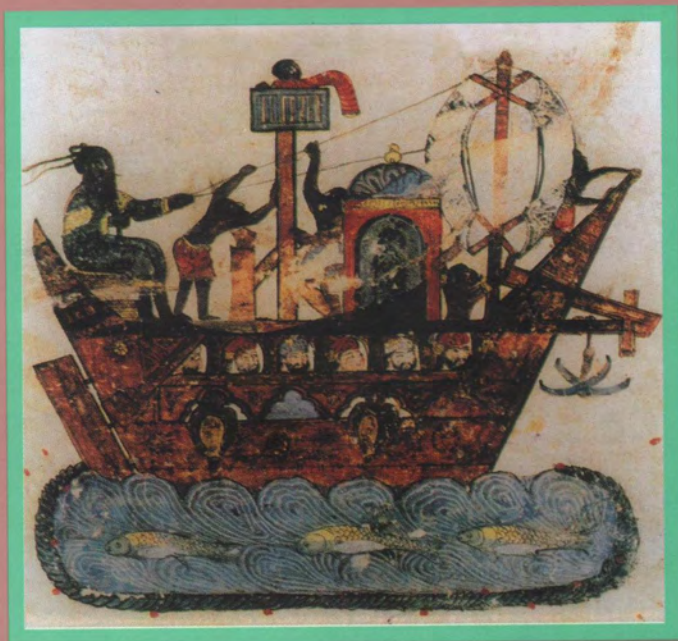


AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SINDH

SUHAIL ZAHEER LARI





Pencil sketch of the author

After his initial schooling at Allahabad and Lahore, Suhail Zaheer Lari attended the University of Karachi before proceeding to Oxford University for a degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics.

The author was Managing Director of a Public Limited Company for over two decades, and served as director of a number of private & public limited companies.

As co-founder of the Society for the Preservation of Muslim Heritage and Heritage Foundation, the author has been instrumental in supporting the documentation and conservation of historic and traditional architecture for the last two decades, including the pioneering works conducted on Thatta, the old capital of Sindh, and Makli, the largest necropolis in the world.

He was one of the first civilians to go into Tharparkar after the Indians, who had occupied it in 1971, vacated it, to photograph and prepare a report with Yasmeen Lari for its rehabilitation for the then President of Pakistan.

He is the author of *A History of Sindh*, 1994, the co-author with Yasmeen Lari of *The Jewel of Sindh*, 1997, published jointly by the Oxford University Press and the Heritage Foundation, and the author of *A History of Muslim Painting*, 2002, published by the Heritage Foundation.

AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SINDH

SUHAIL ZAHEER LARI

With 157 Illustrations & 24 Maps

HERITAGE FOUNDATION, PAKISTAN
KARACHI 2002

HERITAGE FOUNDATION, PAKISTAN

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*Cover: A ship with Arab passengers and Indian crew.
Painted at Baghdad, AD 1199*

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AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF SINDH



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DEDICATED TO ALL WHO LIVE AND WORK IN SINDH

PREFACE

My interest in the history of Sindh dates back to the late 1970s when my wife Yasmeen 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. A history of Sindh upto 1947 written by me and published by the Oxford University Press in 1994 was an attempt to fill this gap.

This new history of Sindh contains a number of additions, four new chapters, illustrations and maps, and takes the story of Sindh to 1988.

I thank Mr. Niaz Rasul, Director General, Department of Archaeology, for allowing me to photograph coins and miniatures at the National Museum. I also thank Mr Mohammad Nawaz Minhas, Comptroller of Sindh Governor House, for his permission to photograph the collection at the Governor House.

My thanks are also due to the late Mr. Nurul Hasan Jafri and Ms. Nagin Malik for reading the last three chapters of this book, and my especial thanks go to Mrs. Noor Jehan Mecklai for going through the final draft with great care. My gratitude beyond measure is to my wife Yasmeen for drawing the maps, laying out the book and providing ungrudging support throughout the years.

Suhail Zaheer Lari
30 March 2002

1

Introduction



Vishnu.

Before the Arab conquest of Sindh (Scinde, Sind), 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 Indian ancient books, 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



Avatars of Vishnu. Vishnu took on the avatar of fish to save mankind from the Great Flood.

world, called *Mahabharata*, that was composed between 400 BC and AD 400.

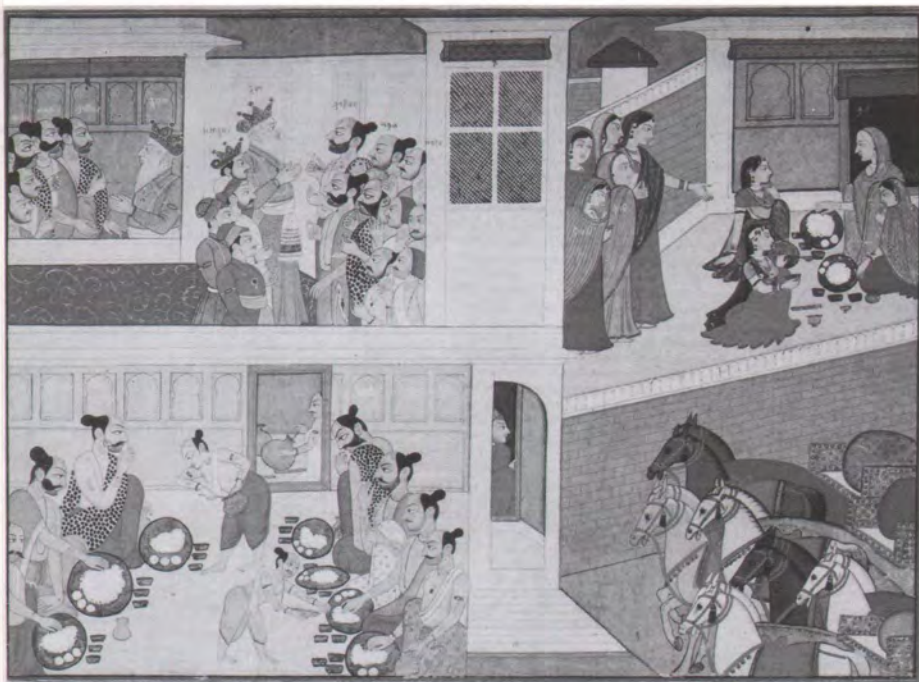
According to the *Mahabharata*, Jayadratha, the Prince of Sindh, fought in the great war side by side with the Aryan aristocracy, who considered the Indus Valley to be the land of the impure, the *melechchas*. Jayadratha explains in the *Mahabharata* that he belonged by birth to the seventeen high clans 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, recovered their wife and captured him, 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. However, Arjuna found and killed Jayadratha with the help of his brother-in-law, the god Krishna, who threw a veil over the sun to lull the Kauravas into the belief that



Mace fight between Bhima & Duryodhan. From Razmnama, an illustrated translation of Mahabharata ordered by Emperor Akbar.

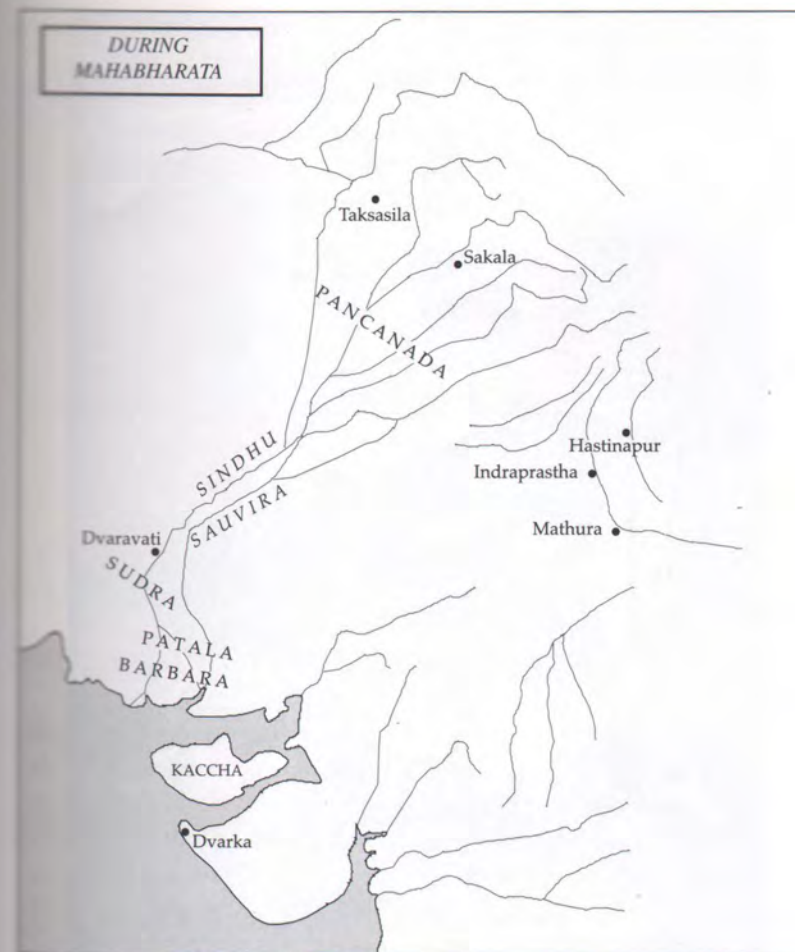


Pandvas visiting Draupadi with their mother Kunti.

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:
"O 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).*



Prophet Noah (Nuh) and his family board ship to escape the Great Flood that destroyed mankind. Painting c. AD 1590.

*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 (*Nuh*) 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 had studied at Oxford all the major European and Asian languages including Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. His study of Sanskrit in India led him to conclude that Sanskrit was related to the European languages. After this impor-



Governor-General Warren Hastings, his wife & an Indian maid. Hastings initiated research in Indian languages, literature & culture.

tant 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, 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 Moenjodaro 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 have 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 about the fifth century BC under the Persians, who used the Aramaic as the official language of their empire. However, neither of the two scripts was 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 them 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 them. Therefore, James Princep, the Secretary of the



Sir William Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, undertook the task of deciphering them.

Lord Curzon established Archaeological Survey of India.



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 from Aramaic, Greek, Chinese, Pali, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. This was necessary as the oral traditions and living history had been lost with earlier families, clans and dynasties who had repeatedly



James Prinsep, Secretary of Asiatic Society of Bengal, holds discussions with learned men of India. He was responsible for deciphering many ancient scripts of India.

been liquidated or replaced in Sindh by new peoples, so much so that not even the original name of the land that they now call Sindh, a name given by the Arabs, is known to those who now live there.

Sindh was known as Meluhha during the Harappan period, Hindush under the Achaemenians and Sassanians, Indos, Prasania and Patalene under the Greeks and the Bacterians, Shakadvipa under the Scythians. It was also called Sangama in Ramyana, Sauvira, Sudra, Barbara in Mahabharata, Prajjuna and Sauvira in Kautilya's Arthashastra, Skythia by Periplus, Indoskythia by Ptolemy, Brahmanaka and Sauvira in Panini's Astradhyayi, etc.

2

Meluhha



Priest King.

The earliest inhabitants of South Asia were the *Homo erectus*, the ancestors of modern *Homo sapiens*—who lived in the Potwar Plateau in northern Pakistan over two million years ago, where the oldest stone tools have been discovered, near the town of Riwat.

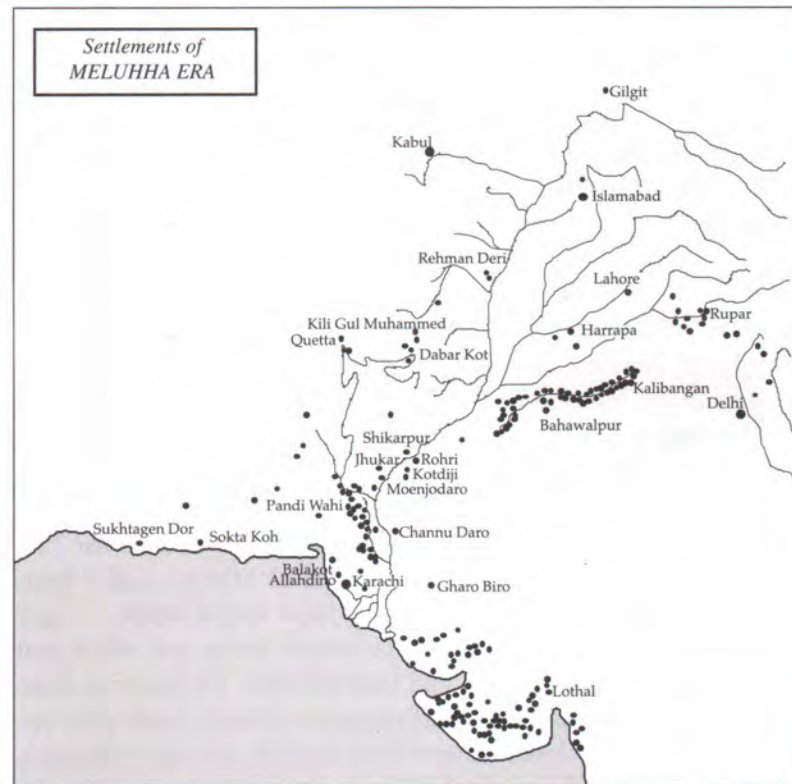
The evidence of camp sites of mobile hunting bands who lived between 30,000 and 10,000 years ago, has been found along the eastern edge of vanished Sarswati River in Rajasthan and Gujarat, and to the west of the Indus River in Afghanistan and Balochistan. Evidence of their camp sites have also been found at Rohri, Jerruck and near the Indus Delta in Sindh.

In 1964, evidence of first early food-producing communities of the subcontinent was found at Mehrgarh, at the base of the Bolan Pass in Balochistan, by the French Archaeological Mission under Jean-Francois Jarrige. Here around 6500 BC, man settled down in small rectangular mud-brick houses. He cultivated barley and wheat and domesticated sheep and goats, and later still zebu. He learnt to make bitumen-coated baskets, and chaff-tempered ceramics made their appearance too, along with ornaments from sea shells and coloured stones. During the next 4000 years he developed wheel pottery, copper metal-

lurgy, stone bead making and seal carving, and established trade networks to facilitate the movements of goods and raw materials.

In 1826, British Army deserter James Lewis, posing as the American Charles Masson, recorded the existence of mounds of ruins at Harappa in Punjab. Alexander Cunningham, the director of the Archaeological Survey of India, visited these mounds in 1853 and made excavations between 1856 and 1872.

In 1920, the Archaeological Survey of India excavated in Harappa, and a year later in Moenjodaro. John Marshall, the director of the Archaeological Survey of India, published the findings in the *Illustrated London News* dated 20 September, 1924, as the discovery of a new civilisation which now scholars agree was called Meluhha, although archaeologists continue to call it the Harappan civilization, because it was first discovered at Harappa in Punjab.



View from the Granary towards the Great Bath and the Stupa at Moenjodaro.

Another name given to it is the Indus Valley Civilization. But out of about 1500 sites that have been discovered so far, few are located close to the Indus River. According to the German expert Michael Jansen, the most probable reason is to be found in the nature of the Indus River which exhibited 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 favour 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. Therefore the early settlements of the Harappan civilization were located away from the Indus River, which in ancient times flowed along the western edge of the vast alluvial plain of Pakistan, and ended in a marshy delta near the modern city of Karachi.



View of well shafts, standing out like towers after excavation at Moenjodaro.

In the east, another ancient river, the Saraswati or Ghaggar-Hakra, had its course parallel to the Indus, along the eastern edge of the Indus Plain, and ended in the Greater Rann of Kutch. It was along this eastern river system that a large number of Meluhhan settlements were situated.

In all over 1500 settlements of the Harappan civilization, spread over an area of 680,000 square kilometres area—that is to say an area twice the size of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia—have been discovered. It roughly covers the area of Pakistan and extends in the south and east to the Gujarat, Rajasthan and Haryana provinces of India and in the west to Afghanistan. This renders the Harappan civilization more extensive than any other known civilization of the Bronze Age.

In the Middle East, writing was invented around 3300 BC and inscribed monuments and extensive libraries have been discovered, which have provided scholars with a record of daily life, religion and political organisation from which their history has been constructed by scholars. In Meluhha, around 4200 objects, mostly seals inscribed with

about 450 different signs, have been found at 60 different sites. They contain on an average 5 signs. There are no long written texts or bilingual inscriptions; nor are they connected to any known script to enable experts to decipher the language, and unravel the history of the people of Meluhha, as was the case in Mesopotamia or Egypt. Further, their script or system of signs disappeared by 1700 BC, and Indo-Aryan speaking peoples obliterated the Meluhhan cities, so that when their ruins were excavated, people living next to them did not even know their name, let alone the existence of their civilisation.

The comparison of artifacts and pottery, and the use of radiocarbon dating have established that large urban centers at Meluhha were established around 2600 BC and lasted till 1900 BC, and also that this civilisation dominated Pakistan and northwestern India for seven hundred years, spanning around 30 generations. This was longer than the period of Muslim rule over Delhi, which lasted for 666 years beginning in 1192 when Prithviraj was defeated at the Battle of Tarain, and finally being extinguished in 1857.

The areas suitable for irrigation, cultivation and settlement of farming communities were the smaller river systems.

However the Meluhhan people made the revolutionary decision in c. 2600 BC to build Harappa and Moenjodaro according to a pre-conceived plan, as central urban places, to exploit the Indus River system for communication and trade. Administratively, this linked the settlements of the Meluhhan 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 Meluhhan civilization to expand along the



Bronze sculpture of the Dancing Girl.

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 farming 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 ancient Mesopotamia, the raising of a whole sector of a city covering more than 80,000 square metres is unique to the Meluhhan culture during its mature phase.

The main element of Meluhhan 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-Meluhhan 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.

The most remarkable feature of Moenjodaro is the absence of a wide range of industries of importance to the life of its inhabitants.



Terracotta figure.

German and Italian studies have shown that the crafts that were practised 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 Meluhhan settlements along the Balochistan coast in the west and the Indian coast in the south.

Despite this need to expand and augment their resources, there is no central palace or temple or burial place for the elite filled with material wealth in Moenjodaro and Harappa, such as those in other early states in Mesopotamia, Egypt or China. Nor is there any depiction of warfare or captiv-taking and little evidence of warfare.

