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SIND UNDER THE MUGHULS

An Introduction to, Translation of and Commentary on

The Maḡhar-i Shāhjahānī

of

Yūsuf Mīrak

(1044/1634)

By

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Asian Studies)
in The Australian National University.

February 1983

Except where otherwise stated, this thesis
embodies the results of my original research.

Canberra the
27 January 1983

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. S. Akhtar' with a stylized flourish at the end.

Muhammad S. Akhtar

O Spring of work! O Source of power to Be
Each line, each thought I dedicate to Thee;
Each time I fail the failure is my own,
But each success, a jewel in Thy Throne.

Jessie E. Cadell

CONTENTSPAGE NO.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v.
CONSPECTUS OF THE THESIS	vii.
ILLUSTRATIONS	ix.
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES	ix.
ABBREVIATIONS	x.
INTRODUCTION	1
SECTION I: THE ARGHŪNS AND TARKHĀNS OF SIND AND THE GREAT MUGHULS OF INDIA	
1. <i>Background</i>	1
2. <i>Bābur and Shāh Beg Arghūn</i>	19
3. <i>Shāh Ḥasan's Flight to Bābur's Court</i>	31
4. <i>Shāh Beg Moves to Sind</i>	36
5. <i>Shāh Ḥasan Succeeds His Father</i>	41
6. <i>Shāh Ḥasan and Humāyūn</i>	43
7. <i>Shāh Ḥasan Greets Kāmraṇ and Welcomes Kh. Kalān</i>	45
8. <i>Rise of Shīr Shāh in India</i>	47
9. <i>Fall of Humāyūn</i>	48
10. <i>Humāyūn Turns to Sind</i>	50
11. <i>Exchange of Messages Between Humāyūn and Shāh Ḥasan</i>	51
12. <i>Shāh Ḥasan Takes Precautionary Measures</i>	52
13. <i>Humāyūn Moves to Rohri</i>	53
14. <i>Humāyūn Visits Darbela</i>	53
15. <i>Humāyūn Besieges Siwistan</i>	55
16. <i>Shāh Ḥasan Wins Over Yādigār Nāṣir</i>	56
17. <i>Humāyūn Withdraws to Bhakkar</i>	57
18. <i>Humāyūn Proceeds to Marwar via Uchh</i>	58
19. <i>Humāyūn Returns to Sind and Leaves for Qandahar</i>	59
20. <i>Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn and Mīrzā Kāmraṇ</i>	60
21. <i>Shah Ḥasan's Later Years and His Legacy</i>	63
22. <i>Successors of Shāh Ḥasan and the Mughul Court</i>	67
23. <i>Sultān Maḥmūd and the Ṣafawid Court</i>	70
24. <i>Mīrzā Bāqī Succeeds Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān</i>	72
25. <i>Nāhid Begum's Visit to Sind and the Subsequent Events</i>	73

26. <i>Mīrzā Bāqī Offers the Hand of His Daughter to Akbar</i>	74
27. <i>Sultān Maḥmūd's Offer of Help Against Thatta</i>	75
28. <i>First Encounter Between the Mughul and Bhakkarī Forces</i>	77
29. <i>Sultān Maḥmūd Marries His Daughter to Akbar</i>	78
30. <i>Beg Ōghlī Rebels Against Sultān Maḥmūd</i>	79
31. <i>Sultān Maḥmūd Offers to Surrender the Fort</i>	80
32. <i>Arrival of Gīsū Khān from the Mughul Court</i>	81
33. <i>Bhakkar Passes Under Mughul Rule</i>	85
34. <i>War of Succession and the Rise to Power of Mīrzā Jānī Beg</i>	86
35. <i>Akbar Orders Reduction of Thatta</i>	88
36. <i>Exchange of Embassies Between Jānī Beg and Akbar</i>	91
37. <i>Akbar Decides on Military Action Against Qandahar and Thatta</i>	92
38. <i>The Imperialists Advance Upon Sihwan</i>	94
39. <i>Mīrzā Jānī Prepares to Meet the Imperialists</i>	96
40. <i>Intrigue in the Tarkhān Camp</i>	98
41. <i>Khusrau Charkas Attacks Imperialist Positions</i>	100
42. <i>Khān-i Khānān Lays Siege to Buhīrī Jāhēja</i>	103
43. <i>Khān-i Khānān Lifts the Siege</i>	105
44. <i>Mīrzā Jānī Sets Out for Sihwan</i>	107
45. <i>The Imperialists Surprise and Defeat Sindhī Forces</i>	108
46. <i>The Imperialists Lay Siege to Sindhī Positions at Ūnarpūr</i>	110
47. <i>Mīrzā Jānī Capitulates</i>	112
48. <i>His Flight to Thatta</i>	112
49. <i>The Imperialists Advance Upon Thatta</i>	113
50. <i>Mīrzā Jānī Meets the Khān-i Khānān</i>	116
51. <i>His Departure From Thatta</i>	117
52. <i>Mīrzā Jānī Waits Upon Akbar</i>	118
53. <i>His Death</i>	120
54. <i>Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān Succeeds His Father</i>	121
55. <i>Mīrzā Ghāzī at the Mughul Court</i>	124
56. <i>His Nomination for Qandahar Expedition</i>	128
57. <i>His Victorious Entry Into Qandahar</i>	131
58. <i>His Recall to Court and Reappointment to Qandahar</i>	132
59. <i>His Relations with Shāh 'Abbās of Persia</i>	134
60. <i>His Stay at Qandahar</i>	125

SECTION II: THE AUTHOR AND HIS FAMILY

1.	<i>Yūsuf Mīrak</i>	140
2.	<i>His Father</i>	145
	a. <i>Mīr Namakīn's Children</i>	166
	b. <i>Mīr Namakīn's Servants</i>	168
	c. <i>Mīr Namakīn's Works</i>	169
3.	<i>His Elder Brother and His Descendants</i>	170
	a. <i>Mīr 'Atīq Allāh</i>	176
	b. <i>Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf</i>	177
	c. <i>Mīr Abū al-Qāsim</i>	180
	d. <i>Mīr 'Abd al-Razzāq</i>	181
	e. <i>Mīr Abū al-Makāram Shuhūd</i>	181
	f. <i>Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm</i>	186
	g. <i>Mīr Abū al-Baqā's Daughters</i>	196

SECTION III: THE BOOK

1.	<i>Development of Persian Historiography in Sind</i>	197
2.	<i>The Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī as a work of History</i>	203
3.	<i>The Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī as a 'Mirror for Princes'</i>	210

THE TRANSLATION OF *THE MAZHAR-I SHĀHJAHĀNĪ*

Chapter One: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Bhakkar	214
Chapter Two: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Siwi	224
Chapter Three: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Thatta	228
- Governorship of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek	233
- Governorship of Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī	233
- Governorship of Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī	235
Chapter Four: An Account of the Affairs of the Region of Sihwan	
Section I: <i>Parganas</i> of this Region	240
Section II: Intractable and Seditious Elements	249
Section III: Causes of the Destruction of Peasants and of the Strengthening of the Insurgents	252

Tenure of Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān	253
Tenure of Kh. Nūr al-Dīn Karōrī	259
Tenure of Sh. Mūsā Gīlānī	260
Tenure of Qarā Beg	261
Tenure of the Author's Father for the first time	261
Tenure of the Author's Father for the second time	264
Tenure of Shamshīr Khān for the first time	267
Tenure of the Author's Brother	268
Tenure of Shamshīr Khān for the second time	271
Tenure of Shams al-Dīn	282
Tenure of Naurūz Beg	283
Tenure of Sayf al-Mulūk Kāshgharī	283
Tenure of Aḥmad Beg Khān	284
Tenure of Dīndār Khān	290
Section IV: A Brief Account of the Measures for the Improvement of the Region of Sihwan	299
Section V: On the Ways of Quelling the Fire of Insurgency	306
Pillar One: On the Ways of Exterminating the Samējas Ūnar	306
Pillar Two: On the Ways of Subduing the Chāndiya Balūches	325

COMMENTARY

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

OMISSIONS FROM THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

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I am also grateful to Professor Sayyid Jafar Shaheedi of Tehran University for sending me a complete set of the *Loghat Nāma-i Dehkhoda* at a very short notice.

Maps 1 and 2 included in this thesis are respectively taken from Stanley Lane-Pool's *Babar* and Niyaz Humayuni's Sindhi translation of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*. I appreciatively place on record my debt to the publishers of these two works.

Joyce Barrett and Patty Lock deserve my warmest thanks for their meticulous typing of the thesis.

Finally, my heart goes out in gratitude to my wife without whose dedication and devotion this enterprise would have probably never been completed. I also wish to say a word of apology to my little daughter *Bītā* who certainly had to do without a great deal of fatherly love which she so amply deserves during the early days of her life.

CONSPECTUS OF THE THESIS

Started as a simple translation of the second half of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, a matchless compendium on the working of the Mughul administration in Sind, the present thesis has developed into an exhaustive history of relations between the Arghūns and Tarkhāns of Sind and the Great Mughul of India from the days of Tīmūr down to the reign of Jahāngīr. The thesis comprises three parts: Introduction, Translation of the second half of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, and the Commentary.

The Introduction consists of three Sections. Section I traces the origin of the Arghūns, their rise to power in Qandahar, their conflicts with Bābur and in doing so sheds significant light on the number, nature and duration of the latter's campaigns against that important Arghūn stronghold prior to his triumphant advent into Hindustan. The later part of this Section deals with the Arghūn rule in Sind, Humāyūn's wanderings in this region, the mutual rivalries of the successors of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, division of Sind into two independent principalities of Bhakkar and Thatta and their subsequent absorption into the Mughul Empire.

Section II of the Introduction deals at length with the details about the author and his family, while Section III seeks to evaluate the importance of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* among the histories of Sind and the 'Mirrors for Princes' written in India, particularly for or under the Great Mughuls.

To facilitate the finding of answers to the questions arising from the study of the Translation and to compensate for the absence of an elaborate index, the Introduction has been divided into convenient sub-sections.

The Translation is based upon the only surviving (author's autograph) MS.7743 of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* preserved in the Library of the Punjab University, Lahore. While the commonly known administrative terms, & c., have been retained in their original form, the unfamiliar technical terms, words and phrases have been rendered into English, but their Persian versions have been placed alongside in brackets. Those of the abstruse terms and expressions which could not be found in standard lexicographical works, they were resolved on the analogy of their usage by other writers of Persian historical works in India.

The Commentary treats of all types of important points pertaining to the Translation. The number on the left hand side of the colon at the

beginning of each explanation refers to the page of the Translation, while the one on the right hand side indicates the line where that particular point occurs. The biographies of the historical personages, & c., have been written very painstakingly and could be of immense value in the compilation of a comprehensive history of Sind, whenever that comes to be written.

The Introduction and Commentary also have the merit of being a comparative study of the contemporary and secondary sources on the history of Sind, and even a cursory glance through the foot-notes is enough to show their thoroughness. They underline the importance of critical edition of the original historical texts before they are translated into any other language. They also bring out the necessity of fusion between the knowledge of Persian and a certain degree of training as historian before one can undertake the edition or translation of a historical text on scientific grounds.

In the execution of this enterprise, the present writer has not infrequently disagreed with his precursors. In criticising their works, to which he himself owes tremendously, he was inspired by the same lofty ideals which prompted Hodivala to undertake the writing of the *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* and the idea of discrediting or disparaging them never crossed his mind because he was more than anybody else conscious of the fact that *Hama chīz hamagān dānand wa hamagān hanūz az mādar na zāda and* ('It is the whole of mankind that knows everything, and the whole of mankind has not yet been born'). Nevertheless, the pursuit of the truth transcended all considerations and no pain was considered too great to reach to the facts.

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Map. 1 India and Transoxiana
 Map. 2 1608-1700 A.D. Administrative map of Sind

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Names of printed books and their authors appear in their original form but otherwise the following system of transliteration has been followed in this thesis:

ا	ب	پ	ت	ث	ج	چ	ح	خ	د
a	b	p	t	th	j	ch	h	kh	d
ذ	ر	ز	ژ	س	ش	س	ض	ط	ظ
dh	r	z	zh	s	sh	s	d	t	z
ع	غ	ف	ق	ک	گ	ل	م	ن	و
'	gh	f	q	k	g	l	m	n	w
ه	و	ی							
h		y							

Short vowels are unmarked. Long vowels carry a macron, thus: ā, ē, ī, ō, ū. The diphthongs have been represented by 'au' and 'ay'.

For the facility of the scholars both the Hijra as well as the Christian Era have been used throughout the thesis. The figure on the left of the oblique stands for the Hijra while that on the right hand represents the corresponding Christian year.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.	<i>Ā'īn-i Akbarī</i>
A.A.A.	<i>‘Alam Āra-i ‘Abbāsī</i>
A.A.tr.	<i>Ā'īn-i Akbarī</i> , English translation
Ad.A1.	<i>Ādab-i ‘Ālamgīrī</i>
A.N.	<i>Akbar Nāma</i>
A.N.tr.	<i>Akbar Nāma</i> , English translation
Ansar Zahid Khan	<i>History and Culture of Sind</i>
Avasthy	<i>The Mughal Emperor Humayun</i>
B.M.	British Museum
B.N.	<i>Bābur Nāma</i> , English translation
B.Q.	<i>Burhān-i Qāṭi‘</i>
Beg.N.	<i>Beglar Nāma</i>
<i>Bahr al-Asrār</i>	<i>Bahr al-Asrār</i> of Mahmūd b. Amīr Walī Balkhī
Baranī	<i>Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī</i>
Blochmann	<i>The Ā'īn-i Akbarī</i> , vol. I.
D.I.	<i>Dictionary of Islam</i>
Dh.Kh.	<i>Dhakhīrat al-Khwānīn</i>
E&D	<i>History of India as Told by Its Own Historians</i>
E.F.I.	<i>English Factories in India</i>
E.I.	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , New Edition
F.A.R.	<i>Farhang-i Anand Rāj</i>
F.J.	<i>Farhang-i Jahāngīrī</i>
G.A.	<i>Gulzār-i Abrār</i> , MS. 185 The John Rylands Library, Manchester
H.A.T.S.	<i>History of the Arghūns and Tarkhāns of Sind</i>
H.N.	<i>Humāyūn Nāma</i>
H.N.	<i>Humāyūn Nāma</i> , English translation
H.S.	<i>Ḥabīb al-Siyar</i>
Hashimī	<i>Taqwīm-i Ta'rīkh</i>
Hobson-Jobson	<i>Hobson-Jobson</i> by Yule and Burnell
I.D.C.	<i>The Indus Delta Country</i>
I.G.I.	<i>The Imperial Gazetteer of India</i>

I.O.	India Office
Intro.	Introduction
Kāmwar Khān	<i>Tadhkirat al-Salātin-i Chaghtā</i>
Kēwalrām	<i>Tadhkirat al-Umarā'</i>
Kh.T.	<i>Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh</i>
L.T.S.	<i>Lubb-i Ta'rīkh-i Sindh</i>
Lāhaurī	<i>Bādshāh Nāma</i>
Lane	<i>Arabic-English Lexicon</i>
Loghat Nāma	<i>Loghat Nāma-i Dihkhudā</i>
M.A./Alam	<i>Mirat al-Ālam</i>
M.AL./M.AL.tr.	<i>Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī</i> , English translation
M.J.	<i>Ma'āthir-i Jahāngīrī</i>
M.N.	<i>Maklī Nāma</i>
M.R.	<i>Ma'āthir-i Raḥīmī</i>
M.Sh.	<i>Maqālāt al-Shu'arā'</i>
M.T.	<i>Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh</i> by Badāyūnī
M.U.	<i>Ma'āthir al-Umarā'</i>
M.U.tr.	<i>Ma'āthir al-Umarā'</i> , Urdū translation
Mazhar	<i>Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī</i>
Maz. Sh.	<i>Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī</i> , Rāshidi Edition
n.	note/notes
N.M.	<i>Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir</i>
P.E.D.	<i>The Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary</i>
P.U.MS.	<i>Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī</i> MS. 7743, Punjab University Lahore
Q.N.	<i>Qābūs Nāma</i>
R.S.	<i>Raudat al-Safā</i>
Raverty	<i>The Mihran of Sind</i>
Riazul Islam	<i>Indo-Persian Relations</i>
S.D.Sh.	<i>Selected Documents of Shāh Jahān's Reign</i>
Sorley	<i>Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit</i>
Steingass	<i>A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary</i>
T.A.	<i>Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī</i>
T.A.tr.	<i>Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī</i> , English translation
T.A.Kh.	<i>Tadhkira-i Amīr Khānī</i> by Rāshidī

<i>T.F.</i>	<i>Ta'rīkh-i Firishta</i>
<i>T.F.S.M.</i>	<i>The Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique</i>
<i>T.K.</i>	<i>Tuhfat al-Kirām</i> , Rāshidi Edition
<i>T.K. tr.</i>	<i>Tuhfat al-Kirām</i> , Urdū translation
<i>T.N.</i>	<i>Tarkhān Nāma</i>
<i>T.R.</i>	<i>Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī</i>
<i>T.S.</i>	<i>Ta'rīkh-i Sindh</i>
<i>T.T.</i>	<i>Ta'rīkh-i Tāhiri</i>
<i>tr.</i>	translation
<i>Tūzūk</i>	<i>Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī</i> , Persian Text
<i>Tūzūk (R&B)</i>	<i>Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī</i> , English translation
<i>Tūzūk, tr.</i>	<i>Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī</i> , Urdū translation

INTRODUCTION

Section I: THE ARGHŪNS AND TARKHĀNS OF SIND AND THE
GREAT MUGHULS OF INDIA

1. *Background*

Sequestered in the extreme western corner of the South Asian subcontinent, Sind has almost always enjoyed a peculiar aloofness from the developments taking place in the neighbouring regions.¹ During the later half of the 9th/15th and in the early 10th/16th centuries, when the scions of the great house of Tīmūr were contending for the fragments of the quickly disintegrating empire of their ancestor, and the Emperors of Delhi were endeavouring to arrest the fissiparous tendencies of their dominions, the throne of Sind was adorned by Jām Nizām al-Dīn Nanda (866-914/1461-1508), the penultimate ruler of the Samma dynasty. The Jām's territories, as pointed out by Erskine,² "reached from the ocean to the Multān territory, above Bheker, on the one side; and from the Rājput desert and Kach, to the Bolan Pass and Balūchistān on the other; comprehending, the Delta of the Indus and the country on both sides of the river to some distance from its banks, especially Sehwān with Shikārpore, Kach-Gandāva, and part of Sīwistān." Thanks to the pragmatic policies of this Jām, as the Samma rulers of Sind were traditionally called, Sind became a land of peace and plenty. The insurgent tribes were effectively held in check, people lived in harmony with each other and art and learning

1 For detail see Sorley, pp. 12-4; Avasthy, pp. 392-5.

2 Erskine, vol. I, p. 358.

rapidly progressed.³ However, as the subsequent events proved, Jām Nanda's was the twilight of the Samma rule in Sind and like the last phase in the life of a candle, the effervescence of the power and dignity of his house was at its brightest during his reign. With his death the native tribes were divided among themselves, each faction supporting its own candidate for the throne, the court was engulfed by plots and conspiracies and the concomitant misgovernment had a serious impact on the kingdom's security and stability.⁴ At this time the Arghūn ruler of Qandahār, Shāh Beg, was under increasing pressure from Bābur to quit Qandahār. With Jām Nanda gone, as the following lines will show, all obstacles to Shāh Beg's conquest of Sind were removed. After this conquest was accomplished, for three quarters of a century these territories were directly ruled by the Arghūns and their Tarkhān cousins. For the next quarter of a century also these latter held Sind under their sway, but only as vassals to the great Mughuls of India. The death of Mīrza Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān in 1021/1612 culminated this era of Sind's history and henceforth it passed under the Mughul governors. Finally, after Nādir Shāh's invasion of India in 1151/1739, when as part of the peace treaty, Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1719-48) ceded all territories west of the Indus to the Iranian invader,⁵ the last Mughul representative in the region, Miyān Nūr Muḥammad, of the native Kalhōra clan, theoretically at least, became a vassal to Iran, though Nādir Shāh could not obtain the Miyān's allegiance without storming his stronghold of 'Umarkōt during the following year.⁶

3 T.S., pp.73-6; T.T., pp.51-6.

4 See *infra*, p.

5 Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astrābādī, *Durra-i Nādīra*, ed. Sayyid Ja'far Shahīdī, Tehran, 1341, H.Sh., p. 487; Muḥammad Shafī' Wārid Tehrānī, *Ta'rikh-i Nādir Shāhī*, ed. Ridā Sha'hānī, Tehran, 1349 H.Sh., p.235; L. Lockhart, *Nādir Shāh*, Lahore, 1976 repr., p. 153; Zahir Uddin Malik, *The Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1719-1748*, Bombay, 1977, p. 181.

6 Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Astrābādī, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-505; Lockhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-61; 'Abd al-Karīm Kashmīrī, *Bayān-i Wāqī'*, ed. K.B. Nasim, Lahore, 1970, pp. 53-8; Sayyid Muḥammad Bilgrāmī, *Tabṣīrat al-Nāẓirīn*, MS., Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī Private Collection (1979), entries for 1151 and 1156 A.H.

The Arghūns traced their origin through Arghūn Khan to Chingīz,⁷ one of the two great Scourges of Asia, the other being Tīmūr, whose blood comingled with the former's in the veins of Zahr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur,⁸ the founder of the Mughul dynasty in India. Although the Arghūns had long been in the service of the Timūrids and a section of them even fought under Īkū Tīmūr for Amīr Tīmūr (d.807/1405), and was rewarded by that great empire-builder for its meritorious services with the exalted title of *Tarkhān*⁹

7 See *H.A.T.S.*, p. 249.

8 Stanley Lane-Poole, *Babar*, New Delhi, 1957 repr., p. 9.

9 The title of *Tarkhān* whose history goes back to the time of Chingīz (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 635; *T.N.*, pp. 4-5) was generally conferred for exceptionally distinguished services, regardless of the racial descent and tribal affiliations of the recipient. Among the twelve tribes which submitted to the government of Tīmūr, the Arghūns and the Tarkhāns were also included. These Tarkhāns were not necessarily of Arghūn origin and could have descended from the Tarkhāns created by some earlier rulers (See *T.R.*, p. 55 and n. 3). In 793/1391 all those who fought valiantly against the Qipchāq ruler, Tūqtmīsh were raised to the status of *Tarkhān* by Tīmūr. The forefather of the Tarkhāns of Sind, Īkū Tīmūr, an Arghūn (*T.N.*, p.5) laid down his life in this encounter. (Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafar Nāma*, ed. Felix Tauer, Prague, 1937-56, vol. I, pp. 122-3; vol.II, p. 96). According to *T.N.*, p. 5, which bases its information on the *Zafar Nāma-i Tīmūrī*, Tīmūr raised the entire tribe of his dead retainer to the status of Tarkhān. The Tarkhāns of Sind were descended from this tribe.

Shaybānī Khān Ūzbek conferred this title at least on two persons (See *H.S.*, ii, 306, 1.2, quoted in *B.N.*, p. 133, n.1; and *Majālis al-Nafā'is* quoted in *Loghat Nāma*, Letter ت, Fascicule, 6, p.546). The increase or decrease in the privileges accompanying this title depended on the pleasure of the ruler granting this title (*T.R.*, pp.54-5). Bābur granted some of these privileges to Bāqī Chaghāniyānī (*B.N.*, p. 250) and Akbar conferred the title of Tarkhān on Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Safīdūnī, but gave him only a diploma of investiture and a standard (See Mīr 'Alā' al-Daula Kāmī Qazwīnī, *Nafā'is al-Ma'āthir*, MS., Aumer 3 Munich, Letter ت).

and the numerous perquisites that went with it,¹⁰ but to gain real pre-eminence among other tribes they had to wait until 855/1451, the year in which Tīmūr's great-grandson and Bābur's grandfather, Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā ascended the throne of Samarqand.

The progenitor of the Arghūn rulers of Sind, Mīr Dhū al-Nūn also started his career under Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd (855-73/1451-69).¹¹ Besides the fact that Dhū al-Nūn hailed from the Arghūn tribe which had played a prominent role in raising Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd to the throne,¹² the coincidence of Abū Sa'īd's great liking for brave men¹³ and Dhū al-Nūn's exceptional skill in single combats¹⁴ made it much easier for the gallant youth to work his way up to the closest circle of that monarch.¹⁵ After the tragic death of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd on 22 Rajab 873/5¹⁶ February 1469, at Qarābāgh,¹⁷ Dhū al-Nūn

10 For the perquisites granted by Tīmūr to his Tarkhāns, see Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, *op. cit.*, vol. 123.

11 *R.S.*, VII, p. 89; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 237.

12 Daulatshāh Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abbāsī, Tehran, n.d., p. 406.

13 He created a special "Corps of Braves" in his army. See *B.N.*, pp. 28, 50.

14 See *Ibid.*, p. 274.

15 *R.S.*, VII, p. 89; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 237.

16 According to Daulatshāh (*op. cit.*, p. 540), he was killed on 21 Rajab 873. *H.S.* (vol. III, iii, p. 190) also gives the same year, but writes that he was killed on 22 Rajab after his visit to Mīrzā Yādīgār Muḥammad. The year 873/1469 is also supported by C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh, 1967, p. 165. Cf. E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, C.U.P., 1964 repr., vol. III, 389, where he wrongly ascribes Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd's death to the year 872/1467-8. Dā'ūdṭa (*T.S.*, p. 307n.) also follows him.

17 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 89; *H.S.*, pp. 190-1, 237; *T.S.*, p. 80; *T.N.*, p. 6. According to Daulatshāh (*op. cit.*, p. 541), Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd was killed in the Mūqān desert. The editor of *T.S.*, Dā'ūdṭa, on the basis of this statement of Daulatshāh speculates that Mīr Ma'sūm confounded the Tīmūrid Abū Sa'īd with the Īl-Khānid, for it was the latter who was killed at Qarābāgh. A cursory glance at maps of Iran (Tehran University, *Historical Atlas of Iran*, Tehran, 1971, Plates 15, 17), however, leaves little doubt that Qarābāgh and Mūqān are the names of the same region. The second supposition of the learned scholar is also baseless, because the Īl-Khānid Abū Sa'īd lost his life during a military campaign in the Caucasus. See B. Spuler, s.v. Īl-Khāns, *E.I.*

joined the entourage of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (873-911/1468-1506),¹⁸ a fourth cousin of Bābur¹⁹ and ruler of Harat, whose court was, in the years to come, to be "one of the most brilliant centres of letters, art and learning which ever existed in Persia."²⁰ A man of high ambition as Dhū al-Nūn was, the position offered to him by Sulṭān Ḥusayn fell far short of his expectations.²¹ Consequently, while on the march with Sulṭān Ḥusayn against Sulṭān Yādigār Muḥammad, Dhū al-Nūn turned his reins from Yalqur Āqāch-i Khabūshān to Transoxiana. Back in Samarqand, he could

18 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 89; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 237. According to *T.S.* (p.80) which otherwise copies all the information about Mīr Dhū al-Nūn word for word from *R.S.*, or the *H.S.* (the latter in its turn plagiarizes the former), Mīr Dhū al-Nūn spent some days in the service of Sulṭān Yādigār Mīrzā (instead of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā) before returning to Samarqand, but this is quite contrary to the facts. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā heard the news of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd's death at Abiward on his way back from Transoxiana and proceeded to Harat where he reached on 8 Muḥarram 873/29 July 1468 and two days later, on Friday, the 10th Ramaḍān/31 July the *khutba* was read in his name from the pulpit of the Congregational Mosque of the capital. The Sulṭān left Harat for Mashhad on 4 Rabī' I 874/11 September 1469 and from there some time afterwards set out in pursuit of Mīrzā Yādigār Muḥammad, the last Prince from the line of Shāhrukh, via Yalqur Āqāch-i Khabūshān. It is this latter place where Dhū al-Nūn parted company with him and headed towards Samarqand. Sulṭān Ḥusayn continued his march and defeated Yādigār at Chanārān, near Abiward. Subsequently, however, taking advantage of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's absence to Yaza-tū Fort, his wife Pāyanda Begum, who was an aunt of Yādigār Muḥammad, on the instigation of some nobles captured Harat and on 6 Muḥarram 875/5 July 1470 proclaimed Yādigār, who was then at Tus, the new king. Within a few weeks Sulṭān Ḥusayn surprised Yādigār Muḥammad in Ravens' Garden of Harat, took him captive and not long afterwards, on 21 Ṣafar 875/19 August 1470 (*H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 224, has 23 Ṣafar) had him put to death. According to Bābur (*B.N.*, pp. 134-5), Yādigār was 17 to 18 years of age at that time (For details see *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 34-61). Viewed in the light of this account of events, Mīr Ma'sūm (*T.S.*, p.80) automatically stands contradicted and so are the *T.N.* (pp.6-7) and some modern authorities (e.g., *H.A.T.S.*, p. 251) who were misled by his statement.

In the *Loghat-Nāma* (Letter Y, Fascicule, 1, p. 51) the poet 'Abd al-Wāsi' who discovered Yādigār Muḥammad's year and month of death from the Persian phrase *shahr-i ṣafar* ('The month of Ṣafar') = 875 A.H., has been confounded with the famous 6th/12th century luminary 'Abd al-Wāsi' Jabalī. For the latter see Jan Rypka, *et al.*, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn, Dordrecht - Holland, 1969, p. 328.

It may also be mentioned that the order and dates of Yādigār and Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's accession to the throne of Harat mentioned by C.E. Bosworth, *op.cit.* p.165, are also contrary to facts.

19 Stanley Lane-Poole, *op.cit.*, p.19.

20 E.G. Browne, *op.cit.*, p.390.

21 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 89; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p.237.

serve Bābur's uncle, Sultān Aḥmad Mīrzā (873-99/1469-94),²² hardly for two to three years, when the scramble for primacy between the Arghūn and Tarkhān factions at the Mīrānshāhī court obliged him to seek safety in Khurasan.²³ Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā welcomed Dhū al-Nūn back to his court, but precisely how long it took the latter to regain the confidence of that monarch is open to conjecture. The most that can be said is that in 884/1479-80 he was entrusted with the governorship of Ghūr²⁴ and Zamindawar.²⁵ The Nikūdirī and Hazāra tribes of those territories had long been a source of inconvenience and alarm to the authorities at Harat. Hence there could not have been a better outlet for the indomitable courage and irrepressible military zeal²⁶ of this seasoned soldier. Accompanied by a force not comprising more than seventy to eighty²⁷ men and thrilled with the high hopes of victory over the erratic tribes, Mīr Dhū al-Nūn set out for the

22 For his particulars, see *B.N.*, p.33 *et seq.*

23 *R.S.*, vol. VII, P.89; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 237.

24 For Ghūr see C.E. Bosworth, *The early Islamic history of Ghūr, The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London, 1977, IX, pp. 116-33. Also see *B.N.*, pp. 200, 214, 222.

25 "This province, which stretches from the roots and valleys of the Hazāra mountains, along the right bank of the Helمند till its union with the Arghandab river, which joins it from Kandahār, is one of the richest and most fertile countries in these parts." Erskine, vol.I, p. 264. According to Bābur (*B.N.*, p. 274), Zamindawar was entrusted to Dhū al-Nūn at a later date. Firishta (*T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 321) wrongly asserts that Shāh Ḥusayn bestowed the government of Qandahar, Zamindawar, Sāghar (*sic*) and Tūlak on Dhū al-Nūn in 984 (*sic*)/1576-7.

26 See *B.N.*, pp. 274-5, 326-7; *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 140.

27 *B.N.*, p. 274; Erskine, vol. I, p. 264, Cf. Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 22, where it is wrongly asserted that Dhū al-Nūn "with a small force of eight *swārs* at his disposal reduced the region and its turbulent tribes,...."

mountainous country.²⁸ The peculiar vigilance and vigour attending his operations against the refractory elements finally convinced them that every time they sowed a wind, they would reap a whirlwind. Within a period of three to four years royal authority was asserted on these territories, the tribes ceased their predatory activities and undertook to regularly pay an annual tribute to the government. The harshness of the deterrent measures of Dhū al-Nūn was, however, matched by his kind concern for the welfare of his subjects. Equality, justice and consideration, the contemporary authorities tell us, were the distinctive features of his administration.^{28A} Furthermore, being a devout Muslim, his strong propensity towards orthodox practices and his deep involvement in spiritual

28 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 90; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 238.

28A *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 90; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 238. Contrary to what Mīr Khwānd and Khwānd Mīr have to say about the government of Dhū al-Nūn, Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Waṣifī (*Badā'iyi' al-Waqā'iyi'*, ed. Alexander N. Boldyrev, 1961, pp. 1156-7) reproduces a story from Maulāna Ṣubḥī, a panegyrist and boon companion of Dhū al-Nūn which, besides being reminiscent of Rūdakī's attempt to induce the Samānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad to return to Bukhara (see Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār Maqāla*, ed. Muḥammad Mu'īn, Tehran, 1933 H.Sh., pp. 49-54), and underlining one of the many roles of such characters at the autocratic courts of the medieval times, brings to light yet another aspect of Dhū al-Nūn's much acclaimed administration. The story goes that Dhū al-Nūn bestowed Kazīw, a dependency of Zamindawar, on his foster-brother Mīr Fāḍil. The latter through his tyranny and oppression laid waste the whole region, but nobody had the courage to report the matter to Dhū al-Nūn. Finally, the inhabitants of the town sought Maulānā Ṣubḥī's help. Ṣubḥī waited on Dhū al-Nūn and in the course of conversation related a rather incredible story to him. When the latter expressed his reluctance to believe it, Ṣubḥī swore by God who created 17,999 worlds. Dhū al-Nūn said: "There are 18,000 worlds, what happened to another one world?" "That one world was Kazīw which has since been destroyed." Ṣubḥī retorted. Dhū al-Nūn was so pleased with the joke that he gave Kazīw to Maulānā Ṣubḥī.

austerities²⁹ endowed his personality with an aura of saintly prestige in the eyes of the credulous tribes who apparently believed in the efficacy of his prayers.³⁰ The awe and admiration that Dhū al-Nūn thus inspired in the hardy men of the hills gradually turned them into a veritable source of strength for the shrewd commander.

Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā rewarded Dhū al-Nūn's brilliant successes against the Hazāras and the Nikūdirīs by conferring on him the additional territories of Qandahar and Farah. Although in the start for a number of years princes of the royal blood were nominally appointed to govern these latter regions, the actual power to administer them always rested in Dhū al-Nūn's hands. Finally, when the latter himself was elevated to the position of a viceroy to independently conduct the affairs of Qandahar, Farah, Ghūr, Zamindawar, Sākhar³¹ and Tūlak,³² this dichotomy came to an end. During the next few years Dhū al-Nūn extended his sway over Shāl,³³ Mastung,³⁴ Siwī³⁵ and their

29 *B.N.*, p. 275; *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 90-1; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 238.

30 See Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī, *op.cit.*, pp. 1152-6.

31 For Sākhar see *Herat and North-Western Afghanistan*, ed. Ludwig W. Adamec, Graz - Austria, 1975, pp. 348-9.

32 For Tūlak see *Ibid.*, pp. 425-6.

33 According to A.S. Beveridge (*B.N.*, p. 492, n.1) Dhū al-Nūn captured Shāl in 884/1479, but she does not mention any authority for this apparently wrong statement.

34 On p. 337 of *B.N.*, Mastung is wrongly called modern Quetta. In fact, Quetta is the present name of the Shāl of olden times.

35 Siwī or Sibi owes its name to a tribe which lived there in ancient times. For this tribe see N.M. Billimoria, Some Ancient Tribes of Sapta Sindhu, *Journal of Sind Historical Society*, VII/1-2 (July 1944), pp. 33-4. Erskine (vol. I, pp. 342, 347, 385) almost invariably and Beveridge (*B.N.*, p. 427), at least occasionally, confounds this town with another place called Siwistān or Sihwān.

T.S. (p. 81) does not mention Siwī after Shāl and Mastung and Ansar Zahid Khan (p. 22, n.4), little realizing that it owes all its information to *R.S.*, vol. VII and *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, on the basis of *T.S.* tries to refute the capture of Siwī by Dhū al-Nūn mentioned in the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar!*

respective dependencies, but to make sure that the unwieldy size of his possessions did not vitiate his control over them, he divided them as *iqṭā'* among his chief retainers. His son Shāh Beg, who was already helping Dhū al-Nūn in the management of Qandahar,³⁶ was made the governor of that province. Ghur was given to Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn and Amīr Darwīsh jointly, Sakhar and Tulak were entrusted to 'Abd al-'Alī Tarkhān, and Dhū al-Nūn himself settled at Zamindawar where he erected several magnificent buildings. These steps were followed by the stoppage of the remission of annual revenue to the central authorities at Harat, a measure which could have easily brought Dhū al-Nūn into conflict with Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqara's government.³⁷ The Sulṭān, however, impelled by expediency, overlooked, for the time being at least, this grievous misconduct of his viceroy and contented himself with Dhū al-Nūn's continued participation in his expansionist campaigns.³⁸ Had Sulṭān Ḥusayn exhibited greater firmness in his dealings with Dhū al-Nūn's centrifugal tendencies at this stage and moved against him before he could really consolidate his position, the course of events in the years to come would probably have been more in his favour than it actually turned out to be. Though Dhū al-Nūn twice accompanied him in his expeditions against Amīr Khusrau Shāh³⁹ and, because of his reckless behaviour, in one of these campaigns sustained a serious head injury and was even temporarily taken captive by the enemy⁴⁰ owing to

36 Bābur writes that Dhū al-Nūn's "son Shāh-i-shujā' *Arghūn* used to move about with him and even in childhood used to chop away with his sword. The Mirza [Sulṭān Ḥusayn] favoured Shāh-i-shujā' and, somewhat against Zu'n-nūn's wishes, joined him with his father in the government of Qandahar." *B.N.*, p. 274.

37 According to *T.F.* (Maqāla viii, p. 321) he revolted against Sulṭān Ḥusayn and then distributed these territories among his retainers.

38 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 91; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 238.

39. *B.N.*, pp. 57, 60.

40. *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 119-23; *H.S.* ., vol. III, iii, pp. 250-2.

what Babur calls the Sultān's "twice repeated unsuccessful retirements"⁴¹ the very undertaking of those campaigns looks frivolous. Subsequently, in 902/1496-7 when Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā revolted against his father, Dhū al-Nūn who himself lived in fear of retaliation from Sultān Ḥusayn for his headstrong ways,⁴² not only married his daughter to the rebel prince,⁴³ but also followed suit with Amīr Khusrau⁴⁴ in extending full cooperation to Badī' al-Zamān against Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā.⁴⁵ With the passage of time

41 *B.N.*, p. 61.

42 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 143; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 260.

43 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 149; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 263; *T.S.*, p.84; *T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 321.

44 *B.N.*, p.70; *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 149; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p.263. For Khusrau's antecedents, see *B.N.*, pp.49-50 *et seq.*

45 According to a story which appears in *T.S.*, (pp. 81-4; Also see *T.N.*, pp. 8-9; Erskine, vol. I, pp. 265-9) the changed attitude of Dhū al-Nūn aroused the suspicion of Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā and he was recalled to Harat where he stayed for almost a year. During this period he assured Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā, the eldest son of the Sultān, to come to his aid whenever it was needed. Consequently, the Prince intervened with his father on Dhū al-Nūn's behalf and paved the way for his dramatic return to Qandahar.

After his defeat at the hands of Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, when Badī' al-Zamān turned to Dhū al-Nūn, the latter in one single present offered to him 40,000 sheep. *B.N.*, p. 71.

the prince became a passive tool in the hands of Dhū al-Nūn and his coterie and the warlike activities of this disaffected group kept the Sultān on the march during the last ten years of his existence. The detailed account of the battles fought between the two sides falls outside the scope of this study,⁴⁶ but it might be mentioned here in passing that the Sultān's poor health, his wife Khadīja Āghā's⁴⁷ participation in court intrigues, his intermittent warfare against Badī' al-Zamān, who was supported by Dhū al-Nūn and his sons, and last, but not the least, the mutual mistrust of his numerous indolent and debauchee⁴⁸ son, reduced even during his own lifetime the Empire, which he had founded after years of trials and tribulations and endowed with enormous prestige, to the shadow of its former self. The Ūzbek invasion simply offered this already ill and faction-ridden Empire its *coup de grâce*.

46 Bābur accuses Dhū al-Nūn and his elder son Shāh Beg of stirring up commotion between Badī' al Zamān Mīrzā and Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (*B.N.*, p. 274) and the contemporary sources (See *R.S.*, vol. VIII, pp. 130-89; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp. 255-88) amply testify to the truth of this charge. In the abridged account of these events in *T.S.* (pp. 81-97), the following errors must be corrected. Qal'a-i Pashang (p.88), Qal'a-i Bīst (p.89), Sabzwār (p.90, Qaşba-i Adasīa p. 93), Marw (p.95), Jājam Bardī (p.96) and sīṣad hazār (p. 97) should be read: Qal'a-i Pāshlang, Qal'a-i Bust, Asfazār, Qaşba-i Ūbih, Marūchāq, Hājam Hājī Lur, and sīṣad *sawār* respectively.

47 A favourite mistress of Sultān Abū Sa'id Mīrzā, Khadīja Āgha, upon the death of the Sultān entered the harem of Sultān Bāyqara and bore him two sons, Shāh-i Gharīb Mīrzā and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā and played a dominant role in the court politics. According to Bābur, "she took herself for a sensible woman, but was a silly chatterer" (see *B.N.*, pp. 262, 268, 292-3). She was suspected of having poisoned Bābur's brother Jahāngīr Mīrzā (*T.R.*, pp. 199-200). After the fall of Harat, she was captured by Shaybānī who grossly humiliated her. (*B.N.*, pp. 327-8).

48 See *Ibid.*, p.31.

In 907/1401-2 Bābur's paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg Mīrzā^{48A} died at Kabul and his minor son 'Abd al-Razzāq Mīrzā succeeded him to the throne, with Shīrān Zakka⁴⁹ as his regent. The high-handedness of the latter, however, soon disgusted all nobles, who quitted the capital and then with a sudden outburst of violence put an end to Zakka's life. Dhū al-Nūn's younger son Muḥammad Muqīm heard the news of the ensuing anarchy and strife at the Garmsir and towards the end of 908/1402 successfully descended upon Kabul with the hordes of his Hazāra and Nikūdirī supporters and installed himself as its new ruler.⁵⁰ 'Abd al-Razzāq Mīrzā escaped to Lamghān⁵¹ and Muqīm in a bid to give a hue of legitimacy to his usurpation of Kabul, traditionally a Tīmūrid preserve and seat of government, took a sister of the fugitive king as his wife.⁵² The tidings of his son's enterprise was received by Dhū al-Nūn at the bank of the Oxus where he was encamping with Bādī' al-Zamān Mīrzā and it sent a wave of delight throughout the cantonment.⁵³ Dhū al-Nūn apparently disapproved of his son's unwarranted embroilment in the affairs of Kabul, but nonetheless advised him to beware of the local begs and as far as

48A For him, see *B.N.*, p. 95, n. 2.

49 *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 310. For various other transcriptions of his name, see *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 201; *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 198; Briggs, vol. II, p. 15; Erskine, vol. I, p. 295; *B.N.*, p. 195, n. 3.

50 *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 201-2; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 310; *T.S.*, p. 98.

51 *B.N.*, p. 195.

52 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 202; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 310; *T.S.*, p. 98. Two other sisters of 'Abd al-Razzāq Mīrzā were married to two sons of Sultān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, namely Muḥammad Ma'sūm Mīrzā (*R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 111-2; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 246) and Bādī' al-Zamān Mīrzā (*R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 227; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 359).

53 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 202; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 310; *T.S.*, p. 98.

possible maintain his distance from them. Muqīm accordingly banished the entire old guard from the city and gave their positions to his own men.⁵⁴

Muqīm had hardly enjoyed the fruit of his adventure for one year when in Rabī' II 910/October 1504, Bābur, who by now - the 21st year of his age - had twice conquered Samarqand and lost it, and had been thrice a penniless wanderer in hills and wilds, in quest of a new shelter, appeared suddenly before Kabul. Lest he should obstruct the departure of Muqīm or pose a threat to Qandahar, Dhū al-Nūn on getting the intelligence about the happenings at Kabul, immediately left Harat for Qandahar.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, beset with enormous military and political pressures, Muqīm, after obtaining an undertaking of safe conduct for himself, his family, his followers, and their goods and effects, delivered up the capital to Bābur,⁵⁶ who provided him with an escort to Tīpa,⁵⁷ whence in due course Muqīm retraced his steps to his own territory.⁵⁸ The tenuous hold of Muqīm on Kabul and the abruptness with which it came to an end did little to bolster the prestige of the Arghūns, and even the transient glory surrounding the annexation of this historic principality to the already extensive Arghūn dominions fades into insignificance when one looks at the cost in blood and suffering the house of Dhū al-Nūn in the long run had to pay for it. The idea of the conquest of Hindūstān was already in Bābur's mind,⁵⁹ but Muqīm's audacity in capturing

54 *T.S.*, p. 98.

55 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 227; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 322.

56 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 227; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 322; *B.N.*, p. 199.

57 "Some 9m. north of Kabul on the road to Āq-sarā'i." *B.N.*, p. 199, n.2.

58 *B.N.*, p. 227.

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 377-8.

Kabul made it something of a military dogma⁶⁰ for this otherwise undogmatic⁶¹ Prince to dislodge the Arghūns from his rear before embarking upon any grandiose schemes that could culminate in his triumphant arrival in the exotic land of Hindūstān.

Within a few months of his installation as the ruler of Kabul, the cockpit of his future designs, in Sha'bān 910/January 1505 Bābur set out on a probing mission into the neighbouring Afghan territories on the periphery of Indian borders whence he returned to Kabul sometime in Dhī al-Ḥijja/May of that year.⁶² Soon afterwards in Muḥarram 911/June 1505 his mother breathed her last and he was occupied at least until the fortieth day of her burial in the mourning rites.⁶³ After these ceremonies were over, he, upon the insistence of his chief noble, Bāqī Chaghāniyānī,⁶⁴ raised an army to invade Qandahar. The campaign however, suffered two setbacks at the very outset. First Bābur was taken seriously ill and then a disastrous earthquake hit the whole region of Kabul. After the havoc brought by this calamity and the losses suffered by his subjects were attended to, Bābur's thoughts once again turned to military affairs. While he was still vacillating between leading an army to Qandahar and to confining his campaign to the chastisement of the hill tribes in that direction, Bāqī Chaghāniyānī and Jahāngīr Mīrzā induced him to invade Qalat,⁶⁵ a dependency of Qandahar

60 See Shāh Beg's remarks, in *T.S.*, p. 110.

61 See *B.N.*, pp. 298-9.

62 Ibid., pp. 229-41. Also see *T.R.*, p. 201.

63 *B.N.*, p. 246.

64 A younger brother of Khusrau Shāh, the ruler of Qundūz. He joined Bābur in 910/1504. Bābur reposed his fullest confidence in him and it was on his advice that Bābur abandoned the plan to go to Khurasan and wrested Kabul from Muḥammad Muqīm. Finally, Bāqī fell out of favour with Bābur and was banished to India where he died. See *B.N.*, p. 249-50.

65 This place is also known as Qalāt-i Ghilza'i (See *B.N.*, pp. 248-9, 331, 333, 339-40). Cf. Ansar Zahid Khan (p. 26) where it is erroneously called "Qalat-i Ghaznin".

which was bestowed by Dhū al-Nūn on Muḥammad Muqīm, and was then held by the latter's retainers. The Arghūn officers stoutly defended the fort, but just as the besiegers were completely exhausted, they lost heart and surrendered it to the invaders. After its fall Bābur offered the fort first to Bāqī and then to Jahāngīr Mīrzā, but neither of them showed any inclination to take charge of it. Hence the fort had to be abandoned.⁶⁶ The reverberations of Bābur's invasion of Qalat, however, did not go unheard at Qandahar and obliged Dhū al-Nūn to appeal for help to Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā who was then engaged in a punitive action against the refractory elements of Balkhāb.⁶⁷ The Mīrzā betook himself to Qandahar and without delay⁶⁸ ordered the troops at Sistan, Ghur, Sakhar, Tulak, & c., to assemble at that place. When Bābur discovered⁶⁹ the Mīrzā's presence at Qandahar and the elaborate preparations of war that were afoot under his supervision, he sent his envoys with friendly messages to him. The Mīrzā reciprocated his sentiments and the outbreak of hostilities between the two sides was averted.⁷⁰ Thereafter while Bābur retraced his steps to Kabul, the Mīrzā and Mīr

66 *B.N.*, pp. 246-9.

67 A difficult hill country, source of the rivers Murghāb, Harat, Juruwān and Marw al-Rūd. *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 230; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 323.

68 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 231; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 323. Muqīm was by this time safely back with his family. He went out to receive the Mīrzā outside Qandahar with his father and elder brother.

69 According to *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 231, Bābur received this news at "Khilāt" (=Qalāt), but *H.S.* vol. III, iii, p. 323, omits the name of this place from its otherwise verbatim reproduction from *R.S.* *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 198, makes a passing reference to Badī' al-Zamān's coming to the assistance of the Arghūns, but Briggs' translation (vol. II, p. 16) has completely altered the meaning of the sentence.

70 *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 231-2; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp. 323-4. There is nothing in the *B.N.* to suggest that Bābur planned to push ahead to Qandahar after the recent reduction of Qalat. On the contrary, expressing his regret on abandoning Qalat after its capture, Bābur confines his statement to the fact that he "returned to Kābul after over-running the Afghans of Sawā-sang and Alā-tāgh on the south of Qalat." (*B.N.*, p. 249). But was not the refusal of his lieutenants to accept the charge of Qalat dictated by the military build up of Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā at Qandahar?

Dhū al-Nūn went to Zamindawar⁷¹ and thence to Farah.⁷² They were still wintering at Farah when the reports of Ūzbek inroads into Balkh, Andīkhwūd, Shiburghān, Maymana, and Fāryāb, and the streams of displaced people began to reach Harat. To decide upon a common strategy against the redoubtable threat from the north-east, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā sent expresses to all his sons to converge on his capital. Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā also returned to Harat and left Dhū al-Nūn behind with the instructions to meet him at the Marw al-Rūd in the beginning of the spring with all the troops of the Garmsir, Ghur, Sakhir and Tulak.⁷³ Bābur was also invited to join forces with his Tīmūrid cousins,⁷⁴ and, in fact, he showed great enthusiasm in going to Khurasan.⁷⁵ He was still on his

71 Their arrival here coincided with the death of the Mīrzā's wife who was a daughter of Mīr Dhū al-Nūn. Within twenty days of her demise Dhū al-Nūn's wife also passed away. *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 232; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 323. Cf. *T.S.*, p. 100, where Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā's daughter (Dhū al-Nūn's granddaughter) Kūchik Begum, has been confounded with his wife (Dhū al-Nūn's daughter), Chūchik Begum. Kūchik Begum died in Dhī al-Ḥijja 912/April 1507. See *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 320.

72 During his stay here, the Mīrzā appointed Mīr Dhū al-Nūn's brother, Sulṭān 'Alī Arghūn, as the tutor (*atālīq*) of his son, Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā. *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 232; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 324.

73 *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 233-4; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 323.

74 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 313; *B.N.*, p. 255; *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 198; Briggs, vol. II, p. 16. For the substance of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's letter and Bābur's criticism of it, see *B.N.*, pp. 191-2.

75 He remarked that "...if there were some who went on foot it was for us to go if on our heads! if some took the bludgeon, we would take the stone." (*B.N.*, p. 255). Yet another reason which prompted Bābur to accept the invitation was his brother Jahāngīr Mīrzā's taking refuge with some hill tribes in the same direction and Bābur deemed it necessary "either to dispel his resentment or to repel his attack." (*Ibid.*; *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 314).

way,⁷⁶ however, when Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqara, who despite his frail health, had set out at the head of an army to meet the Ūzbek challenge, succumbed to an attack of illness at Bābā Ilāhī and died on 11 Dhī at-Ḥijja 911/5 May 1506.⁷⁷ Emboldened by his death, the Ūzbek's intensified their predatory incursions into Iranian territories. One of these marauding parties led by Ūghlī Amān was hotly chased by Dhū al-Nūn who killed about one hundred of Ūzbek soliders and took sixty to seventy of them prisoners.⁷⁸

This was followed by the arrival of an Ūzbek envoy, Maulānā Khatā'ī,

76 The news reached Bābur at Kahmard (B.N., p. 295). *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 315 and *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 198 respectively refer to this place as '*ḥudūd-i mamālik-i Khurāsān*' and the '*wilāyat-i Nīmruṣ*'. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 16, arbitrarily substitutes the latter with "Murv".

According to Mīr Khwānd one of the reasons which prompted Bābur to push ahead despite the Mīrzā's death was that he anticipated the outbreak of hostilities among his sons, in which case, he thought, he could get hold of some of their territories. However, as he reached Jurwān (= Juruwān, for which see *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 424) and discovered about the massing of troops by the Mīrzā's sons on the bank of the Murghāb, Bābur turned his reins towards Marw al-Rūd and sent an envoy to inform them of his arrival. Among those who were forthwith dispatched to receive the king of Kabul, were included Mīr Aḥmad Baranduq Barlās and Amīr Dhū al-Nūn. *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 315; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp. 354-5. Also see *B.N.*, pp. 296-7.

77 *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 310-1; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 353. Cf. *The Islamic Dynasties*, where the A.H. year of the termination of Sulṭān Ḥusayn's reign is wrongly mentioned as 912. Moreover, the book fails to take notice of the dual succession of Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā to the throne of their father. Dhū al-Nūn and Muḥammad Baranduq were respectively appointed the Lords of the Gates of the two Mīrzās. See *B.N.*, pp. 292-3; *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 304-6; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp. 351-2.

Indian chronicles, such as *T.A.*, vol. III, p. 519; *T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 321; and *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 303, refer to Dhū al-Nūn as Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's *Amīr al-Umarā'*, Commander-in Chief and Guardian of his son, Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā, and some modern authorities (e.g. Blochmann, vol. I p. 389 and *H.A.T.S.* p. 252) have also been tempted to use these titles with his name but as far as the contemporary sources are concerned they do not vouchsafe to the *official* bestowal of any of these positions on Dhū al-Nūn during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. Probably the highest office Dhū al-Nūn ever held at the Tīmūrid court of Harat was the Lordship of Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā's Gate. For his attitude after the assumption of this office, see *B.N.*, p. 326.

78 *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 310-11; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 353. Also see *B.N.*, p. 296.

demanding the submission of the Mīrzās,⁷⁹ thereupon these princes once again gathered together at the Marw al-Rūd where they were later joined by Bābur as well, but owing to their irresolution and deep-seated mutual rivalries they could not forge a united front against their common foe. They watched unstirred the fall of Balkh to the Ūzbeks, turned a deaf ear on the impassioned plea for action from Dhū al-Nūn Arghun and took absolutely no advantage of the huge armies which had assembled around them from all over Khurasan.⁸⁰ The presence of Bābur, who according to the historian Mīrkhwānd, with the cooperation of the Mīrzās, could have saved Khurasan from the devastation of the Ūzbeks,⁸¹ amongst them obliged Shaybānī Khān, as a precautionary measure, to return to his stronghold in Transoxiana,⁸² but it failed to stir the Mīrzās from their stupor. In Rajab 912/November-December 1506 Maulānā Khatā'ī was dismissed and soon afterwards they also dispersed to their respective quarters.⁸³ Thus all hopes of stemming the ever-rising tide of Ūzbek aggression were irretrievably lost. Finally in Dhī al-Ḥijja 912/April 1507⁸⁴ Shaybānī Khān issued forth from Samarqand and after occupying Andīkhwūd and Marūchaq in quick succession, on 7 Muḥarram 913/May 1507 he with the fury of a tempest overwhelmed the camp of Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā and Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā at Bādghīs.⁸⁵ Left with no opportunity to collect troops, or to array those they had,⁸⁶ both the Mīrzās sought safety in flight.⁸⁷ The prodigious valour of Dhū al-Nūn, however, could not be

79 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 311; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 353.

80 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 316.

81 *Ibid.*

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 312-3; 316-7.

83 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 317.

84 *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 357. The Tehran edition of the *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 331, has A.H. 911 which is incorrect.

85 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 322; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 357.

86 *B.N.*, p. 327.

87 See *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 323-4; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 357; *B.N.*, pp. 327-8.

restrained.⁸⁸ He, together with some other nobles, fought heroically and laid down his life with honour. And Harat fell into the hands of the Ūzbeks without any resistance.⁸⁹

2. *Bābur and Shāh Beg Arghūn*

After the loss of Harat Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā hurried off to Qandahar⁹⁰ in the hope of getting some assistance from Shāh Beg who in the meantime had been elected the new Arghūn chief.⁹¹ Himself a capable commander, gallant soldier, and keen observer, Shāh Beg could not ignore the indolence and sloth of which the defeated Tīmūrid general and his brothers had been guilty in the execution of the campaign against the Ūzbeks and saw no virtue in joining him once again.⁹²

88 *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 322-3; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 357; *B.N.*, p. 327; *T.S.*, pp. 101-2.

89 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 325-6; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 358.

90 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 324; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 357.

91 *T.S.*, p. 102; *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 345.

92 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 345. From Qandahar Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā turned to Shujā' Beg's uncle, Amīr Sulṭān 'Alī Arghūn, the ruler of Sistan, who extended some paltry assistance to his erstwhile overlord and enabled him to make his way to Astrabad. The Mīrzā spent about one year at Astrabad but then frightened by the imminent attack of Shaybānī Khān on that region, fled to Shāh Ismā'il's court, then in Ādharbāyjān. After spending three to four months in Ādharbāyjān, the Mīrzā moved to Rayy, whence he subsequently returned to Astrabad, was defeated by the Ūzbek governor of that place and had to take refuge at the Samma court of Sind in 918/1512-13 (The Nawalkishore edition of *T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 320, wrongly attributes this visit to the year 928/1521-2). The Mīrzā enjoyed the hospitality of Jām Fīrūz for about one year and then retraced his steps to Khurasan, where he waited upon Shāh Ismā'il for the second time in 919/1513-14 (Ghulam Sarwar, *History of Shah Isma'il Safawī*, Aligarh, 1939, omits the first visit of the Mīrzā to the Ṣafawid court and ascribes the second visit wrongly to the year 916/1510. See *Ibid.*, p. 64). When the Shāh returned to Ādharbāyjān, the Mīrzā also accompanied him. Back in Ādharbāyjān, he took up residence at Shunb-i Ghāzān and the Shāh settled upon him a daily allowance of 1,000 *tankas* from the treasury of Tabriz. After the Ṣafawid defeat in the battle of Chāldirān, in Rajab 920/September 1514 (See Ghulam Sarwar, *op. cit.*, p. 83) the Ottoman Sulṭān Salīm took Badī' al-Zamān to Istanbūl, where he died from plague within a few months. *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp. 347, 351-2; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp. 367-8.

The possibility that this alliance would have hastened the invasion of Qandahar by Shaybānī could not be absolutely ruled out, and moreover, expediency also demanded that no chance should be taken with the fugitive Prince to stake his claim upon Qandahar or any of its dependencies, which had been until very recently in at least nominal vassalage to the one time Tīmūrid government of Harat, in which he was one of the two titular heads. Nonetheless, Shāh Beg and his brother Muqīm were not unmindful of the ominous proximity of the Ūzbeks. As a precaution, they sent couriers and letters to Bābur at Kabul and solicited his help.⁹³ Meanwhile obliged by the rapid advance of Shaybānī who had already reached in the vicinity of the Garmsir they sent emissaries to the Ūzbek chief and promised to wait upon him after adorning the *khutba* and the coinage, the traditional symbols of sovereignty, with his name. This satisfied Shaybānī and he returned to Khurasan.⁹⁴ Bābur on the other hand, who after the extinction of the Bāyqarā empire of Harat considered himself the leading prince of the house of Tīmūr with any semblance of authority, looked on the Arghūns as his own vassals and, according to Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, even wrote to them, demanding they acknowledge his overlordship;⁹⁵ he construed their written communications as 'dutiful letters' and interpreted their uninterrupted stream of emissaries as an open expression of fealty to himself, and marched to Qandahar with a two thousand strong force. On the way, Khān Mīrzā⁹⁶ and 'Abd al-Razzāq Mīrzā, who had stayed behind at Harat at the time of Bābur's departure from that city also joined him. Upon nearing Qandahar, Bābur sent a message to Shāh Beg

93 B.N., p. 330.

94 T.S., p. 120. Mīr Ma'sūm adds that Shaybānī sent three horses, a dress of honour and a tent for Shāh Beg, through his emissaries, 'Abd al-Hādī Khwāja and Tīmūr Tāsh. Apprehending that the real purpose of Shaybānī's envoys might be to acquire first hand information about his strength and defence capability, Shāh Beg forthwith sent for his troops from different quarters and came out to receive the Ūzbek envoys with great pomp and circumstance. He received them on the outskirts of Qandahar and after entertaining them for three days dismissed them from there.

95 T.R., p. 202.

96 A cousin of Bābur, found guilty of disloyalty and banished to Khurasan. See B.N., pp. 313-20.

to which "a rude and ill-mannered answer" was returned. "One of the incivilities was," reminisced Bābur, "that Shāh Beg stamped his letter to me in the middle of its reverse, where begs seal if writing to begs, where indeed a great beg seals if writing to one of the lower circle."⁹⁷ When all means of a peaceful solution to the problem were exhausted, Bābur blocked the torrents that supplied water to Qandahar. In the meantime, while half of his men were scattered in search of food and eatables, the news of Shāh Beg's advance was received, and Bābur hurriedly prepared himself to intercept him. As far as the numbers were concerned, Bābur was no comparison to his Arghūn host, but nevertheless his tactical skill and unique manner of deploying his men stood Bābur in good stead. After a stubbornly fought battle, Bābur not only defeated the Arghūns,⁹⁸ but also put them to flight.⁹⁹ He rushed into the fort of Qandahar and laid his hands upon all the treasures the house of Dhū al-Nūn had amassed during the past thirty to forty years.¹⁰⁰ Thereafter, he entrusted the Qandahar country to his younger brother, Nāṣir Mīrzā,¹⁰¹ and himself returned to Kabul with enormous wealth¹⁰² and Muqīm's daughter, Māh Begum, as a hostage in his train.¹⁰³

97 Ibid., pp. 331-2.

98 Ibid., pp. 332-7; *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 342; *T.S.*, p. 103.

99 The battle was fought at a place called Jalīk which was situated at a distance of half a *farsakh* from Qandahar. *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 342, Cf. *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 199; Briggs, vol. II, p. 18.

100 *B.N.*, p. 332; *T.R.*, p. 202; *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 342; *T.S.*, p. 103; *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 199.

101 *B.N.*, p. 338; *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 342; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 365; *A.A.A.*, vol. I, p. 191; *T.S.*, p. 103; *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 199; Briggs, vol. II, p. 18, Cf. Riazul Islam, p. 3; Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 26, where Nāṣir Mīrzā has been confounded with his son, Yādīgār Nāṣir Mīrzā.

102 See *B.N.*, pp. 337-9.

103 *T.S.*, p. 103.

The news of Babur's invasion of Qandahar excited the ire of Shaybānī and he forthwith set out in that direction, but before his arrival the fort had been lost. The Arghūns waited upon the Khān at Zamindawar.¹⁰⁴ Shaybānī Khān dispatched his nephew 'Ubayd Allāh to retrieve the fort ; the Arghūn brothers were, however, directed to remain in the forefront of the operation. Nāṣir Mīrzā shut himself up in the citadel and strengthened his defences. While the siege by the Ūzbek army was going on, Shaybānī himself appeared on the scene.¹⁰⁵ The reports of Shaybānī's advance upon Qandahar were received with horror at Kabul. Alarmed at the proximity of the formidable foe, Bābur was so unnerved that even the option to offer resistance, in case of attack, was dismissed out of the hand. Badakhshan and Hindūstān were the only two safe places where Bābur and his companions could think of getting asylum. While one party with Khān Mīrzā proceeded to Badakhshan, the other led by Bābur set out for Hindūstān sometime in Jumādā I 913/September 1507.¹⁰⁶ Kabul was left in the hands of 'Abd al-Razzāq

104 *R.S.*, vol. VII, pp.342-3. According to Bābur, Shāh Beg went towards Shāl [modern Quetta, Cf. *B.N.*, p. 337] (*T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 199; Briggs, vol. II, p. 18) wrongly call this place Yasāwal) and Mastūng, and Muqīm towards Zamindawar from where he went on (Shaybānī was not then at Zamindawar, as M. H. Siddiqi, Chronology of Babur's occupation of Qandahar and expulsion of the Arghuns, *University Studies*, University of Karachi, III/1 (April 1966), p. 4., wrongly suggests) and saw Shaybānī Khān. Shāh Beg also sent envoy after envoy to the Ūzbek chief to come to their rescue. See *B.N.*, pp. 337-339.

M.H. Siddiqi's suggestion that from Shāl Shāh Beg "organised attacks on Sīwī (Sibi) and Fathpūr" (*Ibid.*) is also anachronistic. He bases his conclusion on *T.S.* (pp. 104-5) which leaves little doubt that invasion of Sīwī was contemplated after Khurasan had already passed under Ṣafawid sway.

105 Reduced to severe straits, Nāṣir Mīrzā opened negotiations for peace and made an offering of horses to Shaybānī Khān, upon which the latter withdrew to Harat. *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 343.

106 *B.N.*, p. 341. A few months after this M. Muqīm died. *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, p. 365; *T.S.*, p. 103.

Mīrzā,¹⁰⁷ who had returned from Qalat and Tarnūk country in the wake of the Ūzbek siege of Qandahar.¹⁰⁸ Hardly back from an arduous expedition to Qandahar, to undertake a campaign into India called for an iron will and extraordinary resourcefulness, both of which Bābur had in abundance. During exile most of his time was, however, spent in forages against the freebooter Afghan tribes surrounding the road to India. Meanwhile he concluded an alliance between Muqīm's daughter Māh-chūchuk, and one of his most faithful retainers, Qāsim Kūkultāsh.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, Nāṣir Mīrzā, seizing the first opportunity of making terms with Shaybānī, surrendered

107 "To leave his rival master of the capital, may look like the dictate of listless despair. But he probably thought, that the long connection of that prince's ancestors with the kingdom afforded the best chance, when the great body of his own troops were withdrawn, of uniting in his favour the force of the country; and Baber may have trusted to his own talents, and to the ascendancy which he had gained over his rival by success, for recovering the throne, at a future time, in case of the retreat of the Uzbeks." Erskine, vol. I, p. 280.

108 *B.N.*, p. 340.

109 In one of his battles against 'Ubayd Allāh Khān Ūzbek (probably in 918/1512-13) Bābur fell into the hands of Ūzbek soldiers. Qāsim Kūkultāsh went ahead daringly and, personating as Babur, said to soldiers that, he was the king, why they had seized his servant. The soldiers left Bābur and fell upon Qāsim Kūkultāsh, who was killed in the encounter. *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362.

A somewhat similar incident is also attributed to Niẓām al-Mulk Tūsī, who procured the release of Malik Shāh Seljūqī (465-85/1072-92), after the latter had been captured by the enemy during one of his hunting expeditions. See Ḥamd Allāh Mastaufī Qazwīnī, *Ta'rīkh-i Guzīda* ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, Tehran, 1339 H. Sh., pp. 434-6; Muḥammad 'Aufī, *Jawāmi' al-Ḥikāyāt*, ed. Muḥammad Ramaḍānī, Tehran, 1335 H. Sh., pp. 162-4; Qāḍī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī Kāshānī, *Ta'rīkh-i Nigāristān*, ed. Murtadā Mudarris Gilānī, Tehran, n.d., p. 141; Sayf al-Dīn Ḥajjī Niẓām 'Uqaylī, *Āthar al-Wuzarā* ed. Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥusaynī Urmawī Muḥaddith, Tehran, 1337 H. Sh., p. 207; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *Risāla-i Nūriyya-i Sultāniyya*, ed. Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, MS., pp. 42-3.

the fort to the Ūzbeks and came back to Ghazni. Shaybānī was also in a hurry because of some uprising at Nīrah-tū where he had left his women-folk behind.¹¹⁰ Thus restoring the fort to the Arghūn brothers he retired to Khurasan.¹¹¹ Bābur received word of these proceedings in mid-winter and expeditiously returned to Kabul where soon afterwards he styled himself *Pādshāh*.¹¹²

As long as the Ūzbeks reigned supreme in the region of Khurasan, Shāh Beg had no option but to profess loyalty to them. However, with the crushing defeat and death of Shaybānī Khān on 30 Sha‘bān 916/2 December 1510¹¹³ at the hands of Shāh Ismā‘īl Ṣafawī and passing of Khurasan under the

110 *B.N.*, p. 343. Cf. M.H. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, p.4, n. 2, where *Nīrah-tū* has been confounded with Farah. The correct form of the name of this fort, however, seems to be *Tīrah-tū*. See *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp.359-60.

111 *R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 343.

112 *B.N.*, p. 344. Commenting on the significance of this title for Bābur, Erskine (vol. I, pp. 28) writes, "His reason for this assumption he does not explain. But, as Sultan Husein Mirza, who had long been regarded as the head of the family of Taimur, was dead, and his children slain or dispersed; and, as he himself was the only individual of that great House who now filled a throne, it is probable that he imagined it might be advantageous to his interest, as it was flattering to his vanity, to assume some title that might mark the high eminence on which he stood as the head of so illustrious a family. Also see *B.N.*, p. 344, n.2; L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*, New Delhi, n.d., p. 95.

113 *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, pp. 58-60. Cf. *T.S.*, pp. 104, 107, where A.H. 915 and 917 are wrongly mentioned as the years of Shāh Ismā‘īl's conquest of Khurasan. Also see Ghulam Sarwar, *op.cit.*, p. 62, n. 12.

latter's sceptre the Pandora's box was once again opened for the luckless Arghūns. Flanked on the north-east by Bābur the scars of whose convetous attempts at Qandahar were still green, and on the north-west by the Shī'ite Ṣafawids who by right of their victory over the Ūzbeks could be tempted at any time to enforce their will over Qandahar, the Arghūn brothers were beset with a real dilemma. To safeguard their autonomy and independence the best policy of which they could think was the cultivation of good relations with both sides. Hence, on the one hand Shāh Beg dispatched a mission of friendship with gifts and presents for Bābur,¹¹⁴ and on the other, using the good offices of Dūrmīsh Khān¹¹⁵ hastened to Harat¹¹⁶ and waited upon Shāh Ismā'īl in person.¹¹⁷ To start with the Shāh was favourably inclined towards him,¹¹⁸ but within a few days, before his departure from Khurasan,¹¹⁹ the Shāh, on detecting the "signs of hypocrisy and disobedience" in Shāh Beg, made him over to Ḥusayn Beg Lala, the governor of Harat, for

114 *T.S.*, p. 107. Qādī 'Abū al-Ḥasan and Maulānā Yār 'Alī led this mission.

115 According to *T.S.*, p. 107, he was the governor of Sistan and Farah, and M.H. Siddiqi (*op.cit.*, p. 4) also accepts it. However, in the absence of any corroboration from Persian sources, we feel more inclined to agree with Erskine (vol. I, p. 344) who purports him to be the commander of the detachment sent by Shāh Ismā'īl after his victory at Merv and which "advanced as far as Sistan, on its route to Kandahar, for the purpose of enforcing the claims which he had over it, in right of his recent conquest."

116 *T.S.*, p. 107.

117 Shāh Ismā'īl entered Harat on 20 Ramaḍān 916/21 December 1510 and appointed Ḥusayn Beg Lala the *dārūgha* and governor of Harat (*H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 61). According to Mīr Khwānd, Shāh Beg's visit to the Ṣafawid court was in line with those of other rulers who waited on Shāh Ismā'īl in the wake of his victory over Shaybānī Khān (*Ibid.*, p.75).

118 *T.S.*, p. 107. According to Mīr Ma'sūm Shāh Ismā'īl exempted Shāh Beg from prostration (*sujūd*) and commanded him to sit with bended knees in accordance with the Chaghatā'i (for details see, Blochmann, vol. I, p. 108, n.2) etiquette.

119 He left Harat in the beginning of 917/April 1511. See Ghulam Sarwar, *op.cit.* p. 64.

imprisonment in the fort of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn.¹²⁰ Precisely how long this imprisonment lasted is difficult to surmise.¹²¹ Finally, through some clever strategem Shāh Beg regained his freedom and escaped to Qandahar.¹²² Husayn Beg Lala tried in vain to lay his hands upon the runaway Arghūn chief and several people were put to death on the suspicion of their complicity in the plot.¹²³

Much as Bābur would have liked to advance against Qandahar during Shāh Beg's imprisonment at Ikhtiyār al-Dīn,¹²³ the lightning speed of military and political happenings in the Transoxiana and Bābur's inextricable involvement in them left him little time for other things. Hence, as soon as the situation at Qandahar was put in order, Shāh Beg turned his reins towards his southernmost possessions of Shāl and Mastūn, met his commanders, and convinced them that for the realization of the political ambitions of the Arghūns it was essential that they must have an alternate base ready before Qandahar slipped out of their hands.¹²⁴ As a first step

120 *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 75. Mīr Ma'ṣūm (*T.S.*, p. 108) confounds this fort which lay near Harat (See *B.N.*, p. 327), with the Qal'a-i Zafar (previously known as Shāf-tiwār) in Badakhshān (*Ibid.*, p. 242).

121 M.H. Siddiqi (*op.cit.*, p. 4) puts the period of his imprisonment in Qal'a-yi-Zafar [sic] at two years, which is incorrect.

122 *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 75. The outline of the incident of Shāh Beg's escape from the fort of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn described by Khwānd Mīr is virtually the same as given by Mīr Khwānd in *R.S.* (vol. III, p. 309) and plagiarized by the former in *H.S.*, (vol. III, iii, p. 352), in connection with the flight of Mīr Muḥammad Walī Beg, a leading noble of Sultān Husayn Bāyqara, who had been imprisoned in the same fort during the joint rule of Sultān Husayn's sons. Although Mīr Ma'ṣūm's fertile imagination has endowed the story with the touch of a romance (*T.S.*, pp. 108-9; *H.A.T.S.*, pp. 11-12. Also see Erskine, volume I, pp. 345-6), and some authorities have even gone to the extent of calling it "one of the authentic romances of medieval Asian History" (Riazul Islam, p. 15), the possibility of the flight of two important political prisoners from the same fort within a few years of each other and by adopting exactly the same tactics seems rather improbable.

123 See *T.S.*, p. 109.

124 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

towards the achievement of this goal Siwi¹²⁵ was recovered from the descendants of Sultān Pīr Walī¹²⁶ Barlās.¹²⁷ The latter withdrew to Fathpūr, about a hundred miles from Siwi on the road to Sind, and put up a stiff resistance, but victory fell to Shāh Beg. After consolidating his gains in Fathpūr, Shāh Beg returned to Siwi and occupied himself in the construction of a fort, raising of numerous buildings and laying out of gardens.¹²⁸

In 919/1513 when Shāh Ismā‘īl visited Khurasan, he sent Shāhrukh Beg Afshār to capture Qandahar and chastise Shāh Beg for his insolence.¹²⁹ When Shāhrukh reached Qandahar Shāh Beg was at Siwi and his leading retainers, Mīr Farīd Arghūn, Mīr Fāḍil Kūkultāsh, Zaynak Tarkhān and ‘Āqil Atka, whom he had sent from Siwi to Qandahar, were possibly already there. Failing to take the fort of Qandahar by surprise, Shāhrukh proceeded to Shāl and Mastūng where Shāh Beg was reportedly encamped during those days. However, disappointed at not finding Shāh Beg there, Shāhrukh vented his spleen on the poor inhabitants of those towns and after raiding and plundering

125 Until 910/1505, at least, this town was under Arghūn control and Fāḍil Kūkultāsh was its *dārūgha*. (See *B.N.*, p. 238. Cf. *H.A.T.S.*, p.214). How and when it slipped out of their hands is not ascertainable.

126 *T.S.*, p. 105.

127 *T.N.*, p. 13. Also see *H.A.T.S.*, pp. 214-5.

128 *T.S.*, p. 105.

129 *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 75. Also see Ghulam Sarwar, *op.cit.*, p. 71. Riazul Islam (p. 15) wrongly attributes the campaign to the year 917/1511, when, as a matter of fact, Shāhrukh Beg Afshār was accompanying Shāh Ismā‘īl's troops sent to the aid of Bābur (*B.N.*, Translator's note, pp. 352-4).

them¹³⁰ resumed his march to Balkh and Andīkhwūd.¹³¹

- 130 *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 75. According to Khwānd Mīr (*loc.cit.*), Shāh Beg's uncle, Amīr Sultān 'Alī fortified himself in Qandahar, but this cannot be true, because, as Mīr Khwānd (*R.S.*, vol. VII, p. 344) clearly states Sultān 'Alī Arghūn had died sometime in 913/1507-8 after Shaybānī Khān's victorious return from Qandahar. This also explains why Shāh Beg had to rush his experienced commanders to Qandahar from Siwi.

Ghulam Sarwar's interpretation (*op.cit.*, p. 71, n.7) of the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*'s text (vol. III, iv, p. 75) that "on the approach of Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār, Shujā' Beg fled from Qandahar" runs counter to the Persian original.

M.H. Siddiqi (*op.cit.*, p.5) goes a step further, and on the basis of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* MS. No. 809 of the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, F.460a, preserved in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and several other works, writes that as a punitive measure against Shāh Beg's misconduct, "Shāl and Mustang were plundered and Qandahar was invested" by Shāh Rukh Beg Afshār, and "the siege was pressed on until Shāh Beg submitted and agreed to read *Khutba* and strike coins in the name of Shah Ismā'il." He also adds (*loc.cit.*, n. 1) that Khwāndamīr even mentions that "Shāh Beg agreed to profess Shī'i faith" (On this point also see Riazul Islam, p. 15, n.5). Most of this information is either not included in the Bombay, 1273/1855-6, edition of the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, or runs quite contrary to its contents. Apparently, this holds true of the Tihiran, 1271/1854-5, edition and the 'Abd al-Salām Collection MS. of the Aligarh University Library as well; otherwise, it is presumed, Ghulam Sarwar (*op.cit.*, pp. xiii, 71, 114) would have alluded to this glaring discrepancy. If Siddiqi's reference is not incorrect, then, we are inclined to think that, either the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* MS. No. 809 contains some later interpolations, or suffers from some anomaly in its identification.

- 131 After the completion of Qandahar expedition, Shāh Rukh was supposed to proceed to the help of Dīw Sultān who was executing a campaign against Balkh and Andīkhwūd, but since these two places had already fallen to the Ṣafawid arms, Shāh Rukh turned his reins to Isfahan and waited upon Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī and informed him of his proceedings against Shāh Beg. *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 75.

When Shāh Beg subsequently returned to Qandahar and went on an excursion to Zamindawar and the Garmsir, on the very first stage the wife of his late brother Muḥammad Muqīm (d. *circa* 913/1508), Bībī Zarīf Khātūn,¹³² appeared before him in a mourning dress and implored with him to rescue his niece, Māh Begum, whom Bābur had carried off to Kabul during his previous invasion of Qandahar. Deeply moved by the wailing and plight of the widow of his younger brother, Shāh Beg took counsel with his nobles and even elicited the opinion of his own wives as to the course to follow. These deliberations yielded a plan according to which a trusty maid of Bībī Zarīf Khātūn clandestinely went to Kabul where in due course she got in touch with Māh Begum and paved the way for her secret flight to Qandahar via the Hazāra region. Māh Begum finally rejoined her mother in the midst of great rejoicings, but her travails were not yet over. In view of the difficult journey that lay ahead and the strictest secrecy it demanded if only for the safety of her life, she had had to leave behind at Kabul her eighteen months old daughter, the celebrated Nāhīd Begum¹³³ of Indian history, the pangs of whose separation it was her fortune to bear to the last days of her life.¹³⁴

132 Ansar Zahid Khan's assumption (pp. 23-4) that Bībī Zarīf Khātūn was Bābur's cousin is not supported by any historical evidence. To accept her as Bābur's cousin entails that she was married to Muḥammad Muqīm sometime in early 909/1503-4 and even if she bore him a daughter (Māh Begum) that same year, the latter would have been, at the most, in the fourth year of her age at the time of her abduction from Qandahar and subsequent marriage to Qāsim Kūkultāsh in 913/1507-8. If we go by M.H. Siddiqi's interpretation (op. cit., pp.3-4) of *T.S.*, (pp. 104-5) this daughter of Zarīf Khātūn, by the time she was finally kidnapped, at the latest, by 916/1510, would have been in the seventh year of her age and she had already had a baby daughter (Nāhīd Begum), who was 18 months old!

133 *T.S.*, pp. 105-7.

134 See *infra*.

Following the death of Shaybānī Khān the turn of events had once again catapulted Bābur in the land of his dreams, Samarqand, but the ephemeral nature of his success and the subsequent vicissitudes of his life left little doubt in his mind 'that if his fortune was to be sought anywhere outside Kabul, it must be sought in the east rather than in the west'.¹³⁵ Hence the resumption of his expeditions against Qandahar, the reduction of which was a vital preliminary to operations in Hindūstān. In 923/1517¹³⁶ he led his army against the Arghūn stronghold for the second time, but owing to his serious illness had to beat a hasty retreat to his capital.¹³⁷ As soon as Bābur turned his back, Shāh Beg once again rushed to Siwi to make sure that his officers did not relent in their efforts to carve out a viable foothold in Sind. To drive home his point, he reiterated his belief that although Bābur could not accomplish his objective at once the following year he would again make his way to that city and would continue doing so until he drove the Arghūns from it. As for the factors prompting Bābur to assume such an unrelenting and uncompromising stance vis-a-vis the Arghūns the explanation of Shāh Beg purported that ever since the seizure of Kabul by Muḥammad Muqīm had taken place, one thought had always been a thorn in the side of Bābur: whenever he turned his attention to the conquest of some other country, the Arghūns would not hesitate to capture Kabul once again. Although it was in retaliation to this act of Muqīm that Babur had carried off his daughter to Kabul, he was fully aware of the fact that by doing so he had further antagonized the Arghūns and made them more rancorous and revengeful. Moreover, numerous dispossessed princes had crowded at Kabul. As they were helpless before the power of the Ūzbeks and Ṣafawids, for the

135 L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *op.cit.*, p.111.

136 B.N., Translator's note, pp.364-5; M.H. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6.

137 T.S., pp. 109-10.

fulfilment of their, and Babur's own, ambitions, Qandahar could always be a convenient target.¹³⁸

As anticipated by Shāh Beg,¹³⁹ the following year (924/1518) Bābur once again made his appearance before the gates of Qandahar, which was then in the throes of a severe famine, with pestilence raging everywhere. Bābur could not have been in a more advantageous situation but try as he might, the fort was not to be his for another few years. As the siege was in progress, on 1 Tīr (=Rajab) 924 / 22 June 1518 symptoms of the deadly disease were reported in his own camp as well. Consequently he hurriedly made peace and left for Kabul. On the way back he took out his frustration on the Hazāra and Nikūdirī tribes, who were well-known for their solidarity with the Arghūns.¹⁴⁰

3. *Shāh Hasan's Flight to Bābur's Court*

Later this year, Shāh Beg's son, Shāh Hasan, being on indifferent terms with his father sought asylum at Bābur's court, where he stayed for approximately two years. Bābur saw in him a promising prince and developed a liking for him.¹⁴¹ Shāh Hasan accompanied Bābur on his campaign against Bājaur and he was on his side during his incursions into Bhēra and Khūshāb. These prolonged periods of camp life gave him ample opportunities of knowing his father's adversary at close quarters.¹⁴²

138 Ibid., p. 110; *B.N.*, Translator's note, p. 365.

139 *T.S.*, p. 111.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid.

142 *B.N.*, pp. 369, 383-4; 388, 395.

In Dhīqa¹⁴³ da 924/November 1518 his men raided and plundered two prosperous and well-cultivated towns, Kāhān and Bāghbānān,¹⁴⁴ in that direction and the news of this successful military excursion across the Bolan Pass was conveyed by his envoy to Bābur on 28 Rabī' I 925/30 March 1519 at Qarā-tū, when Bābur, together with Shāh Ḥasan, was returning from Bhēra and Khūshāb to Kabul.¹⁴⁵ Apparently Shāh Beg's envoy was still at Kabul, when on 1 Rabī' II 925/2 April 1519 Bābur bestowed a special head-to-foot (*bāsh-ayāq*) on Shāh Ḥasan.¹⁴⁶ About three months later on the last day of the Jumāda II/28 June another envoy of Shāh Beg, Abū al-Muḥsin Kūkultāsh by name, arrived at Bābur's court with a *tiptūchāq* horse for the latter and stayed there until 17 Rajab/15 July. Taking advantage of Shāh Beg's envoy's presence in Kabul, to rub salt into the wounds of his adversary, on 8 Rajab/6 July Bābur went to Shāh Ḥasan's house and drank there. That the occasion was not an informal one can be deduced from the fact that "most of the household and of the begs" also attended this party.¹⁴⁷

On 1 Dhī Hijja/24 November Tāj al-Dīn Maḥmud arrived from Qandahar and waited on Bābur.¹⁴⁸ He was one of the leading retainers of Shāh Beg's brother Muqīm and had surrendered to Bābur in the wake of the conquest of Qalat in 911/1505 and after his victorious entry into Qandahar in 913/1508 Bābur had made him over to his illustrious prime minister Qāsim Beg Qūchīn.¹⁴⁹ His choice as an emissary to shuttle between the two sides

143 *T.S.*, p. 110 has 17 Dhīqa¹⁴³ da 921/23 December 1515, which is incongruous with the chain of events.

144 *Ibid.*

145 *B.N.*, p. 325.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 395.

147 *Ibid.*, pp. 401-2.

148 *Ibid.*, p. 418.

149 *Ibid.*, p. 339.

who had been at loggerheads with each other for almost a decade and a half would not have been as insignificant as the brief reference in the *Memoirs of Bābur* makes it appear to be. However that may be, Bābur's efforts to exploit the differences between the estranged Arghūn prince and his father did not end there. He betrothed Shāh Ḥasan to his prime minister Nizām al-Dīn Khalīfa's daughter, Gulberg Begum, and in return, Shāh Ḥasan's niece, Nāhīd Begum, was engaged to the Khalīfa's son Muḥibb 'Alī.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless the reconciliation between the father and son could not be put off indefinitely and sometime during the year 926/1520-21 Shāh Ḥasan returned to Qandahar. As far as Bābur's campaigns against Qandahar were concerned Shah Ḥasan's stay with him seems to have exercised a restraining influence on that indefatigable warrior.¹⁵¹ Viewed against the background of Bābur's persistence and of the subsequent unqualified withdrawal of the Arghūns from Qandahar to succeed in bringing about such a rather long secession of active hostilities between the two sides was not a mean achievement on the part of this young prince.

Undeterred by Shāh Ḥasan's reunion with his father, Bābur renewed his advance upon Qandahar this year. The crops were still standing on the ground and besides whatever little grain Mihtar Sunbul had carried into the fort there was little to help the garrison to stand through the rigours of the siege.¹⁵² In the meantime the news of Khān Mīrzā's death at Badakhshan and the looming Ūzbek danger on the horizon in that direction distracted Bābur,¹⁵³ and gave a breathing space to Shāh Beg to reprovision the fort and strengthen its defences. Bābur appointed Humāyūn at Badakhshan and even spent a few days with him there, but before long returned to Qandahar to resume the

150 *T.S.*, p. 147. Cf. *B.N.*, Translator's note, pp. 165-66.

151 See M.H. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-7.

152 *T.S.*, p. 111.

153 See *H.N.*, tr., p. 92 and n. 5.

siege.¹⁵⁴ To start with both sides fought valiantly and displayed great perseverance, but as the siege dragged on indefinitely Shāh Beg began to send envoy after envoy to Amīr Khān and Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, the two deputies of Prince Ṭahmāsp, the young Ṣafawid viceroy of Harat, requesting them to intervene with Bābur to withdraw and let him proceed to the Prince's presence; he also promised to pay the annual tribute to the Ṣafawid court. The Ṣafawid Amīrs who had worries of their own, lest Bābur should push his victory at Qandahar into Khurasan itself, lost no time in sending dispatches to Bābur. They wrote to him that though the past insubordination of Shāh Beg certainly called for his punishment, now that he was ready to make mends and wait personally on the Prince, Bābur should withdraw and let Shāh Beg do so. Bābur nonetheless pressed on the siege and replied that Shāh Beg's protestations of loyalty stemmed from his difficult position and hardly deserved any credibility. He also assured them that after the fall of Qandahar, Shāh Beg would be sent to Harat as a prisoner and the keys of the Garmsīr and Qandahar would also be made over to any representative nominated by the Ṣafawid court.¹⁵⁵ These negotiations were still inconclusive when in Jumādā II 927/May 1521 'Ubayd Allāh Khān Ūzbek besieged Harat for a brief period. As Amīr Khān had failed to take adequate measures for the security of the provincial capital, he feared that Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad would inform Shāh Ismā'īl of his neglect. Consequently, he got Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad killed on the baseless accusation of his partisanship with Bābur

154 Ibid., p. 93 and n.2; *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p.96.

155 Ibid., pp. 96-7.

and his alleged invitation to the latter to come and occupy Harat. These events led to the arrival of Dūrmīsh Khān in Khurasan as the new *bēglār bēgī* and tutor of the viceroy-designate of Khurasan, Sām Mīrzā. Panicked by the impending arrival of his substitute from the court, Amīr Khān gave out that he was about to lead an army against Bābur, at Qandahar, and under that pretext hastened to Sabzwār. However, the real objective of this exercise was that he wanted to lend some credence to the charges he had treacherously brought against the deceased Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn.¹⁵⁶ A shrewd politician and astute general, Dūrmīsh Khān¹⁵⁷ killed two birds with one stone. By a rare feat of cajolery and coolheadedness he averted the flight of Amīr Khan in the direction of Qandahar and at the same time dispatched an envoy, Khwāja Muẓaffar Beg, to Bābur and explained to him that how out of his sincerity for him, he had dissuaded Prince Ṭahmāsp from going ahead with his advance towards Qandahar. He also urged Bābur to go back to Kabul and let Shāh Beg fulfil his promise of appearing at the Ṣafawid court.¹⁵⁸ The tone of the message left little doubt that Bābur's failure to comply with the request could hamper his relations with the Ṣafawid authorities. The long drawn-out siege, producing no tangible results had probably wearied his soldiers also. Hence Bābur exercised great discretion and repaired to his capital. In the midst of Persian New Year, or the vernal equinox, celebrations (Rabī' II 928/March 1522) Khwāja Muẓaffar returned to Harat and brought the happy news of his withdrawal. Gratified at the consideration shown by Bābur, on 2 Jumādā I 928/30 March 1522 Dūrmīsh Khān sent another distinguished emissary, Ḥasan Chalabī to Bābur's court and expressed the desire to ever more strengthen the bonds of friendship and

156 Ibid., p. 99-100.

157 He was not an officer of Prince Ṭahmāsp, as wrongly suggested by L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *op.cit.*, p.119. See *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p.101.

158 Ibid.

sincerity between the two sides. Chalabī had not yet returned from Kābul, when on 27 Jumādā II¹⁵⁹/24 May the envoys of Bābur, reached Harat with presents and offerings and broke the news of the latter's victory over Qandahar.

4. Shāh Beg Moves to Sind

What had happened was that after Bābur's departure for Kabul, Shāh Beg, leaving one of his trusty retainers, Maulānā 'Abd al-Bāqī, in charge of Qandahar, himself proceeded post-haste towards his lately procured alternative sanctuary in Sind. 'Abd al Bāqī sent to Bābur and on his arrival made over the trust of his master to his implacable enemy.¹⁶⁰ Bābur appointed Kāmran, his second son, as the new viceroy of Qandahar, and went back to Kabul whence he dismissed Ḥasan Chalabī and sent one of his favourite retainers, Mirzā Qulī, to accompany him to Harat. Both of them reached Harat on 23 Sha'bān 928/15 September 1522. Mirzā Qulī spent a few days at the capital of Khurasan, and after the customary exchange of gifts, returned to Kabul.¹⁶¹

159 According to *H.S.* vol. III, iv, p. 103, Qandahar should have been transferred to Bābur sometime between 2 Jumādā I 928/30 March 1522 and 27 Jumādā II 928/24 May 1522, but according to an inscription at Chihilzīna, in Qandahar, this event took place on 13 Shawwāl 928/6 September 1522 (For inscription, see Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī, *Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm Bakharī*, 1979, Hyderabad Sind, Plate 84). For details, see *B.N.*, Translator's note, p. 436 and Appendix J; Riazul Islam, p. 18, n.3.

160 *Ibid.*, p. 103. Mīr Ma'sūm's account of the surrender of Qandahar to Bābur (*T.S.*, pp.111-12) is, however altogether different, a fact which impells us all the more to believe that he probably did not have access to *H.S.*, and whatever there is common between his *Ta'rīkh-i Sind* and Khwānd Mīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, both of them have independently plagiarized from the *Raiḍat al-Safā* of Mīr Khwānd. However that may be, according to Ma'sūm during the last siege of Qandahar by Bābur (which he wrongly puts in 922/1516; on this point see *B.N.*, Translator's note, pp. 431, 435; Riazul Islam, p. 15, n.6), it was agreed between Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Pūrānī from Shāh Beg's side and Khwājas Khudāwand Maḥmūd and 'Abd al-'Azīm from Babur's side that the following year Shāh Beg would peaceably surrender Qandahar to Bābur. Hence the latter lifted the siege, and Shāh Beg having shifted to Shāl and Sīwī in the meantime, in 923/1517 handed over the keys of Qandahar to Mīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn for delivery to Bābur.

Among other things, Mīr Ma'sūm's statement suffers from anachronism, because Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Pūrānī had already died at Qandahar, by falling from a roof (not "through the fall of a roof" as wrongly suggested by A.S. Beveridge in *B.N.*, p.306, n.2), in 921/1515-6. See *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp.345-6.

161 *Ibid.*, vol. III, iv, p. 103.

Maulānā 'Abd al-Bāqī might seem to have ill requited the confidence of Shāh Beg,¹⁶² but the circumstances surrounding his final flight from Qandahār and "the good terms on which he and his successor appear to have subsequently lived with Baber, make it not improbable that his giving up Kandahar was attended with an understanding, that he was to be allowed unmolested to attack Sind, and provide for his numerous tribesmen and retainers, whom that event had thrown destitute, by estates which their sword could conquer on the fertile banks of the Indus."¹⁶³ However that may be, when Shāh Beg abandoned Qandahar and opted for his recently acquired possessions on the northwestern marches of the Samma kingdom, his previously disaffected Arghūn nobles and the Turk tribes that had taken refuge at Thatta in the wake of Shāh Beg's capture of Siwi a few years ago, probably in anticipation of his designs against that region, lost no time in making friendly overtures to their erstwhile foe and even invited him to lead an army against the Samma capital.¹⁶⁴

The throne of Thatta which until a few years ago was filled by the most outstanding of the Samma rulers¹⁶⁵ was then occupied by his worthless son and successor Jām Fīrūz and the baneful effects of his mismanagement and incapacity were in evidence everywhere. Fīrūz was yet a minor when his father Jām Niẓām al-Dīn Nanda died in 914/1508-9¹⁶⁶ and

162 *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p.103 and *A.A.A.*, vol.1, p. 91, charge him of unfaithfulness. Also see L.F. Rushbrook Williams, p.119.

163 Erskine, vol. I, pp.357-8.

164 *T.S.*, pp. 111-12.

165 See *T.S.*, pp. 73-6; *T.T.*, pp. 51-6.

166 See *T.T.*, p. 308n.

had it not been for the resourcefulness of Daryā Khān,¹⁶⁷ an able *wazīr* and adopted son of Jām Nanda, the tooth and nail opposition¹⁶⁸ of his rival, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, a grandson of Jām Sanjar, the predecessor¹⁶⁹ of Jām Nanda, would have deprived Fīrūz of the throne. Not long afterwards, however, Fīrūz allied himself with the opponents of his benefactor and obliged him to retire to his *jāgīr* at Kāhān.¹⁷⁰ Emboldened by the rift between Fīrūz and Daryā Khān, the pretender Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was biding his time in Gujarat, returned to Thatta with a strong army from Sulṭān Muẓaffar Bīgara,¹⁷¹ the husband of his cousin,¹⁷² and installed himself as the new Jām.¹⁷³ Having lost his throne, Jām Fīrūz, together

167 A capable administrator, gallant soldier and resourceful general, Daryā Khān, whose real name was Qabūla, started his career as an ordinary slave of Jām Nanda and gradually rose to the position of his master's *amīr al-umārā'* and confidant. Jām Nanda adopted him as his son and bestowed upon him the titles of Daryā Khān and Mubārak Khān. See *T.S.*, p. 112; *T.T.*, pp. 54-55; *T.K.*, pp. 109-10; *M.N.*, p. 102n.

168 *T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 320; *T.A.*, vol. III, p. 518.

169 *T.S.*, p. 73.

170 According to *T.S.*, p. 76, it happened in 918/1512-13.

171 *Ibid.*, *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 320; *T.A.*, vol. III, p. 518.

172 *T.A.*, vol. III, p. 518; 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Makki al-Āṣafī al-Ulughkhānī Ḥājjī ad-Dabir, *Ẓafar al-Wāliḥ bi Muẓaffar wa Ālihi*, tr. M.F. Lokhandwala, Baroda, 1970, vol. I, p. 123.

173 *T.S.*, p. 77. According to *T.A.*, vol. III, p. 518 and *T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 320, he had conspired with Daryā Khān to dislodge Fīrūz.

with his mother, once again turned to Daryā Khān and begged for his help.¹⁷⁴ In the battle that was subsequently fought between the two sides, Daryā Khān was defeated but through a clever ploy he converted the defeat into victory.¹⁷⁵ After a rule of approximately eight months,¹⁷⁶ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn fled to Gujarat and Jām Fīrūz once again mounted the throne of Thatta, with Daryā Khān as his *wazīr*. The pus^hi^hanimous Jām and the overbearing *wazīr*, however, could not get on well for a long time and the matters came to a head almost at the same time that Shāh Beg was desperately looking for an opportunity to extend his dominions eastwards. This opportunity was not late of coming, as Jām Fīrūz and his mother Madīna Māchhānī soon invoked his assistance to rid themselves of Daryā Khān's hegemony.¹⁷⁷

In fine, after his withdrawal from Qandahar, Shāh Beg followed by a handful of men launched a vigorous attack on Sind, overran all its major towns upto Thatta and even obliged the Jām to fly for his life. The latter was, however, subsequently reinstated in the government of Thatta, but his position was nothing more than that of a vassal. Henceforth the northern boundries of his kingdom extended as far as the Lakki hills and the areas beyond were to be a part of Arghūn dominions. During

174 *T.S.*, p. 77. Cf. Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 19, n. 69, where not only the reference is inaccurate, but also an altogether different and wrong interpretation has been put on what Maṣūmī has to say on the matter.

175 *T.S.*, p. 78; *Beg. N.*, pp. 10-11.

176 *T.S.*, pp. 78.

177 *T.T.*, pp. 56-7.

Shāh Beg's subsequent absence to Shal where he had gone to fetch his family and womenfolk, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, in collusion with some local tribes, renewed his attack on Thatta and driving Jām Fīrūz out of Thatta occupied his capital. Shāh Beg dispatched his son Shāh Ḥasan to uproot the usurper which he successfully did and put Jām Fīrūz once again on the throne. From now on, Shāh Beg concentrated all his energies on the establishment of his new capital at Bhakkar and the restoration of law and order in the occupied territories.¹⁷⁸ In the beginning of 930/1524¹⁷⁹ he left Bhakkar with the intention of leading an expedition against Gujarat, but he had to repair to his capital because of the death of Mir Fāḍil Kukultash.¹⁸⁰ After the mourning ceremonies were over, Shāh Beg again set out for Gujarat and sent emissaries to Jām Fīrūz asking him to join him on the way, but before long he fell sick and on 22 Sha'bān 930/25 June 1524¹⁸¹ breathed his last.

178 *T.S.*, pp.113-25.

179 *T.S.*, p. 125, has 928/1521, but as, according to Mīr Ma'sūm (Ibid., pp. 125-7), the expedition was undertaken in the same year as the deaths of Fāḍil Kūkultāsh and Shāh Beg Arghūn (see n.181 below), we have changed it to 930/1524.

180 *T.S.*, p. 125.

181 Authorities widely differ about the year of Shāh Beg's death. (For details, see Hodivala, vol. I, p. 125; *H.A.T.S.*, pp. 233-4). Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (*T.A.*, vol. III, p.520) and Firishta (*T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 321) ascribe it to 930/1523-4, but mention no specific date. On the contrary, Mīr Ma'sūm attributes his death to 927/1520-1 (*T.S.*, p. 219) and to Sha'bān 928/June-July 1522 (Ibid., p. 127). Although he supports the latter with a chronogram - *shahr-i Sha'bān* - to the numerical value of 928 (not 927, as wrongly suggested by Ansar Zahid Khan, p. 30, n. 23), both the dates are anachronistic. Bearing in mind, among other things, the fact that Shāh Beg died in the wake of Babur's expedition to Bhera and Khushab on his way to India (*T.S.*, p. 126), which, as M.H. Siddiqi points out (*H.A.T.S.*, p. 233), happened in "Rabi' I 930/22 January 1524", Ma'sūm's dates cannot be accepted. Hodivala's speculation that the discrepancy between *T.A.* and *T.S.* could have been caused by the misreading [by Mīr Ma'sūm] of the chronogram *bashahr-i Sha'bān* as *shahr-i Sha'bān* (Hodivala, vol. I, p. 125) not only fills the gap of two years, but also has the merit of supplying the month and year of Shāh Beg's death.

Ansar Zahid Khan (*op.cit.*) wrongly gives the credit for Hodivala's "ingenious suggestion" to M.H. Siddiqi. See *H.A.T.S.*, p. 234.

5. *Shāh Ḥasan Succeeds His Father*

Upon Shāh Beg's death, his son Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn stepped into his shoes. The Mīrzā combined in himself the dash and courage of Dhū al-Nūn and the foresight and military prowess of Shāh Beg. The good relations he had cultivated with Bābur during his stay at his court in Kabul a few years ago were apparently still intact. Endowed with a fine knack of making virtue out of necessity, Shāh Ḥasan notwithstanding the contrary counsel of his nobles, offered his allegiance to Bābur by causing the *khutba* read in the name of that determined scion of the house of Tīmūr.¹⁸² This act of his not only forestalled the danger of immediate conflict with Bābur but also saved his nascent principality from being nipped in the bud. As soon as the news of Bābur's advance towards India was known Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan dispatched his emissaries with suitable gifts to his court.¹⁸³ Soon afterwards he conveyed his willingness to Bābur to marry Mīr Nizām al-Dīn Khalīfa's daughter Gulberg, who had been betrothed to him during his stay at Kabul. Accordingly, Gulberg was sent with her brother Ḥussām al-Dīn Mīrak to Bhakkar where she was wedded to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan and, as agreed previously, Māh Begum's daughter from Qāsim Kūkultāsh, Nāhīd by name, was given in marriage to the Khalīfa's elder son Muḥibb 'Alī Khān.¹⁸⁴ Having thus entered

182 *T.S.*, p. 142.

183 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

184 The following remark of Bābur which pertains to the year 933/1527 sheds considerable light on his relations with Shāh Ḥasan: "The night we left Āgra Mīr 'Alī the armourer was sent to Shāh Ḥasan (*Arghūn*) in Thatta to take him playing cards (*ganjīfa*) he much liked and had asked for." *B.N.*, p. 584.

into a close matrimonial alliance with one of the chief nobles of Bābur,¹⁸⁵ the Mīrzā devoted all his attentions to the conquest and administration of Sind.

One of the first things he did after his accession to the *masnad* of his father, was to drive out Jām Fīrūz from the lower Sind after two successive battles and obliged him to seek shelter in Gujarat.¹⁸⁶ He now tried to stamp out the last traces of insurgency and insubordination in his dominions, as well as on his frontiers. Not long afterwards, Langar Khān, a disaffected noble of the house of Langāhs,¹⁸⁷ in Multan, fled to his court and induced Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan to undertake an invasion of that faction-ridden kingdom. The strategic importance of this ancient town in the grand design to safeguard and secure the troubled boundries of Sind was not lost upon the Mīrzā. He took the opportunity by the forelock and through a well thought-out plan conquered Multan and entrusted its administration to Dūst Mīr Ākhūr, Khwāja Shams al-Dīn and Langar Khān,¹⁸⁸ and himself returned to Bhakkar, from where he had soon to proceed to Thatta to meet the challenge of the formidable Kachh chief, Khingār, who was rallying his forces to take revenge of his brother Āmir Amrānī, a confederate of the deposed Jām Fīrūz, who was killed in a battle against the Arghūns. Khingār was defeated and his territory was

185 See *T.A.*, vol. II, pp. 28-9.

186 *T.S.*, pp. 141-4.

