

invaded by Emperor Humayun in 942/1535. Jam Firuz was captured by the Mughal forces and killed. Thus the story of the last of Samma rulers of Sindh ended away from home, under the pincer movement of the two groups of leaders from Central Asia who believed that, as descendants of the two mighty conquerors, Chingiz Khan and Amir Timur, they were entitled to claim the earth.

10

The Arghuns



A silver coin of Chingiz Khan.

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

who was trying to carve a place for himself in Asia had to contend with the Timur factor.

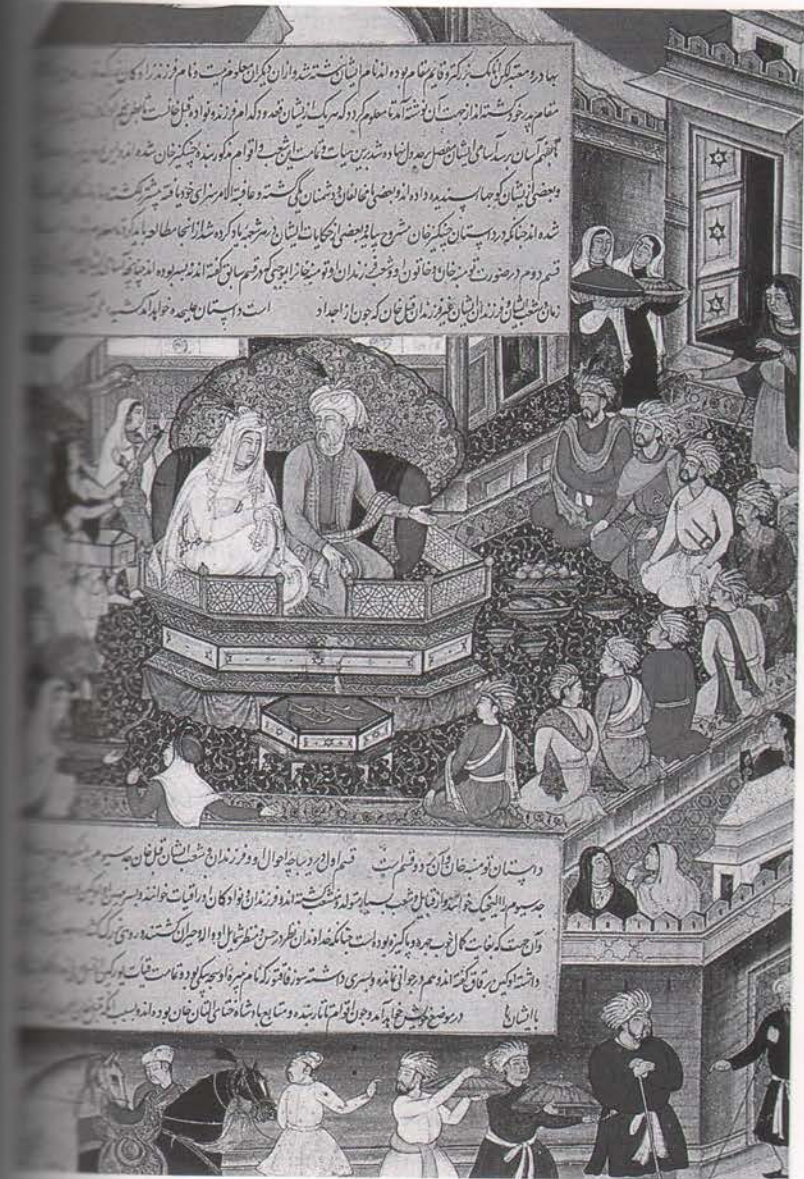
Whereas the Safawi answer to this was the establishment of a militant Shiite state in Iran committed to eliminate followers of every other sect, the Uzbeks in Central Asia, under the leadership of Shayban Khan, adopted the policy of physically eliminating every prince and taking into their harem every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

Zun Nun Beg was a descendant of Arghun Khan, the great-great grandson of Chingiz Khan and the Il-khan or the Lord of Persia from AD 1284 to 1291 under Kublai Khan, the ruler of China and Khan of all Mongols.

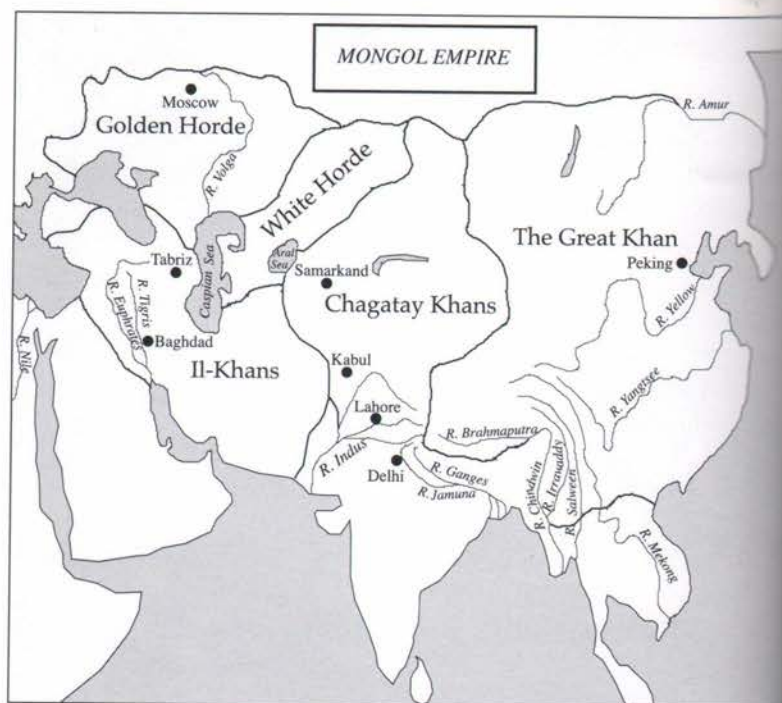
Zun Nun Beg served Babur's grandfather, Abu Said, the last Timurid ruler of Iran and Central Asia till his defeat by the Chief of the White Sheep and his death in 873/1469. Thereafter, he sought employment at Herat with Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara, an illustrious descendant of Amir Timur and the ruler of Khurasan, who appointed Zun Nun as Governor of Ghur and Zamindawar in 884/1479. Later Zun Nun Beg received the additional charge of Kandahar and Farah. He foresaw the gathering storm in the west and added to his possessions Shal Quetta and Mastung in Balochistan as a possible refuge for his family and followers. Four years later he sent his son, Shah Shuja Beg, to occupy the land beyond the Bolan Pass. Shah Shuja captured Siwi/Sibi from Bahadur Khan who held it for Jam Nizam al-Din, and left it in the charge of his younger brother, Sultan Muhammad Beg who, being young and impetuous, led raiding parties into Sindh.

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

Muhammad Shaybani Khan Uzbek was a descendant of Uzbek Khan, the son of Jochi, eldest son of Chingiz Khan. His family had lived and multiplied around the Ural Mountains, and had now come to lay their claim to rule the world as they considered it to be prior to



Chingiz Khan dividing his empire among his sons.
Painted at Agra, AD 1596.



the claims made by the descendants of Amir Timur. After liquidating one by one the rule of all the numerous Timurid princes and claimants of the throne in Central Asia, Shaybani Khan attacked Khurasan in Muharram 913/May-June 1507 to end the last remaining established Timurid kingdom, which had fallen into disarray after the death of Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara, the poet-calligraphist king of Khurasan and patron of Jami and Behzad. Zun Nun Beg, the Governor of Kandahar, was now the chief adviser and prime minister of his son-in-law Badi al-Zaman Mirza, one of the sons and successors to Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara.

Zun Nun Beg refused to submit to Shaybani Khan. Emperor Babur described his last stand against overwhelming numbers of the enemy, despite repeated offers of clemency from Uzbeks, as the result of his foolish belief in the prediction of shaykhs and mullahs of Herat, who had told him that "the spheres are holding commerce with us; you are to be styled Hizabru'l-lah (The Lion of God); you will overcome the Uzbek." Shah Shuja Beg, the elder son of Zun Nun Beg, submitted

to the conqueror who confirmed him in place of his father as the Governor of Kandahar.

The future Emperor of India, Babur, who was descended from the great conqueror Amir Timur through his father, and from the 'conqueror of the world' Chingiz Khan through his mother, carved an independent kingdom for himself at Kabul in 910/1504.

Babur had been pushed out of his ancestral kingdom by Shaybani Khan, therefore he had a score to settle. He marched on Kandahar, defeated Shah Shuja Beg and his brother Muhammad Muqim, and handed Kandahar over to his own brother, Nasir Mirza. Shah Shuja Beg retired to Shal/Quetta and Mastung in AH 914 and proposed attacking Sindh. Muhammad Muqim, the other son of Zun Nun Beg, who had fled to his estate in Zamindawar/Shahr Kohna, went to Shaybani Khan to plead the case of his brother. Shaybani Khan had retained Babur's sister at the time of the surrender of Samarkand and kept her in his harem. Determined as he was to destroy all the Timurid princes, he immediately laid siege to Kandahar. Nasir Mirza surrendered Kandahar to Shaybani Khan who restored it to the Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg once again shelved his plan to conquer Sindh and went back to Kandahar where he ordered that coins be struck and the *khutba* be read in the name of Shaybani Khan.

Shaybani Khan Uzbek made the mistake of underrating the growing power of Shah Ismail who had established the Safawi Dynasty in 901/1501. The ideological commitment of the Safawids was to defend Baghdad where Ali al-Rida, their revered eighth Shi'ite imam, and son of Musa Kazim was buried by the Abbasid caliph al-Mamun next to his father, the legendary Caliph Harun al-Rashid of *Arabian Nights* fame. When Shah Ismail warned him that interference in Khurasan would not be tolerated, Shaybani Khan mocked him by sending him a begging bowl and a beggar's stick with the advice to take up the profession of his ancestors. Shah Ismail's answer was to send him a spindle and wool, signifying that words were the weapons of women, and promptly advanced into Khurasan before the confident Shaybani Khan could mobilize his forces, and surprised the small Uzbek contingent led by Shaybani Khan near Merv on 30 Shaban 916/2 December 1510.

Shah Ismail was not satisfied with the defeat and death of Shaybani Khan, the self-proclaimed heir and descendant of the great conqueror, Chingiz Khan. He ordered the body of Shaybani Khan to be dismem-

bered and sent the limbs to different parts of his empire for public display. The skin of Shaybani's head was stuffed with hay and sent as a warning to the Ottoman Sultan, another power emerging as the defender of the orthodox Sunni faith. The skull of Shaybani Khan was set in gold, and made into a drinking cup for use at official entertainments.

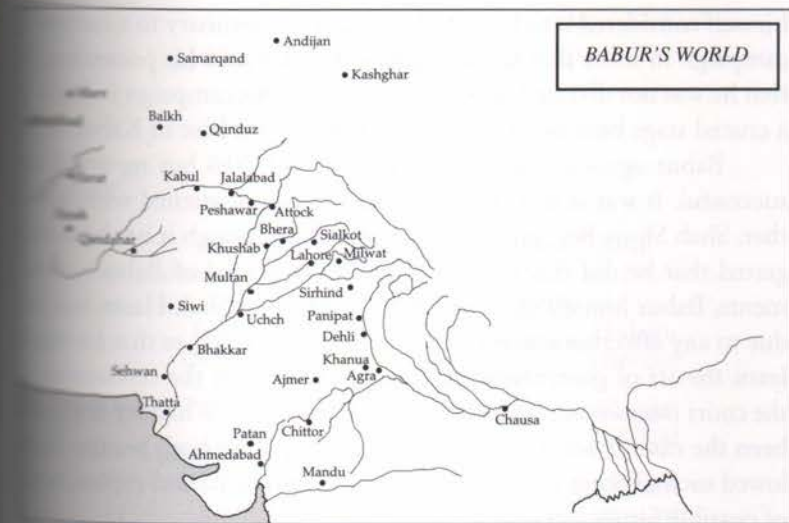
Shah Shuja Beg went to Herat to make his submission to Shah Ismail as he had done before to Shaybani Khan, but the Safawids, who were ideologically motivated were not easily pleased. After an initial show of welcome, Shah Ismail threw all rules of hospitality and diplomatic niceties to the wind and ordered the arrest of the unsuspecting Shah Shuja Beg. After this he left for Iraq-Ajam, leaving Shah Shuja Beg to rot in prison. However, the prisoner escaped owing to the courage and devotion of a handful of his men, especially his slave Mehtar Sambal who managed to induce the guards to eat sweets that were mixed with intoxicants.

Fortune favoured Shah Shuja Beg further when Shah Ismail became absorbed in a bitter struggle with the Ottomans in the west. The Ottoman Sultan Salim I inflicted a crushing defeat on the Safawid army at Chaldiran in 920/1514. Shah Ismail was wounded, fell from his horse and was nearly captured.

The Battle of Chaldiran destroyed Shah Ismail's faith in his invincibility. He is believed never again to have smiled after this. Meanwhile, Shah Shuja Beg's other tormentor, Babur, had once again been busy fighting the Uzbeks for the control of the land of his ancestors in Central Asia, and was making a last unsuccessful attempt to regain Samarkand with the help of the Safawids.

Babur recognised the strength of feeling that his alliance with Shah Ismail had evoked among the Sunni Uzbeks. They were now motivated to fight the Shia heretics and their allies. He accepted as final the defeat of his forces and that of his ally the Safawid general, Najm Sani, at the battle of Ghazhdewan by the Uzbeks in 918/1512. Babur shot an arrow into the Uzbek camp on the eve of the battle that carried the following couplet:

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



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

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

Shah Shuja Beg conferred with his nobles at Siwi/Sibi in 923/1517, and explained to them that there were two circumstances that would impel Babur to conquer Kandahar. First, that Babur would not forget the insult that the house of Timur had suffered because Shah Shuja's younger brother, Muhammad Muqim, had taken Kabul, a royal seat of government held by the family of Amir Timur, and captured and taken a Timurid princess into his harem. Secondly, Babur had to make provision for a great number of princes related to the royal families and nobles of distinction, who filled his court as refugees. Babur

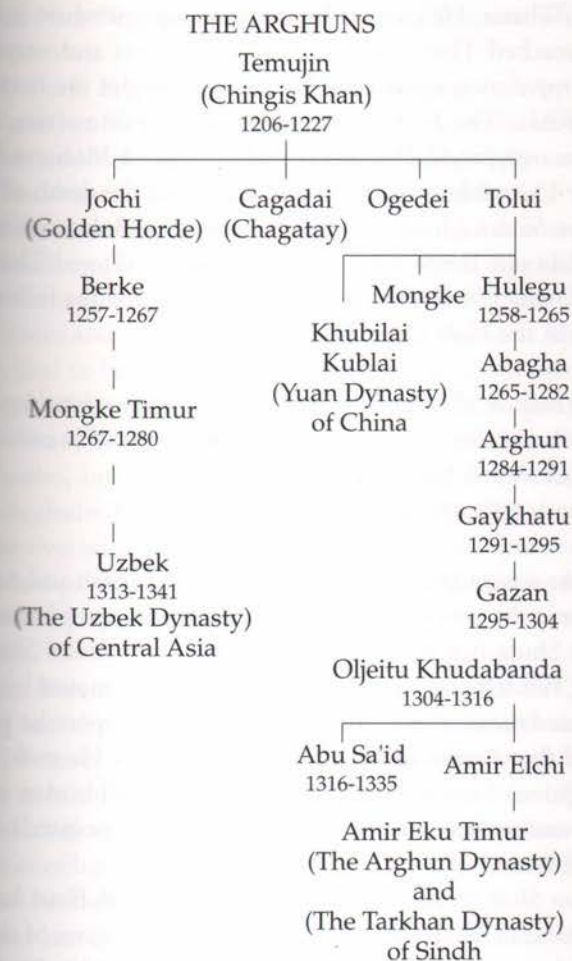
himself considered it to be an indispensable preliminary to a successful campaign in India that he should have Kandahar in his possession, so that he was not diverted or forced to abandon his campaign in India at a crucial stage because of the fear of attack on his base in Kabul.

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

Babur, keeping Shah Hasan with him as security to prevent a raid on his capital Kabul by the Arghuns from Kandahar, crossed the river Indus to reconnoitre and create a base in the Punjab for future operations into India. He writes that while he was busy pacifying Bhera in Punjab he received a dutiful letter from the people of Khushab on 25 February, 1519. He appointed Shah Hasan, son of Shah Shuja Beg, to visit Khushab on his behalf (Babur, 1530; 383).

Similarly, Shah Shuja Beg, now assured that the presence of his son at the court of Babur would dissuade the Timurids from making a hostile move toward Kandahar, raised a detachment of cavalry in Zafar Qada 924/November 1518, and swooped down upon Chandaria, Gahan and Baghbanan in the *jagirs* of the famous Mubarak Khan. He collected an immense amount of booty. Babur writes that he was on a visit to the garden at Qaratu on 28 Rabi al-Awwal 925/30 March 1519, with Shah Hasan, when he received the news from the emissaries of Shah Shuja Beg, who had come to brief Shah Hasan regarding his brother's progress in Sindh (Baburnama, 1530; 395). Shah Hasan thereupon left Babur to join his father at Siwi (Sibi) in 926/1520.

There was no aggressive response from the Sammas to the invasion of the *jagirs* of their hero, the famous Mubarak Khan. They adopted a defensive posture and collected an army under Mahmud Khan and Matin Khan (the two sons of Mubarak Khan) near Talti, on the left



bank of the river Indus to the north of Sehwan. There they waited for Shah Shuja Beg to cross the river, while Mubarak Khan made arrangements to defend Thatta. (The Indus now flows to the east of Talti, and therefore Talti is now on its right bank). Shah Shuja Beg was not to be deflected from his aim. Two years later he took the direct Lakhi route and advanced rapidly, keeping the river Indus to his left, through the

narrow Lakhi pass, and reached the Khanwah branch of the river some miles from Thatta. He crossed Khanwah at a point where it was shallow, and reached Thatta without any opposition and surprised the Samma army drawn up outside the city wall under the command of Mubarak Khan. The Arghuns immediately went into action, defeated the Samma army, and killed Mubarak Khan on 11 Muharram 927/23 December 1520. Thus Shah Shuja Beg avenged the death of his teenage brother, Sultan Muhammad, at the hands of Mubarak Khan at the battle of Jalwagir thirty-seven years earlier. He allowed Thatta to be plundered, which according to historians presented the following picture given in the Holy Quran:

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

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

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

When Shah Shuja Beg came to know that Jam Firuz had left his family behind in Thatta, he posted his men at the gates of the palace, ostensibly to guard his family. Jam Firuz, who had fled to Pir Ar, on the other side of the river, now had no alternative but to submit to Shah Shuja Beg. He presented himself on the banks of the river, with a sword hanging from his neck to express his complete submission (Jamal, 1654; 310).

Shah Shuja Beg ordered Ala al-Din, the son of Mubarak Khan, to escort the family of Jam Firuz across the river and treated Jam Firuz with kindness. He allowed him the honour of kissing his hands, and in a symbolic assertion of his new position, presented to him the robe of

honour which Sultan Husain Mirza Bayqara had bestowed on his late son, Zun Nun Beg, on his appointment as Governor of Kandahar (Masum, 1592; 158).

Shah Shuja Beg handed back Thatta and the country up to the Salt Range Hills to Jam Firuz, and occupied the rest of Sindh. He appointed his son Mahmud Kokaltash, who was fifteen years of age, as administrator of Bhakkar and posted his senior nobles to Sehwan.

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

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

When Jam Salah al-Din heard of the defeat and discomfiture of Jam Firuz by Shah Shuja Beg, he collected ten thousand horsemen from among the Jarejas, Sodhas, Sammas and Khengars and advanced on Thatta in 927/November 1521. Jam Firuz again fled to Sehwan to seek help from the Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg, then in Shal busy supervising the shifting of his belongings and that of his followers from Kandahar, sent his son Shah Hasan with a thousand horses. Jam Sarang and Rinnal Sodha, who had escaped after their defeat at the battle of Talti in March, joined Jam Salah al-Din and pursued Jam Firuz to Sehwan. When they heard that Shah Hasan was on the move, they

once again took up defensive positions near Talti. Shah Hasan, like his father before him, avoided them and advanced directly on Thatta.

Jam Salah al-Din was unnerved by the rapid movement of the Arghun cavalry. He abandoned Thatta and retreated to Jun, followed by Shah Hasan. The advance guard of the Arghun army led by Mir Isa Turkhan, Sultan Quli Beg and Mir Alaika, encountered Jam Salah al-Din's advance guard, commanded by his son Fateh Haibet Khan, who was the son-in-law of the King of Gujarat, and immediately went into action. Shah Hasan Arghun, closely following his advance guard, attacked Fateh Khan from the rear. The Samma advance guard was surrounded and massacred, with Fateh Khan among the dead. When Jam Salah al-Din heard the news of the death of his son and heir, he fell upon the Arghun army in a fit of rage and desperation and in turn was killed fighting. So Jam Firuz was once again installed by Shuja Beg at Thatta.

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

Shah Shuja Beg arrived in Bhakkar in Jamadi-I, 928/April, 1522 and inflicted severe punishments on the people of the Dhareja tribe for attacking Bhakkar in his absence and harassing his fifteen year old governor and his family, who had been forced to shut themselves in the citadel. Lali Maher and forty-seven Dhareja Chiefs were executed in one night, and, to create terror among the population, their bodies were thrown down from the tower of the fort, which became known as Khuni Burj. He had the Bhakkar Fort vacated, demolished the Samma and Baloch houses around it and rebuilt it as a stronghold for his people. Even the Sayyids who had not only founded Bhakkar and been living in the fort since the early days of the Arab conquest of Sindh, but had also helped the young commander Mahmud Kokaltash to defend the fort against the Baloch tribes, were made to vacate Bhakkar and settle across the river in Rohri. Shah Shuja Beg planned to turn Bhakkar into an impregnable island of refuge for his family and followers.

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

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

Shah Shuja Beg was not content with the conquest of Balochistan and Sindh. He told his nobles that the Timurids had no intention of leaving him in peace, that they would ultimately seize Sindh, either from him or from his descendants. It was therefore necessary that he should seek out another asylum and place of refuge for their descendants in a more distant land (Jamal/Elliott, 1969; 312). He announced his intention of conquering Gujarat, and wrote to Jam Firuz that "when that country is subjugated, the possession of the country of Sindh will be left in your hands as before." But before he could implement his intentions his favourite noble and comrade-in-arms, Fazil Kokaltash, died. This affected him so much that he fell ill and developed a premonition of his own approaching end. Before he was fully recovered he heard news of the arrival of Babur in the vicinity of Bhera and Khushab with the intention of conquering India. This led him again to predict that Babur, who had deprived him of Kandahar, would eventually deprive him of Sindh (Masum, 1592; 173). The depression that this reflection caused made him ill again, and he died an unhappy man at Agham/Aghamano, about 30 miles south east of Hyderabad, on 22 Shaban 930/26 June 1524. The chronogram of his death is, *Be Shahr Shaban*.

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



Babur winning the battle of Panipat. Painted at Agra, AD 1596.

*Why should I not worship Him who brought
me into being,
To whom you will be brought back in the end?*
(No. 22).

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

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

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

Jam Firuz raised an army of Jareja and other tribes in Kutch and arrived in Chach Khan (Badin). Shah Hasan on hearing the news went after him, and the Sammas and Arghuns had a final trial of strength at Khari Khabarlo in Tando Bhago. The army of Jam Firuz, following

their tribal custom, dismounted from their horses, tied their turbans first around their waists and then to each other and resolved to fight to the death. Shah Hasan used his archers with devastating effect on the immobilized mass of the Samma army, and took advantage of his highly mobile and experienced cavalry to wheel around at will to open fronts on the flanks and the rear. This caused confusion in the Samma army, whose tactics and fighting skill consisted of facing the enemy frontally and bravely maintaining their ranks in the face of attack.

A great slaughter took place in which twenty thousand men were killed. Jam Firuz fled from the battlefield and out of the history of Sindh. After the battle of Khabarlo that was fought towards the end of 930/October 1524, Shah Hasan stayed at the fort of Tughlaqabad for six months and settled the affairs of Lar (Lower Sindh).

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

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

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

honour of serving Sultan Mahmud. He granted his request and spared his life.

The Langahs and other Baloch tribesmen who had had time to regroup themselves, came out to face the Arghuns at Uchch but were driven back, and the town was taken by assault. Once again the intervention of the religious figures saved many people who would otherwise have been put to the sword or taken as slaves. Sultan Mahmud Langah of Multan, alarmed at the fall of his second most important city, raised a large army composed of Baloch, Jat, and others, but before he could give them orders to march, he suddenly died, poisoned by his brother-in-law. His son, Sultan Husain Langah, who succeeded him, was a minor.

The Langahs sent Makhdumzada Shaykh Baha al-Din to negotiate with Shah Hasan. It was agreed that in future Gharawah would be the boundary between the two kingdoms. Shah Hasan returned and on his way back ordered the fort of Uchch to be rebuilt.