It was earlier thought that Harappa and Moenjodaro were built as twin capitals of the Harappan Empire, but two other sites as important as these have been discovered in Kalibangan and Lothal in India. Further, the majority of the known sites of the Meluhhan 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 Meluhhan 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. Furthermore, the skeletons are believed to provide evidence that five out of the six types of people who now inhabit the Indo-Pakistan sub-con-



A Moenjodaro seal.



A Moenjodaro seal.



Bead Jewellery found at Moenjodaro.

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.

3

Shakadvipa



A headless Kanishka.

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 the Indus Valley with their women and children, flocks and herds, destroying and displacing everything before them. The history of the Indus Valley, as revealed by the new western sciences of archaeology, philology and numismatics, is one of invasion, occupation and population of this area by people originating from outside the Indus Valley,



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 the Indus Valley on the most convenient route of mass infiltration into South Asia.

The first great wave of nomads to overrun the Indus Valley was that of the Aryans in c. 1500 BC. They introduced iron, and used camels and horses for transport. Their staple product was the horse, which dominated all aspects of their life and made them a superior military force, allowing them to move quickly and overrun all of present day Pakistan. The Meluhhan script as well as the manufacture and use of seals and female figurines disappeared. The rigid system of weights and measures introduced by the Meluhhans did not remain in use. The uniformity of the Meluhhan Period was replaced with distinct regional development. Pottery and metal artifacts 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, Maha, Mahat), an Indo-European people who had settled in Medea, south-west of the Caspian 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 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 the Median empires.

Medea was the centre of Magi and Media Atropatene, the present Azarbaijan saw the birth of Zoroaster who was founder of a new religion. He found a protector in the east of Iran at Bactra. The last years of the Prophet were occupied with holy wars in which he was killed in 563 when he was seventy-seven years old. The Medes were defeated and their capital Ecbatana (Hamadan in modern Iran) was captured in 550 BC by Cyrus (Kurush) the Great, the founder of the



Coin of Achaemenian King Darius I.

Achaemenian (Hakhamanish) dynasty of Pars (Greek Persis and modern Fars). The inscription on the tomb of his grandson, the Achaemenian King Darius I, declares, "I am Darius (Darayavahush), the Great King, King of Kings (Malkan-malka, Shahan Shah), king of Lands Peopled by all Races, for long king of this Great Earth, the Son of Vishtasp (Gushtasp, Hystaspes), the Achaemenian, a Persian, Son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent." The inscription also declares Hindush 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 Iranians and India to the Europeans. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, in 519 BC, Darius I, who was the discoverer of the greater



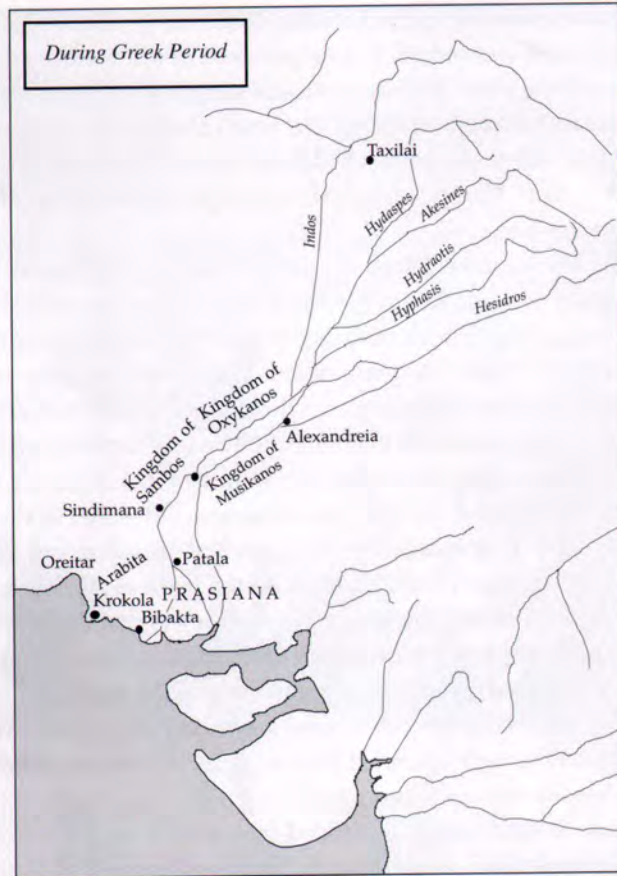
Alexander comes to the palace where Darius was slain by his minister.
Painted at Herat, AD 1425.

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 Indus River. 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" (Hérodoteus, Book IV; Chapter 44). The Achaemenian used Aramaic (Aramic) 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 Gaugamela on 1 October, 331 BC, and marched with his army through the provinces of the Persian Empire to ensure their submission. Alexander partially repeated the feat of Scylax by sailing from the Jhelum in October 326 BC for the Indus River 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 (Sambos) of Sindimana (probably Sehwan) had sent envoys to seek his support against Musicanus (Musikanos) 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 him when he 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). To the south of Sukkur was the principality of Oxykanos which was rapidly subdued after the storming of two of its major cities. On learning that Musicanus had been received with favour and confirmed in his principality by Alexander, and that Oxykanos had fallen to Alexander, Sambus fled and his capital Sehwan also surrendered to him. 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, along with 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, the capital city of Patalene, at the head of the Indus Delta in the middle of July 325 BC, he found that it had been aban-

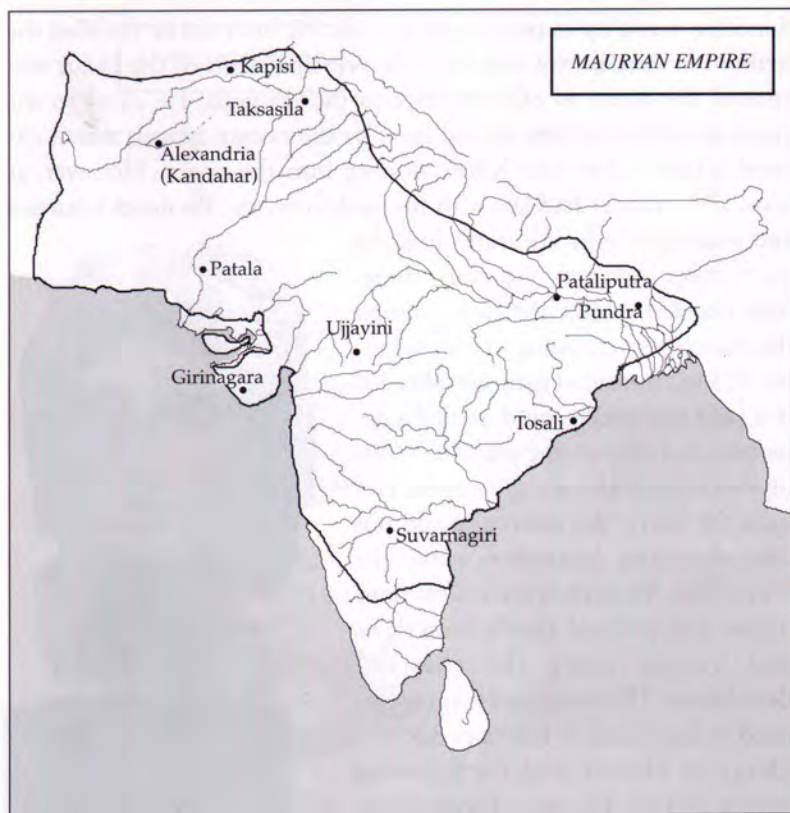
doned en masse by its people and its ruler. He built docks, fortified the harbour at Patala, explored both the principal arms of the Indus and entered the ocean to offer sacrifice to the sea gods. He came to the conclusion that his fleet should leave by the eastern branch which entered a large saline 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 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 his army arrived in Karmania in February 324 BC. Alexander himself died the following year on 10 June 323 BC, at Babylon near modern Baghdad, when he was aged just 32 years and ten months.



Bust of Alexander the Great.

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 junction of the Indus and the Acesines (Chenab) to the sea and over the whole coastal region of India. When Peitho was appointed Governor of Gandhara in 321 BC, Porus 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 Pataliputra (Patna), extended his kingdom to include all the territories governed by Porus. Seleucus Nikator (The Conqueror), the successor of Alexander in the east, formally ceded the territory up to Kabul including Sindh to Chandragupta (Sandracottus) in 303 BC. Chandragupta's grandson, the great Mauryan



King, Asoka, converted Sindh to Buddhism. The Mauryan Empire came to an end when Pushyamitra Sunga, the commander-in-chief of the Mauryan army, killed the last Mauryan king, Brihadratha, and usurped the throne in c. 185 BC.

Demetrius I the Invictus (Invincible), the Greek (Indian Yavana or Yona) 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 India. Sometime between 187 and 185 BC, he annexed the Seleucid provinces of Aria (Herat), Arachosia (Kandahar) and Siestan. He then advanced into India and occupied Taxila. From there he sent his general Menander to occupy Sagala (Sialkot) and Pataliputra. Demetrius I personally led a force down the Indus River and conquered Sindh. He refounded Patala and following Alexander's

example, sailed out on the Indian Ocean. Demetrius I was now ruler of a great empire from Jaxartes (Syr Darya) to the Gulf of Cambay, and from Herat to Pataliputra. The Greek language introduced by Alexander continued to be used as the language of state from Egypt to Pakistan.

His son, Agathocles (c. 180-165 BC), 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.

But at this moment of glory for the Bactrian state, the Senate of Rome passed a resolution



Coin of Demetrius I the Invictus, conqueror of India, wearing an elephant headdress.

ordering the Seleucid monarch Antiochus VI Epiphanes to vacate Egypt. Seleucid ruler who has been a hostage in Rome, complied and looked toward the east for future conquests. He ordered his cousin Eucratides, who was governor of eastern satrapies, to recover the Seleucid provinces annexed by the Bactrian rulers. Eucratides left Babylon late in 169 BC, and marched across Southern Persia to Siestan where he

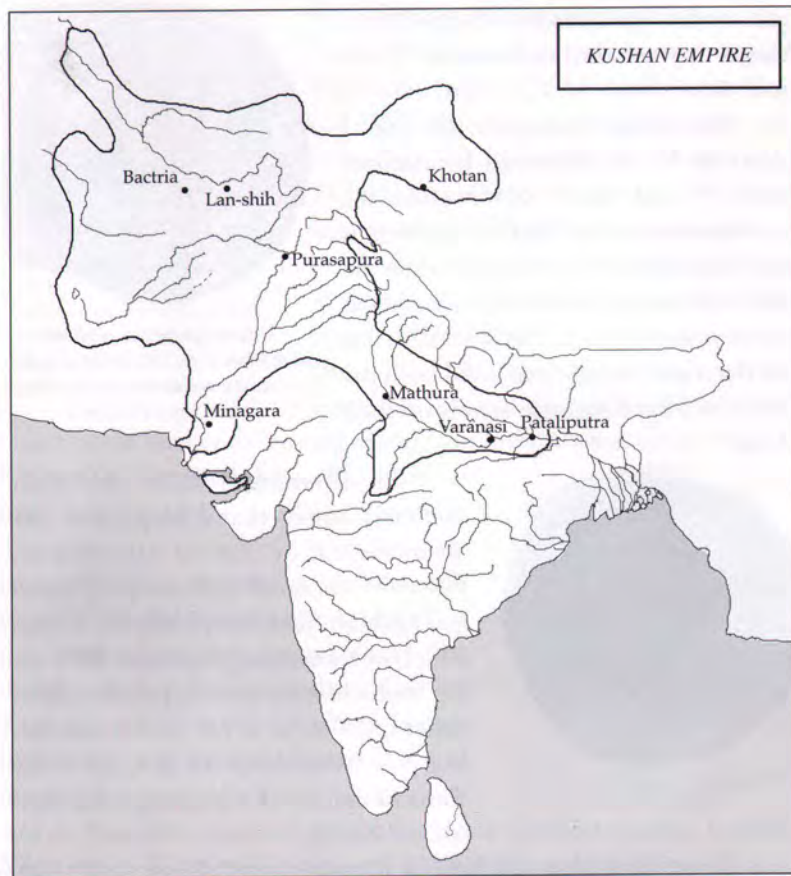


A tetradrachma of the legendary warrior and philosopher King Menander (Milinda).

defeated Agathocles. Demetrius II (c. 180-165 BC) was defeated and killed at Bactria. In 165 BC Eucratides crossed the Hindu Kush but was defeated by Demetrius's son-in-law, Menander (Milinda), the famous philosopher king of the Pali work *Milindapanha* (The Question of Milinda). The Pali work describes him thus, "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.



A silver drachma of Strato wearing a helmet.



of the Indo-Parthian king, the most famous of them being Gondophares (Vindafarna), who ruled c. AD 20 to AD 50. The Parthians (Pahlava) have given us the word *pahlavan* (mighty wrestler).

Ardashir I son of Papak, descendant of Sassan and lord of a small state in Pars (Fars), defeated and slew the last Parthian king Artabanus (Ardawan) V in AD 224, and founded the Sassanian Empire with Zoarastrian as state religion. 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 the Indian Ocean. He made Persia the dominant trading power in the Indian Ocean. Shapur I son of Ardashir I took up the title of

Shahan Shah Eran Ud Aneran (King of Kings of Iran and non-Iran) in 241. The Babylonian Mani (Manes) founded the Manichaen religion. Shapur I allowed Mani to first time preach publicly at his coronation on the 20 March 242. However he turned against him ten years later. Mani fled to India and returned under his son and successor Hormazd I who offered him protection but his reign lasted only a year. Mani was imprisoned by his brother and successor Bahram I (273-276), and tortured to death at Jundi Shapur. Shapur II c. 309, extended the empire to include Sindh.

The legendary Sassanian King Bahram (Varahran) V (421-438), surnamed Gur, the Wild Ass, 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 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 gyp-



Bahram Gur with his Indian queen.
Painted at Tabriz, AD 1493.



A square silver drachma of Appollodotus I. Among earliest bilingual Greek coins in India; legends in Greek & Kharoshthi.

As in wisdom, so in strength of body, swiftness and valour there was none to equal Milinda in India." On his death Menander (c. 155-130) was succeeded by his son Strato I (c. 130-95), while Appollodotus (c. 115-95), a son or son-in-law of Menander, was governor of Patalene (lower 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 rebuilt 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 in c. 175 BC. The Yueh-chi escaped west, and occupied the area around the Aral Sea in modern Kazakhstan, which was at that time inhabited by the Scythian (Sanskrit Shakas, Iranian Saka) 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 Kathiawar in the south, including the Greek sea provinces of Kutch and Surastrene. Then moving up the river In-



A coin of Scythian king Azes II.



A coin of Scythian king Azes I.

du, under their leader Maues (Moa, Moga) they attacked and annexed Taxila in 85 BC.

Maues was succeeded by Azes I (Aya) in 57 BC, followed by Azilizes (Ayilisha) and Azes II. Sindh under the Scythians was called 'Skythia' by Periplus and 'Indoskythia' by Ptolemy, while the Indians called it Shakadvipa — the island country of the Shakas. The Scythians, like the Bactrians before them, used both the Greek and the Kharoshthi scripts on their coins.



Coin of Azilizes.

Their third king, the famous Kanishka c. AD 78 or c. AD 103, established the great Kushan Empire that comprised Central Asia, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Punjab and Sindh, with its capital at Purushapura (Peshawar). Buddhism flourished under the Kushans and, with the extension of trading contacts, it was introduced into Central Asia. During the later Kushan period both the Kharoshthi and the Brahmi scripts were used on coins found in Sindh.

These coins also suggest that before coming under the sway of the Kushans, the Scythians had accepted the suzerainty



Double gold dinar of Vima Kadphises c. AD 100. King in royal Kushan dress seated cross-legged on clouds; legend in Greek.

An alliance of Yueh-chi (Asii, Tochari) tribes that had pushed the Scythians out of Central Asia, overran Bactria in the north and occupied Kabul and Kashmir. Kadphises I who was Kujula (chief) of Kwei Shang (Kushan), the leading Yueh-chi tribe ascended the throne in either c. 25 BC or c. AD 30. He was followed in either c. AD 35 or c. AD 80 by Vima Kadphises II, who conquered Punjab and Sindh.



Gold dinar of Kanishka, with one of the first known representations of Buddha.

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 Turki Shahi king and established the Hindu Shahi 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 Media, 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 them. 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 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, Dahirsiya, established himself at Brahmanabad. When Dahirsiya died, Dahir occupied Brahmanabad.

4

The Early Muslims



A copper coin of Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik with his hand on the sword (left), and fire altar on the reverse (right).

The Arabs had lost lucrative maritime trade routes between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea before the advent of Islam. The 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 from maritime 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. Byzantium 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, Qaysar) Heraclius (AD 610-642) and the Persian Emperor (Shahan Shah, Kisra) Khusraw II Parvez (AD 590-628) weakened both empires, and led to their overthrow by the Arabs. In AD 608, a Persian army sent against the Arab tribes living on the right bank of the Euphrates, was massacred at the battle of Zu-Kar. On hearing this, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is said to have exclaimed, "This is the first day when the Arabs have obtained satisfaction from the Persians."

sies from Sindh into Persia to provide music and dancing for his people. Khusraw I in c. 531 earned the titles of Anushirwan (Anushak-ruban, Of Immortal Spirit) and Adil (Just) by his wholesale massacre of the Mazdakites, including the prophet Mazdak.

The White Huns (Ye-tha, Epthalites, Heythal, Hunas) who had pushed the Yueh-chi towards the west were, in turn, pushed westward by the Tou-kiue (Chinese Tu-Chueh, Greek Tourkoi, Arabic Atrak, Persian Turkan, Sanskrit Turushkah). The Hunas occupied Afghanistan in c. AD 465. They defeated and killed the Sassanian King, Feruz (Peroz) I, in AD 484, blinded and deposed his brother, Balash (Valash, Vologases), and exacted tribute from the Persians. They swarmed across



A drachma of Shahpur I.

the north-western passes into Punjab and Sindh c. 465-502. They were followed by the Gujrara (Gujar), the 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 Khusraw I Anushirwan 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, Gujraras, Maitrakas and the rest became Rajput clans, while the lower developed into Hindu castes of less honourable 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' or '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*, a 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, namely Rao Diwaji, Rao Seharas, Rao Sahsi, Rao Seharas II, and 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 II 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.

