of the Muslims of this Province that whereas the Muslims of India are a separate nation possessing religion, philosophy, social customs, literature, traditions, political and economic theories of their own quite different from those of the Hindus, they are justly entitled to the right as a single, separate nation, to have independent national states of their own, carved out in the zones where they are in majority in the sub-continent of India. Wherefore they emphatically declare that no constitution shall be acceptable to them that will place the Muslims under a Central Government dominated by another nation, as in order to be able to play their part freely on their own distinct lines in the order of things to come, it is necessary for them to have independent National States of their own with safeguard for minorities and hence any attempt to subject the Muslims of India under one Central government is bound to result in disastrous, unhappy consequences.'

As the British suffered defeats in the Second World War a two hundred year old prophecy began to circulate among the Hurs that the time had come for their Pir to become the ruler of Sindh. Pir Pagara began organizing a private army of 6,000 ghazis to seize power from the British who arrested Pir Pagara Sibghatullah Shah II, in October 1941. This sparked a full-scale revolt among the Hurs who turned to terrorism. The Hurs derailed the Lahore Mail train in May which killed twenty four passengers, including Munawwar Hidayatullah, the son of the Prime Minister and injured many more. The Sindh Legislative Assembly met in camera in April 1942 to pass a bill against the Hurs as members were afraid to vote on it in the open. The authorities declared. Martial Law in affected areas on 1 June 1942. The blur chief Pir Pagara was tried in Hyderabad Central Jail and hanged on 20 March 1943. Ex-Prime Minister Allah 13akhsh Soomro was assassinated in May 1943.

G M Sayed was elected President, and Yusuf Haroon General Secretary, of Sindh Muslim League on 13 June 1943 With Congress members of the Assembly interned due to their opposition to war, the Muslim League Ministry had a relatively easy time in the Assembly. Nichaldas C. Vazirani told the Assembly on 7 March 1944, 'My charge is that this Ministry has not given a fair play to the Hindu community. Good will is wanting on the part of at least some of the Honorable Ministers, I have learnt from a responsible person that one of the Honorable Ministers was heard to say that he was eagerly awaiting the day when the Hindu will have been reduced to the position where they will be merely hewers of wood and drawers of water and that their women folk would

have to serve as servant maids in the homes of Muslim families ... It is also a fact that several Muslim officers have become irresponsible after the advent of this Ministry and are speaking in most contemptuous terms of Hindus in general and I submit that Hindus do feel, and I am one of them, that this is due to the policy of some of the Honorable Ministers. I make this statement with the full sense of responsibility that the Hindu community as a whole does feel that their interests are not safe in the hands of this Ministry ... It is very well known that Hindus in Sindh are 30 percent of the population and if we take the property, agricultural and non agricultural together they own about 50 percent of the immovable property and I can make a statement that their contribution to the income tax is nearly 80 percent ... I submit that they cannot be threatened and made to surrender either their properties or equal rights of citizenship ... Threats will not make them cowards in any way. I assert, Sir, that there is an unlimited scope of advancement in Sindh. There is more than plenty for all 43 lakhs of its inhabitants and there is no necessity, I would urge, for robbing some to provide others. In fact if all the resources are tapped Sindh can well support 60 lakh more of people than the present population of Sindh. Even in fact more than double the number of its own present population.'

Sindh Muslim League President G M Sayed replaced Yusuf Haroon with Sayed Ghulam Haider Shah as General Secretary of Sindh Muslim League on 15 May 1944 which created bitter feelings between Yusuf Haroon and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro on one side and G M Sayed and Muhammad Hashim Gazdar on the other. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro sent a telegram to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 8 July and followed it with a letter on 10 July 1944, in which he complained that G M Sayed was intriguing with the Hindu members to oust him from the government. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was implicated in the murder of Soomro, was forced to resign from the cabinet on 25 September 1944 and was arrested the next day. Mrs. Khuhro accused G M Sayed and Muhammad Hashim Gazdar of implicating her husband in the case. She wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 'Mr. Gazdar and Mr. Sayed also bears enmity towards my husband. Sayed wants that Gazdar should become the Prime Minister of Sindh and he himself the Dictator ... It is common talk here that Gazdar and some police officials have together obtained about two crore of Rupees in bribes ... it is the Hindus of Sindh who want to create disruption amongst the Sindh Muslims and they want to establish a ministry which would be a tool in their hands as that of Allah Bakhsh and this purpose can be achieved through Sayed and Gazdar ... Gazdar and Sayed wish that Muhammad Ayub Khuhro should either be imprisoned for a long term or be hanged.'