Shah Hasan allowed himself to be persuaded by Langar Khan, a noble of Multan, to return at the end of 932/1526. Langah sent Shaykh Ismail Quraishi, another religious figure of Multan, to negotiate on their behalf. Shah Hasan, who had now resolved to capture Multan, presented the retainers of the *shaikh* with a large sum of money and invited him to visit his relatives in Thatta. He also bestowed on the *shaikh* the revenues of a village near Thatta to meet his expenses. The siege of Multan lasted for about a year and ended in 933/1527 in the destruction of Langah, while the army of Multan was either slaughtered or sold into slavery. The young Langah king and his sister were apportioned to Miskin, a Tarkhan noble. Shah Hasan left Khawaja Shams al-Din to extract whatever he could from Multan, and he himself returned to Bhakkar. Langar Khan, the Multan noble who had persuaded Shah Hasan to invade Multan, was so moved by the plight of the people of Multan at the hands of Khawaja Shams al-Din, that he rebelled and left to entreat with Babur to free Multan from Arghun oppression. Rather than come into conflict with Babur who was now master of India, Shah Hasan presented Multan to Babur after an occupation of fifteen months.

After subduing the tribes of northern Sindh, Shah Hasan decided to teach the tribes of Kutch a lesson, since they had repeatedly sided

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

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

However, when Emperor Humayun arrived in Sindh in Ramadan 947/January 1541, as a fugitive seeking support after his defeat by Sher Shah Suri, Shah Hasan's proclaimed loyalty to the House of Timur was sorely tested. He made Sultan Mahmud in charge of the island fortress of Bhakkar with strict instructions to shut its gate on the emperor and defend it, but to allow him to encamp four miles away in the beautiful Chahar Bagh of Baberlu. He explained to his nobles that as long as Humayun was allowed to live unmolested in beautiful surroundings he would not besiege the fort himself, but leave it to his generals, who would not be able to breach the fortifications of Bhakkar.

After settling in the gardens of Baberlu, Humayun issued orders to Sultan Mahmud to present himself and deliver the fort to his master. Sultan Mahmud replied that he was merely a servant of Shah Hasan and would await instructions from his master. Faced with this tactic the emperor sent ambassadors to Shah Hasan. Pursuing his policy of playing for time, he treated the ambassadors with great respect but kept them busy in Thatta for many months, without any reply to their request that Shah Hasan should call on his emperor to finalize plans for

the conquest of India. Humayun ordered his ambassadors back. They brought back the message from Shah Hasan that the emperor should march his army to Chachgan as it had more resources than Bhakkar, station his army there and prepare for an attack on Gujarat. This was an attempt to get Humayun bogged down in the desert and salt marshes of south-eastern Sindh.

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

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

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

Emperor Humayun, in the meanwhile, arrived in Umarkot where the rana was antagonistic to Shah Hasan who had killed his brother. The rana welcomed the emperor and vacated the fort for his wife Hamida Banu, and it was here that she gave birth to Emperor Akbar on the night of Sunday, 5 Rajab 949/15 October 1542 in the fort of Umarkot. After some time, Humayun moved on to Jun with a view to

attacking Gujarat with the help of the Hindu tribes, but unfortunately his Hindu allies also deserted him.

Shah Hasan heard of the desertion and finally saw an opportunity of ridding India and his kingdom of both the emperor and the Timurid threat. He arrived with his army, but Humayun ordered a deep trench to be dug around the garden where he was encamped, and defended it with such vigour that success eluded Shah Hasan. After some time an agreement was reached, by which Humayun agreed to quit Sindh and Hind, and Shah Hasan agreed to furnish him with money, grain and transport, and threw a bridge across the Ren at Ruma over which Humayun and his troops could pass on their way out of Sindh on 7 Rabi'us Sani 950/10 July 1543. Humayun who described himself as 'a Wanderer in the Desert of Destitution' retaining his wit in adversity, composed the chronogram *Sirat-i-Mustaqim* (The Straight and True Path) to give a date and described his expulsion from Sindh (Jamal, 1655; 319).

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

Another cause of friction was the former wife and mother-in-law of Shah Hasan. In 930/1524, Shah Hasan had married Gulberg Bega, the daughter of Babur's *khalifa*, but she left him two years later and

married Humayun. She and her mother Sultanam had come with Humayun to Sindh as members of his household, and from Sindh, the mother and daughter went for Haj. Meanwhile, Humayun during the night to the camp of his brother Hindal Mirza at Pat, saw and married Hamida Banu on Monday, Jamadiul Awwal, 948/September 1541.

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

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

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

Towards the end of his life, Shah Hasan was afflicted with palsy and had begun to conduct affairs of state through his trusted slaves. He entrusted the tax collection of Thatta to Arabi Gahi (native of Gahan), placed the administration in the hands of Ismail Baitara (probably a native of the lowly *bhatiara* class) and gave the charge of Tughlaqabad to his slaves, Shanba and Rafiq. This irked the Arghun and Tarkhan

nobles, who assembled on 1 Muharram 962/26 November 553 in Thatta and selected Isa Tarkhan as their leader. They put Arabi Gahi, Shaikh and Rafiq to death and took Mah Bega, the consort of Shah Hasan, prisoner. Shah Hasan, who was unable to ride or move without help, immediately sent messengers to Sultan Mahmud to arrest all the Arghuns and Tarkhans who were at Bhakkar and bring them with him. When Sultan Mahmud arrived with the prisoners and reinforcements on 22 Muharram 962/18 December 1554, Shah Hasan ordered the army to march on Thatta.

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

Shah Hasan commanded that Isa Tarkhan should present himself before him so that he could confer the governorship of Thatta upon him before returning to Bhakkar. This created a serious problem as Isa Tarkhan was prevented by his companions from going himself, being advised instead to send his eldest son, Muhammad Baqi. Since Muhammad Baqi was not prepared to take the risk that even his father wished to avoid, Isa's second son, the brave Muhammad Saleh, offered to go. Shah Hasan was pleased to receive Muhammad Saleh, and with due ceremony, appointed him the Governor of Thatta and bestowed on him all the regalia of office including the kettledrums that Muhammad Saleh sounded as he marched back to Thatta, to the great annoyance of his elder brother. This episode was the cause of a bitter feud among the children of Isa Tarkhan and ended in the violent death of all of them.

Shah Hasan died on Monday 12 Rabi al-Awwal 962/4 February 1555, aged sixty-six years, aboard his boat on the river Indus, close to



*Humayun & his brothers in a landscape, c. 1550.
Attributed to Dost Muhammad. Mughal.*

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

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

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

*That cypress-like figure had passed by me ages ago
Her tall and straight figure is still before my eyes.*

*I who have been victim of the sharp edge of the
cruel pangs of her love
Have no wish to be re-born on the day of judgement.*

*As King all our whims are catered to at our court
My life is now that of a supplicant for the favour of her love.*

*Sipahi (Soldier) will kiss the foot of her dog
Rather than miss the opportunity of being near his beloved.*

11

The Tarkhans



Portrait of Akbar on a Jahangiri gold mohur coin.

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

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

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

The Arghuns and the Tarkhans were therefore cousins who maintained a close association as officers and nobles of Amir Timur and his descendants. When Zun Nun Beg, the father of the first Arghun ruler of Sindh, was appointed Governor of Kandahar by the Timurid ruler of Khurasan, he gave the charge of Sakhar and Tulak in the neighbouring area of Kandahar to Abd al-Ali Tarkhan, the father of the first Tarkhan ruler of Sindh and the Timurid Governor of Bukhara before it

was overrun by Shaybani Khan. When Zun Nun Beg was killed defending the Timurid Empire of Khurasan against Shaybani Khan Uzbek, Abd al-Ali Tarkhan stood by his side and was killed with his five sons. Mirza Isa Tarkhan, the youngest son and the future ruler of Sindh was too young to take part in the battle. He was brought up by Shah Hasan Beg, son of Zun Nun Beg, the founder of the Arghun dynasty in Sindh.

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

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

While the Tarkhan army was in the north, the Portuguese arrived in Thatta in Rabi al-Sani 963/February 1556, with seven hundred men on twenty-eight vessels, ostensibly to help the Tarkhans against Sultan Mahmud. But finding Thatta unprotected, they sacked the city and filled it with fire and slaughter (Tahir/Elliott, 1985; 277). According to the Portuguese account of the period, they killed over 8,000 inhabitants of

Thatta and loaded their vessels with one of the richest booties that had ever been taken in Asia, without losing a single man of their own (Haig, 1964; 38). When Isa Tarkhan heard of the Portuguese attack, he lifted the siege of Bhakkar to rush back to Thatta. Sultan Mahmud pursued him with his army but an understanding was reached with the help of Mir Kalan, allowing the army of Isa Tarkhan to return to Thatta unharmed.

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

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

Sultan Mahmud sent Abd Allah Mufti and Mir Abd al-Hamid to condole the death of Muhammad Saleh, and to request Isa Tarkhan to forgive Muhammad Baqi and recall him to Thatta. Isa Tarkhan accepted the offer and sent Shaikh Abd al-Wahab Purani and his nephew, Mir Muhammad, to thank Sultan Mahmud and bring back Muhammad Baqi, who was then sent by Isa Tarkhan to administer Siwistan. Meanwhile, he kept his youngest son Jan Baba with him in Thatta to look after the affairs of state as his chosen successor.

Isa Tarkhan died three years later in 973/1565. He had wanted his younger son Jan Baba to succeed him, but the famous Mah Bega kept the death of Isa Tarkhan a secret till Muhammad Baqi arrived from Sehwan, and handed over the wealth and kingdom of Isa Tarkhan to him.

Muhammad Baqi began his rule with a great show of tolerance that pacified the Arghun nobles who had not reconciled to Tarkhan

rule. Having established himself firmly on the throne, he exhibited the cruel streak that had made his father wary of him. He ordered a general massacre and announced an amnesty to all who would kill the Arghuns. His brother Jan Baba and his son-in-law, Mirza Shadman Arghun, a cousin of the former Arghun ruler Shah Hasan, rebelled. The Arghuns, who were being hunted and dispossessed of their property on the orders of Muhammad Baqi joined them, and together they attacked him. Muhammad Baqi escaped death in a night attack because his wife Raiha Bega, the daughter of Naheed Bega, sacrificed her life by throwing herself upon him, and receiving the fatal dagger wound herself.

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

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

Muhammad Baqi sent his daughter Sindhi Bega to Akbar a second time with Shaikh Abd al-Ghafur, son of Shaikh Abd al-Wahab,

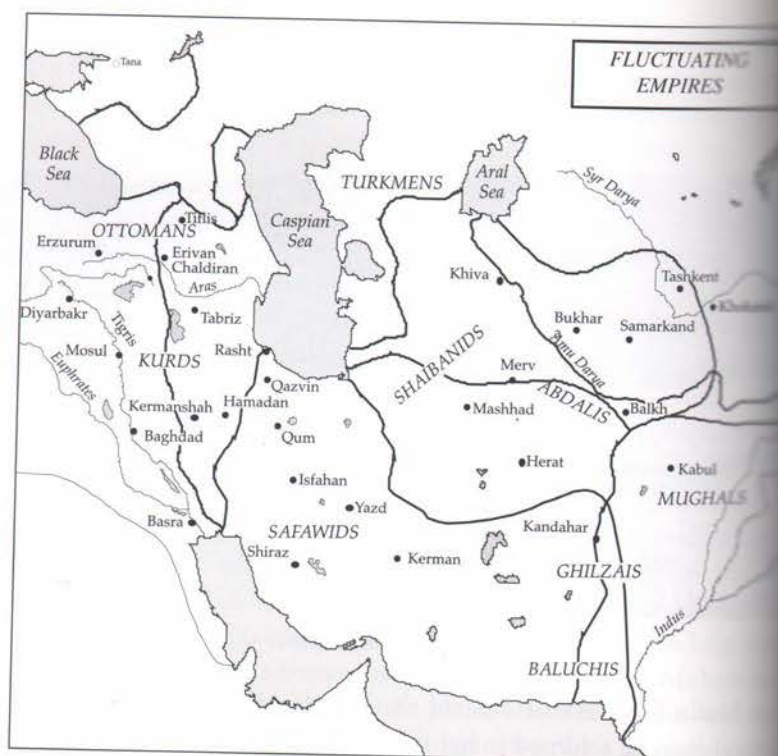


The tomb of Jan Baba at Makli.

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

The humiliation suffered by his daughter and the death of his favourite son Shah Rukh, the Governor of Nasarpur, deeply affected Muhammad Baqi. He committed suicide by impaling himself on his sword in 993/1585.

Muhammad Baqi left two sons. The nobles favoured the elder, Muhammad Paynda who was handicapped, to Muhammad Muzaffar whose mother was a Jareja Samma. Muhammad Muzaffar who was Governor of Badin, was the first to arrive in Thatta on hearing of the death of his father Baqi Tarkhan, but was kept waiting outside the city gates. Having failed to persuade the nobles to let him enter the city, he went back to his estate. The nobles welcomed Muhammad Paynda and



his son, Muhammad Jani, when they arrived from Sehwan to claim the throne. Since Muhammad Paynda was disabled, his son Jani Beg took charge of the administration in his name in 993/1585. Jani Beg advanced with his army against his uncle, Muhammad Muzaffar, who fled to the safety of his mother's tribe in Kutch as his Tarkhan officer defected to Jani Beg. Emperor Jahangir mentions in his autobiography that when he visited Ahmadabad, Muzaffar, son of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan, came and paid homage. The emperor wrote, "As his family had the relations of service with our exalted dynasty from the times of Timur—I consider it right to patronize him. For the present I have given him 2,000 rupees for expenses, and a dress of honour. A suitable rank will be given to him, and perhaps he will show himself efficient as a soldier."

Sultan Mahmud ruled over Upper Sindh from Bhakkar till his death on 8 Safar 982/30 May 1574. He had no son of his own, and

while he lay seriously ill he offered Bhakkar to the Mughal Emperor Akbar, who had already accepted his daughter, into his harem. The survival of Sultan Mahmud as ruler of Upper Sindh was a feat of personal courage, determination and diplomacy. He had used the geographical situation of his kingdom along the trade and communication route between the Persian and Indian empires to establish close relations with both the Shah of Iran and the Mughal Emperor of India.

When Akbar's half-brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim died in Kabul in 1585, Akbar transferred his capital to Lahore, as the administration of Kabul became his direct responsibility. He made plans to check the expansion of the Persian and Uzbek empires into Afghanistan, and to re-establish his hold over Kandahar in southern Afghanistan, once a part of the kingdoms of his father and grandfather.

The fear of invasion from Iran and Central Asia kept Akbar in Lahore for over a decade. Akbar, whose *Din-i-Ilahi* had annoyed the orthodox Muslims, found the area from the Khyber Pass to the Indus River occupied by the fanatical Raushaniyya, who encircled a Mughal camp led by Akbar's favourite noble and wit, Birbal, in a mountain pass and killed him and a number of other officers personally known to Akbar.

It did not help when Akbar appointed a Hindu Rajput, Man Singh, as his governor in Kabul to humiliate the orthodox Afghans. Although Man Singh repeatedly inflicted defeat on them he was not able to subdue them. The Raushaniyya, who were followers of an Indian Messiah (Mehdi) called Pir Raushan (Enlightened Saint) by his followers, formed a confederacy of the Afridis, the Orakzais and the Tanafrais, closed the routes between Kabul and the Indus and besieged Peshawar. Akbar sent Zain Khan who, with the help of Man Singh was unable to lift the siege of Peshawar, but they kept the imperial troops in the field throughout AD 1587. After the death of Pir Raushan in AD 1592, his son Jalal continued the struggle till he was killed in AD 1600 near Ghazni. He was followed by his son Ahad who was finally defeated and killed in AD 1622.

In such a situation it was imperative for the Mughals to secure the route to Kandahar through Sindh that the death of Sultan Mahmud, and bestowal of his kingdom to Akbar, had opened to them. The emperor considered it essential to subdue Sindh in order to secure the

flanks of his troops advancing on Kandahar, and to safeguard the supply and communication lines to their base.

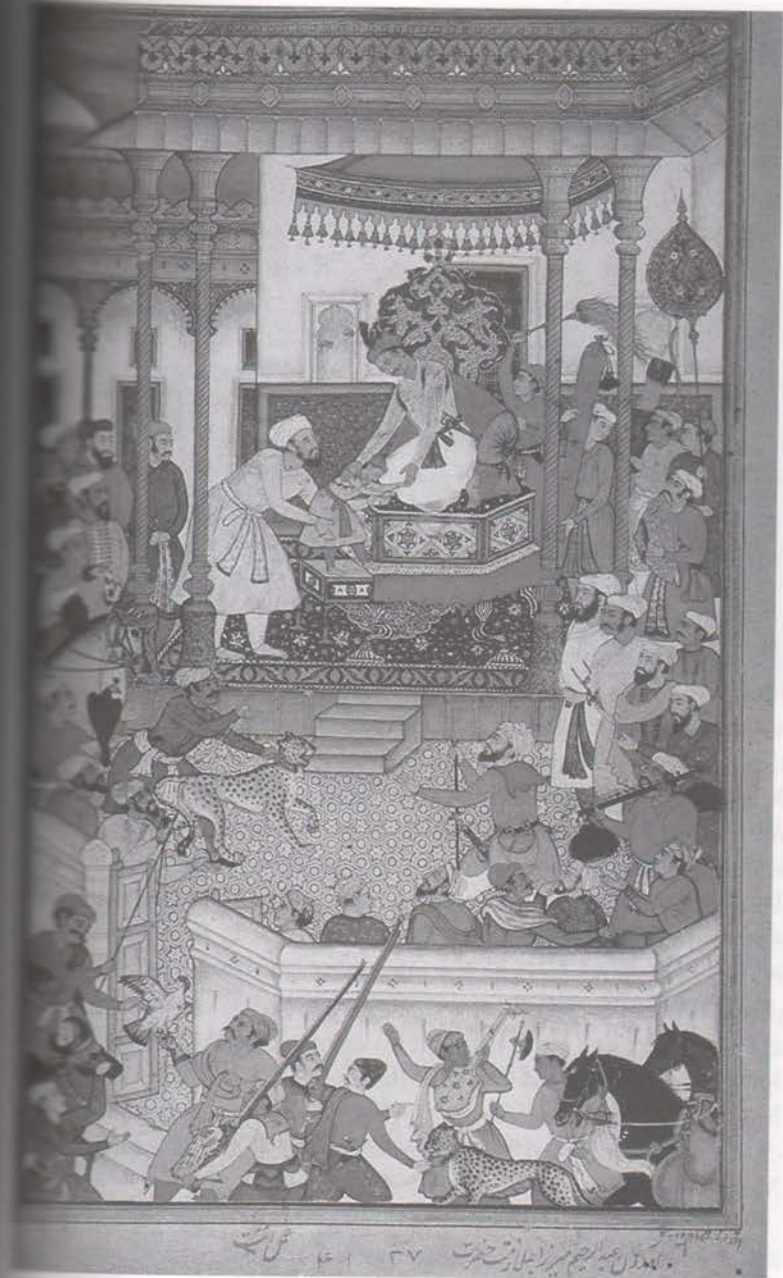
In 994/1586, Nawab Muhammad Sadiq Khan, the Mughal Governor of Bhakkar advanced into the territory ruled by the Tarkhans and laid siege to Sehwan in a move to prod Jani Beg to come to a negotiated settlement with the Mughal Empire. Instead Jani Beg used his flotilla to help his besieged troops in Sehwan.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

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

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

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

Khan Khanan was happy to receive the praise and rewarded the poet. Jani Beg also rewarded him saying that since he was a defeated



Emperor Akbar receives child Abd al-Rahim, the future Khan Khanan.
Painted at Agra, AD 1596.

king, he was in no position to prevent the poets from comparing him with animals, but he could nevertheless express his gratitude at being compared with a fabulous bird that brings luck, and not some other animal.

Khan Khanan visited Lahri Bander with Jani Beg and paid a visit to an island, ostensibly to enjoy the sea, but actually to convey to the Portuguese who had helped Jani Beg to defend Sindh that the Mughal Empire now held sway over the whole of Sindh and its sea coast.

The two paid their respects to Emperor Akbar in Lahore on 20 March 1593. The emperor appreciated the historical significance of a meeting with a descendant of Eku Timur who had laid down his life for the great Amir Timur, the founder of the Timurid dynasty, and had earned for his progeny the title of Tarkhan from Amir Timur, along with the right to entry to the imperial court and unconditional pardon. Jani Beg was treated kindly by the emperor, who conferred on him the rank of three thousand and made him governor of the province of Multan.

The Emperor appointed Rao Patar Das Khattari as *hakim* of Thatta. The Tarkhans were disappointed and used a novel means of protest. Ten thousand men, women and children belonging to and associated with the Tarkhan clan moved out of Thatta *en masse* on a flotilla of all available river craft, and rowed upstream in the direction of Multan. They choked the river and brought all river trade and communication to a halt. Emperor Akbar was alarmed to hear the news and restored Thatta to Jani Beg, who was appointed *hakim* of Thatta in 1003/1594. However, the commercially lucrative port of Lahri Bunder was kept under direct Mughal rule, and Bakhtiyar Beg Turkaman was made *hakim* of the strategically important city of Sehwan. As a further precaution the emperor ordered Jani Beg to stay at the court and manage the affairs of Thatta through his agents. The Persian Governor of Kandahar, the Safawid Prince Muzaffar Husain Mirza, surrendered Kandahar to the Mughals in AD1595. And the death of the Uzbek chief Abd Allah in AD1598 removed the fear of Uzbek invasion of the Mughal empire.

Emperor Akbar promoted Jani Beg to the rank of three thousand *zat* and *sawar* in 1004/1596, and to the rank of three thousand five hundred *zat* and *sawar* in 1005/1597. Jani Beg accompanied the em-



Tomb of Mirza Muhammad Jani Beg & Ghazi Beg.

peror to Deccan but the surrender of Thatta rankled within him. He annoyed Akbar during the siege of Asirgarh when, instead of praising him on the capture of Asirgarh, he remarked that if he had a fort like Asirgarh he could have held on to it for a hundred years. Asirgarh fell after a siege of nine months on 17 January. Jani Beg died on 27 Rajab 1009/1 February 1601 at Burhanpur, due to excessive drinking. The minister and chronicler of Emperor Akbar, the famous Abu'l Fazl wrote, "That pure thing (wine) stained the limpid waters of his life. That material of joy caused loss of life," and quoted the following verse,

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



Emperor Jahangir. Painted at Agra, AD 1615.

After the death of Jani Beg, his 17 year old son Ghazi Beg took over the government of Thatta. He took steps immediately to establish his rule and made arrangements to re-order the administration. This led to mutiny among the nobles which was firmly suppressed by him. The Governor of Nasarpur, Abu'l Qasim, was captured and blinded. The Tarkhan II who had designs of his own on Thatta escaped capture by taking refuge with the Samejhas.

Emperor Akbar sent Baba Talib Isfahani to Thatta with instructions to bring Ghazi Beg to the court, but Baba was charmed by the young Ghazi Beg into staying with him. Once again Akbar began military preparations to bring Thatta back into the Mughal fold. He bestowed the province of Multan, which included Bhakkar, on Saeed Khan Chughta and ordered him to bring Ghazi Beg to the imperial court. Saeed Khan arrived in Bhakkar in 1011/1602 and sent Mir Abu'l Qasim Namkin, the *hakim* of Bhakkar to persuade Ghazi Beg to come to the court. Ghazi Beg told Namkin to stay at Sehwan and advanced to meet him. From there they travelled together to call on Saeed Khan at Bhakkar. When Ghazi Beg presented himself before Emperor Akbar at Agra on 10 October 1604. Akbar confirmed him as Governor of Thatta but ordered him to stay at the court.

After Akbar died on 26 October 1605, Emperor Jahangir also refused to grant him permission to return to Thatta. The new emperor wrote, "I said that as my father had betrothed his sister to my son Khusraw, please God, when this alliance came into force, I would give him leave to return to Sindh" (Jahangir, 1627; 20).

However, when the Persian Governor of Herat invaded Kandahar, Jahangir bestowed on Ghazi Beg the rank of 5,000 *zat* and *sawar*, and drums in 1014/1605, and appointed him the head of the imperial army that was deputed to relieve Kandahar. When the Persian monarch Shah Abbas heard that the Indian army was on its way to Kandahar, he retreated and ordered the Persian army to fall back. He sent Husain Beg as his special emissary to the court of Jahangir to assure him that the Persian army in Khurasan had invaded Kandahar without his authority. Ghazi Beg occupied Kandahar on 10 February 1607 and as instructed relieved Shah Beg Khan, and replaced him with Sardar Khan Bukhta Beg Kabuli, with the rank of 3,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawar* as *hakim* of Kandahar.

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



(Top) Coin of Jahangir struck at Thatta. (Below) The same coin, reverse.



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

By July 1607, Shah Abbas had succeeded in expelling the Ottomans from Persia in the west and was once again in a position to attend to his eastern border with the Mughal Empire. Emperor Jahangir ordered Ghazi Beg to return to Kandahar on 14 Rajab 1017/1608, and therefore he proceeded to Kandahar via Siwi and Ganjaba. He chastised the tribes on the way and appointed Lutf Allah Bhai Khan and Rao Manak to subdue the Afghan, Hazarah and Nigudari tribes around Kandahar. To secure the frontiers, he entered into communication with Shah Abbas of Persia. Relations between the Shah and Ghazi Beg became so cordial that like Jahangir, Shah Abbas also addressed him as his son and repeatedly sent him gifts that were reciprocated by the latter, who composed a poem in praise of the shah. This may in fact

have been the cause of his sudden death on 11 Safar 1021/1612 at Kandahar. It is believed by others that he was poisoned by Lutf Allah Bhai Khan because his father, Khusraw Churkas, had been ordered by the Shah to be stripped of authority in Thatta and called to Kandahar. Although only a Mughal governor, Ghazi Beg lived and acted like an independent king, as if the Arghun and Tarkhan dream of their own kingdom from Kandahar to Sindh had finally been fulfilled. No king of Sindh had ever ruled over such a large area, comprising as it did Sindh, Balochistan, southern Punjab and southern Afghanistan.