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, JSHS 1944; 6). He escaped and took employment with Rao Sahsi II. When Sahsi II died in c. AD 652, Chach married the widowed Queen Sahandi, massacred the royal family, seized the throne and proclaimed himself king. This was not an isolated incident. Having converted the

The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was born on Monday, 12 Rabi al Awwal, in the year of the elephant, c. 571, at Mecca in western Arabia. He was forty years old in 610, when on a night in the month of Ramadan, the angel Gabrielle came and asked him to "Recite in the name of thy Lord who created man." The Prophet (PBUH) migrated from Mecca to Medina in 622. This later became the first year of the Muslim calendar, beginning with 16 July, as the first day of the first month. He returned to Mecca in triumph on 20 Ramadan 8/11 January 630 to become a Prophet (PBUH) with honour in his own country. He died at Medina on 13 Rabi al-Awwal 11/8 June 632.

The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was succeeded by his elder father-in-law, the first caliph Abu Bakr, whose daughter Aysha was the favourite wife of the Prophet (PBUH). Caliph Abu Bakr crushed the false prophets and united the Arab world. He then sent the tribes he had subdued in the wars of *Rida* (apostasy) to carry the war beyond Arabia. He died in 13/634, and was succeeded by the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) younger father-in-law, the second caliph Umar, whose daughter Hafsa was married to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Under Caliph Umar, the Persians were routed at Qadisiyya in 15/636 and Egypt was wrested from the Byzantium in 21/642. 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. They were resisted by the Indian seafarers, especially the Medes of Sindh who were backed by the merchants of Debal. However, 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 that of the Europeans a thousand years later, was to use their fleet to establish their writ in the Indian Ocean. In 15/636, Caliph Umar I (AD 634-644), appointed Usman bin Abi al-Aasi Saqfi as the Governor of Bahrain and Oman. Usman sent his brother Hukm bin Abi al-Aasi Saqfi to Bahrain and himself went to Oman. Hukm launched a naval expedition from Bahrain against Bahroj and Tana near modern Mumbai. Meanwhile, Usman sent another naval expedition under his brother Mughaira against Debal in Sindh. Caliph Umar I was unhappy to hear of these naval expeditions. He wrote to Usman, "You have put insects on wood and left them at

the mercy of the ocean. If any Muslim lives are lost I will take an equal number from your tribe." He forbade further naval expeditions.

In AH 17, Caliph Umar I planned a major land initiative against Khurasan, Kirman, Sistan and Makran. It comprised seven armies under the overall command of Sahal bin Adi Khazraji Ansari. It was delayed for a year because of widespread famine. The expedition in Makran did not get under way till 23/644. Sahal bin Adi arrived in Makran after subjugating Kirman and Qufus (Qafs, Baluchistan). Hukm Saqfi was in command of the Makran operation. He was reinforced by two other armies sent from Kufa under the command of Shahab bin Makharrab and Abd Allah bin Abd Allah bin Ataban Ansari. They met the combined armies of Makran and Sindh on the border of Makran and Sistan and defeated them. Makran was occupied and the expedition returned with booty which included one captured elephant.

After Caliph Umar was killed by an Iranian slave, Abu Lulu Firoz, he was succeeded by the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) elder son-in-law, the third caliph, Usman, who was married to two daughters of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), one after other, namely Ruqayya and Kulsoom. The murder of the caliph by an Iranian was followed by rebellion in the newly conquered territories. In AH 29, Caliph Usman (AD 644-656), sent Ubaid Allah bin Muamer Qarshi Timi to curb the rebellion in Makran. He cleared the area of rebels up to the Makran River. When Caliph Usman appointed Abd Allah bin Aamir bin Krez Governor of Basra and placed Makran under him, he also sent Ubaid Allah bin Muamer Taymi to Fars, and appointed Umair bin Usman bin Saad as Governor of Makran, followed by Saeed bin Kindir Qashiri as Governor of Makran. Caliph Usman deputed Hukaim bin Jabla Abdi as captain a naval expedition to explore the route to Sindh. On his return Hukaim reported to the caliph that en 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 expedition beyond Makran.

The Arabs were a tribal people and prone to deep-seated tribal rivalries. Before Islam, the political and military leadership of Mecca, according to tribal arrangement, 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), who belonged to the tribe of Banu Hashim, the traditional tribal arrangements became subject to the new Islamic order. The Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) successors, the first and second Caliphs also belonged to the smaller tribes of Mecca. The third caliph belonged to the Banu Umayya, the leading tribe of Mecca.

After Caliph Usman was murdered by the Arabs, he was succeeded by the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) cousin and younger son-in-law the fourth caliph, that is to say, Caliph Ali, who was married to Fatima, the youngest daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The failure of Caliph Ali to punish the murderers of his predecessor ran counter to the Quranic law of *Qisas* (Retaliation), and to the traditional belief in tribal honour. The latter required every member of an Arab tribe to avenge the murder of one of their member, and stipulated that the heir was the man who accepted the responsibility for avenging the death. Muawiya, who was brother-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), besides being leader of the Banu Umayya and the Governor of Syria, demanded that murderer of Caliph Usman be punished. This led to the division of the caliphate. Thenceforth Caliph Muawiya ruled the western part of the caliphate from Damascus in Syria, while Caliph Ali ruled the eastern part of the caliphate from Kufa in Iraq.

In 39/659, Harith bin Marah Abdi received permission from Caliph Ali (35-40/656-661), to explore the area beyond Makran. He captured Qiqan (Qizkanan, Gigan, Qalat) and Qandabil (Gandawa) and obtained plenty of plunder, made many captives and distributed one thousand slaves in one day. However, in a subsequent raid during the caliphate of Caliph Muawiya in 42/662, he and his men were ambushed and killed at Qiqan in Balochistan. At about the same time Umar bin Ubaid Allah bin Muammar Timi invaded Armabil (Armail, Arman Bela, Bela), a town between Makran and Debal. He returned successful and built a mosque which later became known as mosque of Abd Allah bin Umar, in Khashak, a town in Makran,

Meanwhile, the Kharijites (seceders), those members of Ali's party who withdrew from him, decided that hereditary principle had no place in Islam. They determined to kill both the caliphs on the same day during the early morning prayers. Caliph Muawiya in Damascus escaped with minor injuries, but Caliph Ali in Kufa received fatal inju-

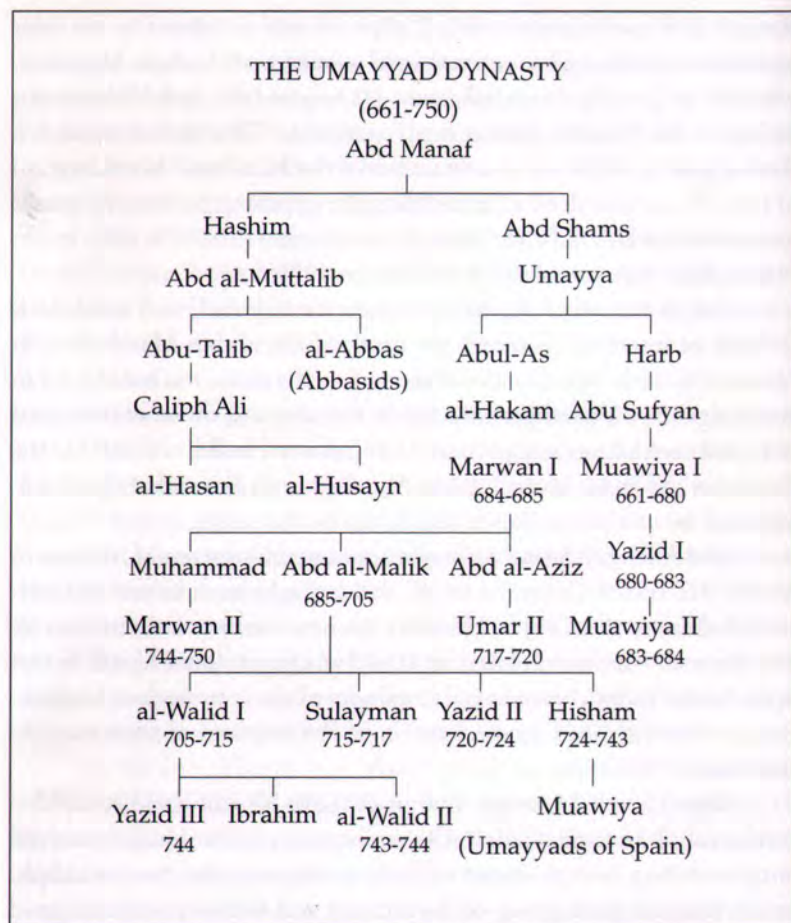
ries and died on 26 January 661. Caliph Ali was succeeded by his elder son Imam Hasan, who entered into a pact with Caliph Muawiya, whereby he gave up the caliphate on 10 August 661, in fulfilment of a saying of the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH), "This son of mine is a Sayyid, and he will unite two branches of the Muslims." In celebration of this meritorious deed of reconciling the opposing parties, the year is known as 'Am al-Jama'a, the Year of Community (Jafri, 1979; 156). Imam Hasan died nine years later at Medina in 49/669.

Caliph Muawiya (AD 661-680) sent Rashid bin Umru Jadidi Azdi to Makran in AH 42 to avenge the death of Harith bin Marah Abdi in Qiqan. The town was plundered and pillaged, but he was killed later in action against the Medes on the Sindh frontier, and those who escaped retreated to Makran under Sanan bin Salama Hudhli. In AH 44, the Governor of Sistan, Muhallub bin Abu Saghra Azdi invaded Qandabil, followed by attacks on Banna and Lahor in the north.

Abd Allah bin Sawar Abdi was appointed Governor of Makran in AH 44. He raided Qiqan in AH 45 and brought back horses and presented them to the Caliph. However his next raid was a disaster, as he and his men were annihilated in AH 47 at Qiqan. Once again, Sanan bin Salama Hudhli, brought the remainder of the army back to Makran. Sanan who had been ignored twice, at last received appointment as Governor of Makran.

After Caliph Muawiya died in 60/680, his son Yazid succeeded him as caliph in Syria. Caliph Ali's younger son Imam Husain received letters inviting him to come to Kufa in Iraq to take over as caliph. Imam Husain's little group of dependents and followers were stopped at Karbala in Iraq — and he and all other male members of the group save a son of Husain who was ill, were massacred on 10 October 680 when they refused to swear allegiance to Caliph Yazid. Then their heads were cut off, taken to the capital Damascus and presented to Caliph Yazid, along with womenfolk who were pensioned off and sent back to Medina.

However, the people of Hijaz refused to accept Yazid as caliph and Abd Allah bin Zubayr, a son of the Prophet's (PBUH) aunt Safiyah, was declared caliph in Mecca. Caliph Yazid did not live long, and was succeeded by his son as Caliph Muawiya II, who, finding no solution to the civil war, resigned three months later. Thus the caliphate passed



to Marwan (AD 684-685) who belonged to another branch of the Umayyad clan, and was followed by his son Abd al-Malik (AD 685-705). The caliphate of Abd Allah bin Zubayr ended when Caliph Abd al-Malik sent a Syrian army against Mecca under Hajjaj ibn Yusuf. Hajjaj laid siege to Mecca, bombarded the holy Ka'aba with catapults, disregarding its ancient sanctity, attacked and killed Abd Allah bin Zubayr in fighting around the Ka'aba in October 692. The caliphate was once again united under the Umayyads.

Caliph Abd al-Malik next sent Hajjaj as governor to Iraq. After brutally suppressing the Kharijite rebellion in Iraq, Hajjaj took measures to establish the Umayyad caliphate in the eastern provinces. In 78/

697, he sent Saeed bin Aslam Kalabi to Makran, which had been ruled by the two Banu Sama brothers Muawiya bin Harith Alafi and Muhammad bin Harith Alafi since AH 65. They killed Saeed bin Aslam Kalabi. In AH 79, Hajjaj sent Mujaa bin Siar Tamimi to avenge Saeed, whereupon the Alafi brothers escaped to Sindh. On Mujaa's death in AH 80, Hajjaj sent Muhammad bin Haroon Numeri to Makran.

Meanwhile, the Umayyads had sent their army on the traditional routes to India through western mountain passes. In 74/693, the first Arab expedition entered the mountain valleys, where it was encircled and cut off. It was allowed to return after the commander of the Arab army, Abd Allah, gave a written promise to the Turkish Shahiya King Ratbil never again to invade his kingdom. When Hajjaj bin Yusuf became Governor of Iraq in AH 75, he sent Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Bakra as Governor of Sistan. Hajjaj ordered Ubayd to attack Ratbil in 78/697. Once again the Turks allowed the Arab army to advance, and yielded territory after territory till they had brought them into a valley where they could cut their lines of communication and block all routes of retreat. Ubayd Allah ibn Abi Bakra agreed to buy his way out of certain destruction by paying seven hundred thousand dirhams to the Turkish Shahiya King, Ratbil.

However, one of the commanders of the Arab army named Sharih bin Hani did not agree with the terms and attacked Ratbil which ended in the massacre of the Arab army (Tabari, Part V, 312). In 80/699, Hajjaj who had, according to Tabari, declared that he would like to see Abd al-Rahman ibn al- 'Ash'ath dead, sent him against Ratbil, who once again failed to give battle and yielded territory to draw the Arabs deep into mountainous country. Ibn al- 'Ash'ath, who had studied Ratbil's tactics, wrote to Hajjaj that he should be allowed to consolidate his gains, fortify his lines of communication and halt further advance till his troops had familiarized themselves with the area. Hajjaj demanded quick revenge for the humiliation that the Arab army had repeatedly suffered at the hands of the unbelievers, and threatened to punish the army and its commander. Ibn al- 'Ash'ath, who was aware of Hajjaj's intention of forcing him into suicidal action, negotiated peace with Ratbil.

The army supported its commander who turned back, invaded Iraq, defeated Hajjaj and captured Basra. 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, when 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 all his family. His head was sent by Hajjaj to the caliph. Thus the Arabs were unable to dislodge the Turkish and Hindu Shahiya dynasties of Afghanistan who 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, Hajjaj conceived of an invasion across the inhospitable southern coastal route into Sindh. This 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 later Europeans, 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 orphaned Muslim girls who had been born in his country of Arab traders. The ship carrying the girls was captured by the Medes of Debal. Therefore Hajjaj wrote to Raja Dahir of Sindh to send the girls to him. Since Dahir replied that he had no control over the pirates, Hajjaj sent Ubayd Allah bin Nabhan and Budayl bin Tahfa with an army to punish the pirates and recover the girls, but they were defeated and killed. He also sent an unsuccessful naval expedition under Muhammad bin Haroon Numeri.

The repeated reversals in Afghanistan and Sindh were a great blow to Muslim prestige, and persuaded Caliph al-Walid I (AD 705-715) to declare 'holy war against Sindh and Hind'. To lead this operation, 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 Kurd from Fars. Muhammad bin Qasim started from Shiraz in 92/711 with six thousand Syrian cavalry and a large number of Iraqi Arabs and their *mawalis* (local converts). 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 in Makran for a month. On his way to Debal (Daybul, Deval) he captured the town of Panjgur (Fenzpur, Qenzbun) after fighting lasting over a month,

while Armanbela surrendered. The Governor of Makran, Muhammad bin Haroon Numeri died near Armanbela and was buried in Qanil (Qambali).

Muhammad bin Qasim reached Debal on a Friday in the month of Ramzan 93/712. Six naval ships laden with siege machines, including the enormous stone throwing catapult called *al-Urus* (The Bride), arrived by sea in time to be used with deadly effect. This redoubtable machine 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. Hajjaj's order to Muhammad bin Qasim had been to give no quarter to the people of Debal, therefore the slaughter continued for three days. Muhammad bin Qasim 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.

There were two fundamentally different religions in Sindh, each with a distinct set of beliefs and rituals, class composition, and socio-economic interests. The urban, mercantile Buddhists were not satisfied with their socio-economic situation under the Brahmin dynasty. The incorporation of Sindh into the Arab Empire held out the prospect of the regularisation of disrupted maritime commerce (both Indian and Chinese) passing through Sindh, and access to the vital markets of the Middle East. Therefore the Buddhists were generally quick to collaborate with the Arabs. The Buddhist priests of Nerun (Hyderabad) under their leader Sunder negotiated surrender, while the Governor of Siwistan (Sehwan) fled and its Buddhist population welcomed Muhammad bin Qasim, and received *aman* (peace).

Muhammad bin Qasim waited for two months on the western bank for an opportunity to cross the Indus River. He finally crossed with the help of chief of Buddhist Lohano tribe, Moka Vassayo (or



Portrait of Caliph al-Walid I.



A view of excavations at Debal, modern Banbhore.

Mokah Basayah), who deserted Raja Dahir for one hundred thousand dirhams and confirmation as ruler of Bet (comprising the eastern portion of Delta as far as Kutch). Dahir rushed from Rawar to intercept the Muslim army, but the Muslim archers aimed naptha fire at his elephant, which threw itself into the river with its royal rider. Dahir was fished out of the water and killed by an Arab soldier. The heads of the King of Sindh and of other chiefs who fell with him in the battle, were severed and sent to Iraq. The queen defended the Rawar Fort in an attempt to delay the Arab army and allow Crown Prince Jaysiyah (Jaysina, Jay Singh) to escape and organize a resistance, before killing herself by jumping into the ritual fire along with her female attendants.

Jaysiyah defied the Arab army for six months at the capital, Bahmanwa (Bahmanabad, Brahmanabad), before once again escaping. Adult males were put to the sword and women and children enslaved. Muhammad bin Qasim then marched on to Aror (al-Rur near Rohri), which defied him for several months but capitulated after he agreed to spare the lives of its inhabitants. Here for the first time the choice that was given to non-Muslims of Sindh, was not between Islam and sword

but between Islam and *jizyah* (poll tax). They were treated as *ahl-i-kitab* (People of the Book), and were given the status of *dhimmi* (protected), in the same manner as Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. Whoever accepted Islam was exempted from slavery and poll-tax, and those who submitted but did not accept Islam were given *aman* (peace) and their *amwal* (tribute) as *dhimmah* were settled as per *ahd* (covenant). Certain additional discriminatory measures relating to the status of *dhimmah* were applied to two Sindhi castes: the Jat (Arabic zutt, Persian jattan) and Lohana (consisting of Lakha, Samma and Sahta or Sata castes). However, as previously stated the head of the Lohana caste, Mokah Basayah, was given the administration of the regions of Bet and Qissah.

If any people did not submit, they were attacked, the combatants even when they surrendered were killed and their sons and daughters were enslaved. Hajjaj wrote to Muhammad against giving *aman* to enemy who had actually engaged in hostilities. The combatants generally received *aman* only before the battle. Thereafter, if they wished to escape death or enslavement, conversion to Islam was the only option.