187 For further information about the Langāhs, see *H.A.T.S.*, pp. 238-43.

188 *T.S.*, p. 160.

annexed to Sind,¹⁸⁹ but hardly a year had elapsed after the conquest of Multan, when Langar Khān defected to Bābur.¹⁹⁰ To offset any move by Bābur in favour of the former, Shāh Ḥasan voluntarily ceded the territory of Multan to his Mughul overlord, who first appointed 'Askarī to its administration,¹⁹¹ but when he failed to calm down the warlike propensities of the local tribes, the area was added to the possessions of Mīrzā Kāmran.¹⁹²

6. *Shāh Ḥasan and Humāyūn*

Bābur died in Jumādā I 937/December 1530, but that was by no means the culmination of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's vassalage to his Mughul collaterals, nominal though it was.¹⁹³ In 942/1535-6 when the relations between the Mughul monarch Humāyūn and Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujarat took a worse turn and Humāyūn undertook a punitive expedition against him, he directed Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn to march upon Gujarat from Thatta and await further orders at Patan.¹⁹⁴ The Mīrzā who was apprehensive of the activities of the deposed Samma Jām Fīrūz who had given his daughter in marriage to Sulṭān Bahādur and was contemplating an attack on Sind with the support of his son-in-law,¹⁹⁵ welcomed the opportunity of action in league with Humāyūn against the ruler of Gujarat.

189 Ibid., pp. 160-2.

190 Ibid., p. 160.

191 *B.N.*, p. 605 and n.3 on that page.

192 *T.S.*, p. 160.

193 After Bābur's death, Shāh Ḥasan read the *khutba* in Humāyūn's name.

194 *T.S.*, pp. 162-3.

195 *Zafar al-Wālih*, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 124; Sikandar ibn Muḥammad alias Manjhū ibn Akbar, *Mir'at-i Sikandarī*, ed. S.C. Misra and M.L. Rahman, Baroda, 1961, pp. 271, 291.

Accordingly, he set forth from Nasrpur at the head of a large army and reached Patan, via Rādanpūr. Khidr Khān, the commandant of Sultān Bahādur at Patan dispatched all the peasants, together with their cattle, to some far off place and shut himself up in the fort. Sultān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī, who was in the vanguard of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's forces, laid waste a number of towns (*qurā*) and encamped at a distance of seven *kurōhs* from Patan, from where he sent two of his emissaries to Khidr Khān and demanded the surrender of the fort. Khidr Khān refused to oblige the Sindhī envoys, but, they talked his mother over to make a huge offer of money in tribute to the Arghūn chief. In the meantime, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan also arrived and sent his envoys to Humāyūn to solicit his orders for future course of action. While Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan awaited Imperial orders, detachments of his army advanced upto Maḥmūdābād and inflicted a severe blow on the life and property of the Gujarātīs. They also accumulated a massive amount of wealth and goods from the region. As the Mīrzā was looking forward to hearing from Humāyūn, one of his nobles Mīr Farrukh, pleaded with him to repair to Sind along with his forces, before the return of his emissary with a royal edict. His argument was that after the fall of Gujarat a huge bounty was expected to fall into the hands of the Emperor and that he would distribute among his soldiers. The sight of such affluence, coupled with the pomp and ceremony of the royal court would, of necessity, entice away all his followers to Humāyūn and he would thus be left at the mercy of the Mughuls. The logic of the Mīr appealed to Shāh Ḥasan and he decided to retrace his steps to Thatta. Accordingly, he dispatched yet another envoy, Mīr Qāsim Beglār, to the royal court with the message that consequent upon the receipt of the news of tribal uprising at Bhakkar and Thatta, he

was obliged to go back, and thus very skilfully extricated himself from the Gujarat campaign.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, when, subsequently, Humāyūn conquered Gujarat and Bengal,¹⁹⁷ Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan lost no time in dispatching an embassy to congratulate the Mughul Emperor.¹⁹⁸

7. *Shāh Ḥasan Greets Kāmran and Welcomes Kh. Kalān*

Humāyūn's invasion of Gujarat was almost simultaneous with Kāmran's military proceedings against the Persians at Qandahar.¹⁹⁹ On hearing the news of the redemption of Qandahar by Kāmran, Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, realizing the value of keeping this wily Prince in good humour, dispatched Mīr Khwūsh Muḥammad Arghūn with a congratulatory message to him,²⁰⁰ though his success proved quite ephemeral. The following year, Shāh Tahmāsp (930-984/1524-76), who had actually set out to punish the Ūzbeks, turned his reins towards Qandahar and decided to teach a lesson to the Mughul daredevils occupying that distant outpost.²⁰¹ The Mughul commandant, Khwāja Kalān, who had yet hardly recovered from the aftermath of the previous year's long Persian siege and the ditched battle that had followed it,²⁰² heeding the advice of his officers,²⁰³ presented the keys of the fort to the Shāh through Khwāja Malik Muḥammad Tabasī,²⁰⁴ on the

196 *T.S.*, pp. 163-4.

197 See *T.R.*, p. 470.

198 *T.S.*, p. 165.

199 *T.R.*, p. 470.

200 *T.S.*, p. 165.

201 *A.A.A.*, vol. I, p. 91.

202 *Ibid.*; *T.R.*, pp. 467-8.

203 Mullā Qāṭi'ī Harawī, *Majma' al-Shu'arā'-i Jahāngīr Shāhī*, ed. Muḥammad Saleem Akhtar, Karachi, 1979, p. 29.

204 *Ibid.* Cf. *A.A.A.*, vol. I, p. 91, where the name of the official is given as Ganjī Khwāja.

assurance that the lives and property of the citizens would not be interfered with, and himself retired to Sind from where he came to Lahore by way of Thatta, Bhakkar and Ūchh.²⁰⁵ Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn who had made the acquaintance of this great Mughul noble during his long stay at Kabul, was fully aware of his high stock with the descendants of Bābur, went several miles out to receive him and presented him with all manner of precious gifts. Impressed with the warmth of his host's friendly feelings, the Khwāja, in one of the moments of his utmost remorse about his precipitated retreat from the highly prized fort of Qandahar, told Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan that being a fugitive, he would rather like to abandon the profession of fighting and renounce his pen-name, Sipāhī (soldier), of which he no longer deemed himself worthy, and as a mark of gratitude presented it to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan.²⁰⁶

After the capture of Qandahar and its dependencies, Shāh Tahmāsp deputed a Qizilbāsh noble, Shāh Būdāq Qājār as his deputy and himself effected a hasty retreat to the western frontiers of Iran where some fresh trouble was brewing. Without wasting any time, on 1 Shaʿbān 943/13 January 1537, Kāmran by rapid marches proceeded to retrieve Qandahar. Finding himself incapable of sustaining a protracted siege, or hazarding an open confrontation with the Mīrzā, in the absence of any prospect of fresh reinforcements, Shāh Būdāq evacuated the fort and it

205 Mullā Qāṭiʿī Harawī, *op.cit.*, pp. 29-30.

206 Ibid. For the use of the pen-name of *Sipāhī* by Khwāja Kalān, see Fakhrī b. Amīrī Harawī, *Rauḍat al-Salāṭīn* and *Jawāhir al-ʿAjāʾib*, ed. Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī, Haiderabad Sind, 1968, pp. 280, 281. For its use by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, see *T.S.*, p. 195; Fakhrī bin Amīrī Harawī, *op.cit.*, pp. 102-5. The coincidence of this sobriquet at times causes difficulty in the determination of the authorship of their verses. For example, see Ibid., p. 286.

was peacefully occupied by the Mughuls.²⁰⁷

During Kāmrān's absence from Lahore he had left the entire administration of his possessions in the hands of Mīrzā Haydar Dūghlāt who carried out his duties to the complete satisfaction of his master.²⁰⁸ When Humāyūn advanced upon Gujarat to quell the rebellion of the Mīrzās, his brother-in-law, Muḥammad Zamān b. Badī' al-Zamān Mīrzā,²⁰⁹ fled for his life to Sind. To avoid any trouble with the Mughuls, Shāh Ḥasan did not harbour the fugitive Mīrza at his court, and quite discreetly obliged him to look for asylum outside his dominions.²¹⁰

8. *Rise of Shīr Shāh in India*

During his brief life after the conquest of India, Bābur had indeed extended his sway far and wide but he was not able to consolidate his gains before his life was cut short by a sudden illness. The mutual dissensions of his sons resulting from the absence of any well-established tradition, or law of primogeniture, pretensions of his kinsfolk to the throne, the indolent temperament of Humāyūn and his excessively forgiving and too kind disposition towards his ever too erring brothers, particularly Kāmrān, did not make the task of preserving his legacy any easier for his successor to the throne. All that the disaffected indigenous elements needed to strike a fatal blow to the precarious fortunes of the house of

207 A.A.A., vol. I, p. 91; T.R., p. 469; Riazul Islam, pp. 22-4.

208 T.R., p. 469.

209 For his early career, see R.S., vol. VIII, pp. 352-67.

210 See Mir Abu Turab Vali, *History of Gujarat*, ed. E. Denison Ross, Calcutta, 1909, p. 39.

Bābur was a redoubtable leader and that they found in Shīr Khān,²¹¹ a shrewd commoner who gradually rose to be a king. Barring numerous other problems, the chief of which was the infidelity of his ambitious brothers and jealous relatives, Humāyūn's own ease-loving nature, slothful indolence and constant state of indecision, hardly helped him to lay a dam before the ever-rising torrent of his hardy Afghān adversary's might and finally, he had to set out on a long and dreary journey in search of his fortunes elsewhere.²¹²

9. *Fall of Humāyūn*

After Humāyūn's final humiliating defeat at Qannauj (Muḥarram 947/May 1540) at the hands of Shīr Shāh's much smaller and ill-equipped army, without even a single bullet having been fired on either side,²¹³ he and the remnant of his army, broken and dispirited, retired from Qannauj to Lahore and joined the mighty multitude of the Mughul families and fugitives that had already gathered there. Here, in a fresh attempt to bring about a cohesion among their ranks and with a view to evolving a unanimous approach to the imminent threat to the very existence of the descendants of Bābur in India, the Emperor and his brothers met several times, but every meeting ended in a fiasco.²¹⁴ Mīrzā Kāmran's sole concern was to retain Kabul,²¹⁵ which he owed to Humāyūn, in his own hands

211 For his life and early career, see Kalikaranjan Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, Bombay, 1965.

212 For his life and career, see Rama Shanker Avasthy, *The Mughul Emperor Humayun*, Allahabad, 1967.

213 For details, see *T.R.*, pp. 469-77.

214 *Ibid.*, pp. 477-8; *H.N.*, pp. 49-50.

215 For the importance of Kabul in the eyes of Bābur, see *H.S.*, p. 49.

and in this regard he was not prepared to hazard the slightest risk. Hence, every positive scheme was wrecked on the rock of his selfish intransigance. Mirzā Ḥaydar Dūghlat, who much to the discomfiture of Kāmran, had previously stayed back at Agra and sided with Humāyūn in the debacle at Qannauj,²¹⁶ proposed the conquest of Kashmir and to use it as a base for any future expeditions into India.²¹⁷ On the contrary, Yādīgār Nāṣir, and Hindāl Mīrzā wanted to capture Bhakkar and conquer Gujarat before embarking upon the redemption of Mughul fortunes in Hindūstān,²¹⁸ and in fact, subsequently, set out in that direction without obtaining the Emperor's permission.²¹⁹ Humāyūn, though in principle agreed with Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlat's proposal to proceed to Kashmir,²²⁰ later on was swayed by the argument of others who thought in case of inordinate delay or failure in the Kashmir campaign, particularly if, in the meantime, Lahore also fell into the hands of the Afghāns, safe retreat from India would become well-nigh impossible.²²¹ Five precious months passed but the differences among the Mughuls proved too hard to be ironed out by negotiations or mediation and they continued

216 *T.R.*, pp. 473-4.

217 *Ibid.*, pp. 479-81.

218 *Ibid.*, p. 478; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 46.

219 *A.N.*, vol. I, pp. 171-2.

220 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 169-71; *T.R.*, pp. 479-81; 483.

221 *H.N.*, p. 49.

to persist in their cacophony of discordant voices. Before long, the news of Shīr Shāh's arrival at the Beas arrived and put them to flight once again.²²²

10. *Humāyūn Turns His Reins to Sind*

Though circumstances had time and again brought home to Humāyūn and his well-wishers the infidelity of Kāmran, as fate would have it, even the final parting of ways between these two brothers was not without an episode. At Khushab, where the road passed through a defile and then forked northwest for Kabul and southwest for Sind, apprehending that Humāyūn might take the road to Badakhshan, as mentioned by him earlier,²²³ the path for which lay through Kabul, Kāmran insisted to enter the defile first. Humāyūn considered it an affront to his royal prestige and insisted on precedence. Finally, through the compromise arranged by Mīr Abū al-Baqā', Humāyūn marched first and took the road to Sind on 1 Rajab 947/1 November 1540,²²⁴ little realizing that it was the beginning of his arduous odyssey, while Kāmran set out triumphantly towards Kabul, soon to be blocked by a detachment of Afghān forces.²²⁵

222 Ibid., pp. 43-4; *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 170.

223 *H.N.*, p. 49.

224 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 171.

225 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *Ta'rīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, tr. Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya, Patna, 1974, pp. 466-7.

11. *Exchange of Messages Between Humāyūn & Shāh Ḥasan*

Hounded by Khwāṣṣ Khān, a trusty lieutenant of Shīr Khān, Humāyūn reached Ūchh towards the end of Sha‘bān 947/December 1540.²²⁶ Since the territories of Bakhshū Langāh, a prominent Balūch chief, were close by the Emperor dispatched a *farmān* conferring a dress of honour, a standard, a kettle-drum and the title of Khān-i Jahān on him. Bakhshū Langāh, whatever the reasons, refrained from waiting upon Humāyūn, but provided him with provisions and a number of boats with the aid of which the royal party could continue its journey towards Sind.²²⁷ Reaching Rohri on 28 Ramaḍān/947/27 January 1541 he encamped in the delightful *chār-bāgh* of Babrlū,²²⁸ three *kurōh*'s from Bhakkar,²²⁹ and sent for Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the Arghūn commandant of Bhakkar. Sulṭān Maḥmūd who had already laid waste the surroundings of Bhakkar on both sides of the Indus, in anticipation of the fugitive Emperor's arrival, gathered all the boats from the river and anchored them under the wall of the fort, and replied that being a retainer of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, he could only wait upon the Emperor if his master also did so. For the same reason, he also regretted his inability to surrender the fort.²³⁰ Nevertheless, he honoured the royal request for the supply of foodgrain and other victuals.²³¹

226 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 172.

227 *Ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 47; *H.N.*, p. 50; *Jauhar*, pp. 55-6.

228 *T.S.*, p. 167.

229 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

230 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 173.

231 *T.S.*, pp. 167-8.

Seeing the futility of unnecessarily putting pressure on Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī, the Emperor dispatched two envoys, Amīr Ṭāhir Ṣadr and Samandar Beg to Shāh Ḥasan at Thatta and reminded him of the cordiality that characterized their relations under Bābur, particularly during the Mīrzā's flight to Kabul from his father. The Mīrzā received the royal emissaries with every mark of respect and sent Shaykh Mīrak Pūrānī and Mīrzā Qāsim Taghā'ī to the Emperor with suitable offerings and an *'amḍāsh* to the effect that the revenue of Bhakkar was small, whereas the territory of Chāchkan, in the east of Thatta, was populous, fertile and rich in agricultural products. If the Emperor designed to occupy it not only the material needs of the royal army would be adequately supplied, but he would also be close at hand. The Mīrzā also felicitated the Emperor for gracing his dominions with his presence and assured him that no sooner his apprehensions had subsided than he would obtain the blessing of kissing the royal carpet.²³²

12. Shāh Ḥasan Takes Precautionary Measures

Humāyūn was about to give assent to the Mīrzā's proposal, when his attention was drawn by his nobles to the fact that the Mīrzā was not sincere in his submissions, the Emperor changed his mind and laid siege to the fort of Bhakkar. Familiar with the ease-loving nature of Humāyūn, the Mīrzā knew he would never personally march upon the fort, on the other hand he was confident that his vacillating *amīrs* were hardly a match for the seasoned Arghūn and Tarkhān chiefs under Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī,

232 A.N., vol. I, p. 173; T.S., pp. 168-9; T.A., vol. II, pp. 47-8.

who was charged with the defence of the fort. However, apart from other precautionary measures to discourage Humāyūn's stay in Sind, the Mīrzā laid waste the outskirts of Siwistan, drove off the cattle, filled the fort of Siwistan with provisions and strengthened its fortifications.²³³

13. *Humāyūn Moves to Rohri*

The Emperor left Māthīla on 28 Ramaḍān 947/15 January 1541 and alighted on the slopes of Rohri hills. Some of the Dhārējas and the Safiyānīs who were still left in the vicinity called on him and the following day the Emperor caused the *khutba* read in his name. However, as the time passed by the effects of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's defensive mechanism began to show its portents and entire region of Bhakkar was afflicted with a severe famine. When all the efforts of the Emperor failed to mitigate the misery of his followers, who according to some estimates numbered 200,000, and to relieve pressure on the already lean supply of foodgrain in the region, Humāyūn sent Hindāl with his army to Pātar and Mīrzā Yādīgār Nāṣir farther down to Darbēla.²³⁴

14. *Humāyūn Visits Darbēla*

After waiting in vain for about six months at the *chār-bāgh* of Babrlu for Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan to wait upon the Emperor, the latter also moved to Darbela and then to Pātar where he was infatuated with Ḥamīda Bānū Begum, a daughter of Shaykh 'Alī Akbar Jāmī, a teacher of Hindāl,

233 *T.S.*, p. 169.

234 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-71.

and, much, to the protest of the latter, married her.²³⁵ Finally, however, when the camp at Patar was caught with bad odour, the Emperor repaired to Bhakkar.²³⁶ In the meantime, Mīrzā Hindāl replying to a friendly overture from Qarācha Beg, the viceroy of the Mīrzās Kāmraṇ and 'Askarī, not only himself left for Qandahar, but also invited Yādigār Nāṣir to follow him.²³⁷ The latter could only be dissuaded²³⁸ by the Emperor through the influence of Mīr Abū al-Baqā' who was shot at on his way back to Bhakkar and died the following day causing Humāyūn much agony and grief.²³⁹ After a few days,²⁴⁰ Mīrzā Yādigār Nāṣir joined the royal camp once again. Meanwhile, the Emperor dismissed Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's envoys, and expressed his willingness to accept Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's offer made in his '*arḍdāsh*t, provided the latter waited upon the Emperor in all sincerity.²⁴¹ The Mīrzā, however, continued to act with circumspection.

235 Jauhar, pp. 58-9; *H.N.*, pp. 52-3; *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 174.

236 *T.S.*, p. 171.

237 *Ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 48; *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 174.

238 According to *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 174, the Emperor promised to give Yādigār Nāṣir 1/3rd of his Indian empire, when it was conquered, and on reaching Kabul (in the near future), to bestow on him Ghazni, Kabul and Lohgarh, which had been conferred on his mother by Emperor Bābur.

239 *Ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 48.

240 This happened in the latter half of Jumādā I 948/August 1541. See *A.N.*, vol. I, pp. 174-5.

241 See *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 176; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 49; *T.S.*, pp. 171-2.

15. *Humāyūn Besieges Siwistan*

On 1 Jumādā II 948/23 September 1541 the Emperor entrusted the region of Bhakkar to Mīrzā Yādigar Nāṣir and himself set out for Thatta. As soon as the boat carrying some prominent Imperial nobles approached the fort of Siwistan they were ambushed by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's men. In the ensuing encounter the Mīrzā's soldiers were defeated and they took refuge in the fort. This gave a false sense of the enemy's weakness to Humāyūn's followers.^{241A} Consequently, the Emperor laid siege to the fort of Siwistan on 17 Rajab 948/6 November 1541. As the siege dragged on the Mīrzā also advanced from Thatta to Sann, dug up trenches, collected boats and encamped there. One night a body of his men cut their way into the fort. Humāyūn retaliated by ordering a mine to be laid, but it failed to have any considerable effect on the morale of the enemy.²⁴² The siege lasted for seven months.²⁴³ Meanwhile, the climate of the region took an adverse turn, the river became flooded and the Mīrzā successfully stopped the supply of foodgrain to the Imperialists from all directions. All these factors caused desertion from the royal camp. The deserters were not only ordinary soldiers, but such respectable personages as Mīr Ṭāhir Ṣadr, who was Humāyūn's envoy to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan, Khwāja Ghiyāth al-Dīn Jāmī and Maulānā ʿAbd al-Bāqī. The Mīrzā conveyed them with great respect to his capital. Yet another group of prominent men, including Mīr Baraka, Mīrzā Ḥasan and Qāsim Ḥusayn Sulṭān, turned

241A See *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 176; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 49; *T.S.*, pp. 171-2.

242 *H.N.*, p. 53.

243 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 49; *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 176.

their attentions to Mīrzā Yādigār and tried to persuade him to come with them to Qandahar.²⁴⁴ The army of Mīrzā Yādigār had, in the meantime, been twice surprised by the inmates of the Bhakkar fort, and had sustained heavy losses. When a similar attempt was made by the enemy for the third time, the Mīrzā personally intercepted the Arghūn contingent in the desert of Rohri and gave them a good fight²⁴⁵ in which three to four hundred of Sindhī soldiers were killed.²⁴⁶

16. *Shāh Ḥasan Wins Over Yādigār Nāṣir*

Realizing that the famine and the occasional armed raids on the camp of Yādigār Nāṣir had failed to flinch his determination, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan now took recourse to guile to win him over to his side. Thus, he dispatched Amīr Qulī Muhrdār to Yādigār Nāṣir with the message which purported that Mīrzā Ḥasan was an old man with no son of his own to succeed him. He was prepared to marry his daughter off to Yādigār Nāṣir provided he withheld his support from Humāyūn. Shāh Ḥasan also told Yādigār that as long as he was alive he would run the affairs of Sind, but on his death he would be his successor. He also promised to put all his resources at the disposal of Mīrzā Yādigār and assured him of his active support in the conquest of Gujarat. A man of a weak moral fibre as this Chagātā'i Prince was, he was taken in by the empty promises of the astute Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan, and regardless of all Humāyūn's requests for help,²⁴⁷ he began to show a willingness to accommodate the enemy.²⁴⁸

244 *T.S.*, p. 173.

245 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

246 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 176.

247 *T.S.*, p. 174; *T.A.*, vol. II, pp. 49-50.

248 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 177.

17. *Humāyūn Withdraws to Bhakkar*

Consequently, finding it unsafe to prolong his stay in the neighbourhood of Siwistan, Humāyūn lifted the siege and started off for Bhakkar. The protracted siege, coupled with severe shortage of food and lack of military equipment had so badly disheartened the royal army that even experienced commanders, such as Qanbar Beg Arghūn, deserted to the enemy. The Emperor alighted at Rohri and Mīrzā Yādigār Nāṣir of necessity waited on him and presented him with whatever little supply of foodgrain he had with him. This was hardly enough to alleviate the distress of Humāyūn's followers. Subsequently, the Emperor sent some emissaries to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī with a request for foodgrain. The considerable supply of provisions which was thus received from Bhakkar was far short of the real needs of the royal army. A large number of men died or dispersed in search of food. This coincided with the outbreak of a fresh wave of violence between the followers of Humāyūn and the troops of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī. The Imperialists proved their superiority in these combats time and again, but without proper wherewithal the reduction of the impregnable fort of Bhakkar was out of question.²⁴⁹

Influenced by the false promises of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, Yādigār Nāṣir finally separated himself from the royal entourage, made over his artillery to Shāh Ḥasan's commanders at the fort of Bhakkar²⁵⁰ and throwing overboard his word to the Emperor²⁵¹ delivered Hāla and 'Umar Shāh,²⁵² two tribal chiefs who had rendered great service to

249 *T.S.*, pp. 174-5.

250 *Ibid.*, p. 177.

251 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 51.

252 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 178, has: Gandum and Hala. Also see *T.T.*, pp. 85, 320n.

Humāyūn, to the enemy and himself moved to Sukkur which lay on the road to Qandahar.²⁵³

18. *Humāyūn Proceeds to Marwar via Uchh*

Demoralized by the scarcity, desertions, treachery of his kinsmen and despaired of the fall of the fort of Bhakkar, Humāyūn contemplated to go to Qandahar and try to seek some accommodation with his brothers. With the direct route thither blocked by Yādigār Nāṣir and Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, he retraced his steps to Uchh on 21 Muḥarram 949/7 May 1542²⁵⁴ from where he wanted to go across the Indus. When the hostile attitude of Bakhshū Langāh made it also impossible, in sheer desperation Humāyūn thought of trying his luck with Māldev, the powerful ruler of Marwar, who had previously invited him to join forces against their common foe, Shīr Shāh. Nevertheless, what he failed to realize was that the situation on the eastern frontiers of Marwar which prompted Māldev to make common cause with the dethroned Mughul Emperor had altogether changed. The woeful tale of Humāyūn's subsequent wanderings in the desert and his numerous sufferings and hardships needs hardly to be repeated here.²⁵⁵ The royal party finally meandered its way to 'Umarkot on 10 Jumādā I 949/22 August 1542.²⁵⁶ It was here that the whispering of Shaykh Aḥmad Jām (d.536/1141) that Humāyūn had heard in a state of trance at Lahore some years ago, was fulfilled and he was

253 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 178. Earlier an armed conflict between him and the Emperor was scarcely averted through the intervention of one of the Mīrzā's trusty comrades. See *Ibid.*; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 51.

254 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 179.

255 For details, see Kalikaranjan Qanungu, *op. cit.*, pp.361-77.

256 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 182; *T.S.*, p. 177.

blessed with a son²⁵⁷ on 5 Rajab 949/15 October 1542.²⁵⁸ In keeping with the command of Shaykh Aḥmad Jām's apparition, the child was named Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar.²⁵⁹

19. *Humāyūn Returns to Sind and Leaves for Qandahar*

Since the principality of 'Umarkot was too small to accommodate and cater for the requirements of a large army, Humāyūn decided to come back to Sind. His absence from the region had provided Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn with a welcome respite which he employed in strengthening his defences by renovating his forts, refurbishing his supplies and by purging his ranks of all possible supporters of Humāyūn.²⁶⁰ On his return from 'Umarkot, the Emperor encamped in the town of Jaun, on the left bank of a branch of the Indus. The town of Jaun was known for its fertility, water courses and fruit gardens.²⁶¹ Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan also deployed his forces on the opposite bank of the stream. After a few days the Emperor dispatched a body of his troops to subdue the fort of Batūra and capture the stores of grain. From Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's side, Sultān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī valiantly defended the fort. Meanwhile the skirmishes in and around the town of Jaun gradually escalated into a full-scale war. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan who was possessed of a large army and a strong flotilla of boats crossed over to the Thatta side. Meanwhile, when Humāyūn heard that his troops had failed to make any headway in the reduction of the fort of Batūra, he was dismayed. Not

257 *H.N.*, p. 48.

258 *T.S.*, p. 177.

259 *H.N.*, p. 48.

260 *T.S.*, p. 178.

261 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 185.

long afterwards, on 7 Muharram 959/12 April 1543 Bayram Khān's arrival from India sent a wave of delight throughout the royal camp.²⁶² Bayram concluded a peace with the ruler of Sind, according to which the latter, among other things, undertook to pay 100,000 *mithqāls* in cash and to put 300 horses and the same number of camels at the disposal of the Emperor. Consequently, a bridge was thrown across the river. On 7 Rabī' I 950/10 June 1543²⁶³ Humāyūn crossed this bridge and embarked upon his journey to Qandahar via Siwi. The occasion was marked by great rejoicings in the Arghūn camp.

20. *Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn and Mīrzā Kāmran*

While bestowing Multān on Mīrzā Kāmran in 935/1528, Bābur wrote to him to take "best of care in intercourse with Shāhzāda",²⁶⁴ a title the Emperor occasionally used for Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan. How these scions of the rival houses fared as neighbours in the years to come is not precisely known. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that the estranged relations of Kāmran with Humāyūn and the latter's prolonged stay in Sind, did bring the foes of the luckless Emperor closer to each other. The available evidence even suggests a regular exchange of embassies between the two sides.²⁶⁵ Humāyūn's final departure from Sind brought in its wake the betrothal of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's daughter, Chūchuk Begum,

262 *T.S.*, p. 179.

263 As it took two days to transfer the entire army across the river, the actual journey towards Qandahar started on 9 Rabī' I 950/12 June 1543. See *T.S.*, p. 180.

264 *B.N.*, p. 645.

265 See *A.N.*, vol. I, pp. 189-90; *T.S.*, p. 181. Also see *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 56.

with Kāmrān,²⁶⁶ who had by then established his undisputed predominance over Kabul, Ghazni and Qandahar. This was followed by Shāh Ḥasan's acknowledgement of Kāmrān's overlordship.²⁶⁷

Subsequent to Humāyūn's triumphant return to Kabul from Persia in Ramaḍān 952/November 1545,²⁶⁸ when Kāmrān sought refuge in Sind, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan whose faith in the destiny of the fugitive Tīmūrid Prince was apparently still unshaken, married his daughter to Kāmrān and after repairing his military losses and providing him with a strong contingent of 1000 well-accoutred horse, allowed him to go back to Kābul.²⁶⁹ Taking advantage of Humāyūn's involvement with the affairs of Badakhshan, Kāmrān reoccupied Kabul without much resistance, though he could not hold it for a long time. The subsequent warfare between the two brothers and ups and downs in their fortunes culminated in Kāmrān's flight, in 958/1551, to India where he tried to enlist the support of Humāyūn's sworn enemies, the Sūrs. When Islām Shāh Sūr (952-60/1545-52) tried to lay his hands upon Kāmrān, the latter fled to Ādam Ghakkar, who made him over to Humāyūn.²⁷⁰ But for the mounting pressure of the victims of Kāmrān's tyranny, Humāyūn might well have overlooked the follies of his brother. However, left with no room for

266 *T.S.*, p. 181.

267 *A.N.*, vol. I, p. 200.

268 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 244; *H.N.*, p. 76; *M.T.*, vol. I, p. 449. Cf. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 65.

269 *T.S.*, p. 182.

270 For details, see Avasthy, pp. 357-77.

manauvring,²⁷¹ on 7 Ramaḍān 960/17 August 1553²⁷² the Emperor ordered the Mīrzā to be blinded and then allowed him to proceed to the Hejaz.²⁷³

On his way to the Two Sacred Sanctuaries of Islam, when the Mīrzā passed through Sind, Shāh Ḥasan put him up in the island of Shādbēla, west of Bhakkar. Not long afterwards, he was shifted to Bāgh-i Fath, 30 *kurōhs* northeast of Thatta, which ironically commemorated Shāh Ḥasan's victory over Humāyūn in 950/1543,²⁷⁴ and allocated the revenue of the *pargana* of Batūra for the expenses of his kitchen. Shāh Ḥasan did not want his daughter to accompany her unfortunate husband, but failing to dissuade her he finally bade farewell to both of them with considerable wealth.²⁷⁵ Mīrzā Kāmran died at 'Arafāt on 11 Dhī al-Ḥijja 964/5 October 1557.²⁷⁶ Seven months later his wife also

271 *T.A.*, vol. II, pp. 78-9.

272 *Avasthy*, p. 477.

273 Bayazid Biyat, *Tadhkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 156-60.

274 See *H.A.T.S.*, p. 110, n.3.

275 *T.S.*, p. 183.

276 *Ibid.* According to Khwāja Ḥasan Nithārī Bukhārī, the Mīrzā was buried in the Gūristān-i Mughūlān. See his *Mudhakkar-i Aḥbāb*, ed. S.M., Faḍl Allāh, Haiderabad Deccan, n.d., p.117.

breathed her last.²⁷⁷

Several of Mīrzā Kāmraṅ's foster-brothers who came to Sind during or after the Mīrzā's last visit to that land, took up permanent abode there. During the scramble for power following the death of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, they seem to have sided with Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān and his son Mīrzā Ṣālih Tarkhān.²⁷⁸

21. *Shāh Ḥasan's Later Years and His Legacy*

The kingdom of Sind that Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn had so zealously carved out and so jealously protected from the persistent encroachments of the dethroned Mughul Emperor for well over two years was, however, not destined to remain intact for a long time. After the departure of Humāyūn, Shāh Ḥasan continued to preside over the affairs of state with his characteristic strength and vigilance, but during the final years of his life, owing to his affliction with a peculiar disease which necessitated his constant travelling on the Indus,²⁷⁹ the situation in Sind became chaotic. Through his inability to give enough attention to the smooth running of the administration, like all despots, Shāh Ḥasan grew suspicious of his old peers and to forestall any attempt at his overthrow by them he began to replace them with some local elements. Derived from the lower strata of society as these new favourites of

277 *T.S.*, p. 183.

278 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

279 See *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reïs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556*, tr. A. Vambéry, London, 1899, p.37. According to Sidi Ali Reïs, during the last five years the Mīrzā had become invalided and unable to mount his horse. He only went about on board his ship in the river Indus. Cf. *T.T.*, p. 94, which wrongly purports that the Mīrzā suffered from this disease throughout his life.

the Arghūn chief were, they not only fell far short of any reasonable expectations, but also by their churlish behaviour precipitated the very crisis they had been brought in to avert. The elevation of these worthless men to high offices, which were previously the preserve of the Arghūn and Turkhān grandees, was widely resented, but when the ignoble deeds of these men rubbed further salt into the wounds of the Arghūn and Tarkhān nobility, the life became unbearable for the latter. To start with, the egotistic proclivities of these nobles thwarted the possibility of any concerted action on their part, but this obstacle was finally overcome. They agreed on Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān, a prominent noble of high birth, who had started his career under Shāh Beg Arghūn and had since been serving the Arghūn cause with unequivocal sincerity, as a substitute for the ailing and incapacitated Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn.²⁸⁰

While Sind was set for a new era of turmoil in its internal politics, Humāyūn, at Kabul, was engaged in hectic preparations for a renewed, final bid for the recovery of his fortunes in India.²⁸¹ Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān, who was accused of royalist leanings during Humāyūn's wanderings in Sind about a decade and a half ago,²⁸² handled the new situation

280 *T.S.*, pp. 183-5; *T.T.*, pp. 90-4.

281 See Avasthy, pp. 480-4.

282 *T.S.*, pp. 178-9. According to Tāhir Nisyānī (*T.T.*, pp. 88-90) the services rendered by Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān to Humāyūn before the latter's departure from Sind for Khurasan, earned him a royal decree from Humāyūn whereby the country of Sind was bestowed on the Mīrzā for six generations!

adroitly. A brave soldier, astute diplomat and dexterous manipulator of men, he allied himself completely with the cause of the disaffected Arghūn nobles, put to death their rivals at Thatta,²⁸³ captured the treasure, strengthened the fort of Tagharabad and openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Mughul Emperor Humāyūn,²⁸⁴ though it was highly improbable that Humāyūn, notwithstanding his desire to conquer Sind,²⁸⁵ would have been able to undertake any such expedition at that particular point of time in his career. Thanks to the timely initiative of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan, and the valuable assistance from his foster-brother, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who was by no means less covetous to grab his share from the disintegrating Arghūn legacy,²⁸⁶ the march of events, though could not be reversed, was at least halted for the time being. After a fierce battle between the rival forces, the two chief contenders, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who commanded Shāh Ḥasan's forces, and Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān, agreed to await the death of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan and then to divide Sind between themselves, territories north of the Lakki hills going to Sulṭān Maḥmūd and south of that range falling to Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān.²⁸⁷ That

283 *T.T.*, p. 93.

284 *Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral, & c.* pp. 37-9. The name of the fort Taghrabad is wrongly given as Naṣrābād in the *Travels*.

285 See *Diwān-i Bayram Khān*, ed. Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidi, and Muḥammad Ṣābir, Karachi, 1971, pp. 38-9 and n.1 on p. 39.

286 See *T.S.*, pp. 186-7; 189, 221; *T.T.*, pp. 92-3.

287 *T.S.*, p. 191; *T.T.*, p. 93.

this arrangement had the blessings of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan, is arguable, but it is not difficult to surmise that the Mīrzā, with no direct male heir and his only son-in-law Mīrzā Kāmran, blinded and in exile, had little choice but to acquiesce in the new arrangement. Nevertheless, after the termination of hostilities, the Mīrzā, at the instance of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and some other nobles, pardoned the crimes of Mīrzā ‘Īsā and consented to receive him into audience.²⁸⁸ Mīrzā ‘Īsā in return renounced his allegiance to the Mughul Emperor Humāyūn,²⁸⁹ set free the loyalist chiefs, including Māh Begum, the consort royal, and allowed them to return to the Arghūn camp.²⁹⁰ He also sent his second eldest son, Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, with Mīrzā Qāsim Beglār, who had brought with himself to Thatta Shaykh ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb Pūrānī, a widely respected divine, and Amīr Sulṭān, a brother of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ waited upon Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan and presented to him, on his father's behalf, suitable gifts. The Arghūn chief in return bestowed on him a horse and a dress of honour, and dispatched a pair of drums, together with a magnificent robe of honour, for Mīrzā ‘Īsā through Mullā Yārī.²⁹¹ The following day, the Mīrzā honoured Sulṭān Maḥmūd with the standard of his grandfather, Mīr Dhū al-Nūn Arghūn, which the latter had received from Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā,²⁹² along with a kettle-drum and a *tumantōq*.²⁹³ Mīrzā Shāh

288 *T.S.*, p. 190.

289 *Travels, & c.*, p. 39.

290 *Ibid.*; *T.S.*, p. 190.

291 *T.S.*, p. 191.

292 *T.S.*, p. 191. The gold-embroidered dress of honour bestowed by Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqara on Mīr Dhū al-Nūn was presented by Shāh Beg Arghūn to Jām Fīrūz. See *Ibid.*, p. 116.

293 A standard adorned with the tails of Tibetan yaks which is bestowed on great nobles. See Blochmann, p. 52.

Hasan also conferred on him his royal signet. These ceremonies over, in view of a lapse in health, the Mīrzā sailed towards Siwistan and shortly afterwards²⁹⁴ died at Aripotra,²⁹⁵ twenty *kurōhs* from Thatta.²⁹⁶

22. Successors of Shāh Ḥasan and the Mughul Court

According to the Turkish admiral, Sidi Ali Reīs,²⁹⁷ Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān intended to send his son Mīrzā Šāliḥ Tarkhān to the Mughul

294 Mīr Ma'šūm mentions Monday, 12 Rabī' I 962/4 February 1555 as the date of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan's death (*T.S.*, p. 192), yet at another place (p. 207) in the same book he puts his death in the beginning (*awā'il*) of Jumādā I 992/(Jumādā I 992 started on 11 May 1584). On the contrary, by a compromise of various approximate dates mentioned by Sidi Ali Reīs and Ma'šūmī, M.H. Siddiqi has tried to establish 9 Jumādā I 962/I April 1555 as the alternative date of death of the Arghūn chief (see his *H.A.T.S.*, pp. 123, n. 5; 131, n.5; 247-8) and some scholars (e.g., Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī kī zindagī kā ēk pihlū*, *Nadhr-i Ḥamīd Aḥmad Khān*, ed. Aḥmad Nadīm Qāsimī, Lahore, 1980, p. 51) have accepted it too. Since the very premise of Siddiqi is based upon the wrong assumption that *awākhir-i māh-i Šafar* ('the last days of the month of Šafar') means "the *last day* of Šafar" [sic.] (*H.A.T.S.*, p. 247), his conclusion seems rather far fetched. And as 12 Rabī' I 962 falls on Monday, like Hodivala (vol. I, pp. 127-8), we feel inclined to tentatively accept it as the correct date of the Mīrzā's death.

295 *T.S.*, p. 192.

296 This place lies about six miles from Tando Muḥammad Khān in Gūnī *pargana* which is about 40 miles north-east of Thatta. See Hodivala, vol. I, p. 127.

297 *Travels, & c.*, op. cit., p. 42. The Mīrzā wrote to the Pādshāh to assure him of his "unalterable loyalty". Ibid.

court to reiterate his vassalage to the house of Bābur. His rival Sultān Maḥmūd, however, struck a friendship with the Turkish dignitary and used his good offices to normalize his relations with the Mughul Emperor Humāyūn²⁹⁸ in whose expulsion from Sind he had played no mean part.²⁹⁹

Humāyūn did not live long to enjoy the fruit of his unprecedented perseverance and tenacity to recover his patrimony in India. His son and successor Akbar, even if he wanted to, had to go a long way yet before he could think of turning the Mughul arms against his late father's repentant adversaries. This offered a golden opportunity to the successors of the last Arghūn chief of Sind to consolidate their hold over that war wrecked principality, they had participated in carving out in the first instance. On the contrary, they even did not wait for the proper burial of their erstwhile master before resuming their interminable sanguinary struggle for the extermination of each other.³⁰⁰ And to attain this evil objective, they felt no compunction in invoking the help of alien forces. They had seen with their own eyes the downfall and destruction of the Tīmūrid house of Bāyqara, the Sammas of Sind, the Langāhs of Multan, and, for that matter, even the rout of Humāyūn at the hands of the Sūr Afghāns, but the moral of all these episodes paled in significance before their own immediate selfish goals. Holding a comparatively stronger position, Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān probably

298 Ibid., pp. 44, 49.

299 See *T.S.*, pp. 178-9.

300 *T.S.*, pp. 192-4.

could have taken the lead in showing a saner path to his rival, but unfortunately, it was he who opened the way for foreign intervention in Sind. He invited the Portugese to his aid against Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī and before they arrived set out on the expedition. Upset upon the Mīrzā's subsequent conclusion of peace with Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the Portugese commander, Pedro Barreto Rolim, demanded from his son the expenses he had incurred in bringing his fleet from Bassein to Thatta. When the Prince refused to pay the amount, Rolim forcibly entered Thatta, killed eight thousand of its citizens in cold blood, set on fire property worth two million silver pieces, and carried away a fabulous amount of wealth as booty.³⁰¹

Sulṭān Maḥmūd, on the contrary, concentrated all his energies on cultivating good neighbourly relations with the Mughul Emperor Akbar. His behaviour towards the dignitaries travelling to and from Qandahar was always characterized by extreme hospitality. He entered into matrimonial alliances with the chief Mughul nobles, offered the use of his territory for the detention of important political prisoners of Akbar, laid waste all the region around the Indus to discourage Bayram Khān from turning to Sind after his fall from grace with his Imperial ward,³⁰² and last but not the least, gave the hand of his daughter, Bhakkarī Begum, in marriage to his Mughul overlord.³⁰³

301 Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Portugese and India, & c.* London, 1894, vol. I, p. 508, quoted in *T.T.*, pp. 326-7n. Also see *T.S.*, pp. 207-8, 222; *T.T.*, pp. 111-14; *T.K.*, pp. 135-6. This incident took place in 963/1556.

302 *T.S.*, pp. 223-4; *H.A.T.S.*, pp. 154-8 with all relevant notes.

303 *T.S.*, pp. 229-30.

23. *Sultān Maḥmūd and the Ṣafawid Court*

Sultān Maḥmūd's hyperactivity in this regard stemmed from his feeling of insecurity which in its turn was a natural consequence of the strategic position Bhakkar occupied on the highway to Qandahar, a permanent bone of contention between the Mughuls and the Ṣafawids. This insecurity was further enhanced by the proximity of his principality to the Mughul frontiers as well as by the lack of tribal support that his Tarkhān counterpart in Thatta enjoyed as a matter of course. Doubtless, he was viewed by the Arghūn and Tarkhān nobility of Thatta as a secessionist and they turned to him only when they needed his assistance against one another. Be that as it may, side by side with all the conciliatory measures towards the Mughul ruler of India, as a precaution against any expansionist designs of the latter, taking advantage of certain factors, such as the strategic importance of Bhakkar, Mughul and Safawid rivalry for the possession of Qandahar and his own Persian origin,³⁰⁴ Sultān Maḥmūd successfully established and maintained cordial relations with the Ṣafawid monarch Shāh Ṭahmāsp³⁰⁵ and the Princes of the royal blood responsible for the defence of Qandahar and exchanged embassies with them.³⁰⁶ And whenever opportunity offered itself, he used these links with the Persian court as a lever to advance his interests in different directions with consummate skill and resourcefulness.

304 See *infra*, p. . In his petition to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, he reminded him of his ancestral sincerity and devotion (*izhār-i ḥusn-i 'aqīdat wa ikhlāṣ-i maurūthi ... numūda*). A.A.A., vol. I, p. 116.

305 For a fuller treatment of the subject, see Riazul Islam, *Iran and the Mughul frontier provinces (A Study of Diplomatic Contacts)*, *Miscellanea in Honorem Ibrahim Purdavud*, Tehran, 1976, pp. 110-14; Pīr Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī's article referred to in n.294 above.

306 See *T.S.*, pp. 233-4.

In 965/1557-8 Shāh Ṭahmāsp's embassy arrived in Bhakkar and brought, among other things, the title of Khān for Sulṭān Maḥmūd.³⁰⁷ A few years later he obtained a recommendation from that monarch for Akbar to bestow on him the title of Khān-i Khānān. Unluckily for him, the exalted title was then held by a noble no less than Mun'im Khān³⁰⁸ and it was against Akbar's policy to bestow such an exceptional honour on more than one nobles at one time. Akbar, however, favoured Sulṭān Maḥmūd with the title of I'tibār Khān³⁰⁹ in addition to the territories of Uchh, Jajhwāhan and Bhattīwāhan³¹⁰ that he had already bestowed upon his ambitious vassal in the wake of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's grant of khānship to him.

307 Ibid., p. 223. In the Ṣafawid list of precedence the title of Khān ranked higher than that of Sulṭān. See *H.S.*, vol. III, iv. p. 96.

308 For his life and career, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 24-5.

309 For the text of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's letter to Akbar in this regard, see *T.K.*, pp. 496-8. Also see Riazul Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations (1500-1750)*, Tehran. 1979, p.97. Besides a reference in this letter, no other Indian or Persian source confirms the bestowal of this title on Sulṭān Maḥmūd by Akbar. In the *farmān* of Akbar sent to Sulṭān Maḥmūd in connection with Nāhīd Begum's visit to Thatta via Bhakkar, the following titles precede his name (which has been omitted by Namakīn): 'Umdat al-Mulk Rukn al-Salṭanat al-Qāhira wa 'Aḍuddaulat al-Bāhira Zubdat al-Mukhlisīn fī 'l-Daurān Lā'iq al I'tibār wa'l Iḥsān Quḍwat al-Khwānīn al-'uẓẓām bayn al-aqrān Mubāriz al-Dīn See *Munsha'āt al-Namakīn*, op.cit., p.11.

310 *T.S.*, p.223.

24. *Mīrzā Bāqī Succeeds Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān*

In 974/1566 Sultān Maḥmūd's arch-enemy, Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān died and was succeeded by his son Mīrzā Bāqī who at one stage had benefited from the hospitality and care of Sultān Maḥmūd against his father and his heir-apparent Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ.³¹¹ When he refused to accept the hegemony of his one time benefactor, Sultān Maḥmūd, relying on Persian aid, unsuccessfully tried to foist his authority on the unstable principality of Thatta. This led Mīrzā Bāqī to complain against him to Akbar,³¹² among whose vassals both of them counted themselves.

Finally, when Sultān Maḥmūd was locked in a stalemate with the Mughul commanders originally sent to reduce Thatta with his aid, among those who tried to defend the fort of Bhakkar, was a contingent of Turk soldiers accompanying the Persian envoy Khwāja Muḥammad Raḥīm³¹³ who might have come from Qandahar as a token of Persian help in response to an appeal from the beleaguered Sultān Maḥmūd. However that may be, when Akbar, goaded by the desire to recover Qandahar and motivated by the objective of securing his frontiers against all manner of aggression and adventurism from the side of the Ūzbeks as well as the Persians, unleashed his onslaught against Sultān Maḥmūd and the successors of Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhan, neither the exquisite politicking of one, nor the prodigious valour of the other could indefinitely delay the realization of the Imperialistic designs of the great Mughul.

311 Ibid., pp. 224-5.

312 A.N., vol. II, pp. 278-9.

313 According to Mīr Ma'ṣūm (T.S., p. 244), he was sent by Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Qandahārī. For the latter, see *infra*, p.

25. *Nāhīd Begum's Visit to Sind and the Subsequent Events*

In 975/1568³¹⁴ Nāhīd Begum came³¹⁵ to see her mother,³¹⁶ Hājji Māh Begum, the queen dowager of Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān, the late founder of the Tarkhān dynasty at Thatta. Akbar especially ordered Sultān Maḥmūd to make adequate arrangements for the reception of the distinguished lady at Bhakkar and provide her with a safe escort in his territories on her way to and from Thatta.³¹⁷ The arrival of the Begum at Thatta alarmed Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān,³¹⁸ who had succeeded his father in the face of the bitter opposition of the Arghūn nobility.³¹⁹ His indiscriminate extermination of his opponents,³²⁰ killing³²¹ and kidnapping of eminent citizens³²² and travellers,³²³ had caused consternation through the region, the reverb-

314 *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 240. Cf. *T.A.*, vol. II, pp. 232-3; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I. p. 167.

315 She came to see her mother after a long time (*muddat-i madīd*). See Akbar's *farman* referred to in n. 309 above.

316 *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362; *T.S.*, pp. 211, 226; *T.N.*, p. 55.

317 See n. 315 above.

318 *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362; *T.N.*, p. 55.

319 *T.T.*, p. 115; *T.S.*, pp. 210-11; *T.N.*, pp. 51-2.

320 *T.S.*, p. 211; *T.N.*, pp. 52-55; *T.T.*, pp. 118-21.

321 *T.S.*, p. 213; *T.N.*, pp. 59-63; *T.T.*, p. 131.

322 *T.T.*, pp. 131-7.

323 *Ibid.*, p. 138.

erations of which even reached the court of Akbar.³²⁴ To make matters worse, his relations with his northern neighbour, Sultān Maḥmūd, were far from normal³²⁵ and his younger brother, Mīrzā Jān Bābā Tarkhān, vehemently contested his claim to the throne.³²⁶ Nāḥid Begum who according to some authorities had come with the intention of procuring the hand of Mīrzā 'Īsā's daughter for Akbar,³²⁷ soon married her own daughter³²⁸ to Mīrzā Bāqī and thus for the time being at least allayed his fears from her side.³²⁹ Shortly afterwards, Jān Bābā, who had been earlier defeated by Mīrzā Bāqī,³³⁰ sent Khān-i Zamān to launch a night attack on him while he was moored at Lākha, a village on the bank of the Indus near Sann, wherein, the latter's wife, Rā'iḥa Begum, daughter of Nāḥid Begum, was killed and Mīrzā Bāqī had a narrow escape.³³¹

26. *Mirza Baqi Offers the Hand of His Daughter to Akbar*

In 976/1568-9³³² when Nāḥid Begum decided to return to India, as a proof of his recognition of the Mughul suzerainty, Mīrzā Bāqī dispatched

324 See *Ibid.*, p. 121; *T.N.*, p. 59.

325 *T.S.*, pp. 211, 213; *T.N.*, p. 56; *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 278.

326 *T.S.*, p. 211; *T.N.*, p. 56.

327 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 232; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 167.

328 She was previously married to and separated from Najābat Khān. See *T.S.*, p. 212; *T.N.*, p. 56, n.1.

329 *T.N.*, p. 56.

330 *Ibid.*, p. 57; *T.T.*, pp. 126-7.

331 *Beg.N.*, pp. 107-14. Also see *T.S.*, p. 212; *T.N.*, p. 57; *T.T.*, pp. 128-9.

332 *T.S.*, p. 212; *T.N.*, p. 58.

his daughter, Sindhī Begum, with her for inclusion among the ladies of the royal seraglio. She was accompanied by a grand delegation which included Ḥājjī Māh Begum, Yādigār Miskīn and several other leading personages and carried with it an array of splendid gifts for the Emperor.³³³ On the way the bridal procession was met by Mīrzā Jān Bāba who prevailed upon its leaders to abandon their journey to India and instead join him in a final bid to terminate the tyrannous rule of Mīrzā Bāqī in Sind.³³⁴ In the battle that ensued, the rebels under the command of Ḥājjī Māh Begum were defeated, Mīrzā Jān Bābā and Yādigār Miskīn fled to Kukrāla,³³⁵ Nāhīd Begum took refuge at Bhakkar, and Māh Begum fell into the hands of Mīrzā Bāqī who starved her to death.³³⁶

27. *Sultan Maḥmūd's Offer of Help Against Thatta*

During Nāhīd Begum's stay at Bhakkar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd held out an empty assurance to her that if her husband, Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, led an expedition against Mīrzā Bāqī, he would be more than happy to help him in the successful execution of that campaign.³³⁷ Thus during her subsequent audience with Akbar at Lahore the Begum not only told him

333 *T.S.*, p. 212; *T.N.*, p. 58; *Beg.N.*, p. 122.

334 *T.S.*, p. 212; *T.N.*, p. 58. Cf. *Beg.N.*, p. 123; *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362.

335 *T.S.*, p. 213; *T.N.*, p. 59; *Beg.N.*, p. 124, Cf. *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362.

336 *T.S.*, p. 227; *T.N.*, p. 59. Also see *Beg.N.*, p. 123.

337 See *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 233; *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 167; *M.U.*, vol. III, pp. 239-40. According to *Tarkhān Nāma* (p. 59), some Arghūns, disaffected with Mīrzā Bāqī and then staying at Bhakkar accompanied the Begum to the Mughul court.

the tragic story of her humiliation at the hands of Mīrzā Bāqī, but also pressed for the dispatch of a punitive expedition against him.³³⁸ Consequently, the Emperor recalled Muḥibb ‘Alī Khān from retirement, favoured him with a standard and a drum and giving him five lākh tankas worth of *jāgīr* in the *sarkār* of Multān, in *madad-i ma‘āsh*, sent him, together with his daughter's son Mujāhid Khān to Bhakkar and ordered Sa‘īd Khān, the governor of Multan, to help him in the campaign.³³⁹ According to the Mughul chroniclers, whose proclivity to exaggerate the success of their master's arms notwithstanding all limitations can hardly be overlooked, Nāhīd Begum arrived at Multan and without accepting any assistance from Sa‘īd Khān, and counting entirely on the word of Maḥmūd Khān set out for Bhakkar³⁴⁰ with two to four hundred³⁴¹ strong cavalry which Muḥibb ‘Alī Khān had hurriedly mustered around himself. On the way they also enlisted the support of two to three hundred disgruntled Arghūns who had fled to Bhakkar from the oppression of Mīrzā Bāqī and failing to get any succour from the ruler of that place were then on their way to the Mughul court, and from Ūbāura, forty *kurōhs* from Bhakkar, sent a dispatch to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān to inform him of their arrival.³⁴² In his reply the latter told them in no

338 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 233; *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 362.

339 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 233; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 167-8. Cf. *T.S.*, p. 227; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 240.

340 See *T.S.*, p. 227.

341 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I. p. 168.

342 *T.S.*, p. 227.

uncertain terms that he had no intention of allowing them to use his territory for an attack on Thatta, let alone of helping them actively in the expedition. Nevertheless, if they were still determined to go ahead with their plans, he wrote, they could do so via Jaisalmer, and in that event too, they could rely only on his limited material aid.³⁴³ The sudden about-face of Sulṭān Maḥmūd poured cold water on Nāhīd Begum's schemes. Given her intimate knowledge of the faction ridden atmosphere of the Tarkhān court and deluded by the braggings of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, she thought that the reduction of Thatta would be nothing more than an easy walk-over. Thus in her aversion to share the glory for such a great achievement for the Mughul Empire with anybody else, she even spurned the assistance that she was entitled to receive from the governor of Multan under the orders of the Emperor. The state of indecision which followed Sulṭān Maḥmūd's indifference was, however, soon overcome when Nāhīd Begum and her associates decided to push ahead regardless of the consequences.

28. *First Encounter Between the Mughul and Bhakkarī Forces*

At Māthīla, a dependency of Bhakkar, Mubārak Khān,³⁴⁴ a slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, intercepted them with a 2,000 strong cavalry, but he was defeated and pushed back into the local fort.³⁴⁵ Sulṭān Maḥmūd dispatched Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Sulṭān, at the head of two to three thousand

343 Ibid.; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168. Cf. *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 240.

344 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168 has Rā'ipad Qānūngū.

345 *T.S.*, p. 228.

horsemen, to his rescue. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn had yet hardly reached Linjwārī, 18 *kurōhs* off Bhakkar, when Sultān Maḥmūd's estranged³⁴⁶ brother-in-law (wife's brother),³⁴⁷ Abū al-Khayr Gūr, in the camp of Mujāhid Khān, was sent to engage him. Abū al-Khayr made a short work of the enemy and returned to Mujāhid Khān. The defeat of Zayn al-‘Ābidīn demoralized the garrison at Māthīla which had been under siege for the last six months, and its commandant, Mubārak Khān, capitulated on 1 Ṣafar 980/13 June 1572. The entire *pargana* of Māthīla passed into the hands of the Imperialists.³⁴⁸

29. *Sultān Maḥmūd Marries His Daughter to Akbar*

Shortly afterwards, on 20 Ṣafar/2 July, Akbar's envoy, I‘timād Khān,³⁴⁹ arrived at Sultān Maḥmūd's court to escort the latter's daughter, Bhakkarī Begum, for her inclusion among the ladies of the Imperial harem. I‘timād Khan brought with him for Sultān Maḥmūd an elegant dress of honour, a bejewelled scimitar-belt, a horse with a saddle and reins, and four elephants. The Sultān celebrated the occasion by holding extravagant feasts for fifteen days, quite oblivious of the portents of danger within a few miles of his seat of government. On the day of wedding (*‘aqd*), these festivities reached their zenith and the ‘ulemā,

346 Ibid., p. 224.

347 Ibid., p. 235.

348 Ibid., p. 229. Also see *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p.168; *M.U.*, vol.III, p. 241.

349 For I‘timād Khān, see *H.A.T.S.*, p. 165, n.4.

saints and nobles were adequately honoured with rewards. Sulṭān Maḥmūd offered 30,000 rupees in cash and kind to I'timād Khān and farewelled his daughter with a grand dowry and an impressive entourage. The inclusion of the Sulṭān's choicest civil and military officers in the embassy to the Mughul court, resulted in the drifting of more and more powers into the hands of Mubārak Khān, whose wife had also gone with Bhakkarī Begum, and his dissolute and inordinately ambitious son, Beg Oghlī. In the meantime, Sulṭān Maḥmūd deployed Mubārak Khān with one thousand to fifteen hundred horsemen at Alor for the maintenance of law and order in that region, while his son remained behind in the fort of Bhakkar.

30. *Beg Oghlī Rebels Against Sulṭān Maḥmūd*

During his absence Beg Oghlī hatched a plan to overthrow Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but the conspiracy was discovered by Sulṭān Maḥmūd in time. Beg Oghlī, however, succeeded in escaping with his wife and sister to Alor. Reaching there, he misrepresented the facts and instigated his father to take up arms against his master. The following day the father and son turned their reins to Rohri where they drew up their forces in front of the fort of Bhakkar, but before long their men began to defect to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Realizing the danger, Beg Oghlī went to the Imperialists on 22 Rajab 980/15 November 1572 and the following day returned with Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān and their troops and besieged the fort of Bhakkar. This coincided with the advance of Nawwāb Sa'id Khān towards the town of Rohri with a huge park of artillery. The Arghūn nobles who had suffered at the hands of Mubārak Khān and Beg Oghlī during the latter's heyday at the court of Bhakkar represented to Muḥibb 'Alī Khān that they were in

collusion with the Nawwāb and might even defect to him in the near future.³⁵⁰ Consequently, Muḥibb 'Alī Khān who already had an eye on the possessions of Mubārak Khān,³⁵¹ arrested him, together with his son, and Khwāja Fattāḥ, whose son had fled to Sa'id Khān's brother,³⁵² Makḥṣūṣ Khān, and shortly afterwards put them to death. A few days later Sa'id Khān ravaged the village called Gandarān and went back to Multan, leaving Muḥibb 'Alī and Mujāhid Khān once again as the undisputed leaders of the Imperialist campaign against Bhakkar.³⁵³

31. *Sultān Maḥmūd Offers to Surrender the Fort*

Sultān Maḥmūd dispatched a contingent of his men in a number of *ghurābs* under the command of his nephew, Muḥammad Qulī Beg, to give battle to the Imperialists, but consequent upon a sudden explosion in his magazine Qulī Beg and most of his men were killed and his expedition ended in a disaster. A few days later Mujāhid Khān crossed the Indus at Panhwārī, five *kurōhs* from Bhakkar, and after inflicting a series of defeats on Sultān Maḥmūd's men, succeeded in throwing a bridge across the river from the side of Sukkur and transferred his troops to Bhakkar. The Bhakkarī forces, together with a body of Qizilbāsh soldiers accompanying Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Qandāhārī's envoy, Khwāja Muḥammad Raḥīm, to Sultān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī, tried unsuccessfully to halt the advance of Mughul forces, but having been badly beaten, were obliged to retire into the fort. There-

350 *T.S.*, pp. 229-33. Also see *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 363; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 234; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 168; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 241.

351 *A.N.*, vol. II, p. 363; *T.S.*, p. 233.

352 For his antecedents, see *M.U.*, vol. III, pp. 323-4.

353 *T.S.*, p. 233.

after, while intermittent skirmishes became a permanent feature of the situation, famine and pestilence raged in the garrison and claimed a heavy toll of human life. On the other hand, when the delegation accompanying the daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd waited upon the Emperor at Ajmer and presented his gifts to the ladies of the royal household, the Emperor was so impressed that he dispatched a *farmān* through Mīrjī Tawājī confirming the territory of Bhakkar on Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Muḥibb ‘Alī and Mujāhid Khān completely disregarded the contents of the royal decree and once Mīrjī Tawājī was in, even did not allow him to leave the fort. From the beginning of Rajab 980/October-November 1576 to Ramaḍān 982/October-December 1574 Sulṭān Maḥmūd was seized with dropsy and when all attempts to cure his disease failed, he sent a message to the Mughul court asking for the dispatch of a royal emissary to receive the keys of the fort from him.³⁵⁴ He was afraid of the consequences should he make the fort over to Muḥibb ‘Alī Khān and his associates.³⁵⁵

32. *Arrival of Gīsū Khān from the Mughul Court*

Meanwhile, finding Sulṭān Maḥmūd in severe straits and encouraged by the deep involvement of the Imperialists with the siege of Bhakkar, Mīr Abū al-Khayr Gūr proceeded with a small army of his own to Ganjāba and occupied it. As soon as Mujāhid Khān discovered it, he left Muḥibb ‘Alī

354 *T.S.*, p. 235; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 91. According to *A.N.* (vol. II, p.91) and *M.U.* (vol. III, p. 242), Sulṭān Maḥmūd offered the fort of Bhakkar as a present to the young Prince Salīm.

355 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 91; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 242.

in charge of the siege operations and himself hastened to dislodge Mīr Abū al-Khayr from there. During his absence, when some of the famine-stricken inmates of the fort tried to escape, Mujahid Khān's mother had them captured, tore open their abdomens and ravenously searched for gold. This served as a great deterrent to the garrison leaving the fort. They rather preferred to die of hunger, than to be killed in cold blood at the hands of greedy Mughul soldiers. On 8 Ṣafar 982/30 May 1574 Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān died whereupon Muḥibb 'Alī Khān made another determined bid to overwhelm the fort but the tenacity of its defenders, reinforced by the unanimous decision of the local religious and social elite not to surrender it to Muḥibb 'Alī Khān at any cost, did not allow him to have his way.³⁵⁶ Finally, on 12 Jumādā I/30 August Mīr Gīṣū Khān, who had been sent by Akbar to receive the keys of the fort from its defenders, divide the region of Bhakkar equally between Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān and oversee the preparations for the reduction of Thatta, arrived.³⁵⁷ He was about ten *kurōhs* short of his destination, when Muḥibb 'Alī and his daughter, Ṣā'ima³⁵⁸ Begum, fitted out some *ghurābs* and boats to intercept him.³⁵⁹ The timely intervention of Khwāja Muqīm Harawī, father of Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, the famous historian, who had been

356 *T.S.*, pp. 235-6.

357 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

358 For Ṣā'ima Begum, see *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 242.

359 *T.S.*, p. 236; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 91.

sent as *amīn* to that region, however, staved off the crisis and Gīṣū Khān reached Bhakkar safely.³⁶⁰ As soon as Mujāhid Khān heard the news of Gīṣū Khān's arrival, he left Ganjāba and hurried back to Bhakkar. Meanwhile, Gīṣū Khān wanted to evacuate Sukkur of Mujāhid Khān's men, but the latter showed no sign of listening to him until the arrival of their master. Gīṣū Khān's insistence, however, led to an armed conflict wherein a number of men were killed and wounded on both sides. After about three days Mujāhid Khān arrived and moved his men to Rohri, leaving Sukkur entirely under the control of Gīṣū Khān. Rohri and the *pargana* of Bhakkar, however, continued to be under the occupation of Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān. After about two months Mujāhid Khān left Muḥibb 'Alī at Rohri in charge of his family and himself proceeded to make preparations for the conquest of Thatta. He was still at Rānīpūr, when on 20 Ramaḍān 982/3 January 1575 Gīṣū Khān fell upon Rohri from two sides, set it on fire and plundered it.³⁶¹ Muḥibb 'Alī ran for his life leaving behind his family,³⁶² and his standard and drum. The latter two were captured and brought to the fort of Bhakkar.³⁶³ Mujāhid Khān rode post-haste to Rohri, but fear of the Emperor's retaliation prevented him from taking the field against Gīṣū Khān. On the other hand, since Gīṣū Khān's behaviour even

360 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 91; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 242-3.

361 *T.S.*, p. 243.

362 *Beg.N.*, p. 162.

363 *T.S.*, p. 243.

within the fort left much to be desired, the Emperor transferred its administration and defence to Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān and recalled Gīsū Khān to court. In early Muḥarram 983/April 1575 Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān and Mirzā Muḥammad Sultān arrived in Rohri from court and forwarded a copy of the Imperial *farmān* to Gīsū Khān. The latter at first tried to temporize, but then dispatched Sayyid Ṣafā'ī and some other dignitaries to start negotiations with the Imperial envoys. The latter who were waiting for such an opportunity took the visitors from Bhakkar into custody and after extracting first-hand information about the affairs of Bhakkar from them, threatened Gīsū Khān to send a report attested by the witnesses (*maḥḍar*) to the Emperor. This clever move produced the desired effect and Gīsū Khān allowed the visitors to enter the fort.³⁶⁴

The Emperor had decreed that Gīsū Khān, together with Tarsūn brothers and the local Sayyids and nobles, should prepare a detailed inventory of the treasure and household effects of the deceased chief of Bhakkar and forward it to court. This work had been almost completed when Khwāja Malik, the eunuch, Rā'i Singh Darbārī and Banawālīdās *Nawīsanda* also arrived from court to give them a hand. They held a review of the treasure at Rohri for the second time and on 1 Rajab/6 October left for court via Nagore.

364 Ibid., pp. 243-4.

33. Bhakkar Passes Under Mughul Rule

In the meantime, when Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was just about to follow his brothers at Bhakkar, his opponents represented to the Emperor that the progeny of Sayf al-Mulūk should not be deputed in sensitive frontier regions and had his appointment cancelled. Thus Akbar entrusted the government of Agra to Tarsūn Muḥammad and ordered Banawelidas to go back to Bhakkar as *karori* and look after the revenue administration of that region. Later on, the Emperor raised Sayyid Muhammad, of Amroha, to a *mansab* of 1,000 and made him the governor of Bhakkar. An eminent Sayyid and scholar as he was, the powers of the *sadr* of the *a'imma* of that region were also vested in him. After the death of Sayyid Muḥammad on 8 Sha'bān 984/29 October 1576 his responsibilities devolved upon his son, Sayyid Abū al-Faḍl, who shouldered them quite effectively until 2 Dhīqa'da 985/11 January 1578 when the government of Bhakkar was bestowed on I'timād Khān Khwājasarā whose brief rule came to an abrupt end on 10 Rabī' I 986/17 May 1578, when he was assassinated by one of his rebellious servants. Thereafter, Akbar made over the region to the joint command of Masnad-i 'Alī Faṭḥ Khān and Rāja Parmānand, a relative of Rāja Tōdarmal, who arrived here in Rajab/September-October of the same year. After about two years Rāja Parmānand was recalled and shortly afterwards when Faṭḥ Khān waited upon the Emperor, Rāja Parmānand's *jāgīr* was also added to that of Faṭḥ Khān's. Through his simplicity and the inexperience of his *wakīl*, Faṭḥ Khān was drawn into the local power politics. He sent his army against Nāhar Khān, who was then occupying the fort of Kankot. During the fierce battle that followed many of Faṭḥ Khān's important men, including his *wakīl*, Shahāb Khān, and his brothers, were killed.³⁶⁵

365 Ibid., pp. 245-7.

34. *War of Succession and the Rise to Power of Mīrzā Jānī Beg*

While, owing to its weak administration, Bhakkar was gradually sinking into chaotic conditions, on 8 Shawwāl 993/3 October 1585³⁶⁶ the ruler of Thatta, Mīrzā Bāqī Muḥammad Tarkhān put an end to his life by piercing his chest with a dagger and the people of Sind who had long been groaning under the yoke of his unmitigated tyranny heaved a sigh of relief. He was survived by two sons, Mīrzā Pāyanda Muḥammad and Mīrzā Muẓaffar Muḥammad, who were at that time at Siwistan and Badin respectively. For a while it seemed that the entire nobility was resolved to support the claims of the younger brother, Mīrzā Muẓaffar, to the throne, and in fact, the latter's *wakīl*, Mīr 'Alī Khān, even brought him by forced marches to Thatta, but, as soon as the possibility of the power slipping into the hands of the Jārēja Sammas, from whom Mīrzā Muẓaffar was descended on his mother's side, dawned upon the nobles, and it was realized that, even though Pāyanda Muḥammad was insane, his son, Mīrzā Jānī Beg, was capable of running the government efficiently, they halted Mīrzā Muẓaffar at the 'Alī Jān and sent for Mīrzā Jānī Beg from Siwistan hurriedly.³⁶⁷ The latter without any loss of time reached Thatta, supervised the accession of his father to the throne and himself assumed the position of his *wakīl*. Restoration of law throughout his dominions and assertion of his authority were two major problems at his hand. Instead of taking a swift action against his opponents, and pushing them into the lap of the pretender to the throne, Mīrzā Muẓaffar Tarkhān, who was still encamped at the gates of the capital, Mīrzā Jānī Beg chose to make a scapegoat of the erstwhile

366 For his tombstone, see *M.N.*, pp. 499-501n.; *T.K.*, p. 148, n.2.

367 *T.T.*, pp. 160-2.

favourites of Mīrzā Bāqī, who had been falsely implicated in the murder of their master, and awarded them exemplary punishments. Daryā'ī Ābdār was burnt alive, Mārqaḍam Qūrchī was sawed into two from head to foot and each part of his body was thrown in the street, Hindū was stoned to death and Malik Aḥmad³⁶⁸ was skinned alive from head to toe, his body being flung before dogs and skin being stuffed and gibbeted in the market-place.³⁶⁹ This ruthless treatment meted out to the innocent officers had on the one hand ingratiated the Mīrzā with their enemies and silenced the dissidents at his court, on the other, struck terror in the hearts of Mīrzā Muẓaffar Tarkhān³⁷⁰ and his camp followers. Mīrzā Muẓaffar's *wakīl* fled post-haste to Badin, together with his master, leaving behind his luggage and a trail of ruin and devastation all through his route.³⁷¹ Having reached his stronghold in Badin, Mīrzā Muẓaffar began mustering a strong army to mount a challenge to the ascendancy of Mīrzā Jānī at Thatta. Mīrzā Jānī to start with tried all avenues of a peaceful dialogue, but when no alternative was left he marched upon Badin in full strength and by intrigue and military ingenuity broke the back of his uncle's rebellion and forced him to seek shelter with Rā'i Bahāra of Kachh, a relative of the former from his mother's side, and incorporated Badin into his own kingdom.³⁷²

368 Given his high esteem in the eyes of Mīrzā Bāqī, his fate spontaneously brings to mind the tragic end of Ḥasanak, a *wazīr* of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī (388-421/998-1030) during the reign of the latter's son Sulṭān Mas'ūd. See *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaqī*, op. cit., p. 221 ff.

369 *T.T.*, pp. 162-3.

370 For him, see *Tūzūk*, p. 215.

371 *T.T.*, p. 164.

372 *Ibid.*, pp. 164-8.

35. *Akbar Orders Reduction of Thatta*

The Mīrzā had hardly succeeded in restoring law and order in his dominions, when towards the middle of Rabī' I 994/March 1586 Nawwāb Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān took over the charge of Bhakkar from Fath Khān and was ordered by Akbar to take measures for the reduction of Thatta,³⁷³ whose new ruler apparently had so far failed to make any formal profession of loyalty to the traditional Mughul overlord. No sooner Mīrzā Jānī learned of this ominous development, he raised the rank of Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn,³⁷⁴ the Shaykh al-Islām of Thatta, by giving him in marriage a daughter of the late Mirza Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān, and dispatched him, with

373 *T.S.*, p. 247; *T.N.*, p. 66. Ansar Zahid's assertion that "Sadiq Khan was ordered [by Akbar] to rehabilitate his position by some remarkable deed and he decided to attack Thatta" (*History and Culture of Sind*, Karachi, 1980, pp. 52-3) is, to say the least, quite *misleading*. First of all, Ṣādiq Khān fell from grace in 982/1574-5 because of the loss of an important Imperial elephant due to his neglect and carelessness (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 107), but he was pardoned and restored to his previous position when in 983/1575-6 (at least a decade before his proposed attack on Thatta) when he produced one hundred elephants as a compensation for the lost one (*Ibid.*, p. 142). Secondly, the very fact that he was dismissed to *Thatta* (*Ibid.*, p. 107; *A.N.* tr., vol. III, p. 149) is also arguable. It was on Akbar's way back from the conquest of the forts of Patna and Hajjipur that the tragic incident of the loss of *Lāl*, the favourite Imperial elephant, took place and it was probably to Patna and not to Thatta, that Ṣādiq Khān was sent back to find and produce a comparable elephant. Besides the fact that Patna was a more appropriate place for choice elephants, the orthographical similarity of the word *Patna* with *Tatta* in Persian is also indicative of the fact that through a slight clerical slip Patna can be transformed into Tatta. And this is what has most probably happened in this case. Also see n. below.

374 He waited upon the Emperor on 28 Abān 994/19 November 1585. See *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 509.

petitions and suitable gifts, as his ambassador to the court of Akbar.³⁷⁵

In the former he reiterated the hereditary vassalage of his family to the house of the Mughuls.³⁷⁶ It seems that in keeping with the custom of those days³⁷⁷ Akbar delayed the departure of the Tarkhān envoy from his court and awaited the favourable outcome of the expedition Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān had been directed to undertake against the lower Sind.³⁷⁸

While Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān was still engaged in the affairs of Bhakkar, armed skirmishes started between his men and the soldiers of Mīrzā Jānī Beg. In one of these encounters at Pātar, picked soldiers of the latter, such as Sultān Muḥammad Khān Barandaq, Kūchik b. Subḥān Qulī and ‘Abd Allāh Kanjarja, were killed, and Dastam's father, Rustam was taken captive. In Dhī al-Ḥijja 994/November-December 1586 Ṣādiq Muḥammad personally advanced upon Siwistan. Subḥān Qulī Arghūn, who was the commander of the local forces, erected a fort on the bank of the river, strengthened its defences and hauled up a large number of *ghurābs* and boats. As soon as Ṣādiq Muḥammad made his appearance before the fort, Subḥān Qulī sallied forth in a *ghurāb* to encounter him, but was defeated and taken prisoner. A number of his men were killed and wounded and twelve of his *ghurābs* also fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Emboldened by this success, Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān went ahead and laid siege to the fort of Siwistan.³⁷⁹

375 *T.N.*, pp. 66-7.

376 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 509. Beveridge (*A.N.*, tr., vol. III, p. 776) has failed to grasp the real sense of the sentence.

377 For details, see Riazul Islam, pp. 233-4.

378 See *T.N.*, p. 69.

379 *T.S.*, pp. 247-8. Also see *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 495.

The leading Tarkhān nobles, such as Bulbul Khān, Mullā Gadā 'Alī alias Bhā'ī Khān and Mihta Ghūriya Lohāna who were greatly indebted to Mīrzā Jānī for their newly acquired prominence,³⁸⁰ stoutly defended the fort.³⁸¹ Šādiq Muḥammad had the gate and the front walls of the fort blown up with a mine, but before his men could benefit from this achievement the garrison had already raised another defensive wall.³⁸² As the siege dragged on Mīrzā Jānī Beg dispatched Khān-i Zamān to drive away the tribes inhabiting the tract between Naṣrpur and Siwistan before they could throw in their lot with the invading Mughul forces; and himself set out for Siwistan at the head of a mammoth army comprising the Mughuls, Sindhīs, Shūras, Samējas, Sammas, Sūmrās, Khūrs, Nakāmras, Palējas, and Dals.³⁸³ Frustrated in his efforts to reduce the fort, Šādiq Khān sent a detachment to challenge the Khān-i Zamān, but to no avail. The news of Mīrzā Jānī Beg's arrival tremendously boosted the morale of the garrison at Siwistan and the Sindhi soldiers increased on their night attacks on the besiegers. They harassed them and looted their belongings, including horses, mules, camels, and killed whoever stood in their way. In the meantime, having arrived at Mihran, some six *kurōhs* from Siwistan, Mīrzā Jānī Beg pitched his tents there and, entrusting the command of the riverine fleet to Khusrau Khān Charkas and that of ground

380 See *T.T.*, p. 169.

381 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

382 *T.S.*, p. 248; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 495; *T.T.*, p. 172.

383 *T.T.*, p. 172.

forces to Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sultān, dispatched them against Ṣādiq Khān. The latter was so nonplussed with this unexpected development that he saw his safety only in retreat to his base at Bhakkar.³⁸⁴ According to one source,³⁸⁵ he was so alarmed that he had his boat towed by an elephant. Khusrau Khān arrived at Siwistan and stayed there, while Mīr Abū al-Qāsim proceeded to Rel and returned with a large number of cattle which he had rounded up from the region of Bhakkar.³⁸⁶

36. *Exchange of Embassies Between Jānī Beg and Akbar*

Though the news of his general's defeat was quite embarrassing to Akbar, he made a virtue of necessity and ordered Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān to cease hostilities against the ruler of Thatta and at the same time dismissed the embassy of Mīrzā Jānī Beg with a variety of honours.³⁸⁷ As a mark of still more consideration for the latter, he dispatched a distinguished diplomat Ḥakīm 'Ayn al-Mulk,³⁸⁸ the newly appointed *bakhshī* of Agra,³⁸⁹ with the Mīrzā's ambassador. After spending at least six months at Thatta, the Ḥakīm accompanied the Mīrzā's new embassy to the Mughul court and presented to the Emperor the latter's *'arḍdāsh*t and *pīshkash*, sometime after 4 Jumādā I 997/21 March 1589.³⁹⁰

384 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 495; *Beg.N.*, p. 230.

385 *T.T.*, p. 173.

386 *Beg.N.*, p. 230.

387 *T.N.*, pp. 69-70.

388 *T.A.*, vol. II, p.406. He was married to one of the sisters of Abū al-Faḍl and Fayḍī. For more information about him, see Mullā Qāṭi'i Harawī, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-60; 231n; Abū al-Fayḍ Fayḍī, *Inshā-i Fayḍī*, ed. A.D. Arshad, Lahore, n.d., pp. 256-88.

389 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 511.

390 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 407.

37. *Akbar Decides on Military Action Against Qandahar and Thatta*

With Kabul and Kashmir already securely in his hands, and the Afghan tribes of the Frontier severely beaten, Akbar quite naturally³⁹¹ now turned his attentions to the affairs of Thatta and Qandahar. In spite of the fact that the royal court had been in the Punjab since 994/1586³⁹² the ruler of Thatta had shown no inclination to pay his homage to the Emperor personally³⁹³ and all attempts to bring him to his senses had ended in utter failure. On the other hand, the mutual bickerings of the Mīrzās of Qandahar, their strained relations with the neighbouring Sistan,³⁹⁴ and the constant instability and turmoil characterizing Iranian political scene,³⁹⁵ together with the covetous designs of the Ūzbeks against that country,³⁹⁶ made it all the more imperative for the Mughul monarch to take necessary steps for the protection of his interests in that sector.³⁹⁷

391 See *A.N.*, vol. III, pp. 493-4; *A.N.*, tr. vol. III, p. 748.

392 Akbar reached Lahore on 15 Khurdād 994/5 June 1586. See *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 494.

393 Ibid., vol. III, p. 585; *A.N.* tr., vol. III, p. 887; *T.S.*, p. 250; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 412; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 345.

394 See *infra*, p. . The Mīrzās were also in revolt against the Shāh of Iran (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 584) and disturbing news were coming from Qandahar (*Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, Delhi, 1262/1845-6, p. 129).

395 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 584. Also see Riazul Islam, p. 51.

396 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 584; Riazul Islam, pp. 51-5.

397 Akbar was already on the look out for the recovery of Qandahar from the Safawids (See *Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, *op. cit.*, p. 70), and the present circumstances were ideal for action (See Ibid., p. 129).

Consequently, side by side with his diplomatic negotiations with Mīrzā Jānī Beg, as early as the late 997/1589 or in the beginning of 998/1589³⁹⁸ Akbar seems to have made up his mind for a military action against Qandahar and Thatta. Khān-i Khānān 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān,³⁹⁹ one of the finest generals of the empire, was chosen for the task, but, owing to some unknown circumstances,⁴⁰⁰ the campaign could not get off the ground for the next about two years. Finally, in 998/1589⁴⁰¹ the Emperor bestowed Multan and Bhakkar on the Khān-i Khānān and ordered him to undertake military operations against Qandahar.⁴⁰² The latter was supposed to ask the ruler of Thatta to accompany him, or send his troops for the execution of that campaign. If he agreed, Akbar told the Khān-i Khānān, well and good; otherwise, give Jānī Beg a chastisement on the way

398 See Abū al-Faḍl's letter dated Jalalabad, the 16 Ṣafar 998/25 December 1589, urging him not to delay at any cost the campaign for the conquest of Qandahar and Thatta. *Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

399 For his life and achievements, see 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āthir-i Rahīmī*, 3 volumes, Calcutta, 1924-31; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 31-63; *M.Ü.*, vol. I, pp. 692-712; Kewalrām, s.v.

400 Apparently, the Khān-i Khānān was under cloud for some reason. One of the *parganas* in his *jāgīr* was taken over by the Crown and the arrears he owed to the court were deducted from the income of his *jāgīr* in Jaunpur. See Abū-Faḍl's letter referred to in n. 399 above.

401 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I. p. 34.

402 According to Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī (*Ibid.*) Akbar ordered him to "conquer the country of Sind and Thatta." Cf. *T.A.*, vol. II, p.412; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 585.

back.⁴⁰³ To farewell the distinguished commander, the Emperor personally went out of Lahore for about a league.⁴⁰⁴ Behaving rather curiously, however, the Khān-i Khānān, probably impelled by the considerations of a richer booty that he could obtain from Thatta,⁴⁰⁵ much to the displeasure of Akbar,⁴⁰⁶ turned his arms first against the lower Sind. Nevertheless, once the operations against the Tarkhān ruler of Thatta, got under way, the Emperor not only gave them his approval, but also favoured the Khān-i Khānān with reinforcements.

38. *The Imperialists Advance Upon Sihwān*

The Khān-i Khānān was still encamped near Multan, when the Balūch tribes of the vicinity waited on him and made their submission. Subsequently, when the Imperial forces marched to Bhakkar and were lying in battle array, Mīrzā Jānī offered to extend his military cooperation to the Khān-i Khānān in his campaign against Qandahar. The latter, however, put the Sindhī

403 A.N., vol. III, p. 585. One gathers from Abū al-Faḍl's letters to the Khān-i Khānān that Akbar was as determined for the reduction of Thatta as for that of Qandahar, but it was to be undertaken after the conquest of the latter. See *Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, op. cit., pp. 128,133.

404 The Khān-i Khānān left Lahore on 24 Day 999/14 January 1590, and Akbar visited him on 1 Bahman 999/21 January 1590. See A.N., vol. III, pp. 584-5. Shaykh Fayḍī celebrated the departure of the Khān-i Khānān for Thatta by composing the chroḡram *Qaṣd-i Tatta* (999 A.H.). *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35.

405 See A.N., vol. III, p. 601; *Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, op. cit., p. 115.

406 A.N., vol. III, p. 601; *Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, op. cit., pp. 115-6.

envoys under detention and ordered his troops to continue their march.⁴⁰⁷ Shortly afterwards, a fire broke out in the fort of Sihwan and destroyed its provisions. Encouraged by this news, the Imperialists advanced rapidly upon it by land and water.⁴⁰⁸ Standing on top of a ridge,⁴⁰⁹ the fort of Sihwan lay on the main line of communication to the Tarkhan capital.⁴¹⁰ As the Imperialist men and boats would have to pass by it in their march towards the lower Sind, the Khān-i Khānān, on the advice of his officers, set himself to take it.⁴¹¹ At the same time, while Qara Beg^{411A} sailed towards the Manchhur lake, captured a large booty and subdued the local *zamīndārs* another body of men went further down the river and seized the strategic defile of Lakkī,⁴¹² which, according to Abū al-Faḍl, was as important for the reduction of Thatta, as Garhī for

407 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 601.

408 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 601.

409 According to Mullā 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī in its height the fort of Sihwan was comparable to that of Asīr, but as far as the strength of its towers and walls was concerned it far excelled the 'seven forts of the Deccan.' *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 359.

410 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 602.

411 *T.S.*, p. 252; *T.N.*, p. 71. Cf. *T.T.*, p. 181. 411/A See *Infra*, p.

412 "Between the towns of Laki and Sihwan the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. The defile was swept away in 1839." A.W. Hughes, *Gazetteer of Scind*, p. 686. Also see *T.T.*, pp. 181-2; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 601; *T.N.*, p. 77; *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 60-61.

Bengal's or Bārāmūla for Kashmir's.⁴¹³ On hearing the news of the siege of Siwistan, Jānī Beg set out from Thatta with all his might.⁴¹⁴ Consequently, the Khān-i Khānān lifted the siege and turned towards the Mīrzā.⁴¹⁵

39. Mīrzā Jānī Prepares to Meet the Imperialists

Mīrzā Jānī Beg at first pitched his tents at Nasrpur⁴¹⁶ 'on the left bank of the river, about 75 miles south-east of Sihwan',⁴¹⁷ dug up trenches, constructed a fort and drove away the indigenous population lest they should conspire with the invading Mughul armies, but before long, realizing the vulnerability of his position here,⁴¹⁸ he moved 'ten miles

413 Abū al-Faḍl also refers to it as the 'gate to the country of Sind.' See *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 601.

414 *T.S.*, p. 252; *T.A.*, vol. II, p.414; *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 267; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 180; *Beg.N.*, p. 231; *T.N.*, p. 71. According to the latter the Mīrzā advanced at the head of 60,000 horse, 300 *ghurābs*, and a large number of boats full of fighting men, artillery and other equipment.

415 *T.S.*, p. 252; *T.A.*, vol. II, p.414; *Dh;Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35; *T.F.*, Maqāla viii, p. 323, cf. *Ibid.*, Maqāla, ii, p. 267; *M.R.*, vol. II, pp. 346, 360. According to *T.T.*, p. 181, the Khān-i Khānān lifted the siege, because as long as [other parts of] Sind and its ruler, were not subdued, the conquest of Sihwan was meaningless.

416 *Beg.N.*, p. 232.

417 *I.D.C.*, p. 103.

418 *Beg.N.*, p. 332.

higher up the left bank to a village called Būhirī,⁴¹⁹ Jāheja⁴²⁰ and set up fortifications, entrusting the task of defending each position to one of his leading nobles. The new place was quite impregnable in that its one side was washed by the river, while the other, one the enemy could be expected to approach, was protected by a huge tract of low lying, wet land⁴²¹ and, in the words of Idrākī Beglārī, if any one set foot on it he would sink up to his neck.⁴²² The Khān-i Khānān was still undecided as to the right course of action, when the news arrived

419 *T.S.*, p. 252; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 346; *I.D.C.*, p. 103. Cf. *T.N.*, p. 71. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 414, and *T.F.*, Maqāla ii, p. 268 and *Ibid.*, Maqāla viii, p. 323, are reticent about the name of the place, and confine themselves to saying that the Mīrzā constructed a fort on the bank of the Indus at a place which was surrounded by water and morass.

It may be mentioned here, however, that 'buhri' or 'kuhri' is the word used in Sindhī to denote a pond of water on the bank of the Indus which a flood leaves behind. N.A. Baloch identifies Buhri with a place now called Bohriyon situated near Uderolal, the modern name for Jāhēja. See *T.T.*, p. 334n.

420 *Beg.N.*, p. 232.

421 Original: *challa* (*ch, h, l, a*) which is variously translated by scholars, but the most suitable translation that fits the context, as suggested by Hodivala, is 'quagmire, quicksand, slough or morass.' See Hodivala, vol. I, p. 113. *T.N.*, p. 232, refers to it as *jumjuma*.

422 *Beg.N.*, p. 232.

that Rāwal Bhīm,⁴²³ of Jaisalmer, and Dalpat,⁴²⁴ son of Rā'i Singh, of Bikaner, who were to have come via Bhakkar, had lost their path and now planned to approach the Imperialists by way of 'Umarkot. Lest the army of Mīrzā Jānī Beg should achieve an upper hand against this force, the Imperialists left behind a body of troops to keep the mind of the Sihwan garrison occupied and to ensure safe communications, and themselves went ahead by land and water without any loss of time. On 18 Ābān 1000/9 November 1591 they stopped six *kurōhs*⁴²⁵ short of the enemy's fortifications and encamped there.

40. *Intrigue in the Tarkhān Camp*

On hearing this the Mīrzā convened a meeting of his nobles and argued that in view of the vast resources of the Emperor the forces of the Khān-i Khānān would constantly be reinforced, whereas the Sindhī forces were limited and had nothing to fall back upon.⁴²⁶ Circumstances, he added,

423 He held a *manṣab* of 500 under Akbar (A.A., vol. I, p. 163). In the time when Jahāngīr was a prince, he married the Rāja's daughter and bestowed on her the title of *Malika-i Jahān* (Queen of the World). On his death, Rāwal Bhīm was survived by a two months old son, but he too died soon. In 1025/1616 Jahāngīr summoned his younger brother, Lakyan, and exalted him with the tika of Rāja and the title of Rāwal. *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 325-6, *Tūzūk*, pp. 159-60.

424 Holder of a *manṣab* of 500 under Akbar (A.A., vol. I, p. 163), but subsequently, he broke into rebellion, was arrested and hanged in 1021/1612. *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 215.

425 *T.S.*, p. 252; *T.N.*, p. 71; *I.D.C.*, p. 103. Cf. *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 360; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 414. *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35 suffers from a lacuna.

426 See *T.T.*, pp. 179-80.

made it imperative to launch a concerted attack on the positions of the Imperialists both by land as well as by water.⁴²⁷ The nobles concurred

and the following day, in keeping with this decision, Khusrau Khān Charkas proceeded upstream at the head of an impressive flotilla.⁴²⁸

At this very moment, the monster of intrigue raised its ugly head and took the sting out of the whole offensive, an offensive which otherwise had the potential of breaking the back of the Imperialist forces. While the armies on both banks of the Indus were being put in battle array to give support to the expedition of Khusrau Charkas, his rivals⁴²⁹ at the Tarkhān court prevailed upon Jānī Beg to await the outcome of his encounter with the fleet of the Khān-i Khānān. This fleet, they argued, was weak compared to the Sindhī flotilla and Khusrau Khān could easily make short work of it, while the land forces of the Khān-i Khānān were far too strong to be engaged in a haphazard way. Misled by the selfish counsels of vested interests the Mīrzā faltered in his resolution and halted the departure

427 *T.N.*, pp. 71-2.

428 Ibid. According to *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 414, it consisted of more than one hundred *ghurābs* and two hundred boats full of archers, gunners and heavy artillery. Cf. *T.S.*, p. 252; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 360.

429 See *T.T.*, p. 184.

of the land reinforcements to his riverine flotilla⁴³⁰ and as the ensuing developments proved this folly changed the course of events considerably and cost him dearly.

41. *Khusrau Charkas Attacks Imperialist Positions*

It was around midday⁴³¹ when Khusrau Khān came within sight of the advance position of the Imperialists, but their fleet was nowhere to be seen. Moreover, to his amazement he discovered that the major encampments of the Khān-i Khānān lay a quarter of a *kurōh* further up and could only be reached by passing through a narrow channel of the river, on one side of which the Imperialists had thrown up a redoubt in the sands and strengthened it with artillery, and on the other sandbanks obstructed the passage of all traffic.⁴³² While he waited in vain for the land reinforcements, the Imperialists opened fire. The exchange continued till dark and claimed

430 *T.N.*, p. 72; *T.T.*, p. 184. Nevertheless, there was a rumour that the land forces were advancing under the personal command of Mīrzā Jānī Beg. See *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 602.

431 *T.N.*, p. 72; *T.S.*, p. 252: *ba'd az waqt-i zawāl*; *M.R.* vol. II, p. 346: *waqt-i zawāl-i āftāb*. Except for the I.O.MS. 3747 of the *T.S.* which records the date of this battle as "Shawwāl 999"/July-August 1591, all the other MSS. of the work leave a gap here (See *H.A.T.S.*, p. 197, n.1). Abū al-Faḍl (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 602) mentions the date of Khusrau Charkas's arrival as 21 Ābān 1000/12 November 1591 which is also supported by *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 414 and *M.T.*, vol. II, p. 379. These last two works give 26 Muḥarram 1000/13 November 1591, i.e., one day after Khusrau Charkas arrived, as the date of the actual battle. Curiously enough, according to *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p.35, and *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 362, the battle was fought on 6 Muḥarram 1000/24 October 1591, the former even gives 2 Āban of the 36th regnal year of Akbar as its corresponding Iranian month, and thus obviates all chances of ascription of this slip to the unfortunate scribes! Beveridge's conversions from Hijra to the Christian era are not correct (*A.N.* tr., vol. III, p. 919, n.4) and M.H. Siddiqi (*H.A.T.S.*, p. 197, n. 1) has also quote them uncritically.

432 *T.S.*, p. 252; *T.N.*, pp. 72-3.

the lives of many of Khusrau Khān's men.⁴³³ Under the veil of night, each side tried to score some further points. While a body of Sindhī soldiers tried unnecessarily to surprise the alert Imperialists in the major camp,⁴³⁴ the Khān-i Khānān successfully transferred a contingent of his men across the river.⁴³⁵ They took up their positions just opposite to the Imperialists' redoubt on this side of the stream. Khusrau Khān also landed some of his men on the bank to stand guard on his vessels during the night and in the morning tried to force the narrow passage between the two Mughul positions on the bank.⁴³⁶ The Imperialists resisted it with strong artillery fire.⁴³⁷ The initially wrongly positioned guns took a heavy toll of their own men on the other side of the river, but as soon as the error was rectified the constant barrage of the Mughul artillery caused havoc in the invading fleet. In the beginning the swiftness and ingenuity of the Sindhī artisans kept the loss of their vessels to the minimal, but as the day wore on the strong current, exactness of the Mughul fire, and increasing number of casualties convinced Khusrau Khān of the futility of his endeavours and he decided to retreat. No sooner had

433 *T.N.*, p. 73.

434 *T.S.*, p. 253. According to *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 346, this attack was launched by some *ghurābs*.

435 *T.S.*, p. 253; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 602. Cf. *A.N. tr.*, vol. III, p. 919.

436 *T.N.*, p. 73.

437 *T.S.*, p. 253; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 602; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 346. Cf. *T.N.*, p. 73, where no reference is made to this attempt.

he relaxed his offensive, than the Mughuls swooped upon his flotilla from every direction.⁴³⁸ To avoid a panic among his men, Khusrau Khān, who led the attack, chose to remain at the tail of the withdrawing forces and tried to keep at bay the pursuing Mughul war boats.⁴³⁹ Here, at one stage, he was almost captured by the Imperialists, but, thanks to the timely help from one of his comrades,⁴⁴⁰ and a sudden explosion in one of the Mughul⁴⁴¹ boats, claiming many lives,⁴⁴² he succeeded in making good his escape. Several of his vessels were sunk and four *ghurābs* full of men and stores fell into the hands of the Imperialists.⁴⁴³ In one of them was the Portugese factor⁴⁴⁴ from Hurmuz, stationed at Thatta. The skill and ingenuity of the European nations in the art of war was widely acclaimed. Mirza Jānī had sent the Portugese factor, and even many of his own men dressed up in Portugese clothe to boast of his strength.

438 *T.S.*, p. 253; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 602.

439 *T.S.*, p. 253; *T.N.*, p. 73.

440 *T.N.*, p. 73. Cf. *T.T.*, p. 185; *I.D.C.*, pp. 105-6; n.128; Hodivala, vol. I, pp. 122-3.

441 According to *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 361, the explosion took place in one of Khusrau Khān's own boats.

442 *T.S.*, p. 253; *T.N.*, pp. 73-4; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 603.

443 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 602. Cf. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 414; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35; *M.R.*, vol. II, pp. 346, 361.

444 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 603; *A.N. tr.*, vol. III, p. 920, n.1; Hodivala, vol. I, p. 122; *T.T.*, p. 185.

The whole adventure, however, mismanaged from the start, ended up in a fiasco and the heavy material and moral setback aside, Khusrau Khān had to suffer a tragic loss of 200 dead and 1,000 injured.⁴⁴⁵

42. *Khān-i Khānān Lays Siege to Būhirī Jāhēja*

Although some Imperial officers were in favour of a relentless pursuit of the retreating Sindhī forces, because of darkness it had to be abandoned.⁴⁴⁶ The following day the Khān-i Khānān went ahead and laid siege to the fort⁴⁴⁷ of Būhirī Jāhēja. The location of the fort made it quite easy for the garrison to have access to an abundance of all necessities, such as grain, firewood, and fodder for the beasts. Not only that, one gate of the fort was always open and inmates could come and go at leisure. The Imperialists tried to approach the fort through *sābāts*,⁴⁴⁸ but the vigilance of the garrison aborted all their attempts. The only hope of the reduction of the fort now lay in the capture of the commanding position in front of it just across the stream, but there too, Khusrau Khān Charkas had constructed

445 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 603. Also see *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 414; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 35. Many of Khusrau Khān's men were taken prisoners (*M.R.*, vol. II, pp. 346, 361) and to celebrate the victory the Khān-i Khānān raised a tower of the enemy's heads and held feasts. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 362.

446 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 603. Akbar was very keenly pursuing the fortunes of his army in this campaign and restively waited for the news from the front which finally arrived on 13 Ādhar 1000/4 December 1591. *Ibid.*

447 *T.S.*, p. 254; *T.N.*, p. 74; *M.R.*, vol. II, pp. 346, 362. Cf. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 414. According to Abū al-Faḍl the fort was invested on 9 Ādhar 1000/30 November 1591. *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 606.

448 According to a contemporary account '*Sābāt* is a word used to express two walls, the foundations of which are laid at a distance of about one musket short (from the fort), and under the shelter of its planks, fastened together and covered with raw hide, a kind of lane is constructed to the walls of the fort, and from it the walls of the fort are battered by cannon balls.' *T.A.* tr. vol. II, p. 244.

a fortress which was surrounded by a ditch full of water. The Khān-i Khānān tried to storm it, but to no avail.⁴⁴⁹ Meanwhile, the skirmishes around the fort of Būhirī continued⁴⁵⁰ and men from both sides lost their lives everyday.⁴⁵¹ Ensconced in a formidable fort, and emboldened by his numerical strength, abundance of supplies, and help from the peasantry, Jānī Beg had fixed his hopes on the forthcoming rainy season, when the Imperialist forces would be obliged to lift the siege and he would be blessed with a grand victory.⁴⁵² To aid their passive resistance, the Sindhīs on the one hand scoured all the surrounding countryside for available foodstuffs and made sure nothing reached the besiegers,⁴⁵³ on the other they frequently stole out of their stronghold and returned with whatever they could lay their hands upon in the Imperialist camp.⁴⁵⁴ This caused extreme scarcity and despair among the followers of the Khān-i Khānān,⁴⁵⁵ and even a constant stream of reinforcements from the royal

449 *Beg.N.*, p. 237.

450 *Ibid.*, p. 233. Cf. *T.S.*, p. 254; *T.N.*, p. 74.

451 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 416; *T.T.*, pp. 182-3. According to the latter, for every enemy head the Mīrzā's men brought in they received a reward of 500 kabirs, but as the siege dragged on and money ran short, Mīrzā Jānī, on the recommendation of Mihta Ghūriya (Cf. Hodivala, vol. I, p. 122), reduced the reward to 50 kabirs. Each kabir consisted of 12 mīrīs, or pūstnis, and 6 kabirs went to a tanka. This tanka, as pointed out by Hodivala (*Ibid.*) was the shāhrukhī or mithqāl, which was worth about 2/5ths of an Akbarī rupee.

452 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 606.

453 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 416; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 36.

454 In one of these night attacks the Sindhī soldiers not only decamped with the Imperial treasury, but also killed many of the Khān-i Khānān's men. *T.T.*, p. 184.

455 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 606.

court⁴⁵⁶ was not enough to alleviate it.

43. *Khān-i Khānān Lifts the Siege*

Finally, after spending about two months⁴⁵⁷ in fruitless operations, the Khān-i Khānān decided to lift the siege, spend the rainy season somewhere else and then return and resume the fighting.⁴⁵⁸ According to the *Tarkhān Nāma* the Khān-i Khānān took this decision on the secret advice of one of the principal officers of Mīrzā Jānī Beg, Ghūriya by name, who counselled him to disperse his forces in other parts of Sind, where they would face no resistance as the entire strength of the Mīrzā was stationed at Buhīrī, and meanwhile, he and other like-minded officers would prevail upon the Mīrzā to abandon the fort and take the field, in which case he would not be able to withstand the sudden onslaught of the Imperialists and would surrender.⁴⁵⁹ Be that as it may, on 27 Day 1000/17 January 1592⁴⁶⁰ the Khān-i Khānān raised the siege and dispatched

456 In response to the Khān-i Khānān's request for reinforcements, Akbar sent him one *lākh* and fifty thousand rupees, and on another occasion one *lākh* rupees, and on yet another one *lākh* maund grain, some big guns, and a body of gunners. Moreover, Rā'i Singh, a *manṣabdār* with a rank of 4,000 was also dispatched via Jaisalmer to the relief of the Imperial general. See *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 606; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 416; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 36.

457 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 416; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 36. Cf. *T.T.*, p. 183: *chand māh* (a few months); *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 347; *chand waqt* (some time).

458 *T.N.*, p. 74.

459 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

460 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 608.

a considerable body of his army to resume the siege of Sihwan,⁴⁶¹ while with the rest of his men he marched towards the lower Sind, with the dual aim of procuring provisions for his army and causing consternation in the minds of the garrison⁴⁶² at Būhirī, as most of their families were in the fort of Tughluqābād,⁴⁶³ three miles south of Thatta.⁴⁶⁴ To start with, the Imperialists proceeded to Kakrī Palēja, despoiled the inhabitants of the village Tōrkī, and the following day encamped near the fort of Shāhgarh.⁴⁶⁵ They had hardly started operations, when the strong defensive measures taken by Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sultān,^{465/A} the commandant of the fort, soon convinced them of the formidable nature of their task.⁴⁶⁶ Hence, they split themselves into a number of divisions, each marching in a different direction. One division was dispatched to Agham,⁴⁶⁷ a prosperous

461 Ibid.; *T.A.*, vol. II, pp. 416-7; *T.S.*, p. 254; *T.N.*, p. 75.

462 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 608.

463 *T.N.*, p. 75.

464 *T.T.*, p. 306n. This fort was also known as Kalānkōt. See *T.K.*, p. 104.

465 The remains of this fort, now known as Abul jō kōt, still exist about seven miles east of Naṣrpur. See *T.T.*, p. 335n.

465/A For his particulars, see *infra*, pp. 375-9.

466 *Beg.N.*, p. 234.