The body of Ghazi Beg was brought to Thatta and buried next to his father Jani Beg. Both Jani and Ghazi Beg were well known poets. They wrote under the pen names of *Halimi* and *Waqari*, respectively. During his forced stay at Akbar's court, Jani Beg had come close to the great musician Mian Tansen. The *Ain-e-Akbari* describes Mian Tansen as a singer so extraordinary that the "like of him has not been heard in India for the last thousand years." Ghazi Beg followed his father's love for Mian Tansen and his music, and was himself an accomplished *Tambora* player. It is believed that anyone who sings *Mian ki Todi* composed by Mian Tansen at the tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg at Makli is bound to have his wishes fulfilled. Ghazi Beg composed a *Diwan* of five thousand verses, and his long poem *Saqi Nama*, containing eighty-three verses established him overnight as an acknowledged Persian poet of his time. It is a great pity that such a gifted prince, commander, poet and musician, died so young, namely at the age of twenty-nine (AH 992-1021).

Not only were some of the Arghun and Tarkhan rulers accomplished writers and poets, but so also were a number of their nobles and military commanders. They translated and preserved Sindhi folk-



Mirza Muhammad Ghazi Beg.



The great musician
Mian Tansen.

lore and history through their works, otherwise yet another long period of Sindh would have remained hidden in obscurity. It was during the Arghun and Tarkhan period that work on the collection and preservation of the folk tales of Sindh was initiated. These were later recorded in the traditional, *ragas* and, *raginis* by Abdul Latif Bhittai, a member of an immigrant family, regarded as the Shah or Monarch of Sindh literature. "The historians, poets and philosophers of Sindh, were all descendants of invaders, or immigrants,...and the time when Sindh was under the rule of the Arghuns and Tarkhans was the Elizabethan Age of its literature" (Aitken, 1907: 482).

12

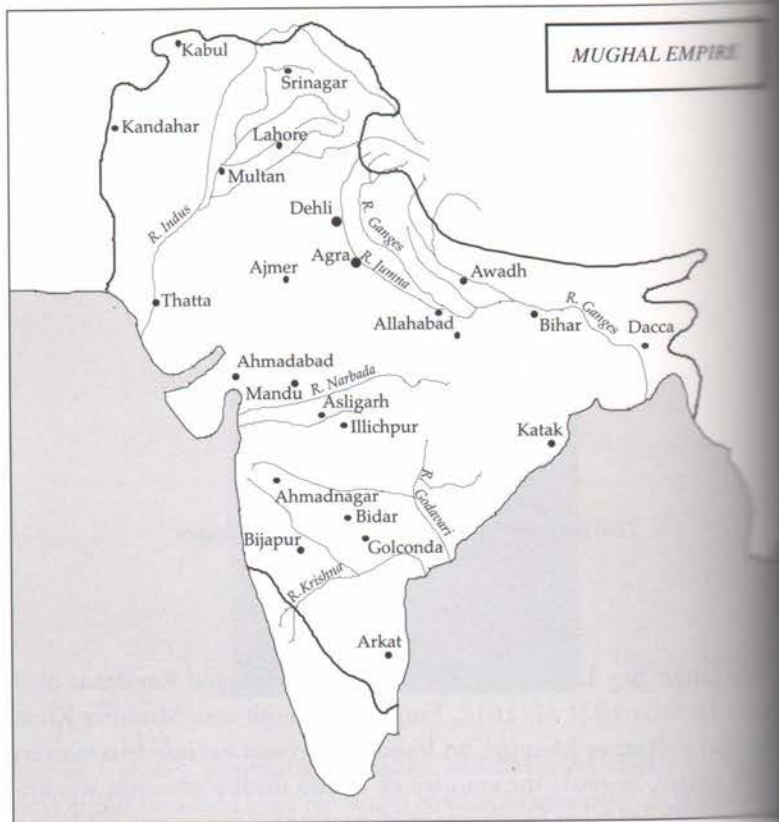
The Mughals



The largest gold coin in the world.
2200 grammes 5.3" dia. 200 gold mohur of Shahjahan.

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

Mirza Rustam Safawi, also an Iranian, was a direct descendant of Shah Ismail Safawi, the King of Persia, and was Persian governor in Hamindawar. He had defected to the Mughals, and had been assigned *naib* in Deccan, with promotion to the rank of 5000 *zat* and *sawar*. Hence this he was given two lakhs for expenses and appointed *hakim* of Thatta (Jahangir, 1627; 262). His instructions were to provide relief to the people of the province against their Arghun overlords, who should be in no position to rebel. However, when the Arghuns complained, the emperor recalled him and handed him over to Ani Rai Singh Dalan,



a Rajput, to enquire into the facts, and if guilty, to punish him. Mirza Rustam Safawi was made ineligible for another appointment till he had redressed and satisfied the complainants. This restriction lasted for the next two years. Mirza was an excellent poet and wrote under the nom de plume of Fidai.

Taj Khan Tash Beg Qurchi, a Turanian, (Jahangir, 1627; 131) who was *hakim* of Bhakkar was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in 1023/1614-15 with the rank of 4000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar*. He had begun his career in the service of Mirza *hakim*, brother of Emperor Akbar and ruler of Kabul. He sought employment with Akbar after the death of Mirza Hakim and received the title of Taj Khan. Taj Khan died at Thatta. After his death that year the appointment was given to Shamsheer Khan Arsalan Beg Uzbek, who held charge of Sehwan with the rank of 3000

who did not take up the appointment. Therefore Muzaffer Khan Mir Abd al-Razzak Mamuri continued to look after affairs in Thatta.

Khan-i Dauran Shah Beg Khan Arghun, a Turanian, who was *subedar* of Kabul and Bangash, was reported to the Emperor Jahangir to be old and in poor health, and unfit for the active duty of keeping the unruly Afghans under control. Therefore he was promoted to the rank of 6000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar*, and appointed *subedar* of Thatta in 1026/1617 (Jahangir, 1627; 397). He had begun his career in the service of Mirza Hakim, brother of Emperor Akbar and ruler of Kabul. He sought employment with Akbar after the death of Mirza Hakim and joined the Mughal army that conquered Thatta. Later he was appointed Governor of Kandahar by Akbar.

Muzaffer Khan Mir Abd al-Razzak Mamuri was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1027 AD 1618 with the rank of 2500 *zat* and 1000 *sawar*.

Khan-i Dauran Shah Beg Khan, with the rank of 6000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar*, was again appointed Governor of Thatta in 1028/1619, but he retired the same year due to old age.

Mustafa Khan Sayyid Bayazid Bukhari, an Indian Muslim who was *farajdar* of Bhakkar was promoted *subedar* of Thatta in 1029/1620 with the rank of 2000 *zat* and 1500 *sawar* (Jahangir, 1627; 155). In 1031/1622, he received the appointment as *hakim* of Thatta and received the title of Mustafa (Jahangir, 1627; 233).

In March 1622, the Emperor Jahangir ordered his son Shah Jahan to lead the army, which was being organised to help the Timurid garrison in Kandahar, which was under attack from Shah Abbas of Persia. Shah Jahan refused to leave Deccan unless he was given the sole command of the army. Jahangir thus had to shelve the plan for Kandahar, which fell into Persian hands, and he moved south to confront Shah Abbas. He sent his third son, Prince Parviz, with an army under the command of Mahabat Khan, which defeated Shah Jahan near Sikri. The imperial army kept pursuing him for next three years till he sued for peace in 1625.

After Bukhari died in 1034/1624, Prince Shahryar was appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 30000 *zat* and 8000 *sawar*. Shah Jahan visited Thatta as a fugitive and was welcomed by the population but Nawab Sharif al-Mulk, *naib* (deputy) of Prince Shahryar at



Tomb of Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan II at Makli.

Thatta, attempted to resolve the struggle for succession by training his heavy guns on Shah Jahan. At one point he had him in sight but his failure to aim correctly led him in anger to pluck out one of his own eyeballs, which gave him the name of one-eyed Sharif Khan.

In 1036/1626, Emperor Jahangir appointed Abu Saeed, an Iranian, the nephew of Empress Nur Jahan, as *subedar* of Thatta (Jahangir 1627; 228).

On the death of Jahangir on the way to Lahore, Shah Jahan's father-in-law, Asaf Khan, acted swiftly. He placed Queen Nur Jahan under guard and rescued the two sons of Shah Jahan who had been kept as hostages. Abul Muzaffar Shihab al-Din Muhammad, *Sahib-i-Qiran-i-Sani*, Shah Jahan Padshah Ghazi (Harbinger of Victory Flame of Faith Muhammad Lord of Heavenly Conjunction the second King of the World Holy Warrior King) ascended the throne in the Akbarabad Fort on Monday, 8 Jumada II 1037/14 February 1628.

Shah Jahan appointed Isa Tarkhan II, who had helped him during the succession struggle, as *subedar* of Thatta in 1037/1628 with the rank of 4000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawar*, but the emperor was persuaded to replace him with Sher Khawaja Baqi Khan, an Iranian, as *subedar* with



the rank of 4000 *zat* and 3500 *sawar* (Lahori, I, 181; 200). However, Sher Khawaja died on the way to Thatta.

After the death of Sher Khawaja, Mir Husam al-Din Anju, an Iranian who had helped Shah Jahan when he had rebelled against his father, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 4000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar* and a cash gift of 50,000 and the title of Murtaza Khan. Isa Tarkhan was posted as *faujdar* of Mathura (Lahori, I; 230). Murtaza Khan Anju however, died before he could settle in Thatta, in 1039/1630.

Amir Khan Mir Abul Baqa, another Iranian, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in 1039/1630 with the rank of 2,500 *zat* and 1,500 *sawar*.

He was the ablest of the many sons of Qasim Khan Namkin, and has been based in Bhakkar as the deputy *subedar* of Multan for Asaf Khan, the father-in-law of the emperor, since 1037/1628. He had been deputed by Shah Jahan on his succession to the throne to punish those who had mistreated him during his visit to Sindh. Amir Khan had received the title of Mir Khan from Emperor Jahanagir. Emperor Shah Jahan added an alif to his title and made him Amir Khan. He was followed by a string of Mughal governors and administrators, most of whom are known only by their rank and the periods during which they held office.

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

Khawas Khan Daulat Khan Mayi, an Indian Muslim of the Bham tribe from Punjab, replaced Yusuf Muhammad Khan Tashqandi as *subedar* of Thatta in 1045/1635 with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*. He received the title of Khawas Khan from Emperor Jahangir and that of Daulat Khan from Emperor Shah Jahan.

He was replaced in 1050/1640 by Khwaja Kamgar Ghayrat Khan, a Turanian, as *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*. He received the title of Ghayrat Khan from Shah Jahan and was the author of *Jahangirnama*. He died the same year and is buried at Makli in Thatta.

Shad Khan, a Turanian, who was *hakim* of Bhakkar, was made *subedar* of Thatta in 1050/1641 with the rank of 2000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*. In 1052/1642-3, he was posted as nazim of Sistan and Amir Khan, son of Qasim Khan Namkin who was then *hakim* of Sistan, was again appointed *subedar* of Thatta with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.

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

The future emperor Aurangzeb became the *subedar* of Multan and Sindh in AH 1059/AD 1649 with the rank of 15000 *zat* and 12000 *sawar*, and Mughal Khan became his *naib* in Thatta in 1061/1652. Khuda Banda was appointed *bakshi* and *waqai nawis* of Thatta in 1062/1652.



Emperor Shahjahan. Painted at Agra, AD 1640.

Sardar Khan Shahjahani, a Turanian, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in 1063/1653 but he died on the way to Thatta.

Zafar Khan Khawaja Ahsanullah, an Iranian, was appointed *naib* of Thatta in 1063/1653 with the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2500 *sawar*. He was promoted to 3000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar* in 1065/1655. He was an excellent poet and also patronised poets. He twice served in Kashmir and also retired there.

Prince Sipar Shukoh became *subedar* of Thatta in 1066/1656 with the rank of 8000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*. Muhammad Ali Khan was made the *naib subedar* with the rank of 2000 *zat* and 1000 *sawar*.

When Muhammad Ali Khan died in 1067/1657, Saiyid Ibrahim took over as *naib subedar* of Thatta, and Mir Abd al-Hai replaced Mir Jalal as *diwan* of Thatta.

In September 1657, Shah Jahan fell seriously ill. This led to a fight for succession between his sons. On 29 May 1658, the armies of Aurangzeb and his younger brother, Murad, defeated Dara Shikoh at Samugarh, eight miles east of Agra. Shah Jahan was confined to his marble quarters in the Agra Fort. Crown Prince Dara fled to Sindh, but on his way to Iran he accepted the hospitality of Malik Jivan, a Baloch *sardar*, who seized him and delivered him to Qabad Khan Mir Akhur, a Turanian, who had been appointed by Emperor Aurangzeb to follow Dara Shikoh and take charge of Thatta.

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

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

Izzat Khan Sayyid Abd al-Razzak Gilani, known as Izzat Pir, who had been *faujdar* of Bhakkar, was appointed *subedar* of Thatta in AH 1078 with the rank of 3500 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aurangzeb died on Friday 20 February or 3 March 1707, and having been buried near Daulatabad was succeeded by Bahadur Shah I (1707-1712).

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

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

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

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

Khwaja Muhammad Khalil Khan was *subedar* of Thatta in 1124/1712.

When Bahadur Shah I died in 1713, Jahandar Shah succeeded to the throne and was followed by Farrukhsiyar (1713-19) as emperor.

Atr Khan, son of the former *subedar* Saeed Khan, was *subedar* of Thatta in 1125/1713. He left the government in the hands of Yaqub Kashmiri which created great resentment.

Mir Muhammad Shafi, a descendant of Mir Muhammad Yusuf Miri Bhakkari, fought and killed Atr Khan. He was confirmed as governor with the title of Shujaat Khan. He was a brave and able administrator and a writer and poet. He is known as Mir Lutf Ali Khan. He was *subedar* of Thatta in 1127/1715.



Aurangzeb Alamgir fully armed and mounted, c. 1660. Mughal.

Azam Khan was *subedar* of Thatta from 1128/1716 to 1132/1719. Mahabat Khan, an excellent poet, was *subedar* of Thatta from 1132/1719 to 1135/1722.

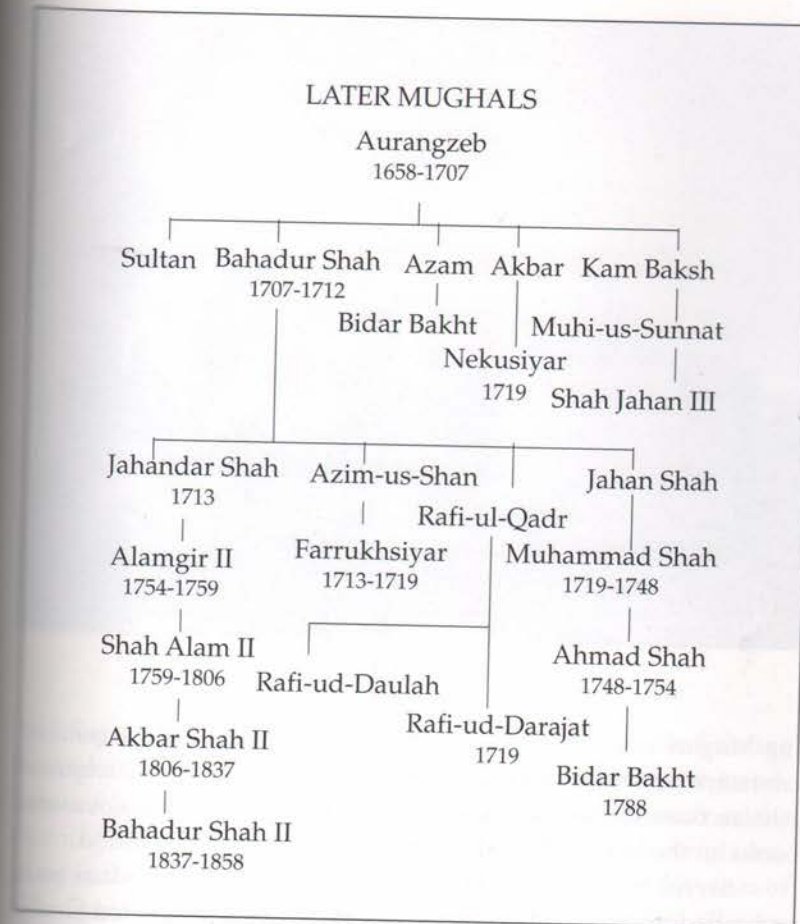
In 1719 Nekusiyar became emperor, followed in the same year by Muhammad Shah (1719-49)

Sultan Mahmood Khan, son of Mahabat Khan, was *subedar* of Thatta from 1135/1722 to 1137/1724.

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

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

The province of Thatta was granted to Amir Khan as a reward, and he gave it out on contract against guaranteed payment. First to take up the contract was Himmet Dilerdil Khan, from 1145/1732 to 1149/1736. He was the son of former governor Dilerdil Khan. The



second contractor was Sadiq Ali Khan from 1149/1736 to 1150/1737. He was the son of former *subedar* Saifullah Khan, but being unable to make any profit, he in turn contracted it out to Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad, son of Shaikh Aziz Allah, the agent of Khuda Yar Khan Kalhora.

In all over sixty governors were appointed by the Mughals over Thatta. "The period of direct Mughal rule over Sindh, was particularly conspicuous for the advancement of art and literature. Nawabs Amir Khan, Abu Nusrat Khan, Hifz Allah Khan, Amin al-Din Khan, Ahmad Yar Khan, Mahabat Khan, Sayf Allah Khan, Dilerdil Khan and Mir Lutf Ali Khan, who occupied the high rank of *subedars* at Thatta dur-



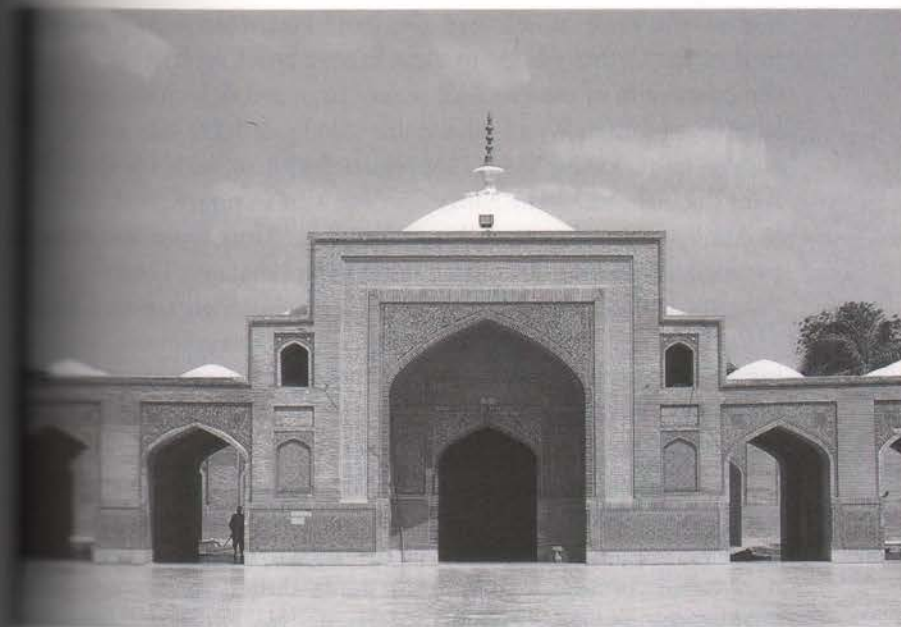
Tomb complex of Mir Masum.

ing Mughal rule, were great scholars of their time. They patronised contemporary Persian scholars of Sindh, and brought several esteemed scholars from outside" (Sadarangani, 1987; 18-19). Some of the major source books on the history of Sindh were compiled during this period.

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

Idraki Beglar wrote *Chanesar Nama* in c. 1010/1601. Sayyid Tahir Muhammad Nasyani wrote a history of Thatta known as *Tarikh-i-Tahir* in 1030/1621. *Beglar Nama* was compiled in c. 1030/1621 by Amir Abul Qasim Beglar. Yusuf Mirak wrote *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* in 1044/1634, and Sayyid Jamal wrote *Tarkahan Nama* in 1065/1655.

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



Mosque of Shahjahan at Thatta.

Sayyid Abd al-Karim or Shah Karim of Bulri, who lived during the Arghun and Mughal rule (AD 1536-1623) was a great-great-grandfather of Shah Abdul Latif. He has been described as Chaucer or the Morning Star of Sindhi Literature. About a hundred of his verses composed in the language of Lar or Lower Sindh, and, a few of the verses of the Qazin which Shah Karim used to recite, were inscribed six years after his death by a devotee in a Persian book, and have thus come down to us.

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

Alexander Hamilton who visited Thatta in AD 1699, wrote, "The news of a Victory that I had over three Sanganian Pirates at Sea, on my voyage from Malabar to Lahri Bunder, had reached Thatta, before the second skirmish by Land, so that when I came to Thatta, we were received with Acclamations from the Populace, and the better Sort vis-

ited us with Presents of Sweet-meats and Fruits, ascribing the safe arrival of the Caffila wholly to our Courage and Conduct Thatta is the Emporium of the Province, a very large and rich city ... and has a large Citadel on its West End, capable of lodging 5000 Men and Horses and has barracks and Stables convenient for them, with a place built up for the Nabob The Kings Gardens were in pretty good condition in Anno 1699 and were well stored with excellent Fruits and Flowers, particularly the most delicious Pomegranates that ever I tasted The Religion, by Law established, is Mahometan; but there are ten Gentlemen or Pagans for one Musulman. But the city of Thatta is famous for Learning in Theology, Philology and Politicks, and they have above five hundred Colleges for training up Youth in those Parts of Learning" (Hamilton, 1930; 78).

Increasing silting of the main Indus channel in the second half of the seventeenth century led to a gradual abandonment of Thatta and Lohari Bander as sea-ports. While the Mughals tried to create a new port which they called Auranga Bander, most trade shifted to two new ports, Shahbandar and Kharakbandar. After the last Mughal Governor of Thatta handed over power in 1150/1737 to Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora, Thatta lost its political ascendancy, and Makli its architectural and spiritual hegemony in Sindh, as the Kalhoras who were themselves religious leaders, established a new spiritual and political capital at Khudabad. Although Thatta had started declining, its merchants, particularly the Bhatias, remained very active in Muscat, where they erected the first Hindu temple in the city. They seem also to have extended their activities in the Gulf to new areas, such as the Bahrain Islands.

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

13

The Kalhoras



Nadir Shah's 10-shahi silver piece minted in Sindh.

The Kalhoras were migrants from Kech in Makran where the first headquarter of Arabs on Indian soil was established in AH 23/AD 644, during the caliphate of Umar I.

The ancestor of Kalhora, Mian Odhana, lived a saintly life in Kech and his descendants were known as Odhani. When the Odhani migrated to Sindh they became Sayyid (members of Prophet's family) and claimed descent from Prophet's uncle Abbas. They also became followers of Sayyid Muhammad, originally from Jaunpur in India, and known as Miran Mehdi, who had come to Sindh in 1495 and again in 1504, during the reign of Jam Nizam al-Din.

One of them called Channey Khan called on the Governor of Multan with a box full of precious gifts, but his companions, who were jealous of him replaced it with stones and earth. Therefore when the box was opened before the governor he was annoyed to see these things, but Channey Khan immediately improvised and said that they were the most precious treasures of his family, the stones being the ones which sat in the hand of the Prophet (PBUH) and acted as a witness to the truth of his message before Abu Jahal, and that the earth belonged to the holy places at Mecca, Medina, Najaf and Karbala. The Governor

of Multan was pleased to hear this and awarded land and the title of Jam to Channey Khan.

On his death the family was split between his son Daud Khan and Ibrahim, son of his son Muhammad Mehdi. The descendants of Daud Khan became known as Daud Potra or Daudpota, while the descendants of Ibrahim, who was called Kalhore Khan for adopting a separate path became known as the Kalhora.

The Kalhoras found themselves a martyr in c. AD 1600. The leader Adam Shah paid a visit to Multan where he developed a large following which evoked jealousy. His neighbours filed complaints against him with the governor, who had him arrested and later killed. His jailer who had become his devotee during his imprisonment, brought his body to Sukkur and buried it to the west of Sukkur on a cliff on the road to Shikarpur. His family and followers settled there. As they multiplied and their following expanded, they repeatedly came into conflict with their neighbours and often brought on themselves the wrath of Mughal officials. Mian Shah Ali or Shahil Muhammad, son of Mian Daud son of Adam Shah, dug the Ghar Cannal in Larkana on land belonging to the Sangi and Abra tribes and gave it to his devotees, which resulted in fighting in which he was killed. His grave is in Mauza Marhanda in Pargana Khari near Chanduka, on which a tomb was built in AH 1188 by Mian Ghulam Shah. He was succeeded by his nephew Mian Naseer Muhammad, son of Ilyas, son of Daud, son of Adam Shah in 1068/1657. He repeatedly came in conflict with the Panwhars, the Mughals of Bakkhar and the Afghans of Sibi. He was arrested and imprisoned in Delhi from where he escaped when he was being shifted to Gwalior Jail. He died in 1103/1692 and was buried on a cliff in Mauza Khari.