Muhammad bin Qasim then advanced to Uchch (Iskalandah, Alsaka) 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. Hajjaj was able to report to the caliph that the invasion of Sindh had been an unqualified success. "We have appeased our anger, avenged our injuries, and gained sixty million *dirhams* after recovering the cost of expedition, as well as the head of Dahir."

Hajjaj died in Iraq in 95/714, followed by Caliph al-Walid I who died six months later in 96/715. The new Caliph Sulayman (AD 715-717) appointed Yazid bin Muhallab as Governor of Iraq, and Salih bin Abd al-Rahman Tamimi as the new collector of tributes. Salih sent Yazid bin Abu Kabsha al-Saksaki to Sindh. Muhammad bin Qasim was arrested and brought back to Iraq in chains by Muawiya bin Muhallab, brother of the Governor of Iraq. The conqueror of Sindh was thrown into a dungeon at Wasit and tortured to death like other members of the family of Hajjaj belonging to Al-i Abi Aqueel. In prison Muhammad bin Qasim composed verses which contained the following couplet:

*If I am imprisoned in Wasit, if I am chained
and helpless, what does it matter?
I am the one who has brought down youthful
riders and killed haughty warriors..*

The conqueror of Sindh was not the only Arab general of a previous caliph to meet an ignominious end. Action was also taken against others including Musa bin Nusayr, the conqueror of Africa and Spain, and Qutayba bin Muslim, the conqueror of Central Asia. This was a familiar ritual in the Muslim world. Each new administration extracted by every means available to them, by torture and murder and by confiscation, all the wealth and property from the members of the previous administration that they could.

Caliph Abd al-Malik and Caliph al-Walid 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 the 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 under the Saffarid Dynasty in eastern Iran in the latter part of the tenth century. This was not the case in Sindh, where first Arabic and then Persian became the written language.

Sindh became a province of the Arab Empire, ruled by governors appointed by the caliphs, and was colonized by a number of Arab tribes who often fought with each other and with the governors sent by the caliphs. At this stage the Muslim state was essentially a confederation of Arab tribes. Any convert to Islam who was not a full member by descent of an Arab tribe had to become *mawali* (client) of one of them. As the Arab manpower was no longer sufficient for the armies to conquer such vast areas, the *mawalis* (converted muslims) were recruited but not *dhimmies* (non-Muslims who lived in conquered territories). However the *mawalis* did not have the same rights as the Arab-born, and were also confined to the infantry, with lower rates of pay and a smaller share of booty.

After the removal of Muhammad bin Qasim, the princes of Sindh who had escaped into the desert to the east returned and occupied the

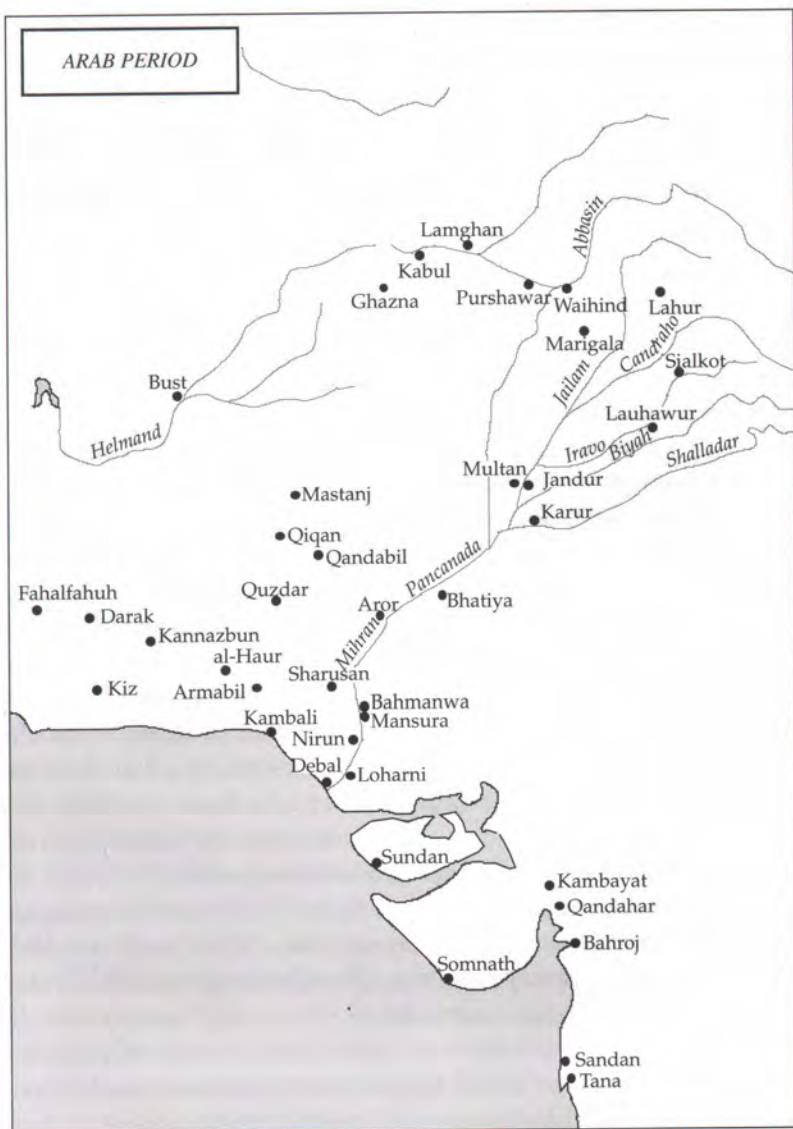
east bank of Sindh. Jaisiya, the son of Dahir, also came back and occupied Brahmanabad. Despite the conquests of Muhammad bin Qasim and repeated attempts by various Arab governors, the hold of the Arabs east of the river Indus over the non-Buddhist population remained tenuous.

Caliph Sulayman (AD 715-717) was succeeded by Caliph Umar II (98/717-101/720). He sent Abd al-Malik bin Masma and then Umru bin Muslim Bahli as Governors of Sindh.

Caliph Umar II appointed Adi bin Arta as Governor of Iraq and directed him to arrest his predecessor Yazid bin Muhallab, but before this could happen Yazid bin Muhallab arrested Adi bin Arta and occupied Basra and Kufa. Meanwhile Caliph Umar II died and was succeeded by Caliph Yazid bin Abd al-Malik (AH 101-105). The new caliph sent his brother Muslama bin Abd al-Malik and nephew Abbas bin Walid to Iraq. Yazid bin Muhallab died fighting, but his son Muawiya bin Yazid bin Muhallab killed Adi bin Arta who had been his prisoner in Wasit and escaped with his family to Kirman by ship. He then set out by land for Qandabil in Balochistan, where Yazid bin Muhallab had appointed Wida bin Hamid Azdi for such an eventuality after he had repeatedly sworn to protect his family. However when Hilal bin Ahwaz arrived at the behest of Muslama bin Abd al-Malik, Wida left the family of Muhallab at the mercy of Hilal, who cut off the head of every adult male member of Muhallab's family and sent these with the Muhallab women and children to Musalma, who forwarded them to the caliph. He in turn sent them to his nephew Abbas bin Waild in Halab as he had sworn to sell them as slaves. The heads were arranged for inspection and rest of the family was duly sold to Jarrah bin Abd Allah who, having taken pity on them, bought them for one lakh with the intention of releasing them later.

Umru bin Muslim Bahli was replaced as Governor of Sindh by Falan Sabi, followed by Ubaid Allah bin Ali Salama and then by Abd al-Hamid bin Abd al-Rahman.

Caliph Umar II (AD 717-720) had written to the princes of Sindh and invited them to accept Islam, explaining that this would secure their properties and grant them the same rights as enjoyed by other Muslims. Jaysiyah 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 (105/724-



125/743), he ignored the promise made to these princes, and crossed the river Indus into their territory. Jaysiyah defied him but was killed in a naval encounter on the river Indus. His brother Sassah, son of Dahir, who attempted to proceed to Iraq to complain to the caliph, was lured into a meeting through false promises and killed. Junayd captured

Brahmanabad on the left bank of the Indus and raided Rajputana, Gujarat and Central India collecting huge amounts of booty and tremendous number of slaves. He wrote to the Caliph that he had made six hundred five thousand prisoners, deposited eighty lac dirhams in the treasury and distributed an equal amount among his troops.

Junaid was appointed governor of Khurasan in 111/729 and Tamim bin Zayd Quini was posted to Sindh in his place. Tamim was not able to control Sindh and all the gains made by Junaid to the east of the river Indus were lost save Kutch.

An experienced senior officer, Hakam bin Awana Kalbi was sent to Sindh to retrieve the situation. He built a fortified city c. AD 730 on the left bank as a safe haven, calling it Mahfuza, and attempting to implement a forward military policy which would bring the whole of the eastern bank under control. However, Khalid Qasri was dismissed as Governor of Iraq in AH 120 and was replaced with Yusuf bin Umru Saqfi, who launched the usual brutal accountability against his predecessor and the officers appointed by him. Khalid Qasri died under interrogation. The Sindh Governor Hakam realised that he would be next. He appointed Muhammad bin Gharar Kalabi as his successor, went into the territory of the Medes, the sea pirates, to embrace martyrdom fighting the infidels. Yusuf bin Umru Saqfi dismissed his nominee Muhammad bin Ghazan Kalabi and replaced him with his kinsman Umru son of Muhammad bin Qasim as Governor of Sindh. He arrested Muhammad bin Ghazan Kalabi and sent him to Iraq where he was tortured and fined. The appointment of Umru bin Muhammad was resisted by Yazid bin Arar and the matter was placed before Caliph Hisham. He decided in favour of Umru who promptly imprisoned Yazid bin Arar.

Umru was beset by dissensions within the Arabs settled in Sindh. He built another city as his headquarters on the western bank of the Indus and named it Mansurah. Here he was besieged by a Hindu raja, and asked for reinforcements from the Governor of Khurasan. The Hindu raja left on hearing of the army of Khurasan, but Umru pursued him and destroyed his forces, turning his strength then upon the Arabs, who were causing disension in his army. He attacked and killed Marwan bin Yazid al-Muhallab and dispersed his followers.

Calph Hisham died in AH 125 and was succeeded by Walid bin Abd al-Malik. Caliph Walid dismissed Umru bin Muhammad bin



A ship with Arab passengers and Indian crew. Painted at Baghdad, AD 1199.

Qasim and replaced him with his old rival Yazid bin Arar as Governor of Sindh, but Umru remained safe because his kinsman Yusuf was still the Governor of Iraq. In AH 126 Yazid bin Walid became caliph. He replaced Yusuf with Mansur bin Jamhur Kalabi as Governor of Iraq, and Mansur in turn appointed Muhammad bin Ghazan Kalabi as governor of Sindh. He avenged his torture under Yusuf by arresting Umru bin Muhammad bin Qasim, who committed suicide by throwing him-

self on the sword of his guard. Mansur bin Jamhur Kalabi felt slighted when he was replaced the same year as Governor of Iraq. He rebelled and came to Sindh with his brother Manzur bin Jamhoor Kalabi, asking Yazid bin Arar to support him. When refused he besieged Mansura. Yazid bin Arar asked for quarter but when Yazid bin Arar came he had him buried alive. Mansur and his brother Manzur bin Jamhoor Kalbi ruled over Sindh as the rebellion against the Umayyad caliphate spread from Khurasan.

Ali, son of Imam Husain, was the only one of the sons of Husain who was not killed at Karbala, because he did not take part in the fighting due to illness. He devoted himself to unceasing 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 elder son Imam al-Baqir maintained this policy but this was not accepted by other members of the house of the Prophet (PBUH). Zayd, the younger son 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 122/740.

While repeated attempts by the progeny of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet (PBUH), to overthrow the Umayyads, failed, the successful challenge came from the family of Abbas who was the uncle of the Prophet (PBUH), and the eldest male member of the family at the time of the Prophet's (PBUH) death. It was natural for an Arab to accept 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. The claim of Abbas's family also received support from the offspring of the third and youngest brother of Hasan and Husain named Muhammad, who was a son of Caliph Ali from 'a blackish slavegirl 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 from another wife. The *imamate* of Muhammad, son of Caliph Ali, and after his death that of Abu Hashim, son of Muhammad, was recognised 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, an offspring of Abbas, his nominee to the imamate and gave him letters addressed to Shiite circles in Khurasan.

This Muhammad who was a great grandson of Abbas, conceived of a secret plan for seizure of power from the Umayyads, which upon his death in AD 743, was put into operation by his son Ibrahim. It received active support in the province of Khurasan where Abu Muslim, a non-Arab, unfurled the black banner of the Abbasids in June AD 747 and occupied the provincial capital Merv (now in Turkmenistan). After the Yemenites in the Umayyad army defected, Abu Muslim entered Iraq and occupied Kufa in August AD 749. As Ibrahim had been captured in AD 748 and had died in captivity, his brother Abu al-Abbas al-Saffah received the oath of allegiance as caliph in the mosque of Kufa on 28 November AD 749.

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

5

The Abbasids



(Left) A gold dinar of Abbasid Caliphate of AH 156. "Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah," replaced the earlier Umayyad inscription (right) "There is no God except Allah alone. He has no partner."

Although the Abbasid caliphate was established at Kufa in 132/749, the Arab world was divided along the traditional Arab tribal lines that has been variously described as Northern and Southern, Adnani and Qahtani, Nizari 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.

One of the centres of resistance was Sindh, where Mansur bin Jamhur al-Kalbi had usurped power during the Umayyad period. Manzur bin Zubayr Habbari who had come with Hakam bin Awana Kalbi, Umayyad governor of Sindh, and settled at Bania in Sindh, took the rebellion into Iraq where he was arrested and hanged. His descendants were later to establish an independent Arab kingdom in Sindh.

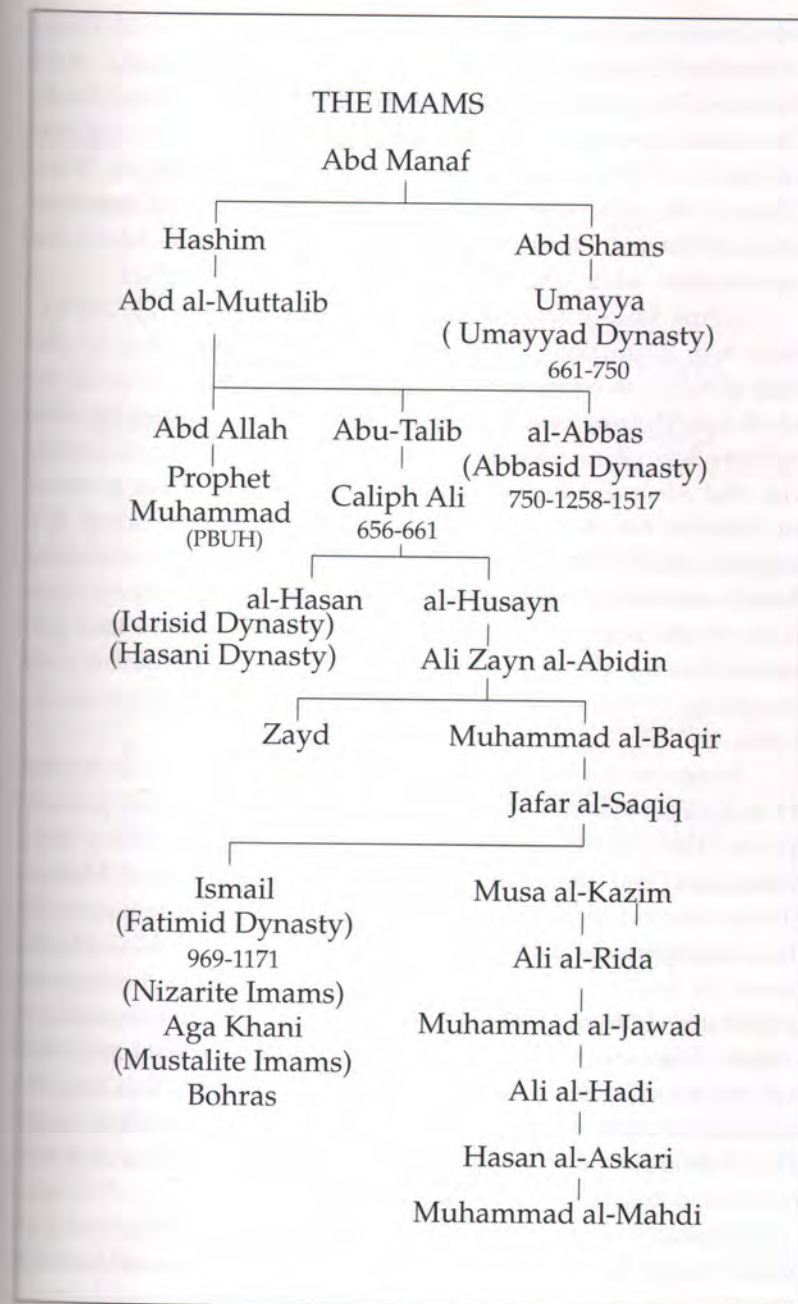
The first Abbasid caliph, Abul Abbas Saffah, sent Muflis bin Sari Abdi of Banu Tamim as Governor of Sindh. The ruler of Sindh, Mansur bin Jamhur al-Kalbi, was at that time on his way to Multan and had left his brother Manzur and Rifa bin Sabit as his deputies in his capital Mansura. Rifa bin Rifa bin Sabit conspired with the Abbasids and killed Manzur while he was asleep in his palace, then waited for the Abbasid

governor, Muflis al-Abdi, to arrive. Mansur turned back and defeated and killed Muflis al-Abdi before he could enter Mansura, and buried Rifa alive in a minaret for killing his brother.

In AH 134, Caliph Abu al-Abbas Saffah sent Musa bin Kaab Tamimi, the head of his personal guards to Sindh. Musa defeated Mansur bin Jamhur al-Kalbi, who fled into the desert and died there of thirst. Caliph Abu al-Abbas Saffah received the news of the conquest of Sindh and Africa two days before he died, on 12 Zul Hajja 136, and Abu Jafar Mansur (AD 754-775) took over as the second Abbasid caliph.