Prime Minister Hidayatullah took away the Home portfolio from Muhammad Hashim Gazdar and brought Ghulam Ali Talpur and Roger Thomas into the cabinet on 13 November 1944 to shore up his ministry, G M Sayed protested that by appointing Roger Thomas, Prime Minister Hidayatullah had upset the balance in the cabinet of one non-Muslim to two Muslim. G M Sayed and Prime Minister Hidayatullah again clashed when a five member Sindh Muslim League Parliamentary Board met on 19 November

1944 to select a candidate for the by-election at Shikarpur. Chairman G M Sayed, Muhammad Ayub Shah and Ghulam Nabi Pathan gave their three votes to Ghulam Nabi Pathan while Anwar, the son of the Muslim League Prime Minister Hidayatullah received the two votes of Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur and his father. Prime Minister Hidayatullah contended that Ghulam Nabi Pathan had no standing in Shikarpur and only a strong candidate like his son could win the election for the Muslim League against Maula Bakhsh Soomro, the brother of the assassinated Prime Minister Allah Bakhsh Soomro. The Prime Minister appealed to the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League which consisted of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Choudhry Khaliquzzarnan and Hussain Imam who rejected his appeal and upheld the decision of the Sindh Parliamentary Board.

Both G M Sayed and Prime Minister Hidayatullah wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah who called them to Delhi. They met Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat on 2-5 December 1944, Muhammad Ali Jinnah got Prime Minister Hidayatullah to accept the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board to withdraw his son as candidate and remove Roger Thomas from the cabinet as the decision to take a member of the minority group in the cabinet was a policy decision which rested with the Muslim League Party and not the Prime Minister. However Muhammad Ali Jinnah accepted that as Prime Minister Hidayatullah was entitled to re-arrange his cabinet and their portfolios.

Prime Minister Hidayatullah wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 29 December 1944, 'They are trying to stab me very soon, so I must get rid of him at once. I cannot allow a disloyal and treacherous colleague with me in the cabinet', and asked Muhammad Ha him Gazdar on January 1945 to resign from the cabinet.

As predicted by Prime Minister Hidayatullah, the Muslim League lost the by-election. Ghulam Nabi Pathan, the Muslim League candidate favored by G M Sayed failed to elicit support in the constituency. G M Sayed withdrew Ghulam Nabi Pathan and offered the seat to the son of the Prime Minister, who refused the honor because he said that as he had been turned down by the Central Parliamentary Board, therefore he must abide by its decision. In desperation G M Sayed offered the seat to Nizamuddin Agha who also withdrew after a few days of electioneering in the constituency. Thereafter G M Sayed offered the seat to Pir Rahim Shah, the brother of the late Pir Pagaro who lost the election to Maula Baldish Soomro. The next trial of strength between the Pir and Mir groups in Sindh politics took place at Tando Muhammad Khan. Yusuf Maroon wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 16 January 1945 that G M Sayed had invited applications for Tando Muhammad Khan by-election, but did not put up the Muslim League candidate. Now he was supporting S K Shah against H B Talpur, A protest that Mr. G M Sayed is not an individual but he is President of Sindh Provincial Muslim League, Member of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, Member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and as such he has no individual capacity and it is not befitting for him to take part in the election by siding with one or the other

when the League has not set up a candidate...' Once again the candidate supported by G M Sayed lost the election.