He had three sons, Din Muhammad, Yar Muhammad and Mir Muhammad, who captured Fathpur, a town belonging to the Panwhar tribe. They complained to the Mughal authorities, who deputed Mirza Khan Panni, Hakim of Sibi to help the Panwhars, but he failed to evict the Kalhoras. Mughal Governor of Multan sent Shaikh Jahan to address the grievances of the Panwhar but the Kalhora defeated and killed Shaikh Jahan. This victory encouraged them to attack Mathela and Uchch which brought in the Governor of Multan, Prince Muiz al-Din, who ordered the destruction of the Kalhoras. Mian Din Muhammad was killed but his brother, Mian Yar Muhammad, escaped to Kalat.

When the Brahuis allowed him to stay provided that he surrendered his son Mian Nur Muhammad and Mian Muhammad Khan as hostages.

Meanwhile, the Mughals required someone to guard and administer the passes of Ganjaba and Sibi, and to keep open the lines of communication to Kandahar, where the Mughals were playing the old game of destabilising the Safawid Empire. The Governor of Sibi, Mian Khan, had been killed. First Ghazi Khan and then Malik Al-Bukh were appointed in his place, but both failed. At this moment Mian Yar Muhammad won over the Mughal Prince Muiz al-Din, the grandson of Emperor Aurangzeb, and the future Emperor Jahandar Shah. He was made Governor of Sibi and received the title of Khuda Yar Khan from the Mughal Emperor.

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

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

Two years later in AD 1739, Nadir Shah, the last great Asian conqueror, invaded India and under the treaty of 26 May 1739 annexed all the territory west of the Indus and the Hakra River, which has since dried-up. After 1500 years, Sindh once again became part of an Iranian Empire, and was cut off from the rest of India where the Mughal Empire, though it ceased to be an effective power, continued to provide the legal framework for Indian politics till AD 1857. After the sack of

Delhi and a retreat into the highlands of Afghanistan for the summer months, Nadir Shah descended on Sindh the following winter. At the Mian Nur Muhammad fled to Umarkot, but Nadir Shah pursued him and was at the gates of Umarkot early one morning before Mian Nur Muhammad could take off into the desert.



Iranian conqueror Nadir Shah.

After Nadir Shah was assassinated in AD 1747, Ahmad Khan Abdali, who commanded the Afghan and Uzbek contingents of the Persian army, captured a caravan carrying part of the spoils of Delhi, including the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond. This helped him to acquire the allegiance of the Afghan tribes, who chose him as their king at Kandahar with the title of Dur-i-Duran (The Pearl of the Age). For the first time, Afghanistan became a distinct political unit ruled by an independent native sovereign, Ahmad Shah Durrani (AD 1747-1772), who conferred the title of Shahanshah.

Mian surrendered and presented himself before Nadir Shah with his hands tied as an offender. He saved himself by paying ten million rupees to his captor, who took with him two sons of Mian to Iran as security for good behaviour by the Kalhoras. However, Nadir Shah conferred Shikarpur on his rivals, the Daudpotas, handed over Sibi to an Afghan chief and left the rest to Mian Nur Muhammad, on whom he conferred the title of 'Shah Kal Khan'. Mian Nur Muhammad shifted his capital from Khudabad to Muhammadabad and attempted to recover his losses by levying tributes on the Hindu chiefs living to the south of his kingdom and attacking and enslaving them when they failed to meet his demands.

After Nadir Shah was



Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah.

After the death of Mian Nur Muhammad and demanded tribute from Sindh. In 1168/1755 Ahmad Shah came to Sindh and occupied Muhammadabad, the Kalhora capital. Mian Nur Muhammad once again fled to the desert country in the east and sent his financier, Diwan Khwaja, to conciliate the King. He died in the desert near Jaisalmer.

During the Mughal Period, revenue collecting was generally entrusted to non-Muslims. The accession of Hindus to high functions in the revenue collecting apparatus of the state led to the rise of Hindu merchants, who dominated trade. In any case there were not many opportunities of employment open to the Hindus, and therefore, they had to turn to trading. Under the Mughals they had developed a flourishing trade between India, Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia. The direct trading route was from Peshawar to Kabul, and from there to Bukhara, but the mountainous terrain often became impassable in winter. Therefore, most of them travelled by the southern route from Shikarpur in Sindh to Kandahar and Herat in Afghanistan on their way to Bukhara. Others took the sea route to Bushire in Iran from Thatta.

With the rise of Indo-Afghan Empire in the eighteenth century, the most favoured route between Afghanistan and northern India was through Balochistan and the Bolan Pass, which linked Quetta with

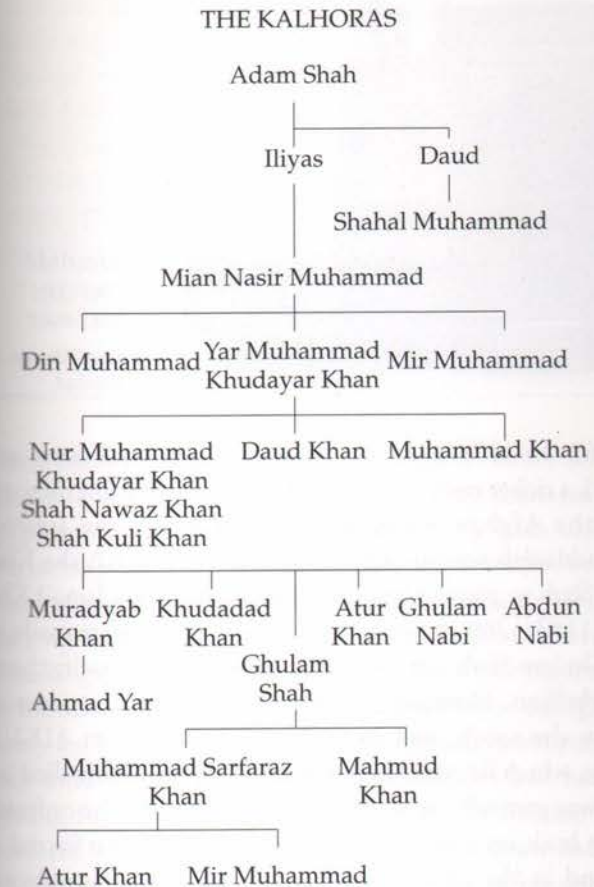
Upper Sindh, and connected it with the routes crossing the Thar Desert to Jaisalmer and Bikaner. Also, one of the most populous and influential Hindu mercantile communities outside India was located in Kandahar, so that Afghan administered Shikarpur emerged as the most important financial centres of the entire Durrani dominions, with banking houses eventually dominating financial transactions over a vast area comprising not only Afghanistan, but parts of Iran and Central Asia. It was also an important trade emporium, but its position in trade was not as prominent as it was in finance.



Coin of Ahmad Shah Durrani, founder of Afghanistan.

Due to the efforts of the Hindu financier, Diwan Gidumal, the Afghan King appointed Muradyab Khan, the eldest son of Mian Nur Muhammad, as the new ruler and conferred the title of Nawab Sarbalah Khan on him. The Afghan King took his brother Atur Khan with him as security. Muradyab could not fulfil the financial demands of the Afghan King negotiated by Gidumal, and he therefore decided to collect all the treasure that he could lay his hands on and flee across the sea to Muscat. The Kalhora chiefs heard of his plans and arrested him along with his favourites on the night of 10 Zil Hijj 1170/1757, replacing him with his brother, Ghulam Shah. The Afghan King did not look kindly upon these developments, and appointed another brother, Atur Khan, who was at the Afghan court as Amir of Sindh.

When the chiefs came to know that their action had displeased the Afghan King, they released Muradyab Khan and withdrew support from Ghulam Shah, who sought refuge in Udaipur and later went to Bahawalpur to await an opportunity to return. A few months later, Ghulam Shah suddenly appeared in Sindh with a selected band of soldiers whom he had gathered round him in exile, and put to flight both Atur Khan and Ahmadyar Khan, who was the son of Muradyab Khan. An Afghan army arrived to help Atur Khan regain Sindh but Ghulam Shah was not to be cowed down. After a number of indecisive battles, the combatants agreed to divide Sindh in three. Ghulam Shah accepted his share and left to take charge of his estate. However, Atur Khan and Ahmadyar Khan developed differences regarding the division, and



Ghulam Shah found in this an opportunity to bring the whole country under his rule.

Ghulam Shah was finally recognised and received the title of Shah of Sindh from the Afghan King in 1175/1762, in return for the promise of a regular yearly tribute. This he met by conducting raids and plundering the infidels. In 1176/1762, Ghulam Shah marched on Sindh, killed 6,000 Hindus, plundered the villages, town and ports and returned with an enormous amount of booty on 2nd of Rajab



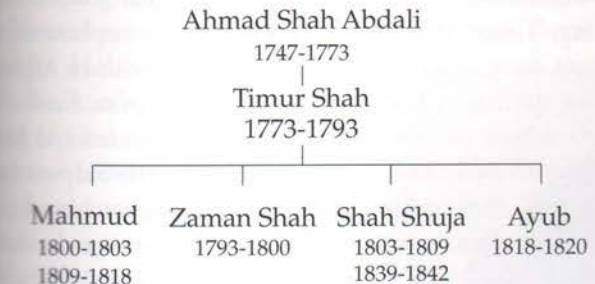
Tomb of Ghulam Shah in Hyderabad.

1177/1763. In 1178/1765, he attacked Kutch once more and again came back a richer man. The presents that he sent from these two raids pleased the Afghan King, who awarded him the fresh title of Samsamuddaulah (sword of the state). In 1181/1767, the King named Ghulam Shah to pacify Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan.

In 1183/1769 the governors of these places were made subordinate to Ghulam Shah, who was once again asked to pacify them due to a fresh rebellion. However, Ghulam Shah found it prudent to move further to the south, and to build a new capital in 1182/1769 at Nerunkot, which he renamed Hyderabad. He suddenly died in 1186/1772. It was generally believed that he died because he ordered a mausoleum to be built on a hillock in Hyderabad which was sacred to Saint Makai, and in the process razed a large number of tombs of saintly followers.

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

THE DURRANI DYNASTY



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

The infighting between the Kalhoras and the Talpurs had depleted the revenues of Sindh to such an extent that Sindh was not able to meet the annual tribute fixed by the Afghan king. He was therefore

incited to act on the grounds that the reins of government had come into the hands of a Talpur chief (Mir Bijar), who had become too powerful and headstrong to pay tribute to the Afghan government. The Afghan king, Timur Shah, sent Izzatyar Khan, a nephew of Abd al-Nabi Khan, along with an Afghan army under Mahfuz Khan to Sindh. The Afghan army was defeated and Shikarpur was occupied by the Talpurs in 1781. Now the Afghan king himself arrived in Sindh to avenge the defeat and restore the prestige of the Afghan crown. He received an unequivocal apology from Mir Bijar, who presented himself before the king, who confirmed Mian Abd al-Nabi as ruler of Sindh and asked him to be regular with the tribute. Soon after, Mir Bijar was killed by assassins who gained access to him by pretending to be envoys of the Raja of Jodhpur. That night Mian Abd al-Nabi fled from his palace, and the Talpurs placed Sada Ali Fakir, an obscure member of the Kalhora clan, on the throne.



Tomb of Ghulam Nabi Khan
at Hyderabad.

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

Mian Abd al-Nabi now applied to his sovereign, the Afghan King, who directed Sardar Madad Khan who was in Bahawalpur with a large Afghan army collecting tribute for the Afghan King, to punish the Talpurs, since they had rebelled against his appointed government in Sindh. Sardar Madad Khan overran and ravaged the whole province

and stayed for as long as he could rob Sindh and its people of their wealth, then left, leaving Abd al-Nabi to face the Talpurs. The Talpurs, having avoided giving battle to the Afghans by retreating to Umarkot in the desert beyond, came back. Mian Abd al-Nabi threw himself at their mercy. He sent a copy of the Holy Quran with the following words in his handwriting, "I hereby commit to writing and swear by the word of God that henceforth, I shall remain true to the mir and will not prove treacherous." Mir Abd Allah Khan kissed the book, placed his head and turned to Mir Fateh Ali and said, "I may soon join my grandfather and father and uncle, I leave my children to your care."

With the Afghan threat looming large, the Talpurs felt that they had to place Abd al-Nabi on the throne rather than incur the displeasure of their Afghan sovereign by assuming power themselves. The forebodings of Mir Abd Allah Khan, proved correct. Mian Abd al-Nabi visited the Talpur chief at his residence alone and unarmed, challenging Mir Abd Allah to come to his court in the same manner to show his confidence in him.

The embarrassed Talpur chief complied and was promptly murdered. Once again a battle was fought between the Kalhoras and the Talpurs, which led to the defeat of the Kalhoras. The Kalhora chief, Mian Abd al-Nabi, went to Kalat to seek help from the Khan of Kalat for the third time but was disappointed. Thereafter, Mian Abd al-Nabi went to the court of the Afghan King, followed by the ambassadors of the Talpur Mirs. The initial reaction of the Afghan King was to divide Sindh between the Kalhoras and the Talpurs, and to appoint a force under the command of Bostan Khan to arbitrate between the parties and enforce the decision. However, the ambassadors of the Mirs, with a larger purse and promise of more to come, were able to persuade the Afghan King to issue a *sanad* in their favour.

The anarchy and bloodshed of the Kalhora period "saw a sudden change in the people's outlook on life, in their thought and literature. The stoical way in which the people bore the blows of cruel fate marked the emergence of Sufism, which thence forward influenced their literature and way of life" (Sadarangani, 1987; 83). There was widespread participation of members of the two major religious communities in the worship of the saints belonging to the other community. The protection extended by the pirs over murids could be extremely useful socially and even economically.

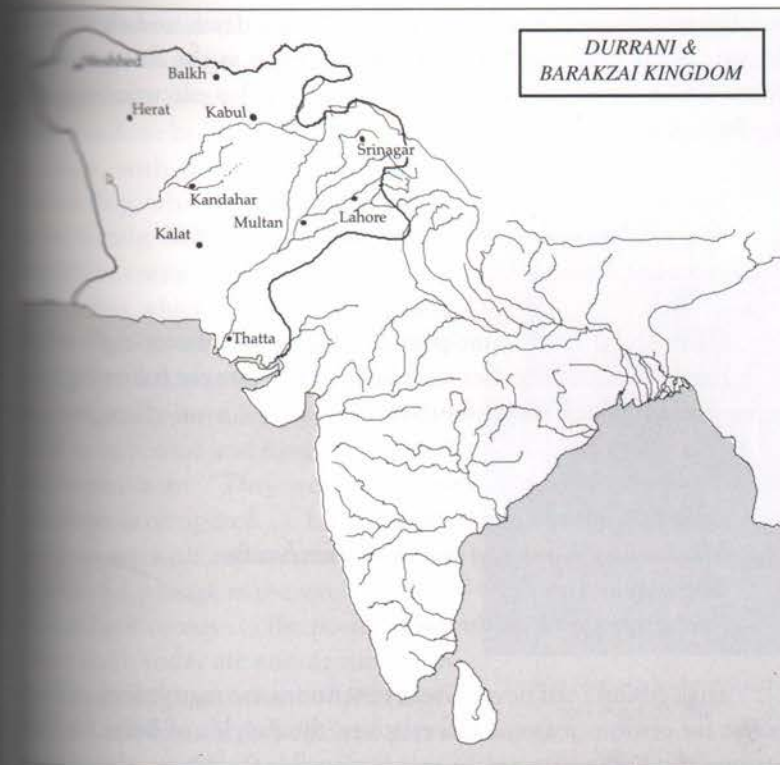
This was one reaction; the other was the emergence of the Naqshbandiyya order which had worked out a close integration between Sufism and theology, and was against *Bi-shar* (irreligious) Sufism which had absorbed Hindu practices and mixed music and dancing with orthodox ritual. This conflict led to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

The ancestors of Shah Inayat had come from Baghdad and settled in Uchch. He was born in 1065/1655 at Jhok in the Pargana Bathoro, east of Hyderabad. This place was also called Miranpur after Miran Mahdi Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur. Shah Inayat travelled around in India in search of a spiritual guide. He found one in Deccan in Shah Abd al-Malik Qadiri, who died in Bijapur in 1111/1699. Abd Malik sent him to Shah Ghulam Muhammad in Delhi for further training. His teacher was so impressed by him that he followed him to Thatta and publicly prostrated before him, whereupon orthodox theologians of Thatta took objection and declared Shah Inayat and his friend, heretics.

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

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

Ata Thattawi called Shah Inayat *inadi* (the rebellious), compared him with Shivaji, the Hindu Maratha leader and termed him a threat



to the Mughal Empire. When Nawab Azam Khan, a Sayyid, took over as the new Mughal Governor of Thatta in 1128/1716, he was concerned that Shah Inayat was gathering troops to rebel against the Mughal Empire. He was persuaded to call upon the dervishes to pay tax to the Mughal Empire, and when they refused he called for troops to attack Jhok. The Kalhoras, who owed their rise to the Mahdawiyya order were extremely intolerant of other sects or orders which posed even the least challenge to them. They arrived with a large force and besieged the town of Jhok which resisted them for two months. Shah Inayat was preparing to attack the invaders on 9 Safar 1130/1 January 1718 when the Kalhora chief sent Shahdad Khan Talpur with the Holy Quran, to advise him to engage in peace talks. However, when he called on the Kalhora chief, Mian Yar Muhammad, for talks, he was arrested, brought to Thatta and presented to the Mughal governor. He was questioned and beheaded a few days later on 15 Saffar 1130/7 January 1718. Dur-

ing his trial Shah Inayat appeared to long for death and therefore known as the Hallaj of Sindh and is venerated as the *Sartaj-i-Sabz* (Crowned head of the Sufis). His last words to his executioner were the following verse:

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

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

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

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

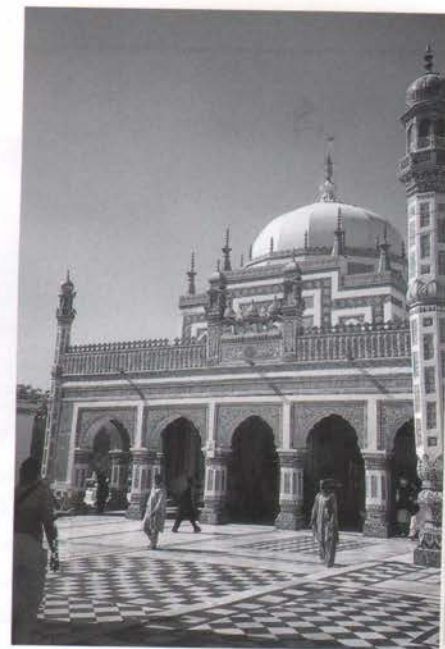
One reason for the immense popularity of this saint-poet is the use of the folk tales and folk music of Sindh for his poetry—the foundations for which had been laid down during the Arghun and Tarkhan periods. He went round from place to place collecting them and wrote in a language that was a mixture of Punjabi, Balochi, Saraiki, Kachhi, Lari, Thareli, Brahui, Rajasthani and Hindavi, which befits a Sufi poet belonging to an immigrant family. Shah's desert melodies were an unique contribution to the vernacular literature of South Asia. They made him the representative of the folk culture of Sindh, which was of interest to European visitors and the colonial masters, who were looking for diversity to break the monopoly of the Persian Arabic culture that pervaded the Muslim world from Istanbul to Delhi.

This was also of interest to the Hindus. It is therefore not surprising that till independence almost all the work on Sindh was done by Europeans and Hindu scholars, with the exception of Mirza Asad Beg, who belonged to an immigrant family, and was employed by the British to create a Sindhi language in a new script which would be acceptable to the Persian-educated elite of Sindh. Their first task was to write down what was originally intended by Shah Abdul Latif to be recited and sung to a musical accompaniment. "They were not written down as composed. ... It is often difficult to say with any accuracy whether a particular passage is the work of Shah Abdul Latif or not ... the poems as we know them today are not identical with the verses that came from the lips of Shah Abdul Latif himself as he recited them.

They are instead the verses as subsequently written down by others, learned by them, and edited by them" (Sorley, 1940; 224).

Mir Ali Sher Qani calls Shah Abd al-Latif an *Ummi* (illiterate). There is no proof that Shah received regular education nor his handwriting has been found anywhere. The oldest manuscript of his work is named after Akhund Faiz Ali and dates from 1852. There are thirty-two versions of *Shah jo-Risalo* in manuscript form with considerable variation between them. For example, the number of *surs* vary from 17 to 41. Moreover, the number of sections in each *sur* are also not uniform, nor the order of the *surs* the same in all manuscripts. The earliest edition of *Shah jo-Risalo* was published by the German missionary Ernst Hump in 1866.

Shah Abd al-Latif was born in 1102/1689, in a Sayyid family which came from Herat with Amir Timur. "It was characteristic of much of the learning of those days that writers belonged largely to families that had immigrated into Sindh" (Sorley, 1940; 209). When the



Tomb of Shah Abdul Latif, saint-poet of Sindh, Bhit.



Diwan Khas at Hyderabad Fort.

Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb died in AD 1707. Shah Abdul Latif was eighteen. He was fifty when Nadir Shah invaded India and Sindh was ceded to Persia. The Mughal Emperor compared with his predecessor Shah Inayat, and with Shah Sarmast who was to follow him, Shah Abdul Latif was not at all a revolutionary.

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

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

Sindh produced a galaxy of poets and writers during the Kalhora and Mughal Periods. Mir Ali Sher Qani (1728-1789) was a court poet of Mian Nur Muhammad and Ghulam Shah. He was the author of a number of books of Persian prose and poetry including *Tuhfat al-Karim* and *Maklinama*. What is more, the Kalhora ruler Sarfaraz Khan was an accomplished poet in Persian, Urdu and Sindhi.

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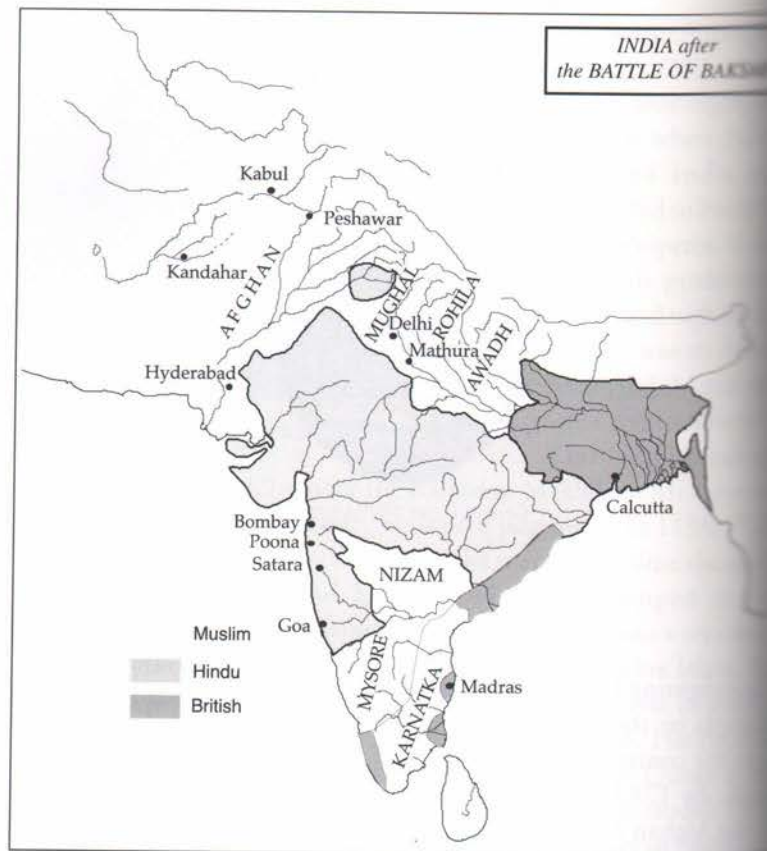
The Talpurs



Coin of Timur Shah Durrani.

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

After suppressing the rebellion in Balkh, Timur Shah sent an army under the Barakzai chief, Payndah Khan, to Sindh in 1205/ 1790. The Afghans went back after Mir Fateh Ali agreed to pay the tribute that the Kalhoras had paid to Ahmad Shah. Mir Fateh Ali applied to the Afghan King for the return of Karachi from the Khan of Kalat, who



had occupied it in lieu of payment promised by Abd al-Nabi Kalhan for providing a Brahui army to fight the Talpurs. The Afghan King directed the Khan of Kalat to return Karachi to the Talpurs, which he did in 1207/1792.

Timur Shah died in AD 1793, leaving twenty-three sons, of whom the fifth, Zaman Shah, ascended the throne with the help of the Barakzai chief, Payndah Khan. Humayun Mirza, the eldest son, marched from Kandahar to dispute the succession but was defeated at Kalat-i-Ghalib and fled to the protection of Nasir Khan of Kalat. However upon the approach of the Afghan army, Humayun was betrayed, captured, and blinded. Zaman Shah decided to invade Sindh, and had reached the Bolan Pass when he heard that his brother Mahmud Mirza, who was

governor of Herat, was planning to attack him from the rear while he was involved in the Sindh campaign. Zaman Shah agreed to receive from Mir Fateh Ali 3 lakhs, on account of arrears of tribute and turned back to face and defeat Mahmud Mirza and capture Herat.