Musa bin Kaab Tamimi repaired the treasury and extended the Friday mosque in Mansura, left his son Ainia in charge in Sindh and returned to Iraq. Ainia struggled to curb the tribal dissension which repeatedly flared up in Sindh. Yemeni Arabs belonging to the Rabi tribe rebelled and looted the treasury but were put down and massacred by Ainia. On the death of his father Musa bin Kaab Tamimi in AH 141, Caliph al-Mansur sent Umar bin Hafs Hazarmard Muhallabi to Sindh as governor. Umar bin Hafs arrested Ainia and sent him to the caliph under guard. On the way Ainia broke loose, but was caught by Yemeni Arabs who, to avenge the massacre of their tribesmen by Ainia, beheaded him and sent his head to the caliph.

One of the recurring features of the Muslim world was the search for a *Mehdi*, 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 thereby showing 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 Hasan appeared to fulfil 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 144/761, Banu Hashim secretly swore allegiance to him but this came to the notice of the Abbasid caliph, Mansur, who ordered the arrest of Nafs al-Zakiya. He and his brother Ibrahim went into hiding and the two brothers sailed from Aden to Sindh. When they could not be found,

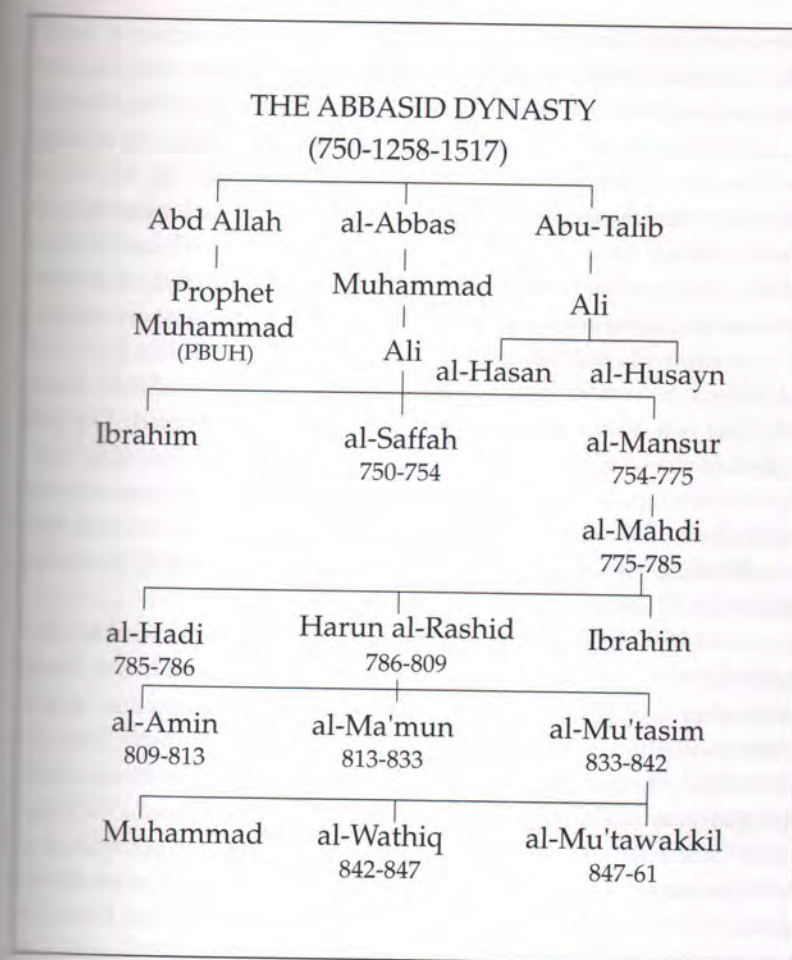


orders were issued for the arrest their father Abd Allah. Nafs al-Zakiya returned and chose to fight and die in Medina on 14 Ramadan 145/6 December 762. One of his sons, Abd Allah al-Ashtar, escaped to Sindh. The Abbasid governor, Umar bin Hafs, gave him sanctuary and later sent him to a Hindu raja who took him under his protection. When officers of the caliph questioned Governor of Sindh, Umar, a devoted servant of his took the blame for harbouring Abd Allah al-Ashtar, and was beheaded, while Umar bin Hafs was transferred to Africa.

Caliph Mansur sent Hisham bin Amr Taghlibi (AH 151-157) to Sindh with instructions to ask the Raja who had given refuge to Abd Allah al-Ashtar to return him, warning that failure to do so would result in war. Hisham went to Sindh with his brothers, Bistam bin Amr and Sufayh bin Amr. One day Sufayh bin Amr had a chance meeting with Abd Allah al-Ashtar who was out hunting. Abd Allah al-Ashtar was killed in the encounter and his head was sent to the caliph. 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, and is a popular place of prayer and worship. Abd Allah al-Ashtar had a son by a slave girl, and this boy was also sent to the caliph who sent him to Medina to be brought up by the family of Hasan. He is known as Abul Hasan bin al-Ashtar.

It appears that not only Abd Allah al-Ashtar, but also his brother Ali and cousin Hasan bin Ibrahim had taken refuge in Sindh. According to other sources the descendants of Ali from his other sons, Muhammad and Umar, also established themselves around Multan. Hisham sent expeditions all over Sindh and Balochistan to punish the intransigent Arab tribes who had risen in support of the Alids. He defeated the Arab tribes that had established independent governments in Multan and Qandabil. He also sent land and naval expeditions against Gujarat, from where pirates were attacking the Arab trading ships and had become so bold as to attack Arab ports, including Basra in Iraq. He collected an immense amount of booty and sent it to the caliph. In AH 157 Hisham gave charge of Sindh to his brother Bistam bin Amr and returned to Baghdad.

Caliph Mansur sent Mubid bin Khalil Tamimi as Governor of Sindh, but he died a few months after his arrival in Mansura, and his son Muhammad bin Mubid took over affairs in Sindh.



In AH 159, Caliph Mehdi (AD 775-785) sent Ruh bin Hatim Muhallabi Azdi Atki as Governor of Sindh. In AH 159, Caliph Mehdi also launched a successful naval expedition from Basra against the Indian port of Barbed under Abd al-Malik bin Shahab Masami. However on the way back they were hit by a violent typhoon, which destroyed most of the ships and cost many lives on the coast of Iran.

Meanwhile, the tussle between Arab tribes in Sindh was compounded by rebellion of the native Jats. Caliph Mehdi placed Sindh under Muhammad bin Sulaiman, Governor of Basra, in AH 161, and

appointed Nasr bin Muhammad Ashash Khizay as Governor of Sindh. He was replaced by Abd al-Malik bin Shahab Masami who had lead the naval expedition against the Medes of Sindh and Barbed, but after a mere twenty days Nasr bin Muhammad Ashash Khizay was restored as Governor of Sindh. Since he failed to pacify Sindh, Safi bin Umru Taghlabi from the old Sindh hands was sent but with no more success. Caliph Mehdi now despatched his personal slave, Layth bin Tarif, to Sindh. After a stay of one month in Mansura, he attacked the rebellious Jats and put them to sword, which brought peace for next six years.

Caliph Musa Hadi (AH 169-170) recalled Layth bin Tarif who left behind his son Muhammad bin Layth as his deputy in Sindh. Layth bin Tarif was on his way when the Caliph Musa Hadi died. The new Caliph Harun al-Rashid (AD 786-809) appointed Salam bin Abu Salam as the Governor of Sindh, but he died on arrival in Mansura and was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim. A year later in AH 174 Ishaq bin Sulayman bin Ali Hashimi was made Governor of Sindh, followed by Taifur bin Abd Allah Humairi.

In 176/792, the conflict between the Nizari and the Yemeni tribes again flared up. In the old Umayyad capital of Damascus blood flowed in the streets for two years. Similar conflicts between Nizari and Yemeni tribes took place in Sindh. Taifur stayed in Mansura and sent Jabir bin 'Ash'ath to Makran, but both failed to curb the rebellious Nizaris. Caliph Harun al-Rashid deputed Saeed bin Muslim bin Qutaiba Bahli but he likewise failed, by this time the Nazaris, who were in occupation of Multan, were planning to takeover the whole of Sindh. Caliph Harun al-Rashid once again placed Sindh under the Governor of Basra, Isa bin Jafar bin Mansur, who appointed Muhammad bin Adi Taghlabi to Sindh. He invaded Multan but the Nazari Arabs defied him and he returned to Mansura unsuccessful. He was replaced by Abd al-Rahman Hashimi who saw the situation in Sindh and returned. The next Governor of Sindh was his nephew Ayub bin Jafar, but he sent instead Sulayman bin Saeed who died on way to Sindh. Thereafter Ayyub bin Jafer bin Sulayman was appointed Governor of Sindh, but the situation still did not come under control till Daud bin Yazid bin Hatim Muhallabi was appointed governor in 184/800. He deputed his brother Mughaira to take charge of Mansura, but the Nizari 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 persecuted those who did not submit to him. Thus the Nizari rose against him and killed him. Daud avenged his brother by massacring a large number of Nizari and freed most of the urban centres of Sindh from their control.

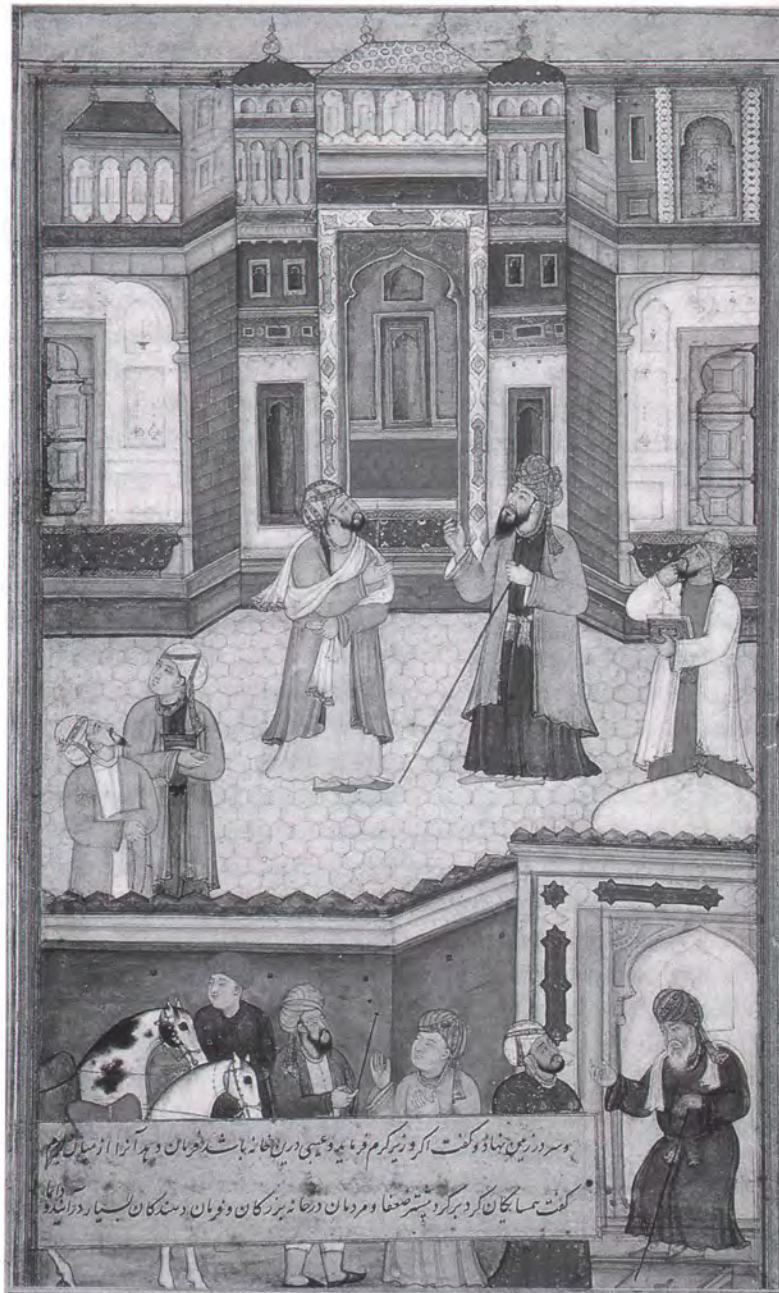
Caliph Harun al-Rashid died in AH 193, and his two sons Amin and Mamun fought for the throne till AH 198, when Amin was killed and Mamun succeeded as caliph. Daud died in Sindh in AH 195 and his son Bashar bin Daud succeeded him as governor. Mamun agreed to Bashar's succession on the condition that he would pay an annual tribute of ten lakh dirham per annum. When Bashar failed to keep his promise, Caliph Mamun sent Hajib bin Saleh to take over from him in AH 211, but he failed to dislodge him.

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. The Baramaki family came from Balkh, where their ancestors had held the office of *paramaka*, i.e., superior in the Buddhist temple named *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 form 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:

<i>Arah barah kankarah</i>	<i>Kara kare mundarah</i>
or	
<i>Arah asra kakra</i>	<i>Ki kara mundara</i>

However, no one has so far been able to identify or decipher any of the words of the above two verses as those of any of the known



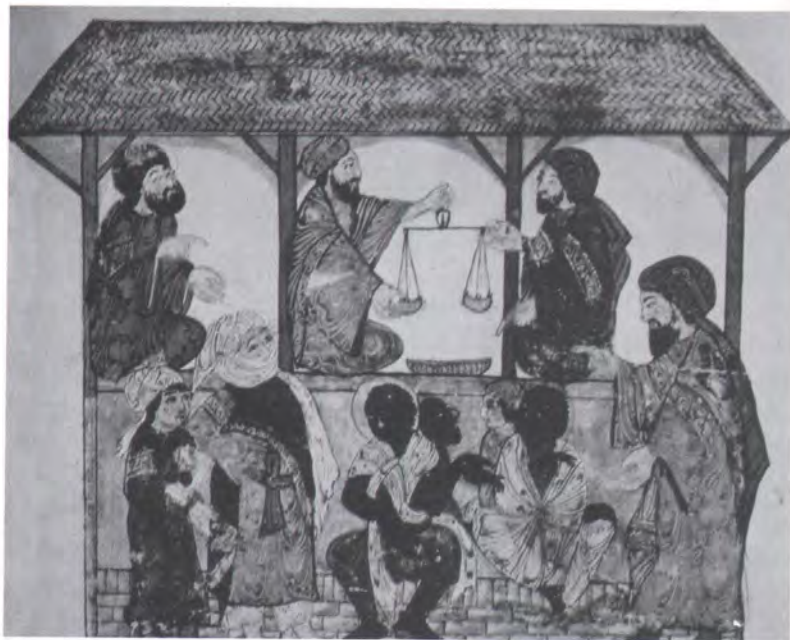
The Baramaki family. Painted at Agra, AD 1595.

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).

It has been claimed that the first translation of the Quran was done in the Sindhi language during the reign of Banu Habbar in Sindh. The source of this incident is found in the *Kitab ajaib al-Hind* (written c. 399/950) where it is given on the authority of Abu Muhammad al-Hasan bin Amr al-Najrami, who in turn heard of it during a visit to Mansurah in 288/900 (Ramhurmuzi 1886; 2-4). According to this account, Mahruk bin Raysak, the ruler of the region between Upper and Lower Kashmir, wrote in 270/883 to Abd Allah bin Umar, the Habbarid ruler of Mansurah, asking him for a *tafsir* of the laws of Islam to be rendered into what is called *Hindiyah*. The Habbarid ruler delegated the task to an Iraqi who resided in Mansurah but had been brought up in India, and hence knew its languages. The Iraqi penned an 'ode' (*qasidah*) summarizing the Islamic laws, which so delighted the king that he invited the writer to his court in Kashmir. While there, the Iraqi poet, on the king's request wrote a *tafsir* of the Quran, also in *Hindiyah*. ... it cannot rightfully be taken as evidence for the first translation of the Quran into Sindhi. For one thing, the rendition was into what is termed *Hindiyah*, the language of the ruler of Kashmir. It may have been into Kashmiri or some other Indian language (perhaps Sanskrit), but it was certainly not Sindhi. The task was delegated not to a Sindhi but to an individual who had been raised in Hind and had a degree of facility with Indian languages. Second, the source specifies that what was rendered into *Hindiyah* was a *tafsir*, which is not strictly speaking a translation. The individual performing this duty was a poet and perhaps his *tafsir* of the Quran was in the form of an ode like his earlier *tafsir* of the Islamic laws (Maclean, 1989; 123-3).

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

Sindh and Balochistan, together being the land of infidels, were a continuous source of male and female slaves who were sold in the



Arab slave market. Painted at Baghdad, AD 1237.

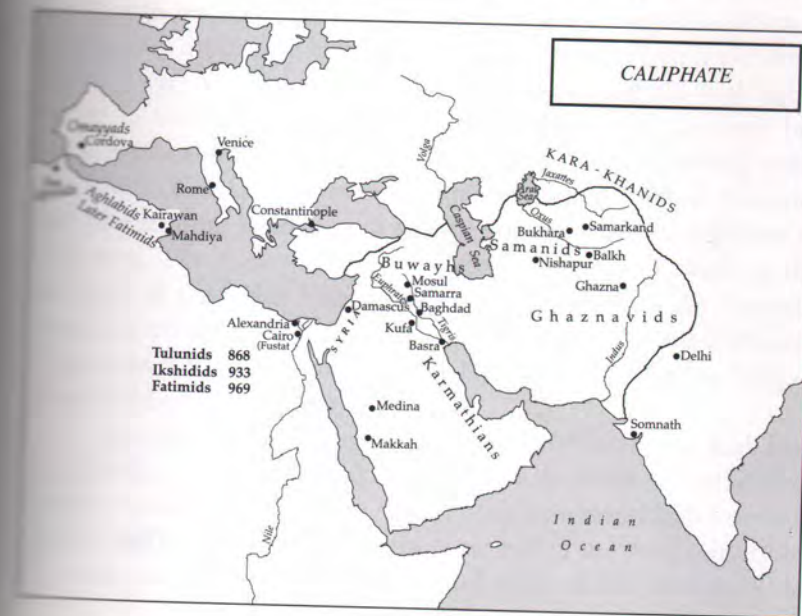
markets of Iraq. The forced removal of enslaved captives started in the caliphate of Ali in the year 38-9/658-9, and continued throughout the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates spanning over 200 years.

In AH 213, Caliph Mamun sent Ghassan bin Abbad and Musa bin Yahya Baramaki to Sindh. Ghassan bin Abbad returned with Bashar in AH 216, and he was forgiven by the Caliph. Musa bin Yahya Baramaki stayed on in Sindh as governor. When he died in 221/836, the Caliph al-Mutasim (833-842), confirmed his son Imran as governor. Imran Baramaki subdued the Jats of Qiqan in Balochistan and built a town named Bayza to act as a cantonment. He turned his attention to the mountaneous area of Balochistan where Muhammad bin Khalil had established independent government in Qandabil, defeated Muhammad bin Khalil and imprisoned the local tribal chiefs in Khuzdar.