First M S M Sharma, the Madras editor of *Daily Gazette*, in a confidential letter dated 4 February 1945 and then Hatim Alavi, a Mayor of Karachi, in a letter dated 6 February 1945, informed Muhammad Ali Jinnah that G M Sayed was planning to bring down the Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah ministry in the forthcoming session of the Assembly by creating a coalition of Moula Bakhsh Soomro, Nichaldas Chatumal Vazirani and his group in the Assembly. Sharma advised Muhammad Ali Jinnah that if Pir Illahi Bakhsh also succumbed to G M Sayed then it would not be possible for the Muslim League ministry to survive. Muhammad Ali Jinnah wrote to Pir Illahi Bakhsh on 7 February who wrote back on 10 February, '... Only 2 days back I have issued a statement wherein I have stated that in response to our Quaid-i-Azam's appeal I declare that I will stand by the Muslim League and Sir Ghulam Hussain so long as he is in the League Parry. All papers have reproduced that statement. I think Mr. G M Sayed knew about it before he left this place...' G M Sayed might have had an inkling of these reports against him because he arrived in Bombay on 12 February 1945 to assure Muhammad Ali Jinnah that he would maintain complete harmony, solidarity and unity in the Muslim League ranks. Muhammad Ali Jinnah accepted his assurance and gave him a letter to deliver to Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah in which he asked Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to receive G M Sayed with complete sincerity which G M Sayed would reciprocate.

The Sindh Muslim League Assembly Party met on Friday 23 February 1945 at 11 a.m. to consider the agenda before the house. The Muslim League Assembly Party including G M Sayed and Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, unanimously passed a resolution in support of the supplementary grant to be moved by the Muslim League ministry on 24 February 1945. However, the next day when Prime Minister Hidayatullah moved the supplementary grants on the floor of the House, G M Sayed dropped a bombshell by announcing that he and his supporters had decided to throw out the Ministry. While Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah negotiated with members of the Assembly he asked Pir Illahi Bakhsh to get in touch with Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the phone. As advised by Muhammad Ali Jinnah Prime Minister Hidayatullah called a meeting of the remaining members of Muslim League Assembly Party and expelled G M Sayed and Muhammad Hashim Gazdar. Prime Minister Hidayatullah wired to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 26 February 1945 that he had saved the Muslim League government by including Moula Bakhsh Soomro in the cabinet. Muhammad Ali Jinnah wired back to Prime Minister Hidayatullah on 28 February, '...Unable to approve inclusion of Moula Bakhsh Soomro (in) League ministry unless he joins League...' and on the same day Muhammad Ali Jinnah wired to G M Sayed, '...Lent yourself to unworthy intrigues. Playing in hands of enemies. Have let down your leader and party...' Jinnah's telegrams had the desired effect. Prime Minister Hidayatullah dropped Moula Bakhsh Soomro from the cabinet as he refused to join the Muslim League, while G M Sayed refrained from voting against the Hidayatullah ministry. The British Governor wrote to the Viceroy, 'Jinnah dislikes

them all. He once told me he could buy the lot of them for five lakhs of rupees to which I replied I could do it a lot cheaper' (Talbot, 1988; 50). Viceroy Lord Wavell wrote in his Journal on 15 March 1945, 'In Sindh Hidayatullah has managed to emerge still in charge after a most unsavory exhibition of disloyalty and intrigue by all concerned.' When Khuhro was acquitted of the murder charge, Lord Wavell wrote in his journal on 24 August 1945, 'to be suspected of murdering one's enemies, or even known to have done it, is a qualification rather than a hindrance in Sindh politics.'

The Viceroy announced on 24 August 1945 that elections would be held in the winter of 1945-6. Sindh Legislative Assembly was dissolved on 1 September 1945 but ministers were retained by the Governor. Muhammad Ali Jinnah arrived in Karachi on 29 August 1945 to sort out differences between Prime Minister Hidayatullah, leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party and G M Sayed, President of the Provincial Muslim League, and set up a Parliamentary Board which would be acceptable to both. After intensive negotiations lasting many days, Muhammad Ali Jinnah persuaded them to accept a compromise Parliamentary Board of seven which received the approval of the Provincial Muslim League Council convened by G M Sayed on 15 September 1945. The Sindh Muslim League received seventy applications for thirty Muslim seats in the Sindh Assembly. The Board began its work of selecting candidates on 29 September 1945. Tickets for Larkana, Jacobabad, Nawabshah districts were decided unanimously, thereafter the unanimity ended and G M Sayed found himself in a minority. G M Sayed suspended the meeting on 1 October but the majority (four) moved to the house of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and continued the meeting there. A three-member committee of the Muslim League consisting of Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail and Husain Imam, was sent by the All India Muslim League but failed to reconcile the groups. Thereafter, Muhammad Ali Jinnah himself arrived and after a lengthy meeting with G M Sayed, he blamed him for suspending the meeting and formally announced on 24 October 1945, the names of candidates so far selected for contesting the election on the Muslim League ticket and asked the Central Parliamentary Board to finalize the rest of the list.