In 1796, Zaman Shah crossed Indus to invade India when the news of the capture of Mashhad by the Iranians reached him. After the Iranians withdrew, Zaman Shah once again invaded India and reached Lahore in January 1797. He was preparing to march on Delhi when news of the appearance of Mahmud Mirza at Farah with a large force backed by Iranians, forced him to return. Mahmud Mirza once again fled to Tehran. Meanwhile the Sikhs had defeated the Afghan garrison, killed the governor and captured Lahore. They vacated Lahore at the approach of Zaman Shah and petitioned him to appoint a Sikh as the governor of Lahore. Zaman Shah appointed nineteen year old Ranjit Singh to Lahore and his brother Shuja-ul-Mulk to Peshawar, and hurried back to Herat which was being threatened by Fath Ali Shah. The latter had expressed his resolve to the Afghan envoy to restore the boundaries of Iran to those of the Safawi period when Herat and Kandahar belonged to Iran.

After receiving the *sanad* from Zaman Shah, Mir Fateh Ali divided Sindh into seven parts. He assigned Khairpur to his uncle Mir Miran, and Mirpur Khas to his cousin Mir Tharo. He kept the major part for himself and his younger brothers, Ghulam Ali, Karam Ali and Ahmad Ali, who jointly ruled from Hyderabad.

Mir Fateh Ali died in 1216/1801 and was buried at Khudabad. On his deathbed he appointed his brother, Mir Ghulam Ali as his successor.

In 1799, the Afghan Chiefs plotted to replace Zaman Shah with his brother Shuja-ul-Mulk. The conspiracy was betrayed and the Barakzai chief Payndah Khan was executed. Considering his position strengthened by the execution, Zaman Shah marched on Peshawar which had rebelled. The sons of the Barakzai chief, who were twenty-one in number, fled to Khurasan and persuaded his brother Mahmud Mirza to make another attempt to depose King Zaman Shah. Mahmud Mirza occupied the Afghan throne in 1800 and appointed Fath Khan, the eldest Barakzai brother, as his *wazir*. Mahmud Mirza was in turn deposed by another brother, Shuja Mirza, in 1218/1803. Shah Shuja

invaded Sindh the same year. The people of Sindh were so frightened that most of them deserted their towns and villages and fled to the sandy desert of Thar (Baig, 1902; 209). Mir Ghulam Ali marched to Larkana and sent his envoys to the king, offering to pay one million rupees immediately and a tribute of five hundred thousand rupees every year. The offer was accepted, and the Afghan King marched back to Kabul.



Shah Shuja.

though he was made to cede the district of Sabzalgarh. Mir Ghulam Ali died in 1227/1811 of wounds inflicted by a deer that he had shot on a hunt.

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

Meanwhile, a European power had emerged as the imperial power in India. Europe slaughtered most of its livestock each winter as the barren fields could not feed them. Therefore, they required spices from

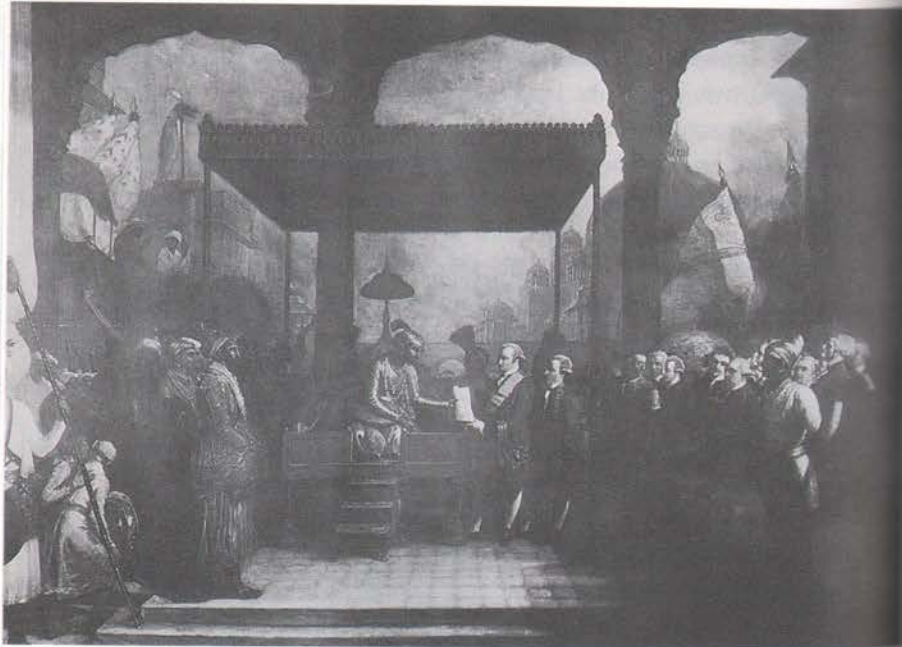
Nasir Khan, Khan of Kalat, died and was succeeded by his nephew Mahmud Khan. Mir Ghulam Ali sent envoys to condole the death of the king and to draw up an agreement with the new *khan* to remain at peace and to respect each other's boundaries. Mir Ghulam Ali also married his sister. He invited forty thousand guests to Bhagnari to celebrate the event. Later, he sent his army into Bahawalpur to protect the Sayyids of Uch, who had sought his help against the Daudpotas. The chief of the Daudpotas, Muhammad Sadiq Khan, asked for peace, which was granted.

to preserve their stock of meat over the long winter months. After the Romans captured the traditional sea and land routes, Europe began to look for new ones. The first European to find the Indian sea route was the Portuguese Vasco da Gama. He reached Calicut in India in 1498. The first English ship arrived on the Indian coast with Hawkins in 1601. Two British ships defeated a flotilla of four Portuguese galleons in an encounter off the west coast of India in 1612. They were recognized as better protectors of pilgrim boats to Mecca, and were granted trading rights by the Mughal Emperor. After the defeat of the French and the capture of Pondicherry in 1761, the British enjoyed unquestioned supremacy at sea. Till the eighteenth century the military advantage of the Europeans lay in their control of the seas, due to their superior deep-water and ocean-going vessels. However, as long as the Mughal Empire was intact, the Europeans had no chance on land.

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

On 13 January 1761, the Afghans destroyed the greatest army that the Marhattas could muster at Panipat. The Mughal Empire was now in no position to defend itself. In 1764, the British won the battle of Buxar, and received from the Mughal Emperor the grant of *diwani* (the power of collecting revenue and administering civil justice) for Bengal and Bihar. *Diwani* offered a solution to the continuing problem of the drain of precious metals to India. This placed at the command of the British East India Company a source for financing the purchase of commodities destined for the European market.

At first what had mattered most to Britain was trade. Now it was the muscle that India provided. The British troops that marched against other Indian and Asian states were now largely Indians.



The British receive the grant of diwani from the Mughal emperor after they won the battle of Baksar in 1764.

The British were obsessed with the fear of an attack on India through Iran or Afghanistan by the French, and later by the Russians. Accordingly, they sent envoys to Iran, Afghanistan, Sindh and Punjab to counter the threat. They entered into a treaty on 12 March 1809 with the Shah of Iran, who promised not to allow any European force to pass through Iran towards India. In April 1809, Ranjit Singh signed the Treaty of Lahore, whereby the British acknowledged that they would have no concern with the territories and subjects of the raja to the north of the river Sutlej. In June 1809 a treaty was signed with Afghanistan, whereby no Frenchmen or other European was to be allowed to enter Afghanistan. The British also signed a treaty with Sindh whereby the Talpurs agreed not to allow the French tribe to establish itself in Sindh.

In 1814, the British concluded another treaty with Persia, whereby the Shah of Iran promised to attack the Afghans if they invaded India. This was done to counter the repeated request by the Indian Muslims to the Afghans to invade India and help them to get rid of the British

and the Sikhs. Shah Abd al-Aziz, son of the famous Shah Waliullah, and head of the *Madrasa-i-Rahimiya* in Delhi had declared that India was no longer *Dar al-Islam* (the Land of peace) but *Dar al-Harb* (the Land of war). This was a call to Muslims all over the world to help the Indian Muslims get rid of non-Muslim powers occupying India.

After Shah Shuja was deposed a second time in 1809, Mahmud Mirza became King of Afghanistan once more with the help of Fath Khan, the eldest of the Barakzai brothers. Shah Shuja recovered Kandahar in 1810 but was soon expelled by the Sardars. In 1811 Fath Khan made an agreement with Ranjit Singh who, in return for nine hundred thousand, despatched 12,000 Sikhs to support the Afghan invasion of Kashmir. Governor Ata Muhammad surrendered, but Fath Khan refused to pay the stipulated amount to Ranjit Singh, who occupied Attock and defeated the Afghan advance-guard under Dost Muhammad, forcing Fath Khan to return to Afghanistan.

In 1818 Mahmud Mirza ordered the blinding of Fath Khan, who had at the time of capture of Herat in 1816, violated the harem of the ruler, stripping the princesses, one of whom was the sister of Mahmud Shah, of their jewellery and even of their clothes. The other Barakzai brothers rose in revolt in Kandahar. Mahmud and his son Kamran Mirza retired to Herat. In 1818, Ayub Mirza, a son of Timur Shah, was installed as King with Muhammad Azim, the eldest of the Barakzai brothers who held Kabul, as his *wazir*.



Ranjit Singh holding court.

Meanwhile, having been denied the opportunity of expansion to the east across the Sutlej by the British, Ranjit Singh entered Peshawar in 1818 but did not garrison it. In 1819 he sent a force into Kashmir which defeated the Afghans and annexed the province. Later in the same year Dera Ghazi Khan was occupied, followed by Dera Isma Khan in 1821. Afghans led by Muhammad Azim were defeated by Ranjit Singh's Sikhs at Nowshera in March 1823 and Peshawar was permanently lost to Afghanistan.

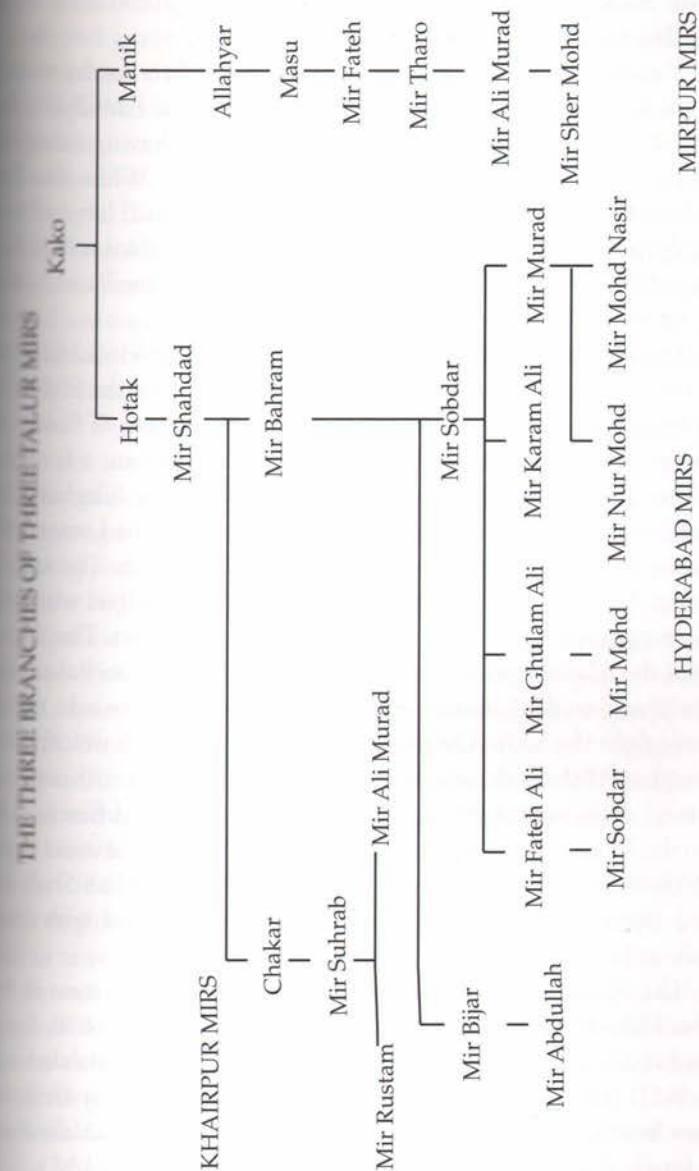


Alexander Burnes.

soon after his defeat by the Sikhs at Nowshera, and a fight for succession ensued between rest of the brothers. In 1826, after two years of civil war, Dost Muhammad Barakzai was acknowledged as the ruler of Kabul and Ghazni, later occupying Jalalabad and holding these three cities untill 1834. Two other Barakzai brothers held Kandahar, while Muhammad Shah Durrani governed Herat.

Therefore when the Sikhs demanded a tribute of Rs. 1.2 million from the Talpurs of Sindh, the Afghans were in no position to help. In 1824, the Talpurs used the illness of Murad Ali to request the Governor of Bombay to send them an English doctor. Dr James Burnes duly arrived and cured Murad Ali. Mir Karam Ali entered into a treaty with the British. The treaty allowed the British to survey the river Indus and enter Sindh through Kutch without paying any tax or toll. In 1831, Alexander Burnes, younger brother of Dr James Burnes, journeyed up the river Indus to Lahore to present a gift of English camels and horses, to Ranjit Singh, the Sikh King of Lahore, and to survey the river Indus. "Alas," remarked a Sindhi Sayyid, "Sindh has now gone since the English have seen the river."

In 1242/1826, Mir Sobdar, son of the late Mir Fateh Ali, rebelled against his uncles, along with his chief adviser Hosh Muhammad Shik.



Mir Murad Ali opened the state purse to those who would defect, causing Mir Sobdar's army to dwindle from 8,000 to 1,200 men in one single day, and thus the revolt crumbled.

Meanwhile Sayyid Ahmad, a 19-year old officer in the army of the Nawab of Lucknow, had arrived in Delhi from Rai Bareilli in 1806. He enrolled as a student of Shah Abd al-Aziz, and having completed his studies, joined the army of the Nawab of Tonk. When the Tonk state lost its independence to the British, Sayyid Ahmad left and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, returning from there with plans to fulfill the dream of Shah Abd al-Aziz with the help of Sayyid Ismail and Abd al-Hye, the nephew and son-in-law of Shah Abd al-Aziz.

Sayyid Ahmad and Sayyid Ismail arrived in Sindh in 1242/1826 with their Indian Muslim *Mujahidin* volunteers to fight the Sikhs. The *Mujahidin* were not allowed to enter the fortified towns of Sindh and word was spread that they were British agents, to create a feeling of hostility against them among the ordinary folk. Pir Sibghat Allah Vilayati, who had met Sayyid Ahmad at Mecca and had sworn allegiance to him, was with the Talpur Mirs at Hyderabad. Through his intercession Sayyid Ahmad was allowed to enter Hyderabad with a few of his companions, and to say Friday prayers with the mirs. The Talpurs allowed the *Mujahidin* to pass through their territory into Balochistan on their way to Afghanistan, where they hoped to persuade the Afghans to fight the Sikhs. On the way, the *Mujahidin* were welcomed by Pir Sibghat Allah Shah, son of Pir Muhammad Rashid in Kingri. He promised them volunteers to fight the Sikhs, but the differences between the thirteen Rashdi brothers, did not allow his volunteers to join the *Mujahidin*. The volunteers sided with Pir Sibghat Allah Shah who named them Hurs after the famous Hur who had sided with Imam Husain at Karbala and had been killed defending him.

The *Mujahidin* began their infiltration of the Sikh state in November 1826, from Afghanistan, and occupied Peshawar in 1830. Sayyid Ahmad and Sayyid Ismail were killed fighting the Sikhs at Balakot on 4 May 1831. After their death, the struggle was continued by fresh volunteers from India and their Pathan supporters. The *Mujahidin* forces were finally destroyed by the British military campaign in 1863.

Mir Karam Ali died in 1244/1828, the first Talpur to be buried in Hyderabad. Mir Murad Ali, the last of the four brothers, took the

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

Shah Shuja was then living in Ludhiana with an income of 5000 rupees per annum provided by the British Government. In February 1833, he marched down the left bank of the Indus at the head of a 1000 strong force and, crossing the river Indus, occupied Shikarpur without opposition. The Talpurs organized an army of 18,000 and attacked the Afghan army which consisted of a few thousand men, but were repulsed and fled. The Talpurs now sent Agha Ismail Shah to negotiate with Shah Shuja, who agreed to leave on payment of 1.2 million rupees. Having settled the matter satisfactorily with the Amirs of Sindh, Shah Shuja marched up the Bolan Pass and advanced on Kandahar. Kohandil Barakzai met the invaders at Khojak Pass but was defeated and retreated to the city. However Dost Muhammad came to his aid from Kabul, and Shah Shuja was forced to retreat.

In AH 1252/AD 1836, the British decided to install Shah Shuja on the Afghan throne. The reason for this action can best be understood in terms of the arguments presented by the British Prime Minister Palmerston, who said that if Russia could alarm the British in India by moves in Persia, why should not the British in India alarm the Russians by moves in Afghanistan? Afghanistan and Sindh had become part of the global strategy pursued by the imperial powers. The British who were now masters of all the land east of the Indus River system, like the Mughal Emperor Akbar before them, considered to be the first line of defence of their empire in India, and wanted the rulers of Sindh to support their enterprise in Afghanistan.

The British Indian Army that invaded Afghanistan consisted of 9,500 men of the Bengal Army, who assembled at Ferozepur. Owing to Ranjit Singh's objections to the British army traversing the Punjab, they took a south-westerly direction through Bahawalpur and Sindh, crossing Indus at Bhakkar on its way to Quetta and Kandahar. The rulers of Bahawalpur and the Khairpur Talpurs co-operated and allowed the Bengal army to enter Sindh through Bahawalpur.

However, when 5,600 men of the Bombay Army under Sir John Keane landed at the mouth of the river Indus, Keane was informed of the hostility of the Amirs of Sindh by Colonel Pottinger, who had been deputed to go to Sindh to request the Talpurs to help the British army in their passage through Sindh. Colonel Pottinger had been pelted with



Colonel Pottinger.

stones in the streets of Hyderabad, and a large quantity of provisions for the British Army that had been collected by the Hindu traders was plundered. Therefore Keane called upon the dispatch of a reserve force which approached Karachi in February 1839. The Talpur gunners posted at Miani fired their guns at the British ship *Wellesley*, which promptly fired back, levelled the seaface of the fort to the ground and occupied Karachi. The Talpurs, who were under threat from both Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja, signed a treaty whereby they agreed to pay an indemnity of 2.3 million and an annual tribute of five hundred thousand.

They accepted the British occupation of Karachi and the appointment of a resident at Hyderabad. They also undertook to provide transport to the British army at a reasonable price, and to maintain the purity of their rupee. "The assistance which the Mirs secretly withheld was cordially supplied by Hindus who had no cause to love them" (Nasir, 1907; 124).

The Bengal army reached Shikarpur without experiencing difficulties as to supplies, but the next section of the march to Dadur in

was an arid and more-or-less waterless tract. In Dadur little in the way of supplies had been collected, and therefore they had to rely on their reserve during their journey through the Bolan Pass. On 26 March the Bengal column reached Shal, with Quetta (then a miserable mud fort) situated on a mound.

Shah Shuja was welcomed in Kandahar on 25 April 1839, and Shikarpur was captured on 23 July 1839. Shah Shuja entered Kabul on 7 August 1839. Dost Muhammad, meanwhile, surrendered to the British, and on 12 November 1840 was sent to Calcutta, where he was settled with a grant of two hundred thousand rupees.

While columns of the Bengal army stayed on to mop up the Afghan resistance, the Bombay army returned the way it had come. On their way back they took punitive action against Mihrab Khan, Nawab of Kalat, who had failed to accept the British terms. He was killed in action on 13 November 1839, and was replaced with Shah Nawaz. The towns of Shal, Mastung and Kachchi were taken from Kalat and handed over to the Afghans. In Sindh Mir Nur Muhammad died in 1255/1840, and was buried next to his father. The possession of cities on the route to Afghanistan, like Shikarpur and Bhakkar, and the southern port city of Karachi was retained, and pressure was mounted on the Talpurs to accept the British suzerainty.

The Talpurs had survived for so long because the British hoped to have friendly relations with Afghanistan. As conquerors they were under no obligation to accept the Afghan claim over Sindh, founded on an agreement imposed by the Persian conqueror Nadir Shah on the Mughal King, Muhammad Shah. The British, as agents of the Mughal Emperor in Delhi, were in a position to make their own claim over the whole of the Indian sub-continent and Afghanistan.

On 2 November 1841, Sir Alexander Burnes, his brother Captain Burnes and their escort, were attacked by a mob in Kabul and killed and cut to pieces. The rebel leaders invited Shah Shuja to continue to rule provided that he gave them his daughters in marriage. He agreed to their conditions but did not carry them out. Akbar Khan Buzakzai arrived in Kabul on 22 November 1841, and British military force consisting of 4,500 fighting men and 12,000 followers, retreated from Kabul on 6 January 1842 for Jalalabad which was held by Sale. However, the force was totally destroyed and decimated before it could

cover the 130 miles distance to Jalalabad. Kandahar was held by another resolute British officer named Nott. Akbar invited Shah Shuja to prove his sincerity by joining him before Jalalabad, but when he came out of Bala Hissar on 5 April 1842 he was murdered. The British forces reoccupied Kabul on 16 September 1842, and as an act of revenge blew up the main bazaar which was taken as signal to plunder Kabul.

The British forces were recalled from Afghanistan and began their march homeward on 12 October 1842. Dost Muhammad was set at liberty, and was welcomed by the people as Amir of Kabul. His brother Kohandil returned to Kandahar from Persia, and once again became an independent ruler. Yar Muhammad seized power at Herat.

In 1842, Sir Charles Napier was posted as the British Resident in Sindh. He, like the Mughal general, Khan Khanan before him, was an outright imperialist. He believed, as Khan Khanan had in 1590, that the situation on the western border of the Indian Empire required that Sindh should be brought under imperial rule. Despite opposition from those in the company service who thought that Sindh would be a financial burden, a new treaty was submitted to the Talpurs that required firstly, that the coins of Sindh should bear the name of the King of England, secondly that the Talpurs should cede Karachi, Shikarpur, Sabzalkot and Umarkot to the British, and thirdly, that 100 yards of land on either side of the Indus should be given to the British Government.



Captain James Outram.

At about this time, Ali Murad of the Khairpur defeated his eldest brother Rustam Khan and his nephew Nasir Khan, and forced them to cede his villages that they had taken over from him during his minority. Rustam Khan sought the help of the Hyderabad Talpurs, who sent envoys to Napier saying that they were willing to accept the treaty, provided that the British helped Rustam Khan get back his rightful share from Ali Murad. Napier sent Outram to Hyderabad to persuade the mirs. Outram met the Talpurs on 7 Muharram.



Mir Rustam of Khairpur.

The Mirs promised to sign the treaty after the 10th of Muharram, but instead, they attacked the British camp and Residency on the 15th February 1843. The British moved to the two steamers lying along the bank and took off to Sehwan to meet Napier, who was camped there. The Baloch plundered the place left by the British and set it on fire. Next morning the two Mirs with over 22,000 men moved to Miani. Napier who had 2,800 men and twelve pieces of artillery, marched out at 4 a.m. on Friday 17 February 1843, to confront the Talpurs who had taken position

on the dry bed of the river Fuleli near Miani, about nine miles from Hyderabad. 5,000 men of the Talpur army and 256 men including 19 officers of the British force were killed in the battle. The Mirs took refuge in the Hyderabad Fort, and the British occupied the camps left by the Talpurs. The following day the Mirs surrendered to Napier.

Mir Sher Muhammad, the son of Mirpur, who was too late to take part in the battle of Miani, arrived with his army of 20,000, along with stragglers from the Battle of Miani. He sent an envoy to Napier with an offer of safe conduct to leave Sindh. Napier's response to the offer was to march out and defeat him on 24 March 1843 at Dabho (Do-aba), six miles from Hyderabad. His African slave soldier Shidi Hosh Muhammad advised Mir Sher Muhammad to es-



Mir Ali Murad of Khairpur.

cape, took upon himself the charge of Mir's artillery, raised the cry "We will die but will not give up Sindh," fought on like a man possessed till he was baynotted by the Irishmen of the 22nd Regiment.

The British occupied Mirpur on 27 March and Umarkot on 4 April 1843. Mir Sher Muhammad fled and took refuge with Shersingh, the Sikh ruler, returning later to surrender. He was pensioned off and awarded KCSI by the British. Napier described the encounter with the Talpurs as an example of the superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword, shield and matchlock. Other accounts refer to the battle as the "dispersion of what was little better than a vast mob." The Baloch viewed it as an unfair fight. They said, "These rascals do not give us time even to steam ourselves with the Hookah."



Mir Sobdar of Hyderabad, with his sons.

further encouragement during the days of Talpurs, who prided themselves in their knowledge of Persian, and a number of them wrote poetry in Persian.

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

The transfer of sovereignty in Sindh from Mughals to the Persians, and then to the Afghans reinforced interest in Persian in the ruling classes during the Kalhora and Talpur Periods, who were in any case not themselves Sindhi speaking. The Persian poetic form—the *Ghazal*—which was introduced during the Kalhora period, got

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



Mir Nasir of Hyderabad, with his sons.

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

At another place he wrote:

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

The Malwa opium trade was one of the major sources of capital accumulation in India between 1770 and 1870. The East India Company, in an attempt to purchase the entire Malwa crop, took measures to cut the trade route passing through British territory. The local traders countered the British moves by turning to a new route through the territory of the Amirs of Sindh. Opium was loaded in Karachi on boats which took it to Damao, a port in Portuguese India from which it was exported to Macao for the Chinese market. Karachi became the major port of Sindh, attracting merchants not only from Sindh, but also from Kutch and Kathiawar. According to a British report, in 1837, Opium was by far the largest component in the export trade of Karachi. The closing of that route was the main motivation behind the British occupation of Karachi in 1839.