Imran Baramaki, like his predecessors and in line with Abbasid policy, dealt harshly with the Nizari whose leader, Umar bin Abd al-Aziz Habbari, caught him unawares and killed him in AH 227 during the caliphate of al-Wathiq (AH 227-232, AD 842-847). Caliph al-Wathiq

appointed Anbasa bin Ishaq as Governor of Sindh. He held this position till AH 235, when Caliph al-Mutawakkil (AD 847-61) assigned Haroon bin Khalid as governor. However throughout these two period Umar bin Abd al-Aziz Habbari was the defacto ruler. Then when Haroon bin Khalid died Caliph al-Mutawakkil (AD 847-61) acknowledged Umar al-Habbari as governor of Sindh.

Finally with the murder of Caliph al-Mutawakkil in AD 861, Umar declared his independence and succeeded in making the governorship hereditary in his family. These events reflected the developments that had taken place in the adjacent territories of Khurasan and Sistan. 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 first by his brother Abd Allah, and then by other members of his family till AD 873, when they were expelled by Yaqub ibn-Layth known as, as-Saffar or the coppersmith. Yaqub founded the Saffarid Dynasty by organising a group of locals and taking over Sistan in AD 867, and declaring his independence from the governor appointed by the caliph. He also captured Balochistan and southern Afghanistan in AH 253 and Kirman in AH 255. Yaqub marched on



Baghdad in AH 262 but was intercepted and defeated twelve miles from the city by the caliph's brother. He died in AD 879 and his brother, Amr, was acknowledged by the caliph as Governor of Sistan, southern Afghanistan and Balochistan. In AD 900, Amr was defeated and captured by the Samanid prince Ismail bin Ahmad.

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 in time parcelled out among various local leaders. Lower Sindh was ruled by Banu Habbar from Mansurah. Muhammad bin Qasim bin Minba established the government of Banu Sama in Multan in AH 279. The Saffarids of Sistan who had extended their rule over Balochistan, were followed by the Kharijites who had taken refuge in Balochistan. Their leader Isa bin Madan established the rule of Banu Madan in Makran, and other Kharijites ruled in Qiqan and Qandabil.

6

The Sumras



A silver coin of the Fatimid caliph al-Muiz, from Sindh.

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 took possession of parts of Sindh on the left bank of the Indus River from which they expelled the Sammas, who took refuge in Kutch. The first ruler of the Sumra tribe is believed to have been Khafif I who took over Mansurah after the last ruler of Banu Habbar died in c. AD 1010.

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 various movements later known as Ismaili had become active from the latter half of the third century AH or ninth century AD in widely scattered areas of the Muslim world.

Hamdan Qarmat emerged as an Ismaili around 260/ 873 and built up a vigorous movement in the southern regions of Iraq. An Ismaili centre was established in Yemen by his well known *dai* (missionary) Abu al-Qasim bin Hawshab Mansur al-Yemen, around the year 270/883 (Poonawala 1977; 34). He dispatched his nephew al-Haytham as *dai* to Sindh. This was followed by a schism in about 286/899, when Mansur al-Yemen declared his loyalty to the Fatimid Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi. The Ismaili followers of Hamdan Qarmat who were known as Qaramita (also Carmathians), invaded Mecca in 319/931, slaughtered the pilgrims and carried away the sacred Black Stone from the holy Ka'aba (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 Fatimids. Both the Qaramitas and the Fatimids believed that the line of Imams from the house of the Prophet (PBUH) ended with Ismail; hence they are also known as Ismailis. 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 Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad, considered it prudent to forge links with the rival Fatimid caliphs 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, Sindh was bound to come under Ismaili influence.

A certain unnamed *dai* active in Multan from around 330/941, succeeded in converting one of the princes and a large number of non-Muslims. He was however accused at the court of the Fatimid caliph al-Muiz (341-65/953-75) of incompletely Ismailizing the converts from Hinduism, because he had permitted them to retain certain indigenous Hindu practices in matrimonial and dietary laws. The Fatimid Caliph, al-Aziz (AD 975-96), sent Jalam (Halam or Halim) ibn Shayban with a military escort to replace him. This he did by capturing Multan in 372/983, destroying its sun temple, and transforming it into a mosque. However, the Amir of Multan remained a descendant of al-Munabbih bin Asad al-Qurayshi, who belonged to the tribe of Samah bin Luayy bin Ghalib, a branch of Quraysh. The Ismaili governor of Multan at the time of the Ghaznavid was Abu al-Fath Luayy (Lodi), and the Ismaili kingdom of Multan extended from the Upper Indus Valley to Al-Rur in Sindh.

During the Abbasid caliphate the military basis of the caliphate 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 890 (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 Sindh and Hind because of the presence of the stubborn Hindu Shahi 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 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, the Turkish troops deposed their commander and chose Sabuk-Tigin as their amir in Ghazna (modern Ghazni) in the heart of the Afghan highlands. Amir Sabuk-Tigin achieved what Muslim armies had failed to do in the last three hundred years. He forced the Hindu Shahiya to retreat from the Hindu Kush mountains into India and annexed the Hindu Shahiya territory up to Peshawar. In the south, he invaded Turan and made the ruler of Qusdar relinquish his territory, also forcing Madanid rulers of Makran to transfer their allegiance from the Buyids to the Ghaznavids. 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.

Sultan Mahmud, who succeeded his father Sabuk-Tigin in 387/988, had already earned the gratitude of the orthodox Muslims and the

title of Yamin al-Dawla (Right Hand of the State) 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



A silver coin of Mahmud of Ghazna struck at Mahmudpur (Lahore) in AD 1028, with kalima in Arabic on obverse.



The same coin with kalima in Sanskrit on reverse.

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).

Having secured his western frontiers, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (AD 988-1030), defeated the Hindu Shahiya forces of Jaypal near Peshawar in 392/1001. He passed through Turan to ford the Indus River near Multan and conquer Bhatiya in 395/1004. The Ismaili ruler of Multan, Abu al-Fath Daud bin Nasr, negotiated an alliance against

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-Dawla 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,

Mahmud with the Hindu Shahiya who had, like his own followers, suffered at the hand of Mahmud, and had taken refuge in Punjab. He invaded Multan in the winter of 396/1005, but went back after exacting tribute when he heard of an advance towards his northern border. Sultan Mahmud returned in 401/1010. He captured Abul Fath Da'ud bin Nasr, but released him after he agreed to observe the orthodox creed. Sultan Mahmud again invaded Multan in 402/1011, when he was informed that its ruler Da'ud had not given up Ismailism.

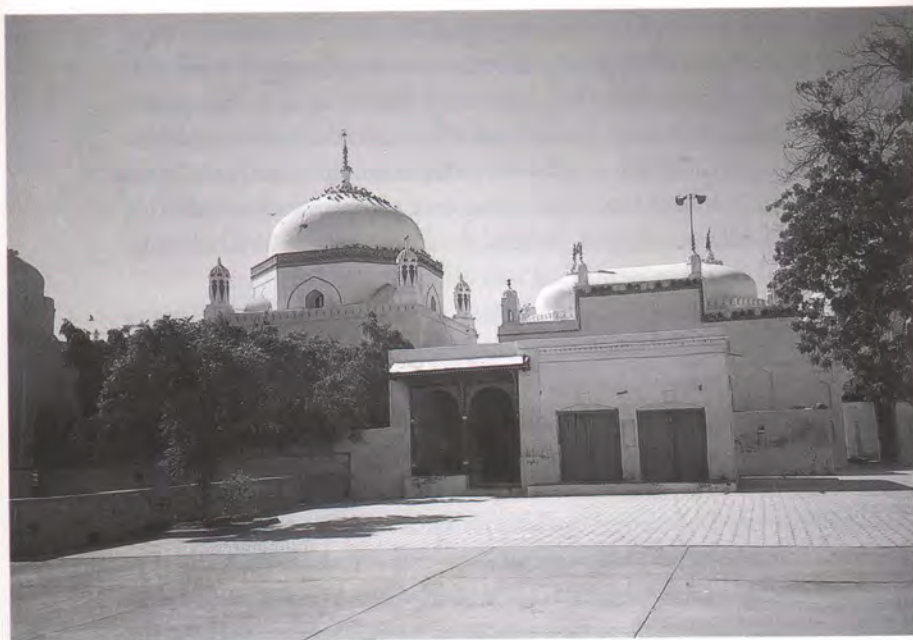
When the Fatimid caliph in Cairo, al-Hakim, sent a diplomatic mission to Sultan Mahmud in 403/1012 to negotiate the release of Da'ud, Sultan Mahmud had the envoy executed for being the representative of the false caliph. Despite repeated punishment meted out to the intransigent Ismailis, Sultan Mahmud 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 the great seaport of Somnath in 416/1025. 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. He came with 1400 specially built boats, which had steel spears and knives attached to the front and sides and were equipped with flame throwing gear. He destroyed the Ismaili navy which consisted of over 4000 ordinary boats commonly used for transport and trade. The Sumra chief Khafif I was drowned. Those who escaped to the shore were hunted and killed by Sultan's cavalry. When Sultan Mahmud died in 420/1030, Farrukhi wrote in an elegy,

Alas and alack, the Karamatian (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 Abu Ishaq Kaziruni's nephew, Shaykh Safi al-Din, who died in



The shrine of Uderolal and Shaikh Tahir.

AD 1035. He made Uchh 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 travellers on the sea routes between the Persian Gulf, India and China" (Oddie, 1991; 28).

Once again the main urban centres 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 sometimes been described as desert melodies. Some of the famous folk tales of Sindh belong to this period, including Sasui and Punhu, Marui and Umar, Leela and Chanesar, etc.

One tale depicts the story of a Hindu hero, Uderolal derived from the Prakrit Udda-yara, 'creator of the waters', an epithet of Varuna, the god of waters. The oppressed Hindus prayed to Varuna, god of waters, to come to their aid. Varuna took the human form of Amarlal (Immor-

tal Hero) or Uderolal (Exalted Hero) and was born in AD 1007 at Nasarpur in the house of Ratan Rao Lohano and his devoted wife, Devaki. Uderolal demanded the end of the forced conversion of Hindus. He fought the Muslim conquerors and performed many deeds of valour with his horse and sword. The worship of Uderolal, 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.

Uderolal performed many miracles, including, entering the river Indus at Nasarpur and emerging from it at Sukkur, the reverse of which was performed by Muslim hero Darya Pir (River Saint) Khwaja Khizr, who entered the river Indus at Sukkur and emerged at Nasarpur. The story of Uderolal ended when one day, in line with historical reality, he and his horse disappeared into the river Indus. The two of them are now venerated by the Hindus and the Muslims. Uderolal is now called Shaikh Tahir by Muslims, and Khizr (the green man), a Quranic figure, patron saint of sailors and travellers, and guardian of the fountain of life, is venerated by Hindus as Zinda Pir, the living god of the Indus River.

Khwaja Khizr.

For both religions, his shrine is located on a small island off Bhakkar. According to Muslim accounts, Khizr became associated with the island when he miraculously diverted the Indus from Aror (the capital of the Hindu king) to its present location at Bhakkar, in order to save a Muslim woman (en route to Mecca) from the unwanted attentions of a Hindu king. Thus bringing both the king and his non-Muslim community to ruin.





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. A letter written c. AD 1032 by the Druze leader Baha al-Din al-Muqtana to Ibn Sumar Rajbal leader of the Druze community in Multan, is extant. This may refer to the elder son or Crown Prince (Rajbal) of Sumar. About this time Da'ud bin Nasr died in prison and his son was released from prison by Sultan Masood.

Bhungar I, son of Sumar, 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. In c. AD 1098 she handed over the government to her brother, Sanghar, and he was succeeded in c. AD 1106 by his brother-in-law, Khafif II. Khafif II died in c. AD 1141, being succeeded by 'Umar I. After the death of 'Umar 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 (351/962-582/1186) lost out to Ala al-Din Suri, the Tajik Amir of Shansabanid dynasty of Ghur in modern Afghanistan, who earned the title of *Jahansuz*, the 'Burner of the World', for plundering and burning down the capital Ghazna in AD 1151. In 557/1162, his two nephews, the Shansabanid brothers, Ghiyas al-Din and Shihab al-Din, descendants of Tajik Amir Suri, united in joint rule of the mountainous country of Ghur in modern Afghanistan.

Shihab al-Din Suri (also called Muizz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam) who had a no less zealous view of Ismailism, delivered Multan from the hands of the Ismailis in 571/1175-6 and reduced Upper Sindh. He invaded the Chaulukya kingdom by way of lower Sindh in 574/1178-9 but suffered defeat near Mount Abu. He attacked Debal in the south in 578/1182 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 Gujarati. "Perhaps that was the form of Sindhi spoken in Sindh at that time" (Allana, 1978; 14).

Another famous Ismaili poet-saint was Pir Shams Sabzwari who died in AD 1276. His verses are full of Seraiki words and phrases. The



A gold coin of Muhammad bin Sam (Shihab al-Din Suri/Ghori) struck at Delhi in AD 1193, with seated Hindu goddess Lakshmi.



The same coin of Muhammad bin Sam with his name in Nagari script on the reverse.



Jalal al-Din Khwarazm Shah escapes Chingiz Khan by crossing the Indus.
Painted at Agra, AD 1596.

reputation of his great-great grandson, Pir Sadr al-Din, who died in AD 1409 exceeded them both as poet and preacher. His ginans are written in the Khojki script and are considered the oldest extant documents of Sindhi religious literature (Schimmel, 1986; 55).

In a series of campaigns from 577/1181-2 onwards Shihab al-Din secured first tribute from Ghaznavid ruler of Lahore, Khusraw Malik, and then in 582/1186 took Lahore and sent Khusraw Malik in captivity to Ghiyas al-Din. Shihab al-Din was routed at Tarain by Prthviraja but returned in 588/1192 to defeat and capture Prthviraja near Tarain. In 601/1204 Shihab al-Din went west only to suffer a decisive defeat from Khwarazm Shah's governor. Shihab al-Din turned out to be assassinated by an Ismaili *fidai* (devotee) at Damik in Jhelum district on 3rd Shaban 602/1206. Nasir al-Din Qubacha, who had received the *iqta* of Uchch and Multan, subdued Siwistan and Debal and fortresses and towns of Sindh, while accepting the suzerainty of his father-in-law, Qutb al-Din Aybeg, the slave Sultan of Delhi. When Qutb al-Din Aybeg died in AD 1210, his other son-in-law, Iltutmish, succeeded him as Sultan of Delhi, while Qubacha became the independent ruler of Sindh, 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 wazir of Qubacha.

After his defeat by the great Mongol conqueror, Chingiz (Genghis) Khan at the famous Battle of the Indus in Rajab 618/November 1221, Jalal al-Din Mengobirdi (Mingbarni, Mingirni), the heir to the throne of Khwarizm Shah, who had humbled the Ghurids, crossed the Indus to claim the Ghurid conquest. Lahore, governed by Qubacha's son, yielded and Qubacha was defeated near Uchch. Siwistan (now Sehwan) submitted. He attacked and occupied Debal, while the Sumra chief Chanesar escaped in a boat. Jalal al-Din, who is considered one of the most heroic figures of Muslim history, left Sindh by way of Makran late in 620/1223, but the Mongols repeatedly attacked Sindh for the next one hundred years.

After Jalal al-Din left, Qubacha once again occupied parts of Punjab and Sindh. In the late winter of 621/1224, the Mongol general Dorbei laid siege to Multan which was vigorously defended by Qubacha which forced Mongols to retreat after ravaging Multan and Lahore ar-

was for three months. In 623/1226, Ghazna and Ghur were overrun by the Mongols and its Khalj tribesmen headed by Sayf al-Din Hasan Qarluq, surnamed Wafa Malik, fled to Sindh and occupied Sehwan. Qubacha attacked and expelled Khalj who took refuge with Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish in Delhi.



A coin of Qubacha.

Iltutmish, Sultan of Delhi from AD 1211 to 1236, invaded territories held by Qubacha, the ruler of Sindh. Qubacha lost Tabarhind, Kuhram and Sarsati followed by Lahore in early AH 625/AD 1228. Iltutmish's muqta in Lahore, Nasir al-Din Ayteur al-Bahai besieged Multan, while another army with Iltutmish in person appeared before his capital, Uchch. Qubacha fled to the island stronghold of Bhakkar, pursued by a force under Nizam al-Mulk Junaydi, a *wazir* of Iltutmish. Qubacha attempted to escape from Bhakkar fort but was drowned in the river Indus on the night of 19 Jumada I, 625/26 May 1228. Iltutmish sent Junaydi to subdue lower Sindh. The Sumra chief Chanesar submitted to Junaydi and went to Delhi to pay his respects to the Sultan.



Iltutmish coin in Nagri script.

In 636/1235 Mongols expelled Sayf al-Din Hasan Qarluq from Ghazni who tried to take Uchch but Iltutmish's slave Sayf al-Din Aybeg, *muqta* of Uchch, repulsed him. Following Iltutmish's death in 633/1236, Aybeg asserted his independence before he was killed in a riding accident. Sindh submitted to Sultana Razia who appointed Hindu Khan to Uchch. A rising by Kabir Khan at Lahore in 637/1239-40 failed. He was replaced with Qaraqush Khan Ikhtiyar al-Din Aytegin. After Razia was overthrown, Aytegin became independent in Lahore. In Multan and Uchch, Kabir Khan Ayaz and his son Taj al-Din Abu Bakr proclaimed their independence. Sayf al-Din Hasan Qarluq occupied Multan when Abu Bakr died in early 1240s.

When the course of the river Indus changed westward, the Sumras shifted their capital in c. 639/1241 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 643/1245, a Mongol army under Manguta (Monggedu) invaded Multan and forced Sayf al-Din Hasan Qarluq to flee by boat down the Indus towards Swistan and Debal, the Mongols then invested Uchch but left, on hearing of the approach of Sultan Ala al-Din Masud of Delhi. In 643/1246, the Sultan gave Multan to Kushlu Khan who also obtained Uchch from the new Sultan of Delhi, Nasir al-Din Mahmud (644-64/1246-66). Kushlu Khan lost Multan to Hasan Qarluq. Multan was retaken by Sultan's forces under Shir Khan who also took Uchch from Kushlu Khan. Kushlu Khan however recovered his old *iqtas* in Sindh in 651/1254 and attempted to take Delhi in 655/1257 which supported his rival Shir Khan. Kushlu Khan failed and appealed to Hulegu for help.