The Sayed group- selected their own candidates to contest against candidates selected by the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League. The election for the Central Legislature took place on 11 December 1945 and the Muslim League nominee Yusuf Haroon, easily won against Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi put up by the Sayed group. Muhammad Ali Jinnah sent Liaquat Ali Khan and Qazi Isa to Sindh to meet G M Sayed in another effort at bringing about reconciliation between the two groups before the provincial elections but they failed. G M Sayed resigned from the All India Muslim League Committee of Action and renounced the Muslim League ticket for the provincial Assembly. He launched a bitter attack against Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League through the columns of his Sindhi newspaper *Qurbani* and raised the demand for a separate sovereign state of Sindh which would not be part of a federation that included Punjab. His candidate for the Central Legislature, Pir Ali

Muhammad Rashdi wrote *Faryad-i-Sindh* which became the Bible of Sindhi nationalists. Its thesis was that while Sindh and Punjab had equal political status as provinces of the British Raj and Sindh had its own government with Sindhi ministers, yet Punjabis monopolized all the government jobs reserved for Sindhi Muslims and ran the administration and police. They feared the time when Sindh would be part of Pakistan and Punjabis in power in the centre. In response Yusuf Haroon called G M Sayed a mouthpiece of the Hindu press and Hindu capitalism. The All India Muslim League Committee of Action met on 2 January 1946 and removed G M Sayed from the office of President of the Sindh Muslim League and expelled him from the Muslim League along with Sayed Muhammad Ali Shah, Pir Qurban Ali, Sayed Khair Shah, Sayed Ghulam Haidar Shah, A K Gabol, Sayed Saleh Muhammad Shah, Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgari, Sayed Hussain Bakhsh Shah and Pir Ghulam Nabi Shah, for contesting elections against Muslim League candidates. It directed the Vice President, Muhammad Hashim Gazdar to take over the charge of office and funds of the Sindh Muslim League and appointed a committee consisting of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Hatim Alavi, Ghulam Ali Talpur with Yusuf Haroon as convener, to take charge of election work in Sindh.

There was now only one issue before the Muslim masses and that was of freedom from Hindu domination in an independent Muslim state of Pakistan which they believed they could achieve by voting for the Muslim League. The Muslim League won twenty-seven, Sayed group four, Soomro group four, Congress twenty-two and Europeans three seats in the Sindh Assembly elections that were held on 21 January 1946. Sayed group four, Soomro group four and Congress twenty-two, joined together to form a Coalition Party in the Assembly, Muslim League had the support of three Europeans. Thus the two opposition group had thirty members each in the Sindh Legislative Assembly.

The Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, to form the Government on 9 February 1946. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's cabinet consisted of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Ghulam Ali Talpur and Pir Illahi Bakhsh. He offered two seats in his cabinet to the Congress but the offer was rejected.

Muhammad Hashim Gazdar wrote to Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah on 12 March 1946 that a vile campaign was being conducted against him by the agents of Mr. Yusuf Haroon viz, by Kazi Mujtaba and his allies who had been exciting the masses against him. He told the Assembly on 19 March 1946 that the previous night at Idgah Maidan they had asked the people that 'if they had any sense of patriotism (*Ghairat*) left in them they should shoot such people as myself who defied the Muslim League Party disciplines and if they could not secure guns they should resort to knives ... I have been complaining to the Muslim League High Command and to yourself also about the mean propaganda that had been carried on against me last year and this year

also by the Haroon brothers actively supported by Honorable Ghulam Ali the Home Minister but so far no action has been taken.'