Sir Charles Napier,
'Conqueror of Sindh'.

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

During the Muslim period the landlord did not own land. He was a tax farmer on behalf of the emperor, who could confiscate the land of his nobles during their lifetime and received it on their deaths as a matter of right. The emperor could reassign the land to whomsoever he pleased, whenever it pleased him. Consequently the landlords failed to develop into a class with vested interest in the land. The British believed this to be the reason for the native landlord's lack of concern for finding ways of increasing produc-

tion. They wanted to create a class loyal to them in the image of British landlords, who would have a stake in the land, and would also protect their interests on the western border of their empire, which was threatened by invasion from the Russian Empire.

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

How successful this measure was in pacifying Sindh can be gauged by the fact that while the whole of northern India erupted in 1857 against the British rule in what is described as the first War of Independence, Sindh remained loyal. The only persons to rebel in Sindh were the few *Hindustani* sepoy of the British army who were caught with the help of the natives and blown from the guns at the place at which the Empress Market in Karachi is now situated. This was echoed by the Sindh *jagirdars* in an address to the Governor of Bombay on 4 February 1935. Their address stated, "Sir Charles Napier like a wise statesman that he was, secured our support to the British ascendancy by granting to us the *Jagirs* which we held before the conquest. True to the homage which we acknowledged at that time, we have continued to display the same loyalty to the British Throne during the hundred years that have passed since, and we trust that in the coming years, in weal or woe, we shall hold fast to the royal service to which we swore when we received our *sanads*."

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

15

Bombay Province



Portrait of Victoria (1837-1901) on one-rupee East India Company coin, 1840, obverse (left) and reverse (right).

By the mid-eighteenth century, Sindh occupied a fairly important position at the crossroads of several important maritime and land routes which linked modern India with the Persian Gulf and Central Asia.

The oldest continuous Indian commercial colony was probably that in Muscat, established by the Bhatias of Thatta. From about 1785 onwards Bhatias began to move to Kutch, and they and a group of Khojas from Hyderabad (Sind) locally known as Luwattiya dominated the trade of Muscat. Hyderabad, founded in 1182/1769 by the Kalhoras as their new capital, developed rapidly, attracting bankers, as well as traders and craftsmen.

Seth Bhojoomal, whose family originated from the region of Sehwan, settled in Kharakbanar around 1720 and founded a powerful commercial firm which had an agent (*gumashta*) in Muscat, who in turn had agents at Bushire, Shiraz and Bahrain. When Kharakbandar declined in the late 1720's due to silting, Seth Bhojoomal played a major role in the creation of a new sea-port, namely, Karachi. The new port attracted merchants not only from Sindh, but also from Kutch and Kathiawar.

Napier did not care that agricultural land during the Muslim period was *igta* land, and that he was giving it away as personal property to a class of people who had never owned it, and had no interest in cultivating or improving it. This nurtured a class of parasites who did not use agricultural surplus productively, and had no interest in the technological and marketing problems that had absorbed their British counterparts. Land was of interest to them for the power that it gave them over the life and produce of the actual tillers who were Muslims. They kept the tillers bound to the land as serfs in a state of abject poverty, illiteracy and subservience.



One rupee coin of Victoria, wearing a crown, 1868, obverse (top) and reverse (below).



As a result, a large scale transfer of land took place into the hands of Hindu *banias*, and during the second half of the nineteenth century, the *banias* enormously increased their landholdings, either directly or indirectly. According to the then Commissioner-in-Sindh, Sir Evan James, in 1896 more than 42 per cent of arable land was owned or held in beneficiary possession under mortgage by Hindu moneylenders, who were rack-renters and had no interest in cultivating or improving it. The British Government passed various pieces of legislation to try to prevent such transfers, starting with the first Sindh Encumbered Estates Act of 1876.

However, Cheeseman argues that basically *banias* were traders, who used indebtedness as a mechanism to procure agricultural products. It was not very lucrative for them to become landowners, because unlike *waderos*, *pirs* and *saiyyids*, *banias* could not expect any loyalty, prestige or attachment on the part of *haris*, nor could they strike fear in their hearts. They were in the countryside basically on sufferance of the *waderos*, and the latter brought this home to them in various ways, in particular by a controlled use of violence. Murders of money lenders were a common occurrence in the Sindh countryside, and the culprits were rarely, if ever, caught and con-

vinced. These were not spontaneous acts of revenge perpetrated by aggrieved *haris* but were organised with the connivance and support of the *waderos*. Because of the high level of risk and uncertainty which their operation in the countryside entailed, *banias* were tempted by outside ventures in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the years 1843-75, the most enterprising *banias* sought opportunities outside Sindh, as the Indian merchants remained indispensable as partners of British firms, especially in the far-expanding inter-Asian trade.

Sindh had been under Muslim rule since the eighth century, and the majority of its population was converted to Islam between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Yet trade, finance and professions were largely dominated by a particular section of the Hindu trading community known as Amils, who belonged to the Lohana tribe, which owing to the absence of a proper caste system, and to the dominance of Lohana in Sindh was called a caste. Other Hindu trading castes, like the Bhatias and the Khatries, were very close to the Lohanas and inter-married with them.

The Amil-Bhaiband divide was a recent product as the Lohanas in government service differentiated themselves from the bulk who remained in trading. In Hyderabad, there was a distinction between Khudabadi Amils and non-Khudabadi Amils, whose status was slightly less. The Chandkai Amils of Larkana were similarly endowed with a high status. Amils made up 10 to 15 per cent of all Lohanas, whereas the majority of non-Amils were known under different appellations, the most common being that of Bhaibands. Among the Bhaibands status was based on occupation and wealth.

The only non-Lohana group which was socially significant were the Brahmans, who were numerically fairly insignificant, and were a sacerdotal service caste rather than a dominant caste. Non-Lohana Hindus in pre-1947 Sindh included a large fringe of tribals, mainly in Thar and Parkar district, who were a marginal element in Hindu society. The rest of the trading population, consisting mostly of shopkeepers and rural moneylenders, occupied a kind of middling position in Sindh society, well below the elites, but far above the *haris*.

There was a fluidity of religious identities and affiliations as most Sindhi Hindus were Nanakpanthis who blended with forms of Hinduism. There was uncertainty as to whether Nanakpanthis considered themselves Sikhs or Hindus. In the 1881 Census many Lohanas in the

districts of Shikarpur and Hyderabad were counted among the Sikhs while in the 1891 Census all of them were returned as Hindus.

The most widespread priestly group was not the Brahmans but the Nanakpanthi Bawas, who managed temples-cum-gurdwaras generally known as thikanas, which were by far the most common non-Muslim places of worship where images of the Hindu gods were found side by side with the Adi Granth and the image of Guru Nanak.

The British attitude toward Hindus fluctuated between paternalistic concern for an 'oppressed race' victimised by Muslim bigotry and intolerance, and repulsion over the greed displayed by the wily money-lenders against poor peasants and profligate *zamindars*.

In the wake of invasion, other groups of traders came from India, particularly Bombay, and established themselves in the Karachi market. Prominent among them were Parsi contractors, who rapidly controlled the market of supplies to British troops and British civilians, a particularly lucrative branch of trade. From the commissariat, the Parsis quickly branched out into other fields, and by the late nineteenth century, they were the most powerful group in the trading world of Karachi after the British.

Others included Jewish traders as well as Gujarati *banias*. Some groups which were already active before the annexation, such as the Ismaili Khojas and the Kutchi Memons, were reinforced by influx from Bombay and



Bartle Frere, 'Commissioner-in-Sinde'.

Kutch. The British conquest of Sindh and its use as a base for operations in the game that was being played by the great powers in Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia led to the creation of a new class of Hindu merchants in Sindh, who amassed great wealth by serving the British Army. "Karachi, Thatta, Sukkur and Shikarpur became fountains, at which British money flowed like water, and the thirsty crowded from all sides and drank wealth. There had never been such times in Sindh" (Aitken, 1907; 124).

In 1851, Frere found in all Sindh "not a mile of bridged or metalled road, not a masonry bridge of any kind, in fact, not five miles of any

metalled road. ... Roads in truth are not a Sindh institution. The sandy plain lies before the camel, to go whither he listeth." All traffic stopped in the rainy season because of the lack of bridges. So roads meant bridges. Soon Major Jacob was making bridges at the rate of 15.5 per annum, and a railway line from Karachi to Kotri was opened on 13 May 1861. The creation of a modern harbour in Karachi, and of a railway line linking the port with Punjab, benefited Karachi and energised the towns situated along the railway line. The connection of the port with Punjab and adjacent regions, and the British decision to develop Karachi as an alternative port to Calcutta, and to link it by railway to the Punjab and the Afghan border, led to further development. In this century, the development of barrages for agriculture and the needs of the two great World Wars, during which Karachi became the base of operations for British and American troops, led to further influx of people into Sindh. Karachi became one of the fastest growing city,



Coin of old Victoria.

Year	Bombay	Karachi
1872	100	100
1881	120	130
1891	128	185
1901	120	206
1911	152	268
1921	182	382

By 1931 Karachi became 10th largest city in the subcontinent,

Calcutta	1,193,651
Bombay	1,161,383
Madras	645,586
Lahore	400,075
Delhi	347,539
Hyderabad	346,093
Ahmadabad	310,000
Amritsar	263,210
Lucknow	251,097
Karachi	247,791

By 1931 the majority of the population of Karachi consisted of people who were born outside Karachi and Sindh. About 24.68% were born in Punjab, NWFP and Balochistan, and 27.09% were born in the rest of India.

The religious complexion of population also changed from 51.42% Muslims in 1901 to 42.01% in 1941,

Muslim	162,447	42.01%
Hindu	192,831	49.87%
Christian	17,466	4.52%
Sikhs	5,835	1.51%
Jains	3,214	0.83%
Parsis	3,700	0.96%
Buddhist	75	0.02%
Jews	1,051	0.27%
Others	36	0.01%

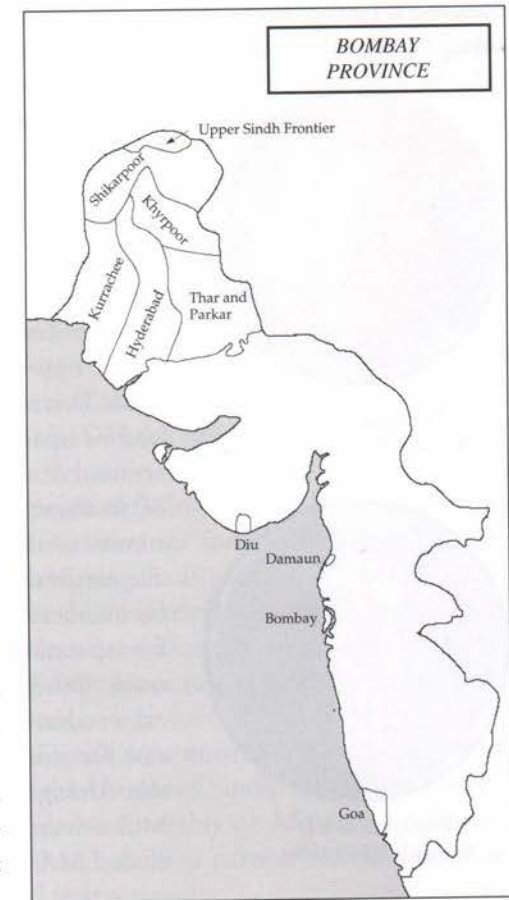
The large influx of Hindus led a Parsi scholar to comment that "the proportion of Hindus and Muslims has changed and there is now a Hindu majority, instead of a Muslim one, in Karachi. Similarly, the proportion of Muslims to the total population in Sindh has also declined, whereas that of Hindus has increased. It is quite likely that in future years Sindh, like Karachi, may turn into a Hindu-majority province at this rate" (Pithawalla, 1946:61).

Leaving aside the four towns classed as 'decaying' (Sehwan, Matian, Nasarpur and Thatta), the Muslim population fell by varying degrees in Kotri, Manjhand, Larkana, Ratodero, Shahdadpur, Tando Adam, Garhi Yasin, Ghotki, Rohri, Shikarpur and Sukkur. According to 1941 Census, there was a huge increase in the Hindu community in towns, e.g. 150% in Nawabshah, 90% in Mirpurkhas, 70% in Dadu and Tando Allahyar, 50% in Karachi, Jacobabad and Shahdadpur.

Before the British, the canals were old natural branches of the river that were kept open by annual clearance of silt, which collected at their mouths during inundation and depended on the behaviour of the river for the supply of water. During the early British Period those who wanted to rely on inundation canals had their way, but later, those who argued that the long term solution of Sindh's irrigation problem was perennial water, were able to prevail upon the government to undertake the construction of one of the largest dams in the world at Sukkur.

despite opposition by the landlords of Sindh. There was a complete revolution in the irrigation of Sindh with the completion of the Lloyd's (Sukkur) Barrage and canal system in 1932. Settlement of land irrigated by the barrage meant that the cultivated area doubled in Sindh by 1944-45. The Sindhi landlord who had opposed the construction of the barrage, kept his hari bound to his land. The government imported military pensioners and agriculturists from Punjab, and tribesmen from Balochistan and Rajasthan to cultivate the land and to recover their huge investment in the barrage at the earliest possible moment. This was managed by the representatives of the people of Sindh, who sat in the Sindh Assembly and constituted the Government of Sindh.

After Napier resigned in October 1847, Sindh was made part of the Bombay Province, run by a commissioner in Sindh, appointed by the Governor of Bombay. This led, in the twentieth century, to the demand for the separation of Sindh from Bombay. This demand was first formally made in 1913 when the All India National Congress held its annual session at Karachi, and Chairman of Reception Committee, Herchandrai Vishindas put forward the demand of separation of Sindh from Bombay. The Indian National Congress accepted the principle of linguistic provinces in 1921.



Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, the veteran of the Khilafat movement, founded *Al-Wahid*, with Shaikh Abdul Majid Lilaram, a Hindu convert to Islam, and a leading Khilafatist as its first editor. *Al-Wahid* became the leading voice of Muslims in Sindh. Both Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon and Shaikh Abdul Majid Lilaram represented Sindh in all India sessions of the All India Congress, the All India Muslim League and the All India Khilafat Conference in 1925, to introduce resolutions for the separation of Sindh. Both the All India Muslim League Council and the Annual Session of the All India Muslim League passed resolutions in favour of separation. The 42nd session of the Indian National Congress held in 1927, demanded that "any province which demands ... reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly. This congress is further of the opinion that a beginning be made by constituting Sindh into a separate province."



One rupee coin of
Edward VII (1901-1910).



One-rupee coin of
George V (1910-1936).

Once it was accepted as an all India issue, it also gained support among the Sindhi Muslims. What brought it home to them was the communal riot of 1927 that broke out in Larkana in the home town of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ayub Khan Khuhro who played a key role in highlighting the Hindu oppression of the Muslims of Sindh. This convinced the Muslims of the need for separation from Bombay and the creation of a Muslim majority province of Sindh, which is considered the forerunner of the demand for Pakistan. It also meant that Sindhi Hindus, who had been earlier in the forefront of movement for separation of Sindh began to back-track. When the Simon Commission came to Karachi in November 1928, the case for separation was put forward by the delegation from the Sindh Muhammadan Association which included MA Khuhro, AM Rashdi, WM

Musannally and others. The case against the separation was put by the delegation of the All Sind Hindu Association led by Professor HL Chablani. The Simon Commission decided that the time was not ripe for the separation of Sindh. Of the two members co-opted from Sindh by the Simon commission, Sir Shahnawaz Bhutto agreed with the majority opinion, but Syed Miran Muhammad Shah, advised by MA Jinnah and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, wrote a note of dissent, pleading for separation of Sindh. MA Khuhro published *Sufferings of Sind* on 26 May 1930, and a rejoinder, called *The Separation of Sind from Bombay Presidency*.

After the failure of the Simon Commission, the British Government decided to solve the constitutional problem of India by reaching a consensus through a series of Round Table Conferences with representation from all major shades of opinion in India. It formed a Sub-Committee on Sindh (Sub-Committee IX) which decided that a financial enquiry committee should examine the position of Sindh. The Financial Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Miles Irving met in Karachi from July to September 1931. Sir Abdoola Haroon, MA Khuhro and Syed Miran Muhammad Shah gave evidence in favour of separation, and Professor HL Chablani, Diwan Bhoj Singh and Dr. Hingorani against it. Sir Miles Irving's report was submitted to the Sub-Committee IX at the Second Round Table Conference in November 1931.

In the absence of agreement among the Indian leaders, the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, gave his award, whereby His Majesty's Government accepted that Sindh should be constituted a separate province if satisfactory means of financing it could be found. The Government of India set up a conference under AFL Brayne to look into the financial aspect of establishing Sindh province. It met in Karachi on 25 April 1932 and continued its investigations till 17 May 1932, coming with a favourable report and recommending that enhanced land revenue could raise sufficient funds to pay for the Lloyd Barrage which was opened by the Viceroy in January 1932.

However the Hindus of Sindh continued to oppose separation of Sindh. The representative of the Hindus of Sindh, Lalchand Navalrai, speaking in the Indian Legislative Assembly on Monday 4 February 1935 said that the "cultured and civilised portion" of the people of Sindh were strongly opposed to separation.

After the conquest the British officers issued orders in Urdu but the records were maintained in Persian, which had replaced Arabic as the official language of Sindh under the Sammas. When the father of Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, the first Prime Minister of Sindh and also the first native Governor of Sindh, came from Kashmir and settled in Sindh, he practised law in Urdu.



Sir Richard Burton.

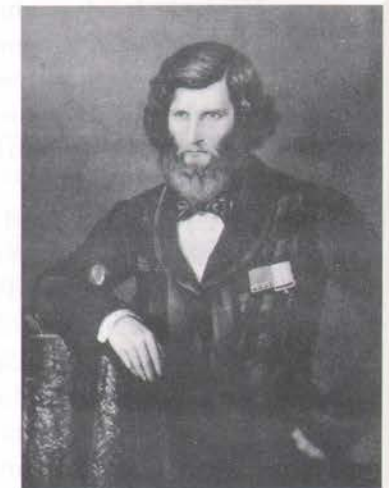
In 1852, the Court of Directors of the British East India Company decided in favour of a script for the Sindhi language based on the Arabic alphabet and sanctioned an annual outlay of Rs. 10,000. Frere, who was the Commissioner of Sindh, was directed to constitute a committee to devise a script that would allow the Sindhi language to be used as a medium of communication and instruction at the lower level. In fact, the committee under Deputy Commissioner, Barrow Ellis, finalised two scripts for the Sindhi language. One was the improved *Khudadadi* script espoused by Stacks that met Hindu susceptibilities, and the other was the modified *Naskh* script that was championed by Burton, and catered to the sentiments of the Muslims and the Persian-educated Hindus. *Khudadadi*, despite efforts from the powerful lobby for its introduction into the educational system, never gained acceptability. Thus it was that the Sindhi language made the transformation from an oral to a written language in the *Naskh* script.

However, this required a great effort, fully backed by the British government, to overcome the prejudice against educational institutions set up by the British, and to break the monopoly of the *madrasah*, the traditional educational institution that taught Persian and Arabic. Although Sindhi was the language of common life it was not considered a fit vehicle for learning or polite correspondence. Sindhi was used by the *Ulema* and *Sufis* to promote their message among the illiterate masses. This they did through poetic or rhymed compositions which

could be memorized, and recited or sung to the accompaniment of music. Sometimes these compositions were jotted down by the educated in scripts known to them, but as the Arabic script commonly used by them was incapable of rendering a number of Sindhi sounds, therefore Sindhi could not become a written language.

The *Ulema* who associated the Arabic script with the Holy Quran, were averse to making any changes in it or to giving up Arabic and Persian for Sindhi. Therefore the *mulla* schools, as the *madrasahs* were called by the British, were offered grants in 1886 provided they taught Sindhi as a compulsory subject. When this did not work, all *mulla* schools were taken over by the government in 1914. At the same time repeated attempts were made to improve the script, including one devised by John Jacob in 1888. The final shape to the Sindhi script was given by a committee in 1915, of which Mirza Kalich Beg was the most active member.

The British government also had to encourage and support the translation of books into Sindhi. In December 1854, Ellis was able to report that ten books on arithmetics, history, geography and some other subjects were ready (Aitken, 1907; 474). "Sindhi prose grew in the British era. It first developed, in translations and school texts, after the present (Arabic-Sindhi) script was evolved in 1852. ... The spade work for Sindhi prose was undoubtedly the achievement of some devoted Europeans who compiled dictionaries and grammars" (Arwani, 1984; 169). "The expenses for the printing and publication of *Shah-jo-Risalo* were borne by the Government of India, and the same is the case with the first two grammars of the Sindhi language which were prepared by European writers" (Pathan, 1978; 443). Among the natives, the *Aftab-i-Adab* or the 'Sun of Sindhi Literature', as he is called, was Mirza Kalich Beg. He wrote, translated and compiled 350 works in Sindhi, mostly translations or adaptations from English, Persian and Urdu. Recently a granddaughter of Beg told the author that although she did not have an iota of Sindhi blood in



Major John Jacob.

her, her love for Sindh and her contribution to its culture were second to none, as is clear from her life and her recently published book on Sindhi embroidery. "It is a matter of common observation that settlers in a country, often after a comparative brief residence, outdo those native to the soil in patriotism" (Browne, 1929; 346).

There is no doubt that the Europeans supported by Mirza Kalich Beg, son of the Georgian Christian immigrant Sydney, accomplished a great task, because province of Sindh comprises three well-defined tracts. Kohistan or hilly country between Karachi and Sehwan, Rigistan or Thar desert on the eastern bank, Sindh proper or central alluvial plain watered by the Indus which is divided into, Lar or lower Sindh from sea coast up to near Hyderabad, Vicholo or central Sindh from north end of Lar up to midway between Sehwan and Larkana, Siro or Upper Sindh north of Vicholo. According to the Prakrit grammarians Makandeya, the Aparbhramsa Prakrit spoken in Sindh was called Vrachada. It is from this that four dialects of Sindhi are derived,

1. Siraiki, sero means upper.
2. Vicholi, Vicholo which means central
3. Lari, Lar means sloping or lower
4. Thareli spoken in Thar or Registan which is a mixture of Sindhi and Marwari

Two others, Lassi and Kachchi are also spoken in Sindh.

Moreover, Sindh was never one. During the early Hindu period it was divided into and inhabited by Sindhus and Sauvirs. During the Arab period Sindh was divided into Lower Sindh ruled by Banu Habbab from Mansurah and Upper Sindh ruled by Banu Sama from Multan. This division was continued throughout the Muslim period when Sindh was divided into Thatta and Multan *subas* (provinces). The Talpurs had divided Sindh into three. It was to the credit of the British that they gave one province and one written language to Sindh.

16

Sind



A coin of George VI (1936-1952).

Sindh was separated from Bombay and given provincial status with a governor as its head on 1 April 1936. Pending election to Sindh Legislative Assembly, Sir Lancelot Graham, Governor of Sindh, created Sindh Advisory Council consisting of twenty-five members including two officials, namely Chief Secretary HK Kirpalani and Financial Secretary Ridley. Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah was named President of the Sindh Advisory Council. Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Diwan Bahadur Hiranand Khemsingh were appointed Advisors to the Governor.

The first election for the sixty member Sindh Legislative Assembly was held on 31 January 1937, to elect 33 Muslim, 18 General (Hindu), 2 European, 2 Commerce, 2 Landlords, 1 Labour, 1 Muslim woman and 1 General (Hindu) woman, members.

With the coming of elections, there was a rash of political parties in Sindh. Among Hindu-led parties there was Indian National Congress under Jairamdas Doulatram, Dr. Choithram Gidvani, Swami Govindanand and RK Sidhwa, Sind Hindu Association of Tikamdas Wadhmal and Kotamraj Puniah, Sind Hindu Panchayet and Sind Hindu Sabha of Mukhi Pritamdas Gobindram, Sind Progressive Party of Durgadas Advani, Communist Party of Naraindas Anandji Bechar.

The foundation of the All India Muslim League was laid at a meeting on 30th December 1906 at Shah Bagh, Dacca. In this inaugural meeting Sindh was represented by AM Dehlavi. The first session of the All India Muslim League was held in Karachi on 29-30 December 1907, which was opened by AM Dehlavi as Karachi Secretary of the Muslim League. However, the League did not take roots in Sindh.

When Mazhar Alavi, a UP barrister, migrated to Sindh to organise the Muslim League and called a meeting in 1935, Shaikh Abdul Majid attended to plead for the Sindh Azad League. He also approached the President of the All India Muslim League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who wrote back that unless the word 'Azad' was dropped from the name of Sindh Azad League, he could not allow its affiliation with the All India Muslim League.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was Sindhi by birth. His father Jinnahbhai Poonja and his mother Mithibai were Gujarati speaking Ismaili Khoja who lived in the village Paneli in the Princely state of Gondal in Kathiawar till 1874 when they moved to Karachi and rented a two-room apartment on Newnham Road in Kharadar where their first child Muhammad Ali was born two years later on 25 December 1876. His father was declared insolvent in January 1893 and the family left Karachi after a stay of about nineteen years, for Durga Maula near Bombay.

When Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Sindh in an effort to persuade Sindhi Muslim politicians to contest elections on the Muslim League ticket, not one of them was even willing to allow his name to be included in the list of hosts to a party that was arranged to welcome Jinnah, since they thought that it would annoy the Hindus (Jones, 1977). Jinnah's efforts to bring together Muslim politicians of Sindh on the Muslim League platform did not succeed. The politicians of Sindh refused to join or contest in elections on the Muslim League ticket, as they did not want to jeopardize their chances of forming the future government in Sindh with the support of the Hindu members of the Assembly. Jairamdas Doulatram, Secretary of Indian National Congress in Sindh warned the Muslim leaders that if they wished to retain power in Sindh, to win the goodwill and support of Hindus.

A working committee of Sindh Azad Conference was held on 11 August 1935 at Hyderabad which was attended by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah (President), Khan Bahadur MA Khuhro (Senior Vice-President), Miran Mohammad Shah (General Secretary), Khan Bahadur

GM Isran, Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Shah, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Noor Mohammad, Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sirhindi and Khaliq. GM Syed protested against the meeting and called it illegal and Shaikh Abdul Majid founded the Sindh Azad League.

A meeting of the Anjumans of Sayeds of Sindh was held at Sukkur on Sunday 29 September 1935 under the Chairmanship of Sayed Ali Muhammad H Rashdi and elected Sayed Ghulam Latif Shah Musavi and Sayed Abdur Rahan Shah as General Secretary and Treasurer of the Anjuman respectively. Rashdi was also secretary of Sindh Muhammadan Association.

All India Memon Conference was held in Porebunder on 2, 3 and 4 November 1935 under the presidency of Seth Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon. In Delhi on 28 March 1936, Haroon was elected President of All India Muslim Conference. He recounted the services of the Muslim Conference during the past years in the politics of India, and claimed that it is the only platform for Muslims of all shades of opinion. Haroon was also elected a member of the sub-committee of Sind Azad Conference to form a single united party of the Muslims with a view to bridging the gulf between Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and between himself and the other two.

Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon called an informal meeting at his residence on Sunday 7 June 1936 to discuss the formation of Sindh Unionist Party or in Sindhi the 'Sind Ittehad Party'. The meeting was attended by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, Khan Bahadur MA Khuhro, Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, Syed Miran Mohammad Shah, Noor Mohammad, GM Syed, Hatim Alavi, Ghulam Kadir Baloch, Abdul Rahman, Kazi Abdul Rasool, Ghulam Ali Allana, and Seth Yusuf Haroon.

The proposed creed, aims and rules of the Sindh Unionist Party was published by Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon on 9 June 1936 which was presented to invited guests at a dinner at his residence on Victoria Road, Karachi. The guest list included Advisors to the Governor, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and Diwan Bahadur Hiranand Khemsingh, and the President of the Advisory Council Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and members, Chief Secretary HK Kirpalani, Financial Secretary S Ridley, Mayor Khan Bahadur AH Mama, President of the Karachi District Local Board Khan Bahadur Khan Sahib Gabole, and several leading Indian and European residents of Sindh.

Speaking on the occasion, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah said that the Unionist Party has been successful in the Punjab because all three communities there—Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims—were equally interested in rural matters. There the divisions were not on the basis of communities, but were between town and countryside. What had proved feasible in the Punjab might not prove easy of attainment in Sindh under greatly different conditions.

Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto joined hands to form the Sindh Unionist Party/Sind Ittehad Party, which was described by Shaikh Abdul Majid as "a frantic effort on the part of some well-known Muslim reactionaries to secure their own position in the future government." In reply, Haroon attacked Majid for taking shelter with Jinnah's Muslim League because he had failed to get a good response in Sindh, and said that any "... attempt to set up a communal party in the future Assembly to follow the All India Muslim League line would prove disastrous for Sindh." Majid reacted by vowing to contest the election against both Sir Abdoola Haroon and Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto and defeat them.

Although both the top leaders of Sind Ittehad Party, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto (President) and Sir Abdoola Haroon (Vice-President) lost the election, it emerged as the largest party in the Assembly with 18 seats. The Sindh Muslim Jamaat, which was founded by Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, won four seats. The Sindh Azad League of Shaikh Abdul Majid won only 3 seats in the Assembly. GM Syed who was a congress member but contested the election on the Sind United Party ticket, wrote, "As the party government had been previously unknown in Sindh and public opinion was almost non-existent, even those who had returned on party tickets owed their success more to their personal influence than to any declared principle or conviction. It appeared that they had joined a particular group only because it had suited their personal convenience to do so. It was the Congress candidates and Shaikh Abdul Majid alone who were returned on the strength of public opinion" (Syed, 1996; 16).

Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto found the defeat too much to bear and asked the government to find him a job outside Sindh.

After the elections, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah created the Sindh Democratic Party in the Sindh Assembly with the support of 36 members. In a press statement Sir Ghulam Hussain explained the se-

cret of his success by saying "... that the best way of enlisting the support of the members in Assembly was to approach them through their stomachs" (Syed, 1996; 17). As the leader of the largest party in the Assembly, he formed a three-man cabinet on 22 March 1937, consisting of himself, Mukhi Gobindram who had the support of members of Independent and Sind Sabha Hindus, and Mir Bandeh Ali Talpur who was backed by the Mir-Baloch block. MA Khuhro accepted the position of parliamentary secretary.

The first session of the first Sindh Legislative Assembly was held on Tuesday, 27 April 1937, at 11 a.m. His Excellency the Governor Lancelot Graham appointed Dewan Bahadur Hiranand Khensing as Chairman of the Sindh Legislative Assembly until the office of the Speaker was filled.

After the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King Emperor of India George VI, the members of the Assembly took up the task of electing a speaker. This was held the next day, 28 April 1937. There were three candidates, Pir Illahi Bakhsh (Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali) whose name was proposed by GM Syed (Sayed Ghulam Murtaza Shah), Bhojsing Gurdinomal proposed by Dr. Hemandas Rupchand Wadhvani and Majid (Shaikh Abdul Majid Lilaram) proposed by Khan Bahadur Ghulam Nabi Shah. Pir Illahi Bakhsh withdrew in favour of Majid. Bhojsing Gurdinomal polled 40 votes against the 18 received by Majid, to become the first Speaker of the Sindh Legislative Assembly. Gazdar (Muhammad Hashim Faiz Muhammad Gazdar) ruefully remarked, "Shame to the traitors who have cheated the community, the Mussulmans, in order to satisfy their stomachs."

When Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas resigned from the cabinet on 18 October 1937 because of the collapse of his cotton business, the



Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah formed the first Sindh Cabinet.

Prime Minister replaced him with Dr Hemandas Rupchand Wadhvani, although the Hindu party supported the candidature of Nichaldas. When the Speaker of Sindh Assembly, Bhojsing Gurdinomal, died in February 1938, the Hindus tried to retain this position for their own



Bhojsing Gurdinomal, first speaker of Sindh Legislative Assembly.

community, and set up Hassaram Parmnani as their candidate. However, Syed Miran Muhammad Shah, a Muslim and the joint secretary of the Sindh Democratic Party, was elected Speaker with 37 votes against 15 votes polled by Parmnani. This led to further loss of support for the Prime Minister among the Hindu members. All the members of the Hindu Independent Party except the Minister and Parliamentary Secretary were over to the opposition. Hindus had also began to fear that an united Muslim majority would pass the Debt Conciliation and Land Alienation Bills which would ad-

versely affect the Hindu interest in Sindh.

Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Soomro and GM Syed found, in the erosion of Hindu support for Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah's ministry, an opportunity to demand from the Prime Minister that he should appoint three more ministers by increasing the number of ministers from 3 to 6. When the Prime Minister failed to comply with their wishes, because the Governor refused to increase the number of ministers, Soomro and GM Syed joined with Hindu and Congress members to bring down the government of Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah by rejecting, by one vote, the demand for a grant of Rs 16,14,000 under General Administration on 18 March 1938. 22 votes were received for the Ayes and 23 for the Noes.

K.B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro who was the leader of the Sindh Ittehad Party in the Assembly, formed the new cabinet on 23 March 1938, with Nichaldas Chatumal Vazirani and Pir Illahi Bakhsh as ministers.

Majid, Gazdar and Khuhro called a public meeting in Karachi on 28 March 1938, to rouse the Muslim opinion against the pro-Congress ministry of Soomro. In a speech in the Sindh Legislative Assembly on 30 March 1938, Gazdar, called GM Syed a traitor, and accused Soomro of surrendering himself and his friends to the mercy of 22 Hindu members and forming the Ministry with "22 props who are absolutely anti-Mussalman and want to crush and keep Mussalmans suppressed. Not only that, but they want to wipe out our existence."

The attempt by government supporters to hold a public meeting the very next day, at Khaliqdina Hall on 29 March 1938, was a failure. The Revenue Minister, Pir Illahi Bakhsh, had to leave the meeting for fear of being mobbed, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi was not

heard and GM Syed was repeatedly shouted down. Muslim reaction led K.B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro to rely further on the solid support of the Congress and Hindu members, while GM Syed invited the Congress leaders, Patel and Azad, who visited Sindh in August 1938, to bolster his public image as nationalist fighting for independence. However this was not to be, because the Brayne Conference had favoured the separation of Sindh in the belief that enhanced land revenue would allow Sindh to pay its debts. Furthermore, the Government of Sindh published the Gorwala Report in July 1938, recommending the enhancement of revenue rates, which was primarily to affect the Muslims who were the bulk of agriculturists in Sindh.

The enhanced revenue, therefore, was strongly opposed by the Muslims who turned to the Muslim League for support, and convened a conference of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League in Karachi in October 1938. It was presided over by Muhammad Ali Jinnah who ar-



Syed Miran Mohd. Shah, second speaker of Sindh Legislative Assembly.

rived by a special train on 7 October and was enthusiastically welcomed. It was attended from outside by the Muslim Prime Ministers of Punjab and Bengal, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Maulvi Fazlul Haque. Maulana Shaukat Ali, Raja Saheb Mahmudabad, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, and other notables. The Conference passed a resolution which condemned the Congress for "deliberately establishing purely Hindu rule in certain provinces by forming ministries either without Muslim ministers, or with Muslim ministers having no following among Muslim members, in direct and flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Instrument of Instructions."

The Resolution also condemned attempts by the Congress "... to make Hindi with Devnagri script as the lingua franca of India, and ... to close Urdu schools wherever possible and discourage the teaching of Urdu language, and thus ultimately wipe it off." The Resolution demanded, "And whereas, the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation, inspired by common aspirations and common ideals, being impossible of realization on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community, and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and outlook of life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts This Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of an unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to the All India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be the suitable constitution for India, which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them, and this Conference therefore recommends to All India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence."

In a meeting, presided over by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and attended by the Muslim Prime Ministers of Punjab and Bengal on 9 October 1938, Muslim members of the Sindh Assembly were persuaded to form the Muslim League Party in the Sindh Assembly, Muslim ministers to resign simultaneously, and the leader of the Muslim League party to form a new ministry. They also agreed to hold a meeting of all the Muslim members of the Sindh Assembly at Haroon's place on 12

October at 11 a.m. to form Muslim League Assembly party and unanimously select a leader and his cabinet ministers. In case unanimity was lacking Jinnah was to decide on the leader and his ministers. Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur, G M Syed, and Shaikh Abdul Majid and Pir Illahi Bakhsh signed the document on behalf of the Ministry.

Before this meeting fixed for 12 October could take place Soomro wrote a letter to Jinnah repudiating the agreement. Soomro was convinced by the Congress and Hindu groups that they were a safer plank on which to rest the keel of his Premiership; he was afraid that Muslim support, howsoever strong or solid, was always risky for the stability of the Ministry (Syed, 1996; 37). This was reinforced by the instruction from Congress High Command to support the Soomro ministry. However, 27 Muslim members of the Sindh Assembly agreed to form the Muslim League Assembly Party and elected Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah as Leader and Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur as Deputy Leader, MA Khuhro as General Secretary and MH Gazdar, Mir Ghulam Ali and Nur Muhammad Shah as assistant whips.

The Sindh Provincial Muslim League was organized with Haji Sir Abdoolah Haroon as President, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and GM Syed as Vice Presidents, Shaikh Abdul Majid as General Secretary and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi and Ghulam Nabi Pathan as Joint Secretaries. Sir Abdoolah Haroon and Shaikh Abdul Majid were nominated members of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League by Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

When the Muslim League tried to dislodge Prime Minister Soomro, the Governor, who was under pressure to recover enhanced revenue to pay Sindh's debt to the centre, agreed to increase the number



Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh Soomro formed the cabinet on 23 March 1938.

of ministers. Thus Soomro was able to offer ministries to Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur, the Leader and Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, who joined him with their supporters. The strength of the Muslim League was thus reduced from 27 to 7 members in the Sindh Assembly, consisting of MA Khuhro, GM Syed, MH Gazdar, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Khair Shah, Nur Muhammad Shah and Isran.

GM Syed, who was to a large extent responsible for the overthrow of the previous ministry and for the coming into existence of the present one, moved the motion of no-confidence on 10 January 1939. He told the Assembly on 12 January 1939, "I have got blind faith in change. I do not care for the result I have never thought about the future; I will never think about it I say that I do not care for the making or breaking of ministries. I do not mind breaking ministries after every month if it is for the betterment of this country." Khan Bahadur AK Gabol remarked, "Our Sindhi friends go on changing, like the river Indus. You will never find the river Indus sticking to one course. Every day it will change from one course to another. Now, we are all drinking that Indus water and so we must also change." The no-confidence motion was defeated as it received only 7 votes in favour, as against the 32 for the Noes.

Hindus and Muslims have never lived in peace with each other in Sindh. Taking advantage of the British rule, the Hindus had organised themselves into Shuddi, Arya Samaj and Mahasabha movements and went round the countryside in search of persons to purify and reconvert them to Hinduism, which created repeated strife between Hindus and Muslims.

When Abdul Qayyum who was sentenced to death for the murder of Nathuram Kimatri in the Judicial Commissioner's Court was hanged in the Karachi Central Jail at 4 o'clock on the morning of 19 March 1935, and his body taken to Mewashah for burial a vast uncontrolled crowd gathered, and moved towards the city with the body held aloft. The attempt to stop them on the Chakiwara Road resulted in 47 dead and 134 injured. Shaikh Abdul Majid and MH Gazdar resigned from membership of the Bombay Legislative Council in protest against Government's refusal to appoint a commission to enquire in the incident.

Col. Wedgewood wrote in a letter to *The Times* that the communal strife in Karachi is a disturbing introduction to the establishment of Home rule in Sindh. The Hindu minority is terrified at the prospect of separation from Bombay and subjection to Muslim rule.

The tension between the two sides had increased with the elections and the prospect of majority Muslim rule in Sindh. Murders had occurred in Mirpur, Thul, Khanpur and Jagan. Tragic happenings took place in small villages. Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, in his first speech to the first Sindh Assembly, said, "Even now, as it is, I receive every day a bundle of telegrams complaining that the minorities are in danger. Shoals of telegrams are being received by me every day, Sir, that there is no safety for the minorities."

After the militant Hindus had their own way in the 'Om Mandli' and 'Hanuman Mandir' episodes, Muslims were hoping for victory in the Sukkur Manzilgah Mosque issue. In each case the most intolerant section of Hindus and Muslims had their way. The Manzilgah comprised a *serai* (inn) and a mosque on the bank of the river Indus built by Mir Masum, a historian of Sindh and an officer of the Mughal Imperial Army that had conquered Sindh. The mosque had been used as residence by the British officers after the conquest, and since then remained in the possession of the government. The Muslims of Sukkur had been demanding since 1920 that it should be restored to them for use as mosque. The Hindus who were in majority in Sukkur, had built temples directly opposite it on the island of Sadh Belo, and objected to the creation of a mosque facing their sacred precinct.

In early 1939, the Sukkur district branch of the Muslim League passed a resolution asking the Sindh Provincial Muslim League to take up the question of the Manzilgah mosque with the government. The Working Committee of Sindh Provincial Muslim League met and decided to take up the issue, as it felt that if it shirked its duties to the Muslims it would give a weapon to the Moulvis of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. It formed a Restoration Committee consisting of Sir Abdoolah Haroon as president, MA Khuhro as vice-president, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi as secretary and GM Syed and MH Gazdar and others as members. Sir Abdoolah Haroon, the President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, visited Sukkur and promised the support of the Muslim League at a public meeting in Sukkur on 19 May 1939.

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The Restoration Committee of the Muslim League held a meeting in Sukkur on 22-23 July 1939 under the chairmanship of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro (in the absence of Sir Abdoolah Haroon) and decided to observe 18 August 1939 as Manzilgah Day. Meetings and demonstrations were held all over Sindh. Tension between the Muslims and the Hindus mounted as the son of the Muslim Pir of Bharchundi was assaulted by Hindus in Sukkur, and a Hindu holy man, Bhagat Kanwar Ram, was allegedly killed by followers of the pir. Abdoolah Haroon was ordered out of Sukkur and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was placed under house arrest. GM Syed took over as leader of the agitation. Muslims began satyagraha from 1 October 1939. Within three days, over a thousand Muslim volunteers courted arrest and went to jail.

On 3 October 1939, the Collector of Sukkur suddenly ordered the release of all the Muslim *satyagrahis*. No further arrests were made and police pickets were withdrawn from the Manzilgah Mosque, which was immediately occupied by the Muslims. The leaders of the agitation demanded a government announcement of immediate restoration of the Manzilgah as a mosque, and began to picket ministers' houses in Karachi. The Hindu and Congress Press demanded the immediate eviction of Muslims from the Manzilgah Mosque. Prime Minister Soomro attempted to defuse the situation by releasing those who had been arrested failed. The government promulgated an ordinance on 14 October 1939, giving power to the authorities to arrest without warrant. GM Syed, Agha Nazar Ali Pathan, Dr. Yamin and Mr Niamatullah were arrested in Sukkur at about 12 noon on 19 November 1939, and taken to Hyderabad Central Prison. Muslims occupying the Manzilgah Mosque were subjected to lathi-charges and tear-gas and driven out of the Manzilgah by force. So the Muslims announced a *jihad*, and riots started at Sukkur, spreading like wild fire over the surrounding rural areas. According to an official count, 14 Muslims were killed and 12 injured, while 158 Hindus were killed and 69 were injured. According to other sources, riots were not limited to Sukkur and over 2,000 Hindus were butchered, with many thousands injured and their property looted and burnt.

In September 1939, the Second World War began and the Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 as a protest against the Viceroy's decision to commit India to the war without consulting the Con-

gress. The Muslim League celebrated the day of deliverance from the Congress all over India, on 22 December 1939. This further weakened the position of Prime Minister Soomro. Seth Daulatram Mohandas tabled a motion of no-confidence. The result of the division taken on 26 February 1940, was 29 votes each for the Ayes and Noes. The Speaker cast his vote against the motion and declared that the motion was lost but Prime Minister Soomro nevertheless submitted his resignation.

Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur was asked to form the cabinet on 18 March 1940, as he was considered acceptable to both the communities. He offered ministries to three Muslim Leaguers, namely, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, GM Syed and Shaikh Abdul Majid on condition that they would sever association with the Muslim League Assembly Party, and to demonstrate their commitment the three Muslim League ministers agreed to introduce the Joint Electorate Bill, in contravention of the most deeply held tenet of the Muslim League, that separate electorate was the first step toward recognition of Muslims as a separate nation. What is more, contrary to their earlier agitation for immediate restoration of Manzilgah to the Muslims as a mosque, the ministers now agreed to appoint a committee to determine whether Manzilgah was in fact a mosque.

And all three, i.e., Khuhro, Syed and Majid, attended the twenty-seventh session of All India Muslim League which was held in Lahore on 22-24 March 1940, and sat on the dais when Fazlul Haq moved the famous Pakistan Resolution on 23 March 1940, which demanded autonomy, sovereignty and independence for the Muslim majority provinces. Speaking on the occasion, Sir Abdoolah Haroon said that the Muslims of Sindh were the first to meet this question which was now before the League. In 1938, the Sindh Muslim League had passed a resolution



Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur formed the cabinet on 18 March 1940.

for establishing 'independent States' in the North-Western and the Eastern zones.

In November 1940, Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad arrived in Karachi. He was welcomed by Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur and K.B. Ayub Khuhro at Drigh Road Airport, while Abdul Majid and GM Syed called on him later. Mr Nichaldas and GM Syed prepared an agreement for members of the Assembly to unite and form a strong government. GM Syed resigned on 22 November 1940, and his place was taken by K.B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro. To oversee the government a committee was formed, comprising Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur (chairman), GM Syed, K.B. Ayub Khuhro, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Pir Illahi Bakhsh, MH Gazdar, Newandram, Nichaldas, RS Gokaldas, RK Sidhwa, Naraindas Bechan, Dr. Choithram, Fraser, one Hindu Independent and K.B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro.

On 16 December 1940, Jinnah came to Karachi. He insisted that either half of the Ministers should belong to the Muslim League or that the Prime Minister, who is the main architect of cabinet policy should be under direct Muslim League control. The Prime Minister, Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur, joined the Muslim League. A number of meetings of the council and the working committee of the Provincial Muslim League were held during his stay, and an organising committee of Muslim League was formed, including GM Syed (chairman), Kari Fazlullah, MH Gazdar, MLA, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Yusuf Haroon, Pir Abdul Sattar Jan Sahib, Sayed Hasan Bakhsh Shah and Fakir Muhammad Mangrio.

Congress members did not take kindly to the Prime Minister Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur joining the Muslim League. When the budget session of Sindh Assembly was held, a cut motion was brought by the Congress Party, and Soomro and two Hindu Ministers suddenly left the ministerial benches and went over to the other side. The Prime Minister Mir Bande Ali Khan Talpur was taken aback and adjourned the House. Notice of a motion of no-confidence in him was served by Pir Illahi Bakhsh on 3 March 1941. Two other motions of no-confidence, one against the Prime Minister and the other against his minister Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, were tabled by Abdus Sattar Pirzada on the same day. The Speaker fixed the date for hearing the first motion



Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad & Allah Bakhsh Soomro.

on the 7 March 1941. The motion was, however, not taken up that day because Allah Bakhsh Soomro informed the House that His Excellency the Governor had asked him to form a new cabinet, and had sworn him in as Prime Minister.

In June 1941, GM Syed was nominated on the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which already included Sir Abdoola Haroon from Sindh. In a hard hitting speech in the Assembly on 30 June 1941, GM Syed directly attacked the Hindus, and said, "During the four years that the Sindh Assembly has been in existence, they have been creating quarrels in the camp of the Mussalman members, and have thrown obstacles and impediments in the way of legislation in regard to the amelioration of the masses. During the last 40 years the Hindu has snatched away 40 per cent of land from the Mussalman and this, taken together with the enormous interest, and interest over interest that the bania charges, has reduced his life to a condition of utter helplessness. He earns not for himself but for the *bania*. Due to the control that he wields over commerce, a bania has been able to exploit for his personal gain all the wealth which in equity and justice ought to be the possession of the poor villager. As a consequence of all this, the Mussalman has remained hopelessly poor. Due

to his undisputed control over services, the bania has been able to collect an enormous sum of money through bribes and such other means which he spends and displays by way of erecting bungalows and palaces and purchasing gorgeous and extravagantly decorated dresses. On the other hand, the poor agriculturist who toils day and night has neither a decent home to live in nor a decent cloth to cover himself, much less sufficient food to eat

"Accordingly, what other weapon is there in his hands, with the help of which this poor and miserable creature should defend himself? Hate is one such weapon. Why should you fight shy of this weapon? Is that lies the mystery wherewith the oppressed take revenge on the oppressor It is well within the rights of oppressed men at least to detest the oppressor if he is not able to do anything else to him Now, since this particular principle is operating all the world over, it would simply be unnatural to safeguard particularly the bania of Sindh from the hatred of Sindh Muslims, who have been put under cruelty and oppression for so many years. It is only this instinct of hate that will make the poor Muslim peasants unite and thus enable them to protect themselves against any such high-handedness. It should therefore, be remembered, when I said that the words 'Hindu-Muslim unity' are mischievous, I said that with full knowledge of all their associations and implications which I have been labouring so far to place before this Honourable House....

"I have also said that the words 'Hindu-Muslim unity' are dangerous. As a proof of the truth of my contention, I will refer to the political history of our province during the last four years and show how all such efforts to bring about Hindu Muslim unity have proved futile. The underlying reasons for the failure of such efforts is to be traced to the fact that both these nations are made of different material, which apart from being in no way secular, are quite opposite and sharply in contrast to each other.

"Between these two nations are political, cultural, economical and social barriers, so much so that if one can be characterized as the North Pole the other will be as dramatically opposite to it as the South Pole. It is therefore impossible to unite such antagonizing and mutually repellent materials. Any effort in that direction will result in a most artificial and temporary arrangement, which instead of doing any good will really do lot of harm....

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

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

Sir Abdoolah Haroon, died on 27 April 1942. He was President of Sindh Muslim League and member of the Central Legislative Assembly. His son Yusuf Haroon laid claim to both posts. While he received unanimous support for Central Legislative Assembly, there were two other aspirants for the post of President of the Sindh Muslim League, they being MA Khuhro and Shaikh Abdul Majid. Rather than risk dividing the party, the Provincial Muslim League elections were postponed. MA Khuhro, who was Vice President, became the acting President, and Shaikh Abdul Majid continued as General Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League. MA Khuhro was nominated a member of the Working Committee of All India Muslim League in place of Sir Abdoolah Haroon

Allah Bakhsh Soomro remained Prime Minister till he was dismissed by the British governor on 10 October 1942, for showing disloyalty to the British Raj by supporting the Congress call and renouncing his British titles of O.B.E and Khan Bahadur. The Sindh cabinet was retained, however, Sir Ghulam Husain became the acting Prime Minister.