467 Lying 30 miles south-east of Hyderabad, in the Taluka of Matli, this place is now known as Kot Aghamani, or Aghamano, and the remains of the old town can still be seen there. See *T.S.*, p. 314n.; *T.T.*, p. 76.

country, under the command of Bakhtyār Beg,^{467/A} and was charged with the task of keeping an eye on the movements of Mīrzā Jānī, ensuring a safe journey for the fleet sent to Sihwan, and forestalling any attempt by the Mīrzā's men to lay their hands on the Lakkī pass.⁴⁶⁸ The divisions sent to Badin, Fathbāgh, Jaun and 'Umarkot achieved a considerable degree of success, but the one entrusted with the reduction of Thatta was deeply disappointed, as the town was evacuated and set on fire by the enemy.⁴⁶⁹

44. Mīrzā Jānī Sets Out for Sihwan

According to some sources, the Mīrzā was tempted to attack the Imperialist detachment sent to Sihwan, because of its apparent weakness,⁴⁷⁰ but according to the other, this detachment had already reached Sihwan and laid siege to the fort.⁴⁷¹ When the siege of Sihwan dragged on and the garrison was reduced to extremities, they sent for immediate relief. They wrote to the Mīrzā that they would before long be killed and the fort would fall to the enemy. Though his officers widely differed as to what course of action he should adopt,⁴⁷² the Mīrzā, inebriated with youth and encouraged by his numbers,⁴⁷³ naturally opted for an adventurous path.

467/A For his particulars, see *infra*, p. 374.

468 A.N., vol. III, p. 608; Beg.N., p. 234. Also see T.N., p. 76.

469 A.N., vol. III, p. 608. Also see T.N., p. 76.

470 A.N., vol. III, p. 608; T.A., vol. II, p. 417.

471 T.S., p. 254; T.N., p. 76; Beg.N., p. 234.

472 See Beg.N., pp. 234-5; T.N., pp. 76-7.

473 Beg.N., p. 235.

He issued forth from Būhirī and hastened to Sihwan.⁴⁷⁴ As soon as the news of his advance towards the latter spread, Bakhtyār Beg lifted the siege and rushed to give battle to the Tarkhān chief near the strategic Lakkī gorge,⁴⁷⁵ and the Khān-i Khānān dispatched a strong detachment under Daulat Khān Lōdī to the aid of Bakhtyār Beg and himself also set out behind him.⁴⁷⁶ This detachment traversed a distance of 80 *kurōhs* in two days and met Bakhtyār Beg near the Lakkī pass,⁴⁷⁷ whence they marched collectively on 21 Farwardīn 1000/11 April 1592⁴⁷⁸ to take the field against the Mīrzā. Authorities widely differ as to the comparative strength of the combatants,⁴⁷⁹ but the general impression one gets is that the Mīrzā's army was far superior, more ethnically diversified, and better equipped.

45. *The Imperialists Surprise and Defeat Sindhī Forces*

The Mīrzā, however, was still arranging his forces, when the Imperialists fell upon him⁴⁸⁰ about four *kurōhs* south of the Lakkī pass. By his numerical strength the Mīrzā soon succeeded in snatching the

474 At this stage Shāh Beg returned from Shāhgarh and laid waste the Buhirifort and sent messages to Imperialist troops spread all over the lower Sind. *T.N.*, p. 77.

475 *T.S.*, p. 254; *T.N.*, p. 77.

476 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 608. Also see *T.S.*, p. 254.

477 *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 347; *T.S.*, p. 254; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 608. Cf. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 417; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 37; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 365.

478 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 608.

479 *T.N.*, pp. 77-8; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 609; *T.S.*, pp. 254-5; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 347.

480 *T.S.*, p. 255.

initiative from the Imperialists,⁴⁸¹ but, at this stage, as the luck would have it, a sudden dust storm and the panicking of one of his elephants, plunged the entire Tarkhān army into a pandemonium.⁴⁸² While all his men ran for their lives, the Mīrzā, surrounded by a handful of faithful followers, stood firm to the last and his attendants could prevail upon him, only with great difficulty, to leave the battlefield.⁴⁸³ The Mīrzā at first contemplated a return to his previous stronghold, but the Khān-i Khānān had already laid it waste.⁴⁸⁴ Hence, he sailed down some twenty *kurōhs* from the battlefield to Ūnarpūr,⁴⁸⁵ which lay four *kurōhs* from Hāla and forty *kurōhs* from Sihwan.⁴⁸⁶ It was around afternoon prayers that the Mīrzā arrived there and set about strengthening his defences. The place was a sandy desert and sufficient men and implements were hard to come by. The sails of the boats were made into sacks which were filled with sand and heaped one upon the other to arrange a makeshift defensive position.⁴⁸⁷ This was encircled by a deep and wide moat.⁴⁸⁸

481 Ibid.; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 609; *T.T.*, p. 187; *T.N.*, p. 78; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 347.

482 *T.T.*, p. 188; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 609. Also see *Beg.N.*, p. 236.

483 *T.T.*, pp. 188-9; *T.S.*, p. 255; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 609; *T.N.*, p. 78; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 37. Also see *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 347.

484 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 609.

485 *T.S.*, p. 255; *T.N.*, p. 79. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 417, wrongly gives the name of this town as Amīrpūr, and so does *T.F.*, *Maqāla ii*, p. 268, where it is mentioned as Alōr and Arlōl (*Ibid.*, *Maqāla viii*, p. 323).

486 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 613.

487 *T.T.*, p. 191.

488 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 613.

46. *The Imperialists Lay Siege to Sindhī Positions at Ūnarpūr*

Daulat Khān⁴⁸⁹ who was pursuing also the Mīrzā arrived on his heels and laid siege to this position. On hearing this, the Khān-i Khānān dispatched Shāh Beg Khān^{489/A} to invest the fort of Shāhgarh from where he continually sent marauding parties into the countryside and occasionally engaged in skirmishes with the men of Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sulṭān,⁴⁹⁰ and himself (the Khān-i Khānān) set out for Ūnarpūr where he arrived on 26 Farwardīn/15 April.⁴⁹¹ The garrison which, according to the Mughul chroniclers, enjoyed several advantages, including the numerical superiority, vast fleet of war boats, long familiarity with the region and the approaching rainy season, behaved quite defiantly and welcomed the Imperialist commander-in-chief with a barrage of bullets and arrows.⁴⁹² About this time, the efforts of the Imperialists to subdue the *sarkār* of Chachkan and the fort of Shāhgarh were rewarded with success,⁴⁹³ and as a result of a rebellion in the fort of Nayrankot, that stronghold was also captured by them without much ado.⁴⁹⁴ While these shattering blows seriously hampered the morale of the Mīrzā's men, they tremendously raised the spirits of the besieging army at Ūnarpūr.⁴⁹⁵ Shortly afterwards, with an end to the siege still not in sight the supplies of the Mīrzā ran out and his

489 *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 348.

489/A For his particulars, see *infra*, 384-6.

490 *Beg.N.*, p. 237.

491 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 613. Also see *T.S.*, p. 255.

492 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 613.

493 *T.T.*, pp. 194-5.

494 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 613; *T.T.*, p. 194.

495 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 614.

garrison was reduced to great straits. The Mīrzā's men, who, to start with, gave battle to the Imperialists, now ate their own animals out of starvation, and from lack of ammunition hurled bones and stones as missiles at the enemy.⁴⁹⁶ Although the Emperor had taken all precautions to send relief to his forces in Sind, they still had to face numerous hardships. Moreover, the strangeness of the terrain, constant harrassment by the refractory tribes and the outbreak of a pestilence had made life extremely difficult for them.⁴⁹⁷ To bring this war of attrition to an end, the Imperialists finally took recourse to the Byzantine strategy of digging tunnels, throwing up mounds of sand, moving forward the batteries and filling the moat as a prelude to storming the fort from all sides. But as it turned out, the Mīrzā was too alert to be tricked by these tactics.⁴⁹⁸ With liberal rewards to his men, he induced them to make fissures from within and excavate the earth thrown in the moat by the enemy even at great risk to their lives. He thereby set at naught the whole plan of the Khān-i Khānān.⁴⁹⁹ Nevertheless, in due course the batteries of the Imperialists came so close to the positions of the Mīrzā's men that both sides could snatch spear from each other's hands.

496 *Beg.N.*, p. 239; *T.T.*, pp. 195-6; Also see *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 417.

497 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 614.

498 *Ibid.*; *Beg.N.*, p. 238.

499 *Beg.N.*, p. 238; Also see *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 614; *T.T.*, p. 196.

47. *Mīrzā Jānī Capitulates*

Failing to make any headway through force of arms and in view of the distressing proportions of casualties and misery and plight of the survivors, after the exchange of a few emissaries,⁵⁰⁰ both sides reached a peaceful accommodation and the hostilities were ceased forthwith.⁵⁰¹ It was agreed that consequent upon the lifting of the siege, the Mīrzā would marry his daughter to the Khān-i Khānān's son, ʿIraj and surrender the town of Siwistan, together with its fort and twenty⁵⁰² war boats, to the Imperialists and they would pass the rainy season there, and after the rains were over, he would accompany the Khān-i Khānān to the Mughul court.⁵⁰³ Consequently, on 16 Khurdād 1000/16 June 1592 the batteries were dismantled and ceremonies of betrothal performed.

48. *His Flight to Thatta*

The surrender of the town of Siwistan was, however, still pending when the Mīrzā, disgusted of the sickening stench of the dead bodies in his camp and alarmed at the mass desertion of his soldiers, headed off to Nasrpur without obtaining leave of the Khān-i Khānān. This caused great apprehensions among the Imperialists, but they were put at rest when the Mīrzā explained the circumstances of his departure to the Khān-i

500 According to *T.T.*, pp. 196-8, first initiative in this regard came from the Khān-i Khānān.

501 See *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 615; *T.S.*, pp. 255-6; *Beg.N.*, p. 240; *T.T.*, p. 196; *T.N.*, p. 79; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 417; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 38.

502 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 615; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 418. The Mīrzā originally offered to present 30 *ghurābs* (*T.S.*, p. 256; *T.N.*, p. 79), but finally gave only 20.

503 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 615; *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 418.

Khānān's messenger, who had been dispatched on his heels.⁵⁰⁴ While at Nasrpur, the Khān-i Zamān^{504/A} tried to prevail upon the Mīrzā to take advantage of the inundation and the long distance intervening between him and the Imperialist forces and reach the Mughul court via Jaisalmer. By doing so, he argued, the Mīrzā would not only be able to establish his credibility with the Emperor, but also succeed in creating a situation which would warrant the return of the Imperialist forces from where they were and thus ward off the possibility of their advance towards Thatta. But distressed as the Mīrzā was at the deaths of his father Mīrzā Pāyanda, and his son Mīrzā Abū al-Faṭḥ, at Thatta, during his siege at Unarpur, he preferred to keep his promise with the Khān-i Khānān and proceeded to Thatta to share his grief with his family.⁵⁰⁵ However, on reaching there, as we shall see presently, the Mīrzā seems to have changed his mind and engaged in devising means to reverse the whole trend of events. After a few days of his flight from Unarpur, the Khān-i Khānān had moved with his troops to Sann, midway from Sihwan, where the Sindhī governor of Sihwan waited on him and made over the town and fort of Sihwan.

49. *The Imperialists Advance Upon Thatta*

At the end of the rainy season, however, when the Khān-i Khānān was anxiously waiting for the arrival of the Mīrzā to accompany him to the court, the latter sent a message, saying he was indisposed, and would

504 A.N., vol. III, p. 633.

504/A For his life, see *infra*, pp. 375-9.

505 Beg.N., pp. 240-1.

go to the court after collecting the autumn revenue. He also reminded the Khān-i Khānān that it was agreed that all areas south of Sihwan would be restored to him, but Nayrankot and Hālakandī had not been yet given up. The Khān-i Khānān took the Mīrzā's envoy into custody and breaking up his troops into three divisions, set one of them across the Indus by land route to Thatta, the second was dispatched in war boats by the river, and the third set out by the river bank. All the three divisions were ordered to keep in touch with one another, seize Nasrpur which was a central place in that region and oblige Mīrzā Jānī to go to the royal court. After some days the Khān-i Khānān sent an ambassador to the Tarkhān chief and on his heels himself also set off from Sann.⁵⁰⁶ About this time the Khān-i Zamān, having collected the revenue from the peasants and tribes of Nīlūfarī and Hālākandī returned to Nasrpur. As soon as he heard about the march of the Imperialists troops towards that town, he together with his son Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sulṭān, rushed to the fort of Shāhgarh, dispatched his household to Thatta, and occupied himself in strengthening his defences. Meanwhile, Nasrpur fell to the Imperialists.⁵⁰⁷ When the Khān-i Khānān arrived there, he sent on the three divisions with the same arrangements as before and they, in collaboration with some Arghūns, raided the Mīrzā's camp, which then lay some three *kurōhs* outside Thatta in the direction of Jū'ibār⁵⁰⁸ branch of the Indus, where the Mīrzā was apparently heading to make sure that the communications

506 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 633.

507 *Beg.N.*, p. 241.

508 It is also known as the Rēn Bārgāh (*T.T.*, pp. 127-8). 'This was an eastern branch of the Indus which became dry about the middle of the 18th century in consequence of the change of the course of the river'. *H.A.T.S.*, p. 31, n.1.

were in order if he invoked the aid of the Portugese governor of Hurmuz to throw out the Imperialist aggressors.⁵⁰⁹ Considering the huge losses his ancestor Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān⁵¹⁰ and Sultān Bahādur of Gujarat⁵¹¹ had sustained by extending similar invitations to the Portugese only a few decades ago, it is obvious to what latitude Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān was contemplating to go in his aversion to the idea of accompanying the Mughul commander to Akbar's court. What an uphill task it was for the Khān-i Khānān to bring to his knees this strong-willed erstwhile nominal vassal is best epitomized in this statement of the court chronicler, Abū al-Faḍl, that ever since the conquest of India nobody had encountered as many difficulties and hardships as the Khān-i Khānān did in the conquest of Sind.⁵¹² Nonetheless, finding himself embarrassed and outwitted by the Khān-i Khānān, the Mīrzā made virtue of necessity and dispatched an envoy to the Mughul general to find out after all why the treaty had been violated. The Imperialists whose own interest also dictated that the peace arrangements should not be upset and the Mīrzā should appear before the Emperor without any loss of time, returned the plunder with apologies and informed the Mīrzā that they intended going as far as Bandar Lāharī to make sure the Portugese were not coming to his aid, to which the Mīrzā consented.⁵¹³

509 A.N., vol. III, p. 634.

510 *Supra*, p. 69 . Also see H.A.T.S., p. 132, n.3.

511 See M.S., Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1938, vol. I, pp. 362-83.

512 *Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, *op.cit.*, p. 138. In his letter to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, written in the wake of the conquest of Thatta, Akbar refers to the war leading to the reduction of that kingdom as a great war (*jāng-i 'aẓīm*). See *Ibid.*, p. 32.

513 A.N., vol. III, p. 634.

50. *Mīrzā Jānī Meets the Khān-i Khānān*

Finally, on 10 Ābān 1001/1 November 1592 the Khān-i Khānān and the Mīrzā met each other on horsebacks⁵¹⁴ on the bank of the Jū'ibār⁵¹⁵ opposite a place called Rāhūt,⁵¹⁶ and entertained each other at lavish banquets.⁵¹⁷ After a few days, while the Mīrzā obtained leave and left for the fort of Tughluqābād to make necessary preparations for going to the court, the Khān-i Khānān proceeded to Thatta.⁵¹⁸ Though it was given out, says Abū al-Faḍl, that he wanted to see the town, in actual fact he wanted to secure the lower part of the river against any possibility of its use by the Portugese, and to prevent the vanquished from reneging on his undertakings.⁵¹⁹ To celebrate the success of the Mughul arms in Sind, the town of Thatta was profusely decorated and its streets and buildings were illuminated by oil lamps. Moreover, a specially designed three-tiered pavilion was constructed where the Khān-i Khānān held feasts, convened literary gatherings, received dignitaries, and honoured one thousand four hundred persons with a variety of rewards which included presents imported from Iran. The pomp and circumstance of these proceedings, according to some Iranian members of his entourage,

514 Ibid., Also see *T.T.*, pp. 200-1.

515 *T.N.*, p. 80. *T.T.*, pp. 199-200. According to *T.S.*, p. 256, they met near Fathbāgh.

516 *Beg.N.*, p. 241.

517 *T.N.*, p. 80.

518 Cf. *T.S.*, p. 256.

519 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 634.

were even unprecedented at the court of Shāh ‘Abbās,^{519/A} of
Persia.⁵²⁰

51. *His Departure From Thatta*

From Thatta, the Khān-i Khānān, together with Mīrzā Jānī Beg, went to Bandar Lāharī and also paid an overnight visit to the Manōra Island, some twenty *kurōhs* from the coast, in the Arabian sea.⁵²¹ On his return from there, he ordered Shāh Beg Khān and others to go forward with the Mīrzā, and, on 29 Bahman 1001/18 February 1593, having deputed Daulat Khān to look after the affairs of Sind, himself also set out by land to join them at Fathbāgh. From where they went off to the court with the Mīrzā.⁵²²

The Mīrzā wished to leave his household in Thatta, but the Khān-i Khānān did not agree.⁵²³ According to the *Tarkhān Nāma*, they evacuated Thatta, but were allowed to stay at Bhakkar, instead of accompanying the Mīrzā to the court.⁵²⁴

519/A For his reign and achievements, see Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindigānī-i Shāh ‘Abbās*, Tehran, 1353 H.Sh., 5 volumes.

520 *M.R.*, vol. II, p.374.

521 *T.N.*, pp. 81-2. In his letter dated 12 Ādharmāh of the 37th regnal year of Akbar, Abū al-Faḍl urges the Khan-i Khanan to bring Mīrzā Jānī to the royal court as early as possible. See *Har sih daftar-i Abū al-Faḍl*, *op.cit.*, p.139.

522 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 634.

523 *Ibid.*

524 pp. 82-3.

52. *Mīrzā Jānī Waits Upon Akbar*

The Khān-i Khānān, together with Mīrzā Jānī Beg and his entourage, arrived at court, in Lahore, on 8 Farwardīn 1001/28 March 1593,⁵²⁵ and was received with great honour.⁵²⁶ A few days later, on the eve of the lunar weighment of the Emperor, Thatta was fixed as *jāgīr* on Mīrzā Shāhrukh,⁵²⁷ grandson of Mīrzā Sulaymān of Badakhshan, who shortly afterwards was married to Shukr Nisā, a daughter of the Emperor,⁵²⁸ and Mīrzā Jānī Beg was awarded the province of Multan and a *manṣab* of 3,000.⁵²⁹ The transfer of Thatta from Mīrzā Jānī, it seems, was not welcomed by his collaterals in Sind and they, to show their resentment, embarked upon *en masse* emigration to India, with the result that the flood of these refugees paralysed the whole riverine communications. Alarmed at the trouble that was brewing in that region, Akbar, probably, for strategic reasons, included Bandar Lāharī into crown property (*khālīṣa*),⁵³⁰ bestowed Siwistan, which the Mīrzā had surrendered to the Imperialists at the time of his captulation at Ūnarpūr, on Bakhtyār Beg⁵³¹ and others, and restored

525 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 421: 9 Farwardīn.

526 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 634.

527 *Beg.N.*, p. 243; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 637.

528 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 644. For his particulars, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 20-3; *M.U.*, vol. III, pp. 328-34; Blochmann, pp. 326-7.

529 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 637.

530 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 642; Cf. *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 376 wrongly has Diūl and Tatta.

531 *Ibid.* *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 179, wrongly states that the *sarkār* of Siwistan was also given to Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān. For Bakhtyār Beg, see *infra*, p. 374.

the rest of the lower Sind to Mīrzā Jānī Beg.⁵³² Henceforward, he was supposed to stay at court,⁵³³ while his agents were sent back to Sind to run the administration and transmit the revenue with which the Mīrzā could meet his expenses.⁵³⁴ Though Akbar gradually promoted him to the rank of 5,000⁵³⁵ and the latter betrothed his daughter to the Emperor's grandson Prince Khusrau,⁵³⁶ and even embraced the Dīn-i

532 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 642. Cf. *T.S.*, p. 257; *T.N.*, p. 83; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 376. According to the latter three works the entire *wilāyat* of Thatta was given back to Mīrzā Jānī.

533 *T.N.*, p. 83.

534 *T.T.*, p. 202.

535 He started his career at the Mughul court with a *manṣab* of 3,000 (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 637; *A.A.*, vol. I, p. 160; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 376. *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 349, wrongly has 4,000). The Mīrzā received a promotion to 3,500 in 1005/1597 (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 721; Kewalrām, s.v. Tarkhān Mīrzā Jānī). On the contrary *T.S.*, p. 257 (also see *H.A.T.S.*, p. 205, and n.3 on that page), wrongly gives the impression that the Mīrzā started his career with a rank of 4,000, 5,000, or as Siddiqi has translated it, "4,000 Personality and 5,000 Horse." M.H. Siddiqi (*H.A.T.S.*, p. 205, n.3) speculates that apparently Mīrzā Jānī "held both the Commands - 4,000 Personality (*dhāt*) and 5,000 Horse (*sawār*)", but this is not correct, because the *sawār* rank could, at the most, equal the *dhāt* rank of a *manṣabdār*, but never exceeded it. For a fuller discussion, see Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughul Army*, Delhi repr., 1972, p. 47 ff.

From *T.N.*, p. 83, *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 179 and *Tūzūk*, p. 33, one gathers that the Mīrzā was awarded a *manṣab* of 5,000 at the very outset, this too militates against the evidence of Abū al-Faḍl.

536 *M.R.*, vol. II, pp. 342, 348; *T.S.*, p. 257; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 37; *T.N.*, p. 83; *Tūzūk* p.8.

Ilāhī⁵³⁷ enunciated by Akbar, he was virtually but a distinguished State prisoner.^{537/A} The memories of his lost kingdom kept him restive and the thoughts of surrender to the Imperialists never stopped rankling in his mind.⁵³⁸ During his stay in India, he seems to have spent almost all his time in the royal camp.

53. *His Death*

During the 45th regnal year of Akbar, when the Emperor was engaged in the expedition against Sulṭān Bahādur, in Asīr, the Mīrzā, because of his gross immoderation in drinking, became paralytic and delirious and died on 27 Rajab 1009/1 February 1601.⁵³⁹ His body was escorted to Thatta by Khwāja Muḥammad Qūrbegī⁵⁴⁰ and on his burial place an imposing mausoleum was built by his son, Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān,⁵⁴¹ who succeeded his father as ruler of Thatta, by an Imperial edict.

537 *M.T.*, vol. II, p. 304.

537/A In 1001/August 1595 the Mīrzā, together with other Mughul nobles was deputed to receive Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā Qandahārī after his defection to Akbar's court (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 671); otherwise, he does not seem to have ever been entrusted with a position of responsibility.

538 See the remark attributed to him about the fort of Asīr in *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 180. Also see n. 572 below.

539 See *M.N.*, p. 519n.; *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān aur uskī bazm-i adab*, p. 124. *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 783, mentions 13 Bahman 1009, which corresponds to 2 February 1601. Also see *T.S.*, p. 257; *H.A.T.S.*, p. 206, n.1.

540 *T.T.*, p. 209.

541 See *M.N.*, p. 519n.

54. *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān Succeeds His Father*

When Bābā Ṭālib Isfahānī⁵⁴² reached Sind with a dress of honour and a royal order for the confirmation of the *jāgīr* of Mīrzā Jānī Beg on Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg, it was expected that the young Mīrzā, together with his principal officers, would accompany the royal emissary to the Mughul court.⁵⁴³ Bābā Ṭālib found the Mīrzā involved in an inextricable struggle against his ambitious and insubordinate courtiers and rebellious local chiefs.⁵⁴⁴ Whether because of this consideration, or in keeping with the usual tendency of royal emissaries of this kind, he got so carried away by the hospitality of the recipient of the message⁵⁴⁵ that he forgot the urgency of his mission and failed to achieve the desired result. A period of about two years passed in vain. The prolongation of his absence finally began causing misgivings in court circles about the real intentions of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān, and little wonder if the enemies of the latter

542 Previously, he had been a member of the embassies sent by Akbar to the rulers of Great Tibet (Ladākh) and Little Tibet (Baltistān), and after the death of Akbar, when Jahāngīr assigned the government of Qandahar to Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān, Bābā Ṭālib also went to that place and was appointed the Mīr 'Adl of Qandahar and the Punjab. It may be mentioned here that a part of Multan, in the Punjab was also included in the *jāgīr* of the Mīrzā. See Mullā Qāṭi'ī Harawī, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-17n.; *A.N.*, vol. III, pp. 552, 731; *A.N. tr.*, vol. III, pp. 838, 1091; B.M.MS.; or 3397, s.v., Bābā Ṭālib Isfahānī.

543 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 783; *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 250; *T.T.*, p. 238.

544 *T.T.*, p. 239.

545 See Asad Beg Qazwīnī, *Risāla-i Ta'rīkh*, B.M. MS.

also added fuel to the fire.⁵⁴⁶ At last, in 1010/1601-2, as in the case of earlier conquest of Thatta by the Khān-i Khānān, Akbar bestowed Multan⁵⁴⁷ and Bhakkar⁵⁴⁸ on Sa'īd Khān Chaghatta⁵⁴⁹ and dispatched him and his son Sa'd Allāh Khān,⁵⁵⁰ at the head of a 20,000 strong army⁵⁵¹ for the reduction of the lower Sind⁵⁵² and to bring Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg to court.⁵⁵³

546 Cf. Sayyid Husām al-Dīn Rāshidī, *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān aur uskī bazm-i adab*, Karachi, 1970, p. 44, where the author expresses the opinion that Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān II might also have been responsible for spreading rumours about the intentions of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg. But, this is not correct, because Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān arrived at Akbar's court (Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 210; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 485) in 1012/1603-4 (*T.N.*, p. 96), that is, after the departure of Sa'īd Khān Chaghatta.

547 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 810.

548 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 10.

549 For his particulars, see *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 34.

550 *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 345; *T.T.*, p. 242. He was married to a daughter of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 802. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 250). For his life see *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 250-2; 291; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 73, 183, 197).

551 *M.R.*, vol. II, p. 350.

552 *Ibid.*

553 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 190; *Tūzūk*, p. 109.

While Sa'id Khān cantoned his army in the *pargana* Darbela, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn was ordered to proceed to Thatta to persuade the Mīrzā to go to the royal court. As Namakīn advanced upto Nasrpur with a substantial body of troops and sent a messenger to the Mīrzā to make necessary arrangements for his departure,⁵⁵⁴ the latter was torn between two desires. While he was quite game for defying the royal decree, the meagreness of his resources,⁵⁵⁵ disaffection in nobility⁵⁵⁶ and the rather unsettled conditions in the region,⁵⁵⁷ some of which were certainly the legacy of the previous Imperial campaign against Sind, prevented him from choosing that course. After consultations with his advisers, he, however, decided to go to court⁵⁵⁸ and informed Mīr Namakīn to return to Sihwan, where he would join him.⁵⁵⁹ Finally, leaving some influential nobles, such as Khusrau Khān Charkas, 'Arab Kūka, and Wālih Qulī Diwān, in charge of the government, and accompanied by Shahbāz Khān, Aḥmad Beg Sultān, Luṭf Allāh Sultān, Khwāja Amīr Beg Bakhshī and Bhā'i Khān Luṭf Allāh,⁵⁶⁰ the Mīrzā arrived at Sihwan and

554 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 112; P.U.MS., f.301.

555 *T.T.*, p. 241.

556 *Infra*.

557 *Ibid*.

558 *T.T.*, p. 241.

559 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 112; P.U.MS., f. 301

560 *T.T.*, p. 241.

Mīr Namakīn escorted⁵⁶¹ him to Sītārja, a dependency of Bhakkar, where Sa'īd Khān was then encamped.⁵⁶² The sagacity and stately manners of the Mīrzā highly recommended him to the Mughul general, who instantly took a strong liking for him, and his son also became a close friend of the Mīrzā.⁵⁶³

55. *Mīrzā Ghāzī at the Mughul Court*

At long last, when the Mīrzā appeared before Akbar,⁵⁶⁴ at Agra, on 14 Mihr 1013/6 October 1604,⁵⁶⁵ the Emperor received him kindly, conferred on him the *manṣab*⁵⁶⁶ and *jāgīr*⁵⁶⁷ of his father and favoured him with a precious diamond.⁵⁶⁸ After a few days of the Mīrzā's arrival at court when on 13 Jumāda II 1014/26 October 1605 Akbar died and a pall of gloom and uncertainty settled over the Mughul capital.⁵⁶⁹ Much to the chagrin of some reckless spirits in his entourage, who suggested to the Mīrzā to take advantage of the situation and make good his escape

561 See n.559 above.

562 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 190.

563 *T.T.*, pp.241-2; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 190; *M.U.*, vol. II, p.410.

564 According to *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 346, the Mīrzā was 17 years old at that time.

565 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 839.

566 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 21; *T.T.*, p. 242.

567 *T.T.*, p. 242.

568 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 839. Cf. *T.T.*, p. 242, where the bestowal of a *shamshīr-i khāṣṣa* is mentioned, instead.

569 See 'Abd al-Haqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, *op.cit.*; Asad Beg Qazwīnī, *op.cit.*

to Thatta, he chose to stay at court.⁵⁷⁰ And before long succeeded in winning over the confidence of the new Emperor.⁵⁷¹ Although as long as Akbar lived the fate of the young Mīrzā was hardly different from that

570 *T.T.*, p. 243. Cf. *T.K.*, pp. 177-8, where it is wrongly suggested that the Mīrzā accepted the advice and went to Thatta, but reappeared at court when summoned by Jahāngīr.

571 B.M.MS. Or.3397, s.v. Mīrzā Ghāzī, *T.N.*, p. 88. According to the latter he was the first noble to congratulate Jahāngīr on his accession to the throne.

of his father's,⁵⁷² still it seems, he soon grasped the dynamics of the

572 In this regard the following strange story told by Peter van den Broecke, 'the chief of the Dutch factory at Surat in 1620 and subsequent years,' and included in the 'Fragmentum' portion of John de Laet's book entitled *De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera, commentarius e vartis auctoribus congestus*, Leyden, 1631 will be read with interest:

'At length, the King, being angry with Mirza Ghazi, son of Jani, the ruler of Sind and Thatha, on account of an arrogant expression which had fallen from him, decided to remove him by poison. With that purpose, he ordered his physician to prepare two pills, alike in shape and mass, and to poison one of them. He had intended to give that one to Ghazi, and to take the wholesome one himself; but, by a notable mistake the affair turned out contrariwise, for, while the King was rolling the pills in his hand for some time, he gave Ghazi the harmless pill, and took the poisoned one himself. Later, when the mistake was discovered, the strength of the poison had spread through his veins, antidotes were administered without success' (Translated by and quoted in Vincent A. Smith, op. cit., p. 235; Also see Da Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol: (Description of India and Fragment of Indian History)*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Delhi repr., 1975, p.170).

According to the 'Annals of Bundi (Boondee)' the intended victim was Rājā Mān Singh. While Tod considered this last version "well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes," Vincent Smith saw "no good reason for supposing that Akbar had a grudge against Mān Singh," implying thereby that the Ghāzī Beg variation was probably more believable.

The story, about Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg, no doubt, sheds light on how his relations with Akbar were looked at by his contemporaries and the generation immediately following them, but as far as the boast attributed to him is concerned, there seems to be some confusion. It was, in fact, Mīrzā Ghāzī's father, Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān, who, upon Bahādur's surrender without much resistance, of the impregnable fort of Asīrgarh to Akbar, in early 1009/1600 (Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 180), had remarked that had he been possessed of such a fort (see n. 409 above), even if His Majesty had personally led the campaign [against Thatta] he would not have succeed, and had offended the Emperor (See *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 180). And, although Mīrzā Jānī Beg died in the course of that campaign (*A.N.*, vol. III, p. 783; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 180), Peter van den Broecke's contention is by no means proved that Akbar inadvertently took the wrong pill and died, because the Emperor lived for almost five years after the fall of Asirgarh.

court politics and lost no time in cultivating close relations with the Mughul nobles. He married a niece of Sharīf Khān Atka⁵⁷³ and maintained very close ties with Sa'īd Khan Chaghatta. Consequently, after Jahāngīr's accession when the Mīrzā sought leave to go back to Thatta, Sa'īd Khān interceded on his behalf. However, the Emperor, though agreeing in principle, postponed permission until such time as the Mīrzā's sister, who had been engaged by Akbar to Prince Khusrau,⁵⁷⁴ was married to the latter.⁵⁷⁵ Whether this matrimonial alliance ever materialized is hard to say, but subsequently, when Khusrau broke into rebellion against his father, Jahāngīr, in sharp contrast to his avowed policy of relying on his own judgement in matters of State and government,⁵⁷⁶ as some historians would have us believe,⁵⁷⁷ among others he consulted Mīrzā Ghāzī as well, and since his advice coincided with the Emperor's own decision and resulted in the capture of Khusrau, the Mīrzā's esteem was still more enhanced in the eyes of the Emperor.

573 *T.T.*, p. 255.

574 See n.536 above.

575 *Tūzuk*, p.8; *Tūzuk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 20.

576 *Tūzuk*, p.32; *Tūzuk* (R&B), vol. I, p.68.

577 *T.N.*, pp. 88-9.

55. *His Nomination for Qandahar Expedition*

Jahāngīr was still at Lahore in this connection when the news arrived that a group of Persian nobles, of Khurasan, who had captured Bust previously⁵⁷⁸ and had been besieging Qandahar for the last year, had made life difficult for the garrison and its commandant Shāh Beg,⁵⁷⁹ was looking out for assistance.⁵⁸⁰ The Emperor raised Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg to a *mansab* of 5,000 personal and horse, bestowed drums on him and dispatched⁵⁸¹ him to Qandahar at the head of a strong army which included several nobles and generals, such as Qarā Beg and Tūkhta Beg, who had been promoted with the titles of Qarā Khān and Sardār Khān, Khwāja 'Āqil was appointed the *bakhshī* of this army; 43,000 rupees were given to Qarā Khān for expenses and 15,000 to Naqdī Beg and Qilīch Beg, who were to accompany Mīrzā Ghāzī.⁵⁸²

Owing to the urgency of circumstances, Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg had had to depart from Thatta in a very hasty manner, and the principal officers he had left in charge of the administration did not fulfil his expectations at all, so that when he was proceeding to Qandahar he had neither money, nor the necessary number of men and Qarā Khān openly ridiculed him, asking how, with his meagre resources, the Mīrzā would face

578 *A.A.A.*, vol. II, pp. 672-4; *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 828; B.M.MS. Or 3397, s.v. Mīrzā Ghāzī.

579 See *infra*, pp. 384-6.

580 *T.N.*, p. 89.

581 *Tūzūk*, p. 33; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 71; *M.J.*, p. 89. Cf. *T.N.*, p. 90; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 22; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 345.

582 *Tūzūk*, p. 33; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 71; *M.J.*, p. 89. Cf. *T.N.*, p. 89.

the Persian forces.⁵⁸³ When they reached near Dūgī (Dūkī) and Chutyālī,⁵⁸⁴ Qarā Khān fell sick and died.⁵⁸⁵ His officers wished to transfer all his treasure and belongings to his son who looked after

583 *T.T.*, p. 255.

584 Cf. *T.T.*, p. 255, where they have been erroneously treated as one place, called "Dūkī Junyānī", which is no doubt, a corruption of "Dūkī wa Chutyālī". According to Babur, who visited these two places, Chūtyālī was a village of Dūkī (*B.N.*, p. 238). Abū al-Faḍl (*A.A.*, vol. II, p. 189) is silent about Chutyālī, but records Dūkī as one of the eastern dependencies of the province of Qandahar and according to him, it was mainly inhabited by Tarīn and Kākar Afghāns. Aurangzīb gives a very vivid picture of these two places. According to him, Chutyālī with three hundred Tarīn families and Dūkī with five hundred Tarīn households, were separated by about one day's march from one another (Cf. *B.N.*, p. 238). Both these places lay on Multan-Qandahar route which ran thus: Multan-Chutyālī-Dūkī-Fūshanj-Qandahar (See *Ad.AL.*, vol. I, pp. 37, 41, 43, 58-61, 63, 67, 91). Even when Qandahar was in Safawid hands, except for a short while during Shāhjahān's reign (*A.S.*, vol. III, p. 122, where Chutyali is wrongly recorded as Chūbtānī), these two places continued to be part of the Mughul Empire and were administered by the Mughul governor of Multan. See *Ad.AL.*, vol. I, pp. 37, 41. Cf. H.C. Verma, *Medieval Routes to India*, Calcutta, 1978, p. 125, n.162).

585 According to the *T.N.*, p. 89, he died at Multan. *Maz.Sh.*, is, however, silent about the place of his death.

his interests at his *jāgīr* in Bhakkar. The Mīrzā, however, considering it a suicidal step, represented to the Imperial *bakhshī* to put all that was left behind by Qarā Khān at his disposal as a *musā'adat*, so that he could enlist the support of Qarā Khān's men. The Mīrzā's request was approved and Qarā Khān's officers were obliged to relinquish the charge of the property of their master in favour of the Mīrzā.⁵⁸⁶ Meanwhile, on 9 Rabī' II 1015/14 August 1606 the Emperor ordered a reward of 30 *lākh* dāms for Mīrzā Ghāzī⁵⁸⁷ which might have eased the Mīrzā's financial situation to some extent. To further reinforce him, however, Jahāngīr started off on 13 Rajab 1015/14 November 1606 a 3,000 strong body of red cavalry (*ūymāq-i būrī*)⁵⁸⁸ under the command of Bahādur Khān Qūrbegī whose *manṣab* had been raised to 1500 personal and 800 horse, original and extra. For the expenses of this force two *lākh* rupees were given and 1,000 musketeers were also appointed.⁵⁸⁹

586 *T.T.*, pp. 255-6. Also see *T.N.*, p. 89.

587 *Tūzūk*, p.36; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 75. This reward was bestowed upon Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg much before his arrival at Qandahar, and not on the successful completion of the Qandahar campaign, as wrongly suggested by Rāshidī in *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān*, & c., op. cit., p. 77.

588 For the meaning of this word, see *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 82, n.l, Blochmann, p. 402, n.l. Also see *Tūzūk*, p.147, line 17.

589 *Tūzūk*, p.39; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 81-2.

57. *His Victorious Entry Into Qandahar*

The Imperial army was still several marches⁵⁹⁰ short of Qandahar, when the Persians lifted the siege, retired and "did not draw rein until they had reached the Helmand, fifty or sixty kōs distant,"⁵⁹¹ and Mīrzā Ghāzī, with his army, victoriously entered Qandahar on 12 Shawwāl 1015/ 10 February 1607,⁵⁹² and made it over to Sardār Khān, who had been appointed the governor of that place. Thereafter, the reinforcements from Thatta also arrived,⁵⁹³ but to no avail. The long siege of Qandahar had divested it of all crops of grain and the army was faced with extreme scarcity, so that, according to the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i Tāhīrī*, who accompanied the Thatta army, men were obliged to eat the flesh of dead horses and camels. Unlike that of the local populace which overcame the problem to some extent, the circumstances of the Mīrzā's followers grew still worse, as revenue did not arrive from Thatta in time. To meet his requirements, the Mīrzā borrowed money from Sardār Khān and Mīr Buzurg, but it was too little to pay the emoluments of all his men, who, out of penury, resorted to open protests outside his camp and shouted for the redress of their grievances.⁵⁹⁴ The Mīrzā informed the Emperor of his adversity and was ordered to withdraw his forces to Bhakkar, replenish their supplies and wait for further instructions.

590 *T.T.*, p. 255. Cf. *Tūzūk*, p. 41; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 85 and n.1 on that page; *M.J.*, p. 89; 95, n.3. According to the *T.N.*, p. 89, both sides fought battle at a distance of 5 *kurōhs* from Qandahar on the Indian side wherein the Persians were defeated and fled, leaving behind a large number of horses, armament and luggage.

591 *Tūzūk*, p.41; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 85; *M.J.*, p. 95, n.3.

592 *Tūzūk*, p.41; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 85.

593 *T.T.*, p. 256.

594 *Ibid.*, pp. 257-8.

58. *His Recall to Court and Reappointment to Qandahar*

While the Mīrzā was at Bhakkar, his opponents appear to have slandered him before the Emperor and given the impression that once back to his *jāgīr* in Sind, the Mīrzā would never return to court. Thus, on his way back from Kabul, Jahāngīr issued orders to the Mīrzā to proceed to court at once, which the Mīrzā did⁵⁹⁵ and waited upon the Emperor, at Lahore, on 12 Sha‘bān 1016/2 December 1607.⁵⁹⁵ Delighted at the loyalty and conscientiousness of the Mīrzā, Jahāngīr bestowed on him⁵⁹⁷ a piece of the province of Multan,⁵⁹⁸ in addition to the whole of the province of Thatta which the Mīrzā already possessed, confirmed him in his *manṣab* of 5,000 personal and horse,⁵⁹⁹ and conferring on him a robe of honour and a jewelled sword, committed to his charge the government of Qandahar and the protection of that extremely sensitive frontier of Hindūstān.⁶⁰⁰

Jahāngīr, who even in his *Memoirs* does not mince words when it comes to estimating the virtues and administrative capabilities of this Tarkhān

595 Ibid., p. 258.

596 *Tūzūk*, p. 62; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 131; *M.J.*, p. 109.

597 Cf. *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg, & c., op.cit.*, pp.79-80; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p.22; *M.U.*, vol. III, pp.345-6.

598 On 10 Ramaḍān 1016/29 December 1607. See *Tūzūk*, p.63; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 133; *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg, & c.*, p.81. According to Jahāngīr 10 Ramaḍān was a Thursday, but our computation - on the basis of Hashimi - shows it was a Saturday. Also see *Tūzūk* tr., vol. I, pp. 230-1, where the month of Ramaḍān has throughout been confounded with that of Shawwāl. The same error has crept into *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg, & c.*, p.87.

599 *Tūzūk*, p.63; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 133; *M.J.*, p. 110, n.4. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 22; *T.N.*, p. 90; *M.U.*, vol. III, pp.345-6.

600 *Tūzūk*, p.63; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, pp.133; *M.J.*, p. 110.

vassal,⁶⁰¹ in his *farmān* of appointment referred to the Mīrzā as 'son',⁶⁰² and exalted him with princely privileges, such as holding *salām* ceremonies, and maintaining *qūr*⁶⁰³ and fighting elephants. It was also ordered that on the days of his court *manṣabdārs* upto the rank of 1,000⁶⁰⁴ would stand in his presence with their hands folded and those above that rank would sit at a distance in a respectful manner. The Mīrzā was also allowed to run the provincial administration as he pleased, and was empowered to promote and demote at will the *manṣabdārs* upto the rank of 1,000.

From Lahore the Mīrzā went to Multan, where he was engaged in looking after the affairs of that region and sent Aḥmad Beg Sulṭān, entitled I'timād Khān, to deputize on his behalf at Qandahar.⁶⁰⁵ Then he proceeded to Bhakkar and made necessary arrangements for the administration of the province of Thatta. He was still there when, on 14 Rajab 1017/24 October, Jahāngīr ordered him to betake himself to Qandahar, and curiously enough, as the Mīrzā left Bhakkar the news of the death of the previous governor of Qandahar, Sardār Khān, arrived at court.⁶⁰⁶ On his way to Qandahar via Siwi and Ganjawa, the Mīrzā chastised the refractory

601 *Tūzūk*, pp.62-3; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, pp. 131, 133.

602 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 22; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 345. Also see *T.N.*, p. 90.

603 A collection of flags, arms and insignia which follow the royal march. See Blochmann, p. 52, n.4.

604 *T.N.*, pp. 90-1.

605 *T.T.*, pp. 260-1.

606 *Tūzūk*, p.72; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 151; *M.J.*, p. 118.

elements,⁶⁰⁷ and on his arrival at Qandahar made suitable appointments to various parts of that province; Bhā'ī Khān Luṭf Allāh was sent to subdue the Afghāns,⁶⁰⁸ Rā'i Mānak was entrusted with a campaign against a rebellious servant of Shāh Beg,⁶⁰⁹ Ḥaydar⁶¹⁰ by name. Rā'i Mānak also led a successful punitive expedition against the Hazāras and the Nikūdars and forced their chiefs to acknowledge the authority of the Mīrzā.⁶¹¹

59. *His Relations with Shāh 'Abbās of Persia*

To secure the frontier of Qandahar against Persian intrigues and incursions, the Mīrzā entered into direct diplomatic dialogue with Shāh 'Abbās, of Iran, by dispatching a friendly embassy⁶¹² under Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh, entitled Mīr Khān,⁶¹³ to his court and thus minimized the possibility of the internal dissidents of Qandahar being exploited by the Persians. The Shāh also reciprocated in the like manner and letters and gifts were exchanged between the two sides. Gradually, the relations between Shāh 'Abbās and Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg comes so cordial that the former

607 *T.T.*, p. 261; *Maz.Sh.*, p. 234; P.U.MS., ff. 392b-393a.

608 *T.T.*, p. 261.

609 *Ibid.*; *Maz.Sh.*, p. 335; P.U.MS., f. 393a.

610 See *Infra*, p 404.

611 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 335; P.U.MS., f. 393a.

612 *T.T.*, p. 262.

613 For his particulars, see *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān aur uskī bazm-i adab*, *op.cit.*, pp. 424-31.

addressed the Mīrzā as 'son',⁶¹⁴ and honoured him with a dress of honour at more than one occasions.⁶¹⁵ The Mīrzā's regard also, it seems, transcended considerations of diplomatic expediency and he sung the praises of the Shāh in his eulogies.⁶¹⁶

60. *His Stay at Qandahar*

As regards the internal administration of Qandahar, contrary to the affairs of Thatta, it started off well. Even before the arrival of the Mīrzā, his viceroy, Aḥmad Beg Sulṭān had made plans for the amelioration of the conditions of the local population and army, and had initiated measures for the reconstruction of the region which had been grievously damaged by the besieging Persian forces.⁶¹⁷ Though primarily a Mughul governor, the Mīrzā's personal life was characterized by extreme debauchery and dissoluteness,⁶¹⁸ and his court had all the trappings of an independent monarch. It is worth mentioning, however, that by virtue of his liberal patronage of *belles-lettres*, Qandahar was transformed into a veritable rendezvous for poets and scholars. The fame of his munificence spread far

614 *T.N.*, p. 91.

615 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 23; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 346.

616 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 23.

617 *T.T.*, p. 260.

618 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 29-30. Vincent A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 235, n.2, calls him a 'dissolute scamp.'

and wide and it became well-nigh impossible for the luminaries travelling between Iran and India to resist the temptation of calling at his court. Those who were not fortunate enough to reach his court benefited from his bounties at their homes.⁶¹⁹

After the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhan in harness on 11 Safar 1021/133 April 1612⁶²⁰ under dubious circumstances,⁶²¹ Bhā'ī Khān Luṭf Allāh, son of Khusrau Khān Charkas, assumed the airs of his successor at Qandahar, while his father, who was on his way to Qandahar under the orders of the late Tarkhān chief, retraced his steps to Thatta and enthroning Mīrzā 'Abd al-'Alī Tarkhān,⁶²² the only surviving, minor prince from the line of Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān, himself became his regent.⁶²³ Lest the situation should get out of hand, Jahāngīr rushed Abū al-Bī Ūzbek as the new governor of Qandahar⁶²⁴ and recalled Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān II⁶²⁵ from the Deccan to assign to him the government of Thatta. However,

619 For an exhaustive biography of the Mīrzā, see *Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān aur uskī bazm-i adab*, op. cit.

620 Ibid., p. 118. Authorities widely differ about his date of death. For a detailed discussion, see Ibid., pp. 114-19.

621 Authorities are divided about the mode of his death. According to some he was poisoned, while the others believe he died from excessive drinking. For details, see Ibid., pp. 108-13.

622 *T.T.*, pp. 270-1, *T.N.*, p. 93. Also see *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 41-2; *P.U.MS.*, f. 255.

623 Son of Mīrzā Farrukh, son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh, son of Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān. See *T.N.*, p. 93.

624 Ibid.; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 24-5; 391. According to Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, it was feared that Bhā'ī Khān might hand over Qandahar to the Persians. See Ibid., vol. II, p. 24.

625 He fled to the Mughul court in 1012/1603 during the days of Akbar (*T.N.*, p. 96) and not during the reign of Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān (d. 974/1566-7) as erroneously mentioned by *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 26, 210, and uncritically repeated by *M.U.*, tr., vol. III, p. 408-9.

subsequently, when it was pointed out to the Emperor that the Mīrzā had long been aspiring to become the ruler of his ancestral possessions and once at Thatta, he might be tempted to throw off the yoke of vassalage to the Mughul throne, the Emperor did not want to take the risk.⁶²⁶ Instead, he dispatched Mīr ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ma‘mūrī⁶²⁷ to keep a watch over the affairs of Thatta and induce⁶²⁸ Khusrau Khān to wait upon the Emperor in person and in the meantime looked for a suitable person to head the administration of that region. Mīr Ma‘mūrī handled the situation very prudently, and as soon as the new governor, Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafawī arrived at Thatta, he set out for court with the Prince regent,⁶²⁹ as well as his

626 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 211; *M.U.* tr., vol. III, p. 409. The Emperor, however, exalted him with a rank of 1,000 personal and 500 horse (*Tūzūk*, p. 110). On the death of Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān also appointed the Mīrzā to the government of Thatta, but he was still on his way when 'in keeping with the exigency of time' he was recalled and Shīr Khwāja was dispatched instead. (*A.S.*, vol. I, pp. 239, 226; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 486. Cf. P.U.M.S. Shīr Khwāja died on his way to Thatta and Mīr Ḥussām al-Dīn Injū was sent to replace him. (*A.S.*, vol. I, p. 241.

627 See *Infra*, pp. 346-9.

628 See *T.N.*, p. 94.

629 The Persian text of the *Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī* (p. 117) has two serious errors in this regard and both these errors have gone undetected in English and Urdū translations of the said work. Firstly, in the original text Mīrzā Jānī has been wrongly transcribed as "Mīrzā Khānī" and Tatta has been confounded with Patna (Also see n. above). In their English translation (*Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 240) Rogers and Beveridge arbitrarily changed "Mīrzā Khānī" to "Mīrzā Khān", but left Patna as it was. I‘jāz al-Ḥaqq Quddūsī (*Tūzūk*, tr., vol. I, p. 396) in his Urdū translation seems to have followed Rogers and Beveridge on this point. Nevertheless, in the explanatory note that he has added on "Mīrzā Khān", the latter has been described as "Mīrzā Khān b. Mīrzā Īrāj Shāhnawāz Khān b. Khān-Khānān ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān" (*Ibid.*, p. 416, n.4). The fact of the matter, however, is that "Mīrzā Khānī" is a transcriptional error for Mīrzā Jānī, (Tarkhān ruler of Thatta and father of Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān). Similarly, Patna is a misreading for Tatta (Thatta).

minor protegee⁶³⁰ and arrived there on 26 Rabī' I 1022/16 May 1613.⁶³¹ While Khusrau Khān and 'Abd al-'Alī were consigned to gaol⁶³² and the household

630 *T.N.*, p. 94. Jahāngīr (*Tūzūk*, p. 117) makes no reference to his arrival.

631 *Tūzūk*, p. 117; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 240. *Tūzūk* tr., vol. I, p. 396 erroneously has: 6 Rabī' I 1022.

632 Whereas Jahāngīr's own statement in the *Tūzūk* (p.117) does not give any clue to the fate of Khusrau Khān Charkas, or any of his companions, according to *T.N.*, pp. 94-5), he, together with his son Luṭf Allāh and 'Abd al-'Alī Tarkhān, was sent to jail where subsequently he died. The latter two were however released on the intercession of Nūr Jahān. 'Abd al-'Alī's services were placed at the disposal of Āṣaf Khān (d.1051/1641) whom he served until his death in 1039/1629-30. It is worth mentioning here that the inscription on 'Abd al-'Alī's grave in Thatta gives 9 Rajab 1040/11 February 1631 as the date of his death. See *M.N.*, p. 540n.; *T.K.*, p. 215.

According to Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, Luṭf Allāh was received very kindly by Jahāngīr (*Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 23-4), while 'Abd al-'Alī was awarded life imprisonment (*Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 24-5; 391).

Bearing in mind the fact that Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī completed his work sometime around 1061/1650-1 and the *Tarkhān Nāma* was completed in 1065/1654-5, several years after the death of 'Abd al-'Alī Tarkhān, the divergence of opinion between these two Sindhī authors is quite bewildering. Nevertheless, truth seem to be on the *Tarkhān Nāma's* side. Being a history of the Tarkhāns of Sind written on the request of one of the Tarkhān princes, Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān, it would not be unfair to assume that its author would have made necessary enquiries before committing to paper anything about 'Abd al-'Alī, who was a cousin of his patron. Secondly, Shaykh Farīd's statement purports that 'Abd al-'Alī was languishing in jail at the time of the writing of the *Dhakhīrat al-Khwānīn*. Unless it is accepted that he wrote his work over a number of years and did not find opportunity to bring it up-to-date before his death, it is anachronistic, because Mīrzā 'Abd-'Alī had died in 1040/1631.

As far as Khusrau Charkas is concerned, he might have been imprisoned to start with, but he seems to have died as a free man, and was buried at Ajmer. See *T.K.*, p. 216, n.1.

of Mīrzā Ghāzī was honoured with the appropriate *manṣabs* in Imperial service and granted *madad-i ma'āsh* lands, the one time camp-followers of the late Tarkhan chief joined the service of Mirza 'Īsā Tarkhān II.⁶³³ With this finale, the Tarkhān and Arghūn influence in Thatta was effectively wounded up and Thatta passed under direct Imperial rule.

633 *T.N.*, pp. 94-5.

Section II: THE AUTHOR AND HIS FAMILY

1. *Yūsuf Mīrak*

"The book that he has made," writes Richard de Bury,¹ "renders its author this service in return, that so long as the book survives, its author remains immortal and cannot die." Nothing can perhaps more aptly testify to the truth of this remark than the example of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*'s author. Scion of an outstanding family of Imperial *manṣabdārs* with an enormous contribution to the literary and cultural heritage of Sind to its credit, close associate of several Mughul *jāgīrdārs*, and, last but not the least, writer of an unparalleled work of historical significance about the country of his adoption (*waṭan-i ikhtiyārī*), Yūsuf Mīrak did not find even a passing mention in his contemporary, or later, annals and biographies, until his own book, the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, was, by a fluke of chance,² retrieved from an oblivion of more than three and a quarter centuries, and procured for him a well deserved place of pride among historians of Sind and the writers of 'Mirrors for Princes' in India at large. Quite naturally, our knowledge of him is entirely derived from the incidental remarks that sporadically occur in his book. But unfortunately they do little to elucidate the details of the early years of his life. The earliest information about him in the book goes back to Ramaḍān 1016/December-January 1607, when his father, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn, was transferred from the *thānadārī*³ of Bajaur to the *jāgīrdārī* of Sihwan and he dispatched Yūsuf Mīrak at the head of an advance

1 Richard de Bury, *Philobiblon*, Ch.i, sec. 21, quoted in Burton Stevenson, *The Home Book of Quotations*, New York, 1967, Tenth Edn., p. 2256.

2 See *Maz. Sh.*, Introduction, pp. 1-4.

3 A *thānadār* was also a *jāgīrdār* in his capacity as a *manṣabdār*.

party to look after the affairs of that place until his arrival.⁴ Before his appointment at Bajaur, Mīr Namakīn had served at various places, including Bhakkar, Sihwan and Jalalabad; in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it would be only fair to assume that our author accompanied his father to all these places. Be that as it may, within a few months of his arrival at Sihwan, Mīr Namakīn was obliged to leave the administration of his *jāgīr* in the hands of his elder son, Mīr Abū al-Baqā', and himself went to Qandahar in the company of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān.⁵ Apparently, Yūsuf Mīrak also stayed back at Sihwan. After almost one year when Mīr Namakīn passed away, Jahāngīr conferred the *jāgīr* of Sihwan on Abū al-Baqā' and Shamshīr Beg Ūzbek collectively. Disenchanted with the latter's participation in the *jāgīr* which he had managed singlehandedly in the absence of his father, Mīr Abū al-Baqā' hastened to Agra with his entire family.⁶ Being a man of a rather independent character, Yūsuf Mīrak would seem to have parted company with his brother at this juncture. He renounced his *manṣab* and contenting himself with something of a *madad-i ma'āsh* (subsistence allowance), chose to live at Sihwan permanently.⁷ His deep insight into the administrative problems of the region, however, always stood him in good stead. As he was a man of considerable personal courage and independent opinion, the successive Mughul administrators of the region never hesitated to approach him for his counsel and advice.

4 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 114; P.U. MS., f. 307a.

5 *Infra*, p. 166.

6 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 121-2; P.U. MS., f. 312a-b.

7 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 122; P.U. MS., f. 313a.

In the beginning of Shāhjahān's reign, the *jāgīrdārī* of Sihwan was entrusted to the Emperor's father-in-law and *wakīl* Nawwāb Āsaf Khān's nephew, Aḥmad Beg Khān⁸ by name. The latter showed little interest in the affairs of State and spent most of his time within the four walls of the harem. His authority was exercised by his brother, Mirzā Yūsuf, who derived great pleasure from inflicting physical as well as mental torture on the local populace and strove to increase his own fortunes in utter disregard of moral principles. As a consequence of the latter's repressive policies the administrative organization of the region caved in and rebellious tribes reverted to their headstrong ways. The situation at the headquarters was none too satisfactory. Mirzā Yūsuf's hirelings openly robbed the people in the streets, levied exorbitant taxes on traders, and exacted revenue from whom-ever and at whatever rate they liked. Movement within the region was possible only with the written permission (*dastak*) of the Mirzā, while the life and the honour of the local inhabitants were publically flouted under his auspices. Being an arrant rogue of pathological leanings in the perpetration of oppression he made no distinction between high and low and treated equally disgracefully the aged and the womenfolk of the unfortunate town. When nobody knew where to turn for relief and redress of his grievances, a solitary voice of protest was heard and that was the voice of Yūsuf Mīrak. He openly gave vent to his spleen against the misrule and moral turpitude of Mirzā Yūsuf and reproached Aḥmad Beg Khān for his impotence in putting an end to the brutalities of his brother.⁹ Shaken from his long stupor, Aḥmad Beg Khān hesitatingly set about taking some remedial measures and led some

8 For his particulars, see *infra*, pp.393-5.

9 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 154-9; P.U. MS., ff. 338-b-343a.

punitive campaigns against the refractory elements. At times, Yūsuf Mīrak also accompanied him, but finally, apprehending a retaliation by Mirzā Yūsuf, he took leave of Aḥmad Beg Khān at Samitani and under the pretext of visiting Jūnēja, which lay in the *jāgīr* of his brother, headed for Multan where Mīr Abū al-Baqā' acted as governor on behalf of Nawwāb Āṣaf Khān. As soon as the real intention of Yūsuf Mīrak dawned upon Aḥmad Beg Khān, the latter dispatched a special emissary to prevail upon him to return to Sihwan and at the same time instructed his subordinates at Bhakkar to intercept Mīrak and dissuade him from proceeding to Multan. These frantic efforts of Aḥmad Beg Khān, however did not succeed and Yūsuf Mīrak reached Multan unimpeded. From Multan, he thought, he would be able to undertake a journey to Agra where he intended to personally inform the Emperor of the woeful condition to which Aḥmad Beg and his depraved brother had reduced the people of Sihwan, but before long Abū al-Baqā' was ordered to take over as the governor of Thatta and Aḥmad Beg was sent to Multan to replace him.¹⁰ Mir Abū al-Baqā' was not a novice in the art of government, nor in the etiquette of court life, and the conspiracies that surrounded it were not lost upon his wisdom. Expediency did not permit him to let his brother proceed on his idealistic errand. Consequently, he took Yūsuf Mīrak to Thatta with him and promised to send him to court as soon as the arrangements for the journey had been made. Soon after his arrival at Thatta, Yūsuf Mīrak was taken ill. Meanwhile, on the one hand the departure of Aḥmad Beg Khān and his brother from Sihwan obviated the urgency of the expedition, on the other, the fact that a grossly incompetent person, such as Aḥmad Beg Khān, who undoubtedly deserved a demotion and deterrent retribution, had been rewarded with the governorship of Multan which was far more important and prosperous place in comparison to Sihwan

10 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 160-1; P.U. MS., ff. 343a-344b.

sufficiently drove home to Yūsuf Mīrak the futility of pursuing the matter any further. The geographical position of Multan, lying as it did athwart the route to the capital, must have also dampened his enthusiasm. Thus, he vowed to God that on his recovery he would write a book about the affairs of Sind and present it to the Emperor.¹¹ Such a book he did write but it could not be completed before 19 Muḥarram 1044/15 July 1634.¹² Whether he obtained the honour of presenting it to Shāhjahān, to whom it was dedicated, and if he did, how far his recommendations for the reformation of the Mughul administration in Sind were heeded, are questions to which in the present state of our knowledge no definite answers can be given. But given the fact that the book dealt at length with the misrule of Aḥmad Beg Khān and the brutalities of his brother, Mirzā Yūsuf, who were nephews of the Prime Minister Nawwāb Āṣaf Khān and cousins to the Emperor's favourite queen, Nūr Maḥal, the odds are that it had not been felt expedient to bring it to the notice of Shāhjahān. It remained with the author until 1048/1638-9, when he finally made it over to his nephew, Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf, for safe custody.¹³

As long as Mīr Abū al-Baqā' remained the governor of Thatta, Yūsuf Mīrak would seem to have stayed with him, but around Shawwāl 1041/May 1632¹⁴ when the former was transferred to Junagadh he accompanied him as far as the village Raḥmān on the border of the desert of Kachh whence he returned to Sihwan.¹⁵ Here, as usual, he stood high in the favour of the new Mughul *jāgīrdār* Dīndār Khān by name. He admired the leniency, piety and humanitarian

11 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 162; P.U. MS., f. 344b.

12 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 257; P.U. MS., f. 410-a-b.

13 See the author's note on the fly-leaf of the P.U. MS. It is also reproduced in *Maz.Sh.*, Introduction, p. 85.

14 See *T.A.Kh.*, p. 100.

15 *Maz.Sh.*, P.U. MS., f. 95.

approach of Dīndār Khān,¹⁶ but lashed out at the weak rule and the misconduct of his officials.

Like the early years of Yūsuf Mīrak's life the circumstance of his old age and death are also unknown. The available sources shed little light on the place of his burial, but presumably he died at Sihwan and was buried there.

2. *His Father*

Yūsuf Mīrak's father, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn, was the first person of his family to set foot on Indian soil. He traced his origin to a distinguished branch of the Ḥusaynī Sayyids of Harat whose main task it was to look after the Shrine of the eight Shī'ī Imām, 'Alī al-Riḍā¹⁷ (d.203/818) at Mashhad in eastern Iran. The rise to power of Shaybānī Khān Ūzbek¹⁸ in 906/1500-1 in Central Asia, heralded an era of strife and turmoil which lasted for a long time. An empire builder cast in the mould of his ancestor, Chingīz Khān, Shaybānī Khān overran Samarqand, Bukhara, Tashqand and Farghana in quick succession and gradually brought the whole of Khurasan under his sway. In 913/1507-8, as we have seen earlier, he wrested Harat from the weak hands of the imbecile and mutually warring descendants of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, but within a span of three years in 916/1510 lost it to his sworn enemy the Ṣafawid dynast Shāh Ismā'īl in a fierce battle in which he was killed and his body was hacked to pieces in cold blood to be dispatched to different parts of the

16 For his particulars, see *infra*, pp.358-9.

17 T.K. tr., p. 393.

18 For his early career, see *R.S.*, vol. VII. pp. 197-201; *H.S.*, vol. III, iii, pp. 299-303; *B.N.*, *passim*.

Ṣafawid empire. His head was stuffed with straw and sent to the Ottoman Sultān Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512) at Constantinople, his skull was converted into a drinking-cup as a trophy of war for the vindictive conqueror,¹⁹ and a hand was conveyed by a special messenger to Āqā Rustam Rūzafzūn, the ruler of Mazandaran, who had boasted of his alliance with him on a previous occasion.²⁰ The fall of Harat to the Shī'ite Qizilbāshs was certainly a bitter pill to swallow for the overwhelmingly Sunnī populace of this beleaguered city and brought in its wake an unprecedented wave of religious persecution. Until the middle of the 10th/16th century the entire region of Khurasan, and especially Harat, was several times almost alternately harried by the Ūzbek and Qizilbāsh hordes. The frequent fanatic outrages of the contending parties against the people of the opposite sectarian denominations,²¹ constant uncertainty and persistent threat to life and property resulted in a huge exodus of the local population. Included in this uninterrupted stream of refugees was one Mullā Mīr Sabzwārī,²² a man of scholarly background as is indicated by his title, resident of Bujaq,²³ a dependency of Harat,

19 E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, C.U.P., 1959 repr., vol. IV, p. 65; Ghulam Sarwar, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

20 *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, pp. 63-4.

21 E.G. Browne, *op.cit.*, pp. 63, 94; *H.S.*, vol. III, iv, p. 71; *Shāh Tahmāsb Ṣafawī*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, Tehran, 1350 H.Sh., p. 31.

22 *T.K.* tr., p. 393.

23 For various transcriptions of this name, see *Ibid.* and *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 6-7 and n.2 on p.6. The correct form is, however, *Bajaq* as recorded by Yūsuf Mīrak in P.U. MS., f. 5b. It is a village in the Anardara subdistrict of Sabzwar, 3 miles southwest of Ziken. It is also called Kārīz Muḥammad Ādhar Khān and is now inhabited by twenty houses of Ghūrīza'ī and Jījī Nūrza'īs. In recent maps the place is spelled Bojuk. See *Herat and Northwest Afghanistan*, pp. 55-6.

whose future generations were destined to rise to the highest glory under the Mughul Emperors of India. Like numerous other displaced persons, Mullā Mīr and his dependants also trekked to the south-eastern marches of the erstwhile Tīmūrid kingdom of Harat. When his caravan reached the outskirts of Qandahar, the Mullā suddenly passed away.²⁴ Thereafter what befell his family, friends and relatives who accompanied him on this arduous journey is now difficult to ascertain. All that can be established on the basis of the *Dhakhīrat al-Khwānīn* is that the Mullā's son, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim at some stage travelled to Kabul and entered the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm²⁵ (d. 993/1585), the half-brother of Akbar who ruled virtually as the king of that territory.²⁶ The tiny principality of Kabul, however, proved too small for the realization of the dreams of the exuberant Abū al-Qasim who, either impelled by his spirit of enterprise or forced by some developments at Kabul, or because of both, moved farther afield and waited upon Emperor Akbar, at Lahore,²⁷ who in due course bestowed upon him Bhēra and Khūshāb, in the Punjab, as *jāgīr*.²⁸ The grant of these important frontier outposts²⁹ in the direction of Kabul with whose ruler Akbar's relations

24 T.K. tr., p. 393.

25 Dh.Kh., vol. I, p. 198; M.U., vol. III, p. 73.

26 See Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul 1542-1605*, 1966, 3rd repr., p. 25.

27 T.K. tr., p. 393.

28 Dh.Kh., vol. I, p. 198; M.U., vo. III, p. 73.

29 B.N., p.378.

were certainly far from being cordial, to somebody who had only recently emigrated from that kingdom was in sharp contrast to the cautious policy of Akbar³⁰ and his successors in similar situations and as such, spoke volumes for the trust Akbar reposed in the loyalty and talents of this new emigre to his court. Though the circumstances of the Mīr's defection to the rival court might also have contributed to this extraordinary favour, yet there is little doubt that he was fully conversant with the tact and finesse which were an essential part of court life and etiquette. Taking advantage of the proximity of his *jāgīr* to the Salt Range in the Sind Sāgar Dōāb, to emphasize his faithfulness to Akbar, the Mīr presented to him a cup and a plate³¹ and some other utensils³² and thus made a subtle allusion to the fact that he would remain loyal to his salt.³³ The shrewd monarch also reciprocated in the same light-hearted manner and favoured him with the nickname of *Namākīn*,³⁴ an appropriate acknowledgement of his noble sentiments and the ingenuity with which he had exhibited them to the Emperor. Henceforward the cognomen of *Namākīn* became an inseparable part of Mīr Abū al-Qāsim's name.

After the consolidation of his power at the centre, Akbar looked forward to extending the boundaries of his empire to the sea and for a number of reasons

30 See *T.S.*, p. 245.

31 *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 73.

32 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 198.

33 For the use of the term *namakḥalāl*, see *Zafar Nāma*, vol. II, p. 39. Also see *B.N.*, pp. 50, 325, 397 where its antonym *namakḥarām* ('traitor to his salt') is used.

34 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 198; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 73.

Gujarat, which had been under the sway of Humāyūn for a short time, seemed just an ideal place to start with this expansionist programme.³⁵

It is in connection with this campaign that for the first time Mīr Namakīn's name is seen in the Mughul chronicles. Akbar departed from Patan on his way to Aḥmadabad on 7 Rajab 980/13 November 1572. As he approached Chōtāna it was brought to his notice that Sulṭān Muḥaffar Gujarātī was wandering in a distracted state in that vicinity. The Emperor dispatched forthwith Mīr Khān Yasāwal and Farīd Qarāwal to investigate the matter and on their heels sent Mīr Namakīn and Karam 'Alī for the same purpose. However, in the meantime, Mīr Khān discovered Sulṭān Muḥaffar, who was hiding in a corn-field, and presented him before Akbar.³⁶ The available sources shed no light whatsoever on the subsequent activities of Mīr Namakīn, but presumably he participated in various expeditions associated with Akbar's campaign for the conquest of Gujarat and returned to Faṭḥpūr Sikrī with the royal entourage on 2 Ṣafar 981/3 June 1573.³⁷

Akbar's departure for Gujarat coincided with the death of Sulaymān Karārānī, the Afghān ruler of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the news of this occurrence arrived the Imperial camp when the Emperor was well on his way to Gujarat. Although a large number of nobles counselled Akbar to turn his reins to the eastern provinces, he preferred to press on with the Gujarat campaign. Mun'im Khān Khān-i Khānān was, however, directed to take necessary measures for the annexation of those regions to the Mughul empire.³⁸

35 See Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 78-9.

36 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 6.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Sulaymān was succeeded by his elder son, Bāyazīd who in sharp contrast to the policy of appeasement successfully followed by his father towards the Mughuls over a number of years, assumed all the insignia of royalty and ordered the recitation of *khutba* and striking of coins in his own name. Though the Bengal nobility soon supplanted him with his younger brother Dā'ūd, the policy initiated under his reign was not at all modified.³⁹

In fact, emboldened by the enormous military might Sulaymān Karārānī had bequeathed to his sons, Dā'ūd went even a step further and occupied the fort of Zamāniya⁴⁰ on the frontiers of Jaunpur. The hostilities which ensued this incident lasted for almost four years, during which Akbar personally supervised the reduction of the forts of Hājīpūr and Patna in 982/1574.⁴¹

This was followed a few months later by the famous battle of Tukaroi⁴² between the Afghāns and the Mughuls. Included in the left wing of the Mughul army,⁴³ Mīr Namakīn, together with other generals, played a crucial role in turning the imminent Afghān victory into a disastrous defeat for the enemy.⁴⁴

The smouldering embers of Afghān disaffection, nevertheless, continued to flash intermittently until finally Dā'ūd was captured and decapitated on 15 Rabī'II 984/12 July 1576⁴⁵ and with that Mīr Namakīn's association with the war efforts

39 Ibid., p. 20.

40 Ibid., pp. 21-2.

41 Ibid., pp. 95-101.

42 The correct name of the place is Tukra. For its location, see Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 72.

43 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 123.

44 Ibid., p. 125.

45 Ibid., p. 182.

came full circle. The court chronicler Abū al-Faḍl, quite naturally, does not mention him by name at the turn of every event, but the available references in the *Akbar Nāma* leave little doubt about the significance of his contributions. He seems to have generally served under the command of Rājā Tōdar Mal, and barring the mishap in the surprise attack of Junayd Karārānī,⁴⁶ a cousin of Dā'ūd,⁴⁷ on the Imperialist troops, the Mīr fully justified the confidence placed in him by his colleagues and superiors. Nevertheless, a vague remark of Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī suggests that sometime during this protracted warfare against Dā'ūd a golden elephant-chain was found in the Mīr's house, as a consequence of which he suffered a setback in his proximity (*qurb*) to the Emperor.⁴⁸ The author of the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* also uncritically, and like numerous other extracts from the *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, of Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, without any acknowledgement, reproduces the above remark.⁴⁹ However, without attributing any motives to the aforementioned authorities, in the absence of any corroborative evidence in the relatively more contemporary sources, such as the *Akbar Nāma*, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, or the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, and particularly bearing in mind the glowing and unconditional tribute paid by Akbar to the Mīr at the time of the latter's subsequent appointment to Bhakkar, to the effect that "right from the beginning of his service up until the time of the issuance of this *farmān* every assignment that was entrusted to him, he accomplished to the august conscience's satisfaction,"⁵⁰ all that can be surmised is that either

46 Ibid., pp. 119-20. Cf. *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 303; *M.T.*, vol. II, p. 193; *M.R.*, vol. I, p. 827.

47 *T.A.*, vol. II, p. 303. Cf. Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 104, where he is wrongly described as Dā'ūd's uncle.

48 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 198.

49 *M.U.*, vol. III, pp. 73-4.

50 For the text of this *farmān*, see Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn, *Munsha'āt al-Namakīn*, I.O. MS., 1535.

Shaykh Farīd was misinformed, or, if there was any basis for such a report, the Mīr succeeded in clearing his name honourably before long.

In the wake of Akbar's important administrative and financial reforms which were grossly mismanaged by his officers and greatly detested by his nobles, and as a direct consequence of a shift over the years in his religious beliefs and policies which in the eyes of his opponents and the orthodoxy verged on apostasy, when his court, and especially the eastern provinces of Bengal and Bihar became a hotbed of seditious conspiracy, intrigue and armed insurrection, and the possibility, though a remote one, of his ambitious half-brother, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, supplanting Akbar on the throne of India seriously stared in the face of the Emperor,⁵¹ the gallant Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn is once again seen stalking across the bloody scene in Bengal. Here he served in the Imperial army which inflicted a crushing blow on Ma'ṣūm Khan Farankhūdī, one of the chief rebels.⁵² Similarly, subsequent to two successive inroads of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's generals into the Indian territory⁵³ and then the Mīrzā's own abortive attempt at taking Lahore by storm,⁵⁴ when Akbar finally mustered and led probably the greatest army of his entire career⁵⁵ against the ruler of Kabul, at a time when the line of distinction between the loyal and the otherwise in the Imperial camp had become extremely blurred,⁵⁶ the Mīr in consonance with

51 See Vincent A. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 132-3.

52 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 331.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 336, 494.

54 *Ibid.*, pp., p. 494.

55 R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1974, p. 267.

56 *A.N.*, vol. III, pp. 355-8.

his brilliant record of fidelity to his master, was one of the outstanding generals who were chosen to spearhead the royal march upon Kabul under the command of Prince Murād.⁵⁷ These men, supported by dedicated troops, after a stubbornly fought battle victoriously entered Kabul and stamped out the Mīrzā's rebellion once and for all. As far as the significance of the successful culmination of this campaign against Mīrzā Ḥakīm is concerned, V.A. Smith⁵⁸ has aptly remarked that now "Akbar could feel that he had put all enemies under his feet, that his life and throne were secure, and that he could do what he pleased in religion and all other matters of internal administration. The success of the Kabul expedition gave him an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career. His power was now established so firmly that he was able to take extraordinary liberties with his people and defy criticism with absolute impunity."

Consequently upon Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's death on 16 Amurdād 993/7 August⁵⁹ 1585 when Kabul became a province of the Mughul empire,⁶⁰ the need for restraining the vigorous spirit of independence of the Afghāns, particularly the Yūsufza'is, who inhabited and virtually controlled the highway to and from Kabul, became all the more imperative. During Akbar's last march to Kabul some of their chiefs had waited upon the Emperor and promised to behave in the future. One of these latter, Kālū by name was shown great consideration by the Emperor and even inducted into Imperial service. The

57 Ibid., p. 518.

58 Vincent A. Smith, p. 144.

59 A.N., vol. III, p. 466.

60 Vincent A. Smith, p. 166.

Yūsufza'īs, however, soon resumed their predatory activities and Kālū escaped from the court. He was, however recaptured at Attock and sent back to court, but he again fled to his home country and assumed the leadership of the Afghāns.⁶¹

During his sojourn at Rawalpindi, on 9 Day 994/30 December 1585 the Emperor on the one hand dispatched Zayn Khān Kūka to chastise the Yūsufza'īs and conquer Swat and Bajaur, and on the other entrusted Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn, Rā'ī Rā'isingh and others, with the important task of subduing the refractory tribes of Baluchistan.⁶² The Balūches submitted after a brief resistance and on 19 Farwardīn 994/8 April 1586 the victorious Mughul army under the command of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān waited upon the Emperor at Attock and produced before him such Balūch chiefs as Ghāzī Khān, Chīta, Bahādur Khān, Nuṣrat Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān.⁶³ The Emperor honoured them with robes and horses and restored them to their respective territories.⁶⁴ This coincided with the adoption of large-scale punitive measures against the Yūsufza'īs, who though initially chastised by Zayn Khān Kūka, had inflicted a crushing blow on the Imperial troops and killed as many as 500 men including Rāja Bīrbar, a boon-companion of Akbar. The shock was so astounding that Akbar dispatched Prince Murād at the head of a expedition against the Yūsufza'īs.⁶⁵ However, the Prince was later replaced by Rāja Tōdar Mal, who in due course gave his place to Rāja Mān Singh⁶⁶ and himself returned to court. Subsequently,

61 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 475.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 475-6.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 488.

64 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 488.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 485.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 487.

when Mān Singh was also ordered to proceed to Kabul, the command of the campaign was entrusted to Ismā'il Qulī Khān, and distinguished commanders, such as Mādhu Sing, Sa'id Khān Gakhar, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn, & c., were sent to accompany him.⁶⁷ The measures taken by Ismā'il Qulī Khān and his companions coupled with the scarcity of food and outbreak of some mysterious disease among the Afghāns, reduced the latter to severe straits and Afghān chiefs Sulṭān Quraysh, Būstān, Kālū and Sulṭān Bāyazid, came out of the hill country and pleaded with Ismā'il Qulī Khān for his intercession with the Emperor on their behalf.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, this partial success of the Mughul arms failed to drive home the advantage of peace with the Mughuls to the vast population of the sturdy Yūsufza'is spread over a considerable part of the difficult hill terrain spanning the region between Kabul and the Indus. To make matters more confused the Raushanā'iyya⁶⁹ leader Jalāla fled from Tirah and took refuge with the Yūsufza'is.⁷⁰ This sparked off a series of new military initiatives against the latter. Akbar ordered Zayn Khān Kūka to march upon Swat and Bajaur from Kabul. The Imperial troops stationed at Jamrud and Bangash were put on the alert against the possibility of Jalāla's flight through those parts and Ismā'il Qulī Khān was ordered to proceed to Qibla Ayāzī from Ohind and keep an eye on Ashanghar.⁷⁰ Ṣādiq Khān was dispatched from court to take up position in the plain of Swat and a body of troops under the command of Jagan Nāth was rushed to reinforce Zayn Khān.⁷¹

67 Ibid., p. 492.

68 Ibid., p. 495.

69 For details about this movement, see S.A.A. Rizvi, *Rawshaniyya Movement, Abr-Nahrain*, vol. VI, pp. 63-91, vol. VII, pp. 62-98.

70 A.N., vol. III, p. 525.

71 Ibid., p. 526.

Ṣādiq Khān's arrival at the war front offended Ismā'īl Qulī Khān who left unattended the path to Tirah and returned to court.⁷² His departure however, had no ostensible effect on such fellow commanders as Mīr Namakīn, because when Āṣaf Khān was sent to take the place of Ismā'īl Qulī, it appears their services were also put at his command. Meanwhile Jalāla fled towards Kabul and his family was delivered up to the Mughuls by the Afghāns.⁷³ This was followed by the conquest of Bajaur by Zayn Khan Kūka, who shortly afterwards, with the help of Jagan Nāth and Āṣaf Khān, established Mughul control over Swat. After the fall of Swat Āṣaf Khan took leave to return to court and from Malakand went off his post. Mīr Namakīn was also about to follow suit when the Afghāns led by Muḥammad Baḥrī and Malik Asghar launched a surprise attack on Sarōbī. The Mīr who was soon joined by Shīr Khān, fought manfully and inflicted grievous loss on the Afghān adventurers.⁷⁴

Towards the close of Amurdād 997/August 1589 when Akbar on his way back from Kashmir was just about to enter the valley of Mastang, the Mīr arrived from Swat, together with the rebel Yūsufza'ī chief Kālū, who in desperation had sought asylum with him, and waited upon the Emperor near the tomb of the latter's favourite pigeon-fancier Khwāja Ṣandal, and did his homage. Thanks to the good offices of the Mīr, Kālū who had a long record of flouting Mughul authority was spared his life and sent to prison⁷⁵ and the Mīr, it seems, once again returned to Swat or thereabouts.

On 15 Farwardīn 1001/4 April 1596 the Mīr returned from his *tuyūl*

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid., pp. 493-4.

74 Ibid., pp. 532-3.

75 Ibid., p. 559.

somewhere in the north-west and obtained the privilege of an audience with the Emperor.⁷⁶ Shortly before him, the Khān-i Khānān 'Abd Al-Raḥīm Khān had also returned from Sind with Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān, the vanquished ruler of Thatta.⁷⁷ Consequently, the regions of Multan and Bhakkar which had till then been in the *jāgīr* of the Khān-i Khānān in order to facilitate his campaign against the lower Sind, were now distributed by the Emperor between Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān and Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn. The Tarkhān chief received a *manṣab* of 3,000 and was appointed the governor of Multan,⁷⁸ while the *sarkār* of Bhakkar, except for the *parganas* of Darbēla, Kākri, and Chandūka, which were already in the *jāgīr* of Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī,⁷⁹ passed under Mīr Namakīn as his new *jāgīr* and he was also made responsible for the maintenance and defence of the fort of Bhakkar. Besides, all the *jāgīrdārs* of the area, and of the surrounding regions, were instructed to extend all possible help to the Mīr in his efforts to crush refractory elements.⁸⁰

It was during his stay at Bhakkar that Mīr Namakīn, together with Sayyid Bahā' al-Dīn Bukhārī, the *tuyūldār* of Ūchh, Bakhtyār Beg, the *iqtā'dār* of Siwistan, Mīr Ma'ṣūm, and other soldiers from the province of Multan, was ordered to lead a punitive expedition against the Pannī Afghāns

76 Ibid., p. 637.

77 Ibid., p. 633.

78 Ibid., p. 637.

79 T.S., p. 251.

80 See n. 50 above.

of Siwī. Siwi was a frontier outpost which lay on the route to Qandahar whose possession had developed into an issue of honour and prestige between the rulers of two mighty empires of Asia, Iran and India. Hence its strategic importance from the Mughul point of view could hardly be overemphasized. Traditionally, it was a dependency of Bhakkar, but encouraged by the weakness of the successive *jāgīrdārs* of Bhakkar, it had gradually slipped out of the Mughul control. Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl reasserted the Mughul authority through a successful expedition led by his son in 984/1576,⁸¹ but this phase did not last long. In 997/1588-9, Shīrūya Sultān made a half-hearted attempt to recapture the town and for this purpose sent an army under the command of his son, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Beg, but the latter sustained heavy losses and the entire campaign ended in a fiasco.⁸² This further emboldened the Afghāns, who were henceforth living in virtual independence from the Mughul rule. A distinguished veteran as Mīr Namakīn was of numerous actions against the hardy Afghāns and Balūches during the past more than one decade, there could have been scarcely any better choice than him to chastise these turbulent creatures. To start with, the Mīr exacted a submission from the *zamīndārs* of Ganjāba and other chiefs of that region, such as Daryā Khān and Dā'ūd and then pushed on towards Siwī where he arrived on 3 Isfand 1003/22 February 1595. The Pannī Afghāns came out with a strength of 5,000 men to fight, but after a short engagement they were defeated. Consequently, they shut themselves up in the fort of Siwī, but as soon as the Imperialists set about opening the fort by force, the garrison came to terms and made its submission.⁸³ Mīr Namakīn imposed a fixed seasonal

81 *M.T.*, vol. II, p. 245.

82 *T.S.*, pp. 249-50.

83 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 666.

tribute on the Afghāns which was realized from them even as late as 1044/1634-35.⁸⁴ The successful execution of this campaign not only stamped out a possible source of concern in a sensitive border region, but also convinced the wavering Ṣafawid prince. Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā,⁸⁵ of the untenability of his position *vis-a-vis* the Mughuls at that advanced and precarious stage of his negotiations with the Mughul officials for his defection to India.⁸⁶

The Mīr also proposed to bring under effective control the tract of Kīch-Makrān, which though traditionally a part of Sind professed only nominal loyalty to the Mughuls.⁸⁷ But, since this region bordered on the Ṣafawid provinces of Kirmān and Sijistan, and was in close proximity to the port of Hurmuz,⁸⁸ Akbar, according to Yūsuf Mīrak, in deference to his friendship with Shāh ‘Abbās I did not allow this scheme to be put into operation.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the Shāh did not reciprocate these sentiments and as soon as the opportunity offered itself he brought the ruler of this region under his vassalage without any compunction.⁹⁰

According to Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī⁹¹ during his first tenure at Bhakkar, the Mīr was accused of the oppressive treatment of the peasants and the

84 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 28-9.

85 For his antecedents, see *infra*.

86 See Riazul Islam, p.60,n.2.

87 *A.A.A.*, vol. II, p. 958.

88 *Ibid*.

89 *Maz.Sh.* ., p. 28.

90 *A.A.A.*, vol. II, pp. 861-2. During Shāhjahān's reign these regions once again became under Mughul control. See *Ad. Al.* ., vol. I, p. 26.

91 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 198-9.

arbābs and he was transferred from Bhakkar. The aggrieved parties followed him to court and appealed for the redress of their grievances. Mīr ‘Abd al-Ḥay, the *qāḍī* of the royal camp, issued summons to the Mīr, but the latter failed to appear before the *qāḍī*. The *qāḍī* reported the matter to the Emperor who ordered the Mīr to be tied to the foot of an elephant and paraded through the city. Meanwhile, the Mīr, in consultation with Shaykh Ma‘rūf, the *ṣadr* of Bhakkar, paid some money to the complainants and persuaded them to go back to Bhakkar as soon as possible. The following day the Mīr appeared before the Emperor and complained against the *qāḍī* that the latter was trying to harrass him on the basis of some baseless charges. The *qāḍī* tried in vain to produce the complainants in support of his summons. Thereupon Akbar decreed the preparation of descriptive rolls of complainants before their appearance before the Emperor.

The picture of Mīr Namakīn that emerges from the aforementioned incident is not only diametrically opposed to the image of an extremely noble and conscientious man that one conjures up from his own writings,⁹² but also flies in the face of the overwhelming evidence provided by his son in favour of his being a farsighted, sagacious and considerate administrator.⁹³ Nonetheless, coming as it does from the pen of somebody who counted himself among the Mīr's pupils it cannot be brushed aside lightly.

The wheel of defensive and offensive military operations that went into motion with Akbar's departure for the Punjab in 994/1585-6 had two basic objectives, that is, to overawe ‘Abd Allāh Khān Ūzbek and to keep a

92 See his note reproduced by Rāshidī (*T.A.Kh.*, pp. 67-8) from *Gauhar-i Manzūm*, an unpublished diary of Miyān Ghulām ‘Alī Maddāh.

93 See *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 108-9.

close watch by the Emperor on all the prospective theatres of war which spread from Kashmir to Baluchistan⁹⁴ and stemmed from what A.L. Srivastava⁹⁵ terms, Akbar's "quest for scientific frontiers". A tribute to the practical genius, military prowess and inexhaustible physical energy of Akbar, the realization of these goals, except for the failure to completely eradicate the Afghān hostility towards the Mughuls which continued to be a perennial source of concern even to the successors of Akbar, kept the indefatigable monarch constantly on the move away from the capital of Agra for more than thirteen lunar years. During all this period Mīr Namakīn was engaged like an effective cog on the rim of this wheel of territorial aggrandizement in the advancement and protection of Imperial interests in different campaigns. In this connection he not only extensively criss-crossed some sectors of war, but also went back and forth between places as far apart as Siwi and Kashmir. Finally, on 26 Ābān 1007/17 November 1598⁹⁶ when Akbar turned his attentions towards Agra, at the first stage of his journey on 30 Ābān/21 November Mīr Namakīn returned from Kashmir and paid his respects to the Emperor.⁹⁷ Neither Abū al-Faḍl, nor any other authority shed any light on the purpose and date of the Mīr's visit to Kashmir, Akbar himself returned to Lahore on 3 Adhar 1006/24 November 1597⁹⁸ from his third visit to Kashmir which had lasted four months and thereafter spent one whole year at Lahore before heading to Agra on his way to Ahmadnagar. Did Mīr Namakīn accompany the Emperor in his journey to Kashmir, was he summoned to that northern summer resort later on, or was he sent to Kashmir on some special errand subsequent to the Emperor's return to Lahore? Contemporary annals are reticent

94 A.N., vol. III, pp. 493-4.

95 Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Agra, 1962, vol. I, pp. 331-69.

96 A.N., vol. III, p. 746.

97 Ibid., p. 746.

98 Ibid., p. 734.

on all these points. Nevertheless, on 9 Day 1007/30 December 1598⁹⁹ when the royal tents were pitched in the vicinity of Thanesar, Akbar once again confirmed the *iqṭāʿ dārī* of Bhakkar¹⁰⁰ on Mīr Namakīn and the latter retraced his steps to that region. Before long he was transferred from Bhakkar, and given the *sarkār* of Sihwan, except for the *parganas* of Kāhan, Jūnēja and half of Khiṭṭa, as his new *jāgīr*.¹⁰¹

On the death of Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān in Bahman 1009/January 1601 Akbar sent a dress of honour to his son, Mīrzā Ghāzī and conferred on him the ancestral *jāgīr* of Thatta.¹⁰² When the latter failed to appear at court for a long time, the governor of Multan, Saʿīd Khan¹⁰³ was directed to go to Sind and put pressure on the young Mīrzā to proceed to court.¹⁰⁴ At the same time a *farmān* was issued to Mīr Namakīn to cooperate with Saʿīd Khān in this regard.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, the Mīr joined Saʿīd Khān with Mīrzā Ghāzī at Darbela¹⁰⁶ whence they started off for Agra. On 14 Mihr 1014/6 October 1605, a few days before the death of Akbar, they obtained the honour of a royal audience.¹⁰⁷

99 Ibid., p. 748. *A.N.* tr., vol. III, p. 1117, wrongly gives the date as 19 Day.

100 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 748. Text wrongly has Bihar. See *A.N.*, tr., vol. III, p. 1117, n. 4.

101 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 108.

102 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 783.

103 For his career, see *infra*, pp. 382-4.

104 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 111-12.

105 Ibid., *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 816.

106 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 112.

107 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 839.

According to Yūsuf Mīrak,¹⁰⁸ but for the sudden demise of Akbar and the subsequent reversal of orders by the new emperor, Jahāngīr, the Mīr would have taken over as the governor of Qandahar from Shāh Beg Khān,¹⁰⁹ with Bhakkar, Siwi and Sihwan as his *tankhwah jāgīr*. Though Yūsuf Mīrak was a son of Mīr Namakīn and had exceptional chances of getting first hand information from his father, his statement with regard to the appointment of the Mīr as the governor of Qandahar, deserves to be taken with a grain of salt for a number of reasons. In the first place, the governorship of Qandahar was generally entrusted to persons of much higher *manṣab*.¹¹⁰ The *manṣab* of the Mīr, as far as we know, was not more than 700 up to the 40th regnal year of Akbar¹¹¹ and it was only during the first year of Jahāngīr's reign that he was promoted to a *manṣab* of 1500, original and increase.¹¹² Secondly, even before Mīr Namakīn waited upon Akbar for the last time and before his alleged appointment to Qandahar, the Emperor had decreed that the *dīwāns* should manage the affairs of the kingdom in accordance with the advice of Prince Sulṭān Salīm,¹¹³ the future Jahāngīr, and that his seal should be affixed to the grants of the officers' *manṣabs*. Apparently, the administrative changes in one of the most sensitive provinces of the Mughul empire - Qandahar - would have also had the approval of the Crown Prince. Though the possibility of Jahāngīr changing his mind in time cannot be entirely ruled out, but such instances are generally very exceptional. Thirdly, the statement of Yūsuf Mīrak is not corroborated either by the *Akbar Nāma*, which records the Mīr's

108 *Maz.Sh.* pp. 112-13.

109 For his career, see *infra*, pp. 384-6.

110 See M.H. Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 1.

111 *A.A.*, vol. I, p. 162; Blochmann, p. 525.

112 *Tūzūk*, p. 13.

113 *A.N.*, vol. III, p. 839.

audience with Akbar, or by the *Tūzūk* where Jahāngīr speaks of the promotion and the appointment of Sardār Khān as the new governor of Qandahar.

Being an old servant of Akbar, Mīr Namakīn seems to have been quite intimately known to Jahāngīr who besides recording the promotion of the Mīr to a *mansāb* of 1500, original and increase, supplies very interesting information about the number of his children.¹¹⁴ According to the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* when the Mīr's appointment to Qandahar fell through, Jahāngīr sent him to some expedition in Jalalabad.¹¹⁵ The Mīr was incidentally still at Gujarat,¹¹⁶ in the Punjab, probably on his way to Jalalabad, when Prince Khusrau, who had fled from the Agra fort on the night of 8 Dhī al-Ḥijja 1014/17 April 1606,¹¹⁷ had been defeated by Shaykh Farīd Bakhshī¹¹⁸ and was being hotly pursued by the Emperor and numerous grandees, tried to clandestinely cross the Chināb on the night of 28 Dhī al-Ḥijja 1014/6 May 1606.¹¹⁹ This coincided with the arrival of Hilāl Khān from Kashmir in

114 *Tūzūk*, p. 13.

115 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 113.

116 Curiously enough, Momin Mohiuddin (The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography, *Indo-Iranica*, XIX/2 (June 1966), p. 40; *Munsha'āt al-Namakīn*, *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, VIII/1 (January 1960), p.91) has completely failed to understand the significance of Akbar's *farmān* included in the *Munsha'āt al-Namakīn*, for Mīr Namakīn's first appointment at Bhakkar. He wrongly translates *maḥāl* (*parganas*) as "a village and fails to distinguish between "Gujarat" (=Gujrat, in the Punjab) and Bhakkar, in Sind.

117 *Tūzūk*, p. 24.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

119 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

that vicinity. The latter, together with Mīr Namakīn and Khwāja Khiḍr, blockaded the western bank of the river and after some struggle arrested the rebel Prince.¹²⁰ According to the *Dhakhīrat al-Khwānīn*¹²¹ one of the sons of Mīr Namakīn, Mīrzā Kashmīrī by name, was also found guilty of complicity with Khusrau and had to pay for his crime by the excision of his genitals. On the contrary, according to the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* the Emperor rewarded the Mīr's contribution in the arrest of the fugitive Prince with his promotion to the rank of 3000, original and increase, and with his reappointment as the governor of Bhakkar,¹²² but it is not true. From Gujrat the Mīr went to Jalalabad and subsequently, when Jahāngīr on his way to Kabul from the Punjab alighted at Gharībkhāna, across the Mārpīch Pass, on 29 Muḥarram 1016/26 May 1607, the Mīr waited upon him.¹²³ In early Ṣafar/June the Emperor entrusted the *jāgīrdārī* of Jalalabad to 'Arab Khān, and Mīr Namakīn was made the commandant of the *thāna* of Bajaur.¹²⁴ How long he occupied this position, it is difficult to say with certainty. However, when the agent of Sardār Khān¹²⁵ in Sihwan, Darwīsh Beg by name, died from the injuries he had sustained in an encounter with the rebellious Samējas, the region of Sihwan, with the exception of the *parganas* of Kāhān, Jūnēja, and half of Khiṭṭa, was once again given to Mīr Namakīn in *jāgīr*.¹²⁶

120 Ibid., pp. 32-3; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 134; *M.J.*, pp. 85, 495; *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 76.

121 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 200.

122 *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 76.

123 *Tūzūk*, p. 49.

124 Ibid., p. 50.

125 For his career, see *infra*, pp. 386-7.

126 See *Maz.Sh.*, p. 116.

The Mīr could hardly repair the damage done to the administrative machinery of Sihwan during the tenures of his predecessors and restore the confidence of the peasants, when sometime around 14 Rajab 1017/23 October 1608 he was ordered to accompany Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān,¹²⁷ the governor-designate of Qandahar, to that region. Almost at the same time the Lāka peasants of the region of Sihwan also brought an Imperial order in the name of Mīr Namakīn to the effect that he should recover their lands from the Samēja occupation and administer a condign punishment to the latter for their excesses against the former. The Mīr proposed to send his son, Abū al-Baqā', with a strong body of troops, with Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg to Qandahar, and himself to stay back at Sihwan and chastise the Samējas, but finally in deference to the Mīrzā's wishes he had to reverse the arrangement. Consequently, he proceeded to Qandahar with the Mīrzā, at the head of a four to five hundred strong contingent of his loyal Mughul servants.¹²⁸ The Mīr was, however, not destined to see Sind again. A year later, when he was travelling to Sihwan, he died and his mortal remains were carried to Bhakkar.¹²⁹

a. Mīr Namakīn's Children

Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn begot numerous children. "There are few men such as he," writes Jahāngīr,¹³⁰ "for abundance of children; he has thirty sons, and if his daughters do not number as many they must be half that number." Shah nawāz Khān¹³¹ gives twenty two as the number of the Mīr's sons, but,

127 See *infra*.

128 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 115-6.

129 *Ibid.*, p. 120. The exact date and year of Mīr Namakīn's death are unknown. There are three chronogrammatic inscriptions on his grave, at Ṣuffa-i Ṣafā. While two of them yield 1018/1609-10, according to the third one he died in 1019/1610-11. See *Ibid.*, p. 294n.; *T.A.Kh.*, p. 52.

130 *Tūzūk*, p. 13.

131 *M.U.*, vol. III, p. 76.

besides the aforementioned Mirzā Kashmīrī and Mīr Abū al-Baqā' of whom we will have more to say presently, mentions only two of them by name: Mirzā Hussām al-Dīn and Mirzā Yad Allāh. The former rose to a comparatively high *manṣab* but his career was cut short by his early death. The latter was in the service of Nawwāb Khān-i Jahān Lōdhī.¹³² Shaykh Farīd who was the *bakhshī* of the Nawwāb, writes that Mirzā Yad Allāh was not a capable person, but still his stock with the Nawwāb was very high.¹³³

The identification of three more sons of Mīr Namakīn we owe to the discovery of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*. Besides its author, Yūsuf Mīrak, the Mīr's two other sons, Luṭf Allāh and Nūr Allāh, also served in Thatta under their elder brother, Mīr Abū al-Baqā'.¹³⁴

Of the female offspring of the Mīr virtually nothing is known. Nevertheless, Shaykh Farīd¹³⁵ mentions one of his sons-in-law, Jamīl Beg, son of Tāsh Beg Kābulī, who was killed in a battle against Rāja Bāsū, of Kāngra, and was buried on the outskirts of Kalānpur in a magnificent mausoleum erected by his father. The gullible Shaykh Farīd writes on the authority of some 'reliable' persons that even after his death Jamīl Beg continued to visit his home, as he did in his lifetime, and regularly cohabited with his wife!

132 For his life, see *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, pp.69-116; *M.U.*, vol. I, pp. 715-31.

133 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 200.

134 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 40, 46.

135 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, p. 395.

b. *Mīr Namakīn's Servants*

Like his sons, Mīr Namakīn's servants also rose to great eminence. One of them called Khwāja Hilāl, the eunuch, subsequently joined the service of Prince Salīm and when the latter succeeded his father, the Khwāja was made the *Mīr Tūzuk*.¹³⁶ The town of Rangatta, six *kurōhs* N.W. from Agra,¹³⁷ was in his *jāgīr*. Khwāja Hilāl built a fort and a *pucca* inn there, and renamed it Hilālābād. "In Agra towards the Madār Gate he built a lofty mansion, and invited most of the leading officials to a housewarming feast. Sa'īd Khān, who was also there, approved the building, and praised it greatly. Khwāja Hilāl out of politeness said, "Take it as a *pēshkash* (present)". Sa'īd Khān stood up and made three salutations; and sent for his men and furniture. Hilāl - who had been exalted by the Emperor's companionship objected. Sa'īd Khān's servants used force. The Emperor on hearing of the incident remarked to Sa'īd Khān, "This behaviour was not worthy of your position". Sa'īd Khān replied, "Long live your Majesty. Should a grey-beard like me make three salutations to a slave in the presence of a number of great officers, and shall these go for nothing. It concerns my honour. If your Majesty orders I may be killed." At last by this infidel-like ruse he succeeded in taking possession of the house."¹³⁸

During his 14th regnal year when Jahāngīr passed through Rangatta on his way to Kashmir from Agra, Hilāl Khān expressed the desire to make an offering to the Emperor. "In order to dignify him," writes Jahāngīr,¹³⁹ "I took a trifle from him."

136 Ibid., p. 192; *Tūzuk* (R&B), vol. II, p. 103.

137 Blochmann, p. 352. Cf. *M.J.*, p. 12.

138 *M.U.*, tr. H. Beveridge, rev. by Baini Prashad, Patna, 1979 repr., vol. II, part, II, p. 682; *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 192-3.

139 *Tūzuk* (R&B), vol. II, p. 103.

c. *Mīr Namakīn's Works*

Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn's activities were by no means confined to military campaigns and solving the conundrums of administration. He was a prolific writer, too. Two of his books, the *Munsha'āt-i Namakīn*¹⁴⁰ and the *Jawāmi' al-Jawāhir*,¹⁴¹ that have survived the ravages of time, sufficiently bear out his profound scholarship and eminently qualify him to a place of eminence alongside Mirzā Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī and Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī. The Mīr took keen interest in the welfare of scholars and literati and went to great lengths to ensure a comfortable living for them.¹⁴² He enjoyed their company and notwithstanding all his official engagements found some time for the instruction of the progeny of his friends. Shaykh Ma'rūf, the *ṣadr* of Bhakkar's son, Shaykh Farīd was one of his students in poetry and calligraphy.¹⁴³

After spending a strenuous, hard and demanding life Mir Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn now lies at peace in his grave at his favourite Platform of Purity, where in his lifetime he spent many a pleasant moonlit night in the society of the social elite of his time and clime, surrounded by his worthy descendants, on top of a majestic hill whose feet are constantly caressed by the mighty river Indus which not only lends its name to the country about, but also contributes as much to its material prosperity as the ceaseless endeavours of such prodigies as Mīr Namakīn and his long line of illustrious offspring, to its cultural verve, vigour and vitality and to the vast

140 For the contents of this work, see Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, rev. and completed by Edward Edwards, Oxford, 1903, vol. I, Entry 2064 and Momin Mohiuddin's articles referred to in n. 116 above.

Besides the I.O, MS., another copy of the *Munsha'āt al-Namakīn* is preserved in the Lytton Collection (No. 3/26-7) of the Aligarh Muslim University Library.

141 Dealing with the philosophy of Islam, the work is dedicated to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān and its only known MSS. are available in Bodleian Library. See *Indo-Iranica*, op. cit., p. 40.

142 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 121.

143 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I. p. 200.

variety of noble traditions and values for which the historic region of Sind stands.

3. *His Elder Brother and His Descendants*

Yūsuf Mīrak's elder brother Mīr Abū al-Baqā', was an outstanding commander, intrepid soldier and illustrious successor to his father. His early life is completely shrouded in mystery. It is in Rajab 1017/October 1608 on the eve of his father's departure for Qandahar that we hear of him for the first time. In Mīr Namakīn's year long absence from Siwistan the way Abū al-Baqā' conducted various expeditions against disloyal tribes was a clear indication that a brilliant career awaited him in the years ahead. Each of these campaigns bore testimony to his excellent military prowess, extreme agility and superb physical endurance. His lightning raid on the Beglār stronghold of Ṣadgarh where the rebellious elements sought refuge in times of need, and the way he ensured the defeat of the anticipated retaliatory attack of the Beglārs by appointing a capable commandant in that fort was a clear proof of the fact that he really meant business. Furthermore, to keep in check the rebellious instincts of the lawless tribes and their supporters he built fortresses at strategic points and manned them properly.¹⁴⁴

On the death of Mīr Namakīn, Jahāngīr bestowed Siwistan on his descendants headed by Mīr Abū al-Baqā', and on Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek collectively.¹⁴⁵ Mīr Abū al-Baqā' who then held a *manṣab* of 500,¹⁴⁶ did not approve of Shamshīr Khān's participation in his hereditary *jāgīr* and, counting on the

144 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 116-20.