The First session of the Second Sindh Legislative Assembly was held at 2.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 12 March 1946, for members to take oath of allegiance to the King Emperor of India George VI. Governor Robert Francis Mudie appointed John Frazer as Chairman of the Assembly pending election of the Speaker. Miran Muhammad Shah and Miss Jethibai T Sipahimalani were unanimously elected Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Assembly on 14 March 1946. In her speech, Miss Jethibai T Sipahimatani complained, 'there is the terror of insecurity which has spread from village to village and to the cities. Even the great city of Karachi is not without fear. Only the other day in a public meeting members of the Muslim League incited the public to kill and shoot down certain persons obnoxious to them. They openly hinted that if there were no revolvers obtainable, knives and daggers should be used and by any means they must be destroyed. I ask you in all fairness whether with such incitement in Sindh, can any man expect the establishment of law and order in the province? While contemplating the condition of the province I cannot but hang my head in shame.'

Agha Badruddin Ahmad Durrani's reply was, 'Our province of Sindh has a 75 percent population of Mussalmans, and the rest 25 percent, are Hindu friends. Out of the 75 percent of Mussalmans, the percentage of rich among the Muslims is only 2 percent, while on the other hand 23 percent of Hindus from the total of 25 percent are moneyed people, leaving only 2 per cent poor ... I may tell them that we have on our side only 2 percent of the anti-poor elements, while on the other hand you contain 73 percent saturation of the same poison. You are a learned and a potent enemy of the poor class, while we have only a few and very weak anti-poor elements.'

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro pleaded for cooperation of the Congress in the Sindh Assembly on 14 March 1946, 'Unfortunately, the course of politics in Sindh has been that since provincial autonomy has been introduced, ever since Sindh had been constituted into a separate province, politicians have been too ambitious. They had never really cared for the good of masses, but they had only thought of coming into power individually. Sir, unless a particular Ministry is in office for a sufficiently long period, I ask how is it possible to expect that they will be able to do any material good to the province? ... The complaints of this province have been of two kinds, and these could easily be summarized into these *viz*, the prevalence of lawlessness in the province and rampant corruption in the administration of the province. Nobody can deny this fact. This position is chiefly due to the politicians of the province being too ambitious All the time they had been 'trying to oust the existing Ministry and establish themselves in their places ... In every budget session when the month of March came, every member got himself busy to see that a particular Ministry went out of office and was himself installed in that place. That has been the game in Sindh for the last eight or nine years, and that is the real cause of trouble. If the Honorable Hindu members of this

House, who are all returned under one label, *viz.*, the Congress, who number twenty-one, really mean to do good to the province, it is upto them to see that the Government in existence is helped. They should help us to carry on the administration for the good of the province. Instead of that they are out to break the Ministry.'

Professor Ghanshyam Jethanand moved a no-confidence motion against the Minister for Law and Order on 15 March 1946, which was voted on 19 March 1946. The Ayes received twenty-nine votes, and the Noes thirty votes. Thus the no-confidence motion was defeated by one vote as the three European members voted with the Muslim League and Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur who was believed to have been paid a very high price by the Congress to defect from the Muslim League did not do so. Naraindas A Bechar told the Muslim League members in the Assembly, 'If the three European members were not to vote with you, you will not be in this House. It is they who are keeping you in office,' G M Sayed told the Assembly that the majority of the members of the House excluding the European group at the moment were with me and even at present are with me and not with the official Muslim League.' Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party Muhammad Ayub Khuhro sent telegrams to the Muslim League High Command that 'it is in the interest of the province and Muslim Community that the ban on Mr. Sayed and his group be removed.' Quaid-i-Azam's telegram to Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah was, 'They must express their regret and surrender unconditionally. No terms no negotiation so long as Sayed remains in enemy camp.'

The expected defection of Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur materialized on 25 March 1946. The Muslim League government lost the division on demand of grant for forest by one vote. Ayes received twenty-nine votes and Noes received thirty votes. Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah refused to resign. He asked the Speaker to adjourn the House as 'some perfidious man has given a go-by to us'. He told the opposition that 'you have adopted corrupt ways.'