A Mongol force under Sali Noyan entered Sindh, invested Bhakkar and occupied Multan and Uchch in 655/1257-8. However Mongol



Portrait of Amir Khusro.

advance was halted because of death of Khaqan and a show of force by Delhi army.

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 selected his elder son Muhammad as viceroy in Sindh in 668/1269 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 (Khan-i-Shaheed) was ambushed and killed on 29 Dhul Haj 683/8 March 1285, and the famous poet Amir Khusraw who was accompanying him was taken prisoner by the Mongols.

It is 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 the Muslim domains. Immigrants were welcomed and rewarded, and along with their children they formed a privileged class that received important appointments.

The famous North African traveller, Ibn Battuta who came to Sindh in AD 1333 wrote that the Sultan was so generous with rewards, gifts and appointments to foreigners that the merchants of Sindh had turned it into a profitable business by lending money, servants, horses and carriages to travellers entering the sultanate, and by serving them every way that they could (Battuta, 1355; 483).

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

The Uchch branch of the Suhrawardiyya order was founded by Sayyid Jalal al-Din Mir Surkh Bukhari. His grandsons, Sayyid Jalal al-Din Makhdam Jahaniyan Jahangasht and Sayyid Sadr 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 Usman known as Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, who was an immigrant from Marand in Azerbaijan. He died in 673/ 1274 and was buried at Sehwan. He is believed by Hindus to be the incarnation of Raja Bhartari, the brother of Raja Vikramaditya who worshipped the Hindu god Siva where the shrine of Lal Shahbaz is in Sehwan. Yet another famous saint of the Suhrawardiyya order in Sindh was Fir Patho, who was equally revered by the Hindus as Raja Gopi Chand. He died in 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 Khalji, Sultan of Delhi from AD 1296 to 1316, sent his army into Sindh 697/1297 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' (Jawari, 1984; 25).

The river Indus once again changed its course in c. AD 1317-1320, forcing the Sumras to shift their capital from Muhammad Tur to Samui. Debal was deserted and a new port called Lahri Bunder was established on the Kalri 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 752/1352.

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



A coin of Ala al-Din Khalji, obverse.



The same coin, reverse.

ELLIOT

MASUM

OTHERS

Sumra
Bhungar
Duda I
Tari
Sanghar
Hafif I
Umar
Duda II
Pahtu
Genhra I
Muhammad Tur
Genhra II
Duda III
Tai
Chanesar
Bhungar II
Hafif II
Duda IV
Umar Sumra
Bhungar III
Hamir

Sumra
Bhungar
Duda
Tari
Sanghar
Hamun
Pitthu
Khaira
Armil

Khafif I
Soomar
Bhoongar I
Dodo I
Zainab/Tari
Sanghar
Khafif II
Umar I
Dodo II
Bhoongar II
Chanesar I
Gunero I
Muhammad Tur
Gunero II
Dodo III
Tai
Chanesar II
Bhoongar III
Khafif III
Dodo IV
Umar II
Bhoongar IV
Hamir

7

The Origin of the Sammas



A gold dinar of Muhammad Tughlaq.

The Sammas were once the owners of the land throughout Sindh, and formed the majority of its population (Qani, 1767; 100). When the Sumras came to power in Sindh, they oppressed and ill-treated the Sammas who 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 Nawanagars 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, the antagonist of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). And, according to a

further group, Sam was the son of Akrama, son of Asam, another son of Abu Jahal, the tormentor of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

The famous fourteenth-century North African traveller, 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 suffix—shid being frequently dropped) of Persia who could see in his wine cup—the magical *jam*—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 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 do not claim to be its original inhabitants. This is possible because as we all know there have been many mass migrations and movements 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 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 have been a Samma. His capital Sindimana 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 94/712. 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 Sammas to rejoice and welcome a new king with frolic and amusement (Chachnama, 1216; 312). Muhammad bin Qasim ordered them to continue with their show of happiness, and Hazam ibn al-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 (Lower Sindh), is first mentioned by Ibn Battuta, the famous traveller from North Africa. He wrote that Malik Rattan, a Hindu who excelled in mathematics and the art of calligraphy, gained the favour 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. However, Jam Unar and Amir Qaiser Rumi found subservience to an ignorant 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 734/1333. 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 seven 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 madrasah 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; 487-488).

Thatta, the capital of the Sammas, first figured in history when Taji, 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 750/1350. Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlaq, the greatest and one of the most learned

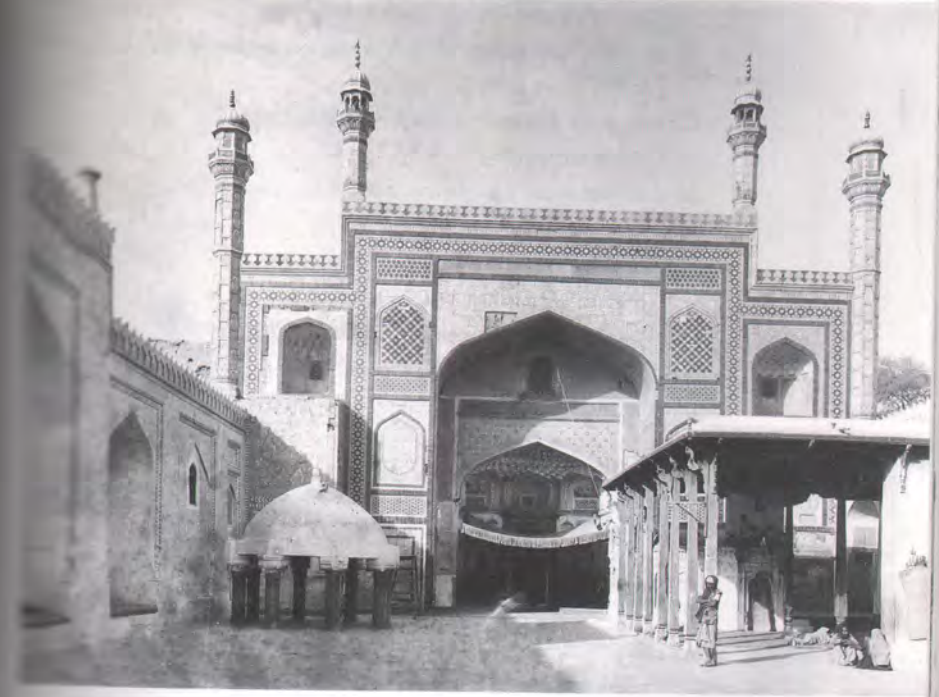
kings of Delhi, arrived in Sindh in 1351 in pursuit of the rebel Taghi. The Sultan fell ill on 10 Muharram after breaking the Ashura fast with the famous Palla fish of Sindh. These are, according to local legend, found in abundance from January to April when they are on their way upstream to pay homage 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 army 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



Shrine of saint Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Sehwan.

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 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 reads:

*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 days into
Muharram
In the year seven hundred, fifty and two, that
he left us.*

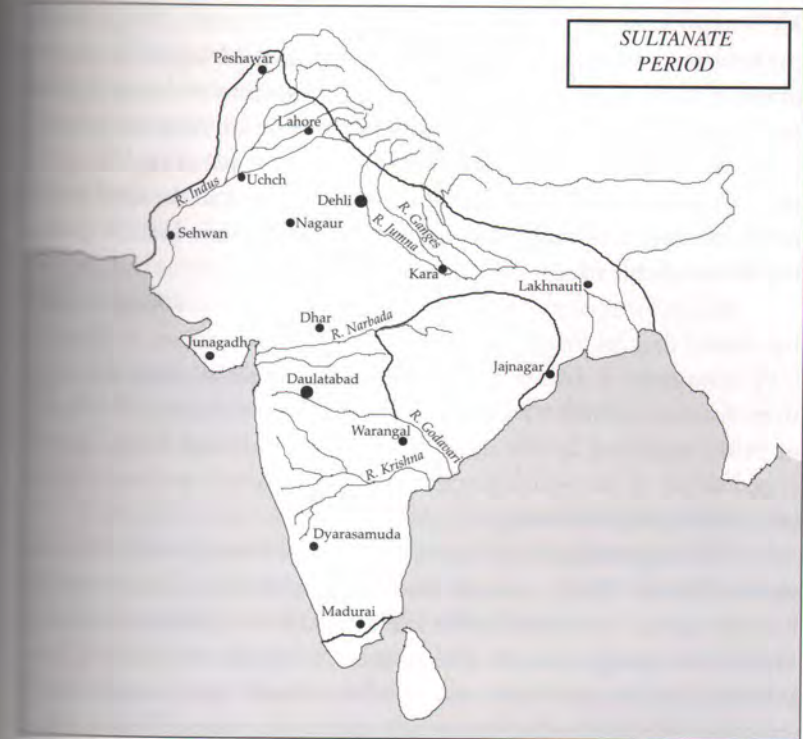
The inscriptions on the second stone read:

*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 the 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 favour.*



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

Jam Unar, the Samma leader, taking advantage of the strained 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 752/1351.

Malik Firuz Jam Unar was succeeded by his son Sadr al-Din Jam Bunbhiniya II, who ruled from 753/1352 to 768/1367. 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 rumour 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 his officials 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 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 manoeuvrability 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 the sultan 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 Patho, one died and the other fled
(Shahida, 1980; 81).

So strong was the belief of the people of Thatta in Pir Patho, 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, 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 cap-

ture 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 (the 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 it and began arriving at the imperial camp city, where the sultan had ordered the camp bazaar to sell grain at a subsidised price to all who came. In desperation, the jams of Thatta sent messengers to their revered saint Makhdum Jalal al-Din Jahaniyan Jahangasht of Uchch to intercede on their behalf with Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Makhdum Jahaniyan was over sixty years old but being inveterate traveller that he was, and having already travelled all over the Middle East, he 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 honour (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 fro between the citadel of Thatta and the 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 Banbhiniya arrived at the imperial camp to make his submission but the sultan had decided to go hunting. Jam Banbhiniya 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.

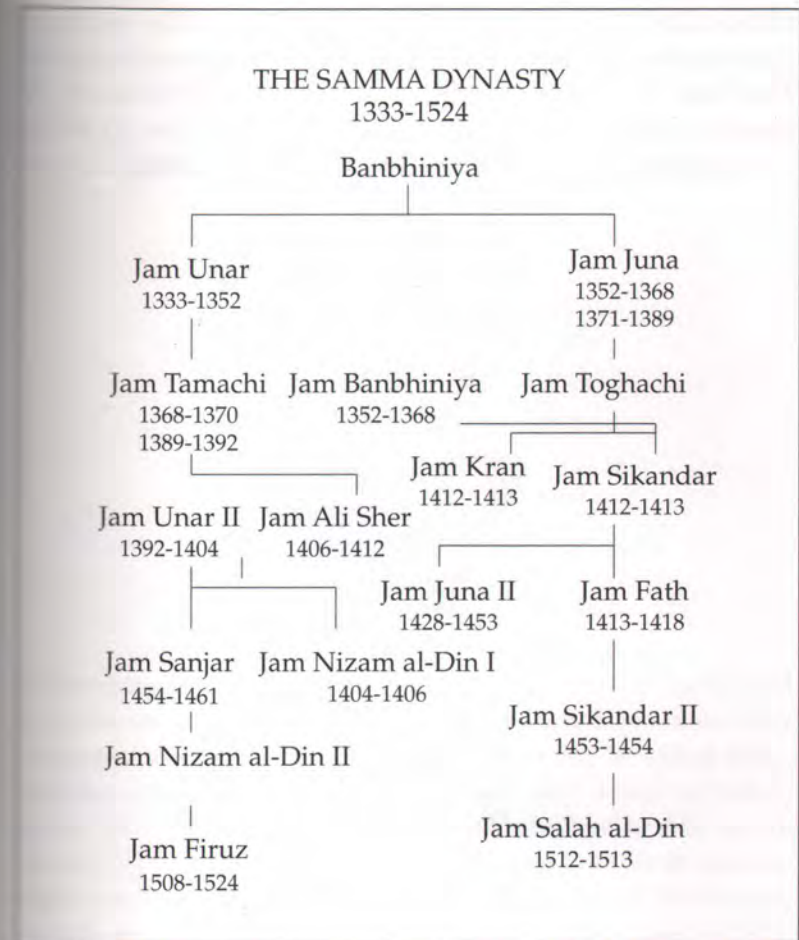
Jam Banbhiniya was followed by his uncle Jam Juna who, after casting himself at the feet of the sultan, expressed his submission in a Persian verse of his own composition:

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

Both Jam Juna and Banbhiniya received presents from the sultan in the form of horses and embroidered robes, and their attendants received presents suited to their respective stations. However, in effect they were now his prisoners, 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 Juna, and Jam Tamachi, the brother of Jam Banbhiniya, were allowed to remain to manage affairs in Thatta and to 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 772/1370, 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 done since. Jam Tamachi accompanied Makhdum Jahaniyan and his family to exile in Delhi in 772/1372.

Ala al-Din Jam Juna ruled from 772/1371 to 790/1388-9. He established his capital at Samui, at the northern end of Makli in 775/1373-4. 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 Khusraw composed his now oft-quoted verse:

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

The rule of Ala al-Din Jam Juna is confirmed by a Persian inscription inside a mausoleum two miles from the village of Gujjo in

Mirpur Sakro Taluka, about ten miles west of Thatta. The inscription states that the lofty dome over the mausoleum of the saint Shaikh Haji Abu Turab was built by the efforts of Musa, son of Subhan, in the month of Safar in the year 782/1380 by the order of Jam Ala al-Din, during the reign of the victorious King Shah Firuz Tughlaq (Shafi, 1950: 14).

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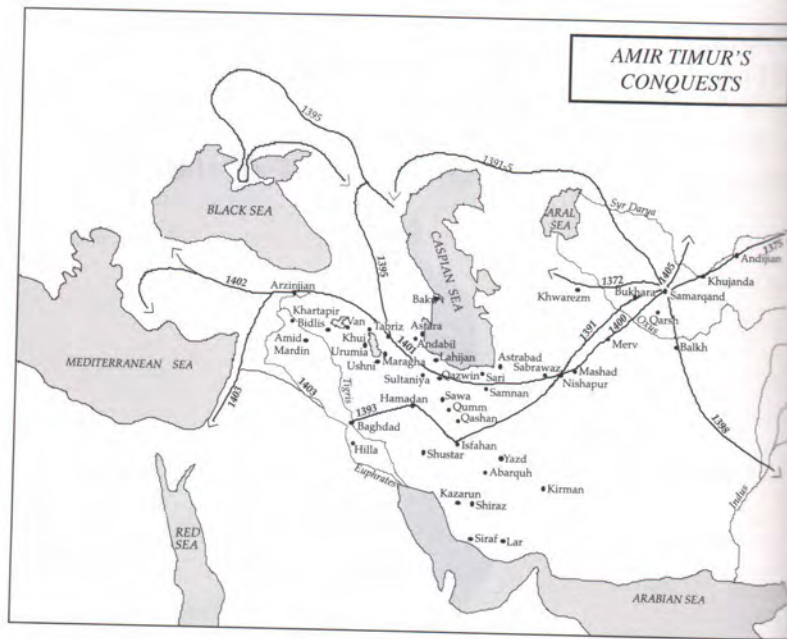
The Children of Unar & Juna



A bust of Timur.

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 Uchch, died in 785/1383-84. 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. Banbhiniya, 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 Uchch, 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 Uchch, which was in any case in decline without the powerful political and financial support of Delhi.

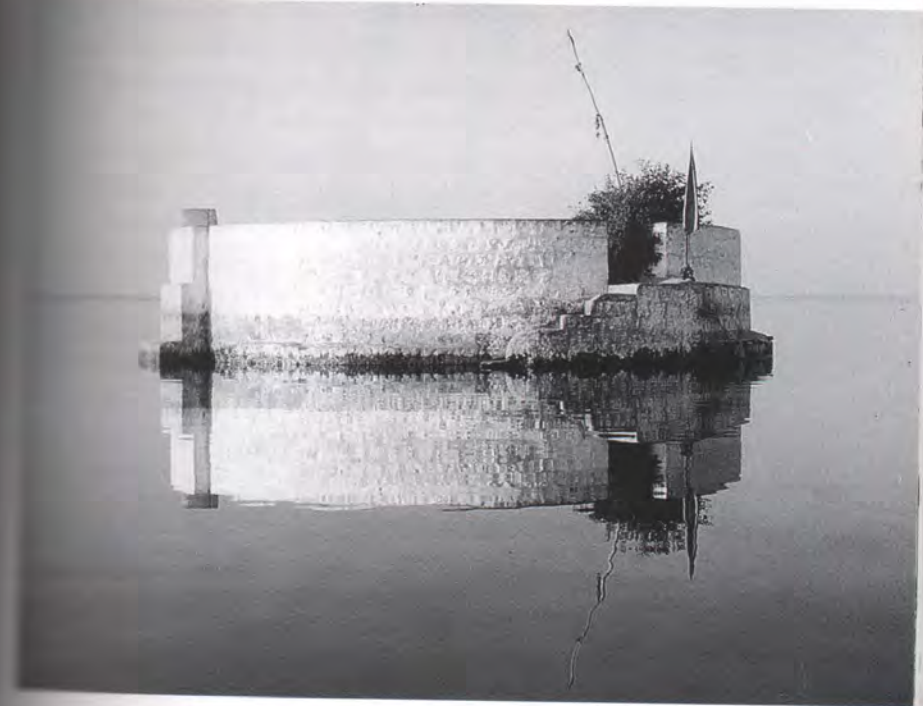
Sarang Khan, the Governor of Dipalpur, rebelled and captured Multan in 798/1395 and then attacked Delhi itself. Pir Muhammad, a grandson of Amir Timur laid siege to Uchch and then to Multan in 800/1397. He was followed by the great Amir Timur who ordered a



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 Juna died in 791/1389, Jam Banbhiniya had died on his way to Thatta from Delhi. Jam Tamachi took over the government at Thatta for the second time and reigned from 791/1389 to 795/1392.

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 (of the earth), whom he made his Queen and named Nuri (of the light), in a long poem in sur Kamod:



Queen Nuri's tomb on an island in Keenjhar Lake.