145 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

146 *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 171; Kewalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

record of his family's long service to the Mughul throne, hastened to the presence of Jahāngīr at Agra. Consequently, Siwistan was left with Shamsīr Khān exclusively and Mīr Abū al-Baqā' received the territories of Ubāwra, Ganjāba and Riprī Langāhān in *jāgīr*.¹⁴⁷

Ever since its conquest by Mīr Namakīn, the situation in Siwi had been calm and completely under the control of the Mughul authorities at Bhakkar, of which Siwi was a dependency. Mīr Abū al-Baqā's stay at Ganjāba, however, coincided with the outbreak of an Afghān rebellion. Realizing the military weakness of Qūch 'Alī Kurd, the Mughul *jāgīrdār* of Siwi, the Pannī Afghāns put him under a virtual siege. Alarmed at the consequences of this revolt in the remote border outpost, Jahāngīr directed Mīr Abū al-Baqā' to procure necessary help from Tāj Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of Bhakkar, and rush to the rescue of Qūch 'Alī. Accordingly, as soon as the Mīr appeared in Siwi the Afghāns gave up their revolt and accepted the Mughul suzerainty once again.¹⁴⁸

On the death of Tāj Khān in 1023/1614, Shamsīr Khān¹⁴⁹ took his place as the governor of Thatta, and Sihwan was bestowed on Mīr Abū al-Baqā', together with Mirzā Dūst Beg. With the departure, soon afterwards, of Mirzā Dūst Beg to Qandahar, with the royal treasury of Multan, the responsibility of administering the entire region of Sihwan devolved upon the shoulders of Mīr Abū al-Baqā' who, as expected, gave a very good account of his capabilities in this regard. Travelling long distances speedily and

147 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 121-2.

148 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

149 For his career, see *infra*, pp. 353-4.

surreptitiously, he fell upon the Chāndīyas, the Nuhmardīs and the Samējas Ūnar and brought them to their knees. Likewise, he punished the Shūras and took necessary measures, including the repair of the Wīnjara fort and deployment of a strong force there, for the future protection of the Imperial peasants from the excesses of the recalcitrants.¹⁵⁰ At this time Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī¹⁵¹ was the *bakhshī* of Thatta. Subsequently, when the latter was elevated to the position of governor, and Shamshīr Khān was subordinated to him as the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwan, Mīr Abū al-Baqā' was transferred to Badīn, with Nayrankot and Shāl as his *tankhwāh jāgīr*.¹⁵² During his governorship of Thatta, Muẓaffar Khān made an unsuccessful bid to crush the rebellion of the Dals of the region of Shāl but owing to the stiff resistance of the latter many of his troops were killed and his initiative completely lost momentum,. The following night Mīr Abū al-Baqā' arrived from Badīn. In a stormy attack on the Dals in the foothills, he killed about two hundred of their men and thus brought the campaign to a successful conclusion. Thereafter, Muẓaffar Khān left Mīr Abū al-Baqā' at Nayrankot whence the latter sent some expeditions against the Dals and the Shūras, and himself returned to Thatta. It was in one of these military forays against the Shūras, that Mīr Abū al-Baqā's younger brother, Luṭf Allāh lost his life.¹⁵³

According to Mīrak Yūsuf, from Badīn Mīr Abū al-Baqā' was recalled to the court for joining the campaign against the historic fort of Kāngara.¹⁵⁴ The military proceedings against this impregnable hill fort which had defiantly withstood all attempts at its surrender by the Muslim rulers of

150 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 123-9.

151 For his life, see *infra*, pp. 346-9.

152 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 35, 45.

153 *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

154 *Ibid.*

India from the days of Sultān Mahmūd,¹⁵⁵ started on 14 Farwardīn 1024/3 April 1615¹⁵⁶ and were completed on 1 Muḥarram 1030¹⁵⁷/26 November 158 1620 with its surrender to Mughul arms. During this period Mīr Abū al-Baqā' received two promotions. On 18 Mīhr 1027/10 October 1618¹⁵⁹ Jahāngīr bestowed on him a *manṣab* of 800 personal and 600 horse, original and increase, which was raised to 1000 personal and 600 horse on 11 Urdībihisht 1029/1 May 1620.¹⁶⁰

After the conquest of Kāngara, the Mīr seems to have joined the entourage of the Khān-i Jahān on whose recommendation, on 1 Shahrīwar 1031/23 August 1622¹⁶¹ Jahāngīr elevated him to a rank of 1000 personal and 900 horse. Subsequently, the Mīr ingratiated himself into the favour and confidence of Nawwāb Āṣaf Khān as well, and towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign when Multan was conferred on Āṣaf Khān, the latter appointed Mīr Abū al-Baqā' as his governor in Multan.¹⁶² On the accession of Shāhjahān Multan was confirmed on Āṣaf Khān¹⁶³ and Mīr Abū al-Baqā' continued carrying out his duties undisturbed. In the meantime his title of *Mīr Khān* was changed into that of *Amīr Khān* and as a mark of his gratitude he made an offer of one *lākḥ* of *rupees* to the Emperor.¹⁶⁴

155 Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1940, Third Edn., p. 268; *Tūzūk*, pp. 138-9, 318.

156 *Tūzūk*, pp. 138-9.

157 Ibid., p. 319. The Text wrongly has A.H. 1031.

158 Beni Prasad, *op.cit.*, p. 270, has 26 November.

159 *Tūzūk*, p. 245.

160 Ibid., p. 304.

161 Ibid., p. 347.

162 Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

163 A.S., vol. I, p. 226. Shāhjahān also conferred Bandar Lāharī on Āṣaf Khān in *in'am* Ibid.

164 M.U., vol. I, p. 172; Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

By the end of Jahāngīr's reign, Mīr Abū al-Baqā' had already attained a *manṣab* of 2500 personal and 1500 horse.¹⁶⁵ In early 1039/1629 when the governorship of Thatta fell vacant on the demise of Ḥussam al-Dīn Murtadā Khān II,¹⁶⁶ Shāhjahān raised the *manṣab* of Mīr Abū al-Baqā' to 3000 personal and 2000 horse and transferred him to Thatta.¹⁶⁷ After his arrival here, one of the first things Mīr Abū al-Baqā' did was to punish those, including the Jām Hāla of Kukrāla, who had helped Nawwāb Sharīf al-Mulk in setting at naught Prince Shāhjahān's design to capture Thatta unlawfully during the last days of his father's life. After this victimization and the bestowal of favours on the well-wishers of the rebel Prince were over,¹⁶⁸ Mīr Abū al-Baqā' devoted his entire attention to the subjugation of the rebellious tribes¹⁶⁹ and restoring the confidence of the peasantry in the royal authority. He established a strong fort at Wīnjara and sent bodies of troops under the commands of his sons, Diyā al-Dīn Yūsuf and Abū al-Qāsim, to Darbela and Halakandi respectively, in order to chastise the Samēja freebooters.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, Shīr Khān Tarīn¹⁷¹ raided Siwi and

165 *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 171; Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān. Shaykh Farīd Bhakkārī (*Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, p. 199) wrongly states that Amīr Khān had reached the *manṣab* of 3,000 and appointed the *ṣūbadār* of Thatta and Siwistan before the death of Jahāngīr.

166 For his particulars, see *infra*, pp.355-7.

167 *M.U.*, vol. I, pp. 171-2; Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

168 *T.K. tr.*, p. 295.

169 See *Maz.Sh.*, p. 35.

170 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

171 For his career, see *infra*, pp.359-61.

Ganjaba. Thus, on the advice of his *dīwān*, *bakhshī* and other Imperial *mansabdārs*, Mīr Abū al-Baqā' abandoned his campaign against the Samējas, rushed to Thatta and giving a strong contingent to his younger brother, Luṭf Allāh, dispatched him to Bhakkar with Dīndār Khān.¹⁷² Until 22 Shawwāl 1041/12 May 1632¹⁷³ at least, the Mīr served in Thatta and then was transferred to Jūnāgadh. In 1044/1634-35, when Mīrak Yūsuf wrote his *Mazhar-i Shāh jahānī* Mīr Abū al-Baqā' was still there.¹⁷⁴

Before his departure for Jūnāgadh, Mīr Abū al-Baqā' had around 1500 excellent soldiers at his disposal, but as soon as they heard about the dearth and the bad conditions prevailing at Surat, five hundred of them deserted him at Thatta. Consequently, the Mīr, doubling and trebling the allowances of about 500 of his ten to twenty years old retainers and paying their salaries of two months in advance, dispatched them under the command of his elder son, Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf in advance and fast on his heels, he himself also came to Badīn. As Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn turned his reins from Jūnāgadh to Ūna, four hundred and fifty of his men fled to Thatta and he was left with only fifty loyal soldiers. These large scale desertions caused extreme panic among the followers of Mīr Abū al-Baqā' and landed him in dire straits. Consequently, he rallied a strength of between seven to eight hundred men, mainly comprising his family, friends and old servants, and proceeded to Surat. Had he been allowed to retain his old *jāgīrs* in Thatta as long as he had not satisfactorily established himself in the place of his new assignment, he would not have run the risk of shortage of funds and his men would not

172 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 40.

173 See *T.A.Kh.*, p. 100.

174 P.U. MS., f.95.

have deserted him.¹⁷⁵

Mīr Abū al-Baqā' also participated in Shāhjahān's Deccan campaign and in 1045/1636 when that Emperor set out from Daulatabad for Agra, the Mīr held a *jāgīr* in the *sarkār* of Bīr in the Deccan and was for some time among the auxiliaries (*kūmakīyān*).¹⁷⁶ In Rabī' I 1051/June 1641 the Emperor honoured him with a robe of honour and a horse and appointed him to the government of Siwistan, *vice* Qazzāq Khān.¹⁷⁷ The following year, in Rabī' I 1052/June 1642 he was once again appointed the governor of Thatta, *vice* Shād Khān,¹⁷⁸ and it was during his stay here that he finally died in office¹⁷⁹ sometime in Rabī' I 1057/1647¹⁸⁰ and was buried at the Ṣuffa-i Safā.¹⁸¹

a. Mīr 'Atīq Allāh

Like his father Mīr Abū al-Baqā' begot many children.¹⁸² His eldest son (*pīsar-i kalān*).. Mīr 'Atīq Allāh took active part in the maintenance of

175 See Ibid., ff.

176 M.U., vol. I, p. 172; Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

177 A.S., vol. II, p. 284; M.U., vol. I, p. 172, Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

178 A.S., vol. II, p. 302; M.U., vol. I, p. 172; Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

179 See Dh.Kh., vol. I, p. 199.

180 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, ed. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Calcutta, 1866-72, vol. II, pp. 641, 723.

181 Henry Cousens (*The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 117), on the authority of *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, of Mīr Qānī' Thathawī, wrongly presumes his tomb to be in Thatta. See T.A.Kh., pp.111-12.

182 Dh.Kh., vol. I, p. 199; M.U., vol. I, pp. 172, 303.

law and order in his father's *jāgīr*. In 1023/1614¹⁸³ when Siwistan passed under the joint administration of Mīr Abū al-Baqa' and Mirzā Dūst Beg, Mīr 'Atīq Allāh led a punitive expedition against the rebellious Samējas. The latter were prepared to settle the matters in an amicable manner, but the young Mīr out of impetuosity rejected the offer out of the hand and thus drove them into rebellion once again. Though his father subdued them subsequently, but before that many of Mīr 'Atīq Allāh's men were killed unnecessarily.¹⁸⁴ In 1028/1619 while he was engaged in the procurement of ibexes (*ranghā*) in the region of Sihwan for the Imperial Court, 'Atīq Allāh, together with Sayyid Bāqir son of Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī who was on a similar expedition from his father's side, extended military help to Shamsīr Khān Ūzbek's agent in Sihwan, Khūsham Beg, to subjugate the recalcitrant elements.¹⁸⁵ Finally, it was probably in one of his military campaigns against the turbulent tribes of this region that 'Atīq Allāh met with his death on 4 Rajab 1037/10 March 1628. His grave is still extant on the Şuffa-i Şafā.¹⁸⁶

b. *Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf*

Mīr 'Atīq Allāh's brother, Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf had another important dimension to his character. As far as his erudition was concerned, he stood head and shoulders above his brothers and counted among his admirers even one of his uncles, Mīrak Yūsuf,¹⁸⁷ the author of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*.

183 *T.A.Kh.*, p. 120.

184 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 125-8; P.U. MS., ff. 315a-318b.

185 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 142; P.U. MS., f. 329a-b.

186 *T.A.Kh.*, pp. 124-5; *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 304-5n.

187 See his note on the fly-leaf of the P.U. MS. reproduced in *Maz.Sh.*, p. 85.

During his father's tenure in Sind, like his other brothers, Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn also participated in the administration and played no insignificant role in the subjugation of different tribes.¹⁸⁸ Mīr Abū al-Baqā' had administered an effective chastisement to Jām Hāla,¹⁸⁹ the Samma¹⁹⁰ ruler of Kukrāla,¹⁹¹ but subsequently, when the government of Bhakkar and Thatta¹⁹² passed under the control of Prince Aurangzīb who was then the governor of Multan,¹⁹³ the Jām's sons, Mastā and Gāhiya, once again took to headstrong ways. Aurangzīb sent an army to crush their revolt. While Mastā accepted the Mughul suzerainty and prepared to wait upon the Prince at Multan in person, his brother fled to Kachh and with the aid and abetment of the ruler of that region contemplated an invasion of his ancestral possessions. However, before he could embark on this path, Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf, assisted by his brother, Mīr Abū al-Makāram, issued forth from Thatta with a huge park of artillery and put Gāhiya to flight.¹⁹⁴

188 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 39; P.U. MS., f. 256b.

189 *Ibid.*, p. 35; P.U. MS., f. 253b. Also see *T.K. tr.*, p. 395.

190 *T.T.*, p. 349n.

191 Kukrāla comprised the present day talūqas of Shāhbandar and Tatī in Thatta District. *Ibid.*

192 On 1 Dhī al-Ḥijja 1059/6 December 1649. *Ad.Al.*, p. 24n. Also see *T.K. tr.*, p. 298.

193 He held that position from 29 Ṣafar 1058/25 March 1648 to 17 Sha'bān 1062/24 July 1651.

194 *Ad.Al.*, p. 26; Sayyid Najīb Ashraf Nadwī, *Ruq'āt-i 'Ālamgīr*, ed. Maulawī Mas'ūd 'Alī Nadwī, Azamgarh, (1929?), p. 301.

Similarly, when Nawwāb Zafar Khān,¹⁹⁵ the last Mughul governor of Shāhjahān in Thatta,¹⁹⁶ wanted to stop Samēja raids on the route between Siwistan and Halakandi and sought an Imperial injunction for the *faujdār* of Siwistan to cooperate in this task, he nominated Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn to lead this campaign.¹⁹⁷

Towards the close of Shāhjahān's reign Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn held a *manṣab* of 1000 personal and 600 horse.¹⁹⁸ Aurangzīb conferred upon him the title of *Khān* and appointed him the *faujdār* of Siwistān.¹⁹⁹ The Mīr served in this capacity until Jumādā II 1075/January 1665 when he was replaced by Arsalān Khān.²⁰⁰

Mīr Diyā' al-Dīn Yūsuf's grandson (*nabīra*),²⁰¹ Mīr Abū al-Wafā' was also in the Imperial service and in 1114/1702, in addition to his other duties, he was made the *dārūgha* of the royal oratory. This latter position gave him ample opportunities to ingratiate himself with the Emperor Aurangzīb. Once Aurangzīb received a letter in cryptic language from Prince Mu'azzam. However much he tried, certain points remained unclear. Finally, he made over the letter to Mīr Abū al-Wafā' and ordered him to solve the obscurities. The Mīr readily worked out a solution to the problematic words and produced

195 He was appointed to Thatta in 1063/1652-3 and served there for six years. In 1065/1654-5 when Sipihr Shukūh, son of Dārā Shukūh, who held a *manṣab* of 7,000 came to Thatta as the governor of that place, Zafar Khān was made his deputy. See *T.K.* tr. p. 299.

196 Ibid; *M.Sh.*, p. 380.

197 Miyān Nūr al-Ḥaqq Mushtāqī, *Munsha'āt-i Mushtāqī*, MS. in the Private Collection of Pīr Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī (1979), Transcript, p.26.

198 *A.S.*, vol. II, p. 364.

199 Muḥammad Kāzim, *Ālamgīr Nāma* ed. Khādim Ḥusain and 'Abdul Hai, Calcutta, 1867, vol. I, p. 875. Also see *T.K.* tr., p. 297.

200 *M.Al.*, p. 273.

201 See n. 287 below.

a satisfactory purport of the entire letter for the Emperor. The latter was so highly impressed by the sharpness and intellectual capacity of Mīr Abū al-Wafā' that he rewarded him with "a mohar weighing 50 mohars, 500 rupees, and an addition of 20 tr., to his rank by which he became a 4-*sadi* (30 tr.)"²⁰² The collection of rough notes of Aurangzīb called the *Raqā'im-i Karā'im* contains at least two references to Mīr Abū al-Wafā' which sufficiently illustrate his closeness to the Emperor.²⁰³ The Mīr outlived the reign of Aurangzīb and was a frequent visitor to the literary gatherings that used to be held at Amīr 'Abd al-Karīm Khān's during the reign of Bahādur Shāh (1118-1 24/1707-12). During the six regnal year of Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19) Mīr Abū al-wafā' waited upon that Emperor and was awarded a dress of honour²⁰⁴ and the following year he passed away.²⁰⁵

c. *Mīr Abū al-Qāsim*

Mīr Abū al-Baqā's third son, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim, also played an active role in the restoration of law and order in his father's *jāgīr*²⁰⁶ Beyond that virtually nothing is known about him, except that he died in 1045/1635-36 and was buried on the Ṣuffa-i Ṣafā.²⁰⁷ Likewise, his brother, Shams al-Dīn, finds only a passing mention in the *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*.²⁰⁸

202 *M.AL.*, pp. 273-4.

203 Hermann Ethe, *op.cit.*, p. 375. I.O. MS. No. 3021, ff. 2b, 10b. *Ruka'āt-i Ālamgīrī or Letters of Aurangzebe*, tr. J.H. Bilimoria, Delhi, 1972, pp. 106, 163.

204 Kāmwar Khān, p. 231.

205 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

206 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 39; P.U. MS., f. 256b.

207 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 39, n. 2; *T.A.Kh.*, pp. 125-6.

208 *T.K.* tr., p. 297.

d. *Mīr 'Abd al-Razzāq*

Yet another son of Mīr Abū al-Baqā' was known as Mīr 'Abd al-Razzāq, who waited upon Shāhjahān on 22 Shawwāl 1041/12 May 1632 and presented to him some jewels, Sindhī stuff (*aqmisha*) and one thousand mohars on his father's behalf.²⁰⁹ He subsequently joined Imperial service and rose to a *manṣab* of 900 personnal and 300 horse.²¹⁰ He was killed in Shī'i-Sunnī clashes in 1062/1651-52 and was buried at Ṣuffa-i Ṣafā.²¹¹ According to Qānī Thattawī the Mīr was an embodiment of rationcinative, as well as traditional sciences, had an excellent command of languages and his memory and comprehension were remarkable.²¹²

e. *Mīr Abū al-Makāram Shuhūd*

Mīr Abū al-Baqā's fifth son, Mīr Abū al-Makāram Shuhūd, also participated in military campaigns of Shāhjahān's reign,²¹³ but his simple and austere style of life, strong inclination towards mysticism, and penchant for poetical compositions, gave an altogether different hue to his personality. Although he was well-versed in a variety of sciences, his fame basically rested on his literary attainments. Besides a *Diwān* he also left behind a romantic *mathnawī* called the *Parīkhāna-i Sulaymān*. Another of his long poems dealing with the romance of Badī' al-Jamāl and Sayf al-Mulūk was still incomplete when he died in 1073/1662-3 and was buried in Siwistan near the tomb of Shaykh La'ī Shahbāz.²¹⁴ He was survived by four sons, namely Amīn al-Dīn Khān Ḥusayn, Mu'īn al-Dīn Ḥasan, Raḍī al-Dīn Fidā'i and Mīr Ḥāfīz al-Dīn Khān.

209 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p. 424.

210 *A.S.*, vol. III, p. 368.

211 *T.A.Kh.*, p. 117.

212 *M.Sh.*, pp. 416-7; *T.K. tr.*, p. 297.

213 See n. 194 *supra*.

214 *M.Sh.*, pp. 349-54. Also see *T.K. tr.*, pp. 631-2.

A disciple of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāsi',²¹⁵ Mīr Amīn al-Dīn Khān Ḥusayn was appointed the governor of Thatta in 1114/1702-3 and he worked in this capacity for almost one year.²¹⁶ Thereafter he seems to have been made the *faujdār* of the *sarkār* of Bhakkar and this position he occupied at least until 1120/1708-9.²¹⁷ He was an accomplished poet and erudite scholar. Even the onerous responsibilities of the high offices he held from time to time could not prevent him from associating with contemporary scholars and following his literary pursuits. Besides some stray verses, he left behind two fine encyclopaedic works, namely the *Rashahāt al-Funūn*²¹⁸ and the *Ma'lūmāt al-Āfāq*²¹⁹ which bear ample testimony to the assiduity and insight of their author. He died in 1127/1715 and was buried in the Maklī graveyard.²²⁰ Mīr Amīn al-Dīn fathered three sons, namely Mīr Matīn al-Dīn²²¹ Khān Ismā'īl, Mīr Muḥammad Gadā and Mīr Muḥammad 'Atā'. Mīr Matīn al-Dīn who thrice served as the *diwān* of Thatta, was, in matters of style and circumstance, a true replica of his father. Family fortunes considerably improved under him and he was looked on as one of the leading nobles of his day and age.²²² He died in 1177/1763-64,²²³ leaving behind two sons, Mīr Muḥammad Ghauth and Mīr Abū

215 *M.Sh.*, p. 430. He had to his credit an excellent commentary on the *Makhzan al-Asrār* of Nizāmī Ganja'ī.

216 *Ibid.*, pp. 24-8.

217 *Tabṣirat al-Nāẓirīn*, op. cit., pp. 61-2. In 1120/1708-9 he built a beautiful mosque in the town of Sukkur and Mīr 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī composed a poem, containing a chronogram, to celebrate the occasion.

218 A MS. of this work is preserved in the Khudā Bakhsh Public Library, Patna. See *T.A.Kh.*, pp. 195-6.

219 A MS. of this work is preserved in the Punjab University Library, Lahore.

220 *T.A.Kh.*, p. 206.

221 Cf. *T.K. tr.*, p. 632, where his name has been recorded as Amīn al-Dīn.

222 *Ibid.*, *T.A.Kh.*, pp. 207-11.

223 *T.A.Kh.*, p. 210.

al-Mafākhir. Mīr Muḥammad Ghauth served the Kalhōra chiefs, Miyān Nūr Muḥammad (1132-67/1719-54), Miyān Murādyāb (1167-70/1753-57), and Miyān Ghulām Shāh (1170-86/1756-73) with great distinction. He died sometime around 1181/1767-68 and was succeeded by his son, Mīr Muḥammad Karīm al-Dīn in the office of *bakhshī*. When Karīm al-Dīn died around 1219/1804-5, the Tālpūrs granted a stipend to his son, Sayyid Qanbar 'Alī. After the death of the latter, the stipend was transferred to his two sons, Sayyid Karam 'Alī and Pīr Wadan Shāh.²²⁴

About Mīr Matīn al-Dīn's second son, Mīr Abū al-Mafākhir, our information is limited to the fact that he also maintained his ancestral dignity during his life and after his death was survived by one son who was a contemporary of Mīr Qānī' Thattawī.²²⁵

Mīr Amīn al-Dīn's second son, Mīr Gadā was a poet of some merit. He died sometime between 1172/1758-59 and 1181/1767-68,²²⁶ and left behind one son.²²⁷ Mīr Gadā's brother, Mīr 'Atā' associated quite extensively with the contemporary social elite and mingled with high and low with equal ease and cheerfulness. His propensity for mysticism made him amiable company to the mystics,²²⁸ and he enjoyed the best relations with the illustrious Sindhī poet, Shāh 'Abd al-Laṭīf Bhitā'ī.²²⁹ Being an outstanding member of his family,

224 Ibid., pp. 213-5.

225 T.K. tr., p. 632.

226 T.A.Kh., p. 215.

227 T.K. tr., p. 632.

228 M.Sh., p. 444; T.K. tr., p. 632.

229 T.A.Kh., p. 218.

his death on 3 Sha‘bān 1178/26 January 1765,²³⁰ was a serious loss to the Amīrkhānī Sayyids and to the community at large. He left behind two sons.²³¹

Mīr Abū al-Makāram Shuhūd's second son, Mīr Mu‘īn al-Dīn Ḥasan had also drunk deep at the fountain of mysticism. Once he was engaged in the repair of his house and used a rope where an iron nail was actually needed. A passer-by remarked that when he could afford to use a nail, why he was contenting himself with a poor substitute such as rope. The Mīr instantly recited two verses which purported:

A house temporary and perishable as it is, it deserves
hardly more than this decoration. Why don't you fix
your thoughts on the other house that will stand you
in good stead permanently.

He died in 1133/1720-21.²³²

Mīr Shuhūd's third son, Mīr Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad, who died in 1120/1708-9, was also an exquisite poet and craftsman of words.²³³ His son, Mīr Ḥaydar al-Dīn Abū Turāb Kāmil, however, surpassed him not only as a poet but also in mystical leanings as well. Because he was a pious, celebrate and scholarly person a vast number of people, including several nobles, turned to him for spiritual guidance, but this could not move the Mīr from the path of indifference to the world.²³⁴ Nawwāb Mahābat Khān Kāzīm made an offer of a stipend to him, but he declined. Mostly he was in a state of meditation, and several supernatural deeds were attributed to him.²³⁵

230 Ibid., pp. 216-7.

231 T.K. tr., 632.

232 M.Sh., p. 175.

233 Ibid., pp. 492-3; T.K. tr., p. 633.

234 T.K., p. 633.

235 M.Sh., pp. 670-1.

Mīr Kāmil's appearance on the literary horizon of Sind marked a new phase in the development of Hindī poetry in this region. His contemporaries, such as 'Abd al-Ḥakīm 'Atā²³⁶ and Mīr Maḥmūd Ṣābir,²³⁷ were already expressing their thoughts in that language, and, on the latter's own testimony²³⁸ we know that the fame of his poetry had reached as far as the Deccan. Through his towering personality, enormous literary output and numerous promising disciples, Mīr Kāmil gave a new impetus to this movement. Even towards the close of the 12th/18th century his poetry enjoyed so much of popularity that his only biographer, Mīr Qānī²³⁹ considered it too well-known to be quoted extensively in his biographical dictionary called the *Maqālāt al-Shu'arā'*.²³⁹ The Mīr died in 1164/1750-51.²⁴⁰ Little is known about his brother, Mīr Ḥafīz al-Dīn,²⁴¹ but the latter's son, Mīr Ḥafīz al-Dīn 'Alī, though far less educated than his uncle, in his lifestyle bore a great similarity to Mīr Kāmil. He was more at home in Hindi than in Persian and exhibited such an exceptional versatility in his writings, prose and verse, in that language that his contemporary Mīr Qānī²⁴² refers to him as the second Amīr Khusrau²⁴² and writes that had Mīr Ḥafīz al-Dīn not been handicapped by the defects of eyesight and hearing,²⁴³ he had all the potential of becoming another Mīr Kāmil in literature.²⁴⁴ At the time of the writing of the *Tuhfat al-Kirām* the Mīr was still alive and led a life of celibacy and withdrawal from the world.²⁴⁵

236 'Abd al-Ḥakīm 'Atā Thathawī, *Diwān-i 'Atā*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Muṭī 'Allāh Rāshid Burhānpūrī, Haiderabad Sind, n.d., pp. 459-61.

237 For his life see Nabī Bakhsh Khān Balōch, *Sindh Mein Urdū Shā'irī*, Lahore, 1978, pp. 21-38.

238 Ibid., p. 25.

239 *M.Sh.*, p. 673.

240 Ibid., p. 671.

241 *T.K.* tr., p. 633.

242 *M.Sh.*, p. 182.

243 Ibid.

244 *T.K.* tr., p. 634.

245 Ibid.

f. *Mir 'Abd al-Karīm*

Unlike his brothers *Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm*, the youngest son of *Mīr Abū al-Baqā'*, did not confine himself to the region of Sind. He moved himself farther afield into *Hindūstān* where he succeeded in carving out a brilliant career and maintained the family tradition of the past two generations of rising to higher rungs of Imperial service. It was an old practice with the Mughul Emperors that they drew their personal attendants (*khawāṣṣ*) from the ranks of the progeny of their *amīrs*. *Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm* was lucky enough to attract the attention of *Aurangzīb* for this job.²⁴⁶ By dint of his perspicacity, ready wit, literary attainments and amiable manners he gradually worked his way up to be the chief of the royal attendants and began to be counted among the favourites of that puritan of all the Mughul Emperors. In *Shahbān* 1093/August 1682 when *Aurangzīb* was encamped at *Aurangabad*, the *Mīr* was appointed the *dārūgha* of the royal oratory (*jānāmaẓkhāna*).²⁴⁷ Before long the duties of the *amīn* of the seven *chawkīs*²⁴⁸ were also entrusted to him.²⁴⁹ *Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm* discharged the dual responsibilities until he was relieved of the latter job²⁵⁰ and made the *dārūgha* of the *naqqāshkhāna* instead,²⁵¹ in addition to his original position of the head of the royal oratory.

246 *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 303.

247 *M.A.L. tr.*, pp. 135-6.

248 'Mounting guard is called *Chaukī* in Hindi language. The four divisions of the army having been divided into seven parts, each of which was appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy *Manṣabdār*.' *Selected Documents of Shah Jahān's Reign*, p. 89, n.1.

249 *M.Ā.L.*, tr., p. 146.

250 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

251 *M.U.*, vo. I, p. 303. During the 28th regnal year of *Aurangzīb* owing to some misconduct (*quṣūr*) the *Mīr* was suspended from the *dārūghaship* of the royal oratory.

In Dhī al-Ḥijja 1097/October 1685 when Prince Shāh ‘Alam communicated the news of his victory over Abū al-Ḥasan, the ruler of Telangana and the reduction of Ḥaydarabad and recommended the grant of suitable rewards to the officers serving under his command, the Emperor entrusted to the Mīr the task of carrying robes and jewels to the Prince as a mark of his appreciation for his and his commander's efforts. At Mangal, four *koses* short of Ḥaydarabad, the Mīr was, however, ambushed by the men of Abū al-Ḥasan and the royal presents were looted. His entire entourage was massacred and he himself was taken prisoner in a critical condition. Abū al-Ḥasan kept him under detention for four days and then had him conveyed to the Prince's camp where the Mīr's wounds were tended. On his recovery, Mīr ‘Abd al-Karīm waited on the Prince and having passed on to him the verbal orders of the Emperor, returned to court²⁵² and resumed the usual duties of the *dārūgha* of the royal oratory. Soon afterwards, the *amīnī* of the seven *chawkīs* was given to him for the second time.²⁵³ In Rabī‘ II 1098/February 1657 Aurangzīb appointed Sayyid Sharīf Khān, son of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Qannaujī, the spiritual guide of Shāhjahān, as the *karōrī-i ganj* of the camp and collector of *jīzya* for the four provinces of the Deccan and ordered him to visit the aforementioned provinces in order to ensure a strict observance of the Islamic law in the collection of *jīzya*.²⁵⁴ A few months later, in addition to his *dārūghashīp* of the royal oratory, the Mīr was not only made the deputy to Sayyid Sharīf Khān, in the post of the *karōrī-i ganj*,²⁵⁵

252 *M.Āl.* tr., pp. 164-5; *M.U.*, vol. I, pp. 303-4.

253 *Ibid.*, p. 174.

254 *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 181.

255 *Ibid.*, p. 181; *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 304.

but was also appointed the *dārūgha* of fines.²⁵⁶ The duties of the *karōrī-i ganj* entailed a strict supervision of the supply of foodgrain into the royal camp at a reasonable price. While famine raged throughout the surrounding regions, the Mīr handled the situation so skilfully that the Imperial camp was not only saved from this misfortune, but prices were also checked from rising. The Emperor expressed his pleasure with him by bestowing on him the title of *Multaḥfat Khān*.²⁵⁷ This was followed by his appointment as the head of the *ābdārkhāna*.²⁵⁸ Meanwhile in Rajab 1104/March 1693 when Anwar Khān, son of Wazīr Khān Shāhjahānī, died yet another feather was added to the Mīr's cap and thenceforward he became the *dārūgha* of *khwāṣṣīs*.²⁵⁹ Sometime after Dhī al-Ḥijja 11112/April 1701 he was created *Khānazād Khān* and before long,²⁶⁰ the title of *Mīr* was also officially appended to his name.²⁶¹ On Dhī al-Ḥijja 11115/15 March 1704 the Emperor conferred on him his father's title of *Amīr Khān* and while doing so remarked in a light-hearted manner that when Shāhjahān bestowed the same title on the Mīr's father, the latter presented one lākh of rupees to the Emperor, what were his plans in that regard. The Mīr replied that his life and property were all propitious alms (*taṣadduq*) to the Emperor, and the following day

256 *M.Āl.* tr., p. 184; *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 304.

257 *M.Āl.* tr., p. 199; *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 304.

258 *M.Āl.*, tr., p. 204; The *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī* also adds that the Mīr was promoted by a hundred *dhāt* (50 tr.* to the rank of a *hazārī* (150 tr.). His office brought him close to the Emperor's person.

259 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

260 *M.Āl.* tr., p. 265. He had already been promoted to a *manṣab* of 1500/200 tr. in 1696 A.D. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

261 *M.Āl.* tr., p. 282.

presented him with a copy of the *Qur'ān* calligraphed by Yāqūt.²⁶²

There could have been no better connoisseur of this precious gift than Aurangzib whose own favourite pastime it was to write out the copies of the *Qur'ān* in his own hand for sale and sending them to the holy shrines at Mecca and Medina. The Emperor granted an elephant to the Mīr on this occasion.

After the conquest of Wākinkhēra the Emperor promoted Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm from a *manṣab* of 2500 to that of 3000 personal.²⁶³ The Mīr's official rank and formal designation were, however, no match to his personal intimacy and influence with the Emperor. This made him the envy of the great and small and earned him the epithet of "close to the Emperor's person"²⁶⁴ from the contemporary annalists.

Once the Emperor decreed that only those of his *amīrs* and princes could ride to the royal enclosure in their palanquins who owned it by virtue of royal favour. Although subsequently other leading personages, such as Bahramand Khān, Mukhlis Khān and Ruḥ Allāh Khān, were also included in the privileged class, to start with, only Jumlat al-Mulk Asad Khān and Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm, were the real beneficiaries of this honour.²⁶⁵

262 Ibid., p. 290. Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Yāqūt Musta'ṣimī who was originally a slave of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Musta'ṣim Bi'llāh (218-27/833-42) finally rose to the position of the Court Librarian. He is credited with the invention of the *naskh* style of calligraphy. Shaykh Aḥmad alias Shaykhzāda Suhrawardī, Arghūn Kābulī, Maulānā Yūsuf Shāh Mashhadī, Maulānā Mubārak Shāh Zarrīn Qalam, Maulānā Ḥaydar Kandanawīs, and Mīr Yaḥyā were six renowned pupils of Yāqūt. He died in 697/1298 during the reign of Ghāzān Khān. See A.A., vol. I, p. 75; Blochmann, p.106; *Badāyī' al-Waqāyī'*, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 888-9.

263 M.U., vol. I, p. 305.

264 M.A. tr., p. 300. Also see Ibid., p. 199; M.U., vol. I, p. 305.

265 M.U., vol. I, pp. 307-8.

The perpetual closeness of Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm to the Emperor was, however, not devoid of all drawbacks. He became haughty and, at times, his attitude even towards prominent nobles also smacked of conceit and superiority complex.²⁶⁶ Helpless to avenge themselves otherwise, these nobles sometimes failed to make a secret of their sarcasm against him.²⁶⁷ The Mīr's integrity, however, greatly compensated this flaw of his personality. An unscrupulous person in a position like his could have easily amassed a fabulous amount of wealth by both fair and foul means but he strictly avoided all possibilities of gratification. Generally the merchants tried to sell items to him at a fraction of the original cost, but the Mīr always, through private means, found out the exact price and obliged the merchants to accept the balance from him.²⁶⁸

His pen was not less facile than the eloquence of his tongue. Possessed of a quick memory, he could extemporaneously compose and quote verses with good effect. During the last days of Aurangzīb, he once overheard the Emperor murmuring the following lines in a melancholy mood.

'When you have reached your 80th and 90th year,
Many evils have you suffered from Time,
When after that you attain the 100th stage
It is death in the form of life.'

He reminded the Emperor that those lines of Shaykh Nizāmī of Ganja were composed as a preface to the following couplet of his:

'Then, 'tis better you remain joyful,
And that in that joy you remember God.'²⁶⁹

266 Ibid., p. 307.

267 See Ibid., vol. III, p.159.

268 Ibid., vol. I, p. 308.

269 *M.U.*, tr. H. Beveridge, rev., annotated and completed by Baini Prashad, Patna, 1979 repr., vol. I, p. 256; *M.ĀL.* tr., p. 302.

The Emperor ordered him to repeat that couplet and then directed him to jot it down which the Mīr did and the Emperor recited it under his breath several times. The following day the Emperor held his court and acknowledged to the Mīr the good effect of the couplet in reviving his spirits.²⁷⁰

Similarly, on yet another occasion, when Asad Khān was apprehending some severe reprimanding because of his rift with Prince Kāmbakhsh, Mīr 'Abd al-Karīm's timely reference to the famous adage:

'There is a pleasure in pardoning which is not in revenge'

saved the situation and Asad Khān was allowed to kiss the feet of the Emperor and was honoured with royal favours.²⁷¹

After the death of Aurangzīb when his second surviving son A'zam Shāh declared himself Emperor,²⁷² like all other officials and commanders Amīr 'Abd al-Karīm joined his entourage. A'zam Shāh removed Amīr Khān from the *dārūghaship* of the *khwāsīs*,²⁷³ but what other position was bestowed on him instead is not known. Nevertheless, Amīr Khān accompanied the new Emperor in his march towards Agra, via Gawalyar, and participated in the

270 *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 306.

271 *Ibid.*, p. 313.

272 He declared himself Emperor on 10 Dhī al-Ḥijja 1118/15 March 1706. Kāmwar Khān, p. 2; William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, ed. Jadunath Sarkar, New Delhi, 1971, repr., p. 8.

273 Kāmwar Khān, p. 3.

subsequent battle between A'zam Shāh and his brother Prince Mu'aẓẓam at Jājau.²⁷⁴ In this battle A'zam Shāh lost his life and sceptre and crown fell into the hands of Prince Mu'aẓẓam who ascended the ancestral throne and assumed the title of Bahādur Shāh (1119-24/1707-13). Realizing the fact that if at the time of his father's death his own sons had been in the Deccan there was every chance that under the pressure of circumstances they would have also allied themselves with their late uncle,²⁷⁵ Bahādur Shāh welcomed all the servants of his father regardless of their previous loyalties. Amīr Khān was appointed the governor of Akbarabad.²⁷⁶ During those days his house was a rendezvous for the literati of the town and poets, such as Miyān 'Alī 'Azīm,²⁷⁷ Mirzā Ḥātim Beg and Mīr Abū al-Wafā' Wafā'ī, met there regularly,²⁷⁸ Amīr Khan himself was an exquisite poet and his criticism of the poetry of others was regarded highly.²⁷⁹

During the fourth regnal year of Bahādur Shāh, Amīr Khān's sons, Abū al-Khayr Khān, Muḥtaram Khān and 'Alī Ridā Khān waited upon the Emperor and were honoured with special dresses of honour.²⁸⁰ Emperor Bahādur Shāh also bestowed one elephant each on Abū al-Khayr Khān and Muḥtaram Khān.²⁸¹

274 See Mubārak Allāh Wāḍih, *Ta'rīkh-i Irādat Khān*, ed. Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Lahore, 1971, p. 54. According to *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 308, he was left behind at Gawaliyar with the heavy baggage of the army.

275 *Later Mughals*, vol. I, p. 36.

276 Kāmwar Khān, p. 22.

277 For him see Bhagwān Dās Hindī, *Safīna-i Hindī*, ed. S. Shāh Muḥammad 'Aṭā al-Raḥmān, Patna, 1958, pp. 132, 134; Kishan Chand Ikhlāṣ, *Hamīsha Bahār* ed. Waḥīd Qureshī, Karachi, 1973, pp. 172-3.

278 Bindrābin Dās Khwūshgū, *Safīna-i Khwūshgū*, ed. S. Shāh Muḥammad 'Aṭā al-Raḥmān, Patna, 1959, p. 148. Also see *Ibid.*, p. 218.

279 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

280 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

281 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

On his accession to the throne, Farrukhsiyar (1124-31/1713-19) reappointed Amīr Khān the governor of Akbarabad²⁸² and his son, Muḥtaram Khān was exalted with the directorship (*mutaṣaddīgarī*) of Bandar Surat.²⁸³ Subsequently, when an envoy from Iran alighted at that harbour, Muḥtaram Khān was ordered to put 30,000 rupees at the disposal of the royal visitor and make arrangements for his journey to the capital.²⁸⁴ During the second regnal year of Farrukhsiyar Amīr Khan was appointed the commandant of the fort of Akbarabad and Ṣamṣam al-Daula Khān-i Daurān Bahādur the governor of that province.²⁸⁵ The latter also entrusted his responsibilities to Amīr Khān. During the sixth regnal year of that Emperor, Amīr Khān waited on him and made an offering of one hundred ashrafī, one thousand rupees and a copy of the *Qur'ān*.²⁸⁶ Soon afterwards Amīr Khan's brother's grandson Abū al-Wafā,²⁸⁷ and his sons, 'Abd al-'Azīm Khān, Maḥram Khān²⁸⁸ and 'Alī Riḍā Khān did homage to the Emperor and were rewarded with dresses of honour.²⁸⁹ Amīr Khān

282 Ibid., pp. 172, 173.

283 Ibid., p. 173.

284 Ibid., p. 185.

285 Ibid., p. 189.

286 Ibid., p. 231.

287 *M.Āl.* tr., p. 273; *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 172; Kāmwar Khān, p. 242. In this latter work on page 231 Abū al-Wafā is referred to as Amīr Khān's nephew (*birādarzāda*) which is probably a transcriptional error.

288 It could be a misreading for Muḥtaram Khān.

289 Kāmwar Khān, p. 231.

also received a robe of honour and was made the *dārūgha* of *khwaṣṣ*. Since he had become too old to carry the burden of that exalted office by himself, Muhtaram Khān was appointed as his deputy.²⁹⁰ The following year when Mīr Abū al-Wafā' died and Amīr Khān retired into mourning, Emperor Farrukhsiyar especially ordered Amīn al-Dīn Khān Bahādur²⁹¹ to fetch the Khān and, besides consoling him, favoured him with a dress of honour.²⁹²

During the interregnum that followed the death of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers raised Amīr Khān to the office of the *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* of India, *vice* Afḍal Khān,²⁹³ The elder Sayyid, Quṭb al-mulk 'Abd Allāh Khān held him in such a high esteem that he offered Amīr Khān a seat at the corner of his own *masnad*. As *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* Amīr Khān spared no effort to ameliorate the conditions of the poor and needy who turned to him for help.²⁹⁴ Under Muḥammad Shāh also Amīr Khān served as *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* for a while, but after his replacement with Mīr Jumla²⁹⁵ he seems to have retired from active life. Nevertheless, towards the close of his second regnal year Muḥammad Shāh favoured him with a dress of honour.²⁹⁶ Amīr Khān died sometime between 16 Rabī' I 1132/27 January 1720²⁹⁷ and 1 Rajab 1134/17 April 1722 on which last date his son Abū al-Khayr was appointed the commandant of the fort of Akbarabad on the recommendation of Jumdat al-Mulk Bahādur *wazīr-i aḥlā*.²⁹⁸

290 Ibid., p. 232.

291 For his particulars, see M.U., vol. I, pp. 356-7; Kēwalrām, s.v.

292 Kāmwar Khān, p. 242.

293 M.U., vol. I, p. 309.

294 *Safīna-i Khwūshgū*, p. 148.

295 Kāmwar Khān, p. 303. For Mīr Jumla see M.U., vol. III, pp. 710-12.

296 Kāmwar Khān, p. 332.

297 I.e., the date of bestowal of the robe of honour.

298 Ibid., p. 338.

About Amīr Khān's sons, the author of the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'* writes that they contented themselves with the acquisitions of their father, except Abū al-Khayr Khān, who because of his proximity to Khān-i Daurān 'Āṣim Khān received the title of Khān from Farrukhsiyar.²⁹⁹ This statement is not borne out by facts. Among other things, as we have seen earlier, the title of *Khān* appears with Abū al-Khayr's name, as with the names of his three brothers, as early as the fourth regnal year of Bahādur Shāh.

From the preface to the *Raqā'im-i Karā'im* where the compiler of that work calls himself Sayyid Ashraf Khān Mīr Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī and refers to Amīr 'Abd al-Karīm as *qiblagāhī* and the *khān-i marḥūm*³⁰⁰ Rieu³⁰¹ surmised that Sayyid Ashraf was also a son of Amīr Khān. Other scholars have followed suit,³⁰² but we firmly believe that unless it is corroborated by some other source, the evidence is too flimsy to be accepted as the basis of Rieu's conclusion and it would be safer to view it with circumspection.

As for Amīr Khān's daughters, one of them was married to Prince A'izz al-Dīn,³⁰³ a great grandson of Aurangzīb,³⁰⁴ during the 51st regnal

299 *M.U.*, vol. I, p. 309.

300 I.O. MS. 3021, pp. 1, 2.

301 Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Oxford, 1966, repr., vol. I, p. 400.

302 E.g., see *T.A.Kh.*, p. 184.

303 Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

304 He was a son of Muḥammad Mu'izz al-Dīn Bahādur. See Kāmwar Khān, p. 9.

year³⁰⁵ (1118/1707) of that Emperor. The unfortunate Prince was, however, blinded by Farrukhsiyar on 6 Muḥarram 1126/22 January 1714 and he died at Delhi on 8 Dhī al-Ḥijja 1157/12 January 1745.³⁰⁶

g. *Mīr Abū al-Baqā's Daughters*

Finally, a word about the female descendants of Mīr Abū al-Baqā'. A reference in the *Sakīnat al-Auliya'* of Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shukūh suggests that the Mīr fathered several daughters and at least five sons.³⁰⁷ On the other hand, the miscellaneous other sources available to us record the names of seven of his sons, who have been treated of earlier, and make specific reference, as we shall see presently, to only one of his daughters.

It seems that even after the death of Mīr Abū al-Baqā' his family continued to enjoy a prestigious position in the court circles and Shāhjahān's favours towards them did not undergo any effective change. Shāhjahān's fourth son Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh had been married to a daughter of Shāhnawāz Khān Ṣafawī³⁰⁸ for more than a decade.³⁰⁹ As she failed to bring forth a child (*farzand*) finally in 1066/1656, about nine years after Mīr Abū al-Baqā's death, Shāhjahān obtained the hand of his daughter "who was not only adorned with the ornament of elegance," writes the court chronicler Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, "but was also a worthy match for that Prince of exalted birth." The bride, with a dowry worth one hundred thousand rupees, was dispatched to Ahmadabad, where the Prince was then serving as governor.³¹⁰

305 Kēwalrām, s.v. Amīr Khān.

306 *Later Mughuls*, p. 242.

307 Dārā Shukūh, *Sakīnat al-Auliya'*, ed. Tārā Chand and M. Jalālī Nā'inī, Tehran, (1344 H.Sh.P). pp. 30-1.

308 For his career see M.U., vol. II, pp. 669-75.

309 The marriage took place in the 15th regnal year of Shāhjahān. See *Ibid.*, p. 671.

310 A.S., vol. III, p. 176.

SECTION III:

THE BOOK

1. *Development of Persian Historiography in Sind*

The Persian language made its first debut in Sind sometime during the 4th/10th century but apart from some casual spurtings, for the most part it continued to be an alien growth on native land. It is only from early 10th/16th century onwards that we witness an outburst of creative activity in this language which resulted in a spate of poignant compositions, both in prose and in verse, and consequently, transformed Sind into one of the foremost centres of Persian language and literature in the South Asian subcontinent. This eruption in the realm of Persian literature and lore in Sind merits a close and careful examination and can only be accounted for as the cumulative effect of various factors simultaneously at work in Sind on the one hand and in Transoxiana, Khurasan, Iran, Turkey and India on the other.¹

As far as the contribution of Sind in the domain of Persian historical writings is concerned, it is not only impressive, but in comparison to many other provinces of the Mughul Empire, it is quite overwhelming, too. The tradition of historiography in this region goes as far back as the 3rd/9th century when an anonymous writer compiled his *Minhāj al-Dīn wa'l Mu'lik* in Arabic between 215-25/830-40, which was subsequently rendered into

1 Development of Persian literature in Sind has not received adequate attention so far. Generally speaking, the factors which gave impetus to the literary movement in Sind during the 10th/16 century were not different from the ones which governed its development at Delhi and other centres of learning in the South Asian Subcontinent. These latter have been discussed in detail by various authorities, including Shiblī Nu'mānī, *Shi'r al-'Ajam*, 5th Edition, Azamgarh, 1956, vol. III, p.4 ff.; Browne, E.G., *A Literary History of Persia*, (4 volumes, C.U.P. 1959-64 rep.), vol. IV, p. 165 ff.; M.A. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughul Court*, (3 Parts, Allahabad, 1929-30), Part II, p. 149 ff.; Aziz Ahmad, *Safawid Poets and India, Iran*, XIV, 1976, pp. 117-32.

Persian as the *Fath Nāma*, better known as the *Chach Nāma*, by ‘Alī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr al-Kūfī in 613/1216-7.² This tradition, however, for some unknown reasons failed to strike root here and the next historian we hear about hailing from Sind is after a lapse of almost four centuries. He was the famous Mullā Aḥmad Thathawī who wrote the substantial portion of the *Ta’rīkh-i Alfī*, a general history of the Muslim rulers from the death of the Prophet down to the year 997/1589, commissioned by Akbar, after the seven-member original panel of writers failed to accomplish the task with the desired celerity.³

After the conquest of Sind by the Khān-i Khānān ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān the thread of historiography was once again picked up by the local chroniclers. The *Ta’rīkh-i Sind* of Mīr Muḥammad Ma’sūm Bhakkarī is the first of these local works. It starts from the Arab conquest of Sind and comes down to the appearance of Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān at Akbar's court, following his capitulation before Mughul commander ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān. In sharp contrast to his reputation as a historian of great distinction,⁴ Mīr Ma’sūm's inattention to the proper recording of dates and the abundance of factual errors and frequent inconsistencies in his work hardly create a good impression on the reader. The Mīr feels no compunction in suppressing

2 ‘Alī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr al-Kūfī, *Fath Nāma-i Sind*, ed. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad Dā’ūdpoṭa, Delhi, 1939.

3 For details, see C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A bio-bibliographical survey*, London, 1970, repr., vol. I, part i, pp. 120-2.

4 See *H.A.T.S.*, Intro., p. 6.

the sources of his information and in his obsession to abridge this information he sometimes destroys the proper perspective of the historical developments. This is equally true of his borrowings from the *Chach Nāma* for the earlier period of Sind's history, as well as for the *Raudat al-Ṣafā* and the *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* from which he reproduces almost verbatim the early history of the Arghūns. Although he was closely associated with the Mughul campaign which resulted in the fall of the lower Sind, his description of events is not as minute as that of the *Maṭṭhir-i Raḥīmī* and the *Akbar Nāma*, and even the generally brief *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* surpasses his *Ta'rīkh-i Sind* in matters of detail and description of facts. Despite all these defects, the value of the latter as the earliest history of the Arghūns and Tarkhāns in Sind can hardly be over-emphasized. Were it not for the labours of Mīr Ma'ṣūm in recording the particulars of the saints, scholars and poets who flourished in Sind under the last mentioned two dynasties in Sind,⁵ we would have been almost completely in the dark about the cultural development in this region during the 10th/16th century. Besides, his book sheds important sidelights on the Langāh rulers of Multan, is rich in information about the Balūch and native tribes, and renders invaluable assistance in the identification of several historical sites. Mīr Ma'ṣūm's detailed account of the successful Mughul expedition against Bhakkar and this territory's subsequent administration by the Imperial functionaries gives a rare insight into the dissensions and squabbles riddling the Imperialist camp during and immediately after the campaign and the mediocre quality of officers generally sent to look after this important new Mughul acquisition.

5 *T.S.*, pp. 196-206; 215-8; 237-41.

Within a decade of the completion of the *Ta'rikh-i Sind*, another Sindhī scholar, Idrākī Beglārī undertook the writing of the biography of his patron, Amīr Qāsim Khān-i Zamān⁶ b. Sayyid Qāsim Beglār under the name of the *Beglār Nāma*⁷. Written on the advice of the Khān-i Zamān and with the constant encouragement of his son, Shāh Muqīm Sulṭān, the *Beglār Nāma* constitutes an important link in the series of historical writings produced in this region. Though primarily an account of his life, exploits and the family circumstances of the Khān-i Zamān, it is a treasure of information about the internecine political struggles and scramble for power of the contemporary Tarkhān rulers, during whose reigns Shāh Qāsim flourished and played a vital role in numerous developments. The details about the native tribes inhabiting different parts of Sind found in this book are only second to the *Maṭhar-i Shāhjahānī* in their extensiveness. The *Beglār Nāma* also yields significant new information about various aspects of the battles fought between Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān and the Khān-i Khānān 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān.

Some incidental remarks of the author indicate that in 1017/1608-9 he was still engaged in the writing of his work and as late as 1034/1624 the process of additions and improvements was still in progress. All the same, the accounts of important events such as the death of the Khān-i Khānān and the forcible blinding of his son Abū al-Qāsim Sulṭān on the instance of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān are quite conspicuous by their absence from this work.

6 For his particulars, see *infra*, pp.375-9.

7 ed. N.A. Baloch. In press.

Couched in elegant prose interspersed with Arabic maxims and Persian verses, the *Beglār Nāma* is a durable monument of the skill and proficiency of its author in the Persian language.

Almost simultaneously with the appearance of the *Beglār Nāma*, the second quarter of the 11th/17th century witnessed the completion of yet another important work on the history of the region in the *Ta'rīkh-i Balda-i Thatta*, or the *Ta'rīkh-i Tāhirī* of Mīr Tāhir Muḥammad Nisyānī⁸ (1051/1641). Descended from a family of Astrābādī Sayyids who had long been in the service of the local Arghūn and Tarkhān rulers⁹ and enjoyed close matrimonial relations with the powerful Sa'ta tribe of Darbela,¹⁰ Mīr Tāhir Muḥammad was closely connected with the contemporary developments. His father was in the service of Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān¹¹ and after the latter's death continued to serve under his son and successor Mīrzā Jānī Beg and took an active part in his exploits against the Mughul forces under the command of the Khān-i Khānān.¹² Tāhir Muḥammad's maternal grandfather, the influential Sa'ta chief 'Umar Shāh and his son Dā'ūd had done all in their power to facilitate the stay of Humāyūn in Sind and were rewarded with a letter of appreciation which entitled them to the possession of Darbela as an Imperial gift as and when Humāyūn retrieved his throne in India and brought Sind under his sway.¹³ The author himself was a retainer of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān. Ever since the latter's death in 1021/1612, Mīr Tāhir Muḥammad had been contemplating to write a history

8 Cf. *T.K. tr.*, p. 636 wrongly records his name as 'Lasyānī'.

9 *T.T.*, p. 75.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 156; *T.K. tr.*, p. 636.

12 *T.T.*, p. 189.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.

of Sind, but he could not put this desire into effect¹⁴ until 1030/1620-1. However, the *Ta'riḵh-i Tāhirī* as it has come down to us does not seem to be in its finalized form. The style of the author is characterized by prolixity and fulsome adulations of various personages. Although Tāhir Muḥammad planned to divide his work into ten chapters, in the present codex only five chapters are specifically styled as such. The first two which are entirely based on folklore and hearsay, treat of the Sūmra and Samma periods of Sind's history and close with the account of the Samma Jām Fīrūz's defeat at the hands of Shāh Beg Arghūn.

Based on the eye-witness reports of the relatives, friends, and contemporaries of the author, the next two chapters give an exhaustive account of the Arghūn and Tarkhān rule in Sind. Though the events up to the departure of Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān for India are also dealt with by Mīr Ma'ṣum Bhakkarī, the description of Tāhir Muḥammad is much more picturesque and richer in details. The fifth chapter which is an extension of the previous two chapters, is a summary of the author's personal observations and impressions regarding the life and career of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg and constitutes the first and the only primary source of our information about this period which encompasses almost two decades of Sind's history.

Although unreliable in dates and lacking in chronological order of events, the *Ta'riḵh-i Tāhirī*'s contribution in elucidating various aspects of Sind's socio-economic and political history can hardly be over-emphasized. Moreover, it can be of immense interest to the linguist looking for the indigenous words commonly employed by the native writers

14 Ibid., pp. 10-23.

of the Persian language.

2. *The Maḡhar-i Shāhjahānī as a work of History*

Unlike Idrākī Beglārī's occasional remarks in the *Beglār Nāma* regarding the various attributes of rulers and their functionaries, his contemporary Yūsuf Mīrak devoted the first half of his *Maḡhar-i Shāhjahānī*¹⁵ totally to the treatment of this subject. The circumstances which led to the compilation of this work have already been discussed. As far as the Part I of the *Maḡhar* is concerned, we will examine it in some detail presently, but before venturing to do so it seems appropriate to cast a critical glance at its Part II upon which rests its claim to be counted among the histories of this region.

The Part II of the *Maḡhar-i Shāhjahānī* consists of four chapters (*bāb*). The first three are devoted to the affairs of Bhakkar, Siwi and Thatta respectively and seek to highlight various aspects of the Mughul administration in those regions. The author frequently refers to the Arghūn and Tarkhān period and does not hesitate to draw upon the *Ta'rīkh-i Sind* wherever it suits his purpose. Since Siwistan was the central place from where the refractory tribes infiltrated the aforementioned three *sarkārs*, the author chose to discuss the affairs of this region quite extensively.¹⁶ Among other things, in this Part Yūsuf Mīrak outlines the administrative divisions of each *sarkār* describes the truculent tribes infesting them, sums up the merits and demerits of successive Mughul

15 ed. S. Hussām al-Dīn Rāshidī, Haiderabad Sind, 1962.

16 Ibid., p. 242.

administrations and their good and bad effects on the prosperity of the region. He also enumerates a number of measures for the improvement of the administration, among them are the bifurcation in the duties and functions of the *bakhshī* and the *wāqī'a-nawīs*. These two offices had come to be fused into one and Yūsuf Mīrak wanted them to be separated from each other. He also recommended that the *qāḍī*, *amīn* and *ṣadr* should remain aloof from the *jāgīrdār* and should try to discharge their duties as fairly and as equitably as possible. Similarly, he vehemently opposed the subordination of the Imperial *kōtwāl* to the local *jāgīrdār*. Rent-farming and the extortionist demands of the *'āmil*s and *arbābs* were yet another two important things which, he thought, caused a great deal of hardship to the peasants and resulted in the destruction of the country. As far as the restoration of law and order was concerned, Yūsuf Mīrak does not disguise his abhorrence of the violent tribes and recommends their complete extermination by force of arms.

Yūsuf Mīrak exhibits amazing skill in tracing out the origin of different local tribes and their branches. In this respect his work is matchless among the native histories of Sind and considerably improves upon and supplements the information already contained on the subject in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*¹⁷ of Abū al-Faḍl.

Yūsuf Mīrak's evocative description of the indifference of Aḥmad Beg Khān towards the proper discharge of his duties as the *jāgīrdār*

17 A.A., vol. II, pp. 173-7.

of Siwistan and the oppressive manner in which his brother misused his powers has so carried away some Sindhī scholars that notwithstanding the fact that the tiny part dealing with the tenure of Aḥmad Beg Khān in Siwistan is nothing more than a small fraction of the whole book, in the sub-title of the Sindhī translation of the Part II of the *Maḡhar-i Shāhjahānī* published by the Sindhī Adabī Board, the whole work has been described as "An Account of Mughal Rule in Sindh under Nawab Ahmed Beg Khan (1038-1039 A.H.)."¹⁸ Doubtless, Aḥmad Beg and his brother's misconduct deserves censure and condemnation, but their misconduct cannot, and does not justify such distortion of facts.

The higher echelon of the Mughul nobility which constituted the governing class of the country was generally of the Iranian or Turanian origin. Foreigners as these *manṣabdārs* were, they failed to appreciate the value of showing compassion and consideration to the inhabitants of their *jāgīrs*. And the Mughul emperors, too, despite all their zeal and enthusiasm for justice, and occasional exemplary punishments to the functionaries of the lower level could not effectively restrain the tyrannous tendencies of some of these nobles against the local population. Mīrzā Rustam and Mīrzā Muḡaffar are two examples in point. Even Mīr Ma'sūm and Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn who have been profusely admired by our author for their concern for the welfare of the peasantry, have not escaped the charges of excesses from other historians.¹⁹

18 Yūsuf Mīrak, *Ta'rīkh-i Maḡhar-i Shāhjahānī*, Sindhi, tr. Niyāz Humāyūnī, Haiderabad Sind, 1979, p. 4.

19 See *Dh.Kh.*, vol. I, pp. 198-99; 204-5.

Similarly, Yūsuf Mīrak's observation that "in the Shī'ī faith the perpetration of torture on the Sunnīs seems to be an act of extreme piety"²⁰ should be viewed in its true historical perspective. Although there is no direct evidence, but some incidental remarks in contemporary works suggest that the 10th/16th century in Sind was marked by extreme sectarian tension between the Sunnīs and the Shī'īs. Muḥammad 'Alī Beg Bandarī who was the *faujdār* of Bhakkar during Aḥmad Beg Khān's *jāgīrdārī* of Siwistan, his sister's son Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān showed his disdain towards the first three Rightly Guided Caliphs by inscribing their names on the soles of his shoes.²¹ Mīrzā Yūsuf's irresponsible behaviour further fuelled the fire of sectarian animosity. This explosive situation culminated in armed conflicts between the followers of these two creeds and in one of these encounters Yūsuf Mīrak's nephew 'Abd al-Razzāq was killed in 1062/1651-2.²²

A great deal has been written about the power and influence of Nūr Jahān and his family during the reign of Jahāngīr.²³ Yūsuf Mīrak alleges that during the ascendancy of the great queen many of the *zamīndārs* had (unlawfully) procured *musammātī farmāns*²⁴ by paying money and had thereby succeeded in appropriating some of the best lands as *madad-i ma'āsh* holdings. If any *jāgīrdār* ever tried to investigate these irregularities, these people silenced him by offering to him huge sums of money in bribe.

20 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 156.

21 *Dh.Kh.*, vol. II, pp. 369-70.

22 See T.A.Kh., p. 117.

23 E.g., see Irfān Habib, *The Family of Nur Jahan During Jahangir's Reign: A Political Study*, *Papers on Mediaeval Indian History*, Indian History Congress Allahabad 1965, Aligarh, n.d.; Muhammad Afzal Khan, *Position of I'timād al-Daula's Family During the Reign of Shah Jahan*, *Papers on Medieval Indian History*, Indian History Congress Hyderabad, 1979, Aligarh, n.d.

24 Royal decrees for the grant of *madad-i ma'āsh* lands to the ladies.

The *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* is mainly based upon the personal observations of the author and bears out quite eloquently his administrative capabilities his critical acumen and his deep insight into the problems affecting the local population. This work is a veritable mine of information about the historial of Imperial *jāgīrdārs* in this region, its administrative set-up, revenue system, classifications of lands, ethnic composition of society, trade and commerce, weights and measures, geography and topography, and the rites and customs of the local people. It provides very useful details about some important Imperial *manṣabdārs*, and it is through this work that several of the members of Mīr Namakīn's family, especially the author himself, have come to light for the first time. No writer on the socio-economic conditions of Sind during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries can afford to overlook this book.

As far as the history of proselytization in this region is concerned, the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* is the first work which categorically states that the peasants in this region were Muslims and their economic conditions were hardly enviable.²⁵

In the Epilogue (*khātima*) of his work, Yūsuf Mīrak describes the ways and means through which the kings, *wazīrs* and nobles could raise their stature in the eyes of God without having to relinquish their genuine worldly pursuits. In doing so, he divides the Muslim community into three categories namely, the kings of the world and the hereafter, the beggars of the world and kings of the hereafter and the kings of the world and beggars of the hereafter. The first category comprises the

25 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 242.

four Rightly Guided Caliphs and those of the kings and nobles who walk in their footsteps. The second category consists of the poor Muslims who bear the hardships of life and are contented with whatever little they have been given by God. The third and last category comprises tyrant kings.²⁶

The author urges the king to try to be the king of the world as well as that of the hereafter and explains to him that this objective can be achieved either through the sheer blessing of God, or by adorning oneself with a number of good qualities. The foremost among these is the acquisition of knowledge. The king should appoint four persons who should every night read out to him the virtues of the just kings of the past and the traditions of the Prophet concerning the superamacy of justice over tyranny and oppression, because, he adds, no king can do without justice and adoption of means that would ensure the perpetuity of his kingdom.²⁷

Among other things, he exhorts him to be always accessible to the complainants and in this regard reminds him of the chain of justice

26 This division of the Muslim community is virtually the same as seen in the *Taqṣīm al-anām 'ala arba't al-aqsām*, a letter of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī addressed to Nawwāb Murtaḍā Khān Shaykh Farīd. See his *Irsāl al-Makātīb w'al Rasā'il ila Arbāb il-Kamāl wa'l Faḍā'il*, MS. in the Private Collection of the late S.V.H. Abidi, Lahore.

27 *Maz.Sh.*, p. 250.

Anūshirwān, and in later times Jahāngīr,²⁸ had hung from their palaces. He, however, does not seem to be impressed with the idea of the suspension of a chain. Rather, he recommends to the Emperor to set aside a corner of his court for the appearance of the complainants. The moment the king noticed somebody in that corner, he should listen to him and redress his grievances.

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- 28 The following observation of Jahāngīr about his chain will be read with interest: "After my accession, the first order that I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, 30 *gaz* in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 4 Indian maunds, equal to 42 'Iraqi maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river." *Tuzuk* (R&B), vol. I, p. 7. (Cf. Wahed Husain, *Administration of Justice*, Delhi, 1977 repr., p. 41, where the author puts up a fanciful interpretation on the installation of the chain and writes that "This device was adopted by the Emperor so that litigants could tie their petitions to be drawn up to the Emperor and avoid the harassment of the porters and court-underlings). For references to the installation of a similar chain by Anūshirwān, see *Siyāsat Nāma*, p. 50; *The Book of Government*, p. 40; Sa'dī, *Risāla V dar naṣīḥat-i mulūk, Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī*, p. 57.

In the end the author prescribes certain prayers and litanies the repetition of which, according to him, could ensure Divine help for the Emperor in the carrying out of the onerous responsibilities of his high office. These prayers are reminiscent of the ones contained in the *Ta'rīkh-i Fakhrī* of Ibn Ṭaṭṭaḡī.²⁹

3. *The Maḡhar-i Shāhjahānī as a 'Mirror for Princes'*

The term 'Mirrors for Princes' is generally applied to those ethico-political tracts which are basically 'designed to present the latter with a picture of the ideal ruler and his officials.'³⁰ This type of works have a long history in Persian literature, but as far as the Great Mughuls of India were concerned the first such book, the *Akhlāq-i Humāyūn*, seems to have been written in 912/1506-7 by Qāḍī Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Harawī³¹ for Bābur,³² who had yet to pass through

29 Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Ṭabaṭabā generally known as Ibn Ṭaṭṭaḡī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fakhrī*, tr. into Persian by Muḥammad Wahīd Gulpāyīgānī, Tehran, 1350 H.Sh., p. 45.

30 See Felix Tauer, in Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn, Dordrecht-Holland, 1968, p. 426.

31 MS. 1387 recorded in Ivanow/Wladimir, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 662. For the life of Qāḍī Ikhtiyār al-Dīn see Sa'īd Nafīsī, *Ta'rīkh-i Nazm-u Nathr dar Iran-u dar Zabān-i Fārsī*, Tehran, 1344 H.Sh., p. 278. The Qāḍī waited upon Bābur during the latter's visit to Kabul in the wake of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's death. Bābur admires his treatise in Persian on Jurisprudence and mentions his 'collection of homonymous verses from the Quran', but is reticent about this particular work of the Qāḍī. See *B.N.*, p. 285.

32 Probably misled by the name of this work, Felix Tauer (*op.cit.*, p.427), attributes its dedication to Bābur's son Humāyūn, but it cannot be true, because the latter was born in 913/1508, one year after the compilation of the book. For Humāyūn's birth, see Avasthy, p. 18.

several vicissitudes before he could finally establish his dynasty in India. Based on various early standard works on ethics, the book is particularly influenced by the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* of Ibn Miskawayh (325-421/936-1030).³³ The next important work on ethics, the *Akhlāq-i Ḥakīmī*, was written after Humāyūn's death, for his son, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm of Kabul, by Ḥasan 'Alī al-Munshī al-Khāqānī b. Ashraf Tajāwaz Allāh.³⁴ The reign of Akbar in India, besides Abū al-Faḍl's scattered remarks on the subject scattered throughout his works,³⁵ saw the compilation of the *Tuḥfat al-wulāt wa Naṣīhat al-Ra'yyat wa'l-Ru'āt*³⁶ by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Tāhir Pattanī,³⁷ but the real flowering of this genre is seen under Jahāngīr whose personal interest in listening to the views of various divines on the subject seems to have generated great activity among contemporary scholars. Upon

33 For his life and achievements, see M. Abdul Haq Ansari, *The Ethical Philosophy of Miskawayh*, Aligarh, 1964.

34 Ethe, I.O. 2203.

35 A.L. Srivastava, *Studies in Indian History*, Agra, 1974, pp. 108-18.

36 His biographers do not record this book among his works. The only MS. of it (dated 13 Rabī' II 1034/23 January 1625) was discovered by the present author in the Public Library of Khairpur Mīrs' in Sind.

37 For his life, see M.A. Quraishi, *Muslim Education and Learning in Gujarat (1297-1758)*, Baroda, 1972, pp. 205-10.

his request, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī wrote his *Risāla-i Nūriyya-i Sultāniyya*,³⁸ which was subsequently followed by the *Mū'iza-i Jahāngīrī* of Muḥammad Bāqir Najm-i Thānī³⁹ and the *Akhlāq-i Jahāngīrī* of Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad qādī-i Khāqānī b. Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn.⁴⁰ During the reign of Shāhjahān, Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī compiled his *Tarjumat al-Aḥādīth al-Arba'īn fī Naṣīḥat al-Muluk wa'l Salāṭīn*⁴¹ for the guidance of that Emperor.⁴² All these works were general in nature. They abounded in moral exhortations, but hardly touched upon specific problems, much less to suggest any solutions to them. It was in this background that Yūsuf Mīrak set about the writing of the Part I of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* and outshone all his predecessors in India, including the much-celebrated Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī of the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī*'s⁴³ fame. Yūsuf Mīrak's contribution in this field is marked by the same originality which is the hallmark of his history. Like the Nizām al-Mulk in the *Siyāsat Nāma*, he comes to grips with the real problems of his time and clime and drawing upon his long

38 ed. Muhammad Saleem Akhtar. To be published by the History Department, Aligarh Muslim University.

39 Etche, I.O. 1535; Ivanow Wladimir, p. 662.

40 Hermann Etche, *Neupersische Litteratur*, translated into Persian by S.R. Shafagh as *Ta'rīkh-i Adabiyāt-i Fārsī*, Tehran, 1958, p. 272.

41 The only MS. of this work is in the Gīlānī Library of Ūch. See Mas'ūd Hasan Shahāb, *Khittā-i Pāk-i Uch*, Bahawalpur, 1967, pp. 345-6.

42 Khalīq Aḥmad Nizāmī, *Hayāt-i Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī*, Delhi, 1953, pp. 169-70. The author has confounded this collection of *aḥādīth* by the Shaykh with another of his similar collections concerning the religious sciences.

43 Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī*, ed. A. Salim Khan, Lahore, 1972.

association with Sind and his familiarity with every nook and corner of the region, he tries to suggest practical solutions to them. It is this aspect of his work which endows it with the precision and thoroughness of a manual of administration and distinguishes it from all earlier works on the subject. To support his viewpoint, the author, side by side with the instances of the history and the then prevailing situation in Sind, freely quotes from the sayings, stories and anecdotes of the ancient kings regardless of their religion. The last chapter⁴⁴ of Part I which deals with the virtues the kings should adorn themselves with, Mīrak Yūsuf has completely plagiarized from the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*⁴⁵ of Mullā Wā'iz Kāshifī (d.910/1504-5).

44 P.U.MS. ff. 108b. to 230b.

45 Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, Lucknow, 1957.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE MAZHAR-I SHAHJAHANI

PART TWO

An Account of the Country of Sind
from Bhakkar to Thatta

Be it known [231b] that during the days of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn
 5 this country was divided into six *sarkārs*, namely the *sarkār* of Bhakkar,
 the *sarkār* of Sihwān, the *sarkār* of Naṣrpur, the *sarkār* of Chāchkān, the
sarkār of Thatta and the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla and Jaun. The *sarkār* of
 Bhakkar having already fallen to the victorious armies of Ḥadrat-i
 ‘Arsh Āshiyānī, after the conquest of Thatta and surrender of Mīrzā Jānī
 10 Tarkhān, Ḥadrat-i ‘Arsh Āshiyānī incorporated the *sarkār* of Sihwān and
 Bandar Lāharī into the protected Imperial domions and bestowed the rest
 of the four *sarkārs* on Mīrzā Jānī in *jāgīr*. Hence, this *khānazād* has
 also [for the purpose of this book] divided the country (*wilāyat*) of
 Sind into three regions (*mulk*), the fourth being the region of Sīwī that was
 15 vanquished a long while after the conquest of Bhakkar and Thatta and as such,
 the Part Two [of this book] has come to consist of four chapters (*bāb*).

CHAPTER ONE [232]

An Account of the Affairs of the
Region of Bhakkar

Be it apparent to the sun-like brilliant conscience that Bhakkar is
 the name of a fort which stands upon a hill in the midst of seven rivers.
 On the upper side of Bhakkar which abounds in water in the southerly
 direction opposite to the fort on top of a hill on the bank of the river
 is situated the city of Lōhrī. There is another hill on this side in
 25 the midstream overlooking the fort where Pīr Ghulām had built a quad-
 rangular platform with a minaret on every corner of it and had named it
 the *Ṣuffa-i ṣafā*, [the platform of purity]. He mostly spent the nights
 of the *ayyām-i bīd* there in the company of the learned and consumed the
 melons (*kharbūzahā*) of the village Niabadra, lying four *kurōhs* from this
 30 place and known for its wonderful indigenous (*wilāyatī*) melons [232b].
 The choicest of these melons Pīr Ghulām sent to Ḥadrat-i ‘Arsh Āshiyānī
 who ate them with great relish.

On the other side of the fort facing Sītpūr Nāhirān the water is

scarce and during winter at times [the river] becomes so shallow that one can walk across it; and in the northerly direction on the bank of the river facing the fort is situated the city of Shakkar. And in the easterly direction at a bowshot from the fort they have built the shrine (*āstāna*) of Ḥaḍrat-i Khaḍir, on whom be the peace of God. Westward from the fort at a distance of a quarter of a *kurōh* there lies in the midstream a low hill with a flat top which contains a few date-palms and a dome. That hillock is known as Shād Bēla. And at half a *kurōh*'s distance [from the fort?] [233] there used to be a small hill in the middle of the river. During summer when the water subsided, it became visible whereas in the flood season it [submerged in water and completely] disappeared. Consequently, the vessels coming downstream ran into it, were shipwrecked and drowned. Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī caused a ship laden with stones to be sunk at that place and thereupon constructed a green dome and named it Sīṭasar and it has developed into a beautiful recreation spot. Plenty of people go there for a walk and enjoy themselves, and on sight of it, the boats also take precautions as they navigate the flood waters. And in front of this dome in the direction of Shakkar he built a ship-like mosque on top of a hill on the bank of the river, and this is also a [233b] pleasant spot. Therefrom towards the river descends a flight of stone stairs, whereby people come down and perform their ablutions. During the days of 'Īd this is a place of amusement (*tamāshāgāh*) for the people of Bhakkar and Shakkar.

The region of Bhakkar consists of eight *parganas*: five of them stand on the side of Lōhrī and three in the direction of Shakkar. Out of the [former] five *parganas* the first is called Mātīla which signifies a now worn-out (*kuhna*) and old (*qadīm*) fort of baked bricks. Mainly the Dārējas and the Mahars inhabit this *pargana*. The second *pargana* is called Alōr; it also signifies a strong, old, worn-out fort situated on top of a hill. In the olden times the river flowed just underneath this fort and it was the capital of the rulers of those days. Amīr Shāh Bēg Arghūn demolished the old fort of Bhakkar and replaced it with another one [234] built of kiln-baked bricks which were procured by pulling down the fort of Alōr and razing to the ground most of the buildings belonging to the Turks and the Sammas, situated on the outskirts of Bhakkar. And even now, when the year 1044/1634-35 is current, the same fort is in existence. This *pargana* also belongs to the Dārēja tribe (*mardum*), though the people of the Pawār clan are also settled here in great numbers. The latter are possessed of a large number of camels and ply them on lease to Jaisalmēr, Multān and Qandahār.

The third *pargana* is called Lada Kākan and is also inhabited by the Dārēja tribe. During the days of Amīr Shāh Bēg they had committed some acts

of intemperance which ended up in a reprisal against them. The *Ta'rikh-i Sindh* relates that incident as follows [234b]: Amīr Shāh Bēg Arghūn entrusted the government of Bhakkar to Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān and made the Sayyids of Bhakkar responsible for extending all possible help to him. He also
5 ordered some Dārēja chiefs to abide within the precincts of the fort. But these short-sighted people, disregarding the promise, took to flight and thus not only opened the gates of hostility and conflict with all the inmates but also started teasing and affronting Sulṭān Maḥmūd. They left no stone
10 unturned to oust him from the fort and refused to make the payment of any dues to him. They sent back his messengers with the utmost disgrace and, mustering an army, they decided to give him battle in the field of Lōhrī. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who was twelve at that time, [also] got impatient and wanted to engage them. But the Sayyids did not let him do so, and instead endeavoured to pacify him [235]. The Dārējas twice mustered all their strength to
15 cross the river into the fort in an attempt to capture Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān. Realizing the danger, the Sayyids of Bhakkar strengthened all their fortifications and prepared for the war. Frightened by the strength of the Sayyids, the Dārējas could hardly do anything. Meanwhile Amīr Shāh Bēg Arghūn turned his reins from Shāl and Sīwī to the *pargana* of Bāghbānān, a dependency of the
20 region of Sihwān, killing all the Machhis who had gone into open rebellion, and he plundered all their cattle and razed their families and fort to the ground. Thence he proceeded towards Bhakkar. When he reached the town of Chandūka, thirty *kurōhs* [235b] west of Bhakkar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān dispatched his foster-brother, Bābā Chūchak, to his father, [Mīr Fāḍil] and
25 apprised him of the circumstances which faced him. Mīr Fāḍil presented his representation just as it was to Amīr Shāh Bēg, and with his permission crossed the river with two hundred cavalry near Chandūka. Consoling and comforting the *kalāntars* and the *muqaddams* on the way, he took them with him. In short, when Mīr Fāḍil approached the outskirts of Bhakkar, Lālī Mahar,
30 the chief of all the *zamīndars*, along with his brothers, obtained the felicity of the former's audience. The [other] Dārēja chiefs (*kalāntar*) also of necessity hastened to his presence from all villages, until Mīr Fāḍil reached Bhakkar along with forty seven Dārēja chiefs (*sardār*). Sulṭān Maḥmūd also obtained the blessing of kissing the feet of his father [236].
35 When Shāh Bēg learnt that Mīr Fāḍil had reached Bhakkar safely, he proceeded thither all the more speedily and alighted in the town of Shakkar. Sulṭān Maḥmūd hastened to his presence and kissed his feet, received a variety of favours, and placed before Shāh Bēg the transaction of the Dārējas. Shāh Bēg turned his face towards Qādī Qāḍin, one of the nobles and dignitaries

of that town (*diyār*). The Qādī remarked that the land of this country (*wilāyat*) was damp and abounded in thorns; one should always keep a hoe in one's hand. No sooner did Shāh Bēg hear this remark, than he ordered the massacre of these people. Sultān Maḥmūd Khān instantaneously made for the city and, having killed these people overnight, threw them down from the edifice [subsequently] called the Bloody Tower (*Burj-i khūnī*) [236b]; and thereafter until our day no irregularity has ever been witnessed from the Dārējas.

The fourth *pargana* is known as Kākārī and belongs to the Mangnīja tribe. These people had also shown some impoliteness towards the agents of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl, of Amrōha, in the early days of the incorporation of the region of Bhakkar into the imperial domains, when the latter was the *hākīm* of Bhakkar but ultimately they were reprimanded. The detail of this incident is as follows: when Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad arrived in Bhakkar he was very strict in the imposition of the *dastūr al-'amal* on the peasants. By way of *kankūt* he imposed on them a standard levy of five maunds per *bīgha* uniformly regardless of the good or bad quality of the crop, and deployed his managers (*sāhib-ihtimāmān*) all over the cultivated lands. The latter meted out very harsh treatment to the peasants, and thus the Mangnīja residents of the said *pargana*, in protest against this strict enforcement of *kankūt* [237] went into rebellion and put pressure on the agents of the Mīr 'Adl. The latter fortified themselves in a castle situated between the villages of Gunbad and Wījar. The Mangnījas showing disloyalty attacked the besieged with arrows. Hence quite a few of the Mīr 'Adl's useful men (*mardum-i khūb*) were martyred. The Mangnīja wretches [did not stop here and instead] threw the dead bodies of the believers and non-believers together into a well in the fort and levelled it with dust. Infuriated by the incident, the Mīr 'Adl gave an army to his son, Sayyid Abū al-Faḍl, and dispatched him to avenge those people. Scarcely had he proceeded towards them when the Mangnījas left their homes and took to flight. Thus, abandoning their pursuit, Mīr Abū al-Faḍl also withdrew to the fort of Bhakkar [237b]. Having thus been put down the Mangnījas are still submissive and obedient.

The fifth *pargana* is Darbēla, which is inhabited by the Sahata tribe. Two clans (*qawm*) of the Samējas, namely the Rajpāl and Bahan, also engage in cultivation in the desert (*dasht*) of this *pargana*. Previously they were contumacious and paid the dues to the *hākīm* of Bhakkar as an act of charity (*dast bardāshta*). No sooner Sayyid Bāyazīd was appointed the *faujdār* of Bhakkar than on the occasion of 'Īd al-Fiṭr his sons charged

forth from Bhakkar on horseback and, having attacked both these factions (*firqa*) and slain many of their men, they rounded up their families and drove them to the fort of Bhakkar. Ever since they have taken to the manner of peasants, have never disobeyed the *hākīm* of Bhakkar, and pay the revenue (*māl-i dīwān*) [without default]. During the days of *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh* *Āshiyānī* both these *parganas* were [238] in the *jāgīr* of Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī, who raised their population and prosperity to their zenith. Since the description of his good behaviour towards the peasants and his religiosity is beyond the scope of this treatise I have confined myself to a brief account of his administration. During his tenure he had instructed his *'āmil*s that when recording the measurement of land (*dabt*) they should have both ends of their chain (*jarīb*) directed correctly and take due notice of *būd wa nābūd* and *tukhmzada*, that is, they should enter only the *būd* in their survey register (*khassra*) and leave out the *nābūd* altogether. For example, a village (*qarya*) had 1,000 *jarīb*s under cultivation; by some heavenly calamity 999 *jarīb*s were destroyed (*nābūd shud*) and only one *jarīb* was left intact (*būd*). Thus only that one *jarīb* was recorded in the survey register and the remaining [238b] 999 *jarīb*s were completely ignored. And wherever a canal was needed he excavated one at his own expense and took [water] to that place. In fine, he asked of his peasants nothing more than cultivation. Owing to his good behaviour these two *parganas* attained such prosperity that there was hardly any jungle left between them. All the lands were brought under the plough and were populated, leaving scarcely any ground even for hunting purposes and Mīr Ma'sūm who was very fond of hunting *gaz* and *tir*, had had to go out of his *parganas* to look for them. The author has learnt from reliable people of the town of Darbēla that, when that *pargana* was given in *jāgīr* to Mīr Ma'sūm, during the first year [239] 500 *bīghas* of cultivated land belonging both to the peasantry and the *a'imma* were recorded, but, when the peasantry received encouragement and was assured of his consideration and justice, within a short span of one *khariḥ* the land under the plough in that area rose to fifty thousand *bīghas*, excluding the unproductive (*nābūd*) and the damaged (*tukhmzada*). Hence you can imagine the population and prosperity of other places.

All five of these *parganas* pay their revenue regularly and their inhabitants are not recalcitrant. The assessment (*'amal*) of these *parganas* has always been based upon *dabtī* and the regulations *dastūr* regarding each harvest, autumn (*safīdbarī*) as well as spring (*sabzbarī*), were also laid down in the days past. Thus to increase the produce in these *parganas*

the greatest favour to the peasants would be to [239b] demand nothing of them beyond the requirements of the regulations (*dastūr al-‘amal*). At the time of measurement (*dabt*) enough heed should be paid to *būd* and *nābūd* and the *arbābs*, the *ra’īses*, the *qānūngūs* and the *‘āmil*s should be prohibited from making any extra exactions (*malba*) from them apart from the land-revenue. If for the welfare of the peasants and the [long-term] prosperity of the *Dīwān* [Ministry of Revenue] the peasants receive some rebate in the [stipulated] land-revenue during one season they will [in turn] increase the cultivation, and that will add to the affluence of both parties. The residents of these *parganas* do not fear the contumacious and the recalcitrant from any quarter, other than the imprudent *Samēja* freebooters who belong to the region of *Sihwān* and whose depredations extend right up to *Mātīla*, rather *Ūbāwra*, which lies within the boundry of *Multān*, and *Jaisalmēr*. Incidentally, if the people of some *pargana* happen to be strong the arm of recalcitrance (*tamarrud*) of these wretches (*badbakhtān*) - except by way of stealing - does not reach them. But if the residents of some *pargana* become weak [240] they carry away their cattle with impunity and martyr whoever comes in their way, so that it becomes hard for the peasants to stay there, much less to engage in cultivation. Mostly when a village has been attacked and devastated by the *Samējas* the rehabilitation of the people in their original habitat becomes impossible.

Of the three *parganas* that lie in the direction of *Shakkar*, one is the *pargana* of *Jatō’ī*. In olden times (*dar ‘amal-i sābiq*) the chiefs of this *pargana* hailed from *Balūch* tribes, such as the *Jatō’ī*, *Bulidī*, *Kūrā’ī*, *Dārdasht*, *Lōlā’ī* and *Shar & c.*, and they often indulged in mischief and sedition. *Amīr Shāh Bēg* put an end to their sedition. The detail of this incident is as follows:-

Once *Amīr Shāh Bēg* had set his heart [240b] at peace with the construction of the fort of *Bhakkar* and the solution of the problems of his subjects he entered into consultation with regard to the short-sighted *Balūches* who never stopped their mischief and rebellion, and concluded that the fire of that race (*qawm*) should be put out with the water (*āb*, lit. water, edge, sharpness) of the sword. It was planned that in every village a few experienced men should be deployed who should live with the *Balūches* for some time and then at a previously determined opportune moment every group of these men should strive and accomplish the task of their respective villages. Thus a contingent was planted in every village and bided its time. When that particular moment struck, they all simultaneously took

their swords and did away with that [rebellious] group, so that on that particular day forty two villages of the Balūches were completely exterminated. Then, he entrusted the chieftaincy (*sardārī*) of that *pargana* to the Mahars [241]. Ever since that incident the peasants of that *pargana* have abandoned
 5 sedition and pay the revenue [regularly], except for the Bulidī Balūches, who occasionally resort to contumacy. They possess a fort called Darī, but still a little attention of the *jāgīrdār* is enough to reprimand them.

The second *pargana* is Chandūka. A very large *pargana* as it is, quite a few strong (*sāhib-i jam'īyyat*) clans (*qawm*), including firstly the Bukya
 10 Samējas, secondly the Sāngīs, thirdly the Abras (these last two also call themselves Samēja) and fourthly, the Mahdēja Shaykhs, live here. The people of this *pargana* are in part contumacious. If there is a strong army stationed in the region of Bhakkar which subdues them at the beginning of every season (*sar-i faṣl*), and if they are not required to pay more than
 15 what is justified by the regulations (*dastūr al-'amal*) and are treated with consideration, they pay the revenue obediently. But if they do not sense the strength of the army [241b] they resist payment of revenue because several factors are to their advantage. Firstly, they have a big population. Secondly, their region abounds in thorny forests which are difficult of
 20 passage. Thirdly, they live in the neighbourhood of nomadic and hill tribes (*aḥshāmāt*), such as the Balūches of the Magasī, Lasharī, Dārdasht, Rind, Dīnārī, Dūbinkī, Katūhar and Bulidī, & c., stock, who belong to the region of Siwī, and the ill-fated (*makhdhūl al-'āqibat*) Chāndiyas, who belong to the region of Sihwān. Whenever they break into rebellion they send their
 25 families and cattle to the aforementioned tribes and, divested of all encumbrances, they retire into the forest and when an army comes to attack them they fight with it in a leisurely manner (*waqt yāfta*).

The third *pargana* is called Takar and is [242] inhabited by the Bukya and Lakiyār Samējas. Samējas as both these clans are, contumacy is ingrained
 30 in their nature. The only difference is that to start with they were extremely recalcitrant but now they have abandoned a part of their contumacy and pay the revenue.

The revenue assessment (*'amal*) of these three *parganas* is also based upon *dabtī*. And their inhabitants have no fear of the nomadic tribes
 35 (*mardum-i aḥshāmāt*) except that of the wretched Chāndiya kidnappers (*ḥurr-furūshān*) who, let alone the cattle, even carry off the children of the peasantry and sell them.

As regards the improvement (*tarbiyyat*) of this region it may be pointed

out that none of these eight *parganas* is short of land; deserts sprawl among them. When the peasants are comfortable, receive encouragement from the *jāgīrdār* and either on their own, as [242b] has been mentioned previously in Part One in the case of Mīr Abra, or with the aid of the *jāgīrdār* as has
 5 been recently described in the case of Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī, excavate canals from the river to the deserts, the cultivation will increase tremendously.

Moreover, as has also been previously mentioned, in the *dabtī* system (*'amal-i dabtī*) the *jāgīrdār* should not demand anything from the peasants beyond the regulations (*dastūr al-'amal*). Similarly, at the time of
 10 measuring the land he should do his utmost to ensure that the surveyors (*ṭanābkashān*) use the chain appropriately, and the accountants (*kārkunān*) record the *būd wa nābūd* only after a good deal of on-the-spot investigation, and after the revenue assessment (*jam'bandī*) the *shiqqdār* of every *pargana* settles the account of every peasant (*asāmīwār*) in his own presence,
 15 so that the *arbābs*, *ra'īses*, and *qāmūngūs* do not burden the peasantry with their own [respective] exactions (*taujiḥāt*) [243]; and whatever *in'ām* (revenue-free grants) the *arbābs* and the *ra'īses* had inherited from his predecessors (*ḥukkām-i sābiq*) the *jāgīrdār* should defray it from his own *khālīṣa* or revenue assignment, and excepting the land-revenue (*māl-i*
 20 *wājib*) should not demand of the peasantry anything; and wherever there is fallow land (*zamīn-i uftāda*) he should dig a canal to that place. Likewise, he should give some rebate in the revenue assessment foreshadowed by the regulations so that fallow land also comes under the plough and gains prosperity and the peasantry gets settled and acquires the capability of
 25 cultivating it. Consequently, they will not only pay to the *jāgīrdār* his land-revenue more than the amount assessed (*jam'*), but also put up a resistance to the refractory elements and render the arm of their mischief incapable of approaching the ryot. As well, he should do away with the innovation of obliging the peasantry to cultivate more than they did in the
 30 previous year, [a practice] which has survived in this region from the days of Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī, because it causes unnecessary hardship to them [243b]; and as has been shown in the case of Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī there is no better way of obliging the peasantry to pay more heed to cultivation than to show beneficence (*iḥsān*) to them.

35 Moreover, he should avoid the practice of revenue-farming (*'amal-i ijāra*) because it ruins and destroys the country and is tantamount to selling one's own poor peasants to others. It is certain that the *ijāra* will be collected by the *arbābs*, who in the process, at the sight of so much wealth,

will be tempted to spend it extravagantly (*gutta kharch mīkunand*). Besides, they will overlook their own harvests as well as those of their friends and relatives (*muta'alliqān*), and will instead forcibly exact the whole amount of *ijāra* from the poverty-stricken peasants. They may well
 5 do this for one year, but what about the following year? It is quite obvious that the amount of *ijāra* will fall short and in their homes they will not have enough money to make up the difference. Consequently, for fear of apprehension, preferring wilderness to population, they will run away. And since it is difficult for the peasants to persevere in their places without
 10 the *arbābs* and the *ra'īses*, they [the peasants] will also take to flight on their heels and that will bring the country to ruin. Besides, when a new revenue-collector (*'āmil*) takes over, as is the wont of revenue-collectors he will demand a still higher rate of *ijāra* for his master, until the country is pushed to the brink of destruction. Thus the *dastūr al-'amal*
 15 should always be adhered to, because herein lies the prosperity of both parties. To be brief, letting land on lease (*ijāra kardan*) is not good, and it is still worse in the country of Sind. It is mostly this thing, coupled with demanding from the peasants more than what is stipulated in the *dastūr*, that drives them into rebellion. The peasantry acts as a
 20 medium between the king and the rest of his subjects: as long as the peasantry is [244b] in the hands of the king he is known as king and the rest of the people are his subjects.

As regard the *arbābs*, there are two facets (*ṣifat*) to their position: they are subordinates as well as rulers. As long as the deputy of the king
 25 (*nā'ib-i pādshāh*) receives the revenue from the *arbābs* as he would do from other peasants, pays whatever he owes to them as their remuneration for acting as *arbābs* from his own *khālīṣa*, does not permit them to exact their expenses (*taujiḥ*) from the petty peasants (*ra'īyyat-i rīza*), and by way of his benevolence wins over the hearts of the latter to himself, the *arbābs*
 30 are overwhelmed with the quality of subordination. They behave like *ra'īyyat* and never let themselves carried away by the idea of mischief-mongering. But on the contrary, when the *jāgīrdār* leaves the peasants at the mercy of the *arbābs*, either by way of revenue-farming or rack-renting (*taujiḥ-i ziyāda ṭalabī*), the latter become dominated by the quality of the
 35 ruling class and, as such, the peasants automatically start turning to them on two counts. Firstly, the *arbābs*, hailing as they do from the same territory, act as the pillars of government [245]; secondly, the deputy of the king unconditionally hands over the peasants to them. Thus, when the peasants fail to live up to the demands of *ijāra* or, for that matter, those of

excessive exactions, and the *arbābs* also do not have enough money in their homes to make up the difference, inevitably, breaking into rebellion, they run away. Consequently, the petty peasantry also of necessity goes into exile behind them, mainly because of two fears. Firstly, they are afraid
 5 of the fact that if they remained in their homes the ruler may force them to pay the aforementioned fall in revenue and the exactions and they cannot satisfy his demands unless they sell their children; secondly, they fear that if they do not take to flight and remained in their old homes the *arbābs* might return and kill them [245b]. Thus, why should one in the capacity of the
 10 deputy of the king hand over the thread of government, which is the main thing, to a handful of arrogant (*shākh nātrāshīda*) *arbābs* and destroy one's populous and prosperous country?

In the region of Bhakkar there are two places which need constant deployment of force. Firstly, in the *pargana* of Chandūka, where, after building a
 15 strong fort right in its centre, a forceful *thāna* should be stationed so that the inhabitants may constantly see the faces of the Mughuls, who, in turn, will keep an eye on their good and bad deeds and keep their head-strong ways in check; and secondly, in the *pargana* of Takar. The rest of the
 20 *parganas* of this country will pay their land revenue even if there is only one *shiqqadār* and accountant (*kārkun*) in each. However, the presence of the Imperial *amīn* is essential in this country to prevent the *jāgīrdār* from overstepping the *dastūr al-‘amal*. And God knows best what is right [246].

CHAPTER TWO

An Account of the Affairs of the
Region of Sīwī

Be it known that the region of Sīwī is situated at the foot of a small
 5 mountain. All the stones on this mountain are round in shape and however
 much one may dig the ground it is the same type of stones which are to be
 found. In the direction of the Pole from Sīwī there appears a dome which is
 known as *Mārī Kīhar Rā'i* in Sindhī. However, when people go there it dis-
 appears. Once Sultān Maḥmūd Khān Bhakkarī gathered two to three thousand
 10 persons and arm-in-arm they went up to those hills but saw nothing, nor was
 the dome found. They say it is some talisman devised by ancient people, and
 that a treasure is buried there. Once a dervish had gone to those hills and
 picked up something. He was followed by numerous other people who expected
 to find something but they did not come by anything [246b]. The stream that
 15 runs below Sīwī apparently [once] flowed over a sulphur deposit. Whosoever
 drank of its water was taken ill and most people died after drinking it,
 except the local population who had become use to it.

When the region of Bhakkar came into the hands of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān,
 every year he sent fresh men to defend and protect the fort of Sīwī, but
 20 except for a few all of them died there.

During the days of *Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* a flood completely swept
 away this sulphur deposit, or covered it [with a layer of earth]. In any
 case, that disease does not exist any longer. After traversing a distance of
 fifty *kurōhs* the water [of that stream] accumulates at a place called Sarwā,
 25 where it is used for cultivation, and whatever little of it is left flows
 [247] into the lake called Mānchar, near Sihwān. The snakes found on the
 bank of this stream are extremely long and thin, and their victim seldom
 survives. The inhabitants of this place, irrespective of male or female,
 wear long and baggy trousers to protect themselves from the harm of these
 30 snakes. In Kūr Zamīn and Chatar, dependencies of Sīwī, the cotton plant
 measures up to a jubjube [lote] tree in height. Hence, people pluck cotton
 on horseback and in every cotton plant there are to be found between one
 hundred and two hundred span-long snakes, and whenever the people of that
 place intend to pluck cotton first of all they shake the plants with the aid of
 35 wooden sticks and drive away the snakes, and only then they pluck the cotton.
 If anyone is bitten by a snake they forthwith make incisions with a razor
 at the place [of the bite] and then someone sucks up some of its venom;

otherwise the victim dies [247b].

In the neighbourhood of Ganjāba, a dependency of Sīwī, at one place water [once] erupted from the ground and inundated a vast tract of land. Fish was also to be found in that water. [Similarly], the flank of one of the hills of Ganjāba protrudes in the shape of a portico whence an iron cage (*panjara*) is suspended. Rumour has it that there is something put in it, but it is beyond the access of any person. If they try to drop a rope from the top of the hill and have somebody lowered down to it, the cage swings further away. Likewise, if they try to climb up from below that end of the hill is high, slippery (*maḥsā'*) and far removed from the cage. Cultivation in Ganjāba depends firstly on the river (*āb*) Mauzāh, which flows from the hill, and secondly on the river Nārī, which emanates from rain water; most of the Balūch nomads (*aḥshām-i Balūch*) [248], such as the Lāshārīs, Magasīs, Dīnārīs, Rinds, & c., live here. Sīwī is at two nights' distance from Ganjāba; the tract of land between Sīwī, Bhakkar, and Sītpūr Nāhirān is called Bārkan and the horse of this area is not inferior to that of 'Irāq. Its colt walks on these pebbles for one year and his hoofs become hard like a stone and do not require shoeing. Hence, he roams about on the pebbles without shoes. The bearing of the land of Sīwī and Ganjāba is like this: if one starts from the river bank and travels past Ganjāba, Sīwī, Arāra and Patar and continues towards the river he will make a [semi-]circle. The area thus enclosed is a desert that [once] contained forts and settlements (*ma'mūrahā*) which now lie in ruin; the road to Qandahār [248b] also passes through this desert. Extending from the river to Sīwī [this desert] is 100 *kurōhs* and 60 *kurōhs* wide. Usually this path is traversed overnight with the aid of the Pole star, [but still] a knowledgeable guide like the navigator of a ship, is essential to help travel across [this desert]; otherwise the people who embark upon this road perish, and that is what happened to the people from the plain. The details of this incident are as follows: Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān appointed a group of men from the plain in Ganjāba, but when they arrived there they failed to carry out the revenue assessment of the nomadic tribes of the place. Consequently, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān recalled them to Bhakkar and dispatched another party instead. These people from the plain, who numbered about two hundred, left Ganjāba for Bhakkar with their families. On their way back the guide felt giddy and told them [249] to stop for an hour or so to enable him to recover his balance. They did not wait, but in fury killed him with a stroke of sword, and hence they were left alone to wander in that waterless desert. The entire party succumbed to lack of water and died to the last person.

Travellers still find their belongings such as arms & c., and most of the land is swept by simoom (*bād-i samūm*) which blows for four months during the summer.

By the grace of God and owing to the everlasting fortune of *Ḥaḍrat-i*
 5 *‘Arsh Āshiyānī* the fort of *Sīwī* was conquered by *Pīr Ghulām* from the Pannī Afghāns during the days of *Ḥaḍrat-i ‘Arsh Āshiyānī*. When the region of Bhakkar was transferred to him in *jāgīr* from the *Khān-i Khānān ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khan* [249b], *Pīr Ghulām*, realizing the potentials of that region, implored the Emperor to allow him to bring the region of Kīch and Makrān under the
 10 sway of the Imperial army. The Emperor forbade him, saying that Kīch and Makrān lay on the frontier of the Shāh ‘Abbās’ empire, and since relations between the two sides were cordial to make an encroachment upon the region of Kīch and Makrān without any reason would not be correct.

The same *ijāra*, in cash and kind, that *Pīr Ghulām* had levied upon the
 15 *Sīwī* Afghāns still continues to be in force. At the beginning of every season (*sar-i faṣl*) the functionaries from Bhakkar go to the submissive tribes (*aḥshām-i ra‘iyyat*) [of that place] and collect the *muqṭa‘ī*, or the fixed amount from them.

If the army (*jam‘iyyat*) is strong the revenue administration is also
 20 good (*sar-rishta-i ‘amal nīz khūbast*), and if the army is weak the revenue is also slender (*zabūn*). When *Sīwī* was in the *jāgīr* of Qūch ‘Alī Kurd, he showed a great deal of valour [250] vis-a-vis the Afghāns of *Sīwī*, but since his army was small the Pannī Afghāns besieged him in the fort of *Sīwī*. During those days Tāj Khān was the *jāgīrdār* of the region of Bhakkar and the *jāgīr*
 25 of Ūbāwra and Ganjāba was vested in [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā’. When this news reached the Emperor Jahāngīr an exalted *farmān* was dispatched through Madū sazawal to the author’s brother to the effect that having obtained reinforcements from Tāj Khān, he should betake himself to the rescue of Qūch ‘Alī. He left Ūbāwra for Bhakkar, obtained two hundred troops from
 30 Tāj Khān, and went to *Sīwī* along with his own army, which comprised his brothers, relatives, and old servants from the days of his father. Taken aback as they were, all the Afghāns waited upon him, and that was how he rescued Qūch ‘Alī from the besieged fort [250b]. On another occasion when Ganjāba was also in the *jāgīr* of Qūch ‘Alī the latter taught a good lesson
 35 to the Afghāns, so that a large number of them were killed. He fought with them several arrayed battles. Although he had only two hundred Mughuls at his disposal and the Afghāns encountered him every time with a strength of two to three thousand, he fought against them and defeated them. Once his

heart was set at peace concerning the Afghāns and other nomadic tribes, leaving Sīwī he made forced march in hills for three days and nights, until he reached the fort of Kūhyār and besieged it. Some fierce battles took place between him and the Balūch occupants of the fort, and both sides
 5 suffered casualties. Consequently, Ibrāhīm Khān, the commandant of the fort, waited upon him with an offering of merchandise from the hills, such as horses, camels, goats, carpets (*shaṭranjī*), & c. Then, Qūch 'Alī returned to Sīwī. Had his means allowed him [before leaving] he would have stationed a *thāna* in that fort. The following year he was again planning to lead
 10 an expedition to the hills, but in the meantime he was transferred to India. Such things are not impossible for an adventurous (*kārtalab*) soldier. For instance, it is mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i Sindh* that, during the days of *Hadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyānī*, Mirzā Mujāhid came with thirty soldiers and gave battle near the fort of Mātīla to Sultān Maḥmūd Khān Bhakkarī's slave,
 15 Mubārak Khān, who was accompanied by about two thousand men, defeated him and put him under siege in the fort of Mātīla, and thus, retrieving the outskirts of the fort of Bhakkar from Maḥmūd Khān Bhakkarī, he brought the region of Bhakkar under the sway of the victorious army of the Emperor [251b]. The *Qur'ānic* verse: "How oft by Allāh's will hath a small force vanquished a big
 20 one" has found its fullest expression here.