Mir Bandeh Ali Khan Talpur came back to the Muslim League fold when the Assembly met on 28 March 1946, to take up rest of the budget. The Assembly approved the demand for grant of other expenditure by thirty votes for the Ayes and twenty-nine for the Noes.

The danger was that if G M Sayed was to form a pro-Congress government with the help of the Hindu members of the Assembly it would have weakened Jinnah's position in the centre. Liaquat Ali Khan was sent to review the situation. He presided over a meeting of the Sindh Muslim League and established a twenty-two member Organizing Committee to re-organize the Muslim League in Sindh and combat what Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah described as the 'intrigues of Congress whereby the educated Hindu members of the Assembly have accepted the leadership of four Muslims who

had not even been to school to hoodwink Muslim masses who are with the Muslim League and determined to achieve Pakistan'.

A convention of members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures elected on the Muslim League ticket in the 1945-6 elections was held at Delhi on 6 April 1946, which passed the resolution that 'Pakistan zones where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent State.' Speaking on the occasion the Prime Minister of Sindh declared that there were no Muslims in India who did not believe in Pakistan, and that the elections had proved that 90 percent of the Muslims were with the League and determined to achieve Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam declared in his concluding address, 'Muslim India is one and Pakistan is our demand ... if there is any safeguard known in the world for minority provinces, the most effective safeguard is the establishment of Pakistan...There are those who say to us "What is the good of your talking of Pakistan when you cannot form Ministries even in your majority provinces?" I say to them: this is the very reason why we want to get rid of the existing Act of 1935 and establish Pakistan.'

Nichaldas Chatumal Vazirani informed Sardar Patel that two members of the Sindh Assembly, one Fazal Muhammad Leghari, elected on League ticket, and the other Sardar Khan Khoso who had joined the Muslim League after being elected as a nationalist, had both defected and joined the coalition. In his reply on 30 July 1946, Sardar Patel cautioned Vazirani, '... the fanaticism of the Muslim masses may be roused to such a pitch that they may not be able to hold on their position.' Rustomji Khurshid Sidhwa wrote on 16 August 1946 that Yusuf Chandio who was elected on the League ticket and was a Parliamentary Secretary had resigned on the bait of being offered a ministry. Nichaldas Chatumal Vazirani suggested to Sardar Patel on 17 August 1946 to take a Sindhi Muslim in the Interim Government as it would encourage others. He suggested the name of Shaikh Abdul Majid. In a letter to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 14 August 1946, Pir Illahi Bakhsh accused Muhammad Ayub Khuhro of hobnobbing and conspiring with the Coalition Party.

When the Assembly met on 5 September; 1946, the Coalition Party again filed a no-confidence motion which resulted in a tie. The Muslim League government once again survived with the help of the votes of the European members. The British Governor Sir Francis Mudie, who had come under increasing criticism by the Congress high command for keeping the Muslim League government afloat with the help of the European members, dissolved the Assembly, kept Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah as the caretaker Prime Minister and ordered fresh elections for the Sindh Assembly on 9 December 1946. The Muslim League brought riot-affected Muslims from Bihar, observed *hartal* on 15 November to mark Bihar Day and once again drafted students of Aligarh University to campaign in the election. This time the Muslim League achieved a clear majority and won all thirty-five Muslim seats including the seat of G M Sayed. The Mirs and Pirs of Sindh were not prepared to allow themselves to be isolated at a time

when it was beginning to look that Sindh would become part of Pakistan and the Muslim League would form the future government. They also realized that the exodus of Hindus after independence would be a boon for the Muslims of Sindh. According to a statement made to the Sindh Agricultural Commission in 1936, 87 percent of families in Sindh were indebted to the Hindu money lenders. After independence, the money lenders left *en masse* without collecting their debts, to the relief of the Sindhi Muslims. When the Hindu *zamindars* migrated, leaving behind vast areas of agricultural land owned by them, their tenants hoped that perhaps they might become the owners of the soil they had cultivated under the Hindu *zamindar*. But the Muslim *zamindars* seized the Hindu holdings by intimidating and threatening tenants. Thus an opportunity for the poor cultivators of achieving freedom from exploitation was lost. As many as 800,000 acres *i.e.*, 60 percent of land abandoned by Hindus was seized by Sindhi landlords (Jalal, 1991, 87).