*Credit of raising a fisher-maid
Belongs to Tamachi,
He took her in his carriage, and
a human-being he
Made out of her, ... in Keenjhar. See!
All say this is true
(Kazi, 1965:115).*

Shah Abdul Latif has immortalized Nuri as the model of *nafs mastuma'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.*

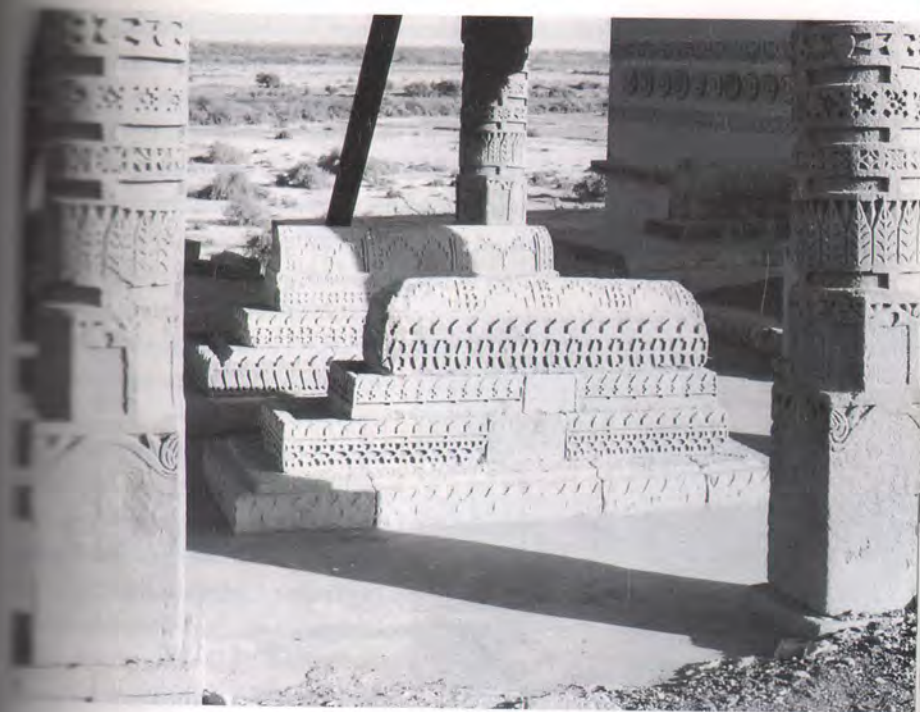
Another moving story that has received wide currency in the history and literature of Sindh is the relationship between Jam Tamachi and Shaykh Hammad Jamali, and the miracle of the release of the former from captivity in Delhi through the intercession of the latter.

The story as it is told, is that Jam Juna had secretly arranged to send Jam Tamachi and Jam Salah al-Din, father and son, as captives to Delhi. After the deportation of Jam Tamachi, the desperate queen mother visited the *khanqah* 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, pleading with the *shaykh* for their release. He 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 Tamachi to him. Jam Tamachi was 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 Shaykh Hammad Jamali had recited in answer to the pleas of the queen mother



Tomb of Nuri & Jam Tamachi on Makli Hill.

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 Juna that the Almighty had made him the shepherd of that land and that he would carry out the divine will.

When Jam Tamachi reached the other side of the river he sent his men to pay his respects and receive guidance from the *shaykh*. Shaykh Hammad Jamali gave the prince a piece of cloth and asked him to use 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 Tamachi presented a large purse to Shaykh Hammad Jamali. The latter 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; 163).

Another story of this legendary era is that of a holy man who stopped at the Jama Mosque on pilgrimage to 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 renamed 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 1174/1760 that Makli has so many tombs of saints that it is not possible to count them. Later in 1181/1767 he reproduced in the *Tuhfat al-Kiram* the local tradition that Makli is the burial ground of *sawa lakh* (one hundred and twenty five thousand) saints. Seventy years later, RH Kennedy, a traveller from Great Britain, who visited Makli in 1838, described it as a vast cemetery of six square miles 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 used again 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 there, and if there is a will and given resources, it can still be restored to its former glory.

The Department of Archaeology with its meagre resources is only able to look after some of the main monuments. It is unable to maintain the whole area. This neglect has turned Makli into a large expanse of parched, barren land strewn with decaying monuments. In the past—upto the Mughal period—it was actually a 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 Jam 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* (school) of Pirs of Multan and Uchch, 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 influ-



Khanqah of Shaykh Hammad Jamali.

ences 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 790/1388, and the destruction of the Delhi Sultanate by Amir Timur in 801/1398. 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 in Delhi which was again to threaten the independence of Sindh.

Salah al-Din Shah Jam Unar II, son of Tamachi ruled from 795/1392 to 807/1404-5. Jam Nizam al-Din I or the elder, the son of Jam Unar II, ruled from 807/1404-5 to 809/1406-7. 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 plan 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 809/1407 to 815/1412-3. 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 this 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



The first mosque on Makli Hill.

mosque still dripping with blood, and installed Jam Kran, son of Togachi, son of Jam Juna I, as the new ruler.

After killing Jam Ali Sher of the house of Tamachi in 815/1412-3, Jam Kran, son of Togachi, son of Juna I, did not occupy the throne for long. He was killed the very 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 815/1412-3, after the murder of his brother, Jam Kran. Jam Fateh 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 816/1412-3 to 831/1428. Some days before his death, Jam Fateh Khan called his younger brother, Togachi, 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



Kalan Kot fort at Thatta.

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 summarily 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 858/1454, without leaving a successor. The descendants of Jam Juna still live in Sindh and are known as Junejo (of Juna).

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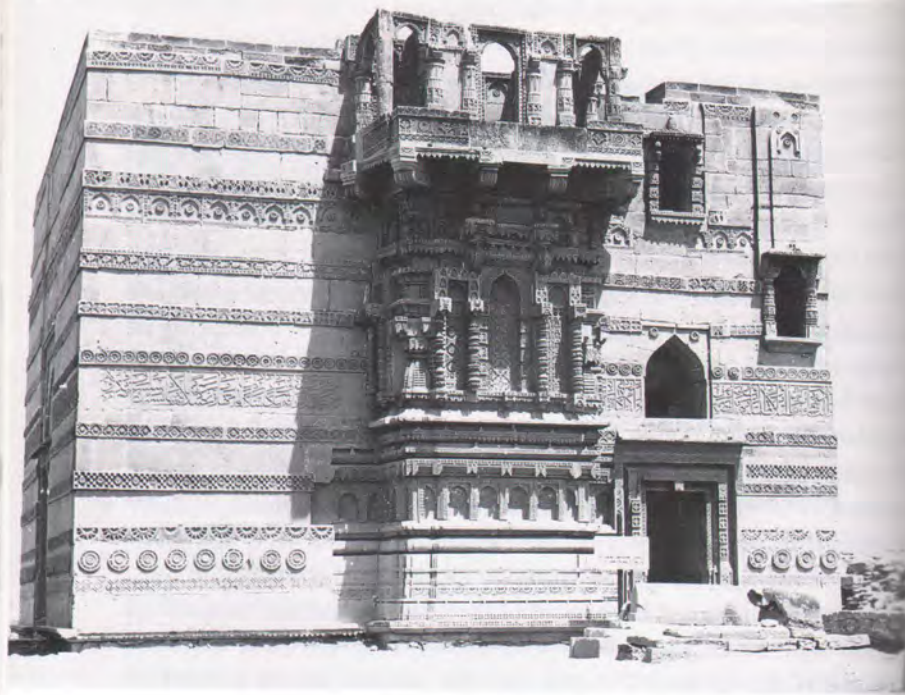
The Later Sammas



Coin of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo.

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 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 Jam Nizam al-Din I, had died there. While the descendants of Jam Juna II occupied the throne, he grew up and bided his time among the Jareja who were Hindus. This association explains his alias, Raydhan or Rai Dhan. 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 and 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



Tomb of Sultan Nizam al-Din Shah Jam Nindo on Makli Hill.

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, the *jam* could do no more than send Jam Marak, a son of his brother, and his son-in-law, to plead 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. In a third attempt when he sent Shaykh Naila who also swore allegiance to Pir Murad. Finally, the *Jam* realized his mistake, apologised, 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 this reign.

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 hot and dusty journey of 867 miles 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 confront Pir Murad personally. Pir Murad and Shaykh Sadr al-Din went together to the mosque for the Friday prayers. 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 prayers. "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 *pir's* presence, tore off his priestly thread, bowed and preached in the most eloquent Arabic, explained *Bism-Allah* (opening words of every chapter of the Holy Quran) 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" (Shanon, 1851; 24).

Pir Murad Sayyid Muhammad Husain died in 893/1488. 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

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 by the story that Jam Sanjar was devoted to a holy man who in turn 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. His response was more than he had wished for. He told him that he would be king not merely for 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 858/1454 to 866/1461. He abdicated in favour of his son, Sultan Nizam al-Din II, in fulfilment of the prophecy of the Holy Man after a rule of eight years, 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 different people. Many stories are prevalent about both of them, but it is agreed that during this period Samma rule was firmly established in Sindh and that 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 866/1461 to 914/1508. 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 are quoted:

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He took steps—soon after the accession—to stop the persistent incursions into Sindh of Baloch tribes who were, as usual, marauding in northern Sindh and displacing the Sindhi peasants from their prime land. He 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 Samma nobles whom he had expelled from Sindh.

Sultan Mahmud Beghara of Gujarat, who modelled himself on Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi as the destroyer of infidels and idolaters, invaded Kutch in AD 1472. His apparent 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 Herat 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.

to a divine direction that the *Qutub* (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 to 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 fulfilled, Shaykh Isa Langoti breathed his last three days after the birth of Pir Murad in 831/1428.

Jam Tughlaq Juna II, son of Sadr al-Din Jam Sikandar Shah I, ruled from 831/1428 to 857/1453. 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 also 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 846/1442. 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 her 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, Jam Juna I.

Bibi Mughli, who as aforementioned was married to Sultan Muhammad Shah, the ruler of Gujarat, gave birth to Fateh Khan in 849/1445-46. When the sultan died, Bibi Mughli moved into the house of Shah Alam, 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 858/1450, her husband, Shah Alam, married Bibi Mughli, and helped her son, Fateh 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

1453 to 1511. It is said 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. Apparently he impregnated himself with so much poison that a 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 basilik and toad
(CHI, 1987; 315).*

It is said that he was known as Beghara because he conquered the Hindu strongholds, or *garhs*, of Girnar and Champaner (CHI, 1987; 315). 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, which he called Mahmudabad, and the third Junagadh, which he called Tughlaqabad. 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 that as Sultan Mahmud had a large upturned moustache that never bent downwards, he was called Beghara (Jahangir, 1627; 401).

The carefully laid out plans of Jam Tughlaq worked for a quarter of a century. In his last days, however, there was a rebellion by his brothers in the north, unrest in Kutch, and an attempt by the son of his predecessor, Jam Fateh, to claim the throne. In this the contestant was backed by a large number of nobles. Jam Tughlaq had to flee to Gujarat for help but Gujarat was then beset with problems of succession of its own. Jam Tughlaq died in Gujarat, 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 daughters, Bibi Murki, and her son Shah Shaikhan.

Jam Sikandar Shah II, son of Jam Fateh Khan, occupied the throne in 857/1453. He marched out to suppress the rebellion of his uncles



Kalan Kot fort at Thatta.

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He took steps—soon after the accession—to stop the persistent incursions into Sindh of Baloch tribes who were, as usual, marauding in northern Sindh and displacing the Sindhi peasants from their prime land. He 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 Samma nobles whom he had expelled from Sindh.

Sultan Mahmud Beghara of Gujarat, who modelled himself on Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi as the destroyer of infidels and idolaters, invaded Kutch in AD 1472. His apparent 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.



Tomb of Sultan Nizam al-Din Shah Jam Nindo on Makli Hill.

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, the *jam* could do no more than send Jam Marak, a son of his brother, and his son-in-law, to plead 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. In a third attempt when he sent Shaykh Naila who also swore allegiance to Pir Murad. Finally, the Jam realized his mistake, apologised, 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 this reign.

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 sweetness in spite of a hot and dusty journey of 867 mile 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 confront Pir Murad personally. Pir Murad and Shaykh Sadr al-Din went together to the mosque for the Friday prayers. 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 prayers. "This, curious to say, was an old *Shahmin*, a veteran idolater, who, however, no sooner had he heard the words than he hurried into the *pir's* presence, tore off his priestly thread, prostrated and preached in the most eloquent Arabic, explained *Bism-Allah* (opening words of every chapter of the Holy Quran) 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" (Shanon, 1851; 24).

Pir Murad Sayyid Muhammad Husain died in 893/1488. 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 Ishaq, came from Mashhad and settled in Samui, north of Thatta, in 901/1495. There were two other Sayyid brothers called Ahmad and Muhammad, who arrived from Shiraz in 910/1504 and settled in Mughalwara in Thatta. Jam Nizam al-Din also asked a number of scholars to come and settle there.

The famous Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur in India came to Thatta in 901/1495 on his way to Mecca. He came back in AD 1504 proclaiming himself to be the Mehdi (Messiah). Jam Nizam al-Din expelled him from Sindh and Haider of Sann (ancestor of the politician GM Syed), on instructions from Makhdum Bilawal, made a futile attempt to drown Sayyid Muhammad and his followers by making holes in the boat in which they were crossing the river. Sayyid Muhammad was the most famous religious figure of his age. He was known by his followers as Miran Mehdi (Chief Messiah). He made many important converts in Sindh including the famous general Mubarak Khan and poet-scholar Qazi Qazin, who wrote his experience of meeting him in the earliest extant Sindhi verses:

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

After the defeat of Abu Said, the last Timurid Sultan of Iran, at Tabriz in 873/1469 by the White Sheep Turkoman (Ak Koyunlu), an Arghun noble of his arrived at the court of the Timurid ruler of Khurasan, Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara. He appointed Zun Nun Beg Arghun as the Governor of Kandahar in 884/1479. Shah Shuja Beg, son of Zun Nun Beg Arghun, captured Siwi (Sibi) from Bahadur Khan, who held it for Jam Nizam al-Din. In 895/1490, the *jam* sent a large force under the command of his adopted son Darya Khan, 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 Nani 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 once when the latter

went on a hunt with his minister, Diwan Lakhdar (Lakhsir, Lakhimal), the minister had with him a young slave named Qabula to whom was entrusted the care of drinking water. Jam Nizam al-Din felt thirsty during the chase, and called for water. The minister ordered the boy Qabula to serve the king. The lad, young in years but old in wisdom, filled a cup with water and threw in it a few blades of grass before presenting it to the king. The king was annoyed and asked him to explain the presence of grass 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 brought 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 he began to love him better than his children and relatives (Tahir, 1621: 55), and adopted him as his son.

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

Jam Nizam al-Din died in 914/1508. 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).

Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fateh Firuz Shah II, son of Jam Nizam al-Din, ruled from 914/1508 to 931/1524-5. 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. The Jam'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 Jam Mubarak, and encouraged Jam Firuz to get rid 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 of the Safawid. 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 Jam Mubarak from Thatta. He received messages of support and an invitation to come and take over the government of Thatta from Jam Firuz. He used the occasion of the celebration of the 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.



A coin of Jam Firuz.

Jam Firuz was kept ignorant and unprepared by his nobles who had conspired with Jam Salah al-Din. They now advised him to flee, which facilitated Jam Salah al-Din's entry into Thatta without encountering resistance.

During his flight Jam Firuz was captured for ransom by his own *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 favourite 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 flee immediately from Thatta—won the day for Jam Firuz. Jam Salah 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'. He could not trust the Samma nobility who had already shown themselves to be in favour of Jam Salah al-Din. He could not even trust his *khaskhelis* (royal guards) around him who 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 for keeping Jam Salah al-Din away from Thatta. The Mughals also acted as a check against Jam Mubarak's 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 Khurasan, who had managed to escape from the invasion of Shaybani Khan, came to Sindh in 918/1512-3. He stayed in the guest of Jam Firuz in Thatta, and 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 Mirza, and ruler of Kandahar. He invaded Chandauka (fifty miles north-west of Larkana), Gahan (forty-eight miles 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 chronogram, *Kharabi-e-Sindh* (The 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 gravestone of Mubarak Khan at Makli.

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 his disciple from the age of twelve, while Qazi Dinah Sewhani acquired knowledge of the Hadith and its inter-

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, were ready to submit along with Jam Sarang and Rinmal Sodha, 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.

pretation from him. Makhdum Bilawal was also a poet. One of his Persian quatrain 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 press 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 929/1522, which was two years after the Battle of Talti and the Arghun conquest of Sindh. The popular belief is that the Mazar of Makhdum Bilawal is at Baghban, about five miles north west of Dadu, where recently his tomb has been given a concrete structure by a local devotee.

Other historians believe that he was buried north of the hermitage of Shaikh Hammad Jamali under a stone pavilion at Makli. This has collapsed but the stones are still there and his tomb, like other stone monuments of the Samma period can be put back into its original form. 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, died in AH 929, and was buried at Makli.

Almost a decade had elapsed since Jam Salah al-Din had last attempted to displace Jam 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 were under the direct rule of the Arghuns who were busy consolidating their power and displacing the old nobility. A stream of refugees was leaving Sindh and arriving in Ranch 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 in Thatta in 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.



A coin of Jam Salah al-Din.

Jam Salah al-Din, unnerved by the rapid movement of the Arghun cavalry, abandoned Thatta and retreated to Jun where he was killed fighting. So 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 Shaikh 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 its leaders. Jam Firuz once again abandoned Thatta in Shawwal 930/September 1524 and left for Kutch. He collected an army from the Samma tribes near Chach Khan (Badin). Shah Hasan arrived with his troops at Khari Khabarlo in Tando Bago 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 fulfil 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).*

There is a tradition that Makhdum Baha al-Din, the saint from Thatta, had come to Thatta. His followers did not want him to leave and therefore deprive them of the blessing that his presence bestowed. They planned to murder him, thus keeping him with them. Shaikh Jia, a disciple of the saint, discovered the plot and slept in saint's 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 might 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 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 large 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, ordered them to secure the head of the serpent by thrusting a spike into the ground and impaling it firmly to the ground. This was done but the people of Thatta were sceptical. They derided the prince and his 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 Thatta had forever lost the spell that protected her.

Jam Tamachi in his wrath ordered the decapitation of the holy men. Then, to his dismay, each headless trunk arose, uttered a prophesy and began walking away. The headless trunks 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 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, as before long Gujarat was