After the transfer of Qūch 'Alī, when the *faujdārī* of Bhakkar was bestowed upon Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī, he dispatched an old servant of his (*az qadīmīyān*) called Shaykh Bōl, as the *shiqqdar* of Sīwī. The Pannī Afghāns killed him. His sons mustered strength and rushed to Sīwī, where a
 25 fierce battle was fought between them and the Pannī Afghāns. The Afghāns were defeated and a large number of their men were killed. Their chief, Jangī Khān, was arrested and brought to the fort of Bhakkar.

In short, Sīwī is surrounded by numerous nomadic tribes. If a brave and resourceful person is appointed there he will find ample chances of exhibit-
 30 ing his valour. Thus, when Mirzā Shāh Ḥasan bestowed the government [252] of Sīwī on Sultān Maḥmūd Khān Bhakkarī he captured many of the forts of the Balūches which had been under their control for several years, and punished the contumacious and rebellious elements of the hill country and reduced them to submission and obedience. This country requires military force
 35 for its administration; and abounds in *zahrī* horses, mountain camels, goats, 'Arab dogs, Sanjarī rugs, and exquisite carpets worthy of the seat of masters (*khwājānashīn*). And God knows best what is right.

CHAPTER THREE

An Account of the Affairs of the
Region of Thatta

Be it known that Thatta is the name of a big city which is situated
5 on the bank of the river. Towards Multān it has a small, strong fort where
the governor resides. It is also possessed of another strong fort called
Kalānkōt and Tagharābād, which stands [252b] on top of a hill at two *kurōhs*'
distance from the city, and lies in ruin.

This city abounds in 'ulamā', men of learning, poets, exquisite calli-
10 graphers, and God-worshipping people. Most of the artisans (*kāsib*) also live
here. They are so ingenious in their respective crafts that the work they
accomplish is quite comparable in quality to that of their counterparts in
'Irāq and Europe (*Farang*). Devout Muslims as they are, they exert themselves
15 hard in prayers, fasting, and adherence to the Sacred law. Thus, besides
the small mosques situated in different quarters of the city, there are
some huge Friday mosques as well, where between twenty to thirty thousand
men congregate for prayers, and these mosques are so profusely jammed on
Fridays that if one reaches there late for the Friday prayers, one finds
the room for prayers only with a great deal of difficulty and effort.

20 The region of Thatta consists of four *sarkārs* [253]. Firstly, the
sarkār of Thatta; secondly, the *sarkār* of Chāchkān; thirdly, the *sarkār*
of Naṣrpūr. These three *sarkārs* are situated on the side of Thatta from the
river. Fourthly, the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla which lies towards the hills
across the river. Each of these *sarkārs* consists of a number of *parganas* and
25 every *pargana* comprises numerous villages. Since the details of all these
would have led to prolixity I have confined myself to a brief description of
the affairs of these four *sarkārs* only.

Be it not a secret that the peasants of the *sarkār* of Thatta are indigent.
They are not intractable. Since they were always in fear of the Kīhar and
30 Nakāmara thieves the Tarkhāns peacefully won over the chiefs of these last
mentioned two clans and subdued them. Subsequently, when the region of
Thatta fell into the hands [253b] of the agents of Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makānī
he also appeased Jām Hāla and Ra'nā 'Umar with petty *manṣabs* (*juzwī manṣab*)
and allowed them to stay in their respective areas where they were ever ready
35 to extend a helping hand to the governor (*ṣāhib-i ṣūba*) of Thatta.

In keeping with the orders of the Master of the world and the people of

the world, as a measure of security for the country, by the grace of God and by virtue of the external good luck of the Emperor, [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā' has recently exterminated the Kīhars, together with their chief, Jām Hāla. Since no orders were issued with regard to the Nakāmaras he did not turn
 5 towards them, with the result that their chief, Ra'na 'Umar, also did not move from his place and continued to behave in a submissive manner.

As regards the *sarkār* of Chāchkān, its peasants are also poor and tractable. The Mandaras were recalcitrant and [254] they had been behaving in this manner since the days of the Tarkhāns. During the governorship
 10 of Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī, when Badīn was for the first time given in *jāgīr* to [my] brother, he chastised them in such a befitting manner that until now they continue to be submissive and, in contrast to the rest of the peasantry, are more subservient to the *jāgīrdār* and pay the land revenue. Besides the Sahūdas and the Samējas Dal who belong to the *sarkār* of Naṣrpūr, this *sarkār*
 15 does not fear rebels from any direction and, since the former two have been also satisfactorily reprimanded by the aforementioned brother, the revenue assessment (*dabt*) of this *sarkār* is accomplished with a small strength.

In the *sarkār* of Naṣrpūr, some of its inhabitants, such as the Sahūdas, the Samējas Kībar, the Samējas Sānd, the Samējas Jūnēja [254b], the
 20 Samējas Kīriya, and the Samējas Dal, are refractory. But the most contumacious of them all, who do not pay the revenue, are the Samējas Dal. The *pargana* of Samwātī, whose income recovered for salaries (*jam'-i tankhwāht*) amounted to forty lac *dāms* also owes its devastation to them.

When Mirza Rustam Qandahārī was on his way to Thatta he dispatched
 25 Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek, the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān, as the vanguard of his [Rustam's] army, in advance, and himself also left for Thatta on his heels. When the latter drew near to the village of Pallī Samma, which lies within the *pargana* of Samwātī, the Samējas Dal plundered the cattle of that village. Chasing them Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek put many of their men to death and freed
 30 the cattle of the peasants from the hands of those wretched ones.

The other other seditious elements of this *sarkār* are the wretched Samējas Ūnar, who belong to the region of Sihwān and are settled upon the border of the *pargana* [255] Hāla Kandī, which lies within the aforementioned *sarkār*. They have ravaged this last mentioned *pargana* whose income recovered
 35 for salaries amounted to twenty lac *dāms*. During the days of Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī the produce of this *pargana* had risen to eleven thousand *kharwārs*, and whatever it now produces is also well known. Most of this *pargana*'s destruction took place during the tenure of Mirzā Ḥussām al-Dīn Murtaḍā Khān

II, and a brief description of it is as follows: He dispatched his son, Samsām al-Daula, to deal with the Samējas Ūnar. Reaching the village called Thattī, which lay at a distance of half a *kurōh* from the town of Hāla Kandī and was such a big village that it competed in size with the aforementioned town, he dug a strong ditch around his army and shut himself up in a barricade of thorny bushes (*khārbandī numūda nishast*). Out of impatience [255b] he dispatched Mūsā Khān Afghān, the commandant (*thānadār*) of Hāla Kandī, together with a body of soldiers, to invade the aforementioned Samējas. The Samējas had already got the news of his army's arrival and they were keeping a watch on its movements. When this last mentioned contingent set out for their area, leaving their positions, they went behind the enemy and waited in ambush. When this army repaired from the Samēja villages they [the Samējas] swooped upon it in the jungle and martyred many of its men. Yūsuf Samēja, the *arbāb* of the *pargana* Kībar, who was estranged from his *shiqqdār* for some reason and had absconded, took the Samējas Ūnar with him and in broad daylight attacked the town of Hāla Kandī. Hajjī Muḥammad [256], the *shiqqdār* of the said *pargana*, was so mortified by this happening that he slew his wife with his own hands and fought against those waylayers until he himself was also raised to the station of martyrdom. Those wretched ones plundered the town and ran away. Having observed all this, Samsām al-Daula could no longer persevere in his position. He arrested the *arbābs* of the *parganas* Hāla Kandī and Samwātī and took them to his father in Thatta, who, as a reprisal for the default of the Samējas, imposed a heavy indemnity on them. When they failed to pay that indemnity he obliged them to execute *tamassukāt-i shar'iyya*. Because of these *tamassukāt*, during the tenure of my brother, Abū al-Baqā', they were still entangled in this affliction. Being themselves unable to fulfil the obligation they extorted the sum from the poor peasants (*bar ra'iyyat-i gharīb taujīh mīkardand*). After the return of Samsām al-Daula, one night the Samējas Ūnar fell upon the aforementioned village of Thattī [256b] and killed most of its inhabitants. The surviving few ran [for their lives] to the township of Hāla Kandī and settled there. That village is still lying in ruins, and the sight of its desolate spots overwhelms one with grief.

Thanks to the efforts of [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā', this *pargana* has started developing again. Carrying out a raid on the Samējas Ūnar and killing [in the process] some of their prominent chiefs, he encamped at the village Wījara and laid the foundation of a huge fort at that place. Thence, he dispatched an army under the command of his elder son, Diyā' al-Dīn Yusūf, to the *pargana* of Darbēla, a dependency of the region of Bhakkar. Diyā'

al-Dīn Yūsuf put about two hundred Samējas to death in those areas and those of them who were arrested he handed them over to Ḥakīm Ṣālih, the then *ḥākim* of Bhakkar. [My] brother, Abū al-Baqā', sent yet another army under the command of his middle son, Abū al-Qāsim [257], in the direction of

5 Hāla Kandī, and he achieved a good deal of success in that area. Consequently, Dīndār Khān, the then *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān, pleaded for a reprieve on behalf of the Samējas. [Meanwhile], Shīr Khān Afghān invaded the region of Sīwī and Ganjāba. Hence the *dīwān* and the *bakhshī* of Thatta as well as the *manṣabdārs* decided that they should reach Thatta immediately, while Dīndār

10 Khān should hasten to Bhakkar at the head of an army from the aforementioned brother. Thus, my brother, Abū al-Baqā', returned to Thatta and dispatched his younger brother, Luṭf Allāh, together with a strong army, with Dīndār Khān to Bhakkar. Otherwise the Samējas would have been exterminated completely. Abū al-Baqā' set up a *thāna*, comprising three hundred horse,

15 and one hundred and fifty matchlockmen and archers, in the said *pargana*.

This *sarkār* needs a strong army at two places [257b], namely the *pargana* of Samwātī and the *pargana* of Hāla Kandī. The other *parganas* pay their land revenue even to a single revenue-collector (*az dast-i yak bājī 'amal mīdihand*).

20 The *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla is situated at the foot of a mountain, and the mountain itself abounds in intractable hill people. Hence, the tribes of this *sarkār* which lay towards the mountain also tended to be contumacious. This *sarkār* is inhabited by several clans. While three of them, namely the Shūras, the Samējas Dal, and the Babar Balūches, have [always] been

25 notorious for their sediton and mischief-making, four of them, namely the Palējas, the Kōrējas, the Linjārs, and the Narējas have all along been subservient to the *jāgīrdārs*.

During the days of the Tarkhāns this *sarkār* was very populous and prosperous. But as far as the earlier mentioned three tribes were concerned,

30 even the Tarkhān administration was also helpless and the Shūras even killed Rustam [258], the elder son of Khusrau Bēg, the *ḥākim* of Thatta. Khusrau Bēg mustered an army and set out to invade them, but they joined forces with the Nuhmardīs and retired into the hills. Khusrau Bēg went in their pursuit to the villages of Kūhyār and Wankār which lay right in the

35 midst of the hills, but the Shuras did not fall into his hands. He emerged from these hills from the side of Sihwān without achieving any result.

When Mirzā Ghāzī Tarkhān became the *ṣūbadār* of Qandahār he bestowed the title of *Hindū Khān* on a Hindū called Sā'īndīna and dispatched him to

Thatta to replace Khusrau Bēg. Similarly, he invested an attendant called Shāhbāzī with the title of *Khān* and sent him to Naṣrpur to take the place of sons of Qāsim Khān Arghūn. When Sā'indina reached Thatta, Khusrau Bēg came out of the place and, encamping at the town of Hāla Kandī [258b], contemplated proceeding towards Qandahār. Meanwhile the news of the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī reached Sā'indina in Thatta. He crossed the river along with his party and, following the foothills, fled to Sihwān. When he reached the territory of the Shūra tribe, in accordance with the orders of Khusrau Bēg they mustered strength and, engaging Sā'indina in battle, drove him to the village of Badapur, where they arrested him, together with his brother, Nārū, who had received the title of *Shujā'at Rā'i* from Mīrzā Ghāzī, and killed them. The Shūras also ran away with the 'Irāqī horses, pieces of golden brocade (*mīlak hā-i zarrīn*) and saddle-bags of money (*kharjīnhā-i māl*) that Sā'indina and his companions had brought from Qandahār. They pillaged their other belongings, including the kettle-drums and *sakpāl*.

After the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī, the Emperor Jahāngīr sent Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī to Thatta. At that time Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek was the *jāgīrdār* of [259] Sihwān. He picked out three hundred of the best and most resolute men from his soldiers, and sent them under the command of his relative, Khwāja Jān, with Muẓaffar Khān. When Muẓaffar Khān reached Thatta, Khusrau Bēg was frightened at the sight of this Ūzbek contingent. Playing a strategem on Muẓaffar Khān, he told him that the Shūra, Dal, and Babar tribes had gone into rebellion and, as such, he should dispatch Khwāja Jān to suppress them. Ignorant of the terrain as the Ūzbeks were, they set out in that direction hesitatingly. It is customary with the Ūzbeks that they usually fix a *qarqara* on their heads [259b]. As soon as they reached the field on the outskirts of the fort of Nayrankōt the rebels, who numbered two thousand horse and eight thousand foot and lay in ambush for the Ūzbeks, noticed this and decided among themselves to play a trick (*par gudhārīm*) on them, in the sense that every horseman of theirs should be flanked by four foot soldiers, two being on each side, and that was how they were supposed to give battle to the Mughuls. Accordingly, they came out to face the Ūzbeks. When the Ūzbek soldiers gave rein to their mounts and reached in the midst of the enemy, the foot soldiers of the rebels hamstrung most of their horses and the Ūzbek soldiers fell to the ground and were killed. An Ūzbek called Khwāja Muḥammad Sultān, who was one of the heroes (*az bahādūrān*) of Shamshīr Khān, also laid down his life in this battle. The remainder of them, defeated as they were, retreated to the fort of Nayrankōt. The rebels surrounded the fort and encamped there. On hearing this news, Shamshīr Khān left Sihwān with a

strong army and hastened to the rescue of [260] his soldiers. When the rebels learnt of his incursion they lifted the siege and returned to their strongholds. Hence Khwāja Jān left the fort with his men and came to Sihwān.

Among the Shūras Ismā'il Shūra made a name for himself in sedition. He
 5 always roamed about with the kettle-drum and the *sakpāl* of Sā'īndina Hindū,
 and there was none among the mountain tribes or the peasants of the afore-
 mentioned *sarkārs* and those of the region of Sihwān who could stand against
 him. Secondly, Dā'ūd Shūra, who lived in the vilage of Khasā'ī Shūra on the
 bank of the river near the foothills, commanded a large number of Hūsara
 10 river pirates, and openly lay in wait on both river and land routes.
 Thirdly, among the Dals, one called Manāhī was quite notorious.

An Account of the Governorship of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek in Thatta

After the death of Tāj Khān [260b] Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek was appointed
 15 the governor of Thatta, and the region of Bhakkar, after his transfer from
 there, was bestowed as a revenue assignment (*jāgīr-i tankhwāhī*) collectively
 upon [my] brother and Mirzā Dūst Bēg. [Once] the former dispatched an
 attendant of his called Maḥabbat Khān with the melons from the village of
 Nārlam in a boat for Shamshīr Khān and for Muẓaffar Khān who was the *bakhshī*
 20 of Thatta at that time. As soon as the boat sailed past the ferry of Khasā'ī
 Shūra, the Hūsaras of Dā'ūd Shūra leapt into their boats and approaching
 Maḥabbat Khan killed him and took the water melons to Dā'ūd Shūra. When
 this news reached my brother he lost his patience and the same day around
 evening prayers left Sihwān by boat, [together with his men]. He sailed
 25 continuously for three watches of the night. During the last watch, one *kurōh*
 before the ferry of Sann, he disembarked [261] on the side of Sihwān and
 rode hard towards Khasā'ī Shūra. By the time he reached there, somehow
 Dā'ūd Shūra had already got the intelligence and had retired into the hills
 with his family. The Imperial army set ablaze Khasā'ī Shūra, killed a few
 30 Shūras who encountered it, and plundered whatever luggage and effects it
 could lay its hands upon. This was the first blow which was administered
 by the Imperial army to the Shūras.

An Account of the Governorship of Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī at Thatta

35 After the transfer of Shamshīr Khān, Muẓaffar Khān took over as the
 governor of Thatta while the former reverted back to Sihwān. Meanwhile,
 [my] brother was appointed at Badīn, in the *sarkār* of Chāchkān, with

Nayrankōt and Shāl, in the *sarkar* of Chākar Hāla, as his revenue assignment [261b]. Hence, in accordance with the the Imperial *farmān* he went to Badīn.

[Once] with a view to reprimanding the Samējas Dal who lived in the *pargana* of Shāl, Muẓaffar Khān, together with the *manṣabdārs* in attendance
 5 on him in Thatta, rode out [of that city]. [My] brother had not yet arrived in Thatta from Badīn. When the army of Muẓaffar Khān reached the outskirts of Shāl Manāhī, chief of the Dals, appeared in strength, intercepted the [Imperial] army and in the course of an action martyred some of its soldiers. Observing the situation, instead of going further, Muẓaffar Khān pitched his
 10 tents right there. The soldiers faced great difficulty in leaving their encampment, even to get fodder and fuel, but in the meantime [my] brother, who rode post-haste from Badīn, joined the forces of Muẓaffar Khān within the span of an intervening night. The following night he set out for the habitat of the [262] rebels. He travelled overnight, and in the morning
 15 fell upon those wretched ones in the foothills. He killed between two to three hundred of their men and brought their heads before Muẓaffar Khān, and thus brought the expedition against the Samējas Dal to a befitting conclusion. Thereafter, Muẓaffar Khān left [my] brother at the same place in the fort of Nayrankōt and himself returned to Thatta. [My] brother once again gave a
 20 good chastisement to the Samējas Dal, and to some of the Shūras who counted themselves among the followers of Ḥamīd Shūra. The Dals were completely routed. Humiliated as they were, Manāhī and Ḥamīd Shūra [henceforward] always stayed in attendance on my brother and paid the land revenue [regularly]. In the course of his incursion against this group of Shūras
 25 another of my brothers, Nūr Allāh was martyred on top of the hill called Dārūband; the latter laid down his life in the fulfilment of an Imperial responsibility [262b] and his brother, Abū al-Baqā', carried the day. But subsequently, when Abū al-Baqā' was deputed to the expedition to Kāngra, and in keeping with the Imperial orders he left for that place, these Shūras
 30 resumed their recalcitrance and contumacy in full swing under the leadership of Ismā'īl Shūra, so that they completely extirpated the poor peasantry and laid waste the garden of Bābū Palēja. On hearing the news of their sedition Muẓaffar Khān dispatched his nephew, Mirzā Muḥammad, at the head of a strong force to deal with these wretches. Mirzā Muḥammad crossed the ferry of Thatta
 35 and launched a frontal attack on the men of Ismā'īl Shūra, who did not get a chance even to arrange his troops properly. While his companions were busy contriving the escape of their families, he, along with some of his brothers, stopped the advance of the [Imperial] army [263] and thus died in the course of a battle. Hence the efforts of Mirzā Muḥammad were crowned with an

excellent victory. He set up his tents right in the middle of the Shūra territory, brought together the cattle of the Shūras, Ābārs and Dals from everywhere and rounded up a large number of captives, and thus administered a severe blow to the Shūras. Those of them who survived abandoned their
 5 homes and hearths and took refuge in the foothills. They lost even their bare subsistence; whatever little they got was obtained through cattle-lifting that they effected in complicity with the mountain people. Nevertheless, Dā'ūd Shūra still maintained his position much the same.

Meanwhile, in compliance with the orders of the Emperor Jahāngīr, Shamshīr Khān left Sihwān to reinforce Bahādūr Khān Ūzbek in Qandahār. There
 10 he entrusted the government of Sihwān to his relative, Shāh Khwāja and dispatched him to replace the incumbent, Khūsham Bēg. The village of Khasā'ī Shūra [263b] lay in the *jāgīr* of Shamshīr Khān, but its inhabitants indulged in contumacy and did not pay the revenue. One afternoon Shāh Khwāja [and his
 15 men] jumped into boats at Sihwān and around false dawn disembarked and hid themselves at the ferry of Ranbahan, which was situated at one *kurōh's* distance from Sann on the side of Sihwān. At the middle hour between sunrise and meridian he swooped upon Khasā'ī Shūra, which was about ten *kurōhs* from this ferry, killed a large number of Dā'ūd Shūra's men, and rounded up a
 20 number of captives which included the wife of Dā'ūd Shūra. Shāh Khwāja brought the captives with him to Sihwān. Helpless as he was, Dā'ūd Shūra followed Shāh Khwāja to Sihwān, called on him there, paid the fine and outstanding dues of his village, and liberated his wife from captivity [264]. [In short], the followers of Dā'ūd Shūra received a befitting
 25 chastisement at the hands of Shāh Khwāja and chose to become submissive. Thus abandoning their old habitat in the foothills they settled in Bēla, the tract of land recently relinquished by the river. They still continue to be submissive and are no longer recalcitrant.

An Account of the Governorship of
 Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī in Thatta

When Sayyid Bāyazīd became the governor of Thatta, his sons, adventurous as they were, mustering an army in compliance with the orders of the Emperor Jahāngīr, went into the hills and rode right up to the forts of Kā'īra and Anūnbēla. The chiefs of both these forts called on them with
 35 offerings (*pīshkash*), recited the *khutba* in the name of the Emperor at both places, and pledged their allegiance. On their way back, the sons of Sayyid Bāyazīd kept a watchful eye on the Shūra and Dal tribes. They rode hard towards those short-sighted ones [264b] and early in the morning fell

upon them in the foothills. In close analogy to the hunting-ring formed to enclose the game into the grand royal chase (*qamurgha*) they surrounded those wretches; most of them they put to death, and Jūnjār, son of Ismā'īl Shūra, was captured, along with a large number of other captives; and whatever
 5 cattle these two tribes possessed were plundered. Sayyid Bāyazīd's sons brought the captives to their father in Thatta where Ismā'īl Shūra's son died in captivity. Except for the few who escaped to the hills and cast in their lot with hill tribes, or agreed to become submissive, this expedition completely exterminated the Shūras and the Dals. These last are still
 10 submissive and do absolutely no harm to the peasants of the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla.

The Babars were related to Bābū Palēja. When the support [265] of the Shūras and the Dals was denied to them, only an insignificant number of them were left and they came and took up abode near the village of Bābū Palēja.
 15 But as soon as Bābū Palēja found an opportunity he informed on them to the troops of Sayyid Bāyazīd, stationed at the *thāna* of Nayrankōt, who attacked them one morning and killed most of their men. The remaining few agreed to become submissive. During the days of Sayyid Bāyazīd these three intractable tribes in the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla were ruined and destroyed by the wild
 20 Nuhmardīs who inhabited the hills in the direction of Sihwān, got an upper hand on the peasants of Chākar Hāla. Hence, the *jāgīrdārs* of the said *sarkār* gave them some villages in *jāgīr* from themselves and thus by conciliation (*bamudārā*) managed to have rest of their *jāgīrs* populated [265b]. From Nayrankōt up to the shrine of Uways-i Qaranī, may the mercy of God be upon him,
 25 the Nuhmardīs are settled. The description of this shrine (*naṣargāh*) will come subsequently.

This *sarkār* and a part of the *sarkār* of Thatta, such as the *pargana* Sākira, & c., which lies towards the *pargana* Chākar Hāla stand in need of an army to control them. The nomads found in the vicinity of the *pargana* Sākira
 30 are made up of Kalimātī and Jōkiya Balūches and altogether these two factions (*firqa*) number around three thousand horse and foot. They have been offering a *faṣlāna* of some heads of camel and goats to the *subadār* of Thatta and avoid creating unnecessary disturbance in the region of Thatta. However, to keep an eye on their activities, the *subadār* of Thatta always stations a
 35 *thāna* in the fort of the village of Nārēla.

During the tenure of Sayyid Bāyazīd the Jōkiyas once went amiss; they details are as follows [266]: The Sayyid gave fifty horsemen to his adopted son, Shāh Muhammad, and appointed him the commandant of the *thāna* Nārēla. A

whimsical person as he was, Shāh Muḥammad got infuriated at a remark of Ḥājīf, son of Bajār Jōkiya, and in a fit of harshness flung his shoe (*pā ūzār*) on him. This sent a wave of consternation throughout the Jōkiyas, who abandoned their homes and headed for the hills. Shāh Muḥammad followed them with his army and tried to conciliate them, but in vain. Consequently, a battle followed between the parties. Shāh Muḥammad's men fought with small weapons, such as sabres and spears, but those wretches took recourse to arrows. They killed Shāh Muḥammad and all the fifty soldiers accompanying him, stripped them of their horses and weapons and ran into the hills [266b]. Hence, Sayyid Bāyazīd imposed an embargo on the movement of foodgrain and other commodities in that direction until the Jōkiyas called on him under a promise of safe conduct. The Kalimātīs and Jōkiyas occasionally raid the region of Sihwān. Between them and the Nuhmardīs there is an open hostility and they are always at war with each other. But possessed of a larger number of men as the Nuhmardīs are, they have a superiority over their rivals.

The revenue assessment of the region of Thatta has until today been based upon crop-sharing (*ghallabakhshī*). The crop-sharing system contributes to the prosperity of the country, provided the *jāgīrdārs* do not resume more than half [the produce] and avoid holding (*zīr-i muhr nigāh nadārand*) in ransom the peasants' shares for their excessive exactions (*taujiḥāt-i bāṭila*) until the next crop.

As regards the development of this region it is essential that the description roll (*taujiḥ*) of this country should be called for from the *qānūnqūs* [267] and scrutinized in the royal presence and whatever the *jāgīrdārs* receive as excessive exactions from the peasantry beyond half of their produce should be abolished by a royal decree. [Likewise], an upright *amīn* should be appointed here with the instructions that it is he who would henceforth have to account for the prosperity, or otherwise of this country and that he should not allow the *jāgīrdār* to extort from the peasants more than what is permissible under the regulations.

The frontiers of this region should be safeguarded against the refractory elements, so that out of this one region the produce of ten regions could be procured and the region itself could be brought back to the prosperity it enjoyed under the Tarkhāns. This will strengthen the peasants and they will be able to cooperate with the *jāgīrdār* in the extermination of the recalcitrants. The prosperity of the days of the Tarkhāns also stemmed from the fact that they did not resume more than half the produce of the peasantry; in some places they even contented themselves with 1/3rd [267b] and 1/4th of the produce. Hence, the country was populous and the

peasantry strong, and it was impossible for the contumacious to subjugate them easily. But now, because of the misdeeds of some of the *jāgīrdārs*, the peasantry has lost its vitality and the recalcitrants have grown strong and at times molest the peasants. In these circumstances, if the peasantry falls into the hands of an oppressive *jāgīrdār* it will be sapped still more of their vitality. On the contrary, if they are administred by a God-fearing *jāgīrdār* they will pick up some stability and that *jāgīrdār* will also be benefited by it proportionately, in the sense that he will get more income from his *jāgīr* compared to his oppressive counterpart who, with the passage of every season, will get an increasingly reduced income from his *jāgīr* until he finally gets sick of his *jāgīr* and seeks to exchange it with another one. [Strangely enough], however, he will not get sick of his [268] oppression; if he did so, he could get the happiness of both the worlds.

Without any *Sharī'a* sanction as it is, if the *jam'-i asb-i tankhwāhī* is lifted from the peasants of Thatta, and instead made part of the *jam'* of the *parganas* [of Thatta], it is possible that the *taujiḥ-i pīshkash-i asb* becomes a source of inconvenience to the peasants and the *'āmil*s, *arbābs* *ra'īses* and *qānūngūs* make it a pretext for their own exactions.

[Moreover], if the police station (*kōtwālī*) of the city of Thatta is, as of old, transferred to the *khālīṣa* it would contribute to the welfare of the people of that city. Since nowadays there are hardly one per cent of the *jāgīrdārs* who are afraid of God and follow the path of the Prophet, it is certain that if the police station (*chabūtara-i kōtwālī*) is situated within the bounds of the *ṣūbadār's jāgīr*, some of the *ṣūbadārs* out of craving for worldly goods, will not respect the rights of the noble and respectable people. They will perpetrate a variety of tortures on the local population on baseless charges [268b] and will impose upon them penalties improporionate to the crimes and beyond the capacity of any human being, and this will lead to the destruction of the people. Once a man becomes destitute he succumbs to a thousand depravities in both his religious, as well as his mundane life, because the very existence of the world hinges on the means of living. But if the *chabūtara* is occupied by an Imperial *kōtwāl* and the fines imposed are remitted to the *khālīṣa sharīfa*, liberal as the Imperial Government is, the *kōtwāl* will realize the fine from each person, in keeping with the dictates of the resplendent Sacred law (*sharī'at-i baydā*) and deposit it with the Treasury (*bayt al-māl*). This does not involve any molestation of the common people, and, as a matter of fact, the appointment of an Imperial *kōtwāl* in all the regions (*mulkhā*) numerous as they are, is of far-reaching

consequence, because the world has become very corrupt; however much precaution one takes is justified. And the order is supreme and paramount and God knows best what is right [269].

CHAPTER FOUR

An Account of the Affairs of the
Region of Sihwān and it Comprises Five Sections

Section I

5 A Brief Description of the
Parganas of this Region

Be it known that Sihwān is the name of an old, worn-out mud-built fort which is perched on a mound on the bank of the river [Indus] in the direction of Sītpūr Nāhirān. The river passes by the northern side of the fort while the population is located on the southern side. The sacred threshold of his holiness, Makhdūm Lāl Shāhbāz, who is blessed with the *ṣūfi* spiritual flight (*quds parwāz*), lies to the extreme [south] of the city and the tomb of his holiness Makhdūm Chata Imrānī, on whom be the mercy of God, is situated at a quarter of a *kurōh*'s distance outside the city. At a *kurōh*'s distance [from Sihwān] towards Thatta sprawls a mountainous tract. The hills of this area, which measures three *kurōhs* by half a *kurōh*, lie near by. They are made of green sedimentary rock united by sand [sandstone?][269b]. At the start of this mountainous region there is a hill which is known as Yak Tanbī in the Sindhī language. It derives its name from the fact that they hewed the rock to construct a house on top of a pillar which is said to be the shrine (*naṣargāh*) of his holiness, Amīr 'Alī, may God be pleased with him. On top of this mountain also *Pīr Ghulām* erected a platform like the one at Bhakkar and named it *Suffa-i wafā*, [the Platform of Fidelity]. The nights of the *ayyām-i bīd* he mostly spent there and regaled himself in the company of sages, scholars and soldiers, with the melons from the village Nār. Even now, in the year 1044/1634-35, that platform is still intact. The sand half a *kurōh* away from this hill is red in colour and abounds in skinks (*rīgmāhī*). The time for hunting these skinks is summer [270], when the rain has not yet fallen. Next to this sandy tract some springs have burst from the ground and are known as the springs of his holiness Lāl Shāhbāz, may God hollow his grave. Like Wilāyat here also the custodians of the tomb (*muḥawirān*) of his holiness Lāl Shāhbāz use the water of these springs for agricultural purposes.

On the day following the *shīwrāt* of the Hindūs, those Hindū inhabitants of the city who cannot afford going to the Dakrī-i Kalān, both males and females, wash themselves at one of these springs and call that spring the

Dakrī-i khurd. The Dakrī-i kalān will be described later.

Three *kurōhs* from the city there stands a rocky mountain which contains hard white marble. This is the same mountain which to the south verges on the sea and the region of Kīch and Makrān, and in the north joins the mountain ranges of Qandahār, Kābul and Kashmīr. In the middle [270b] of this mountain there is a large population which is mainly composed of Balūchī tribes. They do not stay at one place; wherever there is a good pastureland is the abode of these people. Some forts, such as Kā'īnara, Anūnbēla, Kūhyār, Winkār and so on, also dot this area where cultivation also takes place. [Likewise], on top of the hill (*pusht-i kūh*) called Lakkī there stands a kiln-baked brick dome which now lies in ruin. In this area that dome has come to be known as the *Mārī* of the Emperor Humāyūn, which in Sindhī means an upper chamber. This place is at four *kurōhs*' distance from the city. This hill has two accesses: one is called *Bāqī Jī* because it was cut out by Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān; the second is known as *Gāna* and passes by the aforementioned *Mārī* [271]. *Gāna* in Sindhī means an oil mill (*raughankada*); in this last path there lies a stone which looks like an oil mill, and hence the name. Both these paths are extremely dangerous. Very few people have survived the journey through these paths and most of the travellers have been martyred by the Balūches. This hill abounds in *mardān-i ghayb* and *shuhadā'* and quite frequently the voice of their remembrance (*dhikr*) is distinctly heard in the dead hours of the night. It was at the foot of this very hill in the direction of Thatta that Mirzā Jānī Tarkhān fought with, and was defeated by, the followers of the *Khān-i Khānān* 'Abd al-Raḥīm, who formed part of the victorious armies of *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyānī*, while the *Khān-i Khānān* had for some reason lifted the siege of the fort of Sihwān and proceeded to the *pargana* of Jaun, a dependency of the *pargana* of Chāchkān. This defeat broke Mirzā Jānī's back and [on the Imperialists' side], Dārū, son of Rāja Tōdarmal, was killed in this battle.

At present [271b] eleven *parganas* are attached to this fort. Eight of them are situated on this side of the river along the fort, while the other three lie across the river. The eight *parganas* on this side of the river are as under:-

Firstly, the *pargana* of Bāghbānān. It is a big *pargana* which is inhabited by a variety of tribes and clans, such as the tribe (*mardum*) of the Maliks of Bāghbānān, tribe of the Pahwārs, tribe of the Abiras and four clans (*qawm*) of the Samējas, namely firstly, the Junējas; secondly, the Baryas; thirdly, the Bukyas. All the six of these clans (*qawm*) are peasants; they pay the revenue and are not intractable. Fourthly, the clan of the Tības.

Like the Samējas Unar, this last clan is also contumacious. If at the time of harvest a strong army is sent against them, they pay their dues, otherwise they do not pay anything. This clan owns four villages [272], namely Kandakōt, Jin and Tība which belong to the aforementioned *pargana*, while the
 5 fourth called Patrēja lies in the *pargana* of Takar, which is a dependency of the region of Bhakkar.

During the administration of the Sammas this *pargana* reached the zenith of its population and prosperity, so much so that Makhdūm Ja'far Būbakānī, who was one of the renowned scholars of Sind, related from Mirzā 'Isā
 10 Tarkhān that during the invasion of Sind by the army of Shāh Bēg Arghūn, which the latter had dispatched from Qandahār, they attacked the town (*qarya*) of Baghbānān and captured one thousand camels, which were employed for working the Persian wheels in gardens (*charkkhā-i bāghāt*). Hence, you can imagine the other aspects and the prosperity of that place.

During the days of the Tarkhāns also this *pargana* was adequately populated. Sultān Muhammad Bartatkānī Arghūn was the *thānadār* of this *pargana*. Besides properly manned forts at various places [272b] he built a strong fort at the village called Pulijī and stationed himself there. This prevented the intractable elements from doing any harm to the peasants of this *pargana*.
 20 But now, since it lies just next to the wretched Chāndiya tribe and the Tība clan and its *thānas* are not looked after properly, it has become paralysed and most of its villages have been reduced to desolation. This *pargana* is possessed of a big lake called Mahā, where *par-i kilki* [fish] of very good quality is found in abundance.

25 Secondly, the *pargana* of Pātar. Its peasants comprise mostly poor Khwājas who stand in need of encouragement from the *jāgīrdār*.

Thirdly, the *pargana* of Nayrūn Qal'a. In olden times this place (*maudī*) was known as Wāhī which in Sindhī signifies a stream of water flowing down from the mountains. There are four such streams in this place. They
 30 descend from the mountains and pass through the deserts (*dashthā*), where they are used for cultivation. Previously, this *maudī* belonged to the Māchhīs; they were intractable people who did not pay anything to the *jāgīrdār*. Bakhtyar Bēg Turkmān exterminated them in the course of an attack, named the place Akbarābād and made it over to the Pahawārs, who are docile peasants. He
 35 allocated one stream to each of the four groups of Pahawārs headed by Mūsā Pahawār, 'Isā Pahawār, Dā'ūd Pahawār and Jalāl Pahawār. This *maudī* is still in the hands of the Pahawārs. Previously it formed part of the *pargana* of Bāghbānān, but during the days of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek it was detached

from that *pargana*, named Nayrūn Qal'a, and added to the assessment (*jam'*) of Sihwān. Under Aḥmad Bēg Khān [273b] it was absolutely destroyed.

Fourthly, the *pargana* of Kāhān. It is a big *pargana* and several tribes and clans live here. Firstly, the Pahawār clan (*qaum*). They call themselves
 5 Qurayshī and trace their descent to Bībī Ḥalīma, the foster-mother of the Holy Prophet, on whom be the blessing and peace of Allāh. Secondly, the Kōrēja tribe (*mardum*); thirdly, the Samēja Bukya tribe; fourthly, the Samēja Tība tribe; fifthly, the Rāh Pōtra tribe; they also belong to the Samēja clan. Sixthly, the Bahan tribe; seventhly, the Sayyids; eighthly, the Shaykhs.

10 Possessed of a large population in this *pargana* as the Pahawār clan and the Sameja tribe are, this *pargana* has no fear of intractable elements (*mardum-i mawās pāra*), and the peasants of this *pargana* leave no stone unturned in the payment of revenue to the *jāgīrdār* and in accompanying him in his expeditions against the rebellious. Even a single revenue collector
 15 (*yak bājī*) is enough to collect the revenue from them. The tyranny of Aḥmad Bēg Khān laid waste this *pargana*, so that some of its villages (*mauḍi'*) lying in the foothills are still in a state of desolation.

Fifthly, the *pargana* of Būbakān. This *pargana* is also inhabited by a variety of tribes. Firstly, the Būbaks who call themselves Khaljī. They
 20 include a group of Makhādīm, who are descended from Makhdūm Ja'far, on whom be the mercy of God, and live in the town of Būbakān. Secondly, the Samējas Dal; thirdly, the Samējas Bukya; fourthly, the Khwājas, or the new Muslims; fifthly, the Bahjas who belong to the Samēja tribe; sixthly, the Pahāwars, and seventhly, the Hindūs. The peasants of this *pargana* are extremely poor. They
 25 endure all the hardships perpetrated on them by the *jāgīrdār* and never go into rebellion. Given encouragement this *pargana* can improve tremendously in population and prosperity. But the town of Būbakān is very rich in slanderers and caluminators (*mardum-i sā'ī wa chaghul*) [274b]. As soon as a new *jāgīrdār* arrives one informs on the other and thus ignites a fire that not only consumes
 30 him personally, but burns up others also, and in this way causes destruction to the entire country.

Sixthly, the *pargana* of Ḥawēlī Sihwān. The peasants of this *pargana* are extremely indigent and destitute. Besides submission they have no other occupation.

35 Seventhly, the *pargana* of Nayrūn. In olden times it was known as Kūlāb-i Mānchhur [Manchhur Lake]. It does not have any cultivation worth the name. Its only produce is fish, *kāh* and other aquatic articles, and it is only in these articles that the inhabitants of this place pay the fixed revenue

demand called *muqṭā'ī*. Its peasantry consists of poor boatmen, most of whom have never set foot on earth, never eaten grain worth the name and do not know what clothing is [275]. They weave reed and rope into a rug-like thing and then, stuffing it with hay, weave another layer of the same reed on the upper
 5 side of it as well. Looking like a mound (*tal*) as it does, it stays afloat on water, and the bigger ones [of those *tals*] are known as *madd* in the Sindhī language. Thatching them over, these people live in them on water. The small ones are called *taro*. On board these *taros* they catch fish, hunt water-fowl (*murghābī*) and go out in search of their livelihood. They wear mat and live on
 10 aquatic food, including fish and grass-roots, which are known in the Sindhī language as *biha*, *kuma* and *lura*, and if one brings these people to the land, they do not know how to walk [properly].

There are sixteen big villages afloat on water. It is a huge lake, measuring 10 by 10 *kurōhs*. During the winter season [275b] in this lake there
 15 is a great abundance of game, such as goose (*gaz*), heron (*kulāng*) and other water-fowl, so that they descend on the lake in lacs and crores and are hunted by whatever method one resorts to. For this purpose, the boatmen have manufactured separate [types of] nets for [use by] day and night. They capture
 20 these birds with the aid of these nets. Likewise, the hunters carry a frame (*qālīb*) with themselves which they put on their heads and catch them. But the best of all is hunting with a matchlock, in that one does not have to lie in ambush. Sitting on board a boat one can fire as many shots as one likes. These birds sit in big flocks and it has happened quite frequently that with a single shot between three to four geese have fallen. The author has often
 25 hunted with a matchlock at this lake.

On the outskirts of the lake a grass called *dīr* in Sindhī, from which one can weave good mats [276], grows abundantly. After the *rabi'* crop has been lifted and water runs short, all the peasantry of the region of Sihwān, and indeed most of them from the region of Bhakkar also, throng here. They
 30 pull out the roots of this grass which are known in Sindhī as *bad* and purify them on a fire. These people mostly live on this same article until the following year. Eating only these roots, they engage themselves in the *kharīf* and *rabi'* cultivation for the whole of the year. Had this grass not existed in the region of Sihwān during the tenures of some of the *jāgīrdārs* in this
 35 country which the author has witnessed, not a single human being would have survived. Considering this place as their homeland as these people do, they remain in it and, pulling out the *bad* which is in abundance, live on it. Moreover, in this as well as in other lakes of this region, there is yet another grass called *kahar*. This is the staple food of the horses of this

country (*diyār*) and suits them extremely well too. But [on the contrary] if another animal such as cow [276b], buffalo, sheep or goat grazes on this grass, its stomach (*jigarash*) stops functioning and it dies.

5 To start with, this lake was included in the revenue assessment of the *pargana* Ḥawēlī Sihwān but during the tenure of Shamsḥīr Khān Ūzbek, it was made part of the revenue assessment of the region of Sihwān, under the name of Nayrūn. In this lake *par-i kilki* [fish] are also met with.

10 Eighthly, the *pargana* of Sann. This is a big *pargana* and a variety of tribes and clans live here, namely the Sayyids, the Lākas, and the Kōrējas. These three groups are extremely submissive. Besides them, the Manjhands, the Kumāns, the Jajars and the Kāhējas also live in this *pargana*. But all four of them are partly contumacious. [However], a slight tightening of screws by the *jāgīrdār* is enough to discipline them [277b].

15 Four places (*maudī*′) in this *pargana*, namely the town (*qasba*) of Sann, the villages of Lak'alwī, Āmirī and Thattī Walī Muḥammad, belong to the Sayyids.

The Sayyids of Lak'alwī are of a very authentic lineage. They do not marry their daughters to the other aforementioned Sayyids. When as a result of a calamitous happening Ḥadrāt-i Jannat Āshiyānī blessed this place with the victorious standards, these Sayyids rendered meritorious service to the victorious armies. The entire country had been laid waste under the orders of Mirzā Shāh Ḥasan, but these Sayyids, who still lived in their homes and abodes, supplied all the needs of the Imperial army, from provender and hay to sheep and goats and so on. Ḥadrāt-i Jannat Āshiyānī was so gratified by their services [277] that he honoured them with a *farmān* for the conferment of that village in *siyūrghāl* upon them. When the region of Sihwān was given to Pīr Ghulām in *jāgīr* the vicissitudes of circumstances had already uprooted the Lak'alwī Sayyids from their habitat and they had taken up their abode in the *pargana* of Kāhān. They did not have the means to go back and settle in their original place. Pīr Ghulām gave them consolation and, assuring them that 30 the State would only demand a reduced share of their crops rehabilitated them in their respective quarters. Even now this place is adequately populated. Having seen the *farmān* of Ḥadrāt-i Jannat Āshiyānī Pīr Ghulām strongly recommended these Sayyids to go to the Imperial court and have it [the *farmān*] perused and endorsed by Ḥadrāt-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī. They were still 35 contemplating to take this *farmān* to the court when by Divine providence [278] a blaze occurred in the vilage of Lak'alwī and they lost it somewhere in the fire.

This *pargana* was well-populated until the start of Shamsḥīr Khān's tenure

because the Lākas of this *pargana*, who were quite bold and possessed of a great strength, were involved in active personal hostilities with the wretched Samējas Ūnar. Some villages of the Lākas lay on this side of the river towards Sann and they resisted the incursions of the mountain people. Likewise, others of their villages situated across the river in the neighbourhood of the short-sighted Samējas helped keep the latter at bay. Consequently, the peasants of this *pargana* were protected against the harm of both these intractable communities. Nonetheless, Shamshīr Khān, having constructed a strong fort on the bank of the river in the town of Sann, had established there a strong *thāna* under the command of his relative, Khwāja Jān. After the departure of Shamshīr Khān [278b] for Qandahār this *pargana* grew weak and was gradually destroyed at the hands of the Samējas and the hill people. Thus, two of the villages, Āmirī and Thattī Walī Muḥammad, of the Sayyids were completely laid waste and most of the Sayyids of these villages were martyred by the mountain people and the Samējas, and the peasants were driven into the wilderness. In the same manner, the village Adarbēlī of the Lākas, and the village Jaysarūt of the Kōrējas were destroyed, but during the days of Dīndār Khān these people were partially rehabilitated.

Now [we describe] the *parganas* lying across the river. One of them is the *pargana* of Jūnēja. This is a big *pargana* and several tribes and clans inhabit it, firstly, the Kōrēja clan; secondly, the Pahawār tribe; thirdly, the Shaykh tribe. These three tribes and clans are completely submissive and have no contumacy at all. Fourthly, the Samēja Bukya tribe. They are rebellious and enjoy matrimonial relations (*nisbathā*) with the wretched Samējas Ūnar. In sum, to start with, like the Samējas Ūnar, they were also complete rebels. They paid only a fraction of their dues to the *jāgīrdār*, and that too hesitatingly. When [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā', in whose *jāgīr* this *pargana* lay for some time, led some [punitive] expeditions against them, these people were adequately tamed; they gradually realized the delight of cultivation and now they are not contumacious at all.

This *pargana* lies next to the short-sighted Samējas Ūnar. In olden times the Kōrēja clan and the Pahawār tribe were strong enough to resist the Samējas [279b] adequately and they also participated in the expeditions (*yasaq*) led by the *jāgīrdār* against them. But now, weak as the people of this *pargana* are, the arm of the tyranny of the Samējas has been extended to them.

This *pargana* is exceedingly rich in game animals such as deer (*gawazn*), white-footed antelope of Pennat (*nīl gā'i*), wild-ass (*gūr khar*), and [an

animal resembling a deer called] *kūtāh pācha* (short-legged). It also has a lake called *Rēl*, which abounds beyond all description in game birds such as *murghābī sūna*. It is also rich in good quality *palla*, a fish which is used for bringing into flight the *bāz* and *jurra*, [two species of falcon]. *Par-i*
 5 *kilkī* [fish] is also in abundance in this lake.

Secondly, the *pargana* of *Khiṭṭa*. This is also a big *pargana* which is inhabited by a variety of tribes (*mardum*). Firstly, the *Hālapōtra* tribe; secondly, the *Shaykh* tribe; thirdly, the *Samēja Ūta* tribe; fourthly, the *Samēja Parya* tribe; fifthly, the *Samēja Bukya* tribe; sixthly, the *Rāhūjas*;
 10 seventhly, the *Kōrējas*; eighthly, the *Turks* [280]; ninthly, the *Dītas*; tenthly, the *Pallīs*; eleventhly, the *Lākās*. These eleven tribes are completely submissive and are not contumacious at all. Twelfthly, the *Samējas Dāhirī*. They are intractable and can only be tackled with force (*jam'īyyat talab*). When a part of this *pargana* was included in his *jāgīr* *Rā'i Singh*, grandson
 15 of *Gūrya Hindū*, exhibited considerable valour against these people. The detail of this incident is like this. He had one hundred horsemen of his own and, collecting two hundred horsemen and foot soldiers from the peasants, he rode out from the town of *Talhattī* with the intention of attacking a faction of the *Dāhirīs*. By the time he reached their villages most of them had got
 20 the news and around one thousand *Dāhirī* horsemen and foot soldiers fell on him and obliged him to flee. However [fast] he fled the *Dāhirīs* followed him [280b]. Consequently, while passing through a forest, *Rā'i Singh* deployed fifty horsemen on each side and left the pathway itself empty. When the enemy reached the midst of these horsemen they put their hands to the arrows and
 25 killed thirty of the leading men of the *Dāhirīs*. Most of their prominent chieftains, such as *Shah Mīr* and *Sānd*, & c., fell into his own hands. Though on this side also there were about twenty casualties, the *Dāhirīs* were defeated. Reprimanded as they were, they accepted the overlordship of the *jāgīrdār* and agreed to pay some revenue (*pāra'ī mālghudhārī*).

30 The *Hālapōtras* were yet another strong tribe in this *pargana*. They had been resisting the *Samējas Ūnar* and were quite diligently engaged in cultivation. They also extended their help to the *jāgīrdār* in his expeditions against the *Samējas Ūnar* up to the days of *Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek*. After his tenure [281], when the tyranny and oppression of some of the
 35 *jāgīrdars* reduced the peasants of this *pargana* to prostration, the *Hālapōtras* were also weakened, and the arm of oppression of the *Samējas Ūnar* was extended to this *pargana*. But still some sort of peace continued to exist between these two tribes until during the tenure of *Aḥmad Bēg Khān* the *Samēja Ūnar* tribe completely devastated this *pargana* and [the inhabitants of] most

of its villages were driven into wilderness. With the destruction of this *pargana*, the oppressive arm of the Samējas now extended to the villages of the *parganas* of Būbakān, Hawēlī Sihwān and Sann, which lay on this side of the river. Since the *pargana* of Khiṭṭa was situated entirely on bank of the river, adjacent to the *pargana* of Lākūt which was the habitat of the Samējas
 5 Ūnar, and its villages were yet intact, the wretched [281b]. criminal (*rūsiyāh*) Samējas Ūnar chose the peasants of this *pargana* for all manner of conflict and warfare. When the *jāgīrdār* rode out in support of the Imperial subjects, the Samējas having subdued the peasants of this *pargana* hastily
 10 went across the river. They never did any harm to the peasantry of the villages on this side of the river, but rather reserved all their mischief (*fasād*) for the other side. The destruction of this *pargana* tremendously increased the power of the Samējas Ūnar.

Some of the villages of the *parganas* Khiṭṭa, Lākūt and Sann were bestowed
 15 by Dīndār Khān on the Samējas Ūnar and the Sayyids of Sann and Lak⁴alwī in *jāgīr*, and this created an atmosphere of complete peace and tranquility. He brought Karan, the chief of one section (*ṭaraf*) of the Samējas and settled him right in the middle of the *pargana* Khiṭṭa. Hence some of the villages of this *pargana* were rehabilitated [282]. [In actual fact], this *pargana*
 20 deserves to be protected from the Samējas Ūnar and to be developed, because in its prosperity lies the destruction of of the Samējas Ūnar. And God knows best what is right.

Thirdly, the *pargana* of Lākūt. This is the same *pargana* wherein the wretched Samējas Ūnar reside. It comprises two *tappas*, one belongs to the
 25 aforementioned Samējas while the other is inhabited by the Lāka tribe, which entertain an instinctive grudge against the former. In olden times the *jāgīrdārs* of Sihwān actively sided with the Lākas and at the time of harvest (*sar-i faṣl*) led strong expeditons against the Samējas Ūnar. The Lākas were always in the forefront and acted as informers. Wherever they came across
 30 the Samējas they exterminated them, even including the children. The *tappa* of the Lākas was adequately populated and prosperous, and they paid the revenue [282b] quite readily.

Frightened as the Samējas were of the Lākas and the Imperial army they did not cultivate the *rīzānī* lands on the bank of the lakes, but instead
 35 did most of their *rabi*⁴ and *khariṭ*^f cultivation, such as that of millet (*jawārī*) and barley (*jau*), in the deserts, with the aid of rain water. That cultivation of theirs was also plundered by the Imperial soldiers in collaboration with the Lākas, or else they obliged the Samējas to pay revenue. Under these

circumstances there was hardly any chance for the Samējas to gain any power, and the peasants also turned towards the Lāka tribe [for help]. Subsequent to the tenure of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek, the irregularities of some of the *jāgīrdārs*, however, weakened the Lāka tribe and most of their lands were
 5 appropriated by the Samējas Ūnar, who exterminated them beyond all description. Those of them who survived emigrated to Sann and settled there. The majority of the peasantry of this *pargana* also [283] swung towards the Samēja tribe, and the latter started harvesting their crops with complete peace of mind. Nobody asked them to pay revenue: the *pargana* of Lākūt was written off from
 10 the revenue roll and the Samējas grew stronger. When Dīndār Khān concluded peace with the Samējas the remainder of the Lākas in their habitat across the river also gained some stability. For the control of this *pargana* a good army of efficient soldiers under the command of a bold leader is indispensable. And God knows best what is right.

15 Section II

An Account of the Intractable and Seditious Elements
 of this Region. Their Mischief has not only Caused the
 Collapse of this Region, but the Regions of Bhakkar, Thatta
 and Jaisalmēr are also not safe from their Contumacy

20 Be it known that they are three groups. One of the groups is that of the Samējas [283b] who apparently are divided into twelve clans (*qawm*), namely the Bukya clan, the Tība clan, the Jūnēja clan, the Pariya clan, the Dal clan, the Kībara clan, the Ūta clan, the Lākiyar clan, the Rājpal clan, and the Bihan clan. These ten clans, excepting the Tības of the *pargana* Bāghbānān
 25 and the Dals of the *parganas* Samwātī and Shāl, are submissive, and pay revenue to the *jāgīrdār*, and it has already been alluded to in the account of the affairs of the *parganas*. The eleventh clan is that of the Mangiwānas who are scoundrels (*ḥarāmzāda*). The twelfth clan is that of the Ūnars who obviously comprise five factions (*firqa*). Three out of these, that is, the Rāhūs, the
 30 Dāhirīs and the Sānds have always been obedient to the *jāgīrdār*. The fourth called Sānarya is further divided into four *jamā'ats*, namely the Dārējas, the Rāhūjas, the Manāhijas, and the Fīrūzjas. The fifth clan is known as the Kīriya.

The Kīriyas and the Mangiwānas are both sandwiched between the Sānaryas
 35 who are source of all mischief and trouble and they are not repressed by any chastisement. When the *jāgīrdār* is a weakling other factions (*firqa*) of the Ūnars also join hands with the Sānaryas and start causing mischief. Thus in so far as the mischief of the Samējas is concerned it is the Ūnars who

[usually] find mention. The Sānaryas themselves number around five thousand in the *pargana* of Lākūt, about one thousand horse and four thousand foot. In battle their foot soldier is bolder than their horsemen. Actually
 5 in battle. They inhabit the *pargana* of Lākūt, amid seven strong clans of the Imperial peasantry.

The enemies of these criminals (*rūsiyāhān*) are: southwards, the Hālas, who belong to [284b] the *pargana* of Hāla Kandī, one of the dependencies of the *sarkār* of Naṣṛpūr; northwards, the Kōrējas and Pahawārs who belong to the
 10 *pargana* of Jūnēja and the Sahitas who belong to the *pargana* of Darbēla, one of the dependencies of the region of Bhakkar; westwards, the Lākas and the Hālapōtras from the *parganas* of Lākūt and Khiṭṭa; and eastwards lie the sand-hills of Jaisalmēr which belong to the Rājput̄s of the Rāja of Jaisalmēr.

The Sānaryas engage in cultivation in their villages but they do
 15 not pay revenue in cash and kind as the other peasants do. If ever the *jāgīrdār* puts them under pressure they conclude with him a fixed demand (*muqṭa'ī*), as in revenue-farming (*batāriq-i ijāra*), of a negligible (*juzwī*) amount in cash and kind. But instead of cash and kind that too they settle in decrepit horses, camels, cows and donkeys. Subsequent to the tenure
 20 of Shīr Khwāja they have not paid anything to anybody. Rather they have killed, plundered [285] and laid waste the Imperial peasantry. The *pargana* of Khiṭṭa and most of the Lāka *ṭaraf* also they have arrogated to themselves. These waylayers apparently own five villages in the *pargana* of Lākūt, where they engage in cultivation; besides these, they have several small villages
 25 (*dīhat-i rīza*). Firstly, Dīrā'un which is the habitat of the Dārējas, and is situated at a distance of eight *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān. Secondly, Kātira which is around 11½ *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān. Thirdly, Wījara, which is situated at 12 *kurōhs*' distance from the fort of Sihwān, and both these villages [Kātira and Wījara] are the habitat of the Manāhijas. Fourthly,
 30 Sābī and fifthly, Paryārī. Both these villages are the homes of the Rāhūjas and Fīrūzjas who are settled side by side, and both are situated at a distance of 14 *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān. And these are wonderful places [285b]. In the entire region of Sihwān, or rather in the region of Bhakkar, Thatta, and Multān also, there are hardly any places as rich in
 35 game and as prodigious in cultivable lands. Great lakes lie in them and beyond (*bālā*) these lakes is a desert where *khariṭ* crop of millet (*jawārī*) is always bumper, while on this side (*dar zīr*, lit. below) of these lakes there is a plenty of (*rīzānī*) land suitable for *rabi'ī* crops; this land does not need ploughing and simple seed-sprinkling is enough for the growth of

barley. They cover it with hay so that the animals and birds do not eat away the seed. By the grace of God in that very position it attains perfection, ripens and becomes food for these wretches. If they pay only 1/10th of this cultivation in land-revenue, even that will be plenty.

5 The second group is that of the intractable Chāndiya Balūches who live on the side of the *pargana* Bāghbānān on the foot-hills [286]. They are engaged in cultivation and are possessed of a great number of cattle. Since the tenure of Bakhtyār Bēg and *Pīr Ghulām*, nobody ever realized revenue from them. They are divided in two factions: firstly, Gōra which means
10 'white' in Sindhī; secondly, Kāra which signifies 'black'. The reason they are so called is that a mountain Balūch called Chāndiya had two sons. One of them was named Gōra and the other was called Kāra. Those who are descended from Gōra are known as Gōras and those who trace their descent to Kāra, are called Kāras. In all, they number around one thousand horse and foot,
15 around three hundred horse and about seven hundred foot. But this type of mischief-makers is rarely met with. Besides cattle-lifting, they continuously engage in the abduction of human beings (*ādamduzdī*) and the sale of free-born people (*hurr furushī*). The *pargana* of Bāghbānān owes its ruin and destruction to their arm of oppression, and the collapse of the *parganas* of Kāhān, Pātar
20 and Akbarābād was also mostly caused by these people.

The third group [286b] of intractable elements comprises the Nuhmardīs. The reason behind this nomenclature is that nine of the Samējas broke away from the tribe and settled in the hills, and from those wretches were begotten these wretched ones. However, originally the Nuhmardīs were Samējas. They
25 are also possessed of a good strength numbering around six thousand; around one thousand and five hundred horse and four thousand and five hundred foot. They are divided into four *tarafs*, namely the *taraf-i* Kānbū, the *taraf-i* Hārūn, the *taraf-i* Chōlī, and the *taraf-i* Lashkarī. They lie mostly in the hill country contiguous to the *parganas* of Hawēlī Sihwān and Sann. Since
30 the *jāgīrdārs* of the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla recently on their own initiative bestowed villages [287] on them in *in'ām*, some of them are also found towards the mountains of Chākar Hāla.

They do not engage in cultivation nor are they settled in any particular place. Wherever they live for some time, they call that place a *thāna*. They
35 own a plenty of horses, camels, goats, cows, and other products of the mountains. They are not short of anything and [as a matter of fact] are [quite] rich. The best quality colourful camels (*shuturān-i rangīn*) are met with them. Their sole occupation is rapine and plunder. In the *parganas* of the region of Sihwān which are situated towards the fort on this side of

the river and the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla they are the main source of trouble and until now no *sūbadār* of Thatta and *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān has ever disturbed them, or invaded their *thāna* except in instances where in retaliation to the plunder of a place by a group of them he might have pursued them and killed
5 [287b] some of their men. And God knows best what is right.

Section III

Description of the Cause of the Destruction of the Peasants of the Region of Sihwān and the Strengthening of the Insurgents

10 As the description of this matter depends on the description of the tenures of the *jāgīrdārs* of former times, I have ventured to bring here an account of the tenures of those *jāgīrdārs*. Be it known that during the administration (*'amal*) of the Tarkhāns, because of their good conduct and lack of tyranny, those sections of the peasantry which have been described
15 above were quite powerful and also paid the reveue [regularly]. Moreover, the Tarkhāns had established strong *thānas* everywhere so that no one clan could harm the other and the peasantry remained intact from the arm of insurgents. Thus, the peasants, besides the support of the *thānadārs*, were by themselves also strong enough to defend themselves against one another
20 and against intractable elements. Consequently, no trouble erupted among the peasants [288] and they busied themselves in cultivation with complete peace of mind and had no other preoccupation besides agriculture. Thus, wherever there was waste land, they brought it under the plough, paid the share of *dīwān* to the *dīwān*, and retained their own share themselves. Side
25 by side with the others, the Samējas Ūnar also worked as peasants, but since most of the Arghūn and Tarkhān chiefs had married their daughters and entered into matrimonial relations with them they tended to be arrogant. Mirzā Sālīh Tarkhān had done a good deal of killing among them and Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqī had personally led an expedition with boats against them. One
30 night the Samējas took his army unawares; some Samējas even attacked his own boat. The Mirzā jumped aboard a watch boat (*zauraq-i chaukī*) and hid himself away in a corner. Rā'iḥa Bēgam, daughter of Nāhīd Bēgam wife of the Mirzā was, however, killed by them. That means that [284b] the Samējas Ūnar indulged in this type of misdeed even during the days of the Tarkhāns as well.

35 The other tribes such as the Chāndiya Balūches and the Nuhmardīs belonged to the *salāmī* category: they presented produce from the mountains, such as camels, horses, goats and so on, as a seasonal tax (*faṣlāna*), did no harm to the peasants, and accompanied the military expeditions everywhere.

By the grace of God and owing to the eternal good fortune of *Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Āstānī* when the country of Sind was conquered at the hands of the *Khān-i Khānān* 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān he showed [still] better conduct towards the people of Sind than the Tarkhāns, so that, despite Mirzā Jānī's
 5 presence here, the Sindhīs completely turned towards the *Khān-i Khānān* without giving way to distraction (*tafriqa*) in their hearts. Subsequently, when Mirzā Jānī was blessed with the kissing of the Imperial threshold, *Ḥaḍrat-i 'Arsh Āstānī*, perceiving the affairs of the *sarkār* of Sihwān and Bandar Lāharī by way of royal prudence, resumed them from the former and incorporated
 10 them into the Crown administered lands (*khālīṣa sharīfa*). The remaining four *sarkārs* were however bestowed upon Mirzā Jānī in *jāgīr*. And it is a fact that whenever the *sarkār* of Sihwān is under the control of somebody, the Sahtas cannot raise their heads [in rebellion]. On behalf of the *Khān-i Khānān* . Maqsūd Bēg was the *hakīm* of that *sarkār*.

15 [Tenure of Bakhtyār Bēg Turkman]

After him, the *sarkār* of Sihwān was bestowed on Bakhtyār Bēg Turkman as *jāgīr*; he was an exceedingly good soldier and it is said that he administered and developed this region even better than the Tarkhāns. Giving good chastisement to each of the above mentioned insurgent tribes, he brought them
 20 under his control and made them acknowledge his authority. First of all I give an account of the steps he took for the welfare of army. Possessed of about one thousand [289b] good, brave and resolute horsemen in his service, he always strove for the comfort of his army, as Shaykh Sa'dī, on whom be the mercy of God, says in the *Būstān*:

25 [Verses omitted] [290]

Secondly, I commit to writing his military preparedness. He had commanded his soldiers that each one of them should always keep three days' provisions [ready]. If disregard to this order was noticed on the part of any of them he sequestered one month's salary (*'alūfa*) of the defaulter.
 30 He had won over and employed some spies from amongst the hill tribes and the Samējas Ūnar. They had become familiar with him, and constantly kept him posted about the affairs of those insurgents. He divided his soldiers into seven detachments (*fauj*). Every detachment in its turn remained in attendance on him in [combat] readiness for twenty four hours. He possessed a *nafīrī*
 35 and a trumpet (*karranū'i*) and had proclaimed that whenever he rode out with the sound of the *nafīrī* only the detachment on duty [290b] should ride out with him. The remainder were prohibited from doing so. Whenever he rode with the sound of the trumpet all the soldiers, regardless of a signal from the

bakhshī and the *jārehtī*, were to mount with their three days' provisions of food and water. This is the extreme of military preparedness. Thus nobody ever perceived his secrets. [Conversely], in these days if a chief decides to undertake an expedition it takes two months in preparation before he can set out on his campaign.

Thirdly, though he and his army led several expeditions and had innumerable adventures against the insurgent nomads of this region, I venture to describe [only] a few of them. First of all, when he reached the region of Sihwān he sent his *shiqqḍār*, named Shahsawār, to the *tappa* of the Samējas Ūnar, which was one of the dependencies of the *pargana* Lākūt [291]. Stationed amidst the Samējas Ūnar, he [Shahsawār] collected revenue [from them]. One day the Samējas got an opportunity and killed him. No sooner did Bakhtyār Bēg get the news than he dispatched an army under the command of Qūch 'Alī Shāmlū against the short-sighted Samējas Ūnar. The following day this army fell upon them and killed many of those wretches. The Samēja chiefs, such as Parya, Bōdla, Maḥmūd, Farīd, Jayūnda and Jūda, drawn as they were from all the four of their *ṭarāfs* called on Qūch 'Alī and pleaded for pardon. He put the heads of the slain insurgents into baskets and sent them with these six chiefs to Bakhtyār Bēg in Sihwān. Bakhtyār Bēg kept these chiefs under custody until Qāsim Khān Arghūn, who was the *ḥākim* of Naṣrpūr from the side of Mirzā Jānī Bēg, guaranteed the realization of a fine of 24,000 Lārīs from the Samējas and procured their release. Bakhtyār Bēg dispatched his men to Qāsim Khān in Naṣrpūr to make arrangements to fetch the aforementioned amount (lit. gold). The Samējas out of indigence chose exile rather than their habitat, and went to the *sarkār* of Naṣrpūr and settled there. A part of the amount of the aforementioned fine they paid in cash and the remainder they wanted to make good in kind, such as horses, camels, cows, and donkeys. The agents of Bakhtyār Bēg conveyed this desire of theirs to their master who, disapproving the suggestion, went across the river and encamped at the fort of Wīnjara. From there he wrote to Qāsim Khān Arghūn [292] to pay the balance in cash or else expect him soon on his head. He also warned him against granting asylum to the Samējas, who were Bakhtyār Bēg's subjects, in his territory. When this letter reached Qāsim Khān Arghūn he started temporising by excuses and protests. Bakhtyār Bēg put his army on the alert and marched towards Naṣrpūr. When he reached Nagar, a place neighbouring the said *sarkār*, Qāsim Khān Arghūn also heard this news and instantly paid the balance of the fine in cash from his own exchequer to the agents of Bakhtyār Bēg, and wrote back to him apologising profusely. He also deputed his men to keep an eye on the Samējas Ūnar, so that wherever in the *sarkār* of

Naṣrpur they emigrated they should capture them and dispatch them to the region of Sihwān, and thus he extricated himself from the surety he had offered in respect of the Samējas. Consequently [292b], helpless as they had become, the Samējas settled [back] in their own habitat, adopted the
 5 manners of peasants, and withdrew their hands from insurgency and short-sightedness. Bakhtyār Bēg repaired to Sihwān, but his *shiqqḍār* stationed among the Samējas Ūnar realized the revenue from them as he did from the rest of the peasants, so that, even in the case of cultivation in deserts which depended for irrigation on rainfall, he charged revenue from them in accordance with
 10 the *dabt* regulations.

Moreover, he [Bakhtyār Bēg] had adopted a Charkas slave called Raḥmān Qulī as his son. Extremely gallant as Raḥmān Qulī was, Bakhtyār Bēg stationed him with fifty horsemen in the town of Sann. One day the Nuhmardīs came and carried away the cattle of Sann. He got this news around midday and
 15 instantly setting a *pā'ikash* before himself, he mounted his horse and set out in pursuit of those criminals. He rode continuously that day and night until two watches past the following day [293], and it was around midday when he caught up with those insurgents, who numbered around three hundred horse and foot. Abandoning the cattle they went to the top of a hill. Raḥmān
 20 Qulī made over the cattle to the residents of Sann who were accompanying him, and himself turned to the hill. He killed about two hundred of their men, decapitated them, and dispatched their heads to Bakhtyār Bēg, in Sihwān. After that day the Nuhmardīs never ravaged the region of Sihwān and kept from insurgency all through his tenure.

Besides, he [Bakhtyār Bēg] personally led an expedition against the
 25 intractable Māchhīs of the village of Akbarābād and exterminated them, and this has been alluded to previously. [Likewise], once the Nūhānī Balūches, who will be treated of later on, defaulted in the payment of their revenue. Bakhtyār Bēg rode out personally against them [293b] slew seventeen of
 30 their warlike chiefs. Meanwhile, a Balūch called Tūtā fought valiantly and martyred some of Bakhtyār Bēg's soldiers. At last Raḥmān Qulī galloped towards that Balūch, but the latter hamstrung Raḥmān Qulī's horse. Raḥmān Qulī came to the ground and both of them grappled with each other. As
 35 Raḥmān Qulī was clad in a mail, the blow of the Balūch was ineffective on him, whereas the wound inflicted by the latter on his opponent was effective and killed him. Subsequently, Bakhtyār Bēg bestowed honours on the Nūhānīs and made them responsible for the passes lying towards the villages of the *pargana* of Hawēlī, so that they could keep an eye on the army of the Nuhmardīs.

Also he dispatched Raḥmān Qulī with fifty soldiers to the village

of Khasā'ī Shūra and Budāpūr, the dependencies of the *pargana* Ūnarpūr in the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla, which at that time lay in the *jāgīr* of Mirzā Jānī Tarkhān [294], and ordered him to transfer the produce (*mazrū'āt*) of these villages to the *pargana* Sann and seize it. Reaching there, Raḥmān Qulī encamped at the village of Kumān, a dependency of the *pargana* Sann adjacent to Khasā'ī Shūra. He captured the *rabī'* grain (*ghalla-i rabī'*) of Khasā'ī Shūra, loaded it in the boats and dispatched it to Sihwān. He was still trying to capture the produce of the village Budāpūr when Khusrau Bēg, who was the *hākīm* of Thatta on behalf of Mirzā Jānī, dispatched the troops stationed at the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla and Naṣrpūr, together with the nomads of these two *sarkārs*, to intercept Raḥmān Qulī. This big army crowded on the village Khasā'ī Shūra and put up their camps there. Raḥmān Qulī notified Bakhtyār Bēg that a [294b] powerful army had arrived from Thatta, and asked if he could send his private (*khaṣṣa*) elephant with good succour so that he could put up a fight with those people. Bakhtyār Bēg wrote him back: "O coward! Can't you do anything yourself instead of asking for an elephant and succour from me?" When this letter reached Raḥmān Qulī he indulged in an excellent feast together with his men and then, putting on saffron-coloured clothes, he remarked: "Tomorrow is my wedding-feast (*tawī*).\" When the day broke he prepared himself for battle and set out for the village Khasā'ī Shūra. The army of Thatta also stood in front of it in full accoutrement. Thus, launching a frontal attack on the enemy, Raḥmān Qulī, together with his fifty men, tore through their [front] line and entrenched himself there. Meanwhile the nomads of Sann who accompanied Raḥmān Qulī suddenly took to flight, and the army of Thatta [295] surrounded the latter along with his detachment (*jamā'a*) and killed him with twenty five of his soldiers. The remaining twenty five soldiers made good their escape from the battlefield and reached Bakhtyār Bēg. This news extremely saddened him and he prepared for an expedition against the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla. Meanwhile the region of Bhakkar was bestowed upon the *Khān-i A'zam* Mirzā Kukā in *jāgīr* and he sent his son, Mirzā Anwar, to Bhakkar. Then the Chāndiyas started ravaging Bhakkar. Mirzā Anwar dispatched his servant called Ḥaydar Bēg with a strong army to fight the Chāndiyas. The latter fought and defeated him in battle in broad daylight and carried away his military stores as well as his kettledrum (*naqqāra*). When Mirzā Anwar heard this news he prepared for an attack [on them] and at the same time sent a message to Bakhtyār Bēg, asking him to [295b] simultaneously invade them. Bakhtyār Bēg wrote back in reply: "I am ready. No sooner have you left than you may take it for granted that I have also arrived.\" [At the same time] he sent his spies towards the Chāndiyas to

ascertain the real situation. Around midday he sounded his *naḡīr* and set out from the fort of Sihwān towards the Mānchhur lake as if on a hunting expedition. A couple of *murghābī* retrieved by the hawks fell into his hands which he took as a [good] omen; and he turned his feet towards a tomb about a quarter of a *kuroḥ* from Sihwān. Dismounting there, he wrote brief messages to the submissive nomad tribes, such as the Pahawārs, Kōrējas and Samējas and gave them to swift and speedy riders, telling them that they should go [and deliver the messages], and then present themselves on the following day early in the morning, together with those tribes, in the village of Kūnarkōt, one of the dependencies of the *pargana* of Kāhān. Sounding the *karranā'i* in the afternoon (*namāz-i dīgar*) [296] he himself also rode out from that place. He travelled [continuously] the whole night and in the morning reached the village of Kūnarkōt where his entire army and the subject tribes also gathered by midday. Then, calling the Pahawār chiefs, namely 'Īsā, Mūsā, Dā'ūd, and Jalāl, he warned them: "The Chāndiyas do not know anything about my attack as yet. I am proceeding towards them. If from now on they learn about my incursion and run away I shall kill you instead of the Chāndiyas." Then he took those four chiefs and placed them in the fore as guides. Setting out around afternoon (*waqt-i zawāl*), that day and the following night he travelled furtively (*qatra karda*), and at dawn he fell upon the Chāndiyas. Considering that was also an army from Bhakkar like the previous one [296b], they came forward and valiantly engaged in battle, but, when they learnt that it was Bakhtyār Bēg Turkman who had come from Sihwān, they were stupefied. Nevertheless, a gruelling battle was fought between the two sides. But the Chāndiyas were defeated; a large number of those ill-starred ones were killed and many were taken prisoner. From here Bakhtyār Bēg dispatched through one of his men the heads of some of the Chāndiya chiefs, along with some of their captives, to Mirzā Anwar. The latter was still busy preparing his army when the heads of the Chāndiyas and the captives of those insurgents were presented to him. This expedition so completely broke the Chāndiyas that he appointed his *shiqqadār* among them. Thus throughout his term of office (*'amal*) he realized revenue from them as he did from his other peasants.

Bakhtyār Bēg's tenure in Sihwān lasted for seven years. He had made a fifty-fifty [297] crop-sharing arrangement with his peasantry which varied at places to 1/3rd, ½th, and 2/5th. He followed only the crop-sharing system. The income (*ḡaṣil*) from one *rabī'* crop during his tenure had reached 80,000 *kharwārs* of grain which [of course] did not include the *wujūh-i sabzbarī* and the grain of *khariḡ*. He looked upon the *zamīndārs* of this region as his *ra'īyyat* and did not befriend them for the purpose of oppressive

exactions (*taujiḥāt-i zulm*). He treated everyone with due consideration so that no-one gained preference over the other. He paid *in'ām* to the *arbābs* and *muqaddams* and never inconvenienced the peasants on that account. This sort of behaviour contributes tremendously to the prosperity [of the country], because in crop-sharing system, just as the holding (*qit'a*) of an indigent peasant is subjected to assessment so is the holding of an *arbāb*, *muqaddam*, and *qānūngū*. There is no chance of complicity (*sitam sharīkī*) in it; whereas in *dabt* the *arbābs*, *muqaddams* and *qānūngūs* at the time of assessment (*taujiḥ*) separate their own holdings [297b], and, adding their own revenue also on the assessable lands (*zira'at*) of the peasants, carry out assessment (*taujiḥ*) which encourages complicity (*mūjib-i sitam sharīkīst*). But how prudent and discerning an *'āmil* should be who can forestall this vile practice of the *arbābs*, *muqaddams*, and *qānūngūs* while performing the duties of assessment judiciously, that has been briefly commented upon previously in connection with Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī. Besides, in the crop-sharing system the peasants cultivate the low yield lands as well and more so in the case of high yield ones, but in *dabtī* system they cultivate only those lands which can fulfil the *dabtī* obligations and ignore the low yield ones altogether.

In the expedition against the fort of Sīwī he [Bakhtyār Bēg], by order of *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* accompanied *Pīr Ghulām* with a reasonable strength, while in the Qandahār expedition he sent his younger son, Bā Abā Bēg, at the head of three hundred choice horsemen [298].

In short, during the tenure of Bakhtyār Bēg not only the region of Sihwān was well-administered, populous and flourishing but also the army raised on the strength of this region carried out Imperial wishes in other territories. His discipline kept the tribes of the region of Bhakkar and Thatta in awe and fright. Highly as he regarded the Emperor, every step that he took from purchase and sale (*bay' wa shurā'*) to the assessment (*taujiḥ-i māl-i wājibī*) of the peasants, was taken in collaboration with the local *qādī* and *muftī*, in order to make sure that nobody's interest was hurt. And that is what the welfare of the peasants and the destruction of the insurgents imply. And God knows best what is right.

When Bakhtyār Bēg fell ill and his illness grew worse everyday, his sons, both 'Abd al-Rahmān and Bābā Bēg, imprisoned the Pahawār chiefs in the fort of Sihwān, except for [298b] Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār, who was at large. Meanwhile, when the *rabī'* crop was harvested, Bakhtyār Bēg entrusted his life to God. Gōrya Hindū procured this crop (*faṣl*) from the Imperial court on lease at a defined rent (*ijāra*) and entrusted it for assessment to Jaysar Hindū, whom

he had employed as *qāmūnqū* in Sihwān. Meanwhile, the Samējas got an opportunity and decided to exterminate the Pahawārs and the Kōrējas, who were pure peasants (*ra'īyyat-i khālīṣṣ*). Thus, every Samēja no matter whether he was in the region of Bhakkar or in the territory of Sihwān, prepared to get rid of the Pahawārs and Kōrējas. On this side of the river, the Samējas of the village Lākiyār, a dependency of the region of Bhakkar, advanced and set on fire the village Binhan, a dependency of the *pargana* of Kāhān, which formed part of Sihwān, burnt it and ran away with whatever they could lay their hands upon. Likewise, the Samējas [299] of the village Kānharī, one of the dependencies of *pargana* Kāhān, set ablaze the village Sāmṭānī, which was a dependency of the said *pargana* and home of Baha' al-Dīn Pahawār, and looted it. Similarly, the Samējas Ūnar, across the river, ravaged the villages of the Kōrējas and Pahawārs, which lay in the *pargana* of Jūnēja, and thus the region of Sihwān presented a spectacle of complete chaos. Left with no alternative, the Pahawārs and Kōrējas resolved unanimously first of all to give battle to the Samējas, who were the root of this disorder and confusion. If by the grace of God they succeeded against the Samējas well and good, otherwise they would emigrate to the region of Thatta. In keeping with this resolution, between four and five thousand Pahawārs and Kōrējas, both horse and foot, went across the river to the village Babrī, one of the dependencies of the *pargana* Jūnēja, and encamped there. Jaysar Hindū also joined them with his army. On the other hand, between five and six thousand Samējas [299b], both horse and foot, came and took up positions in the village of Kajīra, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned *pargana*. After consultation the Pahawārs and Kōrējas came to the conclusion that they should attack the Samējas pre-emptively. Thus, getting prepared overnight, with Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār at the head (? *buqḥī numūda*) of three hundred horsemen, they set out for the destination. On the other hand, deciding on the same expediency, the Samējas also rode out overnight. As soon as the day broke both the armies engaged each other and a fierce battle raged between these tribes. Though both sides sustained a large number of casualties, the breeze of victory blew towards the Imperial subjects. Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār, who was *buqḥī* (?), arrived well in time to get the better of Samēja chief called Paraya, who was the source of all this violence and mischief, and killed him. The Samējas were defeated [300] and the Imperial subjects returned successful and victorious, and settled in their respective places.

[Tenure of Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn Karōrī]

In the beginning of the *kharīf* crop Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn Karōrī was sent

to the region of Sihwān. He [in turn] dispatched his nephew, Tīmūr Bēg, together with three hundred horsemen, against the Samējas so that he could recover the balance of the previous *rabī*⁴ crop and make arrangements for the assessment (*tahṣīl nishānand*) of the forthcoming *khariḥ* crop. Tīmūr Bēg
 5 went and encamped in the fort of Wījara, and the Samējas crowded together in the Sūnaharī lake, which had water all around but in the middle was dry. They were prepared to pay the balance from the previous *rabī*⁴ crop in kind, such as horses, camels, and cows, but as was usual with them they put [relatively] higher prices on them. Tīmūr Bēg did not approve of this
 10 attitude and therefore rode out against them. When he was close to the lake Sūnaharī [300b] he came across a Samēja hamlet (*dihakī*). His men engaged in ravaging it. Meanwhile dust appeared before him. Tīmūr Bēg enquired about the nature of that dust. Some said it was a whirlwind while others remarked that it was the enemy [coming]. They were still talking when the Samējas
 15 made their appearance. Tīmūr Bēg, instead of engaging them, right at the outset turned his reins. His army was defeated and many of his men were killed and their horses and arms were looted by the Samējas. That day the Samējas Ūnar acquired a new strength. Tīmūr Bēg retired post haste into the fort of Wījara and shut himself up there. The Samēja came and laid
 20 siege to the fort, and recaptured their own *khariḥ* barley and wherever possible snatched that of the peasants as well [301].

Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn dispatched his army together with the submissive tribes in aid of Tīmūr Bēg, with Mānak Hindū, son of Ghūriya Hindū, who was the *ḥākīm* of *pargana* Kāhān on behalf of his father and performed the
 25 functions of *qānūngū* as well. When he crossed the river the Samējas lifted the siege of the fort and moved towards the sand hills of Jaisalmēr. Mānak Hindū joined force with Tīmūr Bēg and both of them pursued the Samējas up to the edge of those hills, but all in vain. Tīmūr Bēg returned to Sihwān from there and Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn could do nothing. That is what is implied
 30 by the destruction of the subjects and strengthening of the insurgents.

[Tenure of Shaykh Mūsā Gīlānī]

After the tenure of Khwāja Nūr al-Dīn was over, the region of Sihwān was given to Shaykh Mūsā Gīlānī in *jāgīr* and he sent there his son, Jān Muḥammad [301b], on his behalf. Jān Muḥammad did not have any army with
 35 him, and hence his control (*'amal*) in this region proved to be very ineffective so that during his term of office he could not go out of the fort to hunt even within the radius of one *kurōh*, let alone ride out against the insurgents. In the city right beneath the fort, not to speak of the frontiers, thieves killed the people. That is what is meant by the destruction of the

country and the strengthening of the insurgents.

[Tenure of Qarā Bēg]

After his transfer, this region was bestowed on Qarā Bēg in *jāgīr*; he also sent his agents to this area. Between the soldiers of Qarā Bēg and Jān Muḥammad a scuffle broke out in the main street of Sihwān and the *shiqqdār* of Qarā Bēg, Āqa Muḥammad was killed at the hands of Jān Muḥammad's men. But eventually Qarā Bēg's men exerted pressure on Jān Muḥammad, who retired into the fort and strengthened his defences. He remained besieged in the fort for some time [302], until at last one night he opened up a hole [in the wall] towards the river and made good his escape.

The administration of the agents of Qarā Bēg was also ineffectual (*zabūn*), and it is the weakness of the administration which creates trouble in the country. During these three aforementioned tenures the insurgents got much stronger and the subjects were weakened beyond all description. The reason was that those of the subjects who were at the mercy of the insurgents were destroyed by the incursions of the latter; and those of them who fell into the hands of the *jāgīrdārs* were still more wrecked and ruined by the latter's unauthorized exactions (*taujiḥāt-i bātila*). Moreover, when the *zamīndārs* of this country sensed the weakness of the *jāgīrdār*'s army they revived their old animosities, fought among themselves, and destroyed one another. Consequently, this country was laid waste in such a manner that it reminded one of the old Indian legends wherein somebody reached a ruined city [302b] where a demon (*rākās*) had eaten all its inhabitants and reduced the city to desolation. And there is no demon worse than a tyrant 'āmīl.

[Tenure of (my) late father for the first time]

After the transfer of Qarā Bēg, the country of Sihwān except for the *parganas* Kāhān and Jūnēja and half of the *pargana* of Khittā was given to [my father], Pīr Ghulām, in place of Bhakkar, whence he was transferred. When Pīr Ghulām reached here he found a wrecked and destroyed country. He summoned the *qānūngūs* and ordered them to submit to him a detailed list of all the villages in every *pargana* and [to report] which of them were populated and which of them were lying in ruin. With this list in hand, he found out the peasants of the destroyed villages from each and every place and rehabilitated them in their previous homes. He encouraged them with a crop-sharing system coupled with assistance by way of a decreased [State] share and gave this assurance to every one of them in writing [303]. He took no notice of vested interests or whatever slanderers (*mardum-i chaghul*) told him with

regard to the peasants. He stationed strong *thānas* on the frontiers of this region and appointed a *shiqqḍār* in the *tappa* of the Samējas too. Thus during the very first year [of his tenure] this country was set on the path of development and wherever there was an insurgent he submitted and undertook to pay the revenue.

One day in the afternoon the Samējas Ūnar raided the cattle of the Lākas in the village Kujrān, which lay in front of Sann, just across the river. A servant of *Pīr Ghulām* named Bāyazīd who was the *shiqqḍār* of the *pargana* of Sann, out of a feeling of personal honour, could not bear this temerity on the part of the Samējas. He leapt into a small boat together with his horse and crossing the river, fell upon them all by himself. Those accursed ones[303b] hamstrung his horse and martyred him too. This news reached *Pīr Ghulām* four watches past the day. He mounted his horse immediately, but before he could cross the river his *khānazāds* had already betaken themselves with a party of soldiers to the villages of the Samējas, killed a group of them and severed their heads. A delegation of the chiefs of these scoundrels, including Danīpasā, Ṭayyib and Farīd, called on those *khānazāds*. The latter apprehended them and subsequently presented them along with those heads to *Pīr Ghulām* who, having crossed the river, had encamped in the village of Mihrān which lay in the *pargana* Kḥiṭṭa. The following day the rest of the Samēja chiefs also called on *Pīr Ghulām* with some of their girls and a big indemnity to offer [304], and pleaded for pardon. Henceforth, he established a strong fort in the village of Wījara, which lay right in the centre of their area, and another in the village of Dīh, which lay in the *pargana* of Ḥawēlī on the bank of the river, and stationed strong *thānas* there. Then during his tenure the Samējas never committed any insurgency and paid the revenue as the rest of the peasants did.

On another occasion, the Samējas Tība, resident in the *pargana* Bāghbānān, whose insurgency has been described earlier, in collaboration with the Chāndīyas, rose in rebellion. *Pīr Ghulām* rode out personally and encamped in the centre of the Tība villages such as Kandakōt, Chin, and Pīta. The *khariṭf* crop had turned out to be extremely good; he got it assessed to his satisfaction. The Tības and the Chāndīyas all called on him and pledged their obedience. Thereafter, they never committed any insurgency [304b] during his term of office and paid the revenue regularly.

Yet in another instance, the Nuhamrdīs plundered the cattle of the villages of *pargana* Ḥawēlī Sihwān. A young man called Qulī Jān who was the *thānadār* of the village Tīrī, came out and pursued the insurgents. He retrieved the cattle from their hands, but a severe battle ensued between

them. By the grace of God and owing to the eternal good luck of *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyānī* the insurgents were defeated and a large number of their men were killed, and thus chastised they never resorted to rebellion in this region. All their chiefs called on *Pīr Ghulām* and elicited from him a
 5 promise of safe conduct. Henceforward a caravan of theirs, comprising between four and five thousand camels regularly came to the city of Sihwān and traded mountain products [305] for grain which they took back to their area. They also undertook to pay some tribute in kind, such as camels and goats, which they did regularly every season.

10 When Mirzā Jānī died his son, Mirzā Ghāzī, was in Thatta. To capture him, *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh Ashiyānī* bestowed the regions of Bhakkar and Sīwī on Sa'īd Khān in *jāgīr* and dispatched him to that area. Having arrived there, Sa'īd Khān encamped in the *pargana* of Darbēla. A *farmān* was also issued to *Pīr Ghulām* that he should personally go to Thatta and escort Mirzā Ghāzī to
 15 the court. Thus, having prepared a good force, in keeping with the Imperial decree, *Pīr Ghulām* decided to reach Thatta before Sa'īd Khān and accompany Mirzā Ghāzī as a steward (*sazāwal*), to the capital of Agra. He went personally to Nasrpur, which is the navel of the region of Thatta, and then sent in advance as an envoy one of his servants called Mīr 'Atā Allāh Mashhadī,
 20 who was quite exquisite in the excellence of his poetry and calligraphy. On hearing this news [305b], Mirzā Ghāzī wrote back to him: "I submit to the orders of the Emperor. You go back and I shall follow you." *Pīr Ghulām* took him with himself and called on Sa'īd Khān, after which all three of them set out for the capital of Agra. When they succeeded in kissing the
 25 Imperial threshold the province of Qandahār was assigned to *Pīr Ghulām*; that is to say [that the Emperor commanded that] that province should be made over to him on the transfer of Shāh Bēg Khān from there and the regions of Bhakkar, Sīwī and Sihwān should be given to him [*Pīr Ghulām*] in *tankhwāh*. In the meantime the Emperor died and Jahāngīr ascended the royal throne. He
 30 transferred Tukhta Bēg Khān from the *ṣūbadārī* of Kābul, honoured him with the title of *Sardār Khān*, bestowed on him the region of Bhakkar, Sīwī and Sihwān in *jāgīr*, and entrusted him with service in the province of Qandahār instead of Shāh Bēg Khān; and *Pīr Ghulām* was dispatched to the expedition of Jalālābād. As soon as *Sardār Khān* reached near Multān the army of Shāh 'Abbās advanced
 35 and besieged Shāh Bēg Khān in the fort of Qandahār. On hearing this news the Emperor Jahāngīr dispatched Mirzā Ghāzī Bēg and Qarā Bēg also with a body of the *aḥādīs* to Qandahār. This party also joined *Sardār Khān* and then together they marched towards Qandahār. Qarā Bēg died on the way and Mirzā Ghāzī and *Sardār Khān* reached Qandahār with the army. The army of Shāh 'Abbās

could not muster the courage to fight against the Chaghatā'ī army [306b] and retreated the same way as it had come.

Mirzā Ghāzī was recalled to the court while the *sūbadārī* of Qandahār continued to be vested in *Sardār Khān*. A servant of *Sardār Khān* called
 5 Darwīsh Bēg was the *ḥākīm* of Sihwān on the former's behalf. He in collaboration with Mānak, son of Gūriya, mustered an army and rode out on the Samējas. He was camping at the village Dīrā'ūn when the Samejās got an opportunity and launching a night sortie on Darwīsh Bēg's army killed about five hundred of his men. Mānak fought very steadfastly that night, but the following day
 10 Darwīsh Bēg who could not stay there, returned to Sihwān where he died. When this news reached the Emperor through the reports of the *wāqī'anawīses* he transferred [307] the region of Sihwān from *Sardār Khān* to *Pīr Ghulām*, who was the *thānadār* of Bājaur at that time.

[Tenure of (my) late father for the second time]

15 He dispatched this *khānazād*, the present writer, with a strong body of troops to Sihwān in advance and on his heels himself also arrived there. He found the whole region in a state of confusion and desolation, and again encouraged the scattered subjects to return to their country. Meanwhile, *Sardār Khān* died at Qandahār and Mīrzā Ghāzī was sent there in his stead. *Pīr*
 20 *Ghulām* was also instructed to accompany the Mirzā to Qandahār. *Pīr Ghulām* left Sihwān, and in accordance with the royal decree met Mīrzā Ghāzī at Bhakkar. In the meantime, the Lākas, whose territories had been plundered and seized by the accursed Samējas during the previous administrations [307b], and who had sent a group of their men to the world-revolving court to invoke
 25 royal assistance, addressed to *Pīr Ghulām* which said that, having recovered the territory of the Lākas from the wretched Samējas, he should make it over to the Lākas, and the Samējas should be sternly dealt with so that they got sick of their headstrong ways. If he could not perform this duty adequately he should let the exalted court know, so that someone else
 30 might be entrusted with that expedition who could recover the right of the oppressed from the hand of the tyrant and return it to them.

In short, he received two orders simultaneously that he should accompany Mirzā Ghāzī to Qandahār and that he should administer a good chastisement to the Samējas Ūnar and compel them to return the territory
 35 of the Lākas that they had forcibly usurped from them [308]. In these circumstances, particularly when the region of Sihwān was lying in ruin and two and a half of its excellent (*jayyid*), well-populated *parganas* were outside his *tankhwāh jāgīr*, *Pīr Ghulām* wanted to send [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā', with a sizable army to accompany the Mīrzā, while he himself stayed

back in Sihwān for the chastisement of the Samējas. Mīrzā Ghāzī, however, did not accept the proposal and said: "You are in place of my father. You should stay with me, since you are a wise, experienced and capable person. Once you have escorted me to Qandahār and have assisted me in the administration of that place you may return to your *jāgīr*." Seeing no alternative *Pīr Ghulām*, along with four to five hundred experienced old Mughul soldiers, accepted the company of Mīrzā Ghāzī and left [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā', instead of himself in Sihwān and handed over the *farmān* to him [308b], the purport of which was: "Do whatever you can to the Samēja scoundrels and recover the right of the Lākas from them and restore it to the latter." [My] brother turned to Mīrzā Ghāzī and said: "Whenever the Samējas are in distress because of their kinships (*nisbathā*) with the clan of Qāsim Khān Arghūn they take refuge in the *sarkār* of Naṣrpūr which belongs to you. What do you suggest to me in this regard?" Mīrzā Ghāzī replied: "Since the *farmān* commands that the Samējas should be punished severely, wherever these accursed ones turn you must pursue them and put them to death, capture their families and plunder their cattle." [My] brother said: "Put these two things into writing so that subsequently the blame does not fall on me." Mīrzā Ghāzī immediately committed the matter [309] to writing and affixing his seal on it handed it over to [my] brother and himself [Mīrzā Ghāzī] left for Qandahār together with *Pīr Ghulām*. [My] brother, Abū al-Baqā', also left for Sihwān via Bhakkar. On the way, when he reached the *pargana* of Jūnēja which lay in the *jāgīr* of Mīrzā Ghāzī, the latter's revenue-collectors represented to him that the Samējas Bukya of the village Kajīra had taken to insurgency and refused to pay revenue. Thus, he decided to go thence straight to the village Kajīra, and rode hard to that place. Since the Bukyas had already dug a strong ditch and put a *khārbandī* around the village, a battle of arrows took place. Most of the men and two horses of [my] brother were wounded but consequently, he broke into the *khārbandī* [309b] and killed some of these wretches. The remainder of their chiefs called on him and pleaded for pardon. He handed them over to the revenue-collectors of Mīrzā Ghāzī and he himself made for Sihwān, whence, after necessary preparations for a raid on the Samējas Ūnar, he crossed the river.

No sooner had he done so than the Samējas dispersed and took to flight. Some of them went towards the sand hills of Jaisalmēr while the others came into the *sarkār* of Naṣrpūr. [My] brother pursued these latter into the village of Hāla Kandī, which lay in the *sarkār* of Naṣrpūr, where he learnt that a Samēja chief called Tālib had crossed the river Sānkara with his group and was heading towards the sand hills of Naṣrpūr. Thus, [my] brother

rode hard in his pursuit and overtook Tālib before he could [310] reach his destination. Nearby there was a fort called Ṣadgar; Shīr Bēg, the son-in-law of Qāsim Arghūn, lived there. Tālib, together with his group entered this fort and strengthened his defences there. [My] brother besieged the
 5 fort. The garrison of the fort fought with arrows, muskets (*tūfang*) and guns (*tūp*). But the Imperial army humbled them in one single blow: they put an elephant in the fore and charged the gate of the fort. By the grace of God and by the eternal good luck of *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* the elephant followed by the soldiers broke into the gate. Thus the Samējas were massacred
 10 right in the middle of the fort. About twelve hundred Samējas along with their aforementioned chief, Tālib, were killed and the Imperial army was blessed with an appropriately brilliant success.

On his way back [310b] [my] brother subdued the region of the Samējas comprising the villages Sāba, Wīnjara, Kātra, Dīrā'ūn and Jānra, crossed
 15 the river at the ferry called Mandīhī, in front of the fort of Sihwān, and reached Sihwān. But vicious and perfidious as this tribe is, the Samējas came back and attacked the *pargana* Khittā. [My] brother played a trick and returned from Sihwān for the second time, under the pretext of riding out against the Samējas Tība who lived in the *pargana* Bāghbānān. It was around
 20 noon prayers that he reached the township of Pātar. He crossed the river at the ferry of Muhra, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned *pargana*, and around the evening prayers set out towards the Samējas Ūnar. That night, the following day and the night thereafter he galloped along the border of the desert of Jaisalmēr. After traversing a distance of about sixty *kurōhs*
 25 around dawn he fell upon the village Dīrā'ūn, killed about five hundred men of the Samējas Ūnar [311], rounded up a large number of captives, and seized innumerable of their cattle. Thence he came to the village Kajrān, where the Lākas pleaded with him to establish a fort for them in that village and to station a strong *thāna* there. In keeping with this request of
 30 the Lākas, he built a strong fort in that village, named it Jahāngīrābād, appointed an old servant of *Pīr Ghulām*, called Faṭḥ 'Alī, with a strong detachment as the *thānadār* of that fort and himself left for Sihwān.

When the news of the return of [my] brother reached Qāsim Khān Arghūn in Naṣrpur, to avenge the embarrassment of the defeat at the Ṣadgar fort, he
 35 dispatched his sons named Jindā'ī and Faṭḥī, together with about one thousand horse and two thousand foot, comprising the Samējas Ūnar and Sahūdas, to invade the fort of Jahāngīrābād [311b]. When this army reached the outskirts of the fort of Jahāngīrābād incidentally, an Afghān called Ibrāhīm, who had come out of the fort on a hunting expedition observed this situation and riding

back post-haste conveyed the news to Fath 'Alī. He immediately deployed a body of archers and matchlockmen on top of the fort, and mounting his horse (?*tūrkh numāda*) came out of the fort with his army and positioned himself between the *khārbandī* and the ditch of the fort. No sooner did the army of Jindā'ī and Fathī appear and make a dash towards the fort than it was subjected to a volley of arrows and gunfire (*tūfang*). Whatever God Most High, does is appropriate. In the very first burst all the ten to fifteen soldiers who were riding in the forefront were killed, and the enemy troops, failing to persevere, beat a retreat. Relying on the meaning of this verse - "How oft by Allah's will, hath a small force vanquished a big one" - Fath 'Alī pursued them [312] and killed around two hundred more of their men. He severed their heads and dispatched them to [my] brother in Sihwān. After that day the Samējas Ūnar never indulged in any insurgency during the tenure of my brother. They left the territory of the Lākas to the Lākas, and like other subjects paid the revenue.

Pīr Ghulām served for one year in Qandahār with Mirzā Ghāzī and then with the permission of the latter set out for his *jāgīr*, but on the way by Divine decree he breathed his last.

In short, on both the occasions, regardless of the fact that the region of Sihwān was not entirely in the *jāgīr* of *Pīr Ghulām*, not only did he administer this region befittingly, but also the army of this region served in another royal dominion; and that is what is meant by the prosperity of a country and the destruction of miscreants [312 b].

The tenure of *Pīr Ghulām* extended to six years altogether during both the terms. The peasants followed fifty-fifty crop-sharing and in most of the places he resumed only 1/3rd or 1/4th of the total produce. He was favourably disposed towards scholars and sages, and it was he who introduced the practice of *madaḍ-i ma'āsh* in this region, so that during the days of *Hadrat-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* he paid daily allowances (*rūzyāna*) to most of the scholars on his own, provided them with porters, and even escorted them personally to the late Mīran Sadr-i Jahān, recommended every one of them in proportion to his erudition, saw to the preparation of relevant *farmāns* and then paying these scholars travelling expenses for the way back, allowed them to return to Sihwān.

[Tenure of Shamshīr Khān for the first time]

When the news of the death of *Pīr Ghulām* reached *Hadrat-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* he bestowed the region of Sihwān on Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek conjointly with the pages of the royal household (*ghulām bachcha hā-i khwūd*) [313]. Disapproving

of partnership with Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā', took his clan (*qabīla*) with himself and headed for the capital of Agra to the presence of the Emperor. Thus the latter made over the entire region of Sihwān to Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek as *jāgīr-i tankhwāh*. Likewise, the Emperor subordinated the whole clan to my brother, and bestowed upon them Ubāwra, Ganjāba, and Riprī Langāhān in *jāgīr*. This *khānazād*, the present writer, since that day renounced his *manṣab* and contenting himself with a small (*juzwī*) *madad-i ma'āsh* retired into seclusion in Sihwān.

Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek also extremely developed this region and raised an efficient army so that out of about seven hundred Ūzbek soldiers that he possessed, about one hundred wore ornate turbans (*jīghahā-i murassa'*), used golden belts for the daggers and sat on silver saddles when riding [312b], and every one of them possessed seven to eight 'Irāqī and Turkish horses in his stable. Rest of his soldiers were also generally *dī aspa-i 'Irāqt wa Turkī* and wore silver-hilted scimitars.

Shamshīr Khān stationed his *thānas* on different places on the frontiers. Frightened by his strength, the Samējas Ūnar and other miscreants never indulged much in insurgency and passed their time generally with conciliation. After the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī, Shamshīr Khān, in the company of Mīrzā Rustam Qandahārī, and along with three to four hundred Ūzbek horsemen left for Thatta and on the way, as has been referred to earlier, he severely plundered the Samējas Dal, of Samwātī. Having been to Thatta he stayed there in the Imperial service for one year. Meanwhile, he kept the administration of Sihwān also in his hand. After one year he returned to Sihwān.

[Tenure of (my) brother, Abū al-Baqā']

When Tāj Khān, the *sūbadār* of Thatta, died [314], Shamshīr Khān was appointed the *sūbadār* of that place, and the region of Sihwān was bestowed upon [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā', conjointly with Mīrzā Dūst Bēg in *tankhwāh jāgīr*. Meanwhile, Mīrzā Dūst Bēg received an order to escort the Multān treasury to Qandahār. Accordingly, he went to Qandahār, and [my] brother, with the means of only two to three *parganas* at his disposal was compelled to administer the whole of the region of Sihwān. He led some successful expeditions against the insurgents of this region. Firstly, the Chāndiyas and the Samējas Tiba extended the arm of their insurgency towards the *pargana* of Bāghbānān. Two thirds (?) of this *pargana* was in the *jāgīr* of Mīrzā Dūst Bēg; his revenue collectors (*'ummāl*) came and prayed for help. Hence, [my] brother left Sihwān in the morning, rode hard the whole day and night, and reached the village of Akbarābād at the middle hour between the sunrise and

and meridian (*chāshṭ*). Here, he fed his horses *gūr* and *ardāwa* and then at midday (*waqt-i zawāl*) [314b] rode out towards the Chāndiyas. He rode the whole day and night and at dawn fell upon them in the hill pass (*dahana-i kūh*) called Daruband and killed and captured a large number of those
 5 scoundrels. On the way back he severely chastised the Samējas Tība in the *pargana* of Bāghbānān, arrested their chief, Kūriya Tība, and brought him to Sihwān. After that day the Chāndiyas and the Samējas Ūnar never ever indulged in insurgency and paid the revenue obediently.