The Sindhi newspaper, *Al-Wahid*, dated 9 April, published a letter from Agha Badruddin Ahmad Durrani, Deputy Speaker of the Sindh Assembly, addressed to the Sukkur District Muslim League, which said, 'Muslims are anxiously and restlessly straining their ears to hear the sound of the hooves of galloping horses, the rattling of the swords and the sky-rending slogans of 'Allah-o-Akbar' of Muslim crusaders.' Qazi Fazalullah, a member of the Sindh Assembly enjoined Muslims to, 'Take your sword in one hand and your Quran in the other and win for Islam a superior position'. Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, a senior minister of Sindh warned, 'Let the Hindus of Sindh leave Sindh and go elsewhere. Let them go while the going is good and possible, else I warn them that a time is fast coming when in their flight from Sindh, they may not be able to get a horse or an ass or a gari or any other means of transport.' Pir Illahi Bakhsh, another minister in the Sindh government, declared, 'Muslims would' meet the Hindus in a fourth battle of Panipat where Hindus would meet their Waterloo' (Khosla, 1989, 244)

The first session of the Third Sindh Legislative Assembly was held on 17 February 1947 Agha Badruddin Ahmad Durrani presented statistics before the Sindh Assembly which showed that non-Muslims held more than 73, percent of the jobs in various government departments, and tabled the following resolution on 25 March 1947, 'This Assembly recommends to the Government to ensure that various grades of Government appointments, promotions and confirmations are made in accordance with the communal ratio of 73 percent and 27 percent between Muslims and non-Muslims so as to remove speedily the existing disparity in the said ratio in various services in the Province,'

Rustomji Khurshid Sidhwa opposed the resolution, 'But he has not proved to us that there were qualified Muslims available and still they were not put in ... is it the fault of non-Muslims? Is it because the Honorable Ministers want to make the non-Muslims *khush* that they gave them appointments ... Were the Muslims available, they would

certainly have never filled the posts with non-Muslims. After all efficiency and merit also count. So I think they were helpless and they had no other choice but to appoint non-Muslims. By all means bring the Muslims to the high standard ... But merely to say 70 and 30 and put dummy and unqualified, and qualified in the same category is not at all fair ... In UP there are 14 percent Muslims ... But in the services there are 37 percent Muslims. Why? Because they are very intelligent. It is a matter of pleasure to talk and discuss with them.'

Hindu member Parsram V Tahilramani said, 'We are Sindhis and our foremost consideration here ... should be not the advancement of Hindus, not the advancement of Muslims: it should be the advancement of Sindh, so that Sindh may give a lead in matters where other provinces have failed ... Why the Muslims have not advanced as Hindus have in Government service, not because there was Hindu Government but exactly because there was not a Hindu Government ... and [because] Hindus had to compete and through competition they attained progress. Today Muslims are assured a 70 percent ratio in service. That will add to their incentive to be lazy, not to acquire technical and higher education because 70 percent in the service will be there anyhow and I say let us not lack vision of things to come; in the long run it is going to act to the detriment of the Muslim themselves. Competition is the law of survival and the law of progress ... I want to place with the Treasury Benches that in the name of Mussalmans themselves do not open to them the gates of inefficiency, do not put a premium on inefficiency ... Democracy certainly does not discriminate against any community. Democracy does not lay down a ratio in service. Democracy does not raise barriers for any particular community in service.'

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro explained Since the separation of Sindh in 1936 right down to 1944, the Government of Sindh never definitely fixed any policy of giving 60 percent or 50 percent or 40 percent to Muslims. It was just in the air that 60 percent should be the minimum laid down for Muslims. The actual resolution was passed in 1944 ... Direct recruitment was resorted to for the first time in 1940. Out of 8 appointments of *Mukhtiarkars* 6 have gone to Muslims ... For Class I, services the number of marks has also been lowered because 65 percent was too much and it has now been reduced to 50 percent for Class I, and a little lower for Class II. But what is actually required is the minimum qualification ... if the Muslim possess the minimum qualification they will have every right to get these appointments.