Sir Ghulam Husain immediately opened negotiations with the Muslim League. Yusuf Haroon informed Jinnah, who telegraphed back on 13 October 1942 from New Delhi, "... Muslim League Party cannot join any ministry under leadership [of] Ghulam Husain stop Coalition between Muslim League and any Muslim individual or group contrary our fundamental principles stop unless Governor summons

Muslim League Party Leader to form Ministry you should not proceed further or participate in formation of any Ministry" Jinnah telegraphed on 14 October 1942, from New Delhi, "... If Khuhro Muslim League Leader cannot form Ministry ... only honourable course [is to] continue in opposition stop Nothing prevents you [to] support any Ministry so long they follow League policy serve Muslim interests stop cannot believe public opinion expects us for getting three Ministerships sacrifice Fundamental Principles."

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party was not invited to form the government. If the Muslim League brought down the government of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, it could strengthen the hand of dismissed Prime Minister K.B. Allah Bakhsh Soomro and Congress. GM Syed and Khuhro ignored Jinnah and got the Muslim League Assembly Party, the Working Committee and the Council of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League to pass a resolution accepting the undertaking given by Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to adhere to the aims and objects, as well as the policy and programme of Muslim League, and permission members of the Muslim League Assembly Party to join the ministry. Shaikh Abdul Majid was one of the few who opposed the resolution, and resigned from the post of General Secretary of the Sindh Muslim League. Jinnah telegraphed on 19 October 1942, "Provincial League ... has no power to take such a decision." But the Leader and Secretary of the Muslim League Assembly Party, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and MH Gazdar, had joined the ministry the day the resolution was passed. Next day Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Pir Illahi Bakhsh, a minister in his cabinet, joined the Muslim League.

Jinnah was furious and denounced action of Sindh Muslim League. The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League met on 8 November 1942 and formed a committee empowering Nawab Ismail Khan (chairman), Husain Imam, Sir Nazimuddin, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and Qazi Isa "to take such action in the matter as it may think proper." Nawab Ismail Khan and Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman arrived in Sindh in the beginning of December to study the situation and allowed the arrangement to continue.

The Budget session of the Sindh Legislative Assembly was held in March 1943. Muslim League had now 29 out of 35 Muslim members in the Assembly. GM Syed tabled what is known as the Pakistan Reso-

lution in the Sindh Legislative Assembly. Introducing the Resolution, he said, "The demand for Pakistan is based on the theory that Muslims are a separate nation as distinct from Hindus, and that what is known as India is and was never one geographical unit To start with, calling India a country is a misnomer. England apart, Europe could be called a country from that point of view with much more justification ... India in fact is not a country at all but in every sense as good a continent as Europe, Africa or North or South America."

Shaikh Abdul Majid explained, "GM Syed's resolution is similar to the proposal of Sir Stafford Cripps." The Resolution was moved and passed on 3 March 1943, out of 60 members 24 voted in favour and 3 voted against. Ex-Premier Allah Bakhsh Soomro was absent along with the rest of Muslim members. Hindu Independent Party members staged a walk-out. The two Hindu Ministers and the Parliamentary Secretary voted against.

The text of the Resolution was, "This House recommends to the government to convey to H.M.'s Government, through H.E. the Vice-roy, the sentiments and wishes of the Muslims of this province that, whereas the Muslims of India are a separate nation possessing religion, philosophy, social customs, literature, traditions, political and economic theories of their own, quite different from those of the Hindus, they are justly entitled to the right as a single, separate nation, to have independent national states of their own, carved out in the zones where they are in majority in the sub-continent of India. Wherefore they emphatically declare that no constitution shall be acceptable to them that will place the Muslims under a Central Government dominated by another nation, as in order to be able to play their part freely on their own distinct lines in order of things to come, it is necessary for them to have independent national states of their own, and hence any attempt to subject the Muslims of India, under one central government is bound to result in civil war with grave, unhappy consequences."

In so far as they could lift their eyes above their petty intrigues, they wanted 'independent national states' for Muslim majorities; they did not want a centre dominated by Hindus, but above all they did not want any centre which had the power to curb their avid particularism (Jalal, 1992, 110).

In a statement on 11 May 1943, Jethmal Parsaram lamented, "Other people have merely heard of Pakistan while we in Sindh are

seeing Pakistan. Pakistan in Sindh was taking the shape of Blackism for the Hindus of Sindh. Even the ink with which the Pakistan resolution had been written had not yet dried when there were introduced what have come to be known as the 'black bills'. These bills were meant to protect the poor man's land but their object was to cripple commerce, industry and agriculture for Hindus, and establish the feudal raj of *waderas* and *nawabs* of Sindh."

Every Muslim in Sindh is required to have a *Pir* (spiritual guide). To be *Be-Pir* (without a spiritual guide) is a term of abuse. Therefore there are numerous *pirs* in Sindh. One of the most famous is Pir Pagaro. Pirs of Pagara date their origin in Sindh to AD 711 when their ancestor, Sayyid Ali Makki, came with the Arab conqueror Muhammad bin Qasim and settled in Lakki near Sehwan. One of his descendants was Pir Muhammad Rashid, who died in 1818. He was known as Pir of Turban (Pagaro) and the Flag (Jhandewaro). He nominated his son, Pir Sibghatullah, as his successor. One of his brothers, Muhammad Yasin, disputed this and his descendants settled in Hala and became known as Pirs of Flag (Jhandewaro). But the famous branch remains that of the Pirs of Turban (Pagaro). Sibghatullah Shah II, the sixth in line, became Pir Pagaro in 1922. In 1929 he was charged with wrongful confinement of the boy Ibrahim Kori, and sentenced to imprisonment and fine. Pir served his sentence in Central Jail Midnapur in Bengal, where he met Bengali terrorists and Hindu nationalists.

Meanwhile some two hundred year old verses by the eighteenth century mystic, Abd al-Rahim Girohri, began to circulate among the Hurs conveying the message that the time had come for their Pir to become the ruler of Sindh. Pir Pagaro Sibghatullah Shah II began organizing a private army of 6,000 *ghazis* to seize power. The British Governor sent for the Pir in July 1941 and asked him to stay in Karachi, where his activities could be controlled. However, in October 1941 he suddenly left Karachi without informing the authorities. Pir was brought back to Karachi where he was formally arrested on 24 October, 1941, and sent to Seoni jail in Nagpur. This sparked a full-scale revolt among the Hurs who, turned to terrorism. The Sindh Legislative Assembly met in camera and passed the Hur Act on 20 March 1942, as members were afraid to vote on it in the open. The Hurs derailed the Lahore Mail train on 16 May 1942, thereby killing twenty four passengers, including Munawwar Hidayatullah, the son of the Prime Minister, and

many more. The authorities declared Martial Law in affected areas on 1 June, 1942. Pir Pagaro was brought back to Sindh in January 1943, and tried in Hyderabad Central Jail by a Military Tribunal in February for waging war against the King Emperor, and hanged on 23 March, 1943. Ex-Premier Allah Bakhsh Soomro was shot dead at 9 a.m. on 14 May, 1943, near the new Police Lines by four assailants, while going in a tonga in the direction of the civil court at Shikarpur (*The Daily Gazette*, 15 May 1943).

The Revenue Minister, K.B. MA Khuhro, had been acting as President of the Provincial Muslim League since the death of Sir Abdoolah Haroon. GM Syed put forward the view that League machinery should be free from the ministerial influence and domination and that no minister should hold the post of President of the Sindh Muslim League. Jinnah accepted the view. K.B. MA Khuhro kept the office of Revenue Minister and GM Syed was elected President, and Yusuf Haroon, General Secretary of the Sindh Muslim League on 13 June, 1943.

The Thirty-first Session of the All India Muslim League was held in Karachi from 24 to 26 December, 1943. GM Syed declared in his address of welcome in Urdu, "I welcome you all to the land of Sindhu. By Sindhu I mean that part of the Asian continent which is situated on the borders of the river Indus and its tributaries ... included Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Balochistan and the present province of Sindh ... the new proposed name, Pakistan, connotes the same old Sindhu land Many a race have intermixed here. Traces of Dravidian, Aryan, Semitic and Mongol traits can be easily seen at a glance The fertility of this soil has often tempted virile races to come down to this land of Sindhu In this way, new blood has ever been pouring into its veins History bears witness that in the past you have sent such gentlemen as Syed Bareilvi and Ismail Shaheed If people from Gujarat and Bombay could go to the Frontier to establish Hindu dominance there, could we, too, not repose some hope in you friends? ... you Muslims of India can help us a lot. The inhabitants of this land mostly belong to the agricultural profession, and are very backward in trade and industry. Your money and experience can remove this drawback. We are prepared to afford every facility for this with a way to making your way easier."

With Congress members of the Assembly interned due to their opposition to war, the Muslim League ministry had a relatively easy



Hashim Gazdar addressing the Muslim League meeting at Karachi, while Quaid-e-Azam is reading a newspaper, watched by Muslim League National Guards, Munawwar Hidayatullah & Mahmud Haroon. Sir Abdoolah Haroon is sitting on the right of Quaid-e-Azam. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Mir Bande Ali Talpur are on the sofa in the foreground.

time in the Assembly. Nichaldas C Vazirani told the Assembly on 7 March, 1944, "My charge is that this ministry has not given a fair play to the Hindu community. Good will is wanting on the part of at least some of the Honourable Ministers. I have learnt from a responsible person that one of the Honourable Ministers was heard to say that he was eagerly awaiting the day when the Hindu will have been reduced to the position where they will be merely hewers of wood and drawers of water and that their womenfolk would have to serve as servant maids in the homes of Muslim families It is also a fact that several Muslim officers have become irresponsible after the advent of this Ministry, and are speaking in most contemptuous terms of Hindus in general; and I submit that Hindus do feel, and I am one of them, that this is due to the policy of some of the Honourable Ministers. I make this statement with the full sense of responsibility that the Hindu community as a whole does feel that their interests are not safe in the hands of this Ministry It is very well known that Hindus in Sindh are 30 per cent of the population, and if we take the property, agricultural and non-agricultural together, they own about 50 per cent of the immovable property and I can make a statement that their contribution to income tax is nearly 80 per cent I submit that they cannot be threat-

ened and made to surrender either their properties or equal rights of citizenship Threats will not make them cowards in any way. I assert, Sir, that there is an unlimited scope of advancement in Sindh. There is more than plenty for all 43 lakhs of its inhabitants and there is no necessity, I would urge, for robbing some to provide for others. In fact if all the resources are tapped Sindh can well support 60 lakh more people than the present population of Sindh. Even, in fact, more than double the number of its own present population."

Sindh Muslim League President GM Syed replaced Yusuf Haroon with Syed Ghulam Haidar Shah as General Secretary of the Sindh Muslim League on 15 May, 1944, which created bitter feelings between Yusuf Haroon and Muhammad Ayub Khuhro on one side, and GM Syed and MH Gazdar on the other.

The Working Committee of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League met on 7 July, 1944, and passed a resolution which stated that "it is in the interest of the province and the Muslims of Sind that the Council of Ministers as at present composed, should resign. The Working Committee accordingly urges the President to ensure that the above resolution is implemented, and to take all consequential steps." The resolution was telegraphed to Jinnah, who telegraphed back, "[The] power [to] deal with matters referred in your telegram rests with Central Parliamentary Board. Please refrain proceeding further. Place matter before Parliamentary Board meeting Lahore 1st August also Working Committee Council Meetings 29th July onwards."

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro sent a telegram to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 8 July, and followed it with a letter on 10 July, 1944, in which he complained that GM Syed was intriguing with the Hindu members to in order to oust him from the government.



Quaid-i-Azam with Sindh Muslim League National Guards, Taj Hidayatullah and Mahmud Haroon.

Jinnah was highly annoyed by the resolution against the Minister and insulted GM Syed at the Working Committee meeting as well as outside it (Syed, 1996, 143).

Muhammad Ayub Khuhro was implicated in the murder of the Prime Minister Allah Bakhsh Soomro. He was forced to resign from the cabinet on 25 September, 1944, and was arrested the next day. MA Khuhro accused GM Syed and the Home Minister, Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, of implicating her husband in the case. She wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, "Mr Gazdar and Mr Syed also bear enmity towards my husband. Syed wants that Gazdar should become the Prime Minister of Sindh, and he himself the Dictator It is common talk here that Gazdar and some police officials have together obtained about two crore of Rupees in bribes ... it is the Hindus of Sindh who want to create disruption amongst the Sindh Muslims and they want to establish a ministry which would be a tool in their hands, such as that of Allah Bakhsh, and this purpose can be achieved through Syed and Gazdar Gazdar and Syed wish that Muhammad Ayub Khuhro should either be imprisoned for a long term or be hanged."

After the resignation and arrest of MA Khuhro, GM Syed called a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party, to select a new minister. Prime Minister Hidayatullah cancelled the meeting and asserted his right to select his own minister, complaining to Jinnah, "GM Syed wishes to establish a Sayed Raj here, and wants me to appoint a Sayed as Minister." In turn Syed accused Hidayatullah, "it is not unlikely that the Premier of the so-called League Ministry may form a new ministry under a different label."

Prime Minister Hidayatullah took away the Home portfolio from MH Gazdar, and brought Ghulam Ali Talpur and Roger Thomas into the cabinet on 13 November 1944 to shore up his ministry. GM Syed protested that by appointing Roger Thomas, Prime Minister Hidayatullah had upset the balance in the cabinet of 1 non-Muslim to 2 Muslim. GM Syed and Prime Minister Hidayatullah again clashed when a five member Sindh Muslim League Parliamentary Board met on 19 November, 1944, to select a candidate for the by-election at Shikarpur. Chairman GM Syed, Muhammad Ayub Shah and Ghulam Nabi Pathan gave their three votes to Ghulam Nabi Pathan while Anwar, the son of the Muslim League Prime Minister Hidayatullah received the two votes of Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur and his father.

Prime Minister Hidayatullah contended that Ghulam Nabi Pathan had no standing in Shikarpur and only a strong candidate like his son could win the election for the Muslim League against Maula Bakhsh Soomro, the brother of the assassinated Prime Minister Allah Bakhsh Soomro. The Prime Minister appealed to the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League which consisted of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman and Husain Imam who rejected his appeal and upheld the decision of the Sindh Parliamentary Board.

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

Prime Minister Hidayatullah wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 29 December 1944, saying, "They are trying to stab me very soon, so I must get rid of him at once. I cannot allow a disloyal and treacherous colleague with me in the cabinet" and asked MH Gazdar on 6 January, 1945, to resign from the cabinet.

As predicted by Prime Minister Hidayatullah, the Muslim League lost the by-election. Ghulam Nabi Pathan, the Muslim League candidate favoured by GM Syed, failed to elicit support in the constituency. GM Syed withdrew Ghulam Nabi Pathan and offered the seat to the



Begum Khuhro accused Gazdar and Syed of implicating her husband in the murder of Allah Bakhsh Soomro.

son of the Prime Minister, who refused the honour because he said that as he had been turned down by the Central Parliamentary Board, therefore he must abide by its decision. In desperation GM Syed offered the seat to Nizamuddin Agha, who also withdrew after a few days of electioneering in the constituency. Thereafter, GM Syed offered the seat to Pir Rahim Shah, brother of the late Pir Pagaro, but he lost the election to Maula Bakhsh Soomro.

The next trial of strength between the Pir and Mir groups in Sindh politics took place at Tando Muhammad Khan. Yusuf Hanjra wrote to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 16 January 1945 that GM Syed had invited applications for the Tando Muhammad Khan by-election, but had not put up the Muslim League candidate. Now he was supporting Syed Kabul M. Shah against HB Talpur, "I protest that Mr GM Syed is not an individual but he is President of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League, Member of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, Member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and as such he has no individual capacity, and it is not befitting for him to take part in the election by siding with one or the other when the League has not set up a candidate" Once again the candidate supported by GM Syed lost the election.

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

Jinnah that he would maintain complete harmony, solidarity and unity in the Muslim League ranks. Jinnah accepted his assurance and gave him a letter to deliver to Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, in which he asked Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah to receive GM Syed with complete sincerity, which GM Syed would reciprocate.

The Sindh Muslim League Assembly Party met on Friday, 23 February, 1945, at 11 a.m., to consider the agenda before the house. The Muslim League Assembly Party, including GM Syed and Muhammad Hashim Gazdar, unanimously passed a resolution in support of the supplementary grant to be moved by the Muslim League ministry on 24 February, 1945. However, the next day when Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah moved the supplementary grants on the floor of the House, GM Syed dropped a bombshell by announcing that he and his supporters had decided to throw out the Ministry. While Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah negotiated with members of the Assembly he asked Pir Illahi Bakhsh to get in touch with Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the phone. As advised by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah called a meeting of the remaining members of the Muslim League Assembly Party and expelled GM Syed and MH Gazdar. Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah wired to Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 26 February, 1945, announcing that he had saved the Muslim League government by including Moula Bakhsh Soomro in the cabinet. Muhammad Ali Jinnah wired back to Prime Minister Hidayatullah on 28 February, stating, "Unable to approve inclusion of Moula Bakhsh Soomro (in) League ministry unless he joins League" And on the same day Muhammad Ali Jinnah wired to G M Syed, "Lent yourself to unworthy intrigues. Playing in hands of enemies. Have let down your leader and party." Jinnah's telegrams had the desired effect. The Prime Minister Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah dropped Moula Bakhsh Soomro from the cabinet as he refused to join the Muslim League, while GM Syed refrained from voting against the Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah ministry. GM Syed writes that "At this time, my will-power was greatly weakened by the numerous letters and telegrams that I was receiving... unanimous in their entreaty that I should agree, in the interest of the community, to make an unconditional surrender before the League High Command" (Syed, 1996, 159). GM Syed telegraphed to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan his abject surrender, "...

shall carry out loyally your direction stop have since assured Sir Ghulam Hussain complete support."

This also brought other rebels back to the Muslim League fold. In June 1945, GM Syed held a meeting of the newly elected Council of the Sindh Muslim League, which was packed with his supporters. He appointed Shaikh Abdul Majid as Chairman of Committee of Action. Shaikh Abdul Majid had left Muslim League and formed an *Azad* Muslim group. GM Syed also brought back Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi who had left the Muslim League and written to GM Syed on 15 November, 1944, to do the same. He had written, "I have thought over your entire career of the last two years. Yours has been a tragic life, a pathetic case of 'climb-down'.... I often wonder now-a-days, if your soul is feeling sleepy ... the way you are going on, you too will have to die a heart-broken man, and on your grave, there shall be an epitaph. Here lie the remains [of] a pathetic personality, who sought good through evil, who started as a revolutionary but ended as a reactionary and whose contribution towards the affairs of his country was only 'greater confusion'." GM Syed also welcomed GM Bhurgri who re-joined Muslim League and prepared for a showdown with the High Command of the Muslim League.

The Sindh Provincial Muslim League was a rag-tag bunch of squabbling factions and rival personalities, each anxious for the spoils of office. Adjectives failed the Governor in describing its leading lights—Khuhro, the 'dishonest rascal and careerist', Mir Bande Ali Khan, who 'has so far let down everyone of his political associates... and the only thing for which he can now be trusted is to do it again', GM Syed, the dangerous demagogue (Jalal, 1992, 109).

The British Governor wrote to the Viceroy, "Jinnah dislikes them all. He once told me he could buy the lot of them for five lakhs of rupees, to which I replied I could do it a lot cheaper" (Talbot, 1988; 50). Viceroy Lord Wavell wrote in his journal on 15 March, 1945, "In Sindh, Hidayatullah has managed to emerge still in charge after a most unsavoury exhibition of disloyalty and intrigue by all concerned."

MA Khuhro was acquitted of the murder charge on 3 August, 1945, and received a warm reception from Muslims all over Sindh. Lord Wavell wrote in his journal on 24 August 1945, "...to be suspected of murdering one's enemies, or even known to have done it, is a qualification rather than a hindrance in Sindh politics."

The Viceroy announced on 24 August 1945, that elections would be held in the winter of 1945-6. The Sindh Legislative Assembly was dissolved on 1 September 1945, but ministers were retained by the Governor.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah arrived in Karachi on 29 August 1945, to sort out differences between Prime Minister Hidayatullah, the leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, and GM Syed, President of the Provincial Muslim League, and to set up a Parliamentary Board which would comprise of two members from the GM Syed group, two from the Sir Ghulam Husain group, two from Mir group and one from the Khuhro group. After intensive negotiations lasting many days, Muhammad Ali Jinnah persuaded GM Syed to accept a compromise Parliamentary Board of seven, consisting of GM Syed (President), Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Syed Khair Shah, Sir Ghulam Husain, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, MA Khuhro and Pir Illahi Bakhsh. It received the approval of the Provincial Muslim League Council convened by GM Syed on 15 September 1945.

Jinnah left for Quetta, and the Parliamentary Board began its work of selecting candidates at the house of GM Syed on 29 September 1945. The Sindh Muslim League received seventy applications for 34 or 35 Muslim seats in the Sindh Assembly. Tickets for Larkana, Jacobabad, Nawabshah districts were decided unanimously, but thereafter the unanimity ended and GM Syed found himself in minority. GM Syed suspended the proceedings of the Parliamentary Board on 1 October, 1945. The majority, i.e four members of the Parliamentary Board, voted against the adjournment and moved two doors away to the house of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro to continue the meeting. And instead of referring the matter to Central Parliamentary Board, GM Syed called a meeting of the Sindh Provincial Muslim League Council for 14 October 1945.

MA Khuhro wrote to Jinnah, "GM Syed has acted very wrongly by causing the rift which could have easily been avoided, but Messrs. Ali Muhammad Rashdi and MH Gazdar are at the back of it. Mr. Rashdi wanted to bring about disruption in League circles at the instigation of the Hindus" Jinnah wrote back, "I hope that the Central Parliamentary Board will be able to successfully handle the matter. All I can say is that the only issue before us is Pakistan versus Akhand Hindustan, and if Sindh fails, God help you" (Khuhro, 1998; 274).

The Sindh Provincial Muslim League Council met on 14 October, 1945, and appointed a five-member committee comprising GM Syed, Syed Khair Shah, Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, Syed Muhammad Ali Shah and GM Bhurgri, to advise the Central Parliamentary Board in the selection of candidates.

Three members the Central Parliamentary Board of the All India Muslim League, consisting of Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail and Husain Imam, arrived but failed to reconcile the groups regarding two seats. These seats were Rashdi versus Yusuf Haroon for the Central Legislature, and Sayed Ghulam Hyder Shah versus Ghulam Muhammad Wassan for Tharparkar North. The tickets were awarded to Haroon and Wassan. Rashdi wrote, "I was not too upset. I knew that the sticking point for Syed would be Hyder Shah and for Khuhro, Wassan. This would be the decisive encounter and that Khuhro would get the ticket for his man. This would give us chance to get into fight again. I sat in the outside room waiting while the meeting went on, and sure enough Syed came out white with fury, saying, "The ticket has been awarded to Wassan." I immediately told him that that mattered not at all, and asked was he not the President of the Provincial Muslim League. He could award his own tickets" (Khuhro, 1998; 276).

That evening Rashdi and Nichaldas Vazirani met at Syed's house opposite Patel Park and drafted a statement for him to issue to the press. Syed called an urgent meeting of council of the Provincial Muslim League.

On his way back from Quetta, Muhammad Ali Jinnah had a lengthy meeting with GM Syed, blaming him for suspending the meeting of the Sindh Parliamentary Board. Jinnah then formally announced on 24 October, 1945, the names of candidates so far selected for contesting the election on the Muslim League ticket, and asked the Central Parliamentary Board to finalize the rest of the list.

GM Syed resigned from the Muslim League Working Committee, but continued to be President of the Provincial Muslim League, and announced his own list of candidates who would stand as members of the 'Sindh Muslim League'.

The election for the Central Legislature took place on 11 December, 1945. The Muslim League nominee Yusuf Haroon received 17,165 votes against 7,887 votes of Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi who had the support of GM Syed of Progressive Muslim League but con-



Quaid-i-Azam with Muslim League National Guards (Women's Wing), 1942.

tested as Nationalist Muslim. In fact all the Muslim seats in the Central Legislature were won by the All India Muslim League which polled 86.7% of Muhammadan votes cast for Central Legislative Assembly.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah sent Liaquat Ali Khan and Qazi Isa to Sindh, to meet GM Syed in another effort to bring about reconciliation between the two groups before the provincial elections in January, but they failed. Eventually on 20 December, 1945, the Central Parliamentary Board withdrew the League tickets from Syed's candidates. A week later, GM Syed resigned from the All India Muslim League Committee of Action and renounced the Muslim League ticket for the Provincial Assembly. He launched a bitter attack against Jinnah and the Muslim League through the columns of his Sindhi newspaper, *Qurbani* and raised the demand for a separate sovereign state of Sindh, which would not be part of a federation that included Punjab. His candidate for the Central Legislature, Pir Ali Muhammad Rashdi later wrote *Faryad-i-Sindh* which became the Bible of Sindhi nationalists. Its thesis was that Sindh and Punjab had equal political status as provinces of the British Raj, and Sindh had its own government with Sindhi ministers, yet Punjabis monopolized all the government jobs reserved for Sindhi Muslims, and ran the administration and police. They feared the time