Secondly, once the Nuhmardīs plundered the cattle of the *parganas*
 10 of the town (*qaṣba*) of Sihwān. [My] brother went in their pursuit up to the Lunda hill, killed a number of those wretches and retrieved the cattle [315] of the people from them. Consequently, the Nuhmardīs called on him and promised not to attack the region of Sihwān again, and it was agreed that their caravan would henceforth visit that region for trade. They also
 15 undertook to pay some seasonal tribute (*pīshkash-i faṣlāna*), such as camels and goats, which they conveyed every season quite regularly.

Thirdly, he stationed a servant of his called Manẓūr with fifty soldiers at the fort of Jahāngīrābād in the *tappa* of the Samējas Ūnar. By chance, the
 20 aforementioned Manẓūr rode out against a group of the Samējas Ūnar. The latter, who had got the news of his expedition came behind him and blockaded the road. After leading the expedition against the place he wanted, when Manẓūr returned the Samējas attacked him, martyred ten to fifteen of his soldiers [315b], and carried away the horses and armament of the dead, together with the kettle-drum. Defeated as he was, Manẓūr returned to the
 25 fort of Jahāngīrābād. When this news reached my brother, he was running a temperature and could not ride out personally. Hence he dispatched his elder son, 'Atīq Allāh with his [Abū al-Baqā's] brothers, relatives and soldiers against the Samējas. 'Atīq Allāh came and encamped in the fort of Jahāngīrābād. The Samējas seeking the intercession certain people, called
 30 on 'Atīq Allāh, brought along the horses and other belongings of the dead soldiers, together with the kettle-drum and offered to pay the indemnity as well. 'Atīq Allāh who had the pride of youth in his head, turned down this offer of peace and chose to rode out against them. When he reached the plain of the Sāba lake, he found a luxuriant crop of millet (*jawārī*) [316]
 35 standing there. The Samējas sent their families and the cattle towards the deserts of Jaisalmēr and themselves took positions behind that crop. 'Atīq Allāh, having discovered their track, sent Mīr Kāmil, a cousin to his father, at the head of two hundred useful soldiers as an advance party and after necessary preparations himself also went behind them. These armies would

have been about two *kurōh*'s distance from each other when the Samējas came face to face with the detachment of 'Atīq Allāh and engaged it in a battle wherein they hamstrung the horses of chirty to forty good soldiers who were right in the forefront, and martyred them too. On the Samējas' side also
5 there were numerous casualties, so much so that Laka, son of Pariya Samēja, the brother-in-law (*khusarpūra*) of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān, a prominent Samēja chief, was also killed in this battle 316b. The Samējas hamstrung the camel carrying the kettle-drum and defeated the Imperial army. 'Atīq Allāh, however, did one good thing. He removed the kettle-drum from the back of
10 the camel and putting it on a mule, together with ten to fifteen soldiers he repaired to the fort of Jahāngīrābād on the heels of the defeated army. When this news reached my brother he was extremely distressed. Suffering from fever thou he was, he set out from the fort of Sihwan, crossed the river and encamped at the village Mihrān in the *pargana* Khīṭṭa which lay at a distance
15 of eleven *kurōhs* from the fort of Jahāngīrābād. When the Samējas Ūnar saw this situation they brought in some mediators and called on my brother. Meanwhile, the army of 'Atīq Allāh also joined my brother. The Samējas agreed to pay the revenue and my brother who was then encamped at the village Mihrān settled the account of the *khariṭf* and *rabṭ*' crops with them 317 and then he decided to
20 ride out against the Samējas Ūnar. Meanwhile, the Dārējas and the Manāhijas who had received assurances of peace continued to stay in their homes and abodes and their chiefs, Danīpasā and Tayyib, accompanied my brother. The Rāhūjas, the Fīrūzjas and the Mangwānas, however, took to flight. My aforementioned brother left the village of Mihrān right in the prime of summer and
25 the hot climate of the region of Aihwan at the middle hour between the sunrise and the meridian and around midday prayers reached the village Wījara, which lay right in the centre of the habitat of the Samējas Ūnar. The soldiers went into the nearby forests and rounded up between two and three thousand cows. They also brought with them the heads of some of the Rāhūjas whom they had killed
30 there. That night he spent in camp on the bank of the Wījara lake and told his soldiers that he was determined upon attacking the Samējas. He needed only the heads of the latter [317b] and was not interested in their cattle. They had better have those captured animals slain so that they were not encumbered by them. The soldiers did accordingly. The following day he stayed there until
35 noon and after the midday prayers rode out in pursuit of the Samējas. He travelled that day and the following night and at dawn he reached the lake in the village called Katāhar. Having said the morning prayers, he equipped himself and his army and then galloping furtively for a distance of about thirty *kurōhs* around *chāsht* time fell upon the Mangwānas near the village
40 of the *pargana* of Hāla Kandī. He killed around two hundred

of those wretches and captured many of their men and cattle. Severing the heads of the dead and dispatching them to Muẓaffar Khān, who was *bakhsh* of Thatta at that time, he repaired by way of the habitat of the Samējas and encamped in the fort [318] of Jahāngīrābād. The Samējas from all the four
 5 *tarafs* called on him, took their *shiqqḍār* with them to their *tappa* and henceforth paid their revenue regularly.

On another occasion he [Abū al-Baqā'] led an expedition from Sihwān against the village Khasā'ī Shūra. On the way back he passed by the ferry of Sann went to the village Wījara, repaired its fort and encamped there. He
 10 engaged himself daily in hunting waterfowl, partridges (*durrāj*) and *kūtāh pāchas*, and the Samējas continued sitting in their abodes and paid the revenue [without much ado]. Doubtless, the village Wījara is very rich in hunting grounds. He stayed there until the *kharīf* crop was lifted (*raf'-i kharīf*) and then apprehending prominent leaders of all the sections (*taraf*) of the
 15 Samējas Ūnar, he left his cousin, Mīr Kāmil, with a strong army at the fort of Wījara and himself proceeded towards the *pargana* of Jūnēja. Meanwhile the news reached him that the governorship of Thatta had been bestowed upon Muẓaffar Khān [318b], and Shamshīr Khān had been again appointed to Sihwān, and he [Abū al-Baqā'] himself had been granted a *tankhwāh jāgīr* in the province of
 20 Thatta in subordination to Muẓaffar Khān. Having heard this news he left the town of Jūnēja and came to the village Rafī'ān, which lay in the *pargana* of Khatṭa and overlooked the positions of the Samējas Ūnar. He encamped there and demanded of them the balance of his dues. While he was still dealing amicably with the Samējas, receiving from them horses and camels
 25 in lieu of his balance, he summoned the army that was at Wījara. Finally, when the agents of Shamshīr Khān started arriving, [my] brother realized that his dealings with the Samējas had gone past the conciliatory stage. Thus, right in the middle of the rainy season, from the village Rafī'ān he led an expedition against the Samējas, herded two to three thousand of their cows,
 30 drove them to Sihwān and encamped there. On Shamshīr Khān's arrival in Sihwān from Thatta, they met each other and [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā', left for Thatta [319]. But as soon as the Samējas failed to fulfil their undertakings he went to Badīn and chastised (*bar sīkh kashīd*) each one of them.

[Tenure of Shamshīr Khān for the second time]

35 This time when Shamshīr Khān came to Sihwān the Samējas Ūnar tended to be rebellious and at times even robbed the merchants on land as well as on the river. Once the Thatta merchants were travelling with one thousand camels towards Bhakkar. When they reached the town of Hāla Kandī they realized the difficulty of taking the beasts across the river and travelling past the fort

of Sihwān, because the passage across the river that bordered the territory of the Samējas, and this side towards the fort were juxtaposed as a string (*chilla*) to a bow (*kamān*) Thus, the merchants picked up a guide from

amongst the Samējas and proceeded on the road that passed by those waylayers.

5 As soon as they arrived in the habitat of the Samējas, in spite of their assurances to the contrary, the latter plundered the camels of the merchants. On yet another occasion, a big boat belonging to some Thatta merchants [319b], and laden with goods, such as *alacha* and *tafāṭla* cloth, was coming up the river. The Samējas fell on this boat, killed most of the unfortunate

10 merchants and looted their merchandise. Shamshīr Khān recovered the camels and the aforementioned merchandise from the Samējas and made them over to the merchants. However, whatever was destroyed he had its value assessed and paid the cost from his own pocket. Besides, to subdue those bandits he went across the river with an army and through a military ruse caused considerable

15 slaughter among the Samējas. The details of that ruse are as follows:

When Shamshīr Khān crossed the river the Samēja chiefs, Danīpasā and Ṭayyib, called on him on behalf of the Darējas and the Manāhijas respectively, but nobody called on him from the side of the Rāhūjas and the Fīrūzjas. Shamshīr Khān said that those [320] of the Samējas who continued sitting in their

20 places he would take no action against them, but those of them who took to flight he would go in their pursuit. Relying on his word, the Samējas, particularly those of the Dārēja and Manāhija clans stayed back in the village Dīrā'ūn along with their families, and in accordance with the terms of the truce they unfastened the arms from waists and lived like ordinary peasants

25 (*ra'īyyat-i rīza*). When Shamshīr Khān passed by that village, this *khānazād*, the present writer, who because of his friendship with Shamshīr Khān was in attendance upon him, told him that he [Shamshīr Khān] would never again find such an opportunity [of punishing the Samējas] and urged him to order his troops to attack the village Dīrā'ūn, because, whereas sometimes [his]

30 troops rode hard fifty to sixty *kurōhs* for decapitating a single Samēja without any guarantee of the success of their mission [320b], at that time they could sever the heads of two to three thousand of those rebels [easily]. Though some of the *zamīndārs* of Sihwān did not approve of the idea, Shamshīr Khān greatly liked this advice. But, since his promise to the Samējas was involved,

35 he, by way of strategy, told his soldiers and the peasant tribes (*aḥshām-i ra'īyyat*) to act as told by the present writer to do. No sooner was this uttered, than by the grace of God and owing to the eternal good luck of the Emperor a massacre was wrought among the Samējas Ūnar. God Most High

40 tied the hands of the Samējas with His power and those wretches could show no valour at all that day. About one thousand of them were killed, around

seven hundred of their prominent men (*mardum-i sardār*) and others were captured, and the cattle and other property belonging to them that were plundered by the soldiers and the peasant tribes accompanying Shamshīr Khān their exact computation is known to God only [321]. Shamshīr Khān also
 5 killed Danīpasā and Tayyib and put up his camp right in the middle of the battlefield. The following day he left that place for the village of Wījara, repaired its fort afresh, and established his camp in that fort. Every day he sent a body of his troops in turns in pursuit of the scattered Samējas. These troops returned with the heads of between fifty and sixty
 10 Samējas every time. Consequently, the latter were greatly weakened.

Of the Hūsara boatmen who lived among the Samējas and with their backing ambushed travellers along the river route about one hundred persons were captured alive. Shamshīr Khān ordered them all to be hanged on the bank of the river at the ferry of the town of Lākūt. He stayed in the fort
 15 of Wījara for one week. Had he stayed there another two months, Samējas Ūnar would have been extirpated completely [321b] and he could have distributed their territory to whatever section of the peasants he would have liked. However much this *khānazād* insisted that he stayed there another two months, Shamshīr Khān did not accept it. Instead, acting on the advice of some
 20 *zamīndārs* who had good relations with the Samējas, he left the fort of Wījara, took the captives along with him, and moved to the bank of the river in the town of Lākūt where within one week he raised a suitably strong fortress and encamped there. The hill people were prepared to give one thousand camels in exchange for the Samēja captives, but Shamshīr Khān did not accept
 25 it. At last, the Samējas, through the *zamīndārs* who were fair to them, prevailed upon Shamshīr Khān that since the Samējas had turned obedient and were no longer intractable he should repair to Sihwān. Shamshīr Khān was a simple, God-fearing man; overwhelmed by mercy, one Friday, he abandoned all the Samēja captives to the Samējas [322] and crossing [the river]
 30 returned to Sihwān.

On yet another occasion, when the Chāndiya Balūches marauded the *parganas* of Bāghbānān, Kāhan and Akbarābād and indulged in capturing people and selling them as slaves, the peasants of these *parganas* pleaded to Shamshīr Khān for help against those scoundrels. Shamshīr Khān rode out on the Chāndiya
 35 clan. This *khānazād* of the court, the present writer, who accompanied him this time again in the capacity of a friend, told him that the Chāndiyas could be captured through a sudden incursion following a reconnoitre. Shamshīr Khān did not approve of a forced march on them and instead approached the villages of the Chāndiyas stage by stage. The Chāndiyas heard the news

and retired into hills well in time. Shamshīr Khān, on reaching the Chāndiya villages laid siege to their millet fields, dug up a ditch around his army and shut himself up in a *khārbandī*. The Chāndiyas returned overnight and shot arrows at his [Shamshīr Khān's] army [322], but by the grace of God could do
 5 no harm. The following day Shamshīr Khān mounted his horse and rode to the hills; the Chāndiyas stood on top of a hill and beat a drum. Shamshīr Khān paid no heed to them and ordered his soldiers to harvest the unripe millet crop with their scimitars so that the Chāndiyas might see the loss of their cultivation with their own eyes and regret. The soldiers did accordingly and
 10 as far as possible harvested the said crop. At nightfall Shamshīr Khān returned to his original encampment. The Chāndiyas approached the Pahawārs who lived in their neighbourhood to act as mediators and through their intercession waited upon Shamshīr Khān the following day and agreed to pay a small *pīshkash*. After that day, they seldom marauded the region of Sihwān
 15 during his tenure.

On another occasion the Bārēja Balūches, who lived in the hills and were part of the revenue assessment of the *pargana* Būbakān, and presented some camels and sheep to the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān every season, made a slight reduction [323] in their fixed demand (*muqta'at*). Shamshīr Khān asked this *khānazād*
 20 as to what steps he should take against them. I replied that if he attacked them as he did the Chāndiyas, he would achieve nothing, and even the distance that he would traverse [for this purpose] would be of no avail. They lived at a distance of four watches; if he prepared to travel surreptitiously he could attain his goal. The suggestion found its way into his heart.
 25 He rode out of Sihwān around evening prayers and secretly travelled the whole night. It was around one watch after dawn that he reached the Bārējas in the foothills, attacked them and killed many of their men. Their chief, Qāsim Bārēja, and his son were killed, and a large number of their womenfolk and children were captured. Thence he came to Sihwān with captives and
 30 the heads of the slain. The remainder of the Bārējas came out in his pursuit [323b] and waited upon him whereupon he released their captives. Henceforth they paid the seasonal tribute (*faslāna*) regularly.

Still another occasion concerns the Nūhānī Balūches, who lived fourteen *kurōhs* away from Sihwān. There are two springs which flow from the hills; one
 35 of them is called Kā'ī and the other Na'īg. These Balūches are also divided into two *tarafs*. One of them is settled near the Kā'ī and the other inhabits the area around the Na'īg. They engage in cultivation and form part of the revenue assessment of the *pargana* of Būbkān. During the tenures of Bakhtyār Bēg and *Pīr Ghulām* they paid some goats and sheep as seasonal tribute and

accompanied

both these *jāgīrdārs* in their military expeditions. During the tenure of Shamshīr Khān also they paid the tribute (*muqṭāʿ*), accompanied him in his military expeditions, including the campaigns against the Samējas across the river [324]. Though the hill people living in deserts and jungles are generally weak, still the *zamīndārs* of Sihwān who nourished enmity towards them instigated Shamshīr Khān against them. Thus Shamshīr Khān who [apparently] prepared his army for an expedition against the Samējas Ūnar, came to the ferry of Mandīhjī at a quarter of a *kurōh*'s distance from the fort of Sihwān, and encamped there. From there around afternoon prayers he forced marched against the Nūhānī Balūches and attacking them in the morning killed many of their men. The chief of the Nī'īg spring branch, Nātāla by name, was also slain along with twelve of his brothers and sons, besides other Balūches. The back of this group was so badly broken that they have not recovered their strength as yet. They numbered around two hundred in the beginning; about sixty of them were killed in this battle and the remainder dispersed hither and thither [324b].

Because of the threat from the Nuhmardīs Bakhtyār Bēg and *Pīr Ghulām* had been quite accommodating to the Nūhānīs. This tribe was settled right at the pass of the hill and whenever the Nuhmardīs advanced upon the villages of the town of Sihwān, the Nūhānīs came and informed the peasants in advance and they retired towards the lake Mānchhar with their cattle. Likewise, forewarned by such news, the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān also dispatched a body of his troops to those villages and those troops stayed there until the Nuhmardī army was dispersed. Thus the Nuhmardīs could hardly do much damage to the villages of the town of Sihwān. After the aforementioned incident, however, the remainder of the Nūhānīs emigrated to the midst of the Nuhmardīs and took up their abode there. [Erstwhile] natives (*būmiya*) of that area as the Nūhānīs were, now they guided the army of those wretches [325] and left no stone unturned in inflicting whatever damage they could. Consequently, most of the villages of the *parganas* Ḥawēlī Sihwān and Sann were destroyed and laid waste at the hands of the Nuhmardīs. Later on, Shamshīr Khān patronised one Murīd, chief of a strong faction of the Nuhmardīs, summoned him to his presence, and bestowed upon him Tihnī, one of the villages of the *pargana* Būbakān, in *jāgīr*, whose income amounted to two to three thousand rupees, and thus initiated the innovation in this region of a weak *hākim* giving *jāgīr* to the intractable elements. He entered into a firm agreement with Murīd and constructing a wall around the village Nār at his own expense, stationed a group of his soldiers there. Nevertheless, the Nuhmardīs did not abandon their abominable deeds. After the peace was

concluded, in keeping with the old practice during the flood season, the peasants of the *parganas* Kāhān and Būbakān took their cattle to the foothills towards *kacha* [325b]. The Nuhmardīs attacked them without consulting Murīd and martyred most of the peasants of the *pargana* Būbakān. Beside other things, they plundered the peasants of the said *pargana* of about forty five thousand of their cattle. When this news reached Shamshīr Khān, Murīd was present before him in Sihwān. A group of people suggested to Shamshīr Khān that he should apprehend Murīd, so that if the Nuhmardīs had destroyed the peasants they should return the cattle at least. Shamshīr Khān rejected this proposal and calling Murīd to his presence told him that, lest the peasants of Būbakān should turn on him for the redress of their grievances, for the time being he had better go back to his homeland, whence subsequently he might return. Accordingly, Murīd left for his home overnight. After some time when this uproar was over, he came back to the presence of Shamshīr Khān [326].

On yet another occasion, from the side of the villages of the *pargana* Hawēlī Sihwān which were situated near the hills, around afternoon prayers (*namāz-i dīgar*) news was brought to Shamshīr Khān that the Nuhmardī troops had charged forth from their home and were proceeding towards the said villages. Unfortunately that day most of his army was away; the soldiers had left for their *thānas* and *jāgīrs*. Nevertheless, from whatever he had at his disposal, he dispatched between sixty and seventy soldiers with his brother-in-law (wife's brother), Bādshāh Khwāja, to the village Nār, seven *kurōhs* away from Sihwān in the pass of the hills. He went and stationed himself in the fort of Nār overnight. The following day, Shamshīr Khān also rode out of the city to the bank of the Nulla Dādījī and encamped there. At the same time, he bade Shāh Khwāja, one of his relatives, to go to the village of Nār with twenty horsemen [326b] and join the previous contingent. In the meantime, the author also got this news and betook himself to Shamshīr Khān. The latter related the whole story to him that such a news was in circulation and that he had dispatched an army for the protection of the villages. The author remarked that if he had gone personally it would not have been a bad idea, for the Ūzbeks in his absence hardly exerted themselves in battle, whereas in his presence they left no stone unturned in sacrificing their lives. This remark convinced him and forthwith he mounted his horse, together with ten or twelve of his closest [horsemen] friends (*khāṣṣa khaylān*) who were present there, including the author. Meanwhile, he kept back Bādshāh Khwāja and his comrades at the fort of Nār. Shāh Khwāja and his companions had reached the village of Tīrī, at a distance of three *kurōhs*

from Sihwān, when the army of the Nuhmardīs comprising between two and three hundred horse and seven [327] to eight hundred foot at four watches after dawn invaded the village Kachī which was situated at a distance of five *kurōhs* from Sihwān, killed some of the peasants of that village and
 5 drove their cattle to the hills. When Shāh Khwāja saw this incident, he rode to the army of the Nuhmardīs but soon realized that with that small body of troops he could not compete with the Nuhmardīs in a battle of arrows and scimitars because the Nuhmardīs were in great number and shot their arrows with extreme dexterity. Thus he took up his musket and while riding
 10 fired at them from a distance. When the enemy returned to attack him, he whisked his horse aside, and when they resumed their march, he went in their pursuit and fought them with his musket. Having heard this news, Shamshīr Khān went to the village of Kachī. While he was standing beside the casualties of the poor peasants [327b], it flashed across his mind that he
 15 had not reached his army and [then] the enemy stood between himself and his army. He did not have enough strength with him to fight the enemy. Thus, he made no advance from that place. Meanwhile, Shāh Khwāja was continuously fighting with the enemy and Bēg Muḥammad Qurq Ūzbek, a close confidant of Shamshīr Khān, died from an arrow shot in this battle. Though Bādshah Khwāja
 20 also reached with his body of men from the village of Nār, but the enemy went across the nullah, through which the rain water flowed from the hills, whence they dispatched the cattle with some men on foot to the hills and themselves took up positions and busied themselves in a battle of arrows. Meanwhile, the bright world put on the black garment of night and the Ūzbek
 25 army, failing to accomplish any feat, returned to its master (*sāhib*). The Nuhmardīs, nonetheless, continued their aggression against the villages of the *parganas* of Sihwān and Sann and Shamshīr Khān did not disturb his peace with them.

In short, the mischievous and intractable elements cannot be subdued
 30 adequately without the blow of the sword, especially the Nuhmardīs who do not live ^{at} any specific place. In the mountains wherever they find a good pasture they settle down and when that pasture is grazed off they move on to another place rich in pastures, take up residence there and graze their cattle. They do not engage in cultivation anywhere and their sole profession and calling
 35 is stealing and plundering.

After some time a *farmān* of *Ḥadrat-i Jannat Makānī* reached Shamshīr Khān that he should proceed to Qandahār to help Bahādur Khān Ūzbek. Accordingly, he left for that place with four to five hundred resolute Ūzbeks and in his own place he left one of his relatives called Qanbar Khwāja as *ḥākīm*.

The latter died soon afterwards [328b] and in his stead, Shams̄hīr Khān dispatched Khūsham Bēg Atka from Qandahār as *hākīm*. As he reached Sihwān, Khūsham Bēg was an inexperienced man. He decided to lead an expedition against the Samējas Ūnar. Thus, having prepared his army and organized the peasant tribes he went across the river and lay encamped in front of Sihwān for a few days. The peasants had not completely assembled yet when out of haste he left that place and shut himself up in a *khārbandī* in the ferry of the village Kāka on the bank of the river; upstream was the army and downstream lay the boats. When the hour for midday prayers struck and people busied themselves in prayers Khūsham Bēg also started saying his prayers. In the meantime, as fate would have it, a wind and storm rose from the side of the Samējas and with it he and his soldiers heard a dreadful din. He finished his prayers hurriedly, gathered together his men [329] and sent somebody outside the *khārbandī* to ascertain as to what was happening. Before long the Samējas attacked his army through the *khārbandī* and many of the Ūzbeks were martyred. Mullā Rājū Kanbū, the *dīwān* of Shams̄hīr Khān, was also killed in this battle and the remainder of the men ran [for their lives] and fell in the river. The Samējas carried away about three hundred horses together with other goods and arms. Nonetheless, Khūsham Bēg somehow managed to ride out of the battlefield with whatever strength was left to him, and he reached the fort of Kāka around afternoon prayers and fortified himself there. The Samējas laid siege to the fort and sat down in waiting. During those days 'Atīq Allāh, the elder son of my brother, Abū al-Baqā', who was dispatched by the Emperor Jahāngīr to Sihwān for the hunting of mountain goats (*rang*), [329b] and Sayyid Bāqir, a son of Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī, the *hākīm* of Bhakkar at that time, who was sent by his father for the capture of mountain goats, were in Sihwān. 'Atīq Allāh, together with his party and this *khānazād*, the present writer, betook themselves to the fort of Kāka and joined Khūsham Bēg. The following day Sayyid Bāqir also reached there with his men and this gave strength to Khūsham Bēg. The Samējas left the sides of the fort and went [a bit] farther back. This army stayed there for quite some time until the Samējas, with the intercession of certain people on their behalf, laid down the foundation of peace and returned whatever horses, arms and other things they had plundered. Having concluded peace, they returned to their original homes and abodes. Khūsham Bēg also repaired to Sihwān. Thereafter he said good bye to [330] this sort of expeditions and tried to restore stability to the region through conciliatory means.

Shams̄hīr Khān spent between three to four years in Qandahār in Imperial service and during this time the region of Sihwān was all along populated and prosperous. During the siege of Qandahār the first person who fired a

gun on the army of Shāh 'Abbās was Shamsīr Khān. When Qandahār fell into the hands of the Shāh and the nobles of Qandahār came to the presence of Spēra Afghān in Multān, he dispatched two thousand *aḥadī* horsemen and petty (*rīza*) *manṣabdar*s with Shamsīr Khān towards Sihwān for the chastisement of the Samējas Ūnar. Shamsīr Khān and the *aḥadī*s, however, could not get along well. Hence, he did not proceed with the expedition against the Samējas Ūnar and let that army go back to Multān.

In short, this region was thoroughly populated and prosperous during the tenure of Shamsīr Khān [330b]. It sustained an army that was [also] employed in Imperial service in other regions and this is what is implied by the prosperity of the peasants and the destruction of the insurgents.

Both his terms put together, Shamsīr Khān's tenure lasted for fifteen years. In respect of *kharīf* crops (*safīd barī*) he dealt with the peasants by fifty-fifty crop-sharing, and at places he resumed only 1/3rd and 1/4th of the crop. On the *rabi* (*sabz barī*) he calculated the revenue in accordance with the local rate (*ḥaqq wa ḥisāb*). He had bestowed *jāgīrs* on whole of his army down to the *farrāsh* and *sā'īs*. In the last phase of his rule, in deference to the pleadings of the peasants in his *khālīṣa*, on the *kharīf* crop he assessed the revenue by *dabtī* but only in so far as it conformed to the sanctioned rules (*dastūr al-'amal*). He cared the utmost for the edicts of God - May He be glorified and exalted - and those of the Emperor Jahāngīr. He spent most of his time in the mosque and had ordered his mace-bearers (*chūbdārān*) that nobody should raise his mace over the peasants [331], so that they could come and bring their problems to his presence at whatever time and hour they chose. In the administration of justice he was not influenced by anybody's position, though he did have some Ūzbeks in his employ who at times even disregarded his orders. At the time of afternoon prayers when the *makhādīm*, nobles and *qādīs* came to his audience, he would proclaim: "Friends! You know me [full well]. Every oppressed person who comes to me I redress his grievances. It is possible that there might be some *shākh nātrāshīda* Ūzbeks who enjoy my confidence, but perpetrate injustice in their *jāgīrs*, or even in the city; and out of fear nobody brings it into my notice. If you knew of it and did not let me know, tomorrow on the Day of Judgment it is you who will be held responsible in the presence of God - Exalted be His name."

Sihwān was so populated and prosperous during his tenure that from the products (*asbāb*) of India, 'Irāq [331b] and Europe (*farang*) whatever one wanted was available. Except for a *sēr* of candy (*nabāt*) that he realized from every boat, the merchants were free from all sorts of revenue imposts

(*kharāj ma'nā*). The peasants, *a'imma*, merchants and artisans all lived comfortably. If by chance, a merchant was looted in his *jāgīr*, he always strove to recover his original goods and on recovery returned them to him and if anything was lost made the compensation from his own pocket and pleased the merchant. As a matter of fact, during his term of office people were happy and they thanked God, the mosques were full of worshippers and he himself also paid much heed to the performance of prayers, fasting and *tahajjud*. He met the expenses of his clothes and food from the income of his personal boats and never spent anything on himself from the public exchequer.

After his transfer [332], in the *rabī'* season of the year *Sachqā' 11* 1032 A.H., this region was bestowed upon Shīr Khwāja, better known as Bāqī Jān Khwāja, who sent his revenue collectors but himself stayed back in the royal presence. Encouraged by the assurance of assessment by crop-sharing that had been extended to the peasants in view of the bad condition of the area, they had incidentally cultivated the lands extensively during this season. Afflicted by a scarcity of rain (*āfat-i samāwī*) as the fields were, most of the cultivation became dessicated (*khushk uftāda*). Even at places where the cultivation survived the per *jarīb* yield of wheat and pulses (*nakhūd*) did not exceed five *kāsas*, or thirty Jahāngīrī *sērs* and two *tōyas*, or three Jahāngīrī *sērs* respectively. When Bāqī Khwāja's agents arrived in this region, the slanderers and caluminators offered them their assistance and registered all the areas under cultivation [332b] irrespective of the good or bad crop, and made absolutely no allowance for the calamity stricken nature of the region. But rather in accordance with the mode of *dabt* assessment of grain (*'amal-i dabṭ-i ghalla*) they added up the total (*jam' bar basta*) and computing the price of grain at double (*dih bīst ziyāda karda*) the market rate extorted money from the peasants. A great deal of injustice was done to the peasants, but since they had enjoyed a few years of prosperity under Shamshīr Khān they endured the oppression of the revenue collectors of Bāqī Khwāja. The petty peasants were, however, scattered hither and thither and whatever means of cultivation (*isti'dād-i zirā'at*) they possessed they disposed them of and spent the return in meeting the iniquitous demands of the latter. Similarly, misled by the slanderers the agents measured the lands of the *a'imma* with the string (*tanāb*) of injustice and tyranny and levied revenue on those poor creatures (*fuqarā'*), and hanged the *a'imma* publically to recover the dues from them. [Likewise], they levied excessive surcharge on the boats of the merchants and on each boat charged a huge amount from them. The *dhart* tax which was [333] negligible, they increased it too. Due to this tyranny and oppression all the *a'imma* and a part of the

peasantry set out for the Imperial court. The Emperor was in the capital of Lahore during those days and Shīr Khwāja was a royal confidant (*muqarrab al-ḥadrat*). When the impoverished people started reaching Lahore group after group to seek redress of their grievances Shīr Khwāja learnt about the shameful conduct of his agents. He called the complainants to his presence and comforted each one of them individually. He gave written orders (*parwāncha*) of *madad-i ma'āsh* to the *a'imma* one and all, and authorised them to reoccupy their holdings (*chakhā*) as before. And whatever his agents had extorted from them by tyranny and oppression he obliged them to return it to the *a'imma*. Shīr Khwāja also consoled the peasants in regard to their future, assuring them in writing that henceforth they would be governed by the same revenue regulations (*dastūr al-'amal*) as were practised by Shamshīr Khān [333b] [before him]. Having already suffered a great deal during his term of office, these unfortunate people were not prepared to be conciliated by these measures. Hence he ordered the arrest of his agents together with those on whose slandering (*sa'āyat*) they had perpetrated injustice and tyranny on these people, and imposed a heavy fine on them. He appointed new agents instead of them and advised them in no uncertain terms to desist from all manner of oppression. Henceforth his agents never resorted to injustice and tyranny and the peasants and the *a'imma* passed their days in comfort. These agents, however, continued exacting an excessive amount of *dahrat* as compared to the previous practice, from the merchants for their boats.

The tenure of Shīr Khwāja proved quite effective in respect of the Samējas. He sent a young Chūglāgh Sayyid called Mīr 'Aqil as the *faujdar* of the *pargana* of Lākūt to keep an eye on the Samējas. With the help of fifty soldiers [334], Mīr 'Aqil so efficiently controlled the Samējas that words can hardly describe it. He constructed a fort on the bank of the river in the township of Lākūt and constantly lay encamped in that fort. Previously, the boats plying to and from Thatta used to queue up before they could cross the check-post (*chaukī*), but during his administration this crowding of the boats at the check-post was dispensed with. Henceforth the boats sailed past leisurely one after the other or at the most, two by two, and nobody from the Samējas Ūnar and the Hūsaras ever interfered with them. He fought some battles against the Samējas Ūnar and defeated them, and whatever of their men were captured he sold them off. Subsequently, Yār Muḥammad Kūka, who was the *ḥakim* of Sihwān on behalf of Shīr Khwāja, developed a feeling of enmity towards Mīr 'Aqil and out of the fifty soldiers of Mīr 'Aqil [334b], summoned forty of them to his presence, and together with them proceeded in the direction of *pargana* Bāghbānān. When the army of Sihwān [under Yār Muḥammad] also went away, Mīr 'Aqil was left with only ten soldiers in the fort of Lākūt. In these

circumstances, [one day] around afternoon prayers, the Samējas plundered the camels of Mīr 'Āqil from outside the fort of Lākūt. Mīr 'Āqil chased those scoundrels with the soldiers at his disposal and caught up with them at the time of evening prayers. He told those ten horsemen that he would meet his martyrdom there and they had better go and take care of their children. Five or six of those men who lacked in perseverance returned to the fort of Lākūt, while the remaining four or five of them tightened up their girdles and together with Mīr 'Āqil prepared to fight the Samējas. [Once these men were exterminated] the Samējas turned to Mīr 'Āqil and said that he used to say that whenever a fighter found himself in a difficult situation he should dismount from his horse. That moment had arrived; he had better fulfil his saying. Mīr 'Āqil [335] acted accordingly. Holding the mane of his horse he shouted *Yā Allāh* (O God!) and disembarked from his horse and then while fighting against two to three men [singlehandedly] he met his martyrdom. "To Allāh we belong, and to Him is our return."

During the chaos following the rebellion (*futūr*) of the *Khān-i Khānān* Mahābat Khān, Sharīr al-Mulk, who was the *subadār* of Thatta on behalf of Sultān Shahryār, under the pretext of leading an incursion against the Samējas came and encamped in the town of Lākūt. There he sent for Yār Muḥammad Kūka and his army, so that they could invade the Samējas collectively. When Yār Muḥammad arrived with his army, Sharīr al-Mulk sent his men to occupy the fort of Sihwān. Thus, without any valid authority he wrested the region of Sihwān from the men of Shīr Khwāja and appointing Shams al-Dīn the *ḥākim* of that place, himself returned to Thatta without taking any action against the Samējas.

[Tenure of Shams al-Dīn]

The tenure of Shams al-Dīn was [335b] quite ineffectual. He never rode out against the insurgents of this region, except once when he dispatched one of his young relatives called Khwāja 'Ārif with an army towards the *pargana* of Bāghbānān against the Samējas Tība. Failing to accomplish anything there, Khwāja 'Ārif returned to the village of Akbārābād Wāhī, where two or three of the Samējas Tība were staying as guests with the local Pahawārs. On discovering this, Khwāja 'Ārif captured two of these men through perfidy and set out for Sihwān. Under the protection of the Pahawārs as these men were, the former went into rebellion, defeated Khwāja 'Ārif in a battle and killed about two hundred of his horsemen and foot soldiers. Khwāja 'Ārif slew both his captives and swiftly (*yakjālaw*) returned to the fort of Sihwān. Having reached there, he put to death about eighteen of the Imperial servants, including the unfortunate (*bīsa'adat*) Shams al-Dīn and Latīf Bēg, and interred

them in a collective grave. The arrears of the iniquitous demands which Sharīr al-Mulk had levied against the local *arbābs* were still outstanding, when he was transferred and Naurūz Bēg was dispatched to Sihwān to take his place. He subjected the petty peasants, traders, and all the artisans to flagellation and exacted those arrears from them and thus destroying this region, himself left for Thatta. Hence a new innovation was introduced in this region, that is, an action was taken which was not in keeping with the spirit of this verse [of the *Qur'ān*]: "... no bearer of burdens can bear the burden of another."

[Tenure of Naurūz Bēg]

Except for the fact that during his tenure Shaykh Mustafā, the *karōrī* of the *pargana* of Bāghbānān led a daring expedition against the Nuhmardīs, the administration of Naurūz Bēg was still more weaker. The details of Shaykh Mustafā's expedition are as follows: He came to Sihwān from the *pargana* of Bāghbānān to submit his *muḥāsiba*, and encamped outside the fort with about sixty to seventy horsemen from his dependencies (*tawābi'*) [336b]. In the meantime, the Nuhmardīs plundered the cattle of the *parganas* of Sihwān and this news reached Sihwān around afternoon (*waqt-i zawāl*). Shaykh Mustafā, camping as he was outside the fort, rode out in pursuit of these scoundrels. He reached the village of Nār well after the afternoon prayers; the peasants pleaded with him that he had better go back because it was too late to follow the enemy who had already gone into the hills along with the cattle. Shaykh Mustafā did not listen to them. He alighted there, fed *gūr* and *ardāwa* to his horses and having tightened their straps (*tang*) and girths (*zīr-i tang*) rode out from that place around the evening prayers. That night until one watch after dawn, he travelled secretly. The recalcitrants unaware as they were, left their horses and cattle to graze and themselves went to sleep beside a spring. Meanwhile, the army of Shaykh Mustafā fell upon them, killed about forty of the [337] Nuhmardīs, severed their heads, captured their horses and equipment (*yarāgh*) and returned with the cattle of the peasants.

[Tenure of Sayf al-Mulūk Kāshgharī]

On the transfer of Naurūz Bēg this region was bestowed upon Sayf al-Mulūk Kāshgharī, together with some other *manṣabdar*s. He had been given this territory in *tankhwāh* from the *kharīf* crop but he reached there so late that that crop had been disposed of and the *rabī'* crop was also about to be lifted (*qarīb-i biraf'*). Nauruz Beg had already assessed and appropriated the revenue of the *kharīf* crop. Sayf al-Mulūk Kāshgharī got his share from him and also obtained a written commitment to the effect that it was Naurūz Bēg's

responsibility to account for the revenue of the *kharīf* crop to the Imperial court. The *rabīʿ* crop was assessed by Sayf al-Mulūk, who was a good soldier. He had a brother called Mahdī Sultān. With an intention to inspire the awe of his army in the hill tracts [337b] and to impress the Samējas Ūnar, Sayf al-Mulūk dispatched him with an army to the *pargana* of Sann. Mahdī Sultān was about to cross the ferry of Sann towards the Samējas Ūnar, when their four chiefs representing all the four *tarafs* waited upon him in the town of Sann with the intercession of the Sayyids of that town. Mahdī Sultān brought them to his brother in Sihwān. Sayf al-Mulūk who was contemplating an incursion against the Samējas as soon as the winter became moderate (*sitrūn*), out of military strategy detained them and decided to keep them under his custody.

On another occasion, the Nuhmardīs rode out on the villages of the *pargana* Hawēlī Sihwān. The news of their [impending] raid was brought to Sayf al-Mulūk by the peasants. He dispatched Mahdī Sultān pre-emptively to the village of Nār. Having reached there, Mahdī Sultān spent the night in the fort of that village. The following day the Nuhmardīs skirting along the foothills and bypassing the village of [338] of Nār, drove away the cattle of the village Kachhī, which lay beside Nār, towards the fort of Sihwān. Sayf al-Mulūk got this news around midday. Although he had already sent the army with his brother and himself was left only with a bunch of decrepit horsemen, yet on hearing this news, his sense of honour did not allow him to sit idle. Thus, with five or six horsemen that were left with him, he also rode out. Meanwhile, his brother Mahdī Sultān had already left the village Nār in pursuit of the insurgents and had caught up with them around the evening prayers. The Nuhmardīs took up positions on a hill and between the parties a battle of arrows and muskets followed. Nobody was killed. Having been defeated, the enemy, however, went further away. Thus, having retrieved the cattle of the peasants from the hands of those accursed ones [338b], Mahdī Sultān turned back. On the way, both brothers met each other and came to Sihwān together.

[Tenure of Aḥmad Bēg Khān]

As soon as the *kharīf* crop became half ready (*duḥmul*) and the time for leading an expedition against the Samējas arrived, Sayf al-Mulūk was transferred and this region, except for the *pargana* of Jūnēja, was bestowed upon Aḥmad Bēg Khān. Until the arrival of Aḥmad Bēg, his relative, Muṭṭadā Khān Mirzā Ḥussām al-Dīn who was the *ṣubadār* of Thatta at that time, dispatched his men, namely Muḥammad Ridā Bēg as *ḥākim* and Ibrāhīm Bēg as *ḍuwān*, to undertake the revenue assessment of that region. Hardly had they recorded the *kharīf* cultivation when Aḥmad Bēg Khān also arrived. In the early phase of his tenure for a few days he behaved fairly with the people so that the *arbābs*,

and *muqaddams* of the *parganas* and villages all turned towards him and Ahmad Bēg Khān realized that most of the people from outside had returned to Sihwān. He was accompanied by a brother called Mirzā Yūsuf [239], who was so oppressive that even Yūsuf-i Hajjāj [*sic.*] would have been his ordinary disciple in
 5 tyranny. Ahmad Bēg Khān entrusted all his affairs to him, took off the signet-ring from his own finger and made it over to him. Henceforth the *d̄wān* also began to be held at Mirzā Yūsuf's house.

The first thing that Mirzā Yūsuf proceeded with was the arbitrary arrest of the former *‘āmil*s. He also started detaining the *arbābs* of the
 10 entire region [of Sihwān] and acting upon the advice of the slanderers decided that all rain-irrigated (*bārānī*) villages, such as Arāra, & c., that will be discussed later, and the village of Akbarābād Wāhī which had never been subjected to *dabṭī* previously, and had always followed the crop-sharing system, be subjected to *dabṭī* system and revenue be imposed upon
 15 the peasants, such as the Pahawārs & c. He also ordered the immediate branding of the cattle of both the *parganas* of Sihwān in his *jāgīr* and the collection of cattle statistics (*gāvshumārī*) which had already been abolished throughout the Imperial domains by a decree of *Ḥadrat-i Jannat Makānī* [339b], and until now when the year 1044 A.H. is current that order of abolition is
 20 in force. Thus, some of the *arbābs*, such as Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār, who were strong enough made good their escape in the dark of the night. The other Pahawār chiefs, such as Arbāb 'Alī and Arbāb Dā'ūd, who nursed hostility towards Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār, considering that it was their native place (*waṭan*) did not like to flee. Forty one out of these latter, were ordered
 25 by Mirzā Yūsuf to go to the village of Akbarābād Wāhī and assess it by mode of *dabṭī*. He sent with them a small number of his own men too. When this party reached the said village, the men of Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār in league with the hill nomads came and martyred each one of the forty one Pahawārs and effected an escape. The remainder of the Pahawār chiefs, no matter whether
 30 they were *arbābs*, *muqaddams*, *patwārīs* [340] or *qānūngūs*, Mirzā Yūsuf put them all in jail together with their assistants (*gumāshṭahā*). Thus, in accordance with the substance of this couplet, the heaven went into spinning:

Verse

When He desires a large number of people (*‘ālamī*) to be destroyed
 35 He puts the country into the clutches of a tyrant.

He inflicted a variety of punishments on these people, so that every day he got flogged two to three hundred men at his house without any justification; each one of them was inflicted one hundred to two hundred lashes. A silk-seller was all along sitting there; whenever the whip-cord gave way he repaired it
 40 immediately.

Ahmad Beg spent all his day in his palace and at nightfall came out to hold his *dūwān* which continued until the last watches of the night. Mirzā Yūsuf also joined his brother and even in his presence subjected the people to floggings. Some people even died under his flagellations but he was not
 5 bothered at all. It seems that in the Shī'ī faith the perpetration of torture on the Sunnites [340b] is an act of extreme piety (*'ibādat-i khūbast*). At least, the situation came to such a pass that from the people of Sihwān, regardless of their sex, whoever the Mirzā suspected of possessing something, he summoned him on the basis of some baseless charges, flogged him and forfeited all his belongings. In this region if anybody owned a camel and
 10 Mirzā Yūsuf could snub him, he usurped the beast by violence and oppression and included it into his personal estate. As the proverb 'a handful is enough to indicate [the quality of] a *kharwār*' goes, you can well imagine what else was happening there.

He [Mirzā Yūsuf] posted his own men at the ferries and issued strict
 15 instructions that nobody should be allowed to pass without a permit (*dastak*) with the Mirzā's personal stamp on it. Every boat that came from the upstream or the downstream the Mirza summoned its occupants and recorded their particulars, held the boat in the ferry for a long time and told the owners to unload their goods there. Consequently, fed up with the situation, the
 20 merchants paid him a considerable sum for every boat and obtained its release [341]. Even then, he allowed only the boatmen and the owners of the goods to depart and whoever else was with them was detained. He asked him to enter his service [and if he did not agree] subjected him to floggings. Whatever of the merchants' merchandise attracted the Mirzā's fancy, he
 25 compelled them by physical violence (*zada*) to sell it to him at half the normal price. From whatever village a robber deserving capital punishment was brought before him, the Mirzā removed his shackles, offered him a robe, employed him into his personal service and exhorted him to commit robbery wherever he liked and bring all the articles thus obtained to him. The Mirzā infested
 30 the city streets with the gamblers from Bengal, so that whoever passed by them, they forcibly made him gamble with them and whatever he possessed they won it over in gamble and if still he owed them anything, they even snatched away his winding sheet (*chādūr*).

Around the city of Sihwān, he got dug a foundation through the noble
 35 and plebeian residents of that city and ordered a wall to be constructed there. He also ordered that they should carry mud and water to the site on their own heads [341b]. Whoever did not work himself and instead took a labourer along, he was subjected to torture.

The Mirzā sold Qādī 'Abd al-Wāhid, the *qādī* of the village Sāmitānī, to Ibrāhīm Balūch for one hundred rupees in Zar, the holding (*chak*) that was given to him by a royal decree. A flagellant flogged Ibrāhīm Balūch and said: "Be quick, pay one hundred rupees!", and Ibrāhīm Balūch whipped Qādī 'Abd al-Wāhid and demanded: "Make haste, give one hundred rupees!". Although [each of] those days passed like the Day of Judgment on the residents of the city, but still at the sight of this situation they laughed out of astonishment.

He [Mirzā Yūsuf] openly admitted into his presence slanderers and caluminators and called them *ḥaqīqat dānān* (the knowers of the truth). The rate of *dhart* tax was also increased by him.

He brought all the *a'imma* lands (*chak-hā*) under *dabtī* and imposed land revenue like rest of the peasantry [342] on all the female and most of the male holders of such lands, and obliged them to pay it.

Mirzā Yūsuf's settlement of revenue (*jam'bandī*) on the peasants and the *a'imma* was such that even if they paid their entire produce, together with the total returns from the sale of their means of cultivation including oxen, ploughs, lands and homes, part of the revenue demand for the *kharīf* crop was still outstanding against their names. Bad as his intentions were, by the will of God the *rabi'* crop was afflicted with calamity and most of it dried up. A part of it that survived also gave a low yield. Nonetheless, the Mirzā intended to proceed with the assessment (*dabt*) of this crop regardless of its calamity-stricken nature, and imposed on the peasants, as he did in the case of the *kharīf* crop, a doubly (*dih bīst*) and trebly (*dih sī*) inflated revenue. Seeing no alternative, those of the peasants who were still outside the Mirzā's jail and still owed a part of their revenue obligations in respect of the *kharīf* crop [342b], abandoned the standing crops and took to flight. When the petty peasants fled whatever was left behind in their homes, some of it was plundered by the soldiers of Aḥmad Bēg Khān and most of it was carried away by the refractory elements. Out of fear of Mirzā Yūsuf nobody could relate the actual situation to Aḥmad Bēg and tell him how a whole world of people had been destroyed and ruined by the tyranny and oppression of his brother. At last, one night this *khānazād*, the present writer, told Aḥmad Bēg in no uncertain terms that that country (*mulk*) belonged to God and God Most High bestowed it upon the Emperor and the Emperor sent him [Aḥmad Bēg] as his deputy to that region and he by giving its inhabitants into the hands of his brother, had reduced this region to ruin and destruction; while in this world the Emperor would take him [Aḥmad Bēg] to task, in the

Hereafter, he [Aḥmad Bēg] would be accountable to God Almighty [343]. By the grace of God Eternal and Wise these words went into his heart. When I was talking, one of his brother's informers, whom Mirzā Yūsuf had honoured with a robe was also sitting just before the platform (*chabūtra*) where Aḥmad Bēg held his *dīwān*. The aforementioned informer had taken too much of hemp (*bhang*) that night and out of drowsiness was fast (*pankṭī*) asleep, with his mouth agape. Aḥmad Bēg Khān commanded one of his men to pur dust into the mouth of that informer and this order was carried out.

That night about two to three hundred men were released from jail on the orders of Aḥmad Bēg Khān. He also relieved the inhabitants of the city of the forced labour (*bēgār*) for the construction of the wall around Sihwān. Besides, he took back his signet-ring from Mirzā Yūsuf and put it back into his on finger. But what was the use of these measures when the country was already destroyed and the peasants had gone into exile abandoning their fields? The few villages of the *parganas* Būbakān and Kāhān that were still intact [343b] the Pahawārs, together with other hill people, raided and absolutely destroyed them. On hearing this news, Aḥmad Bēg Khān came out of Sihwān and encamped in the village Sāmītānī, in the *pargana* of Kāhān, which was the abode of Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār, and busied himself in comforting the peasants. But nobody reposed any confidence in him; if he visited somebody in the evening the following day that person also ran away.

Having seen the distressed conditions of his chosen homeland (*waṭan-i ikhtiyārī*) this *khānazād*, the present writer, took leave of Aḥmad Bēg Khān at Sāmītānī to visit one of the dependencies of Sihwān, called the *pargana* of Jūnēja, which was then included in the *jāgīr* of [my] brother, Abū al-Baqā'. Having reached there, I left for kissing the sky-high Imperial threshold. It also flashed across my mind that I would write down the affairs of this region, particularly those concerning the tenure of Aḥmad Bēg Khān, in a [344] representation (*tūmār*) and present it to the holiest and most exalted sight [of the Emperor]. But as soon as I reached Bhakkar, Ḥakīm Ṣalīh, Muḥammad 'Alī Bandarī and Mān Singh, who were *ḥākims* of Bhakkar at that time, apprised Aḥmad Bēg Khān [of this new development]. No sooner Aḥmad Bēg Khān saw their report than he became unnerved and immediately abolished all oppressive practices against the peasants and the *a'imma*. He realized the revenue in respect of the *rabī* crop from the peasants by sharing the stacks of their unthrashed corn (*khalīṭhā*) and returned to the men and women of the *a'imma* calass whatever he had already resumed in this regard from their holdings bestowed upon them by royal decrees. At the same time, he dispatched his servant, Mīr Hāshim, towards this *khānazād*, the present writer, together with

messages for Ḥakīm Ṣālih, Muḥammad 'Alī Bandarī and Mān Singh that Mīrak Yūsuf be comforted and prevailed upon to come back and that he should not be allowed to proceed to the Court. By the time Mīr Ḥāshim reached Bhakkar, I had already left for [344b] my destination. [My] brother. Abū al-Baqā',
 5 was the *ṣūbadār* of Multān during those days. Thus I went to him first so that after making necessary arrangement for my journey to India, he could send me off to that place. In the meantime, his position in Multān was taken away from him and he was entrusted with the *ṣūbadārī* of Thatta. As a result, he took me to Thatta with himself saying that he would make the
 10 arrangements for my journey and see me off to India from Thatta. Unfortunately, owing to the unsuitable climate of Thatta I was overwhelmed by bad cold (*nazla*) and proceeding on journey became impossible. So I vowed to my God that on recovering from the indisposition I would write a book about the affairs of the country of Sind and take it with myself when I went for the
 15 perambulation of the Ka'ba of the creatures of the seven climes (*haft iqlīm*). Praise and gratitude be to God that in accordance with the substance of this couplet:

My Lord, You know my intentions
 Since my intentions are good, You bestow good on me.

20 the transcript of the *Nazḥar al-Tadbīr* ('Manifestation of Management') has been completed and I hope [345] that the Just *Amīr*, Strengtheners of Islam, Refuge of the people, Leader of the East and West, Abū al-Muẓaffar Shihāb al-Dīn, the Second Lord of Happy Conjunction, Shāh Jahān Pādshāh Ghāzī,

25 O thou who in the field of *khilāfat* for years have been the Lord of the Happy Conjunction!
 It is out of thy love that mankind and the genii aspire to live in [thy] dominions (*mamālik*).,

will look at it with the eye of mercy.

While Aḥmad Bēg Khān was involved with the Pahawār peasants of the
 30 *pargana* Kāhān, the *pargana* of Kḥiṭṭa was destroyed by the Samējas Ūnar, and the *parganas* of Būbakān, Ḥawēlī, and Sann were laid waste by the Nuhmardīs and the aforementioned Samējas. Once the Nuhmardīs not only plundered the cattle of the town of Sann but also entered the town and looted the inhabitants. Shaykh Fath and Shaykh Ḥabīb, two brothers who were the *shiqqdārs* of the said
 35 *pargana* ran away and took refuge in their homes [345b]. Some of the soldiers who came in the way of the Nuhmardī wretches were also killed and the latter made good their escape. On hearing this news, Aḥmad Bēg Khān got constructed a wall around the town of Sann by its inhabitants. Even now, when the year 1044 [A.H.] is current, that wall is in existence.

40 The *parganas* Būbakān, Kāhān, Pātar and Akbarābād were ruined by the

Chāndiyas and there was virtually no difference left between a rebel and a peasant of this region, for whatever petty peasants were there they dispersed hither and thither, and some of the *zamīndārs* moved out and settled among the insurgents and the others as a precautionary step against the excesses of an oppressive *jāgīrdār* abandoned their animosity towards the recalcitrants and made peace with them. The need of the hour was that there should have been a united army that on the one hand could comfort the displaced persons, and on the other initiate measures for dealing with the refractory elements, including the Balūches, Samējas and other rogues [346], who, encouraged by the chaotic conditions of the region had gone astray from the path of moderation and taken to mischief and rebellion. But the mistreatment of Ahmad Bēg's brother had disgusted the army too; for the last four or five months nothing had been paid to them. And even during this period of lawlessness (*futūr*), Ahmad Bēg Khān was reluctant to pay anything to the soldiers. That explains why and how he led some expeditions against the Pahawārs, fought with them and was defeated. As regards that calamity-stricken crop it neither fell into his hands, nor into those of the peasants. It was rather turned into a public feast (*khwān-i yaghma*) open to everybody's rapine and pillage. Whatever Ahmad Bēg Khān could lay his hands upon he took, whatever fell into the hands of the insurgents, they appropriated. Most of the villages of this region that were devastated during the days of Ahmad Bēg Khān have not recovered their prosperity as yet and this is what is implied by the destruction [346b] of the peasants and the strengthening of the recalcitrants.

[Tenure of Dīndār Khān]

When the news of his [Ahmad Bēg's] oppression and tyranny reached the Imperial court through the reports of Abū al-Qāsim Tabātabā [*sic*], the *wāqī'a nawīs* of Thatta and Mān Singh, the *wāqī'a nawīs* of Bhakkar, this region was transferred from him to Dīndār Khān and Ahmad Bēg Khān was made the *shubadār* of Multān. On reaching here, Dīndār Khān found this region in a state of utter chaos and confusion. Following a prudent policy he bestowed a village on each of the *zamīndārs*, who could muster some strength. Thus, except for a few tracts that Dīndār Khān retained in his own *khālīṣa*, he distributed the entire region in *jāgīrs* to his soldiers. Although they did not earn much during the first year, but in the following year, when the peasants gained confidence, their income doubled and in some instances the incomes of the *jāgīrdārs* exceeded their salaries. No *jāgīrdār* got less than his salary and thus the entire region was set on the path of development [347].

Towards the insurgents, such as the Samējas, Nuhmardīs and Chāndiyas, he conducted himself politely. He gave *jāgīrs* to each one of these tribes and no matter how irresponsibly they behaved he did not change his attitude towards them. The Samējas plundered the horses of his soldiers right from the middle of the city of Sihwān, slew the people under the city wall and stripped them of their belongings. Ni'mat Allāh, the *wāqī'a nawīs* of Sihwān, who was appointed their by Mān Singh, the *wāqī'a nawīs* of Bhakkar, also met his death at the hands of these people right under the wall of the city. In the evening nobody could travel to or from the city. Whatever the peasants cultivated in the outskirts of Sihwān, the Samējas plundered it overnight and if the owners objected, they killed them. The ferry of Mandīhjī [347b] situated at a quarter of a *kurōh*'s distance in the south of the city was equally vulnerable. The Samējas looted the people here, nay killed them too. They also set ablaze the huts (*chaparhā*) of the boatmen who lived there and if anybody obstructed them they killed him.

The raids of the Samējas also extended to the habitat of the Tūra boatmen, one eighth of a *kurōh* away from the city in the south. The Samējas put them to the sword and set their homes on fire. Terrified by their maraudings, the remainder of these boatmen abandoned their original abode and took up residence near the city. The laundry of the washermen of the city was yet another frequent prey of the Samējas.

Likewise, the Nuhmardīs and Chāndiyas also plundered the cattle of the city of Sihwān in broad daylight. They also abducted the human beings and sold them. When all this was going on, this man [Dīndār Khān] sat unmoved in the fort of Sihwān. Neither he himself rode out, nor he cared to dispatch his army [348]. However, when the marauding incursions of the Samēja rebels into the city of Sihwān exceeded all limits, he got constructed yet another protective wall around the city at his own expense; and this was a very commendable step on his part.

In short, Dīndār Khān acted very wisely and through his prudence secured the whole region. Once the *arbābs* of the *pargana* of Sann, Sayyid Yūsuf and Sayyid Jung, on whom Dīndār Khān had bestowed villages in *jāgīr*, became estranged with him. Sayyid Yūsuf went across the river towards the Samējas and Sayyid Jung turned to the Nuhmardīs in hills and enlisting the help of these two insurgent tribes, they attacked the fort of the town of Sann. They broke opened its gate, entered the town, looted it and then around noon went near the 'Idgāh, a quarter of a *kurōh* away from the town and sat there. Khalīl [348b] al-Rahmān, the *shiqqdār* of the town and his

men failed to do anything and fortified themselves into his house. On receipt of this news, Dīndār Khān emerged from the fort of Sihwān and standing beside the shrine of Ḥadrat Pīr Tōpan, on whom be the mercy of God, dispatched Sayyid Jalāl to Sann with a strong army. As Sayyid Jalāl neared the town of Sann, the Nuhmardīs withdrew into the hills. Sayyid Jalāl camped in the town of Sann and persuaded both the aforementioned *arbābs* to return to him from the Samējas and from the hills respectively, bestowed upon them more favours in additon to the ones they already enjoyed, rehabilitated them in their original homes and abodes and, thus putting out the blaze of their sedition returned to Dīndār Khān.

Yet another incident concerns a *ḥalāl khūr* of the Samējas Rāhūja, 'Arabī by name, who was a dangerous robber. Neither the land, nor the river routes [349] were secure from his depredations, a whole world had been martyred by him and many merchants and soldiers had been robbed under his direction. As a result of the conclusion of peace with the Samējas, he also started visiting the town of Sann. One day he was noticed by a soldier called Shaykhū, whose brother he had martyred, and was in return slain by him. On hearing this news, Dīndār Khān apprehended that soldier and after a few days of imprisonment intended to kill him as a reprisal for the murder of that robber. Though on the intercession of some people subsequently he spared his life, but he did not keep him in his service. Thus, impressed by the favours of Dīndār Khān, the insurgents abandoned their incursions into his *jāgīr* and acknowledged his authority.

Dīndār Khān is also credited to have raised a strong army in this region. In [349b] the *khartīf* season of the *Takhāqū'īl*, 1043 [A.H.], he personally went across the river with a resolute and well-prepared military force and encamped in the village of Jahāngīrābād, and thus without any trouble gained control over the cultivations on the Lāka side. The Samējas did not flee their homes and instead waited upon him and under the pressure of circumstances even paid some revenue too. The Lākas of this village whom the tyranny and oppression of the Samējas had driven to seek the redress of their grievances at the Imperial court, returned from there with a *farmān* for Qilīch Khān to administer a chastisement to the Samējas. Qilīch Khān dispatched Bahādūr Khwāja, a *manṣabdār*, with the Lākas who carried this *farmān*, to Dīndār Khān, asking him to carry out the Imperial orders. These people came and presented the *farmān* to Dīndār Khān who was still encamped in this village. Dīndār Khān gave some land and a paltry [350] sum of money in *in'ām* to the plaintiffs and by a subterfuge extracted a letter of satisfaction from them. Then, departing from Jahāngīrābād and subdueing the Samēja villages, including Wījara, & c., he

proceeded to the city of Sihwān. The Samējas continued to live in their homes, but their chiefs accompanied him to the ferry of Mandihjī, near the fort of Sihwān, whence Dīndār Khān crossed the river and returned to the city. In Sihwān, the chiefs of all the four Samēja *ṭarāfs* mostly remained in
 5 attendance upon him and spent their time in complete freedom. In keeping with the Samēja undertaking that they would offer Dīndār Khān some grain in the *rabī* season, in the *rabī* *It'īl* of the aforementioned year, he again crossed the river and went among the Samējas. If he had so wished, he could have then exterminated them by force of arms, but in the meantime, this region was
 10 transferred from him [350b] to Jān Nithār Khān. On hearing this news, the Samējas murdered most of his men who were charged with the responsibility of collecting the grain from their villages, and looted their horses and equipment. The remainder of these men returned to Dīndār Khān, who realizing the danger, immediately crossed the river and retired into the fort of Sihwān. This
 15 explains why the appellation of the 'tail of dog' (*dum-i sag*) is applied to the Samējas. Just as the dog's tail cannot be divested of its crookedness, the Samējas also, however much consideration one shows to them, persist in their misdeeds and except for a blow of sword nothing can really tame them.

The tenure of Dīndār Khān augured well for the nobles (*ashrāf*), *a'imma*,
 20 and the erstwhile soldiers of the Imperial army in this region. He was very fond of the company of the *ṣūfīs* and ecstasies [351] and celebrated the death anniversaries (*'urs*) of the saints quite frequently. There was hardly any day or night when there was no such celebration at his home. Every month there were some such functions which were particularly noted for their
 25 pomp and show and were held with the accompaniment of religious singing and music (*tarāna wa surūd*). He maintained a large number of *qawwāl* type of musicians (*mutribān*) for this purpose. He showed great enthusiasm for the recitation of the *Qur'ān* and was most of the time in a state of fasting. During the month of *Shabān*, regardless of the fact that it fell in the
 30 winter or the summer, on the 13th, 14th and 15th, he observed the *ṭayy* fast. He celebrated the month of fasting (*Ramādān*) with such a zeal that he collected provisions all the year round and used them during that month. A large quantity of viands, sweetmeats and fruit were served in his *iftār* parties. Between
 35 three to four hundred persons said their *tarāwīḥ* prayers in his company every day; he listened to the recitation from the *Qur'ān* during these prayers in a standing posture and the *Qur'ān* was completed in these congregations on the Night of Power [351b]. On that night he handed out charitable bounties to the '*ulama*', *ḥuffaz*, and the hermits (*gūsha nashīnān*), and the following day read the entire *Qur'ān* from the beginning to the end. During the winter

season he presented robes to all his soldiers and acquaintances and sent so much of cloth to the nobles that it lasted them even through the following year. Whenever he proceeded on a journey, apart from the nobles and grandees who accompanied him, even to the local peasants he sent meals from his household separately, and wherever there was a tomb of a saint, he visited it and made arrangements for its repair and construction. But as far as his *khālīṣa* villages were concerned his *wakīl*, Qādī Pīra, landed them in hardships and problems of calamitous proportions. Summoning the *arbābs* and *muqaddams* of those villages at the time of *nasq*, the Qādī arrested them [352] and under the pain of flagellation forced them to give him an undertaking that they would cultivate two (*dih bīst*) to three times (*dih sī*) more land as compared to the previous year, failing which they would be liable to accountability. What he failed to realize, however, was that those *arbābs* and *muqaddams* possessed nothing at their homes and whatever cultivation was done was the result of the efforts of the petty peasants, which they did through the encouragement of these people, and not as a consequence of their oppression and tyranny, and that too only to an extent which was physically possible for them. At the time of harvest (*sar-i faṣl*) he ordered the *qānūngūs* to submit an estimate of the crops and threatened them with dire consequences if it was not as approximate to reality as possible. After they submitted this estimate, he doubled it (*dih bīst karda*) and thus converting it into an impossible proposition (*barf mināra sākhta*), showed it to the *arbābs* and *muqaddams* and subjected them to tyranny. Left with no alternative, despite the wailing and crying of the peasants, the *arbābs* and *muqaddams* gave him in writing to pay the *ijāra* [352b] for the aforementioned cultivations. Once the deal was struck, the peasants were left at the mercy of the *arbābs* and *muqaddams*, who left aside their own cultivations and distributed the entire amount of the revenue to be paid on the cultivations of the indigent peasants. The peasants gave all their produce in revenue but the dues were still not paid off. Consequently, some Hindūs from the town of Būbakān, particularly one called Parbat, carried their grievances against this treatment to the royal court and returned from there with a *farmān* prohibiting the farming out (*ijāra*) procedure and calling for the re-introduction of the old system of crop-sharing. During the aforementioned *rabīʿ* [i.e. *It'īl* 1043] he [Dīndār Khān] was contemplating to reimpose the crop-sharing and *dabtī* systems in keeping with the old *dastūr al-'amal* of this region, but in the meantime he was transferred.

Similarly, he levied a heavy duty on the boats of merchants and increased the *dhart* tax inordinately, so that on every *kharwār* [353], which comprised

sixty *kāsas* in this region, of grain, two *kāsas* were charged. On every maund of indigo, three rupees were charged, two from the buyer and one from the seller, and during those days one maund of indigo cost twenty rupees. On every maund of tobacco seven *dāms* were charged while every maund of it was sold for eight *tankas*. Thus, if on every *kharwār* of grain two *kāsas*, on every maund of indigo three rupees, and on every maund of tobacco seven *dāms* are charged, the rate of tax works out to be more than 1/40th i.e. 2½ % .

I have not described the tax on boats in detail, because, though apparently on every empty or laden boat, at each of the four ferries of Sihwān, upto thirty and forty rupees, sometimes more and sometimes less, were charged in tax, but, as a matter of fact, the unfortunate merchants and boatmen were withheld in the ferries [353b] and were pestered into paying secretly much more than that. Since those details can only be verified from the papers of *qānūngūs* which are beyond my access , I have left them unexplained.

The least of the *khānazāds*, the present writer, says that the purpose of prolixity in recording the tenures of the *jāgīrdārs* of Sihwān is not to describe the affairs of these *jāgīrdārs* in itself, because, if it were so, the description of the affairs of the ancient kings would have been more advantageous.

The sense of seeing is the foremost among the five senses upon which human perception and thinking is based and this *khānazād* has witnessed most of the affairs of the region of Sihwān with his own eyes and has personally experienced the various factors contributing to its population and destruction. But on the contrary, the affairs of other regions, he perceived through his sense of hearing. Thus realizing the difference between seeing and hearing, he decided to depict the circumstances of the population and destruction of the region of Sihwān in the context (*libās*) of the tenures of each of its *jāgīrdārs* [354], so that the effects of a good and a bad tenure could be brought to light and it could also be shown that which of the *jāgīrdārs* succeeded in achieving one of the essential features of government that have been discussed in the Part One of this book, namely, besides the imposition of their *khutba* and currency, the kings aspire for at least one of these two benefits from their dominions. Firstly, a part of the revenue of every area which is in excess of the expenditure of the *jāgīrdār* himself should flow to the Imperial treasury every season of every year, and secondly, the army that is raised on the strength of the resources of a region, besides meeting the administrative requirements of that particular region, could be used for conquests and deployment in other regions; and which of the

jāgīrdārs failed to administer this region, destroyed and ruined the royal subjects who were a good source of income for the Imperial exchequer and, whose tyranny and oppression did not earn him anything except bad name and gradually [354b] the inhabitants of this region were reduced to utter
 5 helplessness and destitution, so that if the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān killed one hundred men without any justification no-one could stop him. If some unfortunate person having suffered a great deal of hardships travelled to the royal court and as a consequence of his appeal succeeded in procuring an Imperial order, nobody accepted or implemented it here. On the contrary,
 10 the slanderers of Sihwān developed a feeling of enmity towards him and within a brief period of time had him destroyed at the hands of the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān. Thus if a *jāgīrdār* had a little of God's fear in his heart, or cared for the wrath of the Emperor, he protected at least one of the two parties, namely the peasants or the *a'imma*; otherwise, he trampled upon
 15 both of them. There was not a single functionary of this region including the *ṣadrs*, *qādīs*, *qānūngūs* and *arbābs*, who gave a sincere advice to the *jāgīrdār* in time of need [355]. Rather, everybody saved his own skin and looked upon the circumstances which had all the proportions of the Day of Judgment with sheer apathy and disinterestedness. If a tyrant *jāgīrdār* encouraged one
 20 of the *zamīndārs* of this region and made him his accomplice, that *zamīndār* set on fire a whole world of peasants and *a'imma* and ruined them. You can imagine the circumstances of this region from the sheer fact that whereas in all the protected Imperial dominions the Imperial *wāqi'a nawīs* are at work, after the departure of Shamshīr Khān from this region, no *jāgīrdār* ever
 25 accepted any *wāqi'a nawīs* in his *jāgīr*. As has been mentioned earlier, during the tenure of Dīndār Khān, a *wāqi'a nawīs*, Ni'mat Allāh by name, who had come from Bhakkar, was slain right under the Sihwān fort and nobody looked into his matter, whereas the fact, as has been demonstrated by Ḥakīm Sanā'ī in a poem, is that on the Day of Judgment the ruler will have to account even for
 30 the fracture of a goat's leg on a bridge in his domains [355b].

On another occasion, Mānsingh sent from Bhakkar, one of his agents called 'Abd al-Bāqī, who stayed here for a few days and then went back. Then, the *bakhshī* of Thatta dispatched one of his functionaries as the *wāqi'a nawīs* of Sihwān, but Dīndār Khān did not accept him and no sooner the *wāqi'a nawīs*
 35 came than he [Dīndār Khān] returned him to Thatta. If one is not really bent upon oppression, what could be the harm in the appointment of a *wāqi'a nawīs*?

Similarly, during the tenure of Dīndār Khān a bailiff (*sazāwal*) arrived with an Imperial decree asking the *qānūngūs* to accompany him to the court with a statement of ten year settlement (*taqsim-i diḥ sāla*) and to explain to the Emperor all the factors contributing to the destruction of this

region [356b] including the excesses of the *jāgīrdārs* as well as the depredations of the refractory elements. How much of effort was involved in sending the *qānūngūs* that he did not send them.

As a matter of fact, the reins of oppression were let loose for the first time during the tenure of Aḥmad Bēg Khān. The details of the oppressive ways of his brother Mirzā Yūsuf have already been explained in full detail to the attendants of the royal throne; except that he [Aḥmad Bēg Khān] was transferred from this region, no trace of wrath seems to have affected him. Conversely, he was treated still more kindly, as is apparent from the fact that he was made the *subadār* of Multān, which was a better place. It was at the sight of this development that the victims of his oppression in this region, who intended to follow him to the heaven-like court for the redress of their grievances, were disappointed and retraced their feet back to their native places from Bhakkar. If the Emperor had instituted an inquiry at the court into the administration of Aḥmad Bēg Khān [357], and in keeping with the conons of the Sacred law obliged him to return to the oppressed whatever he had tyrannously extorted from them and in consonance with the Imperial justice had made him bear the consequences of whatever blood shedding he had illegally indulged in not only no *jāgīrdār* thenceforward would have allowed this region to be destroyed with impunity, but the *jāgīrdārs* of other protected dominions would have also desisted from committing tyranny, and instead, had adopted an upright and benevolent attitude towards their peasants.

It is recorded in the historical works of Sind that Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh raised the standard of journey to the Hereafter near Thatta and after his death, as willed by him, Fīrūz Shāh ascended the throne and left for the capital of Delhi. Jām Khayr al-Dīn, the ruler of the country of Sind, followed him for a few stages [357b], but returned to Thatta from the outskirts of Sann, a dependency of Sihwān. After the departure of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, Jām Khayr al-Dīn spread the carpet of justice and benevolence and did all in his power to ameliorate the conditions of the peasants and common people. An interesting incident has come down to us about this pious Jām. One day he went out for a ride with his nobles and attendants. Incidentally, some human bones caught his eye in a ditch. He pulled the reins of his horse and for a moment looked at those decomposed bones. Then, turning to his companions, he asked them if they knew what those bones had told him. They hung their heads in silence. 'They are some oppressed people who demand justince,' the Jām continued. Hence he decided to find out the circumstances of the death of those people [358]. He summoned the old man who owned that tract of land and enquired from him about those bones. The

old man told him that seventy years previously a caravan had come thither from Gujarāt and that a certain clan had slain those people and captured their belongings. The old man also told the Jām that most of those plundered goods were still in the possession of that group. On hearing this, the Jām
 5 ordered the recovery of those things. Most of these things were recovered. Then he dispatched them to the ruler of Gujarāt requesting him to make them over to whatever of the descendants of those dead men were then alive, and subjected the murderers to retaliatory punishment. But here, during the reign of my great, respected and exalted Emperor, the victims of the high-
 10 handedness of Ahmād Bēg Khān and his brother are alive in Sihwān, and so are both of them in comfort and luxury, yet no action has been taken.

The little stability which the peasants^[358b] of this region enjoyed during the tyrannous tenures it stemmed from the cultivation of the *a'imma* lands by them, because to populate their holdings, the *a'imma*, of necessity,
 15 provided the small farmers (*mardum-i barzgarān*) with help and resumed a reduced share from their harvest. It is owing to this help from the *a'imma* that these peasants not only carry on the cultivation of the *jāgīrdār's* *khālīṣa* land, but also pay to him whatever oppressive demands he makes on them; otherwise, the condition of the peasants of this region are extremely
 20 weak and flimsy.

Let us return to the original theme. The foregoing discussion has revealed that the region of Bhakkar, and two *sarkārs* of the region of Thatta, namely Chākar Hāla and Naṣrpūr, owe most of their destruction to the refractory elements from the region of Sihwān. As such, all the exalted
 25 efforts and Imperial policies aimed at the welfare of the country of Sind must have as their primary objective the population of the region of Sihwān. A place of insurgency in need of military expedition as it is, the appointment of a *bakhshī*, an *amīn*, and a *wāqīa'ā nawīs* is also of the utmost importance for this region. Similarly, the frontiers of this region also need to be
 30 secured, so that the refractory elements could be restrained from transgressing the path of moderation. Now the conditions of the region of Sihwān have come to such a pass that, it is said, no *jāgīrdār* accepts this region in his *jāgīr* of his own accord. It is long since the news of the lawlessness of the wretched Samējas reached the attendants of the Imperial throne and
 35 strict decrees asking the *ṣūbadār* of Thatta, and the *jāgīrdārs* of Bhakkar and Sihwān, to totally exterminate these accursed ones were issued, but the expedition against these wretched ones of both the worlds is still far from accomplished. On the contrary, their insurgency and rebellion is on the increase every day. And God knows best what is right [359b].

Section IV

A brief account of the measures for the improvement
of the region of Sihwān

Be it known to the sun-like brilliant conscience that the peasants
 5 of this region, as has been described earlier, have been reduced to extreme
 penury and indigence. Most of the *zamīndārs* who used to be submissive
 (*ra'īyyat*), have now joined hands with the insurgents and some of the
 innovations introduced by the oppressive *jāgīrdārs* in this region are still
 in vogue. Hence, to start with, the Emperor might like to apprise himself
 10 with the regulations (*dastūr al-'amal*) in respect of this region, governing
 its *ḍabtī*, crop-sharing, grant of *in'ām* to *arbābs* and *muqaddams*, and cesses of
qānūngūs, and the tax on boats and the *dhart* tax from the beginning of the
 tenure of Bakhtyār Bēg to the close of the tenure of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek
 as per findings of this author. And in this regard, first of all, what
 15 should be known is, that the *kharwār* of this region comprises sixty *kāsas*,
 each *kāsa*, according to the weight of old maund, consists of six *sērs*, $2\frac{1}{2}$
 quarter *Jahāngīrī* and $1\frac{1}{2}$ *dām*, and every *kāsa* contains four *tōyas*. Secondly,
 the *ḍabtī* and *ghalla bakhshī* conditions of this country should also be borne
 in mind. The *ḍabtī* is recorded *per pukhta bīgha*. Out of which two *bīsawīs*,
 20 as per general practice of the protected dominions, are remitted to the
 peasants, regardless of the good or bad nature of the crop. This concession
 is, of course, over and above the *nābūd*, *tukhmzada* and *shūra* remissions
 which are granted after inspection at the time of recording (*ḍabtī*).

KHARĪ F

25	Indian Millet (<i>jawārī</i>)	Kind: $33\frac{1}{2}$ <i>kāsas per bīgha</i>
	Nāchnī and Rāgī (<i>mandwa</i>)	Cash: 1 <i>Murādī tanka</i> and $35\frac{1}{2}$ <i>dāms per bīgha</i>
	Rice Paddy (<i>shālī</i>)	
	Cotton (<i>panba</i>)	
	Melon (<i>kharbūza</i>)	
30	Watermelon (<i>tarbūza</i>)	
	Garden stuff (<i>tarkārī</i>)	
	Sesame (<i>kunjīd</i>)	[Cash:] 25 <i>Murādī tankas</i> and $29\frac{1}{4}$ <i>dāms per bīgha</i>
	Radish (<i>turb</i>)	
	Common millet (<i>arzan</i>)	
35	Kangnī (<i>gāl</i>)	
	Tag-san, or	
	Bengal san (<i>san</i>)	

	Carrot (<i>zardak</i>)	[Cash:] 35 Murādī tankas per bīgha
	Urd (<i>māsh</i>)	[Cash:] 14 Murādī tankas and $2\frac{1}{2}$ dāms
	Mung (<i>mūng</i>)	per bīgha
	Sugarcane (<i>nayshakar</i>)	[Cash:] 72 Murādī tankas per bīgha
5	Dilpasand (<i>kachra</i>)	[Cash:] $6\frac{1}{2}$ Murādī tankas per bīgha [360b]
	Indigo (<i>nīl</i>)	[Cash:] 35 Murādī tankas per bīgha
	RABĪ'	
	Wheat (<i>gandum</i>)	Kind: $33\frac{1}{2}$ kāsas per bīgha
	Barley (<i>jau</i>)	Cash: 1 Murādī tanka and $35\frac{1}{2}$ dāms per bīgha
10	Bengal gram (<i>nakhūd</i>)	Kind: $17\frac{1}{2}$ kāsas per bīgha Cash: 45 dāms per bīgha
	Mustard seed (<i>sarshaf</i>)	Kind: 28 kāsas and 3 tōyas per bīgha Cash: 1 Murādī tanka and 8 dāms per bīgha
15	Khardsal (<i>āhūrī</i>)	Kind: $28\frac{1}{2}$ kāsas per bīgha Cash: 35 dāms per bīgha
	Common millet (<i>arzan</i>)	
	Onion (<i>piyāz</i>)	
	Melon (<i>kharbūza</i>)	Cash: 25 Murādī tankas and $29\frac{1}{4}$ dāms
20	Watermelon (<i>tarbūza</i>)	per bīgha
	Tag-san, or Bengal san (<i>san</i>)	
	Egg plant (<i>bādinjān</i>)	
25	Mung (<i>mūng</i>)	[Cash:] 14 Murādī tankas and $2\frac{1}{4}$ dāms
	Chickling vetch (<i>masang</i>)	per bīgha
	Lentil (<i>'adas</i>)	[Cash:] 28 Murādī tankas and 31 dāms per bīgha
30	Cummin (<i>zīra</i>)	
	Fennel (<i>bādyān</i>)	
	Safflower (<i>gul-i mu'asfar</i>)	
	Parsley (<i>ajmūd</i>)	Cash: 48 Murādī tankas and $37\frac{1}{4}$ dāms
35	Garlic (<i>sīr</i>)	per bīgha
	Hemp (<i>bhang</i>)	

Opium poppy (*kūknār*)

Tobacco (*tanbākū*)

Did not exist previously; was introduced during Dīndār Khān's tenure.

[Cash:] $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees *per bīgha* and each rupee comprises 24 Murādī *tankas*

CROP-SHARING

50/50	Out of every two <i>kharwārs</i> , one goes to the peasants, while the other is resumed.
1/3rd	Out of every three <i>kharwārs</i> , two go to the peasant and one is resumed.
1/4th	Out of every four <i>kharwārs</i> , three go to the peasants and one is resumed.
1/5th	Out of every five <i>kharwārs</i> , four go to the peasants and one is resumed.
2/5th	Out of every five <i>kharwārs</i> , three go to the peasants and two are resumed.
4/9th	Out of every nine <i>kharwārs</i> , five go to the peasants and four are resumed.

The *in'ām* of the *arbābs* and *muqaddams* out of the revenue

During the tenure of Bakhtyar Beg its rate was *dih nīmī*, that is, out of every hundred *kharwārs* five *kharwārs* and out of every hundred rupees five rupees were given to them in *in'ām*. After his tenure down to the close of Shamsīr Khān Ūzbek's on every hundred *kharwārs* two *kharwārs* and out of every hundred rupees two rupees were paid to them.

The *qānūngū*'s cesses (*rusūm*)

They charged one per cent from the peasants, that is on every hundred *kharwārs* one *kharwār* and on every hundred rupees one rupee.

The Boat Tax

During the tenures of Bakhtyār Bēg and Pīr Ghulām in the time of the Emperor Akbar, to start with, it was same as the *zakāt*, that is, 1/40th of the value of merchandise was charged from the merchants. Considering that there was only one ferry in the region of Sihwān, there was no harm [in charging that amount]. When Pīr Ghulām came to this region for the second time during the reign of the Emperor Jahāngīr who had abolished the *zakāt*, on every laden boat half a *sēr* of candy (*nabāt*) was realized in kind, while the empty boats were allowed without any tax; and there was still only one ferry in Sihwān. During the first term of Shamsīr Khān on every laden boat the price of one *sēr* of candy, that is, 10 Murādī *tankas* were charged, but after some time the tax was raised to 20 *tankas* [362]. On his transfer

from Thatta when Shamshīr Khān came to this region for the second time he charged one rupee on every laden boat, but from the empty boats nothing was demanded and there was only one ferry in the city of Sihwān.

DHARAT

5 During the aforementioned tenures it was confined to grain (*ghalla*) only; on every *kharwār* one *tōya* was realized from the buyer.

The *qānūngūs* of this region should be summoned to the Imperial court and asked to explain the working of one of these tenures, such as that of Dīndār Khān's, and taking due notice of what has been exacted from the peasants
10 in excess of the requirements of the regulations (*dastūr al-‘amal*), steps should be taken to reassure them with regard to their future. Similarly, whatever has been charged as tax on boats and the *dharat* tax in violation of the royal orders - a practice which still continues - may be abolished from the creatures of God; or else, the income from those heads should be transferred
15 to the royal treasury because the people's lives and properties are meant to be sacrificed to the Emperor (*jān wa māl-i khalq taṣadduq-i shāhan-shāhast*) [362b]. Moreover, investigation with regard to the number of villages in every *pargana*, and how many of these villages are populated and how many of them are lying in ruin, should be taken into hand. Then to
20 ensure the welfare of the peasants of this region, an upright and prudent *amīn* should be dispatched from the royal court with a *farmān* comprising a *dastūr al-‘amal* for this region. Once here, the *amīn* should look into the affairs of every *pargana*, village by village. Those of its villages which are populated, their peasants should be comforted and assured that whatever
25 is past cannot be remedied, but henceforth the *dastūr al-‘amal* would be strictly adhered to. He should also tell them that they should busy themselves in the cultivation of their crops, so that population and prosperity increases every day. And those of its villages which are lying in desolation, their inhabitants should be searched out, soothed, brought back to their
30 homes and rehabilitated there [363]. The *amīn* should make sure that no *jāgīrdār*, *qānūngū*, *arbāb*, and *muqaddam* exacted anything oppressively in excess of the *dastūr al-‘amal* requirements, so that on the one hand, the peasants are convinced that they are subjects of the Emperor and are possessed of a strong master, and on the other, the *arbābs*, *muqaddams* and *qānūngūs*
35 grow abhorrent of the oppressive innovations of the *jāgīrdārs* and realize that the peasants are like a good treasury to the Emperor and the *amīn* is the keeper of that treasury; and that to commit excesses against peasants contributes to the destruction of that treasury. The *amīn* should also keep

an eye on the merchants, traders and artisans, so that none of them is exposed to tyranny. He should content himself with what the Emperor bestows upon him and avarice should not drive him into the society of the *jāgīrdār*. He should appoint an agent in every village, who should keep himself abreast of the activities of the *jāgīrdār* and report the real situation [363b] to his master every day. Wherever the peasants are subjected to tyranny, the *amīn* should look into the matter. If he finds himself helpless, he should seek the assistance of the *jāgīrdār* and in case the *jāgīrdār* also favours the tyranny he should report the matter to the heaven-like court, so that some solution is suggested to him from there. This type of *amīn* should be looked on as a treasurer. Just as a treasurer pays one lac rupees against a cheque (*barāt*) of that amount, and does not pay more than that, and if somebody demands more through oppression, he does not accept his demand, and if that person puts more pressure on him, he seeks the help of the owner of the wealth, which puts off the heart of the latter from the malefactor and he takes steps to chastise him; likewise, if the *jāgīrdār* demands from the peasants more than what is allowed by the *dastūr al-‘amal*, the *amīn* should not allow him to do so. If the *jāgīrdār* persists in making such exactions forcibly, the *amīn* should apprise the Emperor [364]. Since the peasants are the best of all the Imperial treasures - as has been mentioned earlier - the Emperor should take ten times (*dih sad*) more offence at this attitude of the oppressor than the owner of the wealth did in the case of the aforementioned treasurer and bury the tyrant in the ground, so that other oppressors also learn a lesson from this example. In this connection, if two or three of the slanderers who by their false slanderings caused the destruction of the Imperial peasants are apprehended and punished that will be a still better deterrent for the oppressors. And the *amīn* should not engage in any activities other than his own; he should restrict himself to carrying out the duties of his office, because, as mentioned in Part One, two responsibilities entrusted to a single person are wasted. The *amīn* should also send a village-and-pargana-wise yearly return about the population and prosperity to the Imperial secretariat, so that [364b] the pillars of the brilliant government (*arkān-i daulat-i bāhira*) also learn every year about the latest state of population and prosperity of this region.

It should never flash across the august conscience that a *qāmūngū* can replace an *amīn*. Held in low esteem as the *qāmūngūs* are, they can hardly prevent the *jāgīrdār* from his oppression and tyranny. As a matter of fact, it is more probable that they will become accomplices (*sharīk-i ghālīb*) of the *jāgīrdār* in his excesses. And the *amīn* ought to be a respectable and

honest person, so that whatever he says falls on the receptive ears of the *jāgīrdār*.

And for the welfare of the army which is essential in this region as would be explained shortly, a *bakhshī* should be appointed, so that he can
 5 obtain enough army from the *jāgīrdār* of this region and deploy it on the borders, and the peasants thus secured from the harm of the insurgents may busy themselves in cultivation [365] and the *kharāj* levied on them becomes legally justifiable (*halāl*). If the *jāgīrdār* withholds the salary (*ḥaqq*) of that army, the *bakhshī* should send him a word that in actual fact that
 10 army belongs to the Emperor and is meant for Imperial expeditions, the *jāgīrdār* is nothing but a link between the Emperor and the army. And when one *jāgīrdār* is transferred, unless the new incumbent's soldiers are stationed at the borders, the *bakhshī* should not allow the army of the previous *jāgīrdār* to be withdrawn from the frontiers.

15 As for the job of *akhbār nawīsī*, a separate *wāqī'a nawīs* ought to be appointed as was the previous practice in the provinces and this function should not be entrusted to the *bakhshīs*, as has lately come into vogue.

The *a'imma* of this region who are an army of prayer (*lashkar-i du'ā*), are also discontented and disgraced (*bī-wiqār*). They comprise four categories:
 20 The first category consists of *manṣabdārs* and includes *qāḍīs*, *muftīs*, *ṣadr[s]*, and *muhtasib[s]* [365b]. The second category consists of scholars and those who remember the *Qur'ān* by heart (*ḥuffāz*). The third category includes Sayyids, *mashā'ikh*, and the Mughuls of pure descent, who turning their backs on the inordinate desires of the world have retired into the angle of
 25 seclusion and are contented with what *madad-i ma'āsh* is bestowed upon them by the court. They do not have any other source of income. These three groups obtained their *madad-i ma'āsh* by presenting themselves to *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* and *Ḥadrat-i Jannat Makānī* and their successor *Shāh Jahān*, may God perpetuate his empire; and their *madad-i ma'āsh* is of such a nature that
 30 notwithstanding all their diligence in bringing under the plough their little holdings, they eke out a bare subsistence out of it. At the time of every crop every year they soothe the labourers (*mardum-i kārindaha*), give them aid, and dig canals and thus arrange to cultivate a part of their holdings. Notwithstanding all their endeavours, the yield of their lands is not much
 35 [366]. The fourth category of the *a'imma* comprises *zamīndārs* who are also *arbābs* and *muqaddams*. They never waited upon *Ḥadrat-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* and *Ḥadrat-i Jannat Makānī*. Having procured *musammātī farmāns* in exchange for money during the days of *Nūr Jahān*, *zamīndārs* basically as they were, they got demarcated extremely productive tracts of land in good locations and

brought them under their control. The peasants who depend for their succour on them, without any help from these *zamīndārs* or the digging of the canals [by the latter], cultivate their lands. Thus, despite the fact that these *zamīndārs* do not exert themselves for the population of their *chaks*, most of their lands are cultivated. Thus, if any *jāgīrdār* tries to institute a strict investigation into the condition of the *a'imma* class, this last category of people come forward and offer to pay the *jāgīrdār* a huge amount (*mablagh-i kullī*) and then distribute the cess (*taujiḥ*) on the *madad-i ma'āsh* of all the *a'imma* collectively [366b]. The first three categories of the *a'imma* find the payment of these oppressive cesses beyond their capacity. Besides the entire produce of the *madad-i ma'āsh*, they also pay twice as much (*dih bist*) from the return from the sale of their books, homes and any other belongings that they might have had, but still they remain in arrears. Hence the bailiffs (*piyādahā*) of the *zamīndārs* disgrace and humiliate them in the streets. Consequently, they are destroyed and ruined and their *madad-i ma'āsh* lands mostly lie deserted (*maṭrūḥa*), and in sharp contrast to this, the fourth category of the *a'imma* is not harmed at all.

Worried about the safety of his own *madad-i ma'āsh* as the *ṣadr* of this region is, he cannot say the right thing to the *jāgīrdār*. Thus, for the welfare of the *a'imma* of this region it is necessary that the hands of the *ṣadr* should be strengthened, so that he could look into the affairs of the *a'imma* and recover the *fautī*, *farārī*, *dū jā'ī*, *taqallubī* [367], and *libāst* holdings and restore them to the *khālīṣa shari'fa*. In this way, the income of the waste lands which are excused from the payment of revenue will accrue to the *khālīṣa shari'fa*; otherwise, within one season (*faṣl*) those lands would become deserted (*maṭrūḥa*). Moreover, the indigent *a'imma* should be so strengthened that secured from the excesses of the *jāgīrdār*, they could appropriate their *madad-i ma'āsh* with peace of mind and continue praying for the Emperor and carrying out their normal responsibilities which are expected of them.

The *qādī* should also restrict himself to the profession of administering justice which is the best of all the ways of earning one's livelihood; and he should continuously sit in his court of justice (*dār al-qadā'*) and hand down decisions regarding the transactions of people in accordance with the brilliant Sacred law. Neither of these two functionaries, *ṣadr* and *qādī*, should interfere into other affairs of government. They should be contented with what the Emperor has bestowed upon them and thus should not be misled by their avarice [367b] to appease (*diljū'ī*) the *jāgīrdār*. And God knows what is best.

Section V

On the ways of quelling the fire of insurgency
of the refractory elements of the region of Sihwān;
and the army that is needed for this purpose in this region

5 I lay it bare before the world-decorating and happiness-increasing
intellect that the affairs of the *parganas* of this country have already been
described briefly and in that connection the ability of each of the three
aforementioned insurgent groups to strike at each of these *parganas* has also
been discussed; here I propose to explain the ways to exterminate the afore-
10 mentioned insurgents in detail, and in that connection the ways for the
population and prosperity of each *pargana* will also be discussed at length.
This section (*faṣṭ*) comprises three components, each known as a *rukn*, or a
pillar .

Pillar One

15 On the ways of exterminating the Samējas Ūnar
who have ruined and destroyed four *parganas* in full
and some other *parganas* in part

These *parganas* are Jūnēja^[368], Khiṭṭa, Lākūt, and Sann, and some
villages of the *pargana* Ḥawēlī Sihwān which are situated across the river on
20 the side of those wretches. They [the Samējas] also pester the inhabitants
of four *parganas* of Bhakkar, namely the *pargana* of Mātīla, the *pargana* of
Alōr, the *pargana* of Lada Kākan, and the *pargana* of Darbēla. Most of the
sarkār of Naṣṛpūr, in the province of Thatta also owes its destruction to
them, and the Rāja of Jaisalmēr is suffering from [Divine] perdition right
25 in this world at their hands. The land and river routes constantly remain in
a state of fear and hope because of their insurgency, so that to make the
route in their direction once again worthy of travel with less than five to
six hundred horsemen without the consent of the Samējas' leaders is impossible.
Consequently, the merchants seldom use that route. As for the river route,
30 the boats of merchants wait for some time in the ferry of Sihwān, and each
boat pays a huge sum to the *jāgīrdār* and to the guards (*chaukīdārān*), until
they give them an escort (*chaukī*) to the ferry of Sann. At the ferry of Sann
they are again charged the same amount as previously and then another escort
is provided to them to the ferry of Hāla Kandī. Notwithstanding all this
35 emphasis (*ta'kid*) [on security] the insurgents frequently plunder the boats
of merchants and kill the owners of the merchandise. In short, the extermi-
nation of these wretches [the Samējas] is absolutely obligatory upon the
victorious armies and for doing that, first of all it is necessary to know
that from the days of the Tarkhāns down to the close of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek's

tenure the aforementioned factions (*firqa*) of peasants consistently resisted the Samējas Ūnar; and when the *jāgīrdār* led an expedition against the Samējas, most of the factions of the peasants, particularly that of the Lākas who lived in the neighbourhood of the Samējas Ūnar[369] endeavoured heart and soul to destroy them. When such a big proportion of the population (*khalq Allah*) sincerely tried to destroy them and the *jāgīrdār* also did all in his power to achieve the same objective, the goal was indeed achieved. Some of the Samējas were killed, some were taken captive, and most of their cattle were plundered. A strong *thāna* was always stationed among them and the Lāka quarters (*ṭaraf*) of the *parganas* Lākūt and Khittā which bordered on these wretches, were populated and prosperous. This prevented the Samējas Ūnar from becoming powerful and they were always worried to safeguard their own quarter in the *pargana* of Lākūt lest they should be obliged to really pay the revenue. The *jāgīrdār*, nevertheless, recovered from them a part of the revenue at least, by way of *ijāra*, and whenever they ventured to rebel [369b], he forthwith rode out against them and wreaked his vengeance.

After the departure of Shamshīr Khān, except for Muḥammad ‘Alī Bandarlī, no *jāgīrdār*, endeavoured to punish these waylayers. Coming from Bhakkar, Muḥammad ‘Alī joined forces with the men of Shīr Khwāja, chastised the Samējas, captured a large number of their men and sold them off to the Afghāns of Sīwī. He also apprehended a prominent chief of these recalcitrants from the Dērēja quarter, Būdala by name, and took him to Bhakkar. As a result of this blow, as has been alluded to in the Part One of this book, the Samējas abandoned their headstrong ways for two to three years and led a life of isolation. Thereafter, while they gradually recovered their power, the highhandedness of the *jāgīrdārs* reduced the peasants to utter weakness[370]. After Shīr Khwāja whoever got this region in *jāgīr*, thinking that all the income from the *pargana* Lākūt was spent on the maintenance of the men stationed in the *thāna* of the Samējas, neither paid any heed to that *thāna*, nor ever ventured to lead an expedition against them. Thus, in the meantime, the Samējas completely ruined and destroyed the *pargana* Khittā and the Lāka quarter, and gained control over these areas. They slew all the healthy (*jāndār*) men, and the weaker ones accepted their supremacy. Most of the villages of the *parganas* Hawēlī, Sann and Jūnēja were also destroyed by them. When the peasants were extremely weakened, nay destroyed, some *zamīndārs* through matrimonial relations (*nisbathā*) and others out of farsightedness expressed their sincerity towards the Samējas and this situation still prevails[370b]. Thus, if the goal is to quell the rebellion of the Samējas and Chāndiyas, the *parganas* Kāhān and Jūnēja which are on the whole populated, and the *parganas*

Khittā and Lakūt which lie in ruin, should be bestowed in *jāgīr* on some bold and prudent person. If only the task of dealing with the Samējas and Chāndiyas is entrusted to such a person, it is quite possible that he may adequately put an end to the mischief of these two tribes. Once under his control they would not be able to do any harm to other regions. But if the objective is to exterminate the Samējas Ūnar, it can be achieved by two ways. Firstly, the victorious armies should be ordered on them from all the four sides in such a way that swift and speedy *sazāwals* should fetch the *jāgīrdār* of Bhakkar, the *shibadār* of Thatta [371], the Rāja of Jaisalmēr and the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān, with their armies and deploy them respectively in the village of Karank, in the *pargana* of Darbēla, in the village Abrēja in the *pargana* of Hāla Kandī, the places of retreat of these trouble-makers in the sand hills of Jaisalmēr, and in the village Kāka, a dependency of the *pargana* Khittā, so that neither grain could reach these waylayers, nor they could flee with their families and cattle. Then an attempt should be made to terminate the friendship and unity of purpose (*ikhlas wa yakjihatī*) that characterise the relations between these refractory elements and some *zamīndārs* of Sind, that was transformed from potentiality into actuality during the recent developments in Sind. And this can be achieved by sending a public crier around with the proclamation that if any village harboured Samējas Ūnar, or gave refuge to their wives, children, cattle and other effects and this is proved, the inhabitants of that village will also be slain like the Samējas, and their cattle [371b] will be plundered, and in this regard no distinction will be made between the high and the low. Out of fear of the victorious Imperial armies the *zamīndārs* of this country will renounce peace (*musalahā*) with the Samējas which came about under the pressure of circumstances, and will revive their animosity towards them, and will unanimously endeavour to destroy those waylayers. Then, one thousand excellent horsemen with swift and speedy mounts, and five hundred heads of camel well-provisioned with water (*pur āb*) should be dispatched towards the Samējas to keep track of those short-sighted ones. The Samējas number between five and six thousands, and their womenfolk and children would be around twenty thousand in number. Where shall they go? Even though they are possessed of enough water and forage they have no place to turn to. Such a large number of people cannot disappear. When the victorious Imperial armies attack them [372], the healthy ones (*mardum-i jāndār*) among them will die defending their families, some will be taken captive and their families and cattle will be plundered. Some of them who run away, surrounded as they would be on four sides by the victorious armies, they will also be captured. Supposing that they will grow wings, they will still be arrested and those of them who

escape from the sword, they will not be able to do anything and will
 perforce become peasants. When such an excellent victory is achieved on
 these insurgents their lands should be distributed among the peasants of
 the surrounding areas. Hence, the lands of these wretched ones on the Sahta
 5 side should be incorporated into the *pargana* Darbēla and made over to the
 Sahtas, who should be favoured with a concession in revenue too, because
 they will be populating the territory of other people. Similarly, in the
 fort of Karank a one hundred cavalry and fifty matchlockmen strong *thāna*
 should be stationed by the *hākīm* of Bhakkar, so that this region of the
 10 Samējas becomes properly under the control of the Sahtas. These days this
 fort belongs to the Sahtas and afraid as they are of the wretched Samējas,
 they always keep it in a state of readiness. The *kharīf* crop of the region
 of Bhakkar particularly in the desert areas (*zamīnhā-i dasht*) are usually
 bumper ones. At the time of the *nasq-i kharīf* the Sahtas gather a strong
 15 army and take up positions in that fort, while in the surrounding areas the
 peasants keep busy in their cultivation of the *kharīf* crop. Likewise, the
 lands of the Samēja region which border on those of the Kōrējas and Pahawārs
 may be included in the *pargana* Jūnēja and given to the last named tribes.
 Rebate in revenue should also be given to the peasants, so that they could
 20 eagerly employ themselves in the population of the enemy territory. Moreover,
 a fort [373] should be constructed in the village of Kajīra and the *jāgīrdār*
 of Sihwān should arrange to put up there a *thāna* of one hundred cavalry and
 fifty matchlockmen. In the same way, the territory of these waylayers which
 borders on the *pargana* Khatṭa, may be made over to the Hālapōtras, & c., who
 25 are the peasants of that *pargana* and the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān should establish
 a *thāna* of fifty cavalry and twenty five matchlockmen in the fort of Kāka, so
 that that *pargana* once again recovers its previous population and prosperity.
 Similarly, the territory of these wretches lying on the side of the Lākas, may
 be bestowed on them. If the Lākas, both living in their old territory as well
 30 as those settled in the areas that are now given to them, are treated
 benevolently, they will become instinctive enemies of the Samējas Ūnar. No
 sooner they attain power, than the Samējas will lose their position. The fort
 of Wīnjara should be repaired [373b] and manned by the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān
 with two hundred cavalry and one hundred matchlockmen, so that the Lākas
 35 could devote themselves to the profession of cultivation wholeheartedly.
 Also, the territory of the Samēja insurgents lying on the side of the *pargana*
 Hāla Kandī, one of the dependencies of the *sarkār* of Naṣrpur, may be included
 in this last *pargana* and made over to the Hālas. Out of fear of the Samējas
 Ūnar every *sūbadār* of Thatta establishes a *thāna* at Hāla Kandī, now he should

be ordered to station two hundred horse and one hundred matchlockmen in the fort of Abrēja, a dependency of the aforementioned *pargana*, which was constructed by my brother, Abū al-Baqā'.

5 The total strength of all these *thānas* comes to six hundred and fifty cavalry and three hundred and twenty five matchlockmen: one hundred cavalry and fifty matchlockmen from the *ḥākim* of Bhakkar, two hundred cavalry and one hundred matchlockmen from the *ṣūbadār* [374] of Thatta, and three hundred and fifty cavalry and two hundred and twenty five matchlockmen from the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān.

10 If this policy is implemented in *pargana* Lākūt, this one *pargana* will become as good as five *parganas*. These four aforementioned *thānas* should stay in their places for the first four years and then only one permanent *thāna* at Wīnjara, with two hundred cavalry and one hundred matchlockmen from the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān will be enough. And God knows best what is right.

15 Secondly, the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān on his own, without the assistance of the armies of Thatta, Bhakkar, and Jaisalmēr accomplish the task of these waylayers, and that will be possible if this region is bestowed in *jāgīr* on a person who is gallant, loves his soldiers, patronizes his peasants and abhors tyranny. Having arrived here he should first of all [374b] gain full
20 control over two things, namely the peasants and the soldiers, so that by the strength of these two he can exterminate the insurgents and restore the population and prosperity of this region. To gain control over the peasants he should deal with each *pargana* separately. The details of this strategy are as follows:-

25 The *pargana* Bāghbānān is one of the eight *parganas* lying on this side of the river with the fort. For the development of this *pargana* it is necessary that the fort [of] Sultān Muḥammad Barnankānī Arghūn, situated in the village Pulējī, one of the dependencies of the aforementioned *pargana* should be strengthened afresh and a *thāna* of two hundred cavalry and one
30 hundred matchlockmen should be stationed there. This *pargana* is inhabited by four clans (*qawm*) of the Samējas, namely the Bukas, the Jūnējas, the Baryas and the Tības. While the first three clans are submissive and pay their revenue, the fourth one comprises recalcitrant, rascals. If the *jāgīrdār* is possessed of the strength of a perceptive (*fahmīda*) army which he sends to
35 their villages at the time of harvest (*sar-i faṣl*), they pay something voluntarily (*dast bardāshṭa*); otherwise, they do not pay anything.

As has already been mentioned the wretched Chāndiyas also live beside this *pargana*. When such a strength is stationed among them as a permanent

thāna it will keep an eye on both these tribes and as such, they will not be able to go into rebellion.

The *jāgīrdār* should comfort the peasants of this *pargana* and follow the previous *dastūr al-‘amal* to the letter. The details of this *dastūr al-‘amal* are as follows: this *pargana* has mostly been assessed on the basis of *ḍabṭī* procedure. However, while in other places *ḍū bīswī* is given in *‘amal-i ma‘mūl*, in this *pargana* *sih bīswī* is allowed [375b] and a rebate of a quarter of a rupee *per bīgha* on the rate of the grain is also remitted. The *jāgīrdār* should also repair the canals that were previously running and bring them into working order again, so that not only the displaced peasants from every place throng to this *pargana* and this ruined and destroyed *pargana* recovers its prosperity once again, but the *kācha* lands which lie on the side of Mahā lake and the Nulla Marwī, which flows from the side of Sīwī and Ganjāba, also come under the plough and this one *pargana* assumes the position of four *parganas*. The town of Bāghbānān lies at a distance of twenty two *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān.

The second *pargana* is called Nīrūn Qal‘a. For its development it is necessary that a *thāna* of twenty cavalry and ten matchlockmen may be stationed in the fort of the same name. The peasants should be comforted and the practice of crop-sharing which remained in vogue from the tenure of Bakhtyār Bēg down to the term of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek should be revived. The details of this practice are as follows: the cultivations of Arbāb Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār may be assessed on the basis of three shares, that is, two shares should be left with him, and one share should be resumed. The cultivations of the rest of the peasants should be shared on the basis of nine portions, that is, five portions be left with the peasants and four should be resumed. If possible a still more reduced share should be realized from the latter, so that they could attain some stability, because they are occupying a very difficult area which lies right in the middle of the hill tribes and the Chāndiyas, and is presently in a state of desolation. This place (*mauḍī‘*) is situated at a distance of twenty five *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān.

The third *pargana* is Kāhān, and the fourth Būbakān. Both these *parganas* are possessed of some alluvial villages (*mau‘ādī‘-i rīzānī*); the lands [376b] of those villages receive this alluvium from the water of the river. At present, most of these villages are populated. In respect of these villages the principle of 50/50 crop-sharing should be strictly followed. It is hoped that their produce will rise to three times, or even more.

The rest of the villages of this *pargana* in the foothills are of *kācha* nature. During the rainy season when the water flows from the hills the lands of these villages are also covered with alluvial deposits and they produce very good crops of millet and sesame in the *khariṣ* season, and mustard seed in the *rabī*. Ever since the departure of Shamsīr Khān Ūzbek the population of these villages has gradually dwindled and now they are lying in utter desolation. The reason is that these villages are situated in the impassable hill passes and, as has been mentioned earlier, always live under the fear of the hill tribes and the ^{har y}Nuhmardīs and the Chāndiyas. Thus, without the backing of a strong army, the peasants [377] cannot engage in cultivation in these villages.

Until the close of Shamsīr Khān Ūzbek's tenure, the peasants were resolute (*pur tahayya*), so that the Pahawārs of the *pargana* Kāhān could raise a fully equipped army of around one thousand cavalry and between four to five thousand foot soldiers. Similarly, the *pargana* of Būbakān could also muster a strength of between two to three thousand cavalry and around two to three thousand foot soldiers. The *jāgīrdār* encouraged the peasants with a reduced resumption of share at the time of crop-sharing. Moreover, while the *jāgīrdār* stayed in Sihwān with a strong army, all the peasants of these two *parganas* evacuated the alluvial villages during the flood season and retired into the foothills with their families. They took all their cattle also there for grazing and themselves busied in cultivation. They also posted their spies on the hillside. If the news of the arrival of huge and strong army was ever received [377b], they withdrew their families and cattle to the alluvial villages and thus freed from all encumbrances, watched the movement of the enemy. On the other hand, if the news of a small (*sahl*) army arrived, they contented themselves with the setting up of watch posts (*chauki*) in the hill passes, so that the mountain army could not fall upon their families and cattle unawares. Thus the *kācha* villages gained in population and provided the *jāgīrdār* with a huge income. And as has already been mentioned, these resolute peasants also helped in fighting against the wretched Samējas.

After the tenure of Shamsīr Khān, following the *ḍabṭī* system some *jāgīrdārs* levied a fixed revenue on the peasants of these villages. Consequently, the peasants paid all their produce (*har dū sar ḥāsīl-i zirāʿat*) in revenue and were still in arrears. They also paid all the returns from the sale of their means of cultivation and were reduced to utter penury [378]. Encouraged by their penury and helplessness the hill tribes started

committing excesses against the unfortunate peasants; they martyred most of their men and plundered their cattle, with the result that they are now unable to muster enough strength to return to those villages and rehabilitate them.

For populating these villages it is necessary that the process of crop-sharing with reduced shares for the State, which was in vogue during the tenures of Bakhtyār Bēg, *Plr GnuTom* and Shamshīr Khān should be upheld. The details of this process are as follows: the cultivations of the descendants of the late Makhdūm Ja'far Būbakānī, on whom be the mercy of God, should be subjected to crop-sharing on the basis of four shares, three shares should be left with the descendants of the aforementioned Makhdūm, and one share should be resumed in revenue. From the cultivation of Arbāb Bahā' al-Dīn Pahawār 1/3rd should be resumed as state share and the cultivation of the petty peasants [378b] should be assessed on the basis of nine shares, five shares to the peasants and four for the State. If possible even a still more reduced share should be realized from them, because during those earlier tenures the peasants were stronger, now they do not have that strength.

Besides, when Jām Nanda, the ruler of Sind, dispatched his Hindū minister called Jākla, along with his foster son called Daryā Khān, to Sihwān, he constructed a *gach* and *māsh* dam on the Nullah Sāwa and thus leaving its water on the *kācha* lands enriched them with alluvium [378]. These *kācha* villages had become so populated and prosperous during those days that the present writer has heard from Naṣīr al-Dīn, son of the late Makhdūm Ja'far Būbakānī, that though this dam lasted only two and a half days before it gave way because of the malediction of a dervish, yet its effect was so great that the produce of these *kācha* villages, when assessed on the basis of ten shares, that is, nine shares to the peasants and one to the State, Jām Nanda received one lac *kharwārs*. With an expenditure of about two to three thousand rupees that dam should be restored and having constructed a fort there a *thāna* of two hundred cavalry and one hundred matchlockmen should be stationed there, so that they could ensure the safety of that dam and thus contribute to the stability of the peasants.

The villages called Qāsim Bārēja and Balūchān-i Nuḥanī, which are situated in the hills and are included in the dependencies of the *pargana* Būbakān, had fallen from revenue roll after [379b] the tenure of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek, they should again be developed into revenue-giving areas.

Moreover, water from a natural spring in the hills on the upper side of the village Kōtla, flows down into some non-cultivable lands and goes to waste. That spring should also be dammed with lime and gravel and its water should be left on the lands of the *kācha* villages and then the grace of God

should be witnessed: how much income accrues from those villages! Everyone of them will vie with a *pargana*.

There are three *kācha* villages in these two *parganas*. Firstly, the village Ūthal which belongs to the *pargana* Būbakān and is divided into six quarters (*ṭaraf*), namely Dūmak, Ankī, Sādar, Tābak, Kūrāna and Aknārī. The second *kācha* village is called Arārah, and the third is known as Karwatī. Both these villages lie in the *pargana* of Būbakān [380].

The village Ūthal and Arāra are situated sixteen *kurōhs* away from the fort of Sihwān, and from the big mountain (*kūh-i kalān*) they lie at a distance of eight and eleven *kurōhs* respectively. The village Karwatī is twenty *kurōhs* away from the Sihwān fort, and six from the big mountain. The towns of Kāhān and Būbakān lie at a distance of thirteen and five *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān respectively.

The fifth *pargana* is called Pātar and does not stand in need of any army. For the welfare of the peasants, the old system of 50/50 crop-sharing should be followed, so that it becomes populated. The town of Pātar is situated at a distance of thirty *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān.

The sixth *pargana* is called Nīrūn. Lying at a distance of one *kurōh* from the fort of Sihwān, it is surrounded by the villages of the *parganas* Kāhān, Būbakān, and Hawēlī Sihwān [380b]. A fixed sum (*ijāra*) is levied on the boatmen who live in this lake, and it is realized from them at the beginning of each season. It does not need an army, nor can it be populated, because there is no land whatever.

The seventh *pargana* is called Hawēlī Sihwān and comprises fifteen villages. Ten of them lie on this side of the river along the fort; seven out of these ten are situated in the foothills on the side of the hill tribes. These last together with five villages of the *pargana* Būbakān, raising the total to twelve, may be developed in the following way:-

Village Sāwa: This village lies at a distance of fifteen *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain.

Village 'Azīzānī: This village lies at a distance of fifteen *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān and [381] eight *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain.

Village Pāhanī Kōt: This village lies at a distance of thirteen *kurōhs* away from the fort of Sihwān, and seven *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain.

Village Tihnī: This village lies ten *kurōhs* away from the fort of Sihwān and two *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain.

These four aforementioned villages are the dependencies of the *pargana*

Būbakān.

Village Jānkār: This village lies at a distance of seven *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān and five *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain.

5 Village Bāzārān: This village lies five and a half *kurōhs* from both the fort of Sihwān and the [big] mountain.

Village Kāchī: This village lies about five *kurōhs* away from the fort of Sihwān, as well as from the big mountain.

Village Nār: This village lies seven *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān and four *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain. It is the same village which produces
10 the choicest quality of *wilāyatī* melons. It is a beautiful spot. There is a perennial spring of water which originates in the [big] mountain [381b] two *kurōhs* from this village. The author has time and again visited the source of this spring. It looks like a tank (*ḥauḍ*) which has erupted from the ground and flows towards the aforementioned village. The peasants of that
15 place use this water in cultivation, which they perform in the fashion of *wilāyat*. Mostly melons (*fālīz*) and indigo are produced here, and the indigo of this place vies in quality with that of Biyāna. The water is so scarce here that throughout the year only two hundred and fifty *jarīb*s are irrigated. Had there been enough water, there was no dearth of land, upto twenty thousand
20 *jarīb*s, or more, could have been brought under the plough.

The saint Ārī Shīhānī, on whom be the mercy of God, is buried there. Lying at a distance of a quarter of a *kurōh* from the village proper, his grave is resplendent with Divine grace. His name Shīhānī is derived from the Sindhī word *shīh* [382] which means lion. During his lifetime, one day, as he
25 had gone for a walk with his companions, incidentally a lion made his appearance. Scared as they were, his companions took to a side, but he grabbed the ear of the beast and sitting on his back went for a ride.

When the region of Sihwān was conjointly bestowed in *jāgīr* on my brother, Abū al-Baqā', and Mirzā Dūst Bēg, my brother sent the melons of this village
30 to *Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makānī* who ate them with great relish and examined them in comparison with the original *wilāyatī* melons and found these melons extremely better in taste than the *wilāyatī* ones. Hence this village was included in the *khālīṣa sharīfa* and handed over to Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh. Thenceforth, it remained under the control of the latter's agents for a number of
35 years [382b].

These four villages belong to the *pargana* Hawēlī Sihwān. The total of these villages together with the aforementioned four comes to eight villages. It is impossible that the peasants of these eight villages remain safe from the

excesses of the hill insurgents for one whole year. During this period the hill tribes of Nuhmardīs and Chāndiya Balūches, & c., invade these villages frequently, plunder the cattle and capture the children. Whoever from the peasants' side comes in their way, they martyr him. Hence the ruin
 5 and destruction of these villages. The peasants of these villages may be assessed by crop-sharing system on the basis of nine shares. Five shares be left to them and four should be resumed as revenue. One more share may be remitted to the peasants for the acquisition of military equipment (*yarāgh*) so that they could arm themselves and in the hour of need could put up a
 10 resistance to the hill tribes [383].

Still another village is called Tīrī. It is presently lying in complete ruin, because most of its peasants have been killed by the hill people and the remainder of them, out of penury have scattered hither and thither. Towards the close of his tenure Dīndār Khān bestowed this village in *in'ām*
 15 on the Sayyids attached to the shrine of Ḥaḍrat-i Makhdūm Lāl Shahbāz, on whom be the mercy of God, and they gave these lands to the peasants on the basis of five shares, that is, four shares of the produce would belong to the peasants and one to the Sayyids. Hence a few *jarīb*s of land were cultivated in this village. Ahmad Bēg Khān built a fort in this village
 20 and it was a commendable deed on his part. This fort should be repaired and a *thāna* of one hundred cavalry and fifty matchlockmen should be stationed there. Moreover, the scattered inhabitants [383b] of this village should be resettled in their old homes and abodes and for the first one year their cultivation should be exempted from revenue. Then the same system of crop-
 25 sharing on the basis of five shares should be followed. One share be resumed as revenue and the rest four should be left with the peasants. The population of this village is of great importance and in a way it prevents the hill tribes from raiding the town of Sihwān. This village lies three *kurōhs* away from the fort of Sihwān and two *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain. The men
 30 stationed in this *thāna*, together with those comprising the *thāna* at Sāwa dam (*band-i Sāwa*), would look after all the aforementioned villages which lie on the side of the [big] mountain.

Next is the village Kāhī Ma'jūbī, which is situated on the way to the Lakkī mountain. It is an extremely dangerous path which has, and still does
 35 claim the lives of a large number of people (*'ālamī*). The river passes by this mountain [384] and in the winter when water recedes, people use the skirt of this mountain for coming and going, and when the river is in flood they use the other two paths which have been described earlier. The hill insurgents and the Samējas attack these paths quite frequently, kill the

people

and plunder their belongings. The Tarkhāns soothed the peasants of this village and paid to them a certain amount in reward for keeping the path to the Lakkī mountain open. Thus whatever these people cultivated its revenue was adjusted against the sum of that reward. Hence the appellation of *mawājībī* that was applied to them during the days of the Tarkhāns; nowadays in this region they are generally referred to as *ma'jūbī*. After the tenure of Bakhtyār Bēg Turkmān, ruined at the hands of the *jāgīrdārs* of Sihwān the peasants of this village scattered everywhere. When *Pīr Ghulām* came to Sihwān, soothing the peasants of this village he recalled them from Bhakkar [384b], gave them some help and resettled them in their original homes. He resumed one third of their agricultural produce in revenue and charged them with the responsibility of looking after half of the Lakkī path lying along the Sihwān fort. The responsibility for the other half lying on the side of the *pargana* of Sann was entrusted to the Nūt Banda Balūches, who lived in the village of Lak'alwī, and whatever of self-cultivation (*khwūd kāshta*) they did in the aforementioned village that was given to them in *in'ām* and this practice continued down to the close of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek's tenure. After his tenure nobody cared about the welfare of the peasants of this village and gradually they grew weak and most of their healthy men were martyred by the hill insurgents. During the tenure of Dīndār Khān a group of the Nuhmardīs raided this village, whatever they thought looked like a man (*mard ma'nā*) they killed him [385], amputated the ears of the womenfolk and took the children captive. Those of the peasants who escaped from their swords they took up residence in the town of Sihwān and some of them scattered hither and thither and consequently the aforementioned village was totally destroyed. This village lies two *kurōhs* away from the fort of Sihwān and one *kurōh* from the Lakkī mountain. The cattle from the city were mostly sent there for grazing and the wood-cutters (*hīzumkashān*) brought the wood from that place. Once that village was destroyed the Samēja robbers and the hill people directed their depredations to the town of Sihwān. Thus they plundered the cattle, slew the travellers, including the wood-cutters, & c., and decamped with their belongings. Even within the city the safeguarding of cattle and horses became difficult, so that sometimes the Samēja robbers forcibly snatched away the horses of the soldiers of Dīndār Khān [385b] right from the middle of the city, and nobody could stand in the way of those wretches. As a result of this violence, Dīndār Khān constructed a wall around the city of Sihwān and this has been described already. One day this *khānazād* told Dīndār Khān that lying in ruin of such a village was unbecoming of his tenure. The remark went into his head and he gave this village to Sayyid Jalāl, who named it Kamālpur after the name of his son, Sayyid Kamāl, built a wall around it, soothed

its surviving peasants and settled them in their homes. He gave them a written undertaking to charge revenue from them on the basis of four shares of crop-sharing, that is, he would resume one share and leave the remaining three to the peasants. Encouraged by this assurance, the peasants cultivated between ten to twenty *jarīb*s during the *rabīʿ-i ʾitʾīl* [386] but soon after Dīndār Khān was transferred. In short, the development of this village is also imperative. The revenue arrangement of Sayyid Jalāl should be continued in respect of this village, and ten matchlockmen and ten archers should be deployed here, so that the peasants of this village could gain constancy and keep an eye on the half of the Lakkī path.

Both these villages are dependencies of the *pargana* Hawēlī Sihwān.

The next place is the town of Sihwān. The way to develop this turbulent place has been discussed along with the aforementioned villages. For the welfare of the peasants the old practice of 50/50 crop-sharing should be continued and because the fort of Sihwān is quite worn out and in a dilapidated condition, and its water thief (*āb duzd*) has also become useless, it would be quite appropriate if this fort is repaired again.

Next come the springs called Kāʾī and Naʾīng. Both these springs [386b] are treated as one village in the records (*daftar*), and are counted among the dependencies of the *pargana* of Būbakān. The area around both these springs is inhabited by the Nūhānī Balūches who engage in cultivation, but do not pay revenue as rest of the peasants do. During the tenures of Bakhtyār Bēg and Pīr Ghulām, nay to the end of Shamshīr Bēg's tenure, they presented some goats and sheep and participated in the military expeditions and that has been described above also. The areas around these springs are now in a weak condition and as such, have fallen from the revenue roll. These two springs are about one *kurōh* from each other and lie in the hills at a distance of fourteen *kurōhs* from Sihwān. The game of *rang* and *qūch* is found in abundance on the hills of these springs. The present writer, together with the late ʿAtīq Allāh, the elder son of my brother, Abū al-Baqāʾ, whom Ḥaḍrat-i Jannat Makānī had sent for hunting *rangs* [387], hunted a great many *rangs* and *qūches* in those hills.

For the protection of the aforementioned areas, these Balūches should be encouraged against the turbulence of the hill tribes and some reward (*ʿalūfa*) should also be bestowed on them in the shape of *jāgīr*. One hundred of their men should be stationed in the *thāna* of the aforementioned villages along with the detachment of troops already there, while the other one hundred should continue to live in their dwellings around the aforementioned springs.

Moreover, the fort that was constructed by Ahmad Bēg Khān on the Na'ig spring, and which was among his commendable deeds, should be repaired and a *thāna* comprising twenty cavalry and ten matchlockmen should be stationed there, so that these few last mentioned Balūches [387b] might also serve under the
 5 command of the Imperial army and keep the inmates of the *thāna* informed about the hill tribes.

These measures would protect the aforementioned twelve villages from the supremacy (*taghallub*) of the hill people and the mind of the *jāgirdār* will also be at peace from that side.

10 Out of the ten villages of the *pargana* Hawēlī Sihwān, three villages, Kabrūt, Sānakpūr and Bhūtara, lie on this side of the river. These three villages are separated from the hills by the Mānchhar lake; hence the inhabitants of these villages, have no fear of the hill insurgents. To populate these villages, their peasants should also be assessed on the
 15 basis of 50/50 crop-sharing.

Five of the villages of the *pargana* Hawēlī are situated on the other side of the river towards the wretched Samējas, and because of those accursed ones [388] are lying in a state of desolation. The ways to develop these villages will be enlisted when we deal with the development of the *pargana*
 20 Khitta. The names of these villages are: Linjār, Saydān Kāra, Daulatābād, Dīh, Bēlī Shaykh Mūma.

The eighth *pargana* is called Sann, and because of the damage done to it by the Nuhmardīs and Samējas Ūnar, presently it is lying in ruin; some of its villages are even without population and are lying desolate.

25 For the development of this *pargana* it is necessary that the fort built by Ahmad Bēg Khān in the village Āmirī which was yet another commendable deed of his, should be repaired and a *thāna* of fifty cavalry and twenty five matchlockmen should be stationed there, so that the villages lying in the westerly direction from the town of Sann also become populated. The afore-
 30 mentioned village Āmirī and the village Thattī [388b] Walī Muḥammad are now completely desolated. Both these villages were inhabited by the Sayyids and down to the close of Shamshīr Khān Ūzbek's tenure were at the zenith of their population and prosperity. After his tenure most of the Sayyids of these two villages were martyred by the Nuhmardīs and the Samējas Ūnar, and
 35 the few of them who survived were scattered here and there. Dīndār Khān gave in *jāgīr* the village of Āmirī to Sayyid Yūsuf, *arbāb* of Sann, and village Thattī to one of the Sayyids of the village Lak'alwī, Sayyid Ḥasan by name, who partly populated these two villages. The scattered peasants of both these

villages should be searched out and resettled in their original dwellings and their cultivations should be assessed for revenue on the basis of four shares. One share should be resumed and the other three should be left with the peasants [389].

5 Yet another village is called Lak⁴alwī, which is inhabited by Sayyids and the ratio of crop-sharing that *Pīr Ghulām* had imposed on them still continues in practice, so that one fourth of the total produce of the descendants of *Hadrat Miyān Sayyid Abū Bakr*, on whom be the mercy of God, and one third of the produce of the rest of the Sayyids and the petty peasants is resumed
10 by the *jāgīrdār* and the balance is left with the peasants. Consequently, this village is adequately populated. Even a single span of cultivable land in this village is not without cultivation and in its prosperity it vies with the entire *pargana* of Sann. The inhabitants of this village are living in the foothills on their own strength. Had they been weak, like
15 the Sayyids of *Āmirī* and *Thattī*, they would have long been killed by the hill insurgents [389b], and this village had also been reduced to desolation. Then, one fire would have been lit in the town of Sann and the other in the city of *Sihwān* and in between these two places, even a bird would not have fluttered his wings before the hill insurgents and the *Samējas Ūnar*. This
20 village should be continued to be assessed as before, and some of *Nūt Banda Balūches'* cultivation that lies outside this village should also be exempted from revenue like before, and, as has been mentioned earlier, the responsibility for supervising half of the *Lakkī* path may be entrusted to them.

One *kurōh* away from this village in the hills there is a spring which
25 flows over a sulphur deposit. The day following the *Sūwarāt* of the *Hindūs*, all the *Hindūs* of the region of *Sihwān* and most of them from the regions of *Bhakkar* and *Thatta*, men and women alike wash themselves in this spring and it presents a great spectacle. Men and women both take off their clothes and content with loin-cloths descend into this spring. Just above this spring,
30 *Mirzā Jānī Tarkhān* [390] got hewed a part of the hill into a place for two to three persons to sit and watch these proceedings. The *Hindūs* call this spring *Dhārā Tīrath* while in the *Sindhī* language it is known as *Dakrī-i kalān*.

At a distance of three *kurōhs* from this village, on top of a hill there
35 is a big grave, which is made of kiln-baked bricks. It is about fifty to sixty cubits long and said to be the grave of the Patriarch Aaron, on whom be the prayer and peace of God. The present writer has made a pilgrimage to that place; it overflows with Divine grace.

Another fort should be constructed in the village of Jaysrūt, which lied in the easterly direction from the town of Sann, and a *thāna* comprising fifty cavalry and twenty five matchlockmen should be stationed there. From the
 5 aforementioned village and the village Adarbēlī Lāka - both these villages were at the height of their population during the tenure of Shamshīr Khān [390b] and now lie in ruin - $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total produce should be resumed in revenue and the town of Sann and rest of the villages should be assessed on the basis of 50/50 crop-sharing. The peasants of this *pargana* should be comforted; if a person is possessed of military equipment, well and good,
 10 but those of them who do not have it, may be provided with it by way of assistance, so that they could also become the auxiliaries of the army stationed in the *thānas* of these *parganas*.

It should be so arranged that the salaries (*‘alūfa*) of the troops stationed in a particular *pargana* should be disbursed to them from the income
 15 of the same *pargana*, lest the insurgents should invade the peasants when the soldiers go to another place to obtain their salaries.

Until such time as the peasants do not become stabilized perfectly, and that will not happen in a period less than one year, the *thānas* should be maintained as suggested. After one year, as a result of the measures [out-
 20 lined above] God willing this region will become too populated to be described by pen. Then the strength of the troops stationed in the *thānas* can be curtailed to a half.

The town of Sann lies eighteen *kurōhs* away from the fort of Sihwān in the direction of Thatta and seven *kurōhs* from the [big] mountain. Five *kurōhs*
 25 away from Sann towards Thatta on top of a hill there are tombs of Ḥadrat Khwāja Uways-i Qaranī and his mother, on whom both may be the mercy and forgiveness of God. It is said that these places are watched by them (*naẓar-gāh-i īshānast*). On the day of the Pilgrimage (*Ḥajj*) a whole world of the hill tribes & c., throng to that place and show their reverence.

Once the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān has set his heart at peace with regard to the safety of the *parganas* on this side of the river, deployed six hundred and forty cavalry and three hundred and forty matchlockmen and archers in the
 30 *thānas* of these eight *parganas* and soothed the peasants [391b], he can quite confidently go across the river with five hundred cavalry and two hundred matchlockmen, construct a fort in Wījara, lay down gardens around the Wījara lake, and settle down in the Wījara fort resolutely with a view to exterminate the wretched Samējas Ūnar and develop the three *parganas* which
 35 lie in the direction of those accursed once. He should assess the peasants

of the *pargana* Jūnēja on the basis of 50/50 crop-sharing.

The *pargana* of Lākūt comprises two quarters (*ṭaraf*), one is inhabited by the Lākas who are pure peasants and the other is inhabited by the wretched Samējas and this has been described earlier too. From the beginning of
 5 Bakhtyār Bēg's tenure down to the days of Aḥmad Bēg Khān, the Lāka quarter was assessed on the basis of one third of the produce in crop-sharing, as well as by *dabtī*. As a consideration for the weakness of the Lākas [392] and to ensure the benefit of both parties, Dīndār Khān reduced the State
 10 share to the $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total produce. For the Lāka quarter the same old rate of revenue enforced by Dīndār Khān, that is, $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the total produce, should be continued.

As regards the Samēja quarter, as long as they paid the revenue during the tenures of Bakhtyār Bēg, *Pīr Ghulām* and Shamsḥīr Khān, 1/3rd of their produced was resumed as revenue. But when an area has fallen from revenue
 15 roll, it cannot be forced into paying any revenue. Nevertheless, as far as the Samēja quarter is concerned, the same old system should be upheld and 1/3rd of their total produce, in all circumstances, must forcibly be resumed in kind from those wretched ones. And the peasants of the *pargana* Khiṭṭa and those of some of the villages of the *pargana* Hawēlī Sihwān lying
 20 on the Samēja side should be assessed on the ratio of three to one. That is, three shares should be left with the peasants and two should be resumed.

The town of Jūnēja is situated at a distance of fifteen *kurōhs* from the fort of Sihwān [392b], town of Lākūt at a distance of eight *kurōhs* and the town of the *pargana* [*sic*] Khiṭṭa, which is same as the village (*maudī*)
 25 Thattī, at a distance of three *kurōhs*. The name Khiṭṭa has come to denote the whole *pargana*.

Likewise, if the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān encamps confidently at Wījara for one whole year it will destroy and ruin the Samējas Ūnar, and all the three of these *parganas* will regain their previous population and prosperity. For
 30 the petty peasants who [were previously saying good bye to the *parganas* of Khiṭṭa, Sann and Jūnēja and] were obliged to desert their homes and take refuge with the Samējas, they will split from those wretched ones like before and return to their original dwellings in the three aforementioned *parganas* and in the Lāka quarter of the *pargana* Lākūt and in some villages of the *pargana*
 35 of Hawēlī Sihwān which have been mentioned above. What will those black-faced ones [the Samējas] will do then without the peasants? It is obvious that they will scatter hither and thither (*parīshān mīgardand*) and will be ruined.

Then[393] a public crier should be sent around proclaiming that soldiers as well as peasants, whosoever captured a Samēja, his wife, or cattle can keep them for ever. Hence steadfastly keeping his promise, the *jāgīrdār* should ride on the Samējas and see for himself what happens to them by the grace of God. Most of them will be killed, their families will be taken captive and their cattle will be looted. Those of them who will survive from the sword will wait on him in great humiliation and will become pure peasants. Within a period of five years, like the Shūras, Babrs, and Dals, who lived in the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla, the Samējas will also be obliterated, and the world will be delivered from their mischief.

It should never cross the generous, glorious and fragrant mind [of the Emperor] that one thousand [393b], one hundred and forty cavalry and five hundred and forty matchlockmen and archers cannot be sustained by the income of the region of Sihwān, for if the type of person that has been mentioned above, becomes the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān, he will not only be able to maintain the aforementioned army, but also remit a tribute of fifty thousand rupees to the Imperial exchequer - except for the first year when he will comfort the peasants and develop the army. After five years when the insurgents of this region are obliterated, and one region (*mulk*) assumes the proportions of ten such regions, he can either be transferred from this region and another person can take over, or some other responsibility can be entrusted to him in this province. This may include leading an expedition in the hills, and capturing Anūnbēla, which has an apparent (*ẓāhir*) mine of antimonian and a prospective (lit. hidden) mine of copper, on behalf of the Emperor, and exploiting that mine of copper. And in this connection I might mention the example of a Hindū called Mānak, son of Gūriya, who [394] during the reigns of *Ḥadrāt-i 'Arsh Āshiyānī* and *Ḥadrāt-i Jannat Makānī* accomplished a great many things only with the resources of one *pargana* called Kāhān. A brief account of his follows:-

Two thirds of this *pargana* was in the *jāgīr* of Gūriya and one third in that of the Imperial washerman. Gūriya obtained this last also on *ijāra* from that washerman and as has been mentioned above, made the entire *pargana* over to his son, Mānak, who showed enough valour during the period of his assignment. He built a fort in the town of Kāhān and sat there in readiness with an army comprising three hundred good Mughul and Afghān horsemen and two to three hundred matchlockmen and archers. By his military strategy, he administered a severe punishment to the aforementioned three refractory tribe, namely the Samējas, the Chāndiyas and the Nuhmardīs [394b]. He also attacked and routed the Magasī Balūches who belonged to the region of Sīwī. He planned

to enter the hill tract, build a fort at the village Habb and settle there one family of peasants from each of the villages (*qarya*) of the *pargana* of Kāhān, so that they could engage in cultivation. In this connection he even prepared one thousand *ūbchī-i na*⁴ as a preliminary measure for his
 5 incursion into the hills, but he could not translate this scheme into action. The people of Sind still talk about his measures in this regard.

Similarly, once his peasants from the Pahawār tribe revolted against him. While he was riding out against them, his whip fell from his hand on the ground. The Pahawār chief, 'Īsā, remarked [to someone]: "Pick up the
 10 balance beam (*dasta-i tarāzū*) of the Mihta and give it to him." Mānak remembered this remark and one day invited all the Pahawār chiefs to a feast and detained them in the fort of Kāhān and himself rode out with his army to the village [395] Sagburjī where 'Īsā Pahawār lived. Mīr, son of 'Īsā, mustered an army and tried to resist Mānak; a gruelling battle ensued
 15 wherein Mīr was killed, and despite the fact that the Pahawārs were in full strength and could muster as many as seven to eight hundred horsemen and two to three thousand foot soldiers, they were defeated. Mānak severed the head of Mīr and sent it to his father, 'Īsā, with the message that weigh it in the same balance you mentioned the other day. Then, he captured all
 20 the military equipment of the Pahawārs, including their horses, coats of mail (*jūba*), swords and shields together with a fine and released them from imprisonment. Henceforth, wherever Mānak led an expedition, the Pahawār army accompanied him. He could chastise the Pahawārs in this way only because the petty peasants and soldiers were happy with his treatment. [On the
 25 contrary], since [395b] Aḥmad Bēg Khān did not keep petty peasants and the soldiers happy, despite the fact that he had ten *parganas* of Sihwān and a part of the *pargana* Chandūka, one of the dependencies of the region of Bhakkar, in his *jaḡīr*, he was defeated by the Pahawārs time and again and he failed to accomplish anything.

30 During the days of *Ḥadrat-i Jannat Makānī* when the *pargana* of Kāhān was bestowed on Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān, Mānak decided to proceed to the Imperial court. When he reached Bhakkar, Mīrzā Ghāzī who was on his way to Qandahār, was also there, making preparations for his journey. The Mīrzā sent for Mānak, soothed him, and taking him in his own employment bestowed upon him
 35 the *pargana* of Kāhān in *jaḡīr-i tankhwāh*. Thus Mānak, together with one hundred and fifty good horsemen, went with the Mīrzā to Qandahār. On the way, the Magasī Balūches failed to wait on the Mīrzā. Mīrzā Ghāzī dispatched Mānak [396] against them. He went in their pursuit, raided their villages, and having severed some of their heads, captured a large number of their

cattle and presented them to the Mīrzā. Reaching Qandahār, the Mīrzā entrusted the fort of Zamīn Dāwar to Mānak. There, Mānak performed several feats of valour against Haydar, and having fought a few pitched battles, defeated him. He also rode out against the Hazāras and subdued them. The chief of the
 5 Nūkdars, Raushan Sultān, also waited upon him with presents such as horses, slaves, falcons and hawks (*churgh*).

Subsequently, as has been mentioned above, when Mīrzā Ghāzī transferred the government of Thatta from Khusrau Bēg to a Hindū called Sā'īndina, and that of the *sarkār* of Naṣrpūr from the sons of Qāsim Khān Arghūn to his
 10 [the Mīrzā's] personal servant named Shahbāz Khān, both of them requested and procured the appointment of Mānak as *faujdar* with them [396b]. Thus he accompanied Sā'īndina and Shahbāz Khān with a strong army to Naṣrpūr and having expelled the sons of Qāsim Khān Arghūn from the fort of Naṣrpūr, he gave it to Shahbāz Khān. Khusrau Bēg told the sons of Qāsim Khān Arghūn
 15 that among the whole party [from Qandahār] it was only Mānak who really mattered, others were worthless creatures, and instigated them to kill Mānak in whatever way they could. Thus Fathī, son of Qāsim Khān Arghūn, invited Mānak to a feast at his home and killed him treacherously. After his death, Fathī's brother, Jandā'ī mounted an elephant and at the head of a big army
 20 made for the camp (*dēra*) of Mānak. Shahbāz Khān and Sā'īndina closed the gates of the fort of Naṣrpūr and strengthened their defences. Rā'īsingh, son of Mānak, at the head of the army of his father, gave battle to Fathī and defeated him. He also killed many of Jandā'ī's men and captured the elephant and presented it to Shahbāz Khān. Shīr Bēg, son-in-law of Qāsim
 25 Bēg Arghūn, was also killed in this battle. Rā'īsingh also attacked the camp of Jandā'ī, five to six *kurōhs* away from Naṣrpūr, and looted all that he could lay his hands upon. In short, Mānak accomplished all these deeds on the strength of one *pargana*. And God knows best what is right.

Pillar Two

30 On the ways to subdue the Chāndiya Balūches

The commandant (*thānadār*) of the *pargana* Bāghbānān can easily deal with them. If they choose to stay in their homes and abodes, they will pay the revenue like rest of the peasants and stay away from headstrong ways; otherwise, he will ride out on them in such a way that not only they will be
 35 reprimanded, but others will also learn a lesson from their fate. And if they leave their native land and take up residence in the region of Sīwī [397b] and Ganjāba, even then the goal is achieved: the nomads of that side who entertain an instinctive hostility towards these wretches will destroy and ruin them. And God knows best what is right.

Pillar Three

On the measures to quell the fire of Nuhmardī sedition

The present writer may explain to the world-decorating and happiness-increasing intellect [of the Emperor] that the Nuhmardīs can be subdued in two ways. Firstly, as has been described above, they are warlike people and are possessed of a strong army. Following the dictum that man is a servant of benevolence, the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān may send for the chiefs of all the four factions of theirs, and after soothing them, may send them off to the heaven-like Imperial court, where a petty *mansab*, together with a *tankhwāh jāgīr*, may be bestowed on each one of them in the *pargana* of Chākar Hāla, or in that of Sann. Once they experience the taste of *jāgīr* and [398] get used to the Imperial service, they might as well render military service, such as weakening all the remaining hill tribes, driving them to the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān and helping in the imposition on and realization from them of the annual tribute (*sāliyāna*). Moreover, if the conquest of Qandahār, or that of the region of Kīch and Makrān is ordered, they might be helpful in its execution as well. And God knows best what is right.

Secondly, they grow weak and thus the Imperial dominions are secured against their excesses; the achievement of this goal also rests with the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān. For the hill tribes, particularly the Nuhmardīs do not engage in cultivation; they are possessed of a large number of cattle, including camels, horses, goats, and cows & c., and for their livelihood they are totally dependent on the *parganas* of Sihwān and the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla. They bring their camels, horses, goats, rugs, *shatranjīs*, and other merchandise from the hills [398b] and sell them at these places and from here they buy grain, arms and cloth. Likewise, the merchants of this region carry cloth and arms to the hills and return from there with hill articles, including camels, horses, goats & c. Thus the *jāgīrdār* should order his men in the *thānas* mentioned above, to terminate all traffic of the Balūches and merchants to and from the hills, so that nobody can smuggle any Sindhī articles to the hills. Similarly, the *ṣūbadār* of Thatta should also ban the supply of arms and cloth to these people from his region. The victorious Imperial armies do not stand in need of any of these articles. If the armies need camels, the Jāts have a large number of them, if horses are needed, from Qandahār and Kīch so many of them come that nobody buys them, and if meat is required, too many of goats and chickens [399] are available in the country of Sind to be described by the pen. Thus, it is not appropriate to look for anything to these wretches.

Moreover, the *jāgīrs* bestowed on these people [the Nuhmardīs] by the *jāgīrdārs* of the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla should be cancelled, so that they are obliged to return to the hills once again. Then, if by the grace of God for one year rain does not fall in the hills as did happen during the recent few years when they were settled in their *jāgīrs* in the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla and nobody interfered with their affairs, they will be destroyed and ruined without any effort on the part of the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān. Even then if the need for an expedition arises, the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān should ride out upon them after a thorough reconnoitring and if by the grace of God [399b] they are thus caught unawares, they will indeed be destroyed, or else another attempt should be made. Thus during a period of five years, as has been mentioned earlier, the peasants will get stronger and the Nuhmardīs will become so prostrate that they will no longer be able to do any harm to the region of Sihwān and the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla. Meanwhile, if they choose to pay a reasonable annual tribute, as they did during the days of the Tarkhāns, the road to the hills can be reopened. At the moment they are extremely arrogant because the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān tries to please them with the grant of *jāgīrs* in his region and so do the *jāgīrdārs* of the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla.

This strategy with regard to them and other hill tribes was once adopted by Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī during his tenure as the *ṣubadār* of Thatta. Appointing his men at various points including Sihwān, he made sure that nobody travelled to or from the hills. Subsequently [400], when they and other hill tribes waited upon him in Thatta with tribute (*pīshkash*) he ordered the reopening of the road to the hills and recalled his men from Sihwān and other places. And God knows best what is right.

If like the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwān, the *sarkār* of Chākar Hāla from the region of Thatta is also conclusively bestowed upon another person, and the *parganas* of Jatō'ī, Chandūka, and Takar from the region of Bhakkar which lie on the side of Sukkur, are made over to yet another person and the region of Sīwī and Ganjāba is given to him in *tankhwāh jāgīr*, and if these three *amīrs* agree among themselves on points of justice and fairplay, and not on those of oppression and impunity from whom may God save us, in the performance of Imperial service, then the rest of the country of Sind, from Bhakkar to Lāharī Bandar, may be declared *khālīṣa sharīfa* and *karōrīs* may be appointed to assess the lands in accordance with the prevalent procedure, and soothe the peasants [400b]. The *karōrīs* should be made responsible for the population of the entire region, so that the country gains in population and prosperity every day and with every passing day the exchequer becomes richer. Of course, not through increase in the revenue which invariably destroys the country. May God enhance the Imperial bounty. Administered on these lines the country of

Sind will soon become populated and excel other *khālīṣa* lands in India several times, because the peasants of the country of Sind are Muslim, and are mostly poor and God-fearing. They are too weak to bear the oppression and tyranny of the *jūgīrdārs*. And God knows what is right.

5 This humblest of the *khānazāds* lays down that all this prolixity in the description of the affairs of the region of Sihwān stems from the desire to emphasize the need for developing the region on the lines detailed above, so that it embarks upon the path of population and the insurgents are eradicated [401]. Once this region attains prosperity, there will no longer
10 be any cause for concern about other part of Sind, for it is the insurgents from this region who disturb the law and order of the regions of Bhakkar and Thatta. That explains why I described the affairs of the region of Sihwān last of all in the overall description of the affairs of the country of Sind. If the measures outlined for the development of this region prove
15 successful similar measures may be devised and implemented in respect of other parts of this country.

This may also be known that the real purpose behind the creation of man is that he should take care of two sides. One side pertains to the lower world (*'ālam-i suflī*) and it requires that as long as man is alive he should
20 live in comfort and enjoy a good name. The second side pertains to the upper world (*'ālam-i 'ulwī*) which means that when in keeping with the [Qur'ānic verse]: 'Everything (that exists) will perish except His own Face', man steps into the stages of Divine world (*'ālam-i ulūhiyyat*), on the day which is described [in the Qur'ān] as: 'That Day shall a man flee from his own brothers,
25 and from his mother, and his father, and from his wife, and his children. Each one of them, that Day, will have enough concern (of his own) to make him indifferent to others.' [401b], he puts on the robe of: 'Then he who is given his Record in his right hand, soon will his account be taken by an easy reckoning and he will turn to his people, rejoicing!', and enjoys the pleasure
30 of: '(They will be) on Thrones encrusted (with gold and precious stones). Reclining on them, facing each other. Round about them will (serve) youths of perpetual (freshness), with goblets, (shining) beakers, and cups (filled) out of clear-flowing fountains: no after-ache will they receive therefrom, nor will they suffer intoxication: and with fruits, and that they may select; and the flesh of fowls, and that they may desire. And (there will be) Companions
35 with beautiful, big, and lustrous eyes, - like unto Pearls well guarded - a reward for the Deeds of their first (Life).' The protection of both these sides by kings and *amīns* is possible only if they act upon the substance of the following verse:

The comfort of both the worlds is the explanation of these
two points:

Generosity to friends and peace with the enemies!

And in both the worlds there is no better friend for them than the peasants,
5 for it is from the peasants' earnings that they acquire revenue without under-
going any 402 toil or drudgery themselves. The peasants lead a life of pain
and misery while the kings and *amīrs* pass their time in ease and riches. When
they treat the peasants benevolently and do not demand from them anything
10 against the canons of the Sacred Law in this world they live in comfort and
enjoy a good name and in the world to come the aforementioned peasants bear
testimony to their good temperament and justice, with the result that they are
blessed with the reward of justice in keeping with the spirit of this saying:
justice of one moment is better than the good deeds of both the worlds. Thus,
why is it so that some *amīrs* and their agents behave neglectfully towards such
15 a friend and by their oppression earn a bad name and suffer inconvenience in
this world, and in the Hereafter face embarrassment before God? That was
exactly what Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ did in the region of Bhakkar, which resembled a
golden cup full of precious stones. By the imposition of unauthorized *ijāras*
and demand of revenue in respect of the dead (*fautī*) and runaway (*farānī*)
20 cultivators, he drove the peasants who paid their revenue voluntarily
into rebellion. Had there been an imperial *amīn* in such a region and prevented
the violation of the *dastūr al-ʿamal*, this type of situation would not have
arisen.

Strangely enough, these injudicious people dubbing the outstanding dues
25 of their tyrannous demands as arrears, put the peasants in jail. They become
so absorbed in these petty unofficial demands that they sacrifice the huge
amounts of official revenue. Once the peasants have been put behind the bars,
who would attend the court (*chabūtara*) of the *jāgīrdār*. Nevertheless, the
refractory elements who neither pay the revenue nor attend the court of the
30 *jāgīrdār* rightly deserve to be imprisoned.

How much army Muḥammad ʿAlī Bēg had with him is an open secret, yet all
the peasants of the region of Bhakkar acknowledged his authority, showed more
respect to him than his servants and accompanied him wholeheartedly in
his expeditions for the eradication of insurgents. On the contrary, despite
35 all the army at the disposal of Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ, because of his ill-treatment the
peasants of the *pargana* Chandūka and Takar went into rebellion, caused
confusion in the region of Bhakkar and took to headstrong ways. An account of
this incident follows: When the aforementioned Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ who had already
under his detention the *arbāb* of the *pargana* Mātīla, called Jallū, also captured
40 Siddīq, and Shāh

Bēg, son and son-in-law respectively to Nanda, the *arbāb* of the *pargana* Chandūka, and took them to Bhakkar, the Abras killed Dayāl Dās, a relative of Mānsingh, the *ḏwān* of Bhakkar and Turāj, son of Gōpāl, the *qānūngū* of Bhakkar, in a row about the assessment of their cultivations and plundered
 5 a caravan from Sīwī. Tāhir Muḥammad, the *shiqqḏār* of the *pargana* Takar, with the help of eighty horsemen, wanted to lay his hand upon the *arbāb* of the aforementioned *pargana*, 'Abd al-Wāhid by name [403b], who was then in the village Lākiyār, a dependency of the *pargana* Takar and with this intention rode out towards the village Lākiyār. The Samējas of Lākiyār destroyed the
 10 dam that lay in his way and thus Tāhir Muḥammad's army was stranded in water. The wretched Samējas killed all the eighty horsemen with arrows, looted their arms and horses and took Tāhir Muḥammad *shiqqḏār* into custody.

In the hour of need when there is no outlet left
 Hand grabs the sharp blade of the sword.

15 Had Ḥakīm Ṣālih followed the traditional procedure of assessment and realized the official revenue seasonally and protected the peasants from the oppressive wolves, he would never have to put up with such an embarrassment; and if now Ḥakīm Ṣālih is shredded into a hundred pieces [404], the region of Bhakkar will not recover its previous prosperity. That will only happen gradually
 20 and through the soothings of a prudent person. The following verse reflects the situation of the aforementioned Ḥakīm:

Did you see what the stupid ass did?
 He committed the oppression and the riches went to others.

This is the last thing that I have mentioned in the Part Two. Now, on
 25 behalf of all the peasants, I present the substance of the following verse from an auspicious panegyric to the holiest presence [of the Emperor]:

O the noblest of all creatures! I have no other place of refuge
 When the Day of Judgment approaches, or my body is overpowered
 by death.

30 And with that I turn to the Epilogue. And God is the Guide to the Right Path.

EPILOGUE

On treading the path of the Hereafter for kings, *wazīrs* and *amīrs* with their preoccupation with the world, and the easy way for obtaining the Stages and Virtues that are mentioned in different books and are summarized in the Section One of the Chapter One of [401b] the Part One [of this Book] and the Way to escape from the threats which are described in the Section Two of the aforementioned Chapter.

It is not unknown to the enlightened minds that the Muslims are divided into three categories. Firstly, the kings of the world and the Hereafter, and they are the four [Rightly Guided] Caliphs, with whom God may be pleased, just kings and the rich (*ghanīyān*) who follow their path. Secondly, the beggars of the world and kings of the Hereafter and they are those who are patient in poverty and hunger, do not complain of the worldly adversities and are content with whatever of the mundane objects they have. Thirdly, the kings of the world and the beggars of the Hereafter, and they are rich oppressors of this world. The kingship of this world without that of the Hereafter is despicable and the kingship of the Hereafter without that of this world is incomplete. Perfection lies in being the king of this world [405] as well as that of the Hereafter. Thus if God in his mercy bestows the kingship of this world on someone, that person should strive and endeavour to obtain the kingship of the Hereafter as well. If someone says how can the kingship of this world and the one of the Hereafter be gathered together, how can a king with his preoccupation with this world and with the wealth and authority that go with it tread the path of the Hereafter, and how can he achieve the stages for which the precondition is to be king and *amīr* and yet to shun all the concomitant calamities, particularly when we realize that the baser self (*nafs*) is inclined towards mischief and corruption, the world is sweet, alluring and attractive and Satan is a powerful enemy? I would say that there are two ways to achieve this objective. One of these two ways [405b] is a natural gift (*wahbī*) and one gets it without any effort and struggle on his part. This happens when Divine Light illuminates the king's heart and through that Light he perceives the good and bad points involved in different things. Thus by the grace of God which is represented by that Light he follows the virtues and abandons the evils. This is not difficult for a person on whom God is kind and whom He strengthens with the inspiration which is in His command, exalted be His name. The second of these

ways is the acquired one (*kasbī*) and that follows from the acquisition of certain other things, such as the engagement of the king in the people's affairs during the day and his preoccupation with the task of his own baser self (*nafs*) during the night. That is, he should busy himself humbly in worship and prayer, so that God Most High might lighten on him the burden of the worldly office (*shaghīl-i dunyā*) that he shoulders [406]. Thus he will not have the [burden of] oppression on anybody on his neck. Acquisition of knowledge by the king is yet another such thing. He should stand four persons in his presence every evening, and each one of them in his turn should read out to him such characteristics of the just kings and the Traditions of the Prophet as signify the excellence of justice and repulsion of oppression and tyranny, for justice and policies leading to the perpetuity of the kingdom are the basic props of the king. Yet another such thing is that the king should sleep in such a place where he can hear the voice of the oppressed and the complainant. It is said of the Nūshīrwān that he had installed a chain one end of which was linked to his bed chamber and the other end was suspended from the window (*jharōka*), so that the moment the oppressed moved that chain, Nūshīrwān could know and redress his grievance [406b]. During the beginning of his reign *Hadrat-i Jannat Makānī* had also suspended a similar chain of justice. This least of the *khānazāds*, however, says that there is no need of suspending such a chain of justice. [Instead], the king should allocate a special place within his sight for the oppressed and complainants, where every poor and rich could reach without let and hindrance. Thus the moment the king notices anybody there, he should know that that person is an oppressed one and he should listen to his affairs and look into the matter.

One more thing that the king should do in this regard is that he should say two *rak'as* of supererogatory *ishrāq* prayers with the intention of invoking the Divine guidance (*istikhāra*). During the first *rak'a* he should recite [the *Qur'ānic* chapter starting with] *qul yā ayyuha al-kāfirūn* after the *Fātiha* and during the second *rak'a* he should recite [the *Qur'ānic* chapter starting with] *qul Hū Allāhu Aḥad*. Thus, when he has completed the prayers [407] he should raise his hands and say the following invocation. [Omitted here]

Indeed, this invocation is just like a living preceptor to a disciple. Thus, whoever says these prayers (*namāz*) regularly, it is hoped, by the grace of God his sayings, deeds, movements and pauses will conform to the *Sharī'a* of the Prophet [407b] and God willing such people will attain to high stages in the Paradise.

Yet another such thing is that the king should say two *rak'as* after the

'*Ishā*' prayers before the *watars*. During these two *rak'as* he should think of repentance and returning to God Most High. In every *rak'a* after the *Fātiḥa* he should recite from the *Qur'ān* whatever he can and then say the following invocation. [Omitted here]

5 As for the benefit of these last prayers of repentance, the *Sūfī* masters, on whom be the mercy of God, said that a true disciple is one who renders the recording angel in his left shoulder so idle that he stops writing any of his sins [408b]. They have said that it does not mean that he no longer commits any sins; unimpeccable as he is, he does commit sins, but the angel
10 does not record them until that person goes to bed. Hence one should repent all his sins before that time and make it a habit to say these prayers all through one's life, so that that angel remains idle and does not record his sins. Whoever says these prayers regularly and repents every day before going to bed, it is hoped that by the grace of God his good deeds (*ḥasanāt*)
15 are recorded and sins (*sayyi'āt*) are ignored. Thus, God willing, on the Day of Judgment only the good deeds will be discovered in his roll of deeds and no sins will be found in it. He will enter [409] the Paradise without any interrogation and as by the grace and mercy of God Almighty he attains high stages in the Paradise, he will be reckoned among the Kings of Paradise
20 and this is not beyond the power of God Most High.

With this I bring to a close the Epilogue and complete the book. I hope that God Most High in his mercy will forgive my shortcomings in this book and it will win the approval of the attendants of the royal throne of the King of the world and the people of the world, Elect of God the Merciful,
25 Shadow of the Divine kindness on the people of the world, Abū al-Muzaffar Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad, Lord of the Second Conjunction Shahanshāh Pādshāh Ghāzī ...

COMMENTARY

214:8 A title of respect which precedes the names of kings, prophets and saints, & c.

214:9 'Nestling at the foot of the Divine throne', a posthumous title of the Emperor Akbar. Other Mughul Emperors such as Bābur, Humāyūn, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb, after their decease, were respectively styled *Firdaus Āshiyānī*, *Jannat Makānī*, *Firdaus Āshiyānī*¹ and *Khuld Makānī* by the Persian chroniclers.

214:11 For the history and importance of Lāharī Bandar, see Chalbani, pp. 60-1; 101-3.

214:20 Abū al-Faḍl (A.A., vol.II, p.160) confounds Bhakkar with Manṣūra.²

214:21 "seven rivers" - A term applied to the Indus near Bhakkar.

Gulbadan Begum³ also uses this word in the same sense.

According to the Yajurveda⁴ which was compiled a century or two after the Rg Veda,⁵ Suturdri (Sutlej), Vipas (Beas), Parushni (Ravi), Asikni, or Chandrabhaga (Chenab), and Vitasta (Jhelum) together with Sindhu and Saraswati formed the Saptasindhu (seven rivers).

Some authorities put the Kubha in the place of the Saraswati.⁶

214:24 Lohri's modern name is Rohri.⁷

214:25 Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī⁸ refers to this part of the Indus as the Punjab river (*daryā-i Punjab*)⁹ and Kinār, or Kahār Tātrī.

1 See H.N., p.3; Tūzūk, p.3; A.S., vol.I, p.9; M.A., vol.I, p.wāw; Kāmwar Khān, p.1.

2 Raverty, p.49, n.99.

3 H.N., p.50. Also see its English translation, p.147, n.2.

4 *The Texts of the White Yajurveda*, tr. Ralph T.H. Griffith, Banaras, Third Edn., 1957, (Book XXXIV, Verse 26), p.335 and commentary.

5 The Rg Veda was probably composed between 1500 to 900 B.C., See A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, Fourth Impression, London, 1977, p.234.

6 See Heinrich Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Weidmann, 1879, p.3 sqq.

7 For the economic and historical importance of Bhakkar, Sukkur and Rohri, see Chalbani, pp.59-60; H.A.T.S., pp.235-7.

8 Dh.Kh., vol.I, p.199.

9 The same name occurs in T.T. (p.25), but N.A. Baloch considers it an aberration rather than a popular name. See Ibid., pp.287-9n.

214:25 *Pīr Ghulām* means 'an old servant'. The author refers to his father by this name throughout the book, implying that he was an old servant of the Emperor.

214:28 *ayyām-i bīd*: "The days of the bright nights," that is, the 13th, 14th and 15th of each lunar month.¹⁰

214:29 Shaykh Farid Bhakkari¹¹ refers to Niabadra as Tatabadra, and according to him it lay in the town of Alōr, three *kurōhs*, or six miles from the *Ṣuffa-i ṣafā*.

215:4 Though generally believed to be a prophet, his name does not appear in the *Qur'ān*. Sometimes he is confounded with Elias and Saint George, the patron saint of England.¹³ He is said to have discovered and drunk of the fountain of the water of life and as such was destined to live until the last trump of the day of judgment is sounded.¹⁴ *Ṣūfī* literature abounds in references to different saints' encounters with him¹⁵ and according to some he was the companion and guide of Moses.¹⁶ He is regarded as the patron saint of water and people of the sub-continent are in the habit of offering oblations of lamps and flowers to him.¹⁷

10 *D.I.*, s.v.

11 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.199.

12 Muḥammad Khazā'ilī, *A'lām-i Qur'ān*, Tehran, 1350 H. Sh., 2nd Ed., p.210.

13 *D.I.*, s.v. 'Al-Khizr'.

14 Raverty, 492n.

15 *Tarjuma-i Risāla-i Qushayriyya*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran, 1967, pp.32, 250, 658, 681, 682, 688, 692-3.

16 *Ibid.*, pp.584-5.

17 Raverty, 492n.

215:11 The following extract from the *Akbar Nāma* gives some idea about the type of ships which passed through the Indus during the days of Akbar:

"On the 30th¹⁸ a ship was completed on the banks of the Ravi. The length of the Keel (*cōbī*) which formed the foundation of this wooden house, was 35 Ilahi yards. 2936 large planks (*shahtīr*) of sal and pine (*naga*)¹⁹ and 468 *mans* two *sirs* of iron, were used in building it, and 240 carpenters and blacksmiths and others were employed. H.M. went to see the spectacle, A thousand persons struggled to drag it along. In ten days it was brought from the dry land to the water, and sent to Bandar Lāharī. There was much difficulty on account of deficiency of water."²⁰

215:14 Sītāsar: Whereas Farīd Bhakkarī²¹ and modern Sindhī scholars²² accept the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*'s version of the name of this monument, the author of the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*²³ and Blochmann²⁴ record its name as "Satyāsar", or "Satyāsūr". This monument no longer exists²⁵ but when extant, it was considered one of the wonders of the world.²⁶ *Gunbadh-i daryā'ī*²⁷ was its chronogrammatic name which according to the abjad system of calculation yielded A.H. 1007/1598-9 as the year of its construction.

18 Khurdad 1002/May-June 1594.

19 'Text has wrongly *nakhūd*.'

20 A.N. tr., vol.III, p.1001; A.N., vol.III, p.651-2. For more information on transportation in the Indus, see Chalbani, pp.101-3.

21 Dh.Kh., vol.I, p.204.

22 Sayyid Hussām al-Dīn Rāshidī, *Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī*, Haidarabad, 1979, pp.202, 335-6, 363-6.

23 M.U., vol.III, p.327.

24 p.580

25 Henry Cousens (*The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929) does not mention it.

26 Dh.Kh., vol.I, p.204; M.U., vol.III, p.327; Blochmann, p.580.

27 The Urdū translator of M.U. (vol.III, p.277n.) has confounded the Sītasar with the domed tomb of Mīr Ma'ṣūm, in the city of Sukkur. For the latter see Edward Thorton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories Under the Government of the East-India Company*, London, 1854, vol.IV, p.605; *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, B, vol.III (Sukkur District), Bombay, 1928, p.49; Henry Cousens, pp.150-2; Rāshidī, pp.344-61.

215:23 Shakkar's modern name is Sukkur.

215:24 Mātīla (var. Māthīla). Abū al-Faḍl mentions this place amongst the maḥals of the Bārī Dōāb, in the *sarkār* of Multan, in the *ṣūba* of the same name. It comprises 2,068 *bīghas* of land and its revenue amounted to 608,418 *dāms*. The place was inhabited by the Jāts who provided 20/500 strong cavalry and infantry.²⁸ Mātīla is now included in the Ghōtkī *tālūqa* of Rohri district, about 45 miles north-east of Rohri and six miles south-east of the Ghotki railway station.²⁹

215:27 'In the olden times ... Bhakkar', is taken from *T.S.* (p.124).

215:38 Rāshidī speculates that it should be transcribed as Ladhā Gāgan.³⁰

216:2 See *T.S.*, p.122.

216:12 Cf. *T.S.*, p.122. According to some MSS. of *T.S.*, Sulṭān Maḥmūd was aged 15³¹ at that time, but considering the fact that he was born in 898³²/1492-3 his age should have been more than twenty years at that time.

216:24 Could he be the same person who has been described as one of the most experienced officers in the service of Kāmraṇ³³ and whom Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt during Kāmraṇ Mīrzā's absence to Qandahar in 941/1534,³⁴ unsuccessfully tried to send to Kashmir on a military expedition?³⁵ He was also dispatched by Kāmraṇ Mīrzā, during the last phase of Humāyūn's wanderings in Sind, to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn with a proposal for the latter's daughter.³⁶

28 *A.A.*, vol.II, p.161; *A.A.tr.*, vol.II, p.332.

29 Hodivala, vol.I, p.106. Also see *H.A.T.S.*, p.48, n.3.

30 See *Maz.Sh.*, p.6n.

31 *T.S.*, p.122, n.1. Cf. *T.S.*, p.219; *M.R.* vol.II, p.329, which gives the impression that he was 14 years old.

32 *T.S.*, pp. 236-7; *M.R.*, vol.II, p.335.

33 *T.R.*, Intro., p.18.

34 For details see Riazul Islam, pp.22-4.

35 *T.R.*, p.482.

36 *H.N.* tr., pp.163-4; *H.N.*, pp.64-5; *T.S.*, p.181; *H.A.T.S.*, p.106 and n.2 on the same page.

216:35 Mīr Fāḍil b. 'Ādil b. Aḥmad Khwāja hailed from a respectable family of Khūrāsgān,³⁷ a town in the sub-district of Jey in the province of Isfahan, on the Isfahan-Yazd road.³⁸ His grandfather, Khwāja Aḥmad Isfahānī, who traced his origin to the proverbial philanthropist, Abū 'Adī Ḥatīm-i Ṭā'ī,³⁹ fell into the hands of Mīr Dhū al-Nūn's father, Mīr Ḥasan Baṣrī, when the latter was engaged in a punitive expedition against the inhabitants of Isfahan under Amīr Tīmūr Gūrkan,⁴⁰ in 789/1389.⁴¹ Mīr Ḥasan Baṣrī adopted Khwāja Aḥmad as his son⁴² and thus laid the foundation of close cooperation between the two families. Khwāja Aḥmad's son 'Aqil Khwāja Atka⁴³ and grandson, Fāḍil Kukultāsh⁴⁴ took sides with Dhū al-Nūn and his son, Shāh Beg Arghūn, through thick and thin and distinguished themselves in many difficult enterprises.

Fāḍil Kukultāsh and his sons, particularly Sulṭān Maḥmud Bhakkarī, Bābā Aḥmad⁴⁵ and Mīr 'Abd al-Fattāḥ,⁴⁶ made a significant contribution in carving out an independent Arghūn kingdom in Sind, and in the restoration of law and order in its precincts. A seasoned soldier though he was, Mīr Fāḍil's harsh and cruel nature could inspire fear and awe but could not win over the hearts of his subjects. Once Mīr Dhū al-Nūn assigned to him the township of Kazīw, in the region of Zamīn Dāwar, but Fāḍil destroyed it by his excesses. A favourite of the Mīr as he was, no one could bring the matter to the notice of the Arghūn chief until Maulānā Subūḥī, a poet and boon companion of the Mīr, finally appraised him of the plight of the

37 H.A.T.S., p.146.

38 *Farhang-i Jughrāfiyā-i Irān*, vol.X, pp. 80, 216, quoted in H.A.T.S., p.146, n.2.

39 For his life see, C.van Arendonk in *E.I.*, s.v. Mīr Ma'sūm wrongly records his name as 'Adī b. Ḥatīm-i Ṭā'ī.

40 T.S., p.218; H.A.T.S., p.147.

41 Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, ed. Jean Aubin, Tehran, 1957, p.336.

42 T.S., p.218; H.A.T.S., p.147.

43 T.S., pp.97, 100, 106-7.

44 Ibid., pp.82, 97, 100 *passim*.

45 Ibid., pp. 125, 144-5.

46 Ibid., pp.125, 146, 228.

population of the town and rescued the people from the high handedness of Mīr Fāḍil.⁴⁷

Mīr Fāḍil died in 928/1521-2 and was buried at Bhakkar.⁴⁸

216:39 The scion of an old and illustrious family of the Qāḍīs of Sind⁴⁹ and paternal grandfather⁵⁰ of the celebrated Qāḍirī saint, Miyān Muḥammad Mīr Sindhī Lāhaurī,⁵¹ Qāḍī Qāḍin's versatile personality and the high esteem in which he was held by contemporary rulers spontaneously brings to mind the famous Qāḍī Jahān⁵² of the Ṣafawide Iran. His ripe wisdom, innovative genius and profound learning and piety made him equally popular with the Jām⁵³ and Arghūn⁵⁴ rulers of Sind and he stood them in good stead in many a difficult situation. In his old age he retired from active life and devoted himself fully to the spiritual refinement. He died in A.H. 958/A.D., 1551.⁵⁵

47 Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd-i Wāṣifī, *Badāyi' al-Waqāyi'*, ed. Alexandar Boldyrev, Moscow, 1961, vol.II, pp.1156-87. From this work one gets the impression that Mīr Fāḍil was a foster-brother of Mīr Dhū al-Nūn and not that of Shāh Beg.

48 T.S., p.125.

49 His genealogy goes like this: Qāḍī Qāḍin b. Qāḍī Abū Sa'īd b. Qāḍī Zayn al-Dīn b. Qāḍī Qāḍin who in his turn traced his descent through a long chain to one Qāḍī Abū al-Khayr. Qāḍī Qāḍin's brother, his son (T.S., pp.200-2,281) and four of his daughters, Bībī Fāṭima's sons were also Qāḍīs. See Muḥammad Dārā Shukūh, *Sakīnat al-Auliya'*, ed. Tārā Chand and Sayyid Muḥammad Razā Jalālī Nā'inī, Tehran, n.d., p.27.

50 Dārā Shukūh, p.26.

51 For his life see M.S.Akhtar, *Haḍrat Miyān Mīr Qāḍirī Lāhaurī*, *Quarterly Urdū*, LII/2 (1976), pp.35-59 (In Urdū) and its Sindhī translation by Nawāz 'Alī Shauq in *Mihrān*, XXVIII/3-4 (1979), pp.134-52.

52 For his life see N.M. s.v.

53 T.S., p.302n.

54 Ibid., pp.114, 116, 121, 181.

55 Ibid., p.202. He is regarded as one of the pioneers of Sindhī poetry and the discovery and publication of some of his verses in India recently generated a lively debate about his poetic genius among the Sindhī scholars in Pakistan. See *Mihrān*, XXCIII/3-4 (1979), pp.91-108. One of the earliest references to Qāḍī Qāḍin's poetry is seen in G.A., f. 178b.

217:9 Kākṛī (var. Kakhrī). During the days of Akbar this place was one of the twelve *maḥāls* of the *sarkār* of Bhakkar, in the province of Multan. Its inhabitants are described as Mankrēra in the *Ā'in*,⁵⁶ which is one of the several variations of the word Mangnēja.⁵⁷ According to Hughes,⁵⁸ they are a Sindhi clan settled in Naushahro district. They are perhaps so called because they are descended from a person named 'Nanghe'.⁵⁹

217:10 Derived from T.S. (p.245).

217:11 Sayyid Muḥammad belonged to a distinguished family of the Sayyids of Amrōha,⁶⁰ an important town in the *sarkār* of Sanbhal. He studied *Hadith* under the most accomplished teachers of his age and then joined the Imperial service under Akbar.⁶¹ The Emperor subsequently chose him as his *Mīr 'Adl*. This office was for the first time introduced by the Mughuls in their administration. There was no such office under the sultāns of Dihlī nor an office of this name seems to have ever existed in the judicial structure of the Muslim governments elsewhere outside India.⁶² The appointment to the post under the Mughuls was made only in instances where the *qāḍī* was found unable to cope adequately with the whole range of his responsibilities.⁶³ The main task of the incumbent holding this position was to see to the smooth functioning of the executive side of the judiciary.⁶⁴ The production

56 A.A., vol.II, p.164; A.A.tr., vol.II, p.336

57 T.S., p.245. The correct form is 'Mangnēja' nonetheless. See Hodivala, vol.I, p.111.

58 *Sind Gazetteer*, p.583

59 Hodivala, vol.II, p.111.

60 In Muradabad district of U.P. See *I.G.I.*, vol.V, p.330.

61 *M.T.*, vol.III, p.75.

62 P.Saran., *The Provincial Government of the Mughuls (1526-1658)*, Lahore, 1976 repr., p.347.

63 A.A., vol.I, p.197.

64 I.H. Qureshi., *The Administration of the Mughul Empire*, Karachi, 1966 repr., pp.11,80.

of the litigants before the *qāḍī* and the implementation of the latter's verdict were also Mīr 'Adl's responsibilities.⁶⁵ He was also supposed to help the *ṣadr*, along with the *qāḍī*, to inquire into the circumstances of the applicants for the grant of the *madad-i ma'āsh* and assist him in the processing of these cases.⁶⁶

By virtue of his universally acclaimed learning and piety,⁶⁷ Sayyid Muḥammad pre-eminently qualified for this exalted office. Once appointed, he discharged his duties in such an exemplary fashion that the title of his office became an inseparable part of his name for the rest of his life.

After the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bhakkarī, when the court circles did not approve of the appointment of the descendants of Sayf al-Mulūk to a frontier province such as Bhakkar,⁶⁸ Akbar, who was already contemplating the break-up of the orthodox clique at the court,⁶⁹ promoted Sayyid Muḥammad, a man of strictly orthodox outlook,⁷⁰ to the rank of 1,000,⁷¹ bestowed upon him a special sword, a horse and a dress of honour⁷² and made him the governor of Bhakkar.⁷³ Sayyid Muḥammad arrived in Bhakkar on 11 Ramaḍan, 983⁷⁴ /13 December 1575.

65 A.A., vol.I, p.197.

66 Blochmann, p.278.

67 T.A., vol.III, p.438; M.T., vol.III, p.75; Dh.Kh., vol.I, 217.

68 T.S., p.245.

69 Blochmann, p.485. Also see M.T., vol.II, p.210.

70 M.T., vol.II, p.210; vol.III, p.75.

71 T.S., p.245.

72 M.T., vol.III, p.210

73 T.S., p.245; Cf. Dh.Kh., I, p.217, where the Sayyid is erroneously reported to have been appointed as the Mīr 'Adl, and not the Governor of Bhakkar.

74 T.S., p.245. Badāyūnī records the grant of governorship of Bhakkar to Sayyid Muḥammad among the events of the year 983/1575-6 (M.T., vol.II, p.210), but subsequently in the course of a biographical note on the Sayyid gives the year of his appointment as 984/1576-7. The earlier year, which is corroborated by the A.N., vol.III, p.224, and the T.S., p.245, however, seems correct.

In view of his vast experience as Mīr 'Adl, and his learning and piety Akbar vested in Sayyid Muḥammad the powers of the *ṣadr* as well, and authorized him to grant the means of subsistence to the deserving Sayyids, scholars, saints and the other inhabitants of the area in accordance with their needs. Sayyid Muḥammad made such a liberal use of this prerogative that during the short span of his office, before his death on 8 Sha'bān, 984/29 October, 1576, he had distributed around 50,000 *bighas* of land among the various classes of people.⁷⁵

After the death of Sayyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl, his son Mīr abū al-Faḍl, held his position for some time until in the same year 984/ 1576-77 he was replaced by I'timad Khan *Khawajasara*.⁷⁶

217:33 Darbēla (var. Darbēlō). One of the 12 *maḥāls* of the *sarkār* of Bhakkar during the days of Akbar, containing 121,146 *bīghas* of land and with a revenue of 1,262,761 *dāms*.⁷⁷ According to Abū al-Faḍl the place was inhabited by the Bhattīs⁷⁸ and provided 200/500 strong cavalry and infantry.⁷⁹

Darbēlō lies about 76 miles south-east of Bhakkar and 10 miles north of Naushahrō, in the *ta'lūqa* of the same name.⁸⁰

217:35 'desert' may be replaced with 'plain'.

219:28 Based on *T.S.* (pp.124-5).

220:37 The other manuscript of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* has the following additional information about it: "The fourth *pargana* is called Fathpur, but since it has been lying in utter ruin I have not ventured to describe it."

224:4 Based on *T.S.* (pp.128-30).

226:2 *T.S.*, p.130. According to *A.A.*, vol.II. p.161, the simoom blew for three months.

75 *T.S.*, p.246, Cf. *M.T.*, vol.III, p.76, where 986/1578-9 is mentioned as the year of his death.

76 Blochmann, p.473.

77 *A.A.*, vol.II, p.164; *A.A. tr.*, vol.II. p.336.

78 For Bhattīs see D.C.J.Ibbetson, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1911, vol.II, s.v. Bhatti.

79 *A.A.*, vol.II, p.164; *A.A. tr.*, vol.II, p.336.

80 Hodivala, vol.I, p.112.

226:21 According to Farīd Bhakkarī,⁸¹ he was of pure Turkmānid stock. He and his brother, Burj 'Alī, both were in the Imperial service. Burj 'Alī did not make much progress in life, but Qūch 'Alī, after serving for some time in Gujarat, was, during the reign of Jahāngīr, honoured with the *jāgīr* of *pargana* Siwi and Ganjaba, a dependency of Bhakkar. During his stay there, Qūch 'Alī led some punitive expeditions against the Afghāns and Balūches of the *kacha* region and wrought such a havoc among them that thenceforward the Afghans frightened their children with his name. A man of barbarous nature as he was, he kept two big woks of boiling water perpetually ready; the moment a criminal was brought to his presence, regardless of the gravity of the crime, he was tied hand and foot and flung into one of these woks. Around one thousand persons in that region, met their death at his hands in this manner.

He had borrowed a sum of about one *lākh* rupees from the money-lenders of Akbarabad, Lahore and Multan. When he came to Sind, he brought these money-lenders along and, after somehow or other obtaining the receipt of the money he owed to them, he killed them one and all. The news of his tyrannous administration reached the Imperial court and he was recalled and his *jāgīr* was made over to the sons of Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī. Suspecting Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī of having manoeuvred his transfer, Qūch 'Alī wanted to obtain the *faujdārī* of Bhakkar, the native place of his opponent, and wreak himself on him. Meanwhile, the efforts of Shaykh Farīd bore fruit, and Qūch 'Alī was obliged to accompany Muqarrab Khān to Patna,⁸² where eventually he died.

Qūch 'Alī's only child was a daughter, whom he dressed like a son and called by a male name, Khidr Khān. Excessively fond of her, he always swore by her and did not allow her to marry during his lifetime.⁸³

81 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II., p.378.

82 Muqarrab Khān, a confidant of Jahāngīr, was appointed the governor of Bihar in 1027/1618. *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.38. For his life see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, 271-3.

83 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.378-9.

226:24 His original name was Tāsh Beg Qurchīn.⁸⁴ He was at first in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm⁸⁵ and when the latter revolted against Akbar and started conferring indiscriminate honours on his followers, Tāsh Beg was nominated for a command of 1,000 and honoured with the title of Khān, together with a standard and a kettledrum.⁸⁶ After the death of Mirza Ḥakīm, Tāsh Khān entered Akbar's service⁸⁷ and over the years distinguished himself in a number of military expeditions in different parts of India.⁸⁸ As a recognition of his excellent performance in a campaign against Ma'ū, Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Khān⁸⁹ and promoted him to a command of 2,000.

On his accession, Jahāngīr promoted Tāj Khān to the rank of 3,000⁹⁰ and during the second regnal year charged him with the responsibility of looking after the affairs of Kabul and its environs until the arrival of Shāh Beg Khān from Qandahar.⁹¹

By the time Tāj Khān became the *faujdār* of Multan,⁹² he already held the *manṣab* of 3,000 personal and 1,500 horse.⁹³ On his transfer from here in Muḥarram 1019/March 1610, he received an increase of 500 horse in his rank and was appointed the governor of Kabul.⁹⁴ After serving there for some time, Tāj Khān was made the governor of Bhakkar,⁹⁵ where he served for two years until in Ṣafar 1023/March 1614 he was raised to the

84 A.N., vol.III, p.473, Cf. *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.31; Kēwalrām, s.v.; and Blochmann, p.508, refer to him as Mughul.

85 A.N., vol.III, p.473; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.361; Blochmann, p.508.

86 A.N., vol.III, p.304.

87 Ibid., p.473; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.361.

88 A.N., pp.510, 520, 671, 726, 797.

89 M.U., vol.I, p.491; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.31.

90 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I. p.31.

91 *Tūzūk*, p.58.

92 Ibid., p.80. He was relieved by Abū al-Bī Ūzbek

93 See Ibid., p.86.

94 Ibid.

95 See Ibid., p.110.

manṣab of 4,000 personal and 3,000 horse⁹⁶ and entrusted with the governorship of Thatta, vice Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafawī.⁹⁷ It was during his tenure at this last place that he soon afterwards died.⁹⁸

His son, Jamīl Beg who was married to the daughter of Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Namakīn,⁹⁹ was also in the Imperial service. He was killed in a battle against Rājā Bāsū.¹⁰⁰ Tāj Khān, who was deeply shocked at the untimely death of his son, constructed an imposing mausoleum for him outside the town of Kalānpūr and decorated its walls with a moving elegy. After his death, Tāj Khān was also buried in the same building.¹⁰¹

226:25 During the days of Akbar it was one of the 17 *maḥāls* of the Bīrūn-i Panjnad area of the *sarkār* of Multan in the *ṣūba* of Multan. It contained 11,320 *bīghas* of land, and its revenue amounted to 915,256 *dāms*. The place was inhabited by the Dhars who furnished 30/50 strong cavalry and infantry.¹⁰²

Situated seventy-five miles from Rohri, on the road to Multan, Ūbā'ura now forms part of the Rohri Deputy Collectorate.¹⁰³

227:19-20 *Qur'ān* 2:249.

227:35 A special breed of horse particular to Zahrī, a place some fifteen miles southeast of Quṣḍar.¹⁰⁴

228:4 For the economic and historical importance of Thatta, see Chalbani, pp.52-6; 175.

228:7 For Kalānkōt and Tagharābād, see *T.T.*, p.338n.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid., p.131

99 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.395

100 Ibid.; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.483; Blochmann, p.508.

101 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.395

102 *A.A.*, vol.II, p.162; *A.A.tr.*, vol.II, p.333.

103 Hodivala, vol.I, p.106.

104 H.T. Lambrick, *Sind: A General Introduction*, Hyderabad, 1975, 2nd Edn., P.157. For Quṣḍar see Guy Le Strange, pp.331-3.

228:30 The Nakāmaras were a sub-division of the Meds who inhabited the entire coastal belt from Kathiawar to Mekran and were notorious for their sea-robberies. Even as early as the 8/14 century, the local Sindhī rulers were unable to enforce their will on these robbers.¹⁰⁵

229:10 Mīr ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muẓaffar Khān Ma‘mūrī¹⁰⁶ belonged to a family of Sayyids hailing from a village called Ma‘mūrābād,¹⁰⁷ near Najaf,¹⁰⁸ in modern Iraq. He started his career under Akbar and participated in a number of military expeditions.¹⁰⁹ He also served as the *bakhshī* of Bihar,¹¹⁰ Gujarat,¹¹¹ and Bengal¹¹² under that monarch. On his accession to the throne, Jahāngīr also made him *bakhshī* as formerly and gave him a dress of honour.¹¹³ Soon afterwards, his services were transferred to Sulṭān Parwīz, who was appointed to lead a punitive expedition against Mewar.¹¹⁴ However, before long, he was recalled to the court and appointed permanently the *bakhshī-i ḥudūr* (*bakhshī* at headquarters) to work in collaboration

105 ‘Alī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr al-Kūfī, *Chachnāma*, ed, ‘Umar b. Muḥammad Dā‘ūd pōta, Bombay, 1939, p.89.

106 ‘Abd al-Razzāq and ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ma‘mūrī is one and the same person and not two persons as suggested by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p.417.

107 Cf. A.N.tr., vol.III, Index, P.3.

108 M.U., vol.III, p.376.

109 See A.N., vol.III, pp.496, 629, 702-3, 784.

110 Ibid., p.511

111 Ibid., p.638, 651

112 Ibid., p.784

113 *Tūzūk*, p.6; *Tūzūk*(R&B), vol.I, p.13.

114 *Tūzūk*, p.7; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.16.

with¹¹⁵ Abū al-Ḥasan.¹¹⁶

Towards the later phase of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān's *jāgīrdārship* of Thatta, his agents in that province had been behaving quite arrogantly much to his vexation. While the remedial measures initiated by him were still in progress, the Mīrzā died suddenly at Qandahar on 11 Ṣafar 1021/13 April 1612. To avoid any further deterioration in the situation at Thatta,¹¹⁷ Jahāngīr forthwith dispatched Mīr ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ma‘mūrī to look after the affairs of that province,¹¹⁸ while he pondered about the suitable incumbent

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- 115 In 994/1585-86 Akbar decided to appoint two *Amīrs* in every province so that if one of them came to the court or fell sick the other could ensure the proper functioning of the local administration. Besides these two *Amīrs*, every province was provided with one *dīwān* and one *bakhshī*. (See A.N., vol.III, p.511). Jahāngīr's decision to appoint two men in association in the discharge of the chief offices was an extension of the aforementioned reform of his father, and as he puts it, did not stem 'from want of confidence in them, but because, if any confusion or obstacle should present itself to one the other is there so that the affairs of the servants of God may not come to ruin.' *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol.I, p.82; *Tuzuk* p.39.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 The crux of the problem was the growing independence in the attitude of Mīrzā Ghāzī's agents at Thatta, and not any 'bitter conflict between the soldiers and the peasants' as wrongly suggested by Beni Prasad, p.175. He seems to have been misled by the English translation of the *Tūzūk* (p.110, *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.255). The original text purports that ‘Abd al-Razzāq was sent to Thatta by Jahāngīr to restore the confidence of the peasantry and the soldiery, and not 'to reconcile his subjects with his soldiers' as misconstrued by Beni Prasad.
- 118 Jahāngīr does not specify his designation. But whatever he has written (*Tūzūk*, p.110) read in conjunction with *Maz.Sh.* (p.42) and the colophon of a Persian manuscript entitled the *Tarjuma-i Nahj al-Balāgha* by Qāḍī Nūr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, preserved in the India Office Library and Records (Handlist entitled *Delhi Persian Collection* prepared by Bilgrāmī and Sims Williams, p.194, Entry no. 474.251) clearly supports the view that he was appointed as the governor of that place.

who could be entrusted with the governorship of that place on some long term basis.¹¹⁹ In the meantime, when Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafawī, who had been recalled to the court from the Deccan expedition at his own request,¹²⁰ arrived at the court. Jahāngīr appointed him the new governor of Thatta with a substantial increase in his *manṣab*.¹²¹ After the arrival¹²² of Mīrzā Rustam at the seat of his government, ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ma‘mūrī returned to the court with the headstrong slave of the late Mīrzā Ghāzī and some other Arghūn and Tarkhān notables.¹²³ Not long afterwards, the Mīr was once again on his way to Thatta as the *bakhshī* with a few more laurels in his cap¹²⁴ and the title of Muẓaffar Khān to his credit.¹²⁵ On 15 Rabī‘ I 1025/2 April 1616 he was promoted to the governorship of Thatta.¹²⁶ Henceforth, except for a brief interlude when he visited the court during the 13th regnal year,¹²⁷ Muẓaffar Khān continuously held that position for almost five years, until towards the close of the 15th regnal year (1030/1621) he was recalled to the court.¹²⁸ During the remaining period of Jahāngīr's reign, he was twice appointed the Mīr *Bakhshī* and as many times the governor (*hāris*) of Akbarabad,¹²⁹ before his final assignment as the governor of Malwa.¹³⁰ When Shāhjahān emerged from Ajmēr and proceeded to

119 *Tūzūk*, p.110; *Tūzūk* (R&B), p.225.

120 *Ibid.*

121 *Tūzūk*, p.111; *Tūzūk* (R&B), p.229. He was dismissed for his destination on 26 Jumada II 1021/ 25 August 1612.

122 According to *T.N.*, p.94 he arrived at Thatta on 10 Muḥarram 1021/ 13 March 1612 which cannot be correct for obvious reasons (Note 121 above). Could it be then 10 Muḥarram 1022/ 2 March 1613?

123 *Tūzūk*, p.117; *Tūzūk* (R&B), p.240; *T.N.*, p.94.

124 *Tūzūk*, p.118; *Tūzūk* (R&B), p.242.

125 *T.N.*, p.94.

126 *Tūzūk*, p.156.

127 *Ibid.*, pp.234, 238.

128 *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

129 Kēwalrām, s.v. Muẓaffar Khān Ma‘mūrī; *Tūzūk*, p.361.

130 *A.S.*, vol, III, p.226; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.377.

take over the mantle of power, Muẓaffar Khān waited on him¹³¹ and pledged his loyalty to him. However, he could not survive long under the new order and soon retired from service.¹³²

229:10 Badīn lies 62 miles S.S.E. of Haidarabad.¹³³

229:24 Mīrzā Rustam was a great grandson of Shāh Ismā‘īl Ṣafawī. His father, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, was a nephew to Shāh Ṭahmasp Ṣafawī, who entrusted to him (965¹³⁴/1558) the government of Qandahar, Zamīndāwar and its dependencies as far as the Hīlmand river.¹³⁵ Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā held this region for almost two decades until he died (984¹³⁶/1576) during the reign of Shāh Ismā‘īl II. He was survived by five¹³⁷ sons, namely Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Mīrzā Rustam, Abū Sa‘īd Mīrzā and Sanjar Mīrzā. Shāh Ismā‘īl, blood-thirsty monarch as he was, slew Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā and issued orders for the elimination of his brothers at Qandahar.¹³⁸ Luckily for the Mīrzās, before the plan could be executed, the Shāh himself passed away. His successor, Muḥammad Khudā Banda bestowed Qandahar on Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā and gave Zamīndāwar and its dependencies to Mīrzā Rustam and his two younger uterus brothers, Abū Sa‘īd and Sanjar.¹³⁹ The intrigues of their enemies and the irrepressible desire of Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā and Mīrzā Rustam to push forward their respective fortunes at the cost of the other, soon put the two brothers at each other's throat. A long period of incessant internecine warfare followed.¹⁴⁰ Finally, apprehending a retaliation from the Malikhs of

131 Ibid., p.183, 226; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, p.62.

132 *M.U.*, vol.III, p.378. Last time he is heard of in the *A.S.* (vol.III, p.405) is 18 Shawwal 1041/ 8 May 1632.

133 *Hodivala*, vol.I, 114. Also see *T.T.*, pp.162, 195.

134 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.40.

135 *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.40; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.295.

136 *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.207; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.644; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.40. Cf. *M.U.* vol.III, p.295; *M.U.tr.*, vol.III, p.251, where his death is wrongly attributed to the year 974/1566.

137 *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478. Cf. *A.N.*, vol.III, p.644; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.40.

138 *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.644; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.40.

139 *A.A.A.*, vol.I, p.478.

140 For details see *A.A.A.*, vol.I, pp.478-85; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.295-7, 433-5; Blochmann, pp.328-9.

Sistan, whose ruler Malik Maḥmūd he had treacherously killed¹⁴¹ and realising the fact that it was well nigh impossible to resist the ever-growing Ūzbek pressure¹⁴² and the covetous designs of the Mughuls,¹⁴³ Mīrzā Rustam expressed a desire to emigrate to India.¹⁴⁴ His request was granted by Akbar and elaborate arrangements were made to receive him at various stages of his journey into the Mughul empire.¹⁴⁵ They were partly meant to tempt his elder brother to follow suit.¹⁴⁶ Akbar gave an audience to the Mīrzā at Lahore in Muḥarram 1002/1593. His brother, Sanjar Mīrzā, his four sons, Murād, Shāhrukh, Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm and four hundred Turkmāns were also present on the occasion. Every one of them was adequately rewarded.¹⁴⁷

With an eye to further impress Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who still held Qandahar, Akbar showed all the more warmth and generosity to Mīrzā Rustam; he conferred upon him a *manṣab* of 5,000,¹⁴⁸ Multan and many *parganas* of Balūchistān¹⁴⁹ in *jāgīr* and a cash reward of one crore Murādī Tankas.¹⁵⁰ He was also favoured with a standard and drums.¹⁵¹

141 A.A.A., vol.I, pp.483-4.

142 See *Ibid.*, p.485; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.261; *T.K.*, p.314.

143 A.N., vol.III, pp.584, 644; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.435; Abdur Rahim, p.19.

144 A.N., vol.III, p.645.

145 *M.T.*, vol.II, p.388; A.N., vol.III, p.646; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.99. According to A.A.A. (vol.I, p.485), the Mīrzā first came to Bhakkar whence he accompanied Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān to the court of Akbar, whereas the fact is that Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān had already arrived at Mughul court in Jumādā II 1001/March 1593 with Khān-i Khānān ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān. (A.N., vol.III, p.633; *M.T.*, vol.II, p.386). Evidently, Iskandar Beg Munshī has confounded the details of Mīrzā Rustam's journey to the court, with those of his brother, Muẓaffar Ḥusayn's, for it was the latter who was received, among others, by Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān. (A.N., vol.III, p.671).

146 A.A.A., vol.I, p.485.

147 A.N., vol.III, p.646.

148 A.A., vol.I, p.160.

149 A.N., vol.III, p.646.

150 *M.T.*, vol.II, p.388; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.99; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.435.

151 *M.U.*, vol.III, p.435.

The arrival of Mīrzā Rustam in India paved the way for still more Ṣafawid defections to the Mughul court and thus considerably enhanced Akbar's prestige. It also reinforced the Mughul desire to capture Qandahar and strengthened their case for its possession.

Consequent upon the desolation of Multan at the hands of Mīrzā Rustam's functionaries,¹⁵² it was converted into crown property (*khāliṣa*) in 1004¹⁵³/1595-96 and Chittor and its environs were offered instead, in *jāgīr*, to the Mīrzā. To keep in check the tyrannous nature of the Mīrzā, the Emperor dispatched Amīn al-Dīn with him, but the Mīrzā returned the latter from Sirhind.¹⁵⁴ The following year Pathān (Kōt) was given to him in *jāgīr* and he was entrusted with the responsibility of stamping out the rebellion of Rāja Bāsū. Āṣaf Khān was supposed to help him in the task, but they could not get along well and the Mīrzā was recalled to court.¹⁵⁵ In 1007/1598-99, he got Rāysīn and its neighbourhood in *jāgīr*.¹⁵⁶

In 1020/1611 Jahāngīr summoned the Mīrzā from the Deccan, and having raised him from a rank of 5,000 personal and 1,500 horse to that of 5,000 personal and 5,000 horse,¹⁵⁷ he exalted him with a special elephant, a horse with a jewelled saddle, a jewelled sword, and a superb dress of honour and made him the governor of Thatta.¹⁵⁸ After the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān, the affairs of Thatta had become chaotic. It was hoped that the

152 *M.T.*, vol.III, p.403; *A.N.*, vol.III, p.696.

153 Cf. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.436, where it is attributed to the 40th (1003) regnal year of Akbar.

154 *A.N.*, vol.III, p.696. Cf. *M.U.*, vol.III, p.436; Blochmann, p.329 and *A.N.tr.*, vol.III, p.1041. All these authorities give an altogether different interpretation to the original text of *Akbar Nāma*.

155 *A.N.*, vol.III, p.712.

156 *Ibid.*, 749.

157 There seems to be some serious anomaly in the *Tūzūk* with regard to the promotion of Mīrzā Rustam from 5,000/1,000 onwards. See *Tūzūk*, pp.111, 223, 352; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.229; vol.II, pp.2, 245.

158 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.229.

Mīrzā would be able to control them in a decent manner.¹⁵⁹ but his oppressive rule soon created consternation among the high and low alike and before long he was recalled to the court. Jahāngīr handed him over to Anī Rā'i Sangdilan for investigation into his case,¹⁶⁰ but subsequently, when the Mīrzā repented and apologized, he was pardoned.¹⁶¹ In 1031/1622 he was dispatched to Lahore with a huge sum of money to make necessary preparations for the Qandahar expedition under Prince Shahryār,¹⁶² whose guardian he was appointed for the execution of the campaign.¹⁶³ In 1032/1623, as a precaution against the probable advance of Shāhjahān towards Bengal, he was appointed the governor of Allahabad.¹⁶⁴ In 1036/1623 he was made the governor of Bihar.¹⁶⁵ On his accession to the throne, Shāhjahān removed him from this position,¹⁶⁶ sanctioned an annual *madad-i ma'āsh* of Rs.1,20,000 for him and retired him on grounds of old age.¹⁶⁷ Finally, he died at Akbarabad sometime in 1051¹⁶⁸/1641 at an advanced age of more than ninety years.¹⁶⁹

A shrewd politician, oppressive administrator and haughty in temperament, Mīrzā Rustam was an exquisite poet¹⁷⁰ and in shooting he was only second to Emperor Jahāngīr.¹⁷¹ Like him, all his sons were also in

159 Ibid., p.262; vol.I, p.100.

160 *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol,I, pp.262-3.

161 Ibid., p.265.

162 Ibid., vol.II., p.247.

163 Ibid., p.245; A.S., vol.I, p.139; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.63; Beni Prasad, p.91.

164 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.281; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.438; Blochmann. p.329.

165 Beni Prasad, p.91.

166 A.S., vol.I, p.226; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.438.

167 A.S., vol.I, p.257; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.438; Blochmann, p.329. Also see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, 100.

168 A.S., vol.II, p.306. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.100; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.438-9; Blochmann, p.329.

169 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.100. According to the *M.U.* (vol.III, p.438), he died at the age of 72.

170 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.15; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.439-40; *M.Sh.*, pp.488-92.

171 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.105.

Imperial service and three of his daughters were married to the Mughul princes, Parwīz,¹⁷² Shujā,¹⁷³ and Dārā Shukūh¹⁷⁴ respectively.

229:25 His original name was Arsalān Bī Ūzbek.¹⁷⁵ He enjoyed a respectable position at the court of ‘Abd al-Mū‘min Khān, the ruler of Tūran.¹⁷⁶ When Jahāngīr visited Kabul during the second¹⁷⁷ year of his reign, Arsalān Bī waited on him and was rewarded with a special robe of honour.¹⁷⁸ Jahāngīr saw in him a simple but industrious Ūzbek, fit for education and honour. He was also impressed by his sincerity and feelings of friendship.¹⁷⁹ Within a few years Arsalān Bī was entitled Shamshīr Khān¹⁸⁰ and appointed the governor of Siwistan.¹⁸¹ On 30 Shawwāl 1020/5 January 1612 he was honoured with a standard.¹⁸²

After the death of Tāj Khān sometime in Jumādā II 1023/July 1612,¹⁸³ the governorship of Thatta devolved upon Shamshīr Khān. But as soon as Muẓaffar Khān Ma‘mūrī was appointed the governor of Thatta on 15 Rabī‘ I 1025/2 April 1616,¹⁸⁴ Shamshīr Khān reverted to his previous position in Siwistan.¹⁸⁵

172 *M.U.*, vol.III, p.437; Blochmann, p.329

173 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.426; vol.II, p.451; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.177; vol.III, p.438.

174 Blochmann, p.329.

175 *Tūzuk*, pp.56, 60, 90; *Tūzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.118, 125, 203; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.301; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.632.

176 *Tūzuk*, pp.60, 56; *Tūzuk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.125, 118.

177 *M.U.*, vol.II, p.632 wrongly attributes it to the 3rd regnal year.

178 *Tūzuk*, p.60; *Tūzuk*, (R&B), vol.I, p.125.

179 *Ibid.*

180 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.301.

181 See *Tūzuk*, p.99; *Tūzuk* (R&B), vol.I, p.203.

182 *Ibid.*

183 See *Tūzuk*, p.131.

184 *Ibid.*, p.146; *Kēwalrām.*, s.v. Muẓaffar Khān Ma‘mūrī, *M.U.*, vol.II, p.633, where this incident is wrongly attributed to the 9th regnal year of Jahāngīr.

185 *Maz.Sh.*, pp.47, 143.

When the Persian pressure on Qandahar constantly increased towards the later part of Bahādur Khān Ūzbek's governorship, Shamshīr Khān was ordered to proceed to his help with his army. Though subsequently Bahādur Khān got himself transferred to the court,¹⁸⁶ Shamshīr Khān continued to serve at Qandahar under its new governor. He was one of the Mughul officers who waited on Shāh 'Abbās consequent upon the fall of Qandahar to the Persian forces.¹⁸⁷

During his stay in Sind Shamshīr Khān married into the family of Khusrau Khān Charkas.¹⁸⁸ Notwithstanding the stories of his utmost simplicity contained in some authorities,¹⁸⁹ his tenure in Sind was characterized by a good deal of discipline and good administration.¹⁹⁰ Even during his absence to Qandahar, he evinced considerable interest in the affairs of Siwistan, then looked after by his agents.¹⁹¹

Though apparently he continued to serve under Shāhjahān also and rose to a *manṣab* of 3,000 personal and 2,500 horse,¹⁹² little else is known about his activities.¹⁹³ He died at Lahore.¹⁹⁴

186 *Tūzūk*, p.323; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.315.

187 *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.974.

188 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.301.

189 *Ibid.*

190 *Maz.Sh.*, pp. 144, 205, 227. He was the last Mughul *Jāgīrdār* in Sind who, according to the *Mazhar* (p.174) allowed a *wāqī'a nawīs* to be attached to his establishment.

191 *Ibid.*

192 *M.U.*, vol.II, p.633; *A.S.*, vol.III. p.353.

193 According to Farīd Bhakkarī (*Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.301) under Shāhjahān he was deprived of his *manṣab* and *jāgīr* because of persistent reports of his simplicity.

194 *Ibid.*

229:38 Mīr Ḥussām al-Dīn Īnjū, son of the celebrated Persian lexicographer¹⁹⁵ ‘Aḍud al-Daula Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn¹⁹⁶ was married to a niece¹⁹⁷ of Nūr Jahān Begum. This matrimonial alliance with the close relations of the royal consort not only raised the Mīr's stock in the eyes of his contemporaries but also contributed towards his success in his career.¹⁹⁸ In 1026/1617 Jahāngīr promoted him to the *manṣab*, original and increase, of 1,000 personal and 400 horse.¹⁹⁹ Towards the close of 1029/1620 when an ambassador of Shāh ‘Abbās, Zambīl Beg by name, reached the neighbourhood of Lahore the Emperor deputed the Mīr to receive him and offer to him a dress of honour and Rs.30,000 for his expenses. He was also charged with the responsibility of looking after the distinguished royal guest during his stay at Lahore.²⁰⁰

The Mīr served under Prince Khurram during the Mewar operations in 1022²⁰¹/1613 and in 1032/1623 when the latter, having been defeated by Mahābat Khān at Delhi, turned his rein first to Malwa and Mandu and then to Asir, the Mīr, who was then the commandant of that fort, notwithstanding strict orders from the court,²⁰² surrendered the fort to the rebel prince without any struggle; he obtained from the prince the promise of a *manṣab* of 4,000 personal and standard and drums, and the title of Murtaḍā Khān and

195 He presented his *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* to Jahāngīr during the 18th year of his reign. For the Emperor's comments see *Tūzūk*, p.359.

196 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.409.

197 According to Jahāngīr she was the daughter of Nūr Jahān's maternal uncle (*dukhtar-i taghā'ī-i Nūr Jahān*) (See *Tūzūk*, p.371), but authorities generally believe that she was a niece of Nūr Jahān. See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.308; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.382; Beni Prasad, p.311.

198 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.308; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.382.

199 *Tūzūk*, (R&B), vol.I, p.409.

200 *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.179.

201 *A.S.*, vol.I, pp.57-8.

202 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.277.

joined him with his family.²⁰³ Later on, while he was travelling from Burhanpur towards the Deccan he was captured by the Imperial forces and produced before Mahābat Khān who put him in confinement and took from him Rs. 1,000,000 in cash and goods.²⁰⁴

On his accession to the throne, Shāhjahān bestowed on the Mīr a rank of 3,000 personal and 2,500 horse, a dress of honour, a jewelled dagger, a horse, an elephant and a standard.²⁰⁵ Not long afterwards he was promoted to a *manṣab* of 4,000 personal and 3,000 horse, entitled Murtaḍā Khān, honoured with a jewelled dagger, an elephant and Rs. 50,000 in cash and made the governor of Thatta,²⁰⁶ where he died sometime around Rabi' I 1039/October-November 1629.²⁰⁷

The most successful of his sons was Mīr Ṣamṣām al-Daula.²⁰⁸ On 1 Muḥarram 1048/ 15 May 1648 he was appointed by Shāhjahān the *bakhshī*, *wāqī'a nawīs* and *dārūgha-i tūpkhāna* (superintendent of the artillery) at Qandahar.²⁰⁹ On 14 Rabi' II 1049/ 15 July 1639 he was promoted to the *dīwānship* of that place.²¹⁰ On 1 Shawwāl 1053/13 December 1644 he was made the *dīwān* of Kabul.²¹¹

On 1 Safar 1057/ 8 March 1647 when Prince Muḥammad Shāh Shujā' was entrusted with the governorship of Bangal, Mīr Ṣamṣām al-Daula accompanied him as the *dīwān* of that province.²¹² In Rabi' I 1060/ March 1650 he received a *manṣab* of 1,000 personal and 200 horse.²¹³ His *manṣab* was

203 Ibid.; A.S., vol.I, p.144.

204 *Tūzuk*, (R&B), vol.II, p.295; *Tūzuk*, pp.380.1.

205 A.S., vol.I, p.233.

206 Ibid., p.241.

207 Ibid., p.301.

208 M.U., vol.III, p.383.

209 A.S., vol.II, p.242.

210 Ibid., p.254.

211 Ibid., p.326.

212 Ibid., vol.III, P.16.

213 Ibid., p.84.

raised to 1,500 personal and 500 horse on 1 Dhī al-Ḥijja 1065/ 2 October 1655 and he was appointed as the ḥāris of Orissa by the Prince.²¹⁴ He died soon afterwards.²¹⁵

231:2 From 1038/1042/1628-33 Bhakkar was in the jāgīr of Nawwāb Āṣaf Khān and Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ was his 'āmil in that sarkār.²¹⁶ Meanwhile when Khān-i Jahān Lōdī fell from grace at the court²¹⁷ and fled for his life,²¹⁸ Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī who was in his service returned to his home in Bhakkar in great distress. Mīrzā Ḥusaynī was the faujdār of Bhakkar at that time. Owing to his cordial relations with Shaykh Farīd he allowed him a good deal of say in the day to day running of the sarkār and thanks to the influence and resourcefulness of the former collected a considerable amount of wealth. This aroused the jealousy of Ḥakīm Ṣāliḥ and through Mānsingh wāqī'anawīs he wrongly reported to the court that Farīd Bhakkarī was engaged in raising an Afghan army at Bhakkar, had sent word to Khān-i Jahān to come to Bhakkar from Sirōnj, and on his behest Shīr Khān Tarīn, of Shāl, had ravaged the town of Ganjaba, a dependency of Bhakkar and that his stay at Bhakkar was not conducive to peace and security. Soon a royal decree was received that Shaykh Farīd be required to produce a guarantor for his good conduct and in the mean time arrangements should be made to dispatch him to the court. At the same time, Mīrzā Ḥusaynī was also removed from his office. Subsequently, both of them were sent to Burhanpur, where Mīr Jumla Bakhshī presented them before the Emperor. But, luckily for them, since Khān-i Jahān had been killed²¹⁹ by that time Shāhjahān pardoned them and ordered them to be set free.²²⁰

214 Ibid., p.147.

215 M.U., vol.III, p.383.

216 *Damīma-i Ta'rīkh-i Ma'sūmī* quoted in *Maz.Sh.*, p.323.

217 See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.342. For detail see Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, Allahabad, 1958, pp.

218 On 27 Ṣafar 1039/16 October 1629. M.U., vol.I, p.724.

219 On 1st Rajab 1040/3 February 1631. Ibid., pp.728-9.

220 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.342-3.

231:6 A close relative and admirer²²¹ of Nawwāb Murtaḍā Khān Shaykh Farīd,²²² Sayyid Bahūwa generally known as Dīndār Khān twice held the governorship of Delhi during the reign of Jahāngīr.²²³ When Mahābat Khān raised the standard of revolt and from Thatta headed towards the forests of Mewar, Sayyid Bahūwa was included in the army that was charged with the responsibility of pursuing him. Meanwhile, when Jahāngīr died and Shāhjahān arrived at Ajmer, together with other amīrs of this army, Sayyid Bahūwa also waited upon him and assured him of his loyalty.²²⁴ On the eve of Shāhjahān's coronation he was given the rank of 2,000 personal and 1,200 horse.²²⁵ A dress of honour, a jewelled dagger and jamdahr (lit. 'death-bearer'; a kind of dagger), a standard and a horse were also presented to him. In consideration of his piety, Shāhjahān conferred upon him the title of Dīndār Khān.²²⁶ After sometime he was appointed the *faujdār* of Dō-āb.²²⁷ He also participated in military expeditions under the commands of Islām Khān Mīr Bakhshī and Prince Aurangzīb.²²⁸ After the

221 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.304. He named his son Farīd. This son of his was subsequently married to the daughter of Sayyid Jalāl, son of Sayyid Muḥammad Gujarātī (*Ibid.*; vol.III, p.31), who counted among his devotees the Mughul Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān.

222 For his life see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.126-48; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.634-41; Blochmann, pp.455-58.

223 According to *M.U.* (vol.II, p.23), the governorship of Delhi was conferred on him during the 18th regnal year of Jahāngīr. As a matter of fact, he held this position more than once. Jahāngīr refers to him as the governor of Delhi during the 14th year of his reign (*Tūzuk* (R&B), vol.II, pp.109-11) and while bestowing this honour on him again in the 18th regnal year, "he had already done this service well." (*Ibid.*, p.287).

224 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.184. Cf. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli Allahabad*, 1958, p.62, where his name is wrongly mentioned as 'Sayyid Bārah'.

225 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.223; vol.III, p.357 has 500 horse.

226 *Lāhaurī*, vol.I, p.121.

227 *Ibid.*, p.191; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.23; *Kēwalrām*, s.v. Dīndār Khān.

228 *A.S.*, vol.II, pp.65, 90.

transfer of Ahmad Beg Khān²²⁹ he was made the governor of Siwistan, which position he seems to have occupied for about four years.²³⁰ He was transferred from here in Rabī' II 1043/ October-November 1633 and died in 1045/1635-36.²³¹

During his tenure of office, in Siwistan, besides galvanising the administration, Sayyid Bahūwa also paid a good deal of attention to the social life of the place and built some historical monuments as well. 231:7 A vassal chief of Pushang (var. Fūshanj, Qūshanj, modern Pishīn²³²), a dependency of Qandahar, under the Ṣafawids, Shīr Khān Afghān, or Tarīn to be more precise, emigrated to Iran at an early age, with his father, Ḥasan Khān, who had developed some serious differences with Shāh Beg Khān, the Mughul governor of Qandahar.²³³ At the conquest of Qandahar by the Persians in 1031²³⁴/1632, Shīr Khān was appointed the ḥākim of Pūshang.²³⁵ In 1037/1627-28, he called on Shāh 'Abbās at Qazwin. The Shāh received him warmly and bestowed upon him a variety of honours. Lying on the highway to India as Pūshang did, its commercial and strategic importance was never lost upon the astute Ṣafawid, who exhorted Shīr Khān to take all precautions for the smooth flow of trade and traffic between the two neighbouring countries and to ensure the safety of merchants and travellers to and from Iran.²³⁶ Shīr

229 When Amīr Khān took over as the *sūbadār* of Thatta in Rabī' I 1039/ September-October 1629 (A.S., vol.I, p.301), Ahmad Beg still held this position.

230 Some of the stone slabs he fixed in some of the buildings built by him during this time refer to the years of construction as 1040/1630- 1, 1041/1631- 2, 1042/1633-4. See *Maz.Sh.*, pp.328, 270-ln.

231 *M.U.*, vol.II, p.24; Kēwalrām, s.v. Dīndār Khān.

232 *I.G.I.*, vol.XX, p.153. For an 11th/17th century description of this place see *Ad.Al.*, vol.1. p.63.

233 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.397; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.653.

234 *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.974.

235 *Ibid.*, p.1087; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.653.

236 *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.1074.

Khān not only turned a deaf ear to the ailing monarch's advice, but also, soon after when Shāh 'Abbās died and was succeeded by his young grandson, Shāh Ṣafī I, failed to renew his allegiance to the Persian court.²³⁷ Shāh Ṣafī who was alarmed at the headstrong ways of Shīr Khān, time and again summoned him to his presence, but to no avail. Ultimately, he ordered 'Alī Mardān Khān,²³⁸ the Ṣafawid governor of Qandahar, to lead a punitive expedition against him.²³⁹ Sensing the imminent danger, Shīr Khān approached the Mughul court for asylum. Shāhjahān welcomed his initiative and forthwith dispatched an emissary, Kashmīrī Khān, to receive him at the first stage of his journey to India. Shīr Khān kept Kashmīrī Khān waiting for a long time at Bhakkar and in the meantime represented his presence there as an unwarranted Mughul move to win him over to their side, and thus tried to avert the Ṣafawid threat to himself. To further emphasize his loyalty to the Persians, he offered to plunder the Mughul frontier towns of Ganjaba and Siwi, provided the Ṣafawids assured him that they did not mean him any harm. While Shāh Ṣafī apparently did nothing to arouse Shīr Khān's suspicion, he commanded 'Alī Mardān Khān to execute his previous orders expeditiously.²⁴⁰ Thus, while Shīr Khān was busy ravaging Siwi and Ganjaba in 1040/1630-31, 'Alī Mardān Khān stormed Pushang and took captive all his relatives, including his womenfolk and dispatched them to the Persian court.²⁴¹ Failing in his efforts to rescue his family or to recover his stronghold, Shīr Khān now again turned to the Mughul court for refuge. Shāh

237 See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.102. Also see *M.U.*, vol.II, p.654.

238 For his life see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, pp.27-28; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.794-806.

239 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.102.

240 *Ibid.*, p.103; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.654.

241 *Ibid.* Some sources attribute this capture of Pushang to 'Alī Mardān Khān's personal animosity towards Shīr Khān Tarīn. See *Bahr al-Asrār*, pp.99-105; *A.S.*, vol.I, pp.397-98.

Jahān received him with open arms and treated him graciously.²⁴² During his stay in India, Shīr Khān Tarīn enjoyed patronage of Shāhjahān and when called upon, participated in some military expeditions also,²⁴³ but the thought of his family and friends in Persian captivity always kept him restive.²⁴⁴ He tried to enlist the Mughul support for an offensive against Qandahar, but the Persians by a single masterly stroke brought to nought all his efforts in this direction. A letter was dispatched to him from the Safawid court, purporting his collusion with them. This letter, as intended, fell into the hands of Shāhjahān who, quite naturally, lost all his confidence in the loyalty of Shīr Khān, deprived him of some of the privileges and even confined him to his house.²⁴⁵ Thus the last hope of this unfortunate exile to return to his homeland and to be united with his near and dear ones was also shattered for all time to come. Finally, he died from tuberculosis in India.²⁴⁶

232:2 For the economic and historical importance of Naşrpūr, see Chalbani, pp.56-7.

232:12 Mīlak was a kind of rich silk stuff with gold threads.²⁴⁷ It was used in the manufacture of aristocratic and imperial robes of honour.²⁴⁸ In the days of Akbar when each Mohr consisted of 9 rupees,²⁴⁹ its price ranged

242 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III., p.104; *A.S.*, vol.I, p.399; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.655-56; Abdur Rahim, pp.46-47; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, pp.213-14. Also see Riazul Islam, p.213.

243 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.105; *A.S.*, vol.I, pp.399, 407, 517; vol.II, pp.901, 132, 149, 320; vol.III, p.110; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.656.

244 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.104; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.656.

245 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.104; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.657; Also see *A.S.*, vol.I, p.320.

246 His brother, Daulat, extended his cooperation to Prince Aurangzib in his abortive campaign against Qandahar in 1062/1651 and was adequately rewarded by the Mughul court. See *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, pp.60, 62, *A.S.*, vol.III, 110-11, 364. The author of the *Lubb-i Ta'rikh-i Sindh*, Khudādād Khān was a descendant of Shīr Khān Tarīn. See *Lubb*, pp.77-8.

247 See *A.A.*, vol.I, p.68.

248 *A.A.A.*, vol.II, p.975.

249 W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Allahabad, n.d., P.384.

from 3 to 70 Mohrs.²⁵⁰

232:15 *Sakpāl, Sukhpāl* means a litter. See A.N., vol.III, p.828 and its translation by H. Beveridge. A.N. tr., vol.III, p.1240.

232:26 As would appear from the following extract from B.N. this practice was not exclusive to the Ūzbeks. Referring to Sultān Husayn Bāyqara, Bābur writes: "He used to wear either the black lambskin cap (*burk*) or the *galpaq*,^{*} but on a Feast-day would sometimes set up a little three-fold turban, wound broad and badly,^{**} stick a heron's plume in it and so go to Prayers."²⁵¹

235:10 Bahādur Khān Ūzbek's original name was Abū al-Bī.²⁵² Under 'Abd al-Mū'min Khān he served as the governor of Mashhad,²⁵³ but when the former was assassinated in 1006²⁵⁴/1598, notwithstanding all efforts of Bāqī Khān to assuage his fears, Abū al-Bī came to India on the pretext of proceeding on a pilgrimage and entered Akbar's service in 1011/1602-03. He started with a *manṣab* of 500 personal and 150 horse²⁵⁵ and before long he succeeded in carving out a respectable position at the Mughul court.²⁵⁶

After the accession of Jahāngīr, when Khusrau made good his escape from the court, the Emperor appointed Abū al-Bī with fifty-seven other *manṣabdārs* to assist Shaykh Farīd in the task of pursuing the fugitive Prince.²⁵⁷ In Shawwāl 1018/January 1610 he was raised to a command of 1500

* This is a felt wide-awake worn by travellers in hot weather (Shaw); The Turkman bonnet (Erskine).

** Hai, MS. *yamānlīk*, badly, Elph, MS. *namāyān*, whence Erskine's *showy*.

250 A.A., vol. I, p.68.

251 B.N., p.258.

252 Cf. A.N., vol.III, pp.820, 839; Dh.Kh., vol.I, p.24.

253 A.N., vol.III, p.820

254 Riazul Islam, p.64.

255 A.N., vol.III, p.820.

256 See Ibid., vol.III, p.839.

257 *Tūzuk*, p.28.

personal and 1000 horse²⁵⁸ and then in Muharram 1019/ March 1610 he was made the *faujdār* of Multan.²⁵⁹ In 1021/1612 when Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān, the governor of Qandahar died, Jahāngīr promoted Abū al-Bī to a rank of 3000 personal and horse, honoured him with the title of Bahādur Khān and a flag, and appointed him the governor of that place.²⁶⁰

During 1029/1620 when, sensing the high intrigue ridding the Mughul court, the Persians were gradually increasing on their efforts to recover Qandahar from the Mughul hands, and Jahāngīr was making necessary preparations for its defence, Bahādur Khān, who had not long before been favoured with a sudden rise to the *manṣab* of 5000 personal and 4000 horse,²⁶¹ requested for recall to the Imperial court on the pretext of some eye disease.²⁶² He was ordered to hand over the charge of the fort to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Naqshbandī and himself to come to the court.²⁶³ Abū al-Bī reached the court sometime during the Jumādā II 1031/April 1622,²⁶⁴ but was soon afterwards again selected to go as an auxiliary to the army of Qandahar, and favoured with a horse and a dress of honour.²⁶⁵

In Rajab 1036/March 1627 Abū al-Bī was appointed the governor of Allahabad.²⁶⁶ After the death of Jahāngīr he pledged his allegiance to Shāhjahān and continued to serve under him.²⁶⁷ He held the *sarkār* of Chandawar, near Akbarabad in jāgīr for some time and finally died there.²⁶⁸

258 Ibid., pp.80, 109.

259 Ibid., p.109.

260 Ibid., *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.24.

261 *Tūzūk*, p.310.

262 Ibid., p.323. According to some sources (e.g., *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.315) he spent a sum of two lākh rupees at the court to have himself transferred from Qandahar.

263 *Tūzūk*, p.323.

264 Ibid., p.344.

265 Ibid., p.345.

266 Ibid., p.419.

267 A.S., vol.I, p.183.

268 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.315.

236:24

One of the *taba' tābi'* in or companion of the companions of the Prophet of Islam. Hailing from the Qaran quarter of the Najd oasis of Arabia, Uways lived contemporaneously with the Prophet, but because of his ecstatic condition and the old age of his mother he could never undertake a journey to Medina. Nevertheless, his devotion to the Prophet was so overwhelming that when he heard that the latter had lost some of his teeth in the battle of Uhāḍ, not knowing which of the teeth of Muḥammad were actually hurt, he pulled all his teeth out. He owed his spiritual attainments to the direct attention of the Prophet, who left his patched frock (*khirqā*) with 'Umar and 'Alī for passing on to Uways after his death. Hence the epithet of *Uwaysī* applied to all the subsequent *ṣūfīs* who attained their spiritual perfection without the intermediation of any *ṣūfī* master. He was killed in the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657) while fighting on the side of 'Alī.²⁶⁹

His devotees seem to have erected his sarcophagus in Sind. It was known as *Nazargāh-i Uways-i Qaranī*.

238:38 *Kōtwāl* is generally considered to be a Persian word, but in actual fact it is derived from the Hindi word *kotapala*, the officer in charge of a fort. His primary duty was to maintain law and order within the four walls of the ancient towns,²⁷⁰ but gradually he came to embrace almost all those functions which were required of a *Muhtasib* in Islamic lands.²⁷¹

240:3 For the economic and historical importance of Sihwan, see Chalbani, pp.57-8.

240:13 (Var. Chhūṭṭa 'Imrānī,²⁷² Chhutta Imrānī²⁷³ and Chhuta Imrānī).²⁷⁴

269 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Hujwīrī al-Jullābī al-Ghaznawī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, ed. Muḥammad-i 'Abbāsī, Tehran, 1336 H. Sh., pp.50, 99-102; 'Aṭṭār-i Nīshābūrī, *Tadhkirat al-Auliya'*, ed. M. Isti'lāmī, Tehran, 1346 H.Sh., pp.19-29.

270 For the history of *kotwal*, see P.Saran, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi, 1952, pp.104-12.

271 For the essential qualities, duties and functions of a *muhtasib*, see Ibn Ikhwa, *Ma'alim al-Qurba fi Ahkām al-Ḥisba (Ā'in-i Shahr-dārī)*, tr. Ja'far Shī'ār, Tehran, 1347 H.Sh.

272 'Abd al-Ghafūr b. Ḥaydar Siwistānī, *Tadhkira-i Mashā'ikh-i Siwistān* ed. Sayyid Ḥussāmuddin Rāshidī (published in *Mihrān*, 3:1974), pp.213-4.

273 T.T., p.28.

274 T.K., pp.67, 81-82.

The details of his life are obscured by pious legends. All that can be said with some certainty is that he hailed from the ruling 'Arab family of the Tamīms in Sind, was born at Brahmanabad sometime during the second half of the third²⁷⁵/ninth century and travelled outside India for some time before taking up a permanent residence at Sihwan.

His tomb, which has been a place of pilgrimage for centuries,²⁷⁶ can still be seen in the old cemetery of Sihwan, along the road to the railway station.²⁷⁷ Its inscriptions²⁷⁸ indicate that Nawwāb Dīndār Khān made several additions to the original structure, some of these are still intact.

240:19 For Yak Tanbī see Henry Cousens, p.45; *T.A.Kh.*, pp.324-7.

240:27 The Moroccan traveller, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Siwistan in 734/1333 recorded the following observations about the sand-fish and how it was dug out and eaten by the natives: "... the people there eat skinks. These are little animals resembling the lizard²⁷⁹ (which the Moroccons call the garden snakelet) except that it has no tail. I have seen them digging the sand and fetching it out of it; they slit open its stomach, throw out the contents and stuff it with curcuma turmeric . This (which they call meaning yellow stick) takes the place of saffron with them. When I saw this small animal and them eating it, I took a loathing at it and would not eat it."²⁸¹

275 N A Baloch reports to have seen an old seal in Sihwan which belonged to this saint and bore the date 305/917-8. See *T.T.*, p.292n.

276 See *Tadhkira*, p.213; *T.T.*, p.31; *T.K.tr.*, p.407.

277 *Maz.Sh.*, p.278n.

278 *Tadhkira*, p.213; *Maz.Sh.*, p.278n; *T.T.*, p.291n.

279 *Umm hubain*, glossed as lizard, and also as 'male chameleon' (see Lane, s.v. *hirba*'), but the *hunaishat al-janna* is the wall lizard.

280 Persian *zard chubah*.

281 *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (A.D. 1325-1354), tr. H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge, 1971, vol.III, p.598.

240:32 Those springs still exist and the custodians of the tomb of Makhdūm Shahbāz use their water for cultivation. This area is known as Bāgh-i Qalandar La‘l Shahbāz and La‘l Wāhī. See *Maz.Sh.*, p.59n.

240:34 A festival of sectarian nature and of comparatively modern origin,²⁸² Shivratri, as the name denotes, is celebrated during one of the dark nights²⁸³ of the Magha²⁸⁴ (January-February) or the Phalguna²⁸⁵ (February-March) month of the Hindu calendar. The followers of Shiva, one of the three chief deities of the Hindus, the other two being Vishnu and Brahma, consider it their most sacred observance and look upon it as a source of expiating their sins, attaining their desires in this world and the emancipation of their souls in the hereafter. Observance of a strict fast during the day and worshipping the Linga at night with a rather elaborate set of ceremonies are the essential features of this festival. This is the only time when people of all castes, even the Chandalas, and the womenfolk are also allowed to worship Shiva and chant Mantras, with the exception that they are prohibited from pronouncing the mystical word 'Om'. According to the Hindu belief, the observance of this festival at a place which is dedicated to Shiva from ancient times endows the ceremonies associated with it with an exceptional degree of efficacy. Writing in the middle of the last century, H.H. Wilson mentions the Vaidyanath temple in Bengal, Mallikarjuna temple in the Deccan and the Island of Elephanta as the major places of Hindu assemblage on the eve of Shivratri.²⁸⁶

282 H.H. Wilson, *Essays and Lectures on the Religions of the Hindus*, ed., Reinhold Rost, New Delhi, 1976 repr., vol.II, p.219.

283 Regarding the exact date and month of this festival the authorities are divided. For detail see *A.A.*, vol.III, p.150; Wilson, pp.211-212.

284 Monier Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*, London, 1897, p.182; Bhattacharyya Sahityasashtri, *Religious Practices of the Hindus*, *The Religion of the Hindus*, ed. Kenneth W. Morgan, New York, 1953, p.191.

285 Radhagovinda Basak, *The Hindu Concept of the Natural World*, *The Religion of the Hindus*, p.97.

286 H.H. Wilson, pp.220-1.

The Mughul Emperors, Akbar²⁸⁷ and Jahāngīr,²⁸⁸ held special feasts on this occasion and celebrated the festival in the company of the Yōgīs.

241:3 The mountain range extending to Kīch and Makran and lying next to Lakkī Mountain, on the west bank of the Indus, constituted a major habitat of Balūch tribes including the Nuhmardīs and the Jōkias.²⁸⁹ The latter once harboured a defaulting peasant of Shāh Qāsim Beglār and were thus chastised by him.²⁹⁰

241:20 *Mardān-i ghayb, rijāl al-ghayb*, or the invisible men were believed to be a mysterious creature which attracted the attention of their favourite pious people, talked to them without being seen, and even carried them off to their own place of residence. In the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*,²⁹¹ we read that a young contemporary of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī was frequently visited by these spirits. At the time of obligatory prayers, those who were present at his house arranged themselves in an orderly fashion and one of these *mardān-i ghayb* led the congregational prayers. The worshippers heard him recite the *Qur'ān* and followed his commands throughout the ceremony, but they never saw him. One of these invisible men even sent a present to Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī through that youth.

According to yet another anecdote narrated by the Khwāja,²⁹² a man called Khwāja 'Alī used to be visited by these spirits who always greeted him in the usual Muslim fashion. Once they called on him in a large number and repeated the salutation "Peace unto you". Khwāja 'Alī lost his temper and said that how long they would continue greeting him in that manner and why they did not come face to face with him. The *mardān-i ghayb* did not like this attitude and stopped visiting Khwāja 'Alī.

287 A.A., vol.I, p.54; T.A., vol.II, p.343; Blochmann, p.210.

288 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.361; *The Embassy of Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mughal*, ed. William Foster, H.S. Publication, p.366.


289 T.T., p.182; also see *Maz.Sh.*, p.59.

290 *Beg.N.*, pp.216-8.

291 Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, comp, Amīr Ḥasan 'Alā' Sijzī, Urdu tr. Muḥammad Sarwar, Lahore, 1973, p.69-70.

292 *Ibid.*, p.70.

The Mughul Emperors, Humāyūn²⁹³ and Akbar also believed in the existence of these creatures. The latter is even reported to have invoked their assistance in one of his battles.²⁹⁴ In 1143/1730-1 a number of Bilgarāmī Sayyids were killed in a battle between Nawwāb Sarbaland Khān and Rāja Abhī Singh Rathōre. According to Sayyid Muḥammad since the body of one Sayyid Ghulām Muṣṭafā could not be discovered from the battlefield, probably it had been whisked away by the *mardān-i ghayb*.²⁹⁵

241:20 'The Arabic word for "martyr" in the Qur'ān, and in Muslim theology, is *shahīd* , pl. *shuhūd*, or *shahid*, pl. *shuhadā'*, the literal meaning of which is "present as a witness". It implies all that is understood by the Greek Kaprus, and the English martyr; but it is also a much more comprehensive term, for, according to Muhammadan law, not only those who die in witness of, or in defence of the faith, are martyrs, but all those who die such deaths as are calculated to excite the compassion and pity of their fellow men.

'The word occurs in the Qur'ān, Sūrah iv,71: "Who so obeys God and the Apostle, these are with those with whom God has been well pleased - with prophets (*nabīyīn*), and confessors (*ṣiddīqīn*), and martyrs (*shuhadā'*), and the righteous (*ṣāliḥīn*): a fair company are they."²⁹⁶

242:8 'Makhdūm...that place', is almost a verbatim reproduction from T.S. (p.110).

242:12 One of the *maḥals* of the *sarkār* of Siwistan during the days of Akbar,²⁹⁷ Bāghbānān is now known as Baghban and lies 27 miles north of Sihwan,²⁹⁸ between Khudā Ābād and Dādū.²⁹⁹

293 Khwāja Ni'mat Allāh, *Ta'rīkh-i Khānjahānī wa Makhzan-i Afghānī*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Imām al-Dīn, Dacca, 1960, vol.I. pp.311-2.

294 Hājji Muḥammad 'Arif Qandahārī, *Ta'rīkh-i Akbarī*, ed. Sayyid Mu'īn al-Dīn Nadwī and Sayyid Aẓhar 'Alī Dihlawī, and revised by Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, Rampur, 1962, p.179.

295 *Tabṣirat al-Nāẓirīn*, MS., Pīr Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī Private Collection, Karachi (1979), p.167.

296 D.I., p.327,ii.

297 A.A., vol.II, p.166.

298 I.D.C., p.84, n.103. Maz.Sh., p.204.

299 T.S., p.309.

242:13 Our earliest evidence about the use of the wheel for irrigational purposes in Sind comes from the *Ta'rikh-i Sind* of Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkārī,³⁰⁰ and not from the *Mazhar-i Shāh Jahānī* as is wrongly assumed by Irfan Habib.³⁰¹

Though the documented history³⁰² of the use of the so-called Persian wheel in the Indian subcontinent goes as far back as 532 A.D.,³⁰³ the earliest surviving description of its mechanical structure relates almost to the same era as that mentioned by Mīr Ma'ṣūm in Sind, and is preserved in the *Memoirs of Bābur*. Referring to the modes of irrigation in India, Bābur remarks:³⁰⁴

'In Lāhor, Dībālpūr³⁰⁵ and those parts, people water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close (*qash*) to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed.'³⁰⁶

As distinct from the aforementioned wheel which is called *arhat*³⁰⁷ in Hindī and *sāqiya*³⁰⁸ in Arabic and is used for raising water from wells,

300 P.110.

301 Irfan Habib, Presidential Address (Medieval India Section), *Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Thirty First Session - Varanasi 1969*, Patna 1970, p.151. The author of the *Mazhar* is also indebted to the *Ta'rikh-i Sind* for his information.

302 See A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, Fourth Impression, 1977, p.194.

303 M.C. Joshi, An Early Inscriptional Reference to Persian Wheel, *Professor K.A. Nilkanta Sastri Felicitation Volume*, ed. Saw. Ganesan, Madras, 1971, p.216.

304 B.N., p.486.

305 S.A. Beveridge omits 'and Sirhind' after Dībālpūr. See *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.26, n.14.

306 For a late 17th century description of this contrivance in the Punjab, see *Kh.T.*, p.123.

307 See H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, London, MDCCCLV, s.v. Wilson (pp.32,432), however, confuses it with a noria.

308 E.W.Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ed. Edward Stanley Poole, Fifth Edition, London, 1871, vol.III, p.26; Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge, 1965, p.352.

another type of wheel known as nā'ūr³⁰⁹ or nā'ūra³¹⁰ in Arabic and noria in Spanish³¹¹ and English, is employed to lift water from rivers, streams and lakes, & c. 'It differs from the sāqiya in that no chain is present and the buckets, pots, or bamboo tubes are attached to the circumference of a single wheel, collecting at the bottom and discharging at the top.³¹² In the case of rivers the norias are usually furnished with pedals which are propelled by the power of the current,³¹³ but on still or slow flowing streams they are operated either by human labour or by animal whim. Norias are usually made of bamboo and wood and can be as big as 75 feet in diameter,³¹⁴ depending on the height of the fields.³¹⁵ In some countries they are 'often arranged in batteries with a common shaft, up to as many as ten in a row.'³¹⁶

Some authorities go as far as attributing the origin of noria to the South Asian subcontinent,³¹⁷ but our literary sources are too scant and much too vague to help us to determine how widespread their use in India has been, or what sort of technology was involved in their working. The agents of the East India Company in Sind in the early 17th century in

309 Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāgha*, Beirut, 1965, s.v.

310 E.W.Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. *daulāb*; Needham, pp.356-62. Cf. Ibn Manzur, *Lisān al-'Arab al-Muḥīṭ*, ed. Youssef Khayāt and Nadīm Mer'achlī, Beyrouth, n.d., s.v.

311 Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*, Unabridged, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1961, s.v. Spanish-English dictionaries, however, usually consider 'Persian wheel' the equivalent of noria. See Emilio M. Martínez Amada, *English-Spanish and Spanish-English Dictionary*, Barcelona, 1946, s.v.; Edwin B. Williams, *The Williams Spanish and English Dictionary*, Expanded Edition, London, 1966, s.v. The English dictionaries in their turn make no distinction between a noria, a bucket-wheel or a Persian wheel. See *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v.; Ernest Klien, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1966, s.v.

312 Needham, p.356; Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Imām Shūstarī, *Farhang-i Wāzhih-hā-i Fārsī dar 'Arabī*, Tehran, 1347 H.Sh., s.v. *daulāb*.

313 Needham, p.356; Imām Shūstarī, p.265.

314 Needham, p.346, n.f.

315 See Wang Lin-Heng, *Yueh Chien Pien*, quoted in Needham, p.359.

316 Ibid., 358.

317 Ibid., pp.361-62

one of their dispatches made a passing reference to the possibility of increase in the number of wheels on the river by the indigo cultivators of Nasrpur,³¹⁸ but as far as the mechanical structure of these wheels was concerned they did not consider it important enough to merit a mention in their letter.³¹⁹ Similarly, some relatively modern sources also make allusions to the use of the wheel,³²⁰ or the Persian wheel,³²¹ on canals in Sind and say that they were operated by bullocks;³²² but they too fail to drop any hint that would help us to differentiate between a noria and a saqiya. Nevertheless, judging from the fact that norias have been, and still are, in use in the Middle East,³²³ China,³²⁴ Indonesia,³²⁵ & c., for the

318 E.F.I., 1646-50, p.119.

319 For a reference to the use of this device on the west coast of India during the late 17th century see, John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia: being nine years' travels 1672-1681*, ed. W. Crooke, London, 1909-15, II, p.94. As Irfan Habib (*Vide Presidential Address*, p.150) has pointed out, W.Crooke wrongly identifies it with a Persian wheel.

320 'Charkhi', See H.T. Lambrick, *Early Canal Administration in Sind, Journal of the Sind Historical Society*, vol,III, Part I (August 1937), pp.15, 16, 23, 26; S.P. Chalbani, *Economic Conditions in Sind 1592-1843*, Bombay, 1951, p.25. Also see Hameeda Khuhro, *The Making of Modern Sind*, Karachi, 1978, p.172. All these authorities wrongly identify *charkhi* with a Persian wheel. Cf. H.H. Wilson, s.v. *Charkhi*.

321 Napier, quoted in H.T. Lambrick, p.27; Burton, *The Unhappy Valley*, quoted in Lambrick, p.24. Apparently, here also a noria is meant, and not a saqiya, as the term Persian wheel would tend to indicate.

322 H.T. Sorley, *Gazetteer of West Pakistan: The Former Province of Sind*, Karachi, n.d., p.426.

323 *Asās al-Balāgha*, s.v. *na'ur*; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Tome 1, p.220, quoted in *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. *daulab*; Imam Shustari, s.v. *daulab*.

324 Needham, p.346.

325 In the Indonesian language a noria is called a *kintjir* or *kintjiran*. John M. Echols and Hassan Shadily, *An Indonesian-English Dictionary*, Jakarta, 1974 repr., s.v., call it a 'water wheel'. My friend, R.I. Wahono informs me that *kintjirans* are a common sight in the rural areas of Java; they can be as high as 8 or 9 feet and are invariably current-powered.

lifting of water from rivers for the purpose of artificial irrigation, it is fair to presume that the type of wheels which were in use on the Indus in Sind during the Mughul period, or for that matter, until recently on local canals, were not any different from those in vogue in other countries. And it is perhaps this type of wheel - noria - which is known as *nar*³²⁶ in Sind, as compared to *charkhī*, a term which is indiscriminately applied to both noria and *saqiya*.

243:3 Generally incorrectly transcribed as *Kāhān* in Oriental works,³²⁷ Gahan is presently called Gaha and lies 21 miles north-west of Sihwan.³²⁸

Abū al-Faḍl³²⁹ mentions it as one of the *maḥāls* of the Sarkār of Siwistan.

243:20 Scion of a family of leading scholars of Sind during the 10th/16th century, Makhdūm Ja'far b. Makhdūm Mīrān b. Maulānā Ya'qūb Būbakānī was a contemporary of Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān. He specialised in a vast variety of traditional, as well as ratiocinative sciences, but towards the close of his life he developed a strong propensity towards mysticism and spent most of his time in the study of mystical texts such as the *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm*, *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* and *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb*. He seems to have been a prolific writer and some of his works which have survived the ravages of time speak for his profound erudition. His descendants lived in Sind as late as late 18th century.³³⁰

326 '*nār*' in Sindhī means 'a big wheel'. See H.H.Wilson, s.v. H.T. Sorley (p.426) who gives a rather incomplete description of this device, also identifies it with a Persian wheel.

327 *Beg.N.*, p.395. *T.S.*, pp.76, 77, 107 *passim*.

328 *I.D.C.*, p.84, 103; *T.S.*, p.304.

329 *A.A.*, vol.II, p.167.

330 See *T.S.*, pp.110, 202; *G.A.*, f.241; *T.K. tr.*, pp.459-61; *M.Sh.*, pp.151-3; *Maz.Sh.*, p.68, n.1; Sayyid Jamāl Aḥmad Raḍawī, *Punjab University Library mein microfilm aur rotograph - ek kitābiyātī jā'iza*, *Quarterly Research Journal*, University of the Punjab, Lahore, vol.II/2, p.49.

244:1-7 See also A.A., vol.II. p.165.

244:3 This reed, or *nay* was probably obtained from a plant called *pan* in Sindhī, Indian Bullrush in English and scientifically known as *Typha elephantina* (Rox). It is used for the manufacture of ropes, mats, baskets and the small rude boats known as *tirho* in Sindhī. These boats are used for crossing the Indus during the flood season.

The pollen of this plant is mixed with water, made into cakes, and eaten by the natives with great relish.³³¹

244:11 Biha is the root of an edible speci of water-lilies scientifically known as *Nelumbium speciosum* (Wild) and called *pabban* in Sindhī. Writing in 1848, Stocks remarked that the rhizome of the *Nelumbium* was sold in every bazar in Sind.³³² Kuma is the Sindhī name for seeds of *nīlūfar* (water lily).³³³ Lura must be read Lorha. It is also the root of a wild edible water-lily called *kuni*, or *puni*, in Sindhī. Its scientific name is *Nymphaea pubescens*. Its tubers are eaten, both raw, roasted, and boiled, and they have a flavour between potatoes and chestnuts. According to Stocks the *lorhi* and the *biha* were mainly collected about Lake Manchar and were a source of considerable revenue to the government.³³⁴

244:20 By *qālib* Yūsuf Mīrak probably means the following way of catching waterfowl described by Abū al-Faḍl in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī*.

"They make an artificial bird of the skin of a waterfowl with the wings, the beak, and the tail on it. Two holes are made in the skin for looking through. The body is hollow. The hunter puts his head into it, and stands in the water up to his neck. He then gets carefully near the birds, and pulls them one after the other below the water. But sometimes they are cunning and fly away."³³⁵

331 J.E. Stocks, Practical Remarks on the Plants of Sind, etc., *Memoirs on Sind*, ed. R. Hughes Thomas, Karachi, 1979 repr., pp.597, 601.

332 *Memoirs on Sind*, pp. 599-600.

333 *Maz.Sh.*, p.70, n.1. For detail, see *T.T.*, pp.330-1n.

334 *Memoirs on Sind*, pp.599-600.

335 Blochmann, p.307; A.A., vol.I, p.153.

249:25 Abū al-Fadl counts Shāl among the five eastern dependencies of the *sarkār* of Qandahar. The place was possessed of a mud fort and its inhabitants were mainly the Kāst Afghāns and Balūches.³³⁶ Henry Walter Bellets, a surgeon of the Bengal Staff Corps, who passed through this area during his journey to Iran in 1872, writes:³³⁷

"Shāl is a fortified town, and contains about twelve hundred houses collected round a central mound on which stands the citadel. The elevation of the citadel is much above the town, and it is the prominent object in the valley, but its walls are very poor, and more or less in a state of decay. By the natives it is called Shāl Kot, and by the Afghans Kwatta, or 'the little fort,' whence our Quetta.³³⁸ The valley of Shāl is very similar to that of Mastung... "

252:19 The Muslim highway-robbers who trespass on the lands of Islam and are captured, can be killed, according to the Muslim Sacred Law (*Sharī'a*) but cannot be sold, no matter how superficial their profession of that faith may be.³³⁹

253:15 An Akbarī amīr,³⁴⁰ with a *manṣab* of 600,³⁴¹ who distinguished himself in several military campaigns, served successfully under Rājā Mān Singh in Kabul,³⁴² and made a significant contribution in the reduction of Thatta under the command of the Khān-i Khānān Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān.³⁴³ When Mīrzā Rustam Qandahari defected to the Mughul court, Bakhtyār Beg Turkmān was one of the three Mughul nobles who were sent in advance to welcome the Ṣafawī prince at three different stages.³⁴⁴ After the conquest

336 A.A., vol.II, p.189; A.A., tr., vol.II, p.402.

337 *From the Indus to the Tigris*, London, 1874, pp.96-7.

338 Cf. *B.N.*, p.337, where the translator, A.S. Beveridge wrongly takes Mastung for Quetta.

339 See 'Ayn al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Māhrū, *Inshā*, ed. Sh. Abdur Rashid, Lahore, 1965, p.233.

340 *T.A.*, vol.II, p.455.

341 A.A., vol.I, p.162. Cf. Blochmann, p.529.

342 *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.476, 515, 526.

343 *Ibid.*, pp.584, 608, 633, 634; *T.S.*, p.254; *T.N.*, pp.77-78.

344 *A.N.*, vol.III, p.646.

of Thatta, when Akbar decided to return the whole region, with the exception of Siwistan and Bandar Lāharī, to Mīrzā Jānī Tarkhān, Bakhtyār Beg, together with some other Mughul grandees, was honoured with the *jāgīrdārī* of Sihwan.³⁴⁵ During his stay in Siwistan, Bakhtyār Beg participated in the expedition against the Pannī Afghāns of Siwi and brought that campaign to a successful conclusion.³⁴⁶

254:20 A notable general and distinguished noble of the Tarkhān court, Amīr Shāh Qāsim Khān-i Zamān traced his origin, from his father's side, to a prominent Sayyid family of Samarqand.³⁴⁷ The relations between his forbears and the local Turk tribes, particularly the Arghūns, were so close³⁴⁸ that over the years it became difficult to distinguish the two families from one another.³⁴⁹ His father, Shāh Qāsim Beglār, emigrated to Sind during the reign of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn,³⁵⁰ who bestowed on him the *parganas* of Jāhēja³⁵¹ in *suyūrghāl*.³⁵² Impressed by his intrepidity and skill in the art of war, the Wīrsī³⁵³ Sōdhas offered him the hand of their daughter, who was also related to the ruling dynasty of Jaisalmer.³⁵⁴ From this union³⁵⁵ was born Amīr Shāh Qāsim,³⁵⁶ who, though orphaned at the age

345 Ibid., p.642.

346 Ibid., p.666.

347 *Beg.N.*, P.25.

348 Ibid., p.26.

349 Though his own tribe was Beglār, some authorities refer to him as Arghūn as well.

350 *Beg.N.*, p.27; *M.Sh.*, P.525; *T.K.*, p.201, Not 'with the Arghūns' as suggested by Ansar Zahid Khan, p.48, n.67.

351 This place is now known as Udero Lal. See *M.Sh.*, p.525, n.1; *T.T.*, p.334.

352 *Beg.N.*, p.28.

353 Cf. *T.K.*, p.201, Ansar Zahid Khan, p.48, n.67.

354 *Beg.N.*, pp.29-30.

355 See *Beg.N.*, p.34.

356 See *T.K.*, p.201, n.67, Cf. Ansar Zahid Khan, p.48, where his name has been confused with that of his eldest son.

of seven,³⁵⁷ by dint of his courage and sagacity, subsequently, rose to great heights under the Tarkhāns and dominated the political scene of the region throughout the rule of that dynasty.

His talents were first noticed by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn, who conferred upon him the village Kachi in *suyūrghāl*.³⁵⁸ After the Mīrzā's death, Shāh Qāsim cast his lot with Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān and, notwithstanding his young years, played a significant role in quelling the rebellion of his son, Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān.³⁵⁹ Shāh Qāsim enjoyed the full confidence of the heir to the Tarkhān throne, Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān, whose marriage he arranged in a princely family of the Wīrsī clan of the Sōdhas.³⁶⁰ After the assassination of Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, Shāh Qāsim allied himself with his younger brother, Jān Bābā and spared no effort to obtain the throne for him from his brother, Mīrzā Bāqī.³⁶¹ However, when Jān Bābā was killed, Mīrzā Bāqī extended the hand of friendship towards Shāh Qāsim and sent him the *farmān* of his appointment as the *wakīl* of his son, Mīrzā Shāhrukh, who then held Naṣrpur.³⁶² And when Shāh Qāsim finally waited on him, the Mīrzā received him with open arms, arranged his marriage with the daughter of Mīr 'Abd al-Majīd Tarkhān, and charged him with the responsibility of restoring law and order and making proper arrangements for the realization of revenue from the Ūnars of the *parganas* of Lakhāwat, Kḥiṭṭa and Jūnēja.³⁶³ He had scarcely accomplished this assignment, when he was ordered to proceed to 'Umarkōt and settle the dispute resulting from the murder of Rāna Rā'imāl Wīrsī at the hands of Rānā Mīghrāj Wīsa.³⁶⁴

357 Shāh Qāsim was born in 947/1540-41, and according to Idrākī Beglārī (*Beg.N.*, 32) his father died in 950/1543-44. However, the date of the latter's death recorded on his tombstone (See its photo in *Chanāsar Nāma*, ed. Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī, Hyderabad, 1956, p.69) is Rabī' I 954/April-May 1647 and apparently there is no reason to disbelieve it.

358 *Beg.N.*, p.39.

359 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-47.

360 *Ibid.*, p.49.

361 See *Ibid.*, pp.51-151.

362 *Ibid.*, p.174.

363 *Ibid.*, pp.176-78.

364 *Ibid.*, p.191.

In Ramadān 980/January 1573 he was entrusted with the government of Kakrāla, where law and order and completely broken down. He not only chastised the truculent tribes but also taught a lesson to Ratta Sōdha, who refused to honour the transfer order sent by Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān.³⁶⁵ Soon afterwards, Kakrāla was given to Jām Wīsar and Shāh Qāsim was made the *jāgīrdār* of the Ūnar region, which had again lapsed into rebellion. Shāh Qāsim brought the whole region under his control in a befitting manner.³⁶⁶

In 989/1581, upon the death of Mīrzā Shāhrukh, he was appointed the governor of Nasrpur.³⁶⁷ Shāh Qāsim used every measure to ensure peace and prosperity in the area under his jurisdiction from charity and chastisement to obtaining the hands of the daughters of the local chiefs³⁶⁸ for his sons.³⁶⁹

When Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān appeared at the gates of Siwistan with a Mughul army,³⁷⁰ Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān conferred the standard and drums bequeathed by his son, Shāhrukh, on Shāh Qāsim³⁷¹ and directed him to proceed towards Siwistan with the armies of Nasrpur, Samāwātī, Hālākandī, Khēbrān, Lakhāwat and Khatṭa, but before he could arrive there, Mīr Subhān Qulī Bahādur Arghūn had already been defeated.³⁷²

On the death of Mīrzā Bāqī Tarkhān, Shāh Qāsim allied himself with Mīrzā Jānī, son of Pāyanda Tarkhān, against his uncle, Mīrzā Muẓaffar Tarkhān, and did not relax until he ascended the throne.³⁷³ He gave Jānī Beg his daughter in marriage and extended all possible help to him to overcome his differences with his uncle, Mīrzā Muẓaffar, in a peaceful

365 Ibid., pp.192-211.

366 Ibid., pp.212-18.

367 Ibid., p.218.

368 Ibid., p.221.

369 *Beg.N.*, pp.267-268.

370 See *T.T.*, pp.332-33n.

371 *Beg.N.*, p.224.

372 Ibid.

373 Ibid., pp.227-8.

manner.³⁷⁴ Upon Mīrzā Muzaffar's failure to heed these conciliatory efforts, Jānī Beg bestowed the horse and dress of honour meant for him, on Shāh Qāsim.³⁷⁵

Under Mīrzā Jānī also Shāh Qāsim continued to serve as the governor of Nasrpur. During the war with the Mughul forces led by Khān Khānān, Shāh Qāsim not only fought valiantly, but also favoured Mīrzā Jānī with his wise and mature advice.³⁷⁶ Subsequent to his capitulation, when the Mīrzā proceeded to the Mughul court with Khān Khānān, among others, Shāh Qāsim also accompanied him and like other members of the Mīrzā's entourage,³⁷⁶ he was also duly honoured by Akbar.³⁷⁷ Later on, when Thatta was once again bestowed upon Mīrzā Jānī, Shāh Qāsim, together with Khusrau Khān Charkas, was dispatched to administer it on behalf of the Mīrzā. Back in Thatta, while the executive side of the administration mainly lay with Khusrau Khān, the military affairs were generally looked after by Shāh Qāsim.³⁷⁸

On the death of Mīrzā Jānī in 1009/1600-1, when Thatta was conferred on his son, Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān, Shāh Qāsim retained his influential position under the new ruler as well.³⁷⁹ His eldest son, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sultān, who had distinguished himself in a number of military campaigns under Mīrzā Jānī,³⁸⁰ however, subsequently, refused to acknowledge the authority of the young Mīrzā and this sparked off a grave crisis. The intervention of Shāh Qāsim averted the possibility of a direct confrontation and even patched up their differences for the time being,³⁸¹ but the matter did not rest there. Outraged by the continuous defiant attitude of Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sultān, Mīrzā Ghāzī blinded him and put him in jail.³⁸² He escaped

374 Ibid.

375 Ibid., p.229.

376 E.g., see *Beg.N.*, pp.232, 235, 240.

377 *Beg.N.*, p.242; *T.K.*, p.202.

378 *Beg.N.*, p.235.

379 *Beg.N.*, p.250.

380 *Beg.N.*, p.234, 237.

381 *T.T.*, pp. 225-35.

382 Ibid., p.235-38.

but was caught and again imprisoned.³⁸³

Shāh Qāsim died on 14 Ramadān 1019³⁸⁴/30 November 1610 at the age of 72. He was survived by seven sons³⁸⁵ and a large number of grandsons. Although he himself married only Tarkhān and Beglār women, his sons freely entered into matrimonial alliances with the local tribes. Out of the twelve male children³⁸⁶ of his eldest son, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sulṭān, only one was by a Tarkhān wife. Three were grandsons of Rānā Rā'imāl Wīrsī, one was a grandson of Rānā Mēghrāj Wīsa and six were born of Samēja wives. Shāh Qāsim's third son, Mīr Shāh Muqīm fathered seven male children. Four of them were grandsons of 'Alā' al-Dīn, an Ūnar chief, and two were by the daughters of Rānā Mēghrāj and Rana Prithiraj respectively. In the like manner, out of the eight children of Shāh Qāsim's fourth son, Faṭḥī Beg, one was by a daughter of Rānā Bākar, and three were grandsons to Hāshim, a chief of the Sānd clan of the Samējas.

The close association of Shāh Qāsim's family with the local tribes, mainly served as a check on their turbulent tendencies and, in a way, contributed to his continued ascendancy in the volatile situation prevailing in the region; yet at times it proved to be an unwelcome liability too.

383 Ibid., pp.243-50.

384 See the photo of his tombstone in the *Chanēsar Nāma*, Intro., p.70. His grave still exists in his family graveyard.

385 Their names were, Mīr Abū al-Qāsim Sulṭān, Mīrzā Qāsim, Mīr Shāh Muqīm, Mīr Faṭḥī Beg, Mīr Yāran Beg, Mīr Salīm Khān and Mīr Murād Khān. While the last three were still young at the time of the composition of the *Beglār Nāma*, the first four were married and quite well-known for their social activities and military exploits. The author of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī* mentions another son of Shāh Qāsim, by the name of Jindā'ī. Unless it is the nickname of one of the above mentioned of his sons, nothing much is known about him.

386 T.T., pp. 243-50. According to the *Dh.Kh.* (vol.II, p.28) probably after the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān, he escaped to India and entered Jahāngīr's service, and was exalted with a *manṣab* and a *jāgīr*. Subsequently, however, he ran away to Thatta, together with the stable of Imperial horses he was entrusted to look after. Back in Sind, he took to a life of *zamīndārs*. He had in his harem one hundred beautiful Samēja, Sūmra and Sōdhra ladies, who bore him about twenty sons and a large number of grandsons.

254:21 The Lārī, or Larin, 'was Persian money, and reached India in large quantities through the trade with that country. It was not a coin in the ordinary sense of the word, but a bent rod or bar of silver stamped at the end, and was worth less than half of one of Akbar's rupees.³⁸⁷

256:30 Khān-i A'zam Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, a foster brother of Akbar, is generally known for his opposition to the religious³⁸⁸ and administrative³⁸⁹ policies of Akbar and his conspiracy³⁹⁰ for enthroning Khusrau instead of Jahāngīr after the death of Akbar. He grew up with Akbar who showed great attachment to him right to the end of his life. Mīrzā 'Azīz held several positions of power and responsibility under Akbar and Jahāngīr, though his outspoken attitude and inept behaviour not too infrequently, particularly during the reign of Jahāngīr, landed him in grave troubles. In 988/158-81 Akbar promoted him to the *manṣab* of 5000 and bestowed upon him the lofty title of Khān-i A'zam. Later, in 1003/1594-95 he was elevated to the office of *Wakīl*, or prime minister, in which capacity he served for almost a decade. The following year the royal seal was also made over to him and this still further enhanced the prestige of the Mīrzā. In 1005/1596-97 Multan was given to him in *jāgīr*.³⁹¹ Since Bhakkar was a dependency of Multan during those days,³⁹² it is not improbable that the Mīrzā might have received it too. It seems he assigned the administration of Multan and Bhakkar to his two sons, 'Abd Allāh and Anwar respectively and himself continued to stay and work as *Wakīl* at the court. Anwar, who had a reputation for immoderation in drinking and indolent habits and because of these evils was subsequently superseded by his younger brothers, 'Abd Allāh

387 W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, Delhi, 1962, p.53.
Also see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

388 *Dh.Kh.* vol.I, p.80.

389 *A.N.*, vol.III, p.147.

390 Asad Beg Qazwīnī, *Risāla-i Ta'rīkh*, B.M. MS. pp.51-4. For other incumbents of this post during the reign of Akbar, see Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughul Empire* Karachi, 1967 repr., p.140.

391 *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.308, 669, 717.

392 *A.A.*, vol.II, pp.160, 163-4.

and Shādmān, in promotion to the rank of 1000 (1010/1601-02),³⁹³ apparently proved to be a better administrator³⁹⁴ than his brother in Multan,³⁹⁵ who offended the local population by his excesses and irresponsible behaviour. 261:2 A veteran of the campaigns against the ruler of Kashmīr³⁹⁶ and the Tārīkīs,³⁹⁷ Qarā Beg Turkmān played an important role in the conquest of Thatta under the command of the *Khān-i Khānān*.³⁹⁸ When Mīrzā Rustam Qandahārī defected to India, Qarā Beg was one of the three Mughul nobles who were sent in advance to receive him.³⁹⁹ Subsequently, when the Mīrzā's elder brother and arch rival, Muẓaffar Qandahārī made some friendly overtures to the Mughuls and sent his mother and elder son, Bahrām Mīrzā, to India, in view of his old ties with the House of the Ṣafawīs, Qarā Beg was dispatched to reassure Muẓaffar of Akbar's kindness and to accompany him to the Mughul court.⁴⁰⁰ In 1007/1595-6 when Akbar left for the Deccan and entrusted the execution of the campaign against the Rana of Udaipur to Prince Salīm, among others, Qarā Beg was also attached to his retinue.⁴⁰¹ On his accession to the throne, Jahāngīr honoured Qarā Beg with the title of *Khān*⁴⁰² and together with other *manṣabdārs* dispatched him the Qandahar expedition under the command of Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān.⁴⁰³ This army joined Sardār Khān near Multan whence they marched off to Qandahar, but Qarā Khān died on the way.

393 See A.N., v.804, Cf. H. Beveridge's translation, p.1208.

394 Dh.Kh., vol.II, pp.325-6.

395 Ibid., pp.326-7.

396 A.N., vol.III, p.523.

397 Ibid, p.510.

398 Ibid, pp.585, 602, 608, 633-4.

399 Ibid, p.646.

400 Ibid, p.650; M.T. vol.II, p.402. According to the latter, Qarā Beg was *mīr-i shikār* at that time.

401 M.J., p.36.

402 Tūzūk., p.33.

403 Ibid., M.J., p.89.

261:23 *Rakas* is derived from the Sanskrit word *Rakshasa* which means a goblin, or evil spirit. These rakshasas 'haunt cemeteries, disturb sacrifices, harass devout men, animate dead bodies, devour human beings, and vex and afflict mankind in all sorts of ways.'⁴⁰⁴

263:12 A great general and grandee from the days of Akbar, Sa'id Khān, son of Ya'qūb Beg, son of Ibrahim Chabuq,⁴⁰⁵ was described by Jahāngīr as "one of the confidential nobles and connected with my father by marriage. His origin was from the Mughal tribe, and his ancestors were in the service of my forefathers."⁴⁰⁶

By dint of his sagacity, dedication to duty and other sterling qualities, Sa'id Khān rose to the highest honours under Akbar. He was the *atālīq*⁴⁰⁷ of Prince Dāniyāl for some time, participated in several expeditions, served as the governor of the Punjab, Bengal and Bihar and earned the promotion to the *mansab* of 5,000. Akbar also bestowed upon him the salary assignment of Multan and Bhakkar.⁴⁰⁸

When Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān failed to heed the Imperial edict sent to him through Bābā Tālib, in 1009/1600-1601,⁴⁰⁹ in 1011⁴¹⁰/1602-1603 Akbar charged Sa'id Khān with the responsibility of bringing the Mīrzā to court.⁴¹¹ Encamped at Bhakkar as Sa'id Khān was,⁴¹² he sent his men to the

404 See John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature*, London, 1950, pp.254-5.

405 *M.U.*, vol.II, p.408; Blochmann, p.351.

406 *Tūzūk*, vol.I, p.13.

407 *atā* in Turkish means father, and the termination *līq* indicates relationship. Thus the word *atalīq* literally signifies the relationship of an *ata*, or father. See Pavet de Courteille, s.v.

408 *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.409-10; Blochmann, p.351.

409 *M.R.*, vol.II, p.350. See also *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.21; *Beg.N.*, p.20; *T.T.*, p.239; *T.K.*, p.172.

410 Cf. Blochmann, p.351.

411 According to *M.R.* (vol.II, p.350), he was dispatched with twenty thousand *sawārs*.

412 *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol.I. p.223. During his stay at Bhakkar Sa'id Khān built a mosque at a little distance to the southwest of the island shrine of Khwāja Khidr in the river Indus. This brick mosque bearing an inscribed slab indicating 1011/1602 as the year of its construction, was lying in ruins when Henry Cousens noticed it. See his *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, p.147.

Mīrzā and recommended loyalty to him. Good sense prevailed on the Mīrzā and at long last, entrusting the affairs of his jāgīr to Khān-i Zamān and Khusrau Khan Charkas, in Shawwāl 1013/February-March 1506 he set out for Bhakkar,⁴¹³ whence Sa'īd Khān together with Mīr Abū al Qāsim Namakīn escorted him to Agra. They were still in Agra when the Emperor died.⁴¹⁴ In the confusion surrounding the question of accession to the throne, Sa'īd Khān sided with the pro-Jahāngīr elements.⁴¹⁵

Unlike his contemporaries, Zayn Khān Kūka and Qilīch Khān, who maintained huge stables of elephants and horses, Sa'īd Khān was famous for his strong passion for eunuchs,⁴¹⁶ a predilection which seems to have been encouraged by the abundance of eunuchs in Bengal, a place where he served for a considerably long time. Some of these eunuchs acquired names for themselves through good deeds,⁴¹⁷ the misdeeds of others recoiled on their master. For example, immediately after his succession when Jahāngīr appointed him the governor of the Punjab, he warned Sa'īd Khān to secure the people of that province against the tyranny and oppression of his notorious eunuchs failing which, the Emperor told him, 'he would receive punishment without favour'.⁴¹⁸ The date and place of Sa'īd Khān's death is not exactly known.⁴¹⁹ However, when in the middle of the first regnal year Khusrau revolted against Jahāngīr, Sa'īd Khān was encamped on the Chinab, on his way to Kashmir. Having heard this news, he hastened to Lahore to strengthen the royal army.⁴²⁰

Sa'īd Khān seems to have fathered two children, a son and a daughter. His son, Sa'd Allāh, subsequently styled *Nawāzish Khān* and

413 *Beg.N.*, p.21. See also *T.N.*, p.87; *T.T.*, pp.240-2.

414 Mīrzā Ghāzī Beg was the first noble to congratulate Jahāngīr on his accession to the throne. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.82.

415 See *Ibid.*

416 *Ibid.*, pp.124, 190; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.411; Blochmann, p.352.

417 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.190-1; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.413-4.

418 *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol.I, p.13; Beni Prasad, p.101.

419 According to Blochmann (p.352) he died before joining the post of the governor, but this is not borne out by the facts.

420 *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol.I, p.62; Beni Prasad, p.123.

Beglar Khān,⁴²¹ was married to the daughter of Zayn Khān Kūka,⁴²² and the daughter to the son of Fūlād Khān Barlās.⁴²³ By the year 1061⁴²⁴/1650-51 all his descendants as well as those of his brother, Makḥṣūṣ Khān, had died.⁴²⁵

263:27 Shāh Beg, son of Ibrāhīm Beg, was at first in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother, but upon the Mīrzā's death in 993/1585 he came to India and entered Akbar's service.⁴²⁶ During his long and chequered career at the Mughul court, he participated in a number of military campaigns and gave abundant proof of his courage and qualities of leadership.⁴²⁷ He also served under Khān Khānān 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān in the Sindh expedition and played a prominent role in it. In 1003/1595, when Mīrzā Muḥaffar Ḥusayn Ṣafawī decided to cede Qandahar to the Mughuls, Shāh Beg was appointed the governor of that strategic town.⁴²⁸ Two years later, in 1005/1597 he was promoted to a *manṣab* of 3,500.⁴²⁹

On his accession to the throne, Jahāngīr raised Shāh Beg to a rank of 5,000⁴³⁰ and appointed Sardār Khān to take over the charge of Qandahar from him.⁴³¹ Sardār Khān had hardly reached Multan,⁴³² when the Persians, taking advantage of Akbar's death and the rebellion of Khusrau,⁴³³ laid

421 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.250. For him see also see *T.T.*, pp.241-2; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.291; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.756.

422 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.250.

423 *Ibid.*, vol.I, p.241.

424 i.e., the probable date of completion of the *Dh.Kh.* See *Ibid.*, vol.I, *Intro.* p.20.

425 *Ibid.*, p.241

426 *A.N.*, vol.III, p.473; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.235; *M.U.*, vol.II, p.641; Blochmann, p.408.

427 See *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, pp.61, 126, 172.

428 *A.N.*, vol.III, p.671.

429 *Ibid.*, p.721.

430 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.49. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.235.

431 *Maz.Sh.*, p.113

432 *Ibid.*

433 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.70; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.235.

siege to the fort of Qandahar on three sides.⁴³⁴ Shāh Beg put up a stiff resistance to the Persian invaders and notwithstanding all difficulties and an acute shortage of provisions, did all in his power to repel the Persian aggression.⁴³⁵ There was hardly any day when he did not send his contingents to engage the enemy. On the other hand, to the vexation of the Persians he frequently held feasts and pleasure parties on the top of the citadel before the very eyes of the invading hosts.⁴³⁶ This situation continued for almost a year⁴³⁷ until on 12 Shawwāl 1015/31 January 1607 the Mughul assistance finally arrived.⁴³⁸ On hearing the news of the approaching Mughul army under the command of Mīrzā Ghāzī Tarkhān, the Persians lifted their siege and retreated post-haste to their own territory.⁴³⁹ As ordered by Jahāngīr,⁴⁴⁰ the fort was handed over to Sardār Khān and Shāh Beg returned to the court with the relieving force.⁴⁴¹ The Emperor entitled him Khān-i Daurān, and presented to him a jewelled waist-dagger, a male elephant and a special horse. The whole of the *sarkārs* of Tira, Kabul, Bangash, and the province of Sawad (Swat) Bajaur, with the task of beating back the Afghans of those regions, and a *jāgīr* and *faujdārship* were also confirmed to him.⁴⁴² For the next several years, the Khān-i Daurān was involved in active service in those areas and subsequently, even rose to the position of governor of Kabul.⁴⁴³ Since this last named position required a good deal of exertion of which Shāh Beg was growing increasingly incapable because of his old age, finally Jahāngīr transferred him to the governorship

434 *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol.I, p.71.

435 *Ibid* ; *T.T.*, p.254.

436 *Ibid*, p.71; *Dh.Kh.* vol.I, p.235; *T.T.*, p.254.

437 *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol.I, p.126; *T.T.*, p.254.

438 *Tūzūk* (R&B) vol.I, pp.70-1, 85-6, 126.

439 *Maz.Sh.* p.113; *T.T.*, p.255.

440 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.86.

441 *Ibid.*; Cf. Blochmann, p.409.

442 *Ibid.*, p.128; *Dh.Kh.* vol.I, p.236.

443 See *Tūzūk*, p.96; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.236; *Kēwalrām*, s.v.

of Thatta;⁴⁴⁴ he also bestowed on the Khān the *manṣab* of 6000 personal and 5,000 horse.⁴⁴⁵ Not long after, however, the Khān-i Daurān's request for retirement because of his old age, was granted and he was pensioned off to the *pargana* of Khūshāb, which had already been his *tankhwāh jāgīr* for a long time.⁴⁴⁶ He died in 1029/1620 at the age of 90, leaving behind four sons and Rs. 400,000 in cash and goods.⁴⁴⁷

263:30 Tūkhta Beg was a brave soldier and intimate attendant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm Kābulī⁴⁴⁸ and fought quite valiantly against the forces Akbar had sent to quell the rebellion of the Mīrzā.⁴⁴⁹ Upon the death of his master, together with many of his comrades Tūkhta Beg waited upon Akbar at Rawalpindi in 993/1585 and was received generously.⁴⁵⁰ Henceforward, he mostly served in the north western parts of the Mughul empire and played a very important role in the suppression of much too frequent Afghān revolts.⁴⁵¹ In 998/1589-90 a *jāgīr* was bestowed upon him at Ghaznīn.⁴⁵² In 1002/1594 he was attached to the retinue of Prince Salim and received a *jāgīr* in the Punjab.⁴⁵³ In 1013/1604-05 Akbar conferred on him the title of Khān,⁴⁵⁴ which, on his accession to the throne, Jahāngīr changed to Sardār Khān.⁴⁵⁵ The new Emperor also raised Tukhta Khan from his previous *manṣab* of 2,500 to the rank of 3,000⁴⁵⁶ and dispatched him to take over the government of

444 *Tūzūk* (R&B), p.397.

445 *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.81

446 *Ibid.*, p.97.

447 *Ibid.*, p.172.

448 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, pp.31, 151.

449 *M.U.*, vol.I, p.480; Blochmann, p.523.

450 *A.N.*, vol.III, pp.473-74.

451 *Ibid.*, pp.517, 526, 565, 640, 702, 814, 826.

452 *Ibid.*, p.573.

453 *Ibid.*, p.649.

454 *Ibid.*, p.832.

455 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.31.

456 *Ibid.* Cf. *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.480-81 and Blochmann, p.523.

Qandahar from Shāh Beg who was besieged by the Persians.⁴⁵⁷

Sardār Khān died at Qandahar sometime about 14 Rajab 1607-23 October 160 .⁴⁵⁸ He was survived by two sons, Ḥayāt Khān and Hidāyat Khān;⁴⁵⁹ each of them received half of their father's *manṣab* upon his death.⁴⁶⁰

266:2 Completed in 1012/1603-04, this strong fortress on the bank of the lake Ganbat, was constructed by Mīr Shāh Beg Khān-i Zamān with a view to encounter the predatory raids of the Samējas Ūnar and the Jūnējas in the *parganas* of Hālākandī, Khēbrān and Jāhēja.⁴⁶¹

266:2 Shīr Beg son of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Beg Arghūn, he was killed on 11 Ramadan 1010⁴⁶²/17 November 1711 in a battle against Rā'i Singh son of Mānak Chand.

266:20 *Namāz* is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *salat* which is the second of the five pillars (*arkān*) of practical religion in Islam. It is obligatory for every Muslim to perform this devotional exercise five times a day, namely in the early morning (*fajr*), at midday (*zuhr*), in the afternoon (*'aṣr*), in the evening (*maghrib*) and at night (*'ishā'*). In Persian these prayers are generally known as *namāz-i subḥ*, *namāz-i pishīn*, *namāz-i dīgar*, *namāz-i shām*, *namāz-i khuftan*. Besides, there are three voluntary prayers also, *tahajjud*, *ishrāq* and *chāsht*. The first is performed after midnight, the second in the morning and the third at about 11.00 A.M.⁴⁶³

Realizing the close association of these prayers with their timings, the Muslim writers transformed their names into a set of terms with the help of which, in the absence of modern watches, they could easily

457 *Tūzūk*, pp.33, 41, 60.

458 See *Ibid.*, p.72.

459 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.

460 *Tūzūk*, p.72. Also see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369, and *M.U.*, vol.I, p.481.

461 See *Beg.N.*, p.261.

462 His grave is in the cemetery of Mīyūn Wahyūn, in Ta'alluqa Tando Allahyar (See *T.T.*, p.354n.). For a fascimile of his tombstone see Idraki Beglari, *Chanēsar Nāma*, ed. Sayyid Ḥussām al-Dīn Rāshidī, Haidarabad - Pakistan, 1957, Intro., p.73. Its contents have also been reproduced in *Maz.Sh.*, p.292n. and *T.T.*, p.354n.

463 *D.I.*, s.v.

describe the various developments of the 24 hours of a day⁴⁶⁴ and in doing so, as is abundantly clear from the following extracts from the *Bābur Nāma*, they made absolutely no distinction between the religious or secular nature of the events involved. Referring to one of his Bohemian episodes, Bābur writes:

'We also invited Shahi a qalandar, and one of the *karez*-men who played the rebeck. There was drinking till the Evening Prayer on the rising-ground behind the *kārēz*; we then went into Tardi Beg's house and drank by lamp-light almost till the Bed-time Prayer.'⁴⁶⁵

272:8 A silken stuff from Turkistan believed to have been introduced into India by the Mughuls.⁴⁶⁶ Akbar ordered numerous improvements in its colour and material.⁴⁶⁷ The main centres of its production in India were Patna, Agra, Sirhind, Lahore⁴⁶⁸ and Sind.

272:8 Var. *Tafṣīla*.⁴⁶⁹ Sind excelled amongst industrial centres of India⁴⁷⁰ in the manufacturing of *Tafṣīla* and in other piece-goods also. The demand for the *tafsila* with gold threads seems to have been so high in the days of Akbar, that it was imported from Mecca, and while the price of Indian *tafsila* ranged from 8⁴⁷¹ to 12 rupees apiece, the imported stuff was sold for 15 to 20 rupees apiece.⁴⁷²

278:25 Sayyid Bāqir rose to a *manṣab* of 700 personal and 400 cavalry during the reign of Shāhjahān.⁴⁷³

278:25 In 1028/1619 Sayyid Bāyazīd Bukhārī, who was then the *faujdār* of Bhakkar, sent as an offering a rang (ibex) to Jahāngīr. He had brought the animal from the hills when it was small and brought it up in his house.

464 See *Q.N.*, pp.60, 65, 68, 168; Bayhaqī, *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaqī*, ed. 'Alī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad, 1971, pp.31, 484.

465 *B.N.*, p.417; also see, p.418.

466 *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. For the origin of this word see *F.A.R.*, s.v.

467 *A.A.*, vol.I, pp.67-8; Blochmann, p.97.

468 *M.H.*, pp.52, 82, 208, 249.

469 *F.J.*, *F.A.R.*, Steingass, s.v.

470 See *E.F.I.*, 1642-1645, p.7.

471 Cf. Blochmann, p.100

472 *Ibid.*, pp.99, 100.

473 *A.S.*, vol.III, p.373.

Jahāngīr, who was greatly delighted at the receipt of this gift, records in his *Memoirs*:

"Of *mar-khur* and hill sheep I have seen many brought up in the house, but I never saw a rang (tame). I ordered them to keep it with the Barbary goats, in order that they might pair and produce young ones. Without doubt, it is not allied to the *mar-khur* of the *quchqar*. Sayyid Bayazid was raised to the mansab of 1,000 personal and 700 horse." ⁴⁷⁴

280:10 It is the first year of the Turkish Twelve Year Cycle. Each year is named after an animal followed by the Turkish word *il*, which means year. The name of each year and its meaning ⁴⁷⁵ are as under:-

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Sījqān-īl | The Mouse Year |
| 2. Ud-īl | The Cow Year |
| 3. Pārsa-īl | The Leopard Year |
| 4. Tawishqān-īl | The Hare Year |
| 5. Yoyi-īl | The Crocodile Year |
| 6. Yilan-īl | The Snake Year |
| 7. Yunt-īl | The Horse Year |
| 8. Qū-īl | The Sheep Year |
| 9. Bich-īl | The Monkey Year |
| 10. Takhaqū-īl | The Fowl Year |
| 11. Īt-īl | The Dog Year |
| 12. Tankuz-īl | The Hog Year |

According to this cycle the *kharīf* (autumn) and *rabī'* (spring) crops never fall in one year. If this year's *kharīf* corresponds with Sījqān-īl, the *rabī'* will coincide with Ud-īl. Similarly, the next year's *kharīf* and *rabī'* will fall in Ud-īl and Parsa-īl respectively. ^{475/A}

474 *Tūzūk* (R&B), I, p.114; *Tūzūk*, p.284.

475 A.A., vol.II, pp.189-90. Cf. S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Edicts from the Mughal Harem*, Delhi, 1979, Appendix III, where several of the names are wrongly transcribed.

475/A For the history of this calendar in Persian literature, see Abū al-Faḍl Nab'ī, *Taqwīm-i Dwāzdiḥ Ḥayawānī dar Ta'rīkh-u Farhang-i Īrānī*, *Āyandih*, Tehran, VIII/7 Mihr 1361 H.Sh., pp.388-97.

280:11 A veteran soldier from the days of Akbar, Bādshāh Khwāja, better known as Shīr Khwāja, was on his father's side a descendant of the Prophet⁴⁷⁶ while on his mother's side he traced his ancestry to the 8th century famous saint, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband.⁴⁷⁷ (895/1491).

During the 30th regnal year of Akbar, he served under Sa'īd Khān Chaghatta against the Yūsufza'ī Afghāns, and afterwards under Prince Murād in the Deccan. In the 40th regnal year he carried out a sortie on Patan and distinguished himself against Ikhlāṣ Khān. The following year he participated in the battle against the ruler of Khandesh, Rāja 'Alī Khān, and fought valiantly. In the engagement that took place near the town of Bīr he was wounded but nevertheless succeeded in capturing the fort. Notwithstanding the acute shortage of provisions, Shīr Khwāja tenaciously held to the fort until Abū al-Faḍl came to his rescue and obliged the enemy to raise the siege. Abū al-Faḍl proposed to leave his own son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān at the *thāna* Bīr; but Shīr Khwāja did not quit the post. In the 46th year of Akbar's reign he was honoured with a drum and a flag. The title *Shīr Khwāja* was also conferred upon him by Akbar for his bravery.⁴⁷⁸

476 *M.U.*, (vol.II, p.648) uses the phrase "Sādāt-i Atā'ī" and Blochmann (perhaps on the analogy of the Sadat-i Baraha!) translates it as the "Sayyids of Itāwa". Itāwa or Etāwah is the name of a place in the Dō-āb (See Thornton, s.v.). According to the rules of the Persian grammar, a person hailing from or belonging to that place would be known by the cognomen of Itawā'ī or Etawā'ī, and not that of Itāwa as Blochmann implies.

As a matter of fact, Ata is a Turkish word meaning 'father' (see Steingass, s.v.; George S.A. Ranking tr. *Mutakhab al-Tawārīkh*, I, p.568 n.6) and the adjective derived from it is Atā'ī which may mean anything from fatherly and fatherlike to 'belonging to father' and 'on father's side' etc. This speculation is further strengthened by the language of the *Ma'āthir* which says that "He hailed from the Atā'ī Sayyids (i.e. the type of Sayyids who are descended from the Prophet on their fathers' side) and on his mother's side he is a Naqshbandī."

According to some sources (e.g. Kēwalrām, s.v.) Shīr Khwāja belonged to the clan of Mīrzā 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī (For his life see Blochmann, p.539).

477 He was one of the leading lights of the Silsila-i Khwājigān, which subsequently under the influence of his personality came to be known as Silsila-i Naqshbandiyya. See 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Jāmī, *Nafahat al-Uns*, ed. Mahdī Tauḥīdīpūr, Tehrān, n.d., pp. 384-9.

478 *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.649-50; Blochmann, p.510.

During the reign of Jahāngīr also the fortunes of Shīr Khwāja continued to rise.⁴⁷⁹ When Mahābat Khān revolted on the bank of the river Jhelum, Shīr Khwāja sided with the Imperial forces. Later on, he espoused the cause of Shāhjahān and fought against Shahryār at Lahore.⁴⁸⁰ When Shāhjahān ascended the throne, he conferred upon Shīr Khwāja the *manṣab* of 4,000 personal and 3,500 horse⁴⁸¹ and honoured him with the title of *Khwāja Bāqī Jān*. The Emperor also presented to him a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, a flag, a drum and a horse and made him the governor of Thatta,⁴⁸² vice Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān.⁴⁸³ The Khwāja died on his way to Thatta and was succeeded by Mīr Hussāmuddīn Injū Murtaḍā Khān as the governor of that province.⁴⁸⁴

282:15 *Qur'ān* 2:156.

282:17 At first a *bakhshī* of Nawwāb I'timād al-Daula,⁴⁸⁵ Sharīf al-Mulk subsequently joined the service of Prince Shahryār. In 1031/1622 when Shāh Jahān tried to forcibly take possession of the estates in the *jāgīr* of Nūr Jahān and Prince Shahryār, especially Dhōlpūr⁴⁸⁶ which had been assigned in *tankhwāh* to Shahryār by the Emperor, Sharīf al-Mulk was the *faujdār* of that place. In the scuffle that followed between him and Daryā Khān Afghān, whom Shāh Jahān had sent to capture the estates both sides suffered heavy casualties⁴⁸⁷ and Sharīf al-Mulk lost one of his eyes.^{487/A} Hence the

479 In the middle of Akbar's reign he was the commander of 800; during the days of Jahāngīr he rose to the *manṣab* of 4,000 (see Kēwalrām, s.v.)

480 Lāhaurī, vol.I, p.73; A.S., vol.I, p.174.

481 Lāhaurī, vol.I, p.181; A.S., vol.I, p.233, Cf. *M.U.*, and Blochmann, where he is mentioned as the commander of 4,000 personal and 1,000 horse.

482 Lāhaurī, vol.I, p.181; A.S., vol.I, p.233.

483 Lāhaurī, vol.I, p.181; A.S., vol.I, p.239.

484 A.S., vol.I, p.241.

485 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.404-5.

486 '20 kōs from Agra, near the left bank on the Chambal river.' Blochmann, p.384.

487 *Tūzūk*, p.326; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, pp.235-6.

487/A *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.62, Cf. *T.K.*, p.320; *L.T.S.*, pp.95-6.

epithets of *kūr chashm*⁴⁸⁸ (blind) and *yak chashm*⁴⁸⁹ (one-eyed) after his name.

Later on, when in Muḥarrām 1035/October 1625 Muṣṭafā Khān Shaykh Bāyazīd⁴⁹⁰ died and Thatta was transferred to Shahryār,⁴⁹¹ the latter sent Sharīf al-Mulk to administer it on his behalf.⁴⁹² A few months later when Shāh Jahān appeared before the gates of Thatta, Sharīf al-Mulk defended the town valiantly and forced the rebel prince to beat a retreat.⁴⁹³ On his accession to the throne Shāh Jahān replaced Sharīf al-Mulk with Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān II as the governor of Thatta⁴⁹⁴ and subjected Sharīf al-Mulk and his subordinates to humiliating treatment.⁴⁹⁵

282:18 Born of a concubine in 1013/1605, Shahryār was the youngest surviving son of Jahāngīr.⁴⁹⁶ He was married to the daughter of Nūr Jahān by Shīr Afkan.⁴⁹⁷ The astute and all-powerful queen groomed him to be the successor of her husband and a pliable means of continuing her hold on the affairs of state.⁴⁹⁸ For her no measure was too great to push forward the fortunes of her son-in-law. She exploited the strained relations between Shāh Jahān and his father,^{498/A} who promoted Shahryar to the *manṣab* of 12000 personal and 8000 horse and made him in charge of the Qandahar expedition.⁴⁹⁹

488 *L.T.S.*, 95. *Dh.Kh.* (vol.II, p.211) refers to him as *kur* (blind).

489 *T.K.*, p.318; *T.K.*, tr., p.292.

490 Muṣṭafā Khān was the title of Bāyazīd Bukhārī and they are not two different persons as erroneously suggested by *L.T.S.*, p.95.

491 *Tūzūk*, p.397.

492 *Kēwalrām*, s.v. Sharīf al-Mulk.

493 *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngīrī*, E&D, vol.VI, pp.432-3; *A.S.*, vol.I, pp.159-60. Cf. *Dh.Kh.*, II, p.211.

494 *A.S.*, p.181, For 'Isā Khān's life see *Dh.Kh.*, II, pp.210-12; *T.K.*, pp.320-22.

495 *T.K.* tr., pp.437-8.

496 *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.I, p.20.

497 *Ibid.*, pp.199, 202.

498 Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1940, Third Edition, p.275.

498/A See Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, Allahabad 1958, p.39.

499 *Ibid.*, p.301; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.237.

On the death of Jahāngīr, Shahryār, on the instigation of Nūr Jahān, proclaimed himself emperor, only to be outwitted, defeated and captured by the protagonists of his elder brother and arch rival, Shāh Jahān. He was first blinded and then killed in 1037/1628.⁵⁰⁰

283:9 *Qur'ān* 6:164; 17:15; 35:18; 39:7.

283:32 Subsequently he rose to a *manṣab* of 1000 personal and 400 horse.⁵⁰¹

284:30 He was a nephew of Nūr Jahān and his sister was married to Mīr Hussām al-Dīn Īnjū (Murṭadā Khān).⁵⁰² In 1030/1621 Jahāngīr promoted him to a *manṣab*, original and increase, of 2,000 personal and 500 horse, bestowed upon him the title of Khān, a standard and drums, and made him the governor of Orissa.⁵⁰³ It was during Aḥmad Beg Khān's governorship of that place that in 1033/1623 the rebellious prince Shāh Jahān succeeded in penetrating Orissa from the Golkunda side and obliged Aḥmad Beg Khān to flee to Dacca, where his uncle, Ibrāhīm Khān Faṭḥ Jang the governor of Bengal resided.⁵⁰⁴ In the battle that ensued between the rebel and the Imperial forces at Akbarnagar, or Rāj Mahall as it was alternatively called,⁵⁰⁵ Ibrāhīm Khān was killed and Aḥmad Beg made good his escape to Dacca, where, subsequently, he surrendered himself to the prince, and fabulous booty fell into the hands of the victorious army.⁵⁰⁶

On his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān gave Aḥmad Beg Khān a robe of honour and a horse, and raised him to a rank of 2,000 personal and 1,500 horse.⁵⁰⁷ Not long afterwards, on 13 Rajab 1037⁵⁰⁸ / 19 March 1628

500 Muṭamid Khān, *Iqbāl-Nāma-i Jahāngīrī*, E&D, vol.VI, pp.435-8; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.34-45; *A.S.*, vol.I, pp.167-82. Beni Prasad, pp. 366-72; Banarsi Prasad Saksena, pp.56-61.

501 *A.S.*, vol.III, p.366.

502 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.308; *M.U.*, vol.III, p.382.

503 *Tūzūk*, p.332; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.210.

504 *Tūzūk* p.382; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.298.

505 Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p.321; *Tūzūk* (R&B), vol.II, p.299.

506 *Tūzūk*, p.384.

507 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.223; Cf. *M.U.*, vol.I, p.194; *M.U.*, tr. vol.I, p.196, where his rank is erroneously mentioned as 2,000 personal and 500 horse.

508 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.236.

he was appointed the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwan. Except for the construction of a few forts here and there,⁵⁰⁹ Aḥmad Beg's rule at Sihwan was generally characterized by maladministration, inefficiency and extreme oppression. The way he acquiesced to the tyranny of his brother, Mīrzā Yūsuf, over the people of Sihwan cast serious doubts on his capability to hold any position of responsibility and clearly demonstrated the degenerate condition of the Mughul administration in the far-flung areas, such as Sind, during this period.

On his transfer from Sihwan, evidently he was first appointed the *faujdār*⁵¹⁰ of Multan and then promoted to the governorship⁵¹¹ of that province. During the 25th Regnal year,⁵¹² Shāh Jahān raised him to a rank of 2,500 personal and 2,000 horse and appointed him the *faujdār* of Biswara.⁵¹³ He also served as the *faujdār* Lakhnau where during the 28th regnal year⁵¹⁴ he was replaced by Irādat Khān.⁵¹⁵ Later on, Shāh Jahān deprived him of his *manṣab* and *jāgīr*⁵¹⁶ for some unknown reason, but he got them back during the 30th year⁵¹⁷ of that monarch's reign.⁵⁸¹ Nothing is known about the subsequent career of Aḥmad Beg Khān. His two sons, Mukhlis Khān⁵¹⁹ and Muḥammad Sharīf⁵²⁰ were also in Shāh Jahān's service.

509 See *Maz.Sh.*, pp.163,215.

510 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.361.

511 He held this position when Shīr Khān Tarīn turned to the Mughul court for refuge after losing his stronghold to 'Alī Mardān Khān, the Safawid governor of Qandahar in 1044/1634-35. See *A.S.*, vol.I, p.399,301.

512 Started on 1 Jumādā II 1061/ 22 May 1650.

513 *A.S.*, vol, III, p.99.

514 Started on 1 Jumādā II 1064/ 19 April 1653.

515 *A.S.*, vol.III, p.143.

516 *M.U.*, vol.I, p.194 wrongly puts this incident in the 26th regnal year of Shāh Jahān.

517 Started on 1 Jumādā II 1066/ 27 March 1656.

518 *A.S.*, vol.III, p.174. He also held *parganas* of Jā'īs and Amēthī in *jāgīr*. *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.238; *M.U.*, vol.I, p.194.

519 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.239.

520 *A.S.*, vol.III, p.381.

285:4 It should be Ḥajjāj-i Yūsuf, or Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, the Thaqafī governor of 'Irāq under the Umayyad caliphs, 'Abd al-Malik and Walīd. He is a byword for tyranny and oppression in Islamic history. He ruthlessly put down the rebellion of 'Abd Allāh b. Zubayr at Mecca and in the course of his action against him even did not hesitate to destroy the Ka'ba. At the time of his appointment as the governor of 'Irāq, the annual revenue of that place amounted to 100,000 dirhams, but as a consequence of Ḥajjāj's repressive rule it was soon reduced to 25,000 dirhams. He ruled for about two decades and finally when he died in 95/714 there were 50,000 men and 30,000 women languishing in his jails, which were without roofs to ward off the severities of weather from the inmates.⁵²¹ He considered himself a scourge of God.⁵²²

286:15 For the specimen of a *dastak* of Shāhjahān's reign, see *S.D.Sh.*, p.92.

288:11 *Bīgār* is a Persian word which means to force someone to work without remuneration⁵²³ and in that sense it 'corresponds to the Old French *corvee*.⁵²⁴ Such forcible employment of people, or their resources really or professedly for public service, regardless of any loss or inconvenience to them, was not uncommon during those days. Under certain extraordinary circumstances it might have been pardonable to some extent, but generally speaking, it was considered an act of tyranny.⁵²⁵

An interesting example of *bīgār* is seen in the *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique* (1629-1643). On his way to Iran from India, in the vicinity of the Mughul province of Qandahar, he found the captain and merchants of a caravan that had reached there before him "in great distress and consternation because the Nababo of that Province had seized their camels

521 Mas'ūdī, *Al-Tanbīh wa'l-Ishrāf*, tr. Abū al-Qāsim Pāyandih, Tehran, 1349 H.Sh., pp.292, 296-97.

522 See Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī-i Tūsī, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, Tehran, 1351 H.Sh., p.132.

523 *F.J.*, *B.Q.*, *F.A.R.*, *P.E.D.*, *H.J.*, s.v. *Bīgār*, or *Bēgār*.

524 *T.F.S.M.*, p.265, n.12.

525 See *F.J.*, s.v. *Bīgār*, *Shakar* and *Sukhra*, with relevant footnotes.

in order to transport materials required for the repair of the walls and fortifications of the City. This was due to certain generally current rumours and to information which the Nababo had received, from the Kan or Viceroy of Ferra was proposing to cross the frontier with twelve thousand Georgian horse and some Persian and Corazane infantry, in order to commence the recovery of the kingdom of Kandahar ...

'On the receipt of this news, the immunities and privileges which the cafilas or mercantile caravans enjoy in those parts were entirely set aside. So our camels also could not be spared the embargo. They were taken that very night, to the great annoyance of every one, owing to the loss of time it involved, and to their being exposed to accidents when in charge of those who had no concern for any injury they suffered. This obstruction obliged us to remain there fourteen days, awaiting the return of our camels and giving them a few days in which to recuperate after the work they had done.'⁵²⁶

289:1 Originally he hailed from Isfahān but since during the days of Jahāngīr for some time he was in charge of the government of Bandar Lāharī, the epithet of Bandarī became a permanent part of his name.⁵²⁷ The contemporary authorities hardly give any worthwhile information about his early or subsequent career. According to some sources,⁵²⁸ in 1038/1615-16 when Bhakkar was transferred from the jāgīr of Nūr Jahān to that of Āsif Khān, the latter appointed Muḥammad 'Alī Beg as the *faujdār* of that place. On the other hand, according to the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*,⁵²⁹ Muḥammad 'Alī Beg, with the help of the agents of Shīr Khwāja in Sihwan, led a punitive expedition against the Samējas and captured a great number of their men.

Sihwan was conferred on Shīr Khwāja by Jahāngīr as his *tankhwāh jāgīr* in the rabī' season of 1032⁵³⁰/1622-23. Shīr Khwāja dispatched his agents to look after the jāgīr and himself stayed in the royal presence. When Jahāngīr was arrested by Mahābat Khān in 1035/1625-26 on the bank of the Bihit river, Sharīf al-Mulk, who was the governor of Thatta on behalf of prince Shahryār, captured Yār Muḥammad Kūka, the ḥākīm of Sihwan, on behalf

526 T.F.S.M., pp.265-7.

527 Dh.Kh., vol.II, p.369.

528 Beg Muḥammad b. Zinda 'Alī Beg, *Ḍamīma-i Ta'rīkh-i Ma'sūmī* quoted in *Maz.Sh.*, p.326n.

529 Ibid., p.196n.

530 Ibid., p.146.

of Shīr Khwāja and, brought Sihwan under his own control.⁵³¹ Little is known about the fate of this region until Shāhjahān, after his accession, appointed Shīr Khwāja the governor of Thatta on 1 Rajab 1037/ 7 March 1628 and dispatched Aḥmad Beg Khān as the *jāgīrdār* of Sihwan on 13 Rajab 1037/19 March 1628. The former died on the way and Mīr Ḥussām al-Dīn Murṭaḍā Khān was appointed in his place.

If we accept the version of Yūsuf Mīrak about Muḥammad 'Alī Beg's expedition against the Samējas, which is incidentally affirmed by other sources also,⁵³² it could not have happened after the death of Shīr Khwāja in 1037/1628, and with the little knowledge we have about the period between the removal of Shīr Khwāja's men by Sharīf al-Mulk and the fresh appointment of Shīr Khwāja as the governor of Thatta, it would be reasonable to assume that Muḥammad 'Alī Beg led this expedition sometime before 1035/1625-26 and at that time he held the position of the *faujdār* of Bhakkar. Probably he still occupied this office when Bhakkar was transferred from Nūr Jahān to Āṣif Khān.⁵³³ Evidently, Āṣif Khān also confirmed him as the *faujdār* of Bhakkar but soon afterwards, however, he was arrested on charges of embezzlement and, after a good deal of humiliation, died in jail.⁵³⁴

292:10 'An epithet applied to the lowest and vilest classes of the people, particularly such as are employed in the meanest offices, the removing of carrion and the like; so called because everything is lawful food to them.'⁵³⁵ According to Abū al-Faḍl⁵³⁶ the sweepers (*Kannās*) in India were known as Ḥalāl-khwūr.

292:26 Must be read Takhāfū-11.

531 Ibid., pp.148-50.

532 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.

533 According to the *L.T.S.* (p.77) Nawwāb Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad Beg was appointed the *ḥākim* of Bhakkar which lay in the *jāgīr* of Nūr Jahān, in 1031/1621, and was replaced by Muḥammad 'Alī *faujdār* in 1038/1628. Apparently it is one and the same person who served as the *faujdār* of Bhakkar first on behalf of Nūr Jahān and then on Āṣif Khān's.

534 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.369.

535 Steingass, s.v.

536 *A.A.*, vol.I, p.97. Also see Blochmann, p.147n.

292:32 A gallant soldier and capable administrator, Qilīch Khān Tūrānī was a nephew⁵³⁷ of a Mughul grandee of the same name⁵³⁸ who flourished under Akbar and Jahāngīr. He started his career⁵³⁹ as a retainer of ‘Abd Allāh Khān Fīrūz Jang,⁵⁴⁰ but subsequently joined the service of Prince Shāh Jahān and served him so loyally⁵⁴¹ and efficiently that on his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān bestowed on him the rank of 2000 personal and 1500 cavalry. The Emperor also honoured him with a *khil‘at*, a jewelled dagger, a horse, a standard, an elephant and a cash reward of Rs. 5000.⁵⁴² Soon after, a kettle drum was also given to him.⁵⁴³

Qilīch Khān served as the governor of Delhi, Alahabad, Multan, Qandahar, the Punjab, Badakhshan and Kabul.⁵⁴⁴ He was twice appointed to Multan⁵⁴⁵ and served there for about seven and a half years altogether.

He played an important role in the smooth transfer of Qandahar from the Safawids to the Mughuls, on the defection of its Persian governor, ‘Alī Mardān Khān, in 1047/1638 to the Mughul side. During his governorship of Qandahar he also conquered Zamindawar and Bust. He was also credited with stamping out a rebellion at Allahabad,⁵⁴⁶ and restoring law and order at Badakhshan.⁵⁴⁷ In sum, he attained to the pinnacle of glory under Shāh

537 Kēwalrām, s.v.

538 I.e., Qilīch Khān Andijānī. For his life see *N.M.*, s.v. Ulfatī, his poetical name; *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, pp.172-75; *M.U.*, vol.III, pp.68-73.

539 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.III, p.66; *M.U.*, vol.III. p.91.

540 This title was conferred on him by Shāh Jahān. See *A.S.*, vol.I, p.354. For his life see *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, pp.173-85; *M.U.*, vol.II, pp.776-88.

541 *A.S.*, vol.I, p.220.

542 *Ibid.*, p.223.

543 *Ibid.*, p.260.

544 *M.U.*, vol.III, pp. 92-3.

545 From Shawwāl 1041/May 1632 to Shawwāl 1047/March 1638 (see *A.S.*, vol.I, p.405, Vol.II, p.228) and from Rabī‘ I, 1051/June-July 1641 to Dhī al-Hijja 1052/March 1643. (*A.S.*, vol.II, pp.228,33.)

546 *Ibid.*, vol.I, pp.357-8.

547 *Ibid.*, II, pp.385-6.

Jahān⁵⁴⁸ and died at Bhera, in the Punjab, on 15 Ṣafar 1064/5 January 1654.⁵⁴⁹

293:10 A close and trusted servant of Shāhjahān from the days of his princship, Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn⁵⁵⁰ alias Jan Nithār Khān is first heard of in 1037/1627, when on receipt of the news of the death of Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, considering himself to be the *de facto* sovereign of India, despatched him with an important *farmān* to Khān Jahān Lōdhī in Burhanpur confirming him in his post and extending to him a variety of other concessions.⁵⁵¹ Later, on the eve of his coronation when Shāhjahān conferred honours on his courtiers, Jān Nithār Khān was given the rank of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse. The Emperor also bestowed upon him a dress of honour, a jewelled (*muraṣṣa*⁵⁵²) dagger, a standard, a horse, an elephant, and twelve thousand rupees in cash.⁵⁵² As is abundantly borne out by the Khān's subsequent rapid promotions he seems to have enjoyed undiminished confidence of Shāhjahān right until the close of his career.

In 1038/1629 Shāhjahān increased his rank by 200 horse.⁵⁵³ After a few months he received an increase of 500 personal in his *manṣab*.⁵⁵⁴ The following year (26 Rabī⁵⁵⁵ I 1040/2 November 1630), he was appointed the commandant of the fort of Ahmadnagar⁵⁵⁵ in which position he served for a year until he was recalled to the court.⁵⁵⁶ Soon after in Jumādā II 1040/ December-January 1631-32, he was honoured with a dress of honour and a horse and despatched to Daulatabad under the command of Wazīr Khān.⁵⁵⁷ After his

548 He rose to the rank of 5000 personal and 5000 cavalry *du aspa sih aspa*. A.S., III, p.350.

549 Ibid., p.137.

550 M.U., vol.I, p.524.

551 Lāhaurī, vol, I, p.75.

552 Lāhaurī, vol.I, pp.118-9. Cf. M.U., vol.I, p.525.

553 Lāhaurī, p.260.

554 Lāhaurī, p.288.

555 Ibid., p.320.

556 Ibid., p.399.

557 Ibid., p.410.

return from Daulatabad, he appears to have been made the *faujdār* of Lakhī Jangal whence he was relieved by Sazāwār Khān, son of Lashkar Khān, in Shawwāl 1042/ April 1633.⁵⁵⁸

In Rabi' II 1043/October–November 1633, Jān Nithār Khān was promoted to the rank of 2,500 personal and 1,500 horse⁵⁵⁹ and appointed the *hākīm* of Siwistan whence in Shawwāl 1047/February–March 1638, he was ordered to proceed to Qandahar and help Qilīch Khān, the governor-designate of that place, in that expedition.⁵⁶⁰ Jān Nithār Khān served in the Qandahar campaign with distinction and on 1 Rajab 1048/8 November 1638 the Imperial directive was received for his return to his original assignment in Siwistan.

On 10 Sha'bān 1048/18 December 1638, he was promoted to 2,500 personal and 2,500 horse and ordered to take over as the *nāẓim* of Bhakkar from Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Tāshkandī who had served with him in Qandahar campaign and was now promoted to the *ṣubadārship* of Multan. Yakka-tāz succeeded Jān Nithār Khān as the governor of Siwistan.⁵⁶¹ The latter died on his way to Bhakkar⁵⁶² and on 9 Ramadan 1048/14 January 1639 Shāh Qulī Khān was appointed the *nāẓim* of Bhakkar in his stead.⁵⁶³

Jān Nithār Khān proved himself to be a good administrator. To keep in check the truculent and predatory Sōdas and Samējas he married the daughters of the *zamīndārs* of those tribes. As long as he was alive, the said *zamīndārs* remained submissive and docile but the moment the news of his death spread they forcibly took away their daughters from his household and resumed their age old practice of rapine and pillage.⁵⁶⁴

558 Ibid., p.476.

559 Ibid., p.542.

560 Ibid., vol.II, p.35.

561 *M.U.*, vol.I, p.525, gives the impression that he died after assuming the office of *nāẓim* of Bhakkar, but it is contrary to the factual position. See *Lāhaurī*, vol.II, p.131.

562 Ibid, p.128

563 Ibid., p.131. Banarsi Prasad Saksena (*History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, pp. 60, 68, 69, 201, 202, 218, 221, 222, 359) has confused Kamāl al-Dīn Jān Nithār Khān (d. 1048/1639) with Yādgār Beg son of Zabardast Khān who got the title of Jān Nithār Khān on 1 Muḥarram 1056/8 March 1646 and was sent as an envoy to the Persian court on 18 Ṣafar 1056/5 April 1646. (See *Lāhaurī*, vol.II, pp. 488–489, 493, 499; *Kēwalrām*, s.v. Jān Nithār Khān and Lashkar Khān.)

564 See *Dh.Kh.*, vol.II, p.106; *M.U.*, vol.I, pp.525–6.

293:26 For the qualities expected in a good *qawwāl* and the etiquette of musical gatherings, see *Ghunyat al-Munya*, ed. Shahāb Sarmadee, Bombay, 1978, pp.108-10.

293:34 *Tarāwīḥ*. The plural of *tarwīḥ*, "Rest." The prayers, of usually twenty rak'ahs, recited at night during the month of Ramaḍān; so called because the congregation sit down and rest after every fourth rak'ah and every second "Salām".⁵⁶⁵

296:29 The sixteen couplets that follow (omitted here) are taken from the *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqat* of Sanā'ī.⁵⁶⁶ The substance of the poem is that at the time of 'Umar's death, his son 'Abd Allāh asked him when he would be able to see him. 'Umar replied that he would appear in his son's dream, but it took him twelve long years before he could fulfil this promise. Upon being asked about the reason of this delay, 'Umar told him that during his period of caliphate a goat had fallen from a broken bridge in Baghdad and had hurt her leg. The owner of that goat caught hold of him in the presence of God Almighty and asked him to account for his loss, for as a ruler it was his duty to look after the life and property of his subjects. 'Umar revealed to his son that ever since his death he had been under intensive interrogation on that account and but for the infinite mercy of Allāh, he would not have been pardoned. Sanā'ī then concludes that if this could happen to 'Umar whose name was synonymous with justice, what would be the fate of other rulers!

The story goes as far back as the *Ḥilyat al-Auliya'* of Ḥāfiz Abū Nu'aym and has been widely reflected in Arabic and Persian literature.⁵⁶⁷ Ghazālī quoted this anecdote in the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, as well as in the *Kīmīyā-i Sa'ādat*, but Sanā'ī was apparently inspired by the *Siyāsat-Nāma's* version.⁵⁶⁸

565 D.J., s.v.

566 Ed. Mudarris Raḍawī, Tehran, n.d., pp. 544-5.

567 Mudarris Raḍawī, *Ta'ālīqat-i Ḥadīqa al-Ḥaqīqa*, Tehran, n.d., pp.614-6.

568 Imām Muḥammad Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, ed. Jalāl Humā'ī, Tehran, 1351 H.Sh., Intro., pp.66-7; 94.

297:24 Reputed for his learning and misunderstood schemes, and renowned for his unprecedented generosity and unremitting punishments, Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughluq was the second and most important sovereign of the Tughluq dynasty. The Sultanate of Delhi reached its zenith under him, and it also disintegrated during his reign.⁵⁶⁹ The Sultān ascended the throne of Delhi in 725⁵⁷⁰/1325 and died on 21 Muḥarram 752⁵⁷¹/20 March 1351 at the site of the modern Sonda village, about fourteen *kurōhs* north of Thatta,⁵⁷² during the pursuit of a rebellious slave called Taghī⁵⁷³ who had taken refuge with Jām Unnar, the Samma dynast⁵⁷⁴ of Thatta.

After Muḥammad's death, in keeping with his wishes,⁵⁷⁵ the crown was offered to his cousin, Fīrūz b. Rajab, who accepted it formally on 24 Muḥarram 752⁵⁷⁶/23 March 1351 and became the new king. In this hour of grief and panic the Imperial army was subjected to raids by the troops from Thatta and they were also invaded by the Mongol hordes from Central Asia,⁵⁷⁷ but Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, realizing the gravity of the situation, instead of taking the field against the enemy chose to return to the capital. It was only in Ṣafar 767/October 1365, when all conciliatory means to check the mischievous propensities of the Sammas had exhausted,⁵⁷⁸ that Fīrūz Shāh finally decided to lead a punitive expedition against them. His first attempt was marred by scarcity of food and fodder and pestilence among horses that followed it, and he had to sustain immeasurable losses. But the

569 *The Travels of Ibn Battūta*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, Cambridge, 1971, vol.III, pp.619-767; Shaykh 'Ināyat Allāh, *Subḥ al-A'shā sē Muḥammad b. Tughluq Shāh kē 'ahd-i hukūmat kē ba'd ḥālāt*, *Oriental College Magazine*, vol.XII, No. 4, pp.141-53; Ishwari Prasad, *A History of the Qaraunah Turks in India*, Allahabad, 1974 repr, Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, New Delhi, 1976 repr.

570 Barani, p.456; Amīr Khwurd, *Sayr al-Auliya'*, Delhi, 1309/1891-2, p.591.

571 Barani, p.525.

572 Āghā Mahdī Husain, pp.297, 607-8; *Maqālat-i Maulawī Muḥammad Shafī'*, ed. Aḥmad Rabbānī, Lahore, n.d., vol.I, pp.317-25.

573 For details see Ishwari Prasad, pp.225-32, 246-51.

574 For their advent in Sind see Riazul Islam, *The Rise of the Sammas in Sind*, *Islamic Culture*, Vol.XXII, No. 4, pp.359-82.

575 Barani, pp.529, 530, 532, 536.

576 Barani, p.536; *Sayr al-Auliya'*, p.592.

577 Barani, pp.533-37.

578 See *Inshā'-i Māhrū*, pp.102, 186-88, 230-32 and the article referred to in n.574 above.

following year he returned in great force from Gujarat and took the Sindhis unawares. He captured all their crops ready to be harvested, and caused a severe shortage of grain in the enemy camp. At last, dismayed by the famine and growing number of desertions, the joint rulers of Thatta, Jām Jūna and his nephew, Jām Banhbīna surrendered themselves to the Sultān one after the other.⁵⁷⁹ They were received honourably.⁵⁸⁰

Fīrūz Shāh entrusted the government of Thatta to Jām Jūna's son, Khayr al-Dīn Jām Taghāchī and to Banhbīna's brother, Jām Tamāchī jointly, and he himself set out for Delhi with the deposed chiefs of Thatta, together with all their establishments, in his train.⁵⁸¹

The new rulers of Thatta paid four *lākhs* of *tankas* in cash, as a mark of their allegiance, and undertook to offer several *lākhs* of *tankas* in money and goods yearly. After some years, Banhbīna's brother, Tamāchī, rebelled at Thatta and the Sultān dispatched Jām Jūna to repress his rebellion. The Jām returned to Thatta and sent Tamāchī to Delhi. Banhbīna was also subsequently allowed to return to Thatta, but he died on the way.⁵⁸²

297:24 Taken from *T.S.* (pp.64-5).

298:1 *T.S.* (p.65): seven years.

314:22 The original *mallaḥān* has been translated as boatmen. According to Khwārazmī another meaning of the word *mallaḥ* is "a person who frequents the waterways (*muta'ahhid al-mā'*)". C.E. Bosworth adds: "... the word comes ultimately from Akkadian, and in ancient Mesopotamia, the *malahu* was a boatman, and perhaps sometimes, a shipbuilder."⁵⁸³

579 See *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, E&D, vol.III, pp.319-37.

580 Ibid., p.335-6. Also see Muḥammad Waḥīd Mīrzā, *Dīwān-i Muṭahhar-i Karā'ī*, Oriental College Magazine, vol.XI, No.3, pp.140-45.

581 'Afīf, E&D, vol.III, p.336. Also see Nabī Bakhsh Khān Balōch, *Chronology of the Samma Rulers of Sind, Proceedings of the Meetings of the Second Session of the Pakistan Historical Records and Archives Commission, Peshawar, February 1954*, Karachi, 1957. pp.23-9; *T.T.*, pp.307-8n; *Ta'rīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, tr. Akhtar Raḍawī, Annotations by Nabī Bakhsh Khān Balōch, pp.463-5n.

582 'Afīf, p.338.

583 C.E. Bosworth, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XII (1969), p.153.

320:32 *Dhārā* means a stream and *tīrth* (Sanskrit), or *tīrath* (Hindi) implies a bathing place, a shrine or sacred place of pilgrimage (as Benares & c., especially particular spots along the course of sacred streams (as the Ganges & c.).⁵⁸⁴

325:3 Encouraged by the Persian siege⁵⁸⁵ of Qandahar, Haydar, who was originally a servant⁵⁸⁶ of Shāh Beg Arghūn, also raised the standard of rebellion at Zamīn Dāwar,⁵⁸⁷ a dependency^{587/A} of the aforementioned place. He collected some men and launched marauding raids on the neighbouring territories. Sometimes his raids extended to the fort of Qandahar as well.

He was known for his horse called Chīnī, which resembled a camel in certain of his movements and could traverse distances as long as one hundred *kurohs* a day in times of emergency.⁵⁸⁸

According to the *Dhakhīrat al-Khwānīn*⁵⁸⁹ his rebellion was quelled by Shāh Beg Arghūn.

326:34 For Jats see Irfan Habib, *Jatts of Punjab and Sind, Punjab Past and Present*, ed. Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Barrier, Patiala, 1976, pp.92-103.

328:22 *Qur'ān* 28:88.

328:24 *Qur'ān* 80:34-7.

328:27 *Qur'ān* 84:7-9.

328:30 *Qur'ān* 56:15-24.

584 John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English*, London 1960 repr., s.v. *Dhara* and *Tirth*.

585 Some authorities attribute this siege to his collusion with the Persians. See *T.T.*, p.254; *T.K.*, p.180; *T.K.*, tr., p.265.

586 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.235; *T.T.*, p.254; *T.K.*, p.180; *T.K.* tr., p.265.

587 Arḍ Al-Dāwar and Balad al-Dāwar of the Arab geographers, a beautiful valley known for its fertility, down which the Helmund flows from the mountains of the Hindū Kush to Bust. See Guy le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, London, 1966, 3rd Impressions, pp. 345-6; Ludwig W. Adamec, *Farah and Southwestern Afghanistan*, Graz-Austria, 1973. pp.296-302.

587/A See *A.S.* vol.III, p.63.

588 *Dh.Kh.*, vol.I, p.236.

589 *Ibid.* Cf. *T.T.*, pp.261-2; *T.K.*, p.183; *T.K.* tr., p.267, according to which he was defeated by Rā'i Mānak Chand.

329:1-3 The couplet is by Ḥāfiẓ⁵⁹⁰ and seems to have been inspired by the following saying⁵⁹¹ of Alexander the Great:-

'When Alexander was asked by virtue of what it was that he had been able to acquire so great an empire in so short space of time, he replied, 'By winning over enemies by kindness and gathering friends about me by solicitude for them'.

590 *Diwān-i Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī*, ed. Muḥammad Qazwīnī and Qāsim Ghanī, Tehran, n.d., p.5.

591 Kai Kāwūs ibn Iskandar, *The Qābūs Nāma (A Mirror for Princes)*, tr. Reuben Levy, London. MCMLI. p.128. Persian Text, ed. Ghulām Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1967, p.140; Ibn Taḡtaqī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fakhrī*, tr. Muḥammad Waḥīd Gulpāyīgānī, Tehran, 1971, p.69.

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Map. 1: India and Transoxiana