The Resolution was carried by eighteen votes for the Ayes and twelve for the Noes on 25 March 1947. Congress members walked out in protest.

On 3 June 1947, His Majesty's Government announced the plan for the immediate transfer of power, whereby the Muslim majority provinces were asked to choose to be part of Pakistan after territorial adjustments. In a radio broadcast the same day, Quaid-i-Azam gave his approval to the plan and called a meeting of the All India Muslim

League Council to formally accept the offer. The Council of the All-India Muslim League met at the Imperial Hotel, New Delhi, on Monday morning, 5 June, 1947. Zahirul Hasnain Lari, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the UP Assembly, who followed the Quaid-i-Azam, strongly condemned the Plan for giving a truncated sovereign State to Muslim India and failing to provide safeguards to the Muslims of minority provinces demanded by the Muslim League. Zahirul Hasnain Lari moved the amendment, 'Whereas the division of Punjab and Bengal is totally unacceptable and whereas the scheme embodied in June 3 Plan does not provide any protection to the Muslim population of minority provinces of India, this Council accepts the offer of Mr. Gandhi made on 4 June 1947 to confer with the Congress with a view to devise an alternative to June 3 Plan, and postpones consideration of June 3 Plan to a later date to be fixed by the President.' Quaid-i-Azam intervened in the debate from the chair and made a two-pronged personal appeal to members to reject the amendment. The amendment moved by Zahirul Hasnain Lari received the support of only Maulana Hasrat Mohani and few others. 'The Sindh Prime Minister, Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, supporting the Plan, urged upon the Council to accept it.' (Pirzada, 1970, 567).

The Legislative Assembly of Sindh met at the Assembly Hall, Karachi, on Monday 26 June 1947. Speaker Sayed Miran Muhammad Shah read the following message from the governor. 'In accordance with paragraph 10 of His Majesty's Governments statement of 3 June 1947, I ask you to proceed with all convenient dispatch to choose for the Province of Sindh one of the alternatives contained in paragraph 4 of that statement.

Prime Minister Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah moved the following resolution, 'This Assembly resolves that the Province will not participate in the existing Constituent Assembly, and hereby decides to be in the new and separate Constituent Assembly, referred to in paragraph 4, sub-paragraph (b), of the British Government's plan of division of India.' Leader of the House and Opposition agreed that there should be no speeches: Resolution was put to vote and was carried. Ghanshyam Jethanand asked that names of Honorable Members voting may be recorded. Result of division was thirty-three for Ayes and twenty for Noes. Speaker announced the result and Said, 'So in the race to reach the goal of Pakistan Sindh has arrived at the portals of Pakistan first.'

The British Prime Minister, C R Attlee, declared in the British Parliament on 10 July 1947, 'British rule which has endured so long is now, at the instance of this country, coming to an end. There has been many instances in history when States at the point of the sword have been forced to surrender government over another people. It is very rare for a people that have enjoyed power over another to surrender it voluntarily,'

The conservative feeling in UK had been earlier summed up by Winston Churchill, '...We have as good a right to be in India as anyone there except, perhaps, the depressed classes, who are the original stock. Our Government is not an irresponsible

Government. It is a Government responsible to the Crown and to Parliament. It is incomparably the best Government that India has ever seen or ever will see ... India will descend ... into the squalor and anarchy of India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ... Their error is an undue exaltation of the principle of self-government. They set this principle above all other principles; they press it to the destruction of all other principles ... We are told that you cannot put the clock back. What nonsense. We put the clock back every year with highly beneficial results ... We put it back to place ourselves in more harmonious relation with the great facts of nature. We do not try with our little clocks and watches to run counter to nature ... They are trying to put the clock forward without regard to the true march of solar events ... in the hope that the sun will alter its process because of their little dodges.